ASAS

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A grammar of Oriya

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Preface

The first draft of the grammar was written by Lukas Neukom (University of Zurich) and was subsequently modified with the help of Manideepa Patnaik (Bhubaneswar), linguist from Delhi University and native speaker of Oriya, in a span of several years. In the course of preparing the grammar we had problems in arriving at terminological consensus. Some such cases are dative (instead of either dative or accusative), locative (instead of either locative or instrumental), converbs (instead of conjunctive participles), perfective / imperfective.

We would like to thank our colleagues who have helped us in writing this grammar: Arlo Griffiths for his thorough proof-reading and many other comments, Karen Ebert, Johanna Mattissen, Fernando Zúñiga for their comments on the linguistic treatment of Oriya, Kalyanamalini Sahoo, Jagabandhu Panda, Minati Mishra, Manoswami Ray, Sailabala Patnaik, for their comments on the use of their language, Johannes Reese for his help in type-setting with \LaTeX, and last but not least Arabinda, Dipti and Deepankar Patnaik for their very kind hospitality and help in the Oriya setting in Bhubaneswar. Their insightful judgements about Oriya data were very helpful.

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# Abbreviations

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<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>emphatic</td>
<td>POL</td>
<td>polite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAM</td>
<td>familiar</td>
<td>PROG</td>
<td>progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>PRS</td>
<td>present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>future</td>
<td>PST</td>
<td>past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>genitive</td>
<td>PTCL</td>
<td>particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAB</td>
<td>habitual</td>
<td>PTCP</td>
<td>participle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HON</td>
<td>honorific</td>
<td>RDP</td>
<td>reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HORT</td>
<td>hortative particle</td>
<td>s / sg</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>inclusive</td>
<td>SUP</td>
<td>superlative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICV</td>
<td>imperfective converb</td>
<td>tr.</td>
<td>transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperative</td>
<td>V2</td>
<td>light verb in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEF</td>
<td>indefinite</td>
<td>VOC</td>
<td>vocative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>infinitive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Genetic classification and history

Oriya, spelled <Oriä> in Oriya script, belongs to the Eastern subgroup of the Indo-Aryan language family. Other major languages are Bengali and Assamese. There are other minor languages and dialects of this language group which are spoken in various parts of Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Orissa. Some of the major dialects are the Sambalpuri dialect in Orissa, Bhojpuri, Maithili and Magahi in Bihar and Jharkand.¹ From a historical viewpoint, the following chain of development of Indo-Aryan can be postulated:

- Old Indo-Aryan (= Vedic Sanskrit)
- Middle Indo-Aryan I (= Pali and early Prakrits)
- Middle Indo-Aryan II (= Prakrits)
- Middle Indo-Aryan III (= Apabhraṃśa)
- New Indo-Aryan (= late medieval and modern vernaculars)

The Eastern languages are said to be the descendants of the Magadhan Apabhraṃśa of about the 7th century A.D., which has its precursor in Magadhan Prakrit and probably in the language of the Ashokan inscriptions found in Orissa (MIA I).²

Oriya is the official language of the Indian state Orissa. It is spoken by ca. 32,000,000 people, including some speakers in the neighbouring states Jharkand, West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh.

¹For a discussion of Indo-Aryan classification see Masica 1991.
²For details about the linguistic history of Oriya see Majumdar 1970, Tripathi 1962 and Misra 1975.
1.2 Language variation

The state Orissa covers an area of 155,707 square kilometres and comprises 25 districts. Dialectal variation is small in Oriya. Nevertheless four dialect groups can be distinguished (Majumdar 1970):

- southern dialects (spoken in Ganjam, Malkangiri, Rayagada, and Koraput) (Dasgupta and Bhattacharya 1975, Gustafsson 1973a,b, 1989, Mahapatra 1985);
- western dialects (spoken in Sambalpur) (Tripathi 1957);
- northern dialects (spoken in Baleswar) (Mohanty 1987);
- standard dialects (spoken in Cuttack, Puri, Bhubaneswar).

In the present work data will be cited from standard Oriya. It corresponds very closely to the written language.

Besides the regional variation there is sociological variation. Rural speech differs from urban speech. The educated people have a tendency to use Sanskritised Oriya. The language described in this grammar is the language of urban people, which contains more words loaned from Sanskrit than rural speech.

1.3 Previous work on Oriya

The existing Oriya grammar books, which are few in number, are either old, stemming from the 19th century (e.g. Maltby 1986), or hardly available (Matson 1971), or accessible for Russian readers only (Karpushkin 1964). Some language courses have been compiled (Das Gupta 1980, Mohanty 1989, Pattanayak and Das 1972), but they do not include detailed analysis of grammatical categories.


Oriya grammars written in Oriya have been consulted at various places in this book.

1.4 Vocabulary

The Oriya vocabulary is traditionally classified into four broad types:

Tatsama: words that have been borrowed from Sanskrit without changing their form, e.g. smruti <⊢mr̐t̐i> ‘memory’. They typically contain conso-
nant clusters which are not found elsewhere in the language, e.g. *smr* in *smruti*.

**Tadbhava:** words which have Old Indo-Aryan origin and which have undergone some phonological changes, e.g. *ghora* ‘house’ (OIA *grha*).

**Deśaja:** words which have probably arisen from the languages which were spoken in Orissa before the Indo-Aryans arrived, e.g. *dabo* ‘list’, *halia* ‘tired’.

**Loanwords:** words which have been borrowed from other languages than Sanskrit, e.g. *jöbab* ‘answer’, *tren* ‘train’.

It must be noted that Tadbhava and Deśaja words are referred to as “native vocabulary”, which shares the same phonological regularities, whereas Tatsama words have more phonology loaned from Sanskrit. Modern loanwords, however, exhibit different phonological features.³

### 1.5 Object of this grammar

In the present work an attempt is made to provide an exhaustive description of standard Oriya, as it is used in the literature (newspapers, magazines, story books, literature for children, etc.) and spoken in Bhubaneswar and surroundings.

The source of examples has been indicated only where the sentence contains striking peculiarities, or where the use of grammatical categories can be shown only by the entire text paragraph.

---

³There are several Oriya dictionary and vocabularies, e.g. Das 1996, Hardenberg and Panda 1999.
Chapter 2

Phonology

This chapter is a short and in many ways still preliminary description of the phonology of native words (Tadbhava and Desaja). Tatsama words generally follow the rules of Sanskrit phonology (see e.g. Burrow 1973). For a more detailed treatment of Oriya phonetics, see Majumdar 1970, p. 219ff).

2.1 Consonants

The consonantal system of Oriya is typical of the Indo Aryan languages. It is characterised by an alveolar/retroflex series besides a dental series, by a pervading contrast between aspirated and non-aspirated plosives and by a rather low number of fricatives.

A phonemic description of Oriya requires recognition of 27 consonant phonemes, represented in Table 2.1, where symbols between parentheses are allophones. The following points emerge out of it:

(i) Alveolar and retroflex sounds have been grouped into one column. To be precise, /t, th, d, dh/ are alveolar, whereas /n, l/ and [r, rh] are retroflex. Interestingly /t/ and /d/ in English loans are rendered by /t/ and /d/ respectively in Oriya (e.g. poket ‘pocket’, kard ‘card’), whereas English /θ/ and /ð/ are transcribed by /t/ and /d/ in Oriya (thomb ‘thumb’, modor ‘mother’).

(ii) [n] and [ŋ] occur mainly in homorganic nasal-plosive clusters, e.g. lanjo [lanjo] ‘tail’ or sone [sone] ‘with’. [ŋ] additionally occurs in syllable-final position of a few words, e.g. ebong [ebon] ‘and’. Instead of syllable-final [ŋ] the preceding vowel can be nasalised, e.g. honso ‘duck’ is pronounced [honsɔ] or [hosɔ]. In this book [n] and [ŋ] in nasal-occlusive clusters will be graphically represented by /n/. In case of word-final [ŋ] it is represented by the digraph /ng/ instead of an additional letter because of its marginal phonemic status.

(iii) Intervocalic /ç/ and /çh/ are realised as [ʃ] and [ʃh] respectively, e.g. /bɔç/ [bɔʃ] ‘big’ or /daʃhi/ [daʃhi] ‘beard’. In this book this allophony will
Table 2.1: Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bilab.</th>
<th>dent.</th>
<th>alveol./</th>
<th>palat.</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>glott.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>retrofl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plosives</td>
<td>vcl.</td>
<td>-aspl.</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ʈ</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+aspl.</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>ʈʰ</td>
<td>ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vcd.</td>
<td>-aspl.</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>ɖ</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+aspl.</td>
<td>bh</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>ɖh</td>
<td>jh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ɳ</td>
<td>(ɲ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>s</td>
<td>(ʃ)</td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laterals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trills</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td>(ɭ /ɭh)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glide</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(w)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

be represented in the orthography: bɔrɔ and dɔrhi.

(iv) Some speaker pronounce /s/ in some words loaned from Sanskrit as [ʃ] according to the original sound. However, the clusters written as <ks> and <ṣṭ> are generally pronounced as [kʃy] ([kh] before /i/) and [st] respectively.

(v) Aspirated consonants are interpreted as single consonant, but they are represented by two letters (digraph), e.g. bh.

(vi) Consonants can be geminated in intervocalic position, e.g. moʃja ‘waist’ vs. moʃa ‘fun’.

(vii) The glide [w] is an allophone of /b/ and is realised after non-nasal consonants. While the Oriya script uses the same letter, we shall use b and w instead.

Table 2.2 demonstrates the phonemic contrasts by minimal pairs and quasi-minimal pairs. Note that /l/, /l/ and /r/ are clearly three phonemes and do not influence the choice of the initial consonant. /n/ and /l/ contrast with /ŋ/ and /l/ only in intervocalic position.

/ŋ/  kanɔ̄ ‘crow’ /n/  kanɔ̄ ‘ear’
/l/  kalɔ̄ ‘time’ /l/  kalɔ̄ ‘deaf’
/l/  malɔ̄ ‘goods’ /ɾ/  marɔ̄ ‘death’ /l/  malɔ̄ ‘garland’

2.2 Vowels

Oriya has a set of six vowel phonemes. They can be lengthened and nasalised.
### Table 2.2: (Quasi-) minimal pairs for consonantal phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>voiceless</th>
<th>aspirated</th>
<th>voiced</th>
<th>aspirated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>non-aspir.</td>
<td>non-aspir.</td>
<td>non-aspir.</td>
<td>non-aspir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bilabial</td>
<td>pala</td>
<td>phala</td>
<td>bala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'straw'</td>
<td>'plough-share'</td>
<td>'hair'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dental</td>
<td>ta\l\grave{a}</td>
<td>thala</td>
<td>d\grave{a}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'palm fruit'</td>
<td>'bowl (sp.)'</td>
<td>'wife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retroflex</td>
<td>t\grave{a}</td>
<td>th\grave{a}</td>
<td>d\grave{a}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'deep water'</td>
<td>'signal'</td>
<td>'branch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palatal</td>
<td>ca\l\grave{a}</td>
<td>cha\l\grave{a}</td>
<td>ja\l\grave{a}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'thatch'</td>
<td>'skin'</td>
<td>'fuel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>velar</td>
<td>ka\l\grave{a}</td>
<td>khala</td>
<td>ga\l\grave{a}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'time'</td>
<td>'ditch'</td>
<td>'cheek'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sonorants</td>
<td>ma\l\grave{a}</td>
<td>na\l\grave{a}</td>
<td>la\l\grave{a}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'garland'</td>
<td>'canal'</td>
<td>'saliva'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricatives</td>
<td>sa\l\grave{a}</td>
<td>ha\l\grave{a}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Sal tree'</td>
<td>'whereabouts'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Quasi-) minimal pairs:
- pita 'beat'
- phutu 'pierce'
- jalo 'water'
- jholo 'soul'
- petu 'belly'
- pala 'silk cloth'
- jhulu 'swing'
- jholo 'sweat'
- poru 'burn'
- poru 'fall'

The vowel [e] seems to be a coalescence of the sequence /y + a/ or /y + o/. It may be on the way towards acquiring phonemic status. For instance byosto 'busy' can be pronounced [besto], or byakorono 'grammar' can be heard as [bekorono]; opposing this pronunciation to bekro 'neck', /e/ and /e/ are dis-

### Table 2.3: Vowels and diphthongs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>ie</td>
<td>ia</td>
<td>iɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid-high</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid-low</td>
<td>(ɛ)</td>
<td>ɔ</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>ae</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td>ac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ui</td>
<td>ue</td>
<td>ua</td>
<td>uc</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tinctive phonemes.

All basic vowels have long counterparts. Consider the following pairs:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{o} / \text{o} & \quad \text{koño} \quad \text{‘corner’} & \quad \text{kóño} \quad \text{‘what’} \\
\text{a} / \text{aa} & \quad \text{ba} \quad \text{‘or’} & \quad \text{baa} \quad \text{‘air; father’} \\
\text{i} / \text{ii} & \quad \text{niti} \quad \text{‘custom’} & \quad \text{niiti} \quad \text{‘every day’} \\
\text{u} / \text{uu} & \quad \text{tume} \quad \text{‘you(POL)’} & \quad \text{tuunó} \quad \text{‘vegetable’} \\
\text{e} / \text{ee} & \quad \text{phere} \quad \text{‘I return’} & \quad \text{pheere} \quad \text{‘again’} \\
\text{o} / \text{oo} & \quad \text{ghoro} \quad \text{‘you grind’} & \quad \text{ghooro} \quad \text{‘extreme’}
\end{align*} \]

In this book long vowels will be marked by a digraph only in those cases, where they are written in Oriya script by an additional vowel letter, e.g. piiba 'to drink'.

Apart from simple vowels, Oriya has diphthongs as well. Table 2.3 above shows the possible combinations. The missing patterns can be accounted for by two generalisations: a) /o/ does not occur in diphthongs; b) the non-high back vowels do not occur with preceding mid-vowels.

Diphthongs will be interpreted and represented as a sequence of two vowels.

All basic vowels have nasalised counterparts. Some minimal pairs are given below:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{non-nasalised} & \quad \text{nasalised} \\
\text{n} & \quad \text{na} \quad \text{‘boat’} & \quad \text{n} & \quad \text{na} \quad \text{‘name’} \\
\text{p} & \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{‘having found’} & \quad \text{p} & \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{‘for’} \\
\text{n} & \quad \text{nōuchi} \quad \text{‘I am taking’} & \quad \text{Nōuchi} \quad \text{‘I am bending’} \\
\text{v} & \quad \text{chua} \quad \text{‘kid’} & \quad \text{Chūa} \quad \text{‘touched’} \\
\text{u} & \quad \text{ui} \quad \text{‘ant’} & \quad \text{U} & \quad \text{u} \quad \text{‘sp. rice’}
\end{align*} \]

### 2.3 Syllable structure

Oriya syllables have the general form (C)V(X), where the optional X is either a consonant or a vowel. The syllable-final consonant may be a nasal. Word-final syllables always end in a vowel. Words consist of one or more syllables, but more than three are rare.

**Monosyllables**

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{V} & \quad \text{e} \quad \text{‘this’} & \quad \text{CV} & \quad \text{ba} \quad \text{‘or’} \\
\text{VV} & \quad \text{ai} \quad \text{‘grandmother’} & \quad \text{CVV} & \quad \text{nāa} \quad \text{‘name’}
\end{align*} \]
Disyllables

V.CV  a.lu  ‘potato’
V.CV  u.tei  ‘having raised’
VV.CV  ui.ba  ‘to rise’
CV.CV  su.ei  ‘having put to bed’
CV.CV  ka.no  ‘ear’
CV.CV  mi.thai  ‘sweets’
CVV.CV  poi.sa  ‘money’
CVV.CV  paui.sia  ‘ashy’
CVC.CV  den.ga  ‘tall’
CVC.CV  koŋ.ŋhej  ‘doll’

Trisyllables

CV.CV.CV  po.bo.no  ‘wind’
CVC.CV.CV  kum.bhu.ri  ‘crocodile’
CV.CV.CV  du.dhia.li  ‘milk cow’

2.4 Phonotactics

This section treats the occurrences and the non-occurrences of vowels and consonants in the various positions within words.

Vowels: any vowel occurs in any position, except the impossible vowel sequences indicated above for the diphthongs. Word-final /o/, however, is very rare.\(^1\) The only examples are mo 1s:OBL, to 2s:OBL and particles like lo or alo ‘eh’.

Consonants: Every consonant except the retroflex sounds /ŋ/ and /l/ may occupy word-initial position.

Consonant clusters: The possible clusters are restricted to homorganic nasal plus plosive combinations. Any of the 20 plosives occurs in this type of cluster.

mph  gumpho  ‘cave’
nt  kanto  ‘wall’
nt  ghontə  ‘hour’
nc  panco  ‘five’
nk  ank-  ‘to draw’
mbh  arɔmbho  ‘start’
nd  bondo  ‘closed’
ndh  mendha  ‘sheep’
nj  lanjo  ‘tail’
ga  dɔŋga  ‘boat’

---

\(^1\)Mohanty in his comparative article about the “Loss of /o/ in Kui, Sora and Oriya” (1997) claims this to be a substrate influence from Dravidian.
2.5 Stress

Stress is not phonemic in Oriya. There are no words which are distinguished by stress alone. The stressed syllable is not very prominent; often all syllables of a word seem to receive the same stress. Roughly speaking, most of the words are stressed on the first syllable:

bisyllables:  'bi ro  'warrior'
             'ca si  'farmer'
trisyllables:  'o ki lo  'lawyer'
             'do ro ma  'salary'
tetrasyllables:  'cha pa kha na  'printing press'
                'o lon ka ro  'jewelry'

Consider some verb forms:

'a se  'I come'
'a si li  'I came'
'a si chi  'I have come'
'a si thi li  'I had come'

Some of the exceptions to the rule given above are observed in varying speech style:

(i) The verbal ending for 3p -anti is always stressed, e.g. a 'son ti  'they come', a si 'chon ti  'they have come'.

(ii) Complex verb forms can be stressed on their last verbal constituent:

   de kha 'jau chi  'it is seen'  (see + go)
   ca li 'pa re  'he can walk'  (walk + can)

2.6 Phonological irregularities

Many loanwords borrowed from Sanskrit, Persian, English, and other languages do not fit into the phonological patterns described above.

(i) Consonants appear in word-final position, e.g. English loanwords such as kəp 'cup' or pulis 'police'. However, many Oriya native words can drop final -o as well in colloquial speech (maybe influenced by Hindi), e.g. gorom 'hot', aram 'comfortable'.

(ii) Word-initial and otherwise unknown word-medial clusters do exist in Sanskrit loans, e.g. klantə 'tired' or ujjvələ 'bright'.

Onomatopoeic words exhibit a somewhat irregular pattern as well. They are formed by reduplication of an element consisting of one to three syllables. Mono-
syllabic reduplicands may be of CVC-pattern so that word-final consonants may occur. Final /o/ is not as rare in onomatopoeic words as in other words.

Monosyllabic reduplicands CV and CVC

\textup{dho-dho} ‘cracking’ \quad \textup{bhos-bhos} ‘bubbling of water’

\textup{bhē-bhē} ‘weeping’ \quad \textup{jhun-jhun} ‘tinkling of anklet ornament’

\textup{phus-phus} ‘whispering’ \quad \textup{ṭhok-ṭhok} ‘knocking’

\textup{ting-ting} ‘ringing of a bell’

Bisyllabic and trisyllabic reduplicands (first consonant may alternate)

\textup{khili-khili} ‘gurgling of a river’

\textup{toro-toro} ‘hurrying’

\textup{kiciri-miciri} ‘chirping’

\textup{ṭongoro-tongoro} ‘moving to and fro’

The onomatopoeic expressions are often combined with the verb \textit{he}- ‘be’. The following examples illustrate their use in the clause:

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{gōyō-ṭi} \textit{phō-phō} sō-sō \textit{ho-i} tāa \textit{arō-ku} maṛ-i-as-il-a. \\
\quad \text{bison-ART snorting} \quad \text{be-CV he:OBL side-DAT rush-CV-V2:come-PST-3s} \\
\quad \text{‘The bison rushed towards him snorting.’}
\item \textit{kiciri-miciri} sōbā do-i \textit{choṭo} cōṭhe-tīe ur-i-as-il-a. \\
\quad \text{chirping} \quad \text{sound} \quad \text{do-CV small bird-INDEF fly-CV-V2:come-PST-3s} \\
\quad \text{‘Chirping, a small bird came flying.’}
\item \textit{ghoro-ṭi} \textit{hu-hu} jōl-uth-il-a. \\
\quad \text{house-ART in.full blaze} \quad \text{burn-IPFV-PST-3s} \\
\quad \text{‘The house was burning in full blaze.’}
\end{enumerate}

\subsection*{2.7 Morphophonological rules}

(i) When a non-high back vowel follows a mid-high vowel, the mid vowel becomes high, as the following examples illustrate.

\[ V \rightarrow [+\text{high}] / _- + V \]

\[ [+\text{low}] \quad [\text{high}] \quad [+\text{back}] \]

\textup{de-} ‘give’ + \textup{a} \quad \text{2p:IMP} \rightarrow \text{di-a} \quad ‘give’

\textup{ne-} ‘take’ + \textup{a} \quad \text{PTCP} \rightarrow \text{ni-a} \quad ‘taken’

\textup{so-} ‘sleep’ + \textup{anti} \quad \text{3p:HAB} \rightarrow \text{su-anti} \quad ‘they sleep’
(ii) The unstressed vowel ə is dropped when a vowel-initial suffix is added.

\[ ə \rightarrow \emptyset / _ + V \]

ghorə ‘house’ + e LOC \( \rightarrow \) ghɔr-e ‘at home’
loko ‘person’ + e PL \( \rightarrow \) lɔk-e ‘people’

(iii) A verb stem with the vowel a changes to ə when the suffix -a (causative or participial marker) is added:

bhang- ‘break’ + -a PTCP \( \rightarrow \) bhɔŋ-a ‘broken’
char- ‘leave’ + -a PTCP \( \rightarrow \) chɔr-a ‘left’

(iv) Vowel epenthesis. The short vowels ə, i and u can be omitted in medial and final position. The resulting pronunciation is often a disyllabic word.

dɔrkəro \( \rightarrow \) [dɔrkə] ‘necessary’
dokən \( \rightarrow \) [dokə] ‘shop’
pɔbəno \( \rightarrow \) [pɔbən] ‘wind’

In most of the cases it is the final vowel which is dropped. There are, however, words where a medial vowel is omitted.

jinisə \( \rightarrow \) [jinisə] ‘thing’
ɔsəna \( \rightarrow \) [ɔsənə] ‘dirty’

Vowels in disyllabic words are normally not omitted:

hatə \( \rightarrow \) *[hat] ‘hand’
pago \( \rightarrow \) *[pago] ‘weather’

One exception to this rule is noticed in the word bhulə ‘mistake’, which can become [bhul].

Not all words undergo vowel epenthesis in the same way. Some of them are always pronounced in the short form, e.g. dɔrkə or ɔsəna above. In this book they will be written in their short form. The other words (the majority) are not pronounced in their abbreviated form by elder or conservative people, but only by young people. The omission of the final vowel might be due to Hindi influence because many Hindi words have lost their final vowel long ago, whereas the corresponding Oriya words have retained them.

2.8 Script

The Oriya script is a descendant of the Brahmi script (for the historical evolution, see Tripathi 1962) and related to other North-Indian scripts, such as Devanagari. There is some overspecification in the script:
(i) The script distinguishes three types of s, retroflex <ṣ> (ṣ), alveolar <s> (ɕ) and palatal <ś> (ś), which all represent phonemic /s/.

(ii) The script has two symbols for long and short <i> (ᵯ and ᵢ) and <u> (ᵯ and ᵥ) respectively. This distinction is not present in the pronunciation anymore.

On the other hand, long vowels are not always marked by additional vowel signs, so that the same vowel letter can stand both for the short and the long vowel, e.g. /pheere/ ‘again’ is written <phere>.

The following tables present the Oriya letters with both the transcription used in this book and the Indological transcription between parentheses. The letters are arranged according to the order in traditional grammars.²

Table 2.4: Vowel letters

| ᡠ a (a) | ᡡ ḳ (ǣ) | ᡣ e (e) | ᡥ ᵢ i (ᵯ) | ᡦ o (o) | ᡧ ᵥ u (ᵯ) |
| ᡧ ru (ᵯ) |

Table 2.5: Consonant letters

| ᡠ k³ (k) | ᡠ c (c) | ᡤ ᵢ t (ᵯ) | ᡦ t (t) | ᡨ p (p) |
| ᡢ kh (kh) | ᡡ ch (ch) | ᡣ ᵢ th (ᵯ) | ᡥ th (th) | ᡧ ph (ph) |
| ᡤ g (g) | ᡣ j (j) | ᡦ d (d) | ᡧ ᵢ d (ᵯ) | ᡦ b (b) |
| ᡤ gh (gh) | ᡣ jh (jh) | ᡥ dh (dh) | ᡦ dh (dh) | ᡧ bh (bh) |
| ᡤ ng (ṅ) | ᡦ n (ṅ) | ᡤ ᵢ ᱣ (ᵯ) | ᡦ n (n) | ᡦ m (m) |
| ᡤ y (y) | ᡤ j (ᵯ) | ᡦ r (ᵯ) | ᡧ  l (l) |
| ᡢ s (ś) | ᡤ s (ᵯ) | ᡦ s (s) |
| ᡢ h (ḥ) | ᡦ l (l) | ᡦ r (ᵯ) | ᡧ rh (ᵯ) |

²We use here the Oriya-TeX package, developed first by Jeroen Hellingman and currently maintained by Anshuman Pandey. Oriya-TeX is officially available from CTAN (Comprehensive TeX Archive Network) at http://www.tex.ac.uk/ in the directory /tex-archive/language/oriya/. For more details on Oriya script see Tripathi 1962 and Friedrich 2002.

³Any consonant letter without a specific vowel sign is pronounced with the default vowel ə, e.g. ᡠ [kə].
Table 2.6: Combination of consonant and vowel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Sound</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>င</td>
<td>( + ပ)</td>
<td>ɡo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ပ</td>
<td>( + ပ)</td>
<td>ɡi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>မ</td>
<td>( + ပ)</td>
<td>ɡu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ဆ</td>
<td>( + ရ)</td>
<td>ɡru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>က</td>
<td>( + လ)</td>
<td>ɡe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ဗ</td>
<td>( + လ)</td>
<td>ɡo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ဤ</td>
<td>( + ပ)</td>
<td>ɡ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ဖ</td>
<td>( + လ)</td>
<td>ɡa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ဗ</td>
<td>( + လ)</td>
<td>ɡi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>မ</td>
<td>( + ပ)</td>
<td>ɡu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ဆ</td>
<td>( + ရ)</td>
<td>ɡru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>က</td>
<td>( + လ)</td>
<td>ɡe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ဗ</td>
<td>( + လ)</td>
<td>ɡo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ဤ</td>
<td>( + ပ)</td>
<td>ɡ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 3
Nominals

Nominals in Oriya are defined syntactically and morphologically. Syntactically nominals occupy the position of arguments of a predicate in contrast to the verb, which cannot perform this function. Morphologically they can be marked for case, whereas verbs are not marked for case, but for other categories, such as tense and aspect.

The word classes (and combinations of them, i.e. nominal phrases, see 3.5) which are included in the nominals are nouns (3.1), adjectives (3.2), pronouns (3.3) and numerals (3.4).

Note further that nonfinite verb forms (e.g. a-forms, see 4.3.1, or iba-forms, see 4.3.3) can be used as nominals as well.

3.1 Nouns

Nouns are marked for the categories of gender, number and case, which are marked by suffixes (see 3.1.2, 3.1.3 and 3.1.4). The order above corresponds to the internal order of the suffixes.

(1) chatr-i-manɔ-nku
    student-F-PL-OBL:DAT
    ‘to the students (f.)’

Nouns (with or without case markers) can be reduplicated, see 3.1.5.

3.1.1 Noun formation

Nouns in Oriya can be divided into three derivational classes: simple nouns, derived nouns and compound nouns. The discussion will be mostly about native word formation. Some borrowed Sanskrit elements are included and mentioned explicitly.
3.1.1 Derivation

Noun formation is mainly done by suffixation. There are a few prefixes, which belong to the domain of Tatsama vocabulary:

- **dur-** ‘bad’
- **dina** ‘day’
- **dur-dina** ‘bad day’
- **ku-** ‘bad’
- **bhasa** ‘language’
- **ku-bhasa** ‘indecent language’
- **nir-** ‘without’
- **mọp** ‘blemish’
- **nir-mọp** ‘clean’
- **ō** NEG
- **subidha** ‘opportunity’
- **ō-subidha** ‘problem’
- **su-** ‘good’
- **namo** ‘name’
- **su-namo** ‘good name’

We provide below the list of derivational suffixes:

- **vowels:** -a, -ei, -ia, -i, -oi, -ua;
- **retroflex nasal -n- + vowels:** -ani, -apo, -eni, -ona, -oni, -oŋa, -ona, -uni;
- **liquids + vowels:** -(u)alo, -ali, -ari, -ural, -ra, -ra.

The initial vowel of the suffix replaces final -o of the derivational base, other final vowels most often remain. In addition there are some longer suffixes, such as -bala, -khana, etc.

**Derivation from other nouns** Nouns, adjectives and verbs normally do not take the same derivative suffixes to form a new noun; however, there is some overlap. The following affixes are employed to form nouns from nouns. Some of them are used in adjective formation as well (see 3.2.2). Furthermore, consider also the feminine suffixes in 3.1.2 below.

(i) Vowel suffixes

- **-a, -ia:** profession, origin, diminutive

  - beṭhi ‘forced labour’
  - beṭhi-a ‘forced labourer’
  - ghaṭo ‘bathing place’
  - ghaṭ-ia / ghaṭ-ua ‘ferryman’
  - họḷ ‘plough’
  - họḷ-ia / họḷ-ua ‘cultivator’
  - Bhubanowar ‘Bh.’
  - Bhubanowar-ia ‘person from Bh.’
  - Koṭako ‘Cuttack’
  - Koṭak-ia ‘person from Cuttack’
  - sōhor ‘town’
  - sōhor-ia ‘townsman’
  - Bipula ‘Bipula’ (name)
  - Bipul-ia <diminutive of Bipula>
  - khoṭ ‘bed’
  - khoṭ-ia ‘small bedstead’
  - thali ‘plate’
  - thali-a ‘small plate’

- **-i:** origin, profession, activity, diminutive
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>Bonarɔɔ</code></td>
<td>'Varanasi'</td>
<td><code>Bonarɔɔ-i</code></td>
<td>'person from Varanasi'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>Kɔtɔkɔ</code></td>
<td>'Cuttack'</td>
<td><code>Kɔtɔk-i</code></td>
<td>'person from Cuttack'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>dokanɔ</code></td>
<td>'shop'</td>
<td><code>dokan-i</code></td>
<td>'shop-keeper'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>telo</code></td>
<td>'oil'</td>
<td><code>tel-i</code></td>
<td>'oilpresser'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>cakɔɔ</code></td>
<td>'servant'</td>
<td><code>cakir-i</code></td>
<td>'service'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>daktɔr</code></td>
<td>'doctor'</td>
<td><code>daktɔr-i</code></td>
<td>'medicine (study)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>ghɔntɔ</code></td>
<td>'bell'</td>
<td><code>ghɔnt-i</code></td>
<td>'small bell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>ghɔtɔ</code></td>
<td>'pitcher'</td>
<td><code>ghɔt-i</code></td>
<td>'small pitcher'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>kaθhɔ</code></td>
<td>'wood'</td>
<td><code>kaθh-i</code></td>
<td>'small piece of wood'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **-ua:** person, profession

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>baθɔ</code></td>
<td>'way'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>haθɔ</code></td>
<td>'market'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>michɔ</code></td>
<td>'lie'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>baθ-ua</code></td>
<td>'traveller'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>haθ-ua</code></td>
<td>'market trader'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>mich-ua</code></td>
<td>'liar'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) **Suffixes with liquids**

- **-aƚɔ:** profession

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>gai</code></td>
<td>'cow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>mɔis-i</code></td>
<td>'buffalo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>paiṭi</code></td>
<td>'daily work'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>gai-aƚɔ</code></td>
<td>'cowherd'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>mɔis-aƚɔ</code></td>
<td>'tender of buffaloes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>paiṭi-aƚɔ</code></td>
<td>'day-labourer'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **-ari, -uri(a), -ra:** profession

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>bhiko</code></td>
<td>'alms'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>songa</code></td>
<td>'bracelet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>suna</code></td>
<td>'gold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>kaθhɔ</code></td>
<td>'wood'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>naa</code></td>
<td>'boat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>kaco</code></td>
<td>'bangle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>paθɔ</code></td>
<td>'silk cloth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>bhik-ari</code></td>
<td>'beggar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>song-ari</code></td>
<td>'maker of bracelets'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>sun-ari</code></td>
<td>'goldsmith'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>kaθh-uria</code></td>
<td>'wood-cutter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>na-uri(a)</code></td>
<td>'boatman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>kaco-ra</code></td>
<td>'dealer in bangles'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>paθ-ra</code></td>
<td>'dealer in cloth'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iii) **Other suffixes**

- **-ami:** abstract nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>dusto</code></td>
<td>'wicked'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>murkhɔ</code></td>
<td>'foolish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>pagoJAVA</code></td>
<td>'lunatic'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>dust-ami</code></td>
<td>'wickedness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>murkh-ami</code></td>
<td>'foolishness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>pagoJAVA-ami</code></td>
<td>'lunacy'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1.1. Noun formation

- *-bala*: profession, owner (cf. the regular deverbal derivation from *iba/ila*-forms, 4.3.4.2)

- dákó ‘mail’ dákó-bala ‘mailman’
- pulis ‘police’ pulis-bala ‘policeman’
- gáá ‘village’ gáá-bala ‘villager’
- garí ‘vehicle’ garí-bala ‘driver of a car’
- ghórc ‘house’ ghórc-bala ‘master of the house’

- *-daró*: activity, profession (borrowed from Persian *darā* ‘holder’)

- cóuki ‘chair (for watching)’ cóuki-daró ‘watchman’
- jomi ‘land’ jomi-daró ‘landlord’
- onsó ‘part’ onsó-daró ‘partner’
- thíka ‘contract’ thíka-daró ‘contractor’

- *-khana*: place (borrowed from Persian *xanah* ‘place’)

- chapa ‘printing’ chapa-khana ‘printing press’
- dákór ‘doctor’ dákór-khana ‘hospital’
- pagóło ‘lunatic’ pagóło-khana ‘asylum’

- *-póó*: property

- biró ‘brave man’ biró-póó ‘braveness’
- boró ‘big’ boró-póó ‘bigness’
- siana ‘clever’ siana-póó ‘cleverness’

In addition there are two suffixes that occur frequently and are borrowed from Sanskrit which also occur in native words. They both derive abstract nouns from adjectives.

- *-ta* madhúro ‘sweet’ madhúro-ta ‘sweetness’
  swadhín ‘independent’ swadhín-ta ‘independence’
  uccó ‘high’ uccó-ta ‘height’

- *-twó* dóró ‘distant’ dóró-twó ‘distance’
  madhúro ‘sweet’ madhúro-twó ‘sweetness’
  Musálimanó ‘Muslim’ Musálimanó-twó ‘being Muslim’
Deverbal derivation  Besides the derivational suffixes listed below, there are the inflectional suffixes -a and -iba, which occur as verbal nouns as well (see 4.3.1 and 4.3.3):

lekh- 'to write' lekh-a 'the writing' lekh-iba 'act of writing'
tol- 'to build' tol-a 'act of building' tol-iba 'act of building'

Most of the following suffixes, which are all attached to verb stems, cannot be assigned a single semantic value. They can denote an activity or an instrument.

(i) Vowel suffixes

- -i, -ei cal- 'to walk' cal-i 'walking'
gadho- 'to bathe' gadh-ei 'bathing'
lorh- 'to fight' lorh-ei 'fighting'

- -o dak- 'to call' dak-o 'calling'
hos- 'to laugh' hos-o 'laughter'
kheJ- 'to play' kheJ-o 'play'

(ii) Suffixes with the retroflex -n-

- -ani bhos- 'to float' bhos-ani 'floating'
cah- 'to look' cah-ani 'look'
sun- 'to hear' sun-ani 'hearing of a case'

- -ano bond- 'to worship' bond-ano 'prayer'
dor- 'to fear' dor-ano 'threatening'
mis- 'to be mixed with' mis-ano 'addition'

- -eni bhal- 'to think' bhal-eni 'anxiety'
jal- 'to burn' jal-eni 'fuel'

- -oHa binc- 'to fan' binc-oHa 'fan'
kand- 'to weep' kand-oHa 'weeping'
kheJ- 'to play' kheJ-oHa 'toy'

- -oni chond- 'to tie' chond-oni 'rope to tie cows'
khOt- 'to labour' khOt-oni 'daily service'
lot- 'to roll' lot-oni 'turning somersaults'
3.1.1. Noun formation

- **-o** jhul- ‘to swing’ jhul-o ‘swinging festival’
  khond- ‘to cut’ khond-o ‘cutting’
  mag- ‘to ask’ mag-o ‘begging’

- **-u** dhank- ‘to cover’ dhank-u ‘a cover’
  mag- ‘to ask’ mag-u ‘request’
  map- ‘to measure’ map-u ‘measurer’

(iii) Suffixes with liquids

- **-ali, -u**p: profession
  bik- ‘to sell’ bik-ali ‘vendor’
  khel- ‘to play’ khel-ali ‘player’
  pothor- ‘to swim’ pothor-ali ‘swimmer’
  jog- ‘to watch’ jog-up ‘guard’
  rokh- ‘to protect’ rokh-up ‘watchman’

3.1.1.2 Composition

All the three types of nominal compounds occur in Oriya: endocentric, exocentric, and copulative compounds. The examples will include adjectives as well, since they take part in the compositional devices in the same way as nouns.

(i) Endocentric compounds: the whole compound is a hyponym of the (semantic) head. The first element acts as the modifier of the second element, the head. The elements are joined by simple juxtaposition.

(2) phulo bonga ‘flower garden’ suo gacho ‘apple tree’
  motora gar ‘motor car’ hato ghonta ‘wrist watch’
  gaa mundo ‘village chief’ tusara dhobra ‘snow-white’

(ii) Exocentric compounds: the compound is not a hyponym of the syntactic head. The meaning of the compound stands in a possessor relationship to its elements, e.g. in (3) oto muhā denotes a person who has a face like a camel (note that here the suffix -a is an adjectiviser).

(3) oto + muhā → oto-muh-ā ‘person with a face like a camel’
  camel face

(4) moha + mani → mohamani ‘person with great self-esteem’
  great pride
(iii) Copulative compounds: the coupled elements are of equal status. The whole compound is the sum of the semantic extensions of its elements. The meanings of the members must be of the same semantic domain (e.g. emotions, parental kinship and time of day in (5)). The copulative compounds are frequently used with proper names.

(5) hɔɔ̌-khusi ‘happiness (lit. laughter-joy)’
bapa-maa ‘parents (lit. father-mother)’
din-o-rati ‘day and night’
jubɔko-jubɔti-mane ‘the young men and women’

(6) dhɔni-dɔrdɔ ‘rich and poor’
ghɔrɔ-ɔwɔ ‘house-hold’
krusɔ-Boɔramɔ ‘Krishna and Balarama’ (*Boɔramɔ-Krusɔ)
Hɔr-Hɔr ‘Hari and Hara’

The two nouns of a copulative compound can also be interpreted as coordinated nouns (see 7.1).

Echo-word formation: Echo words consist of initial ph- + the syllable coda of the preceding word (in case of words with initial ph- the echo word begins with m-). This formation is productive and applies to loanwords as well.

(7) gάȃ-phάȃ ‘villages and the like’ jhio-phio ‘girls …’
ghɔrɔ-phɔro ‘houses and the like’ pho-tɔ-mo ‘photos …’
gilasɔ-philasɔ ‘glasses and the like’ tɔren-phren ‘trains …’

Echo compounds are used in informal speech and express the speaker’s disrespect to the referent; consider (8), where a mother asks her son about whether he has written any letters to a girl-friend, which he is not allowed to do.

(8) tu koɔnɔ ciɔti phithi lekh-ith-il-u ki-re?
you(FAM) INT letter ECHO write-PERF-PST-2s INT-PTCL
‘Did you write any letters?’

Consider (9) where an echo word is formed from a conjunction.

(A wants to contradict B. He starts:)

(9) agyɔ  dhor-ith-il-a … kintu … — kintu phintu kichi
INTERJ hold-PERF-PST-3s but but ECHO anything
nah-i!
be:NEG-3s
‘Sir, he was holding … but … — There are no buts about it!’

There are some other nominal compounds of which the second constituent is a partial reduplication of the first one, with another initial consonant. The second parts of the compounds have their own meaning in (10), but not in (11):
3.1.2. Gender

(10) patho-satho ‘studies (lit. lesson-knowledge)’
dako-hako ‘calling etc. (lit. call-call)’
kolpona-jolpona ‘speculation (lit. imagination-talking)’

(11) bhul-bhal ‘many mistakes (lit. mistake-ECHO)’
cakwor-bakwor ‘many servants (lit. servant-ECHO)’

Some compounds consist of reduplicated constituents:

(12) purusō-purusō ‘generation’
julu-jula ‘firefly’
dino-dino ‘for days together’

3.1.2 Gender

Gender plays a very restricted role in Oriya grammar. Two traces remain of the elaborate OIA system: a) the optional agreement of adjectives with nouns of female natural gender (see 3.2) and b) masculine / feminine pairs of nouns denoting human beings and animals. Feminine nouns frequently show formal similarities to related masculine nouns. However, the principles by which such forms are related are heterogeneous and irregular, especially for Sanskrit loans (Tatsamas), for which only some examples will be cited.

bāloko ‘boy’ bālikā ‘girl’
chatro ‘student (m.)’ chatri ‘student (f.)’
juboko ‘young man’ juboti ‘young woman’
sikhyoko ‘teacher (m.)’ sikhyoyiti ‘teacher (f.)’
honsō ‘drake’ honsi ‘duck’
keki ‘peacock’ kekini ‘peahen’

In the non-Sanskrit vocabulary, it is easier to state some generalisations. Feminines are derived from masculines through suffixation, see below. Some vowel modifications can occur, e.g. koṇa vs. kaṇi ‘blind person’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>masculine</th>
<th>feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-i</td>
<td>buṛha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ghora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>koṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>oṭo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-aṇi</td>
<td>cakorco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tonti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ḍaktor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mastorco</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
-uni Bongali Bongal-uni ‘Bengali’
hati hat-uni ‘elephant’
bhikari bhikar-uni ‘beggar’
-ɔni dhoba dhob-ɔni ‘washer man / -woman’
corɔ cor-ɔni ‘thief’

Other conceptually related masculines and feminines do not belong to the same word stem:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>masculine</th>
<th>feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bapa</td>
<td>‘father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puo</td>
<td>‘son’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purusɔ</td>
<td>‘man’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For animals the gender can be indicated by preposed ɔndira ‘male’ for masculines, respectively by preposed mai ‘female’ for feminines.

ɔndira cheli | ‘billy goat’ | mai cheli | ‘nanny goat’
ɔndira kukura | ‘cock’ | mai kukura | ‘hen’

### 3.1.3 Number

A noun has no inherent number. It can have singular or plural meaning, depending on the context.

(13) bolɔdo garĩ ɔn-uch-ɔnti o dui-ɔ ti lokɔ ta-ku ðhel-uch-ɔnti.
    bullock cart pull-PROG-3p and two-CL man it-DAT push-PROG-3p
    ‘The bullocks are pulling the cart and two men are pushing it.’

bolɔdo refers to more than one bullock as is indicated by the plural verb form ɔnuchɔnti, likewise lokɔ in combination with the numeral dui refers to more than one man, whereas garĩ means only one cart, which can be supposed by the situation, but it could be plural as well.

Number is made explicit by a range of suffixes (see Table 3.1). However, it should be noted that the morphemes discussed in this chapter do not exclusively express number distinctions. They are used to denote (in)definiteness, honorificity, and speaker’s attitude.

The all-inclusive suffixes can combine with the articles: sokalɔ-ta-jako ‘all morning’. Note that the suffix -e is used for both singular and plural marking; the occurrences, however, do not overlap: singular meaning is restricted to inanimate nouns, whereas plural use is limited to animate nouns. Since the suffix -e will occur many more times, an overview of its uses is in order.\(^1\)

---

\(^1\)e with the meaning ‘this’ is also part of the demonstrative series (see 3.3.2.2).
Table 3.1: Marking of singular and plural

Morphemes with singular meaning

(i) Articles -ṭa / -ṭi\(^a\) e.g. baḷko-ṭa ‘the boy’
(ii) Indeinite suffix -e döl-e ‘a group’
(iii) Numeral ‘one’ ekọ ekọ hɔtirɔ ‘a weapon’

Morphemes with plural meaning

(ii) Set II -guɾa-kọ / -guɾa / -guɾa-e korɔ-guɾakọ ‘the thieves’
    -guɾi-kọ / -guɾi / -guɾi-e ambo-guɾikọ ‘the mangoes’
(iii) -e baḷk-e ‘the children’
(iv) -nkọ / -nku (see case suffixes, 3.1.4)

All-inclusive suffixes

‘all, whole’ -kọ e.g. pila döl-kọ ‘the group of children’
    -jakọ, -tọkọ, -sara e.g. sondhya-jakọ ‘the whole evening’

\(^a\)There are some few exceptions where articles refer to plural nouns (see below). In the overwhelming majority of cases the nouns with article have singular meaning.

(i) singular indefinite marker with inanimate nouns (3.1.3.2)
(ii) singular nominative honorific marker (very rare) (3.1.4.2)
(iii) formative element in pronouns in nominative case (3.1.4.2)
(iv) plural nominative marker with animate nouns (3.1.3.4)
(v) short form of locative case marker (3.1.3.4)
(vi) vocative case marker (3.1.4.1)

The suffix -e often replaces final -ɔ, other final vowels only exceptionally (e.g. pile besides pilae ‘the children’).

3.1.3.1 The articles

The articles are found with the following word classes.

Nouns jhio ‘girl’ jhio-ṭi ‘the girl’
Adjectives bɔɾɔ ‘big’ bɔɾɔ-ṭi ‘the big one’
Demonstratives e, se ‘this, that’ ei-ṭi, sei-ṭi ‘this one, that one’
Interrogatives kẹu ‘which?’ kẹu-ṭi ‘which one?’
Relatives jẹu ‘which’ jẹu-ṭi ‘which one’
Possessives mo ‘my’ mo-ṭi ‘mine’

Compare with the use as classifier (see 3.4.3):
3.1. Nouns

Numerals  dui ‘two’  dui-ṭi gocho ‘two trees’
Interrogatives  kete ‘how much?’  keto-ṭi gocho ‘how many trees?’

The suffixes -ṭa / -ṭi are referred to as “definite articles” or “enclitic definitives” in the literature. It will shown below that this label is misleading. Let us first consider which elements can take the articles.

The articles can be added to any noun. The inherent definiteness of a noun does not play any role, even proper nouns are attested with the article, e.g. Ramā-ṭi ‘Rāma’. The same applies to unique referents, e.g. surjyo-ṭa ‘the sun’ in (14) taken from a literary text:

(14) būra ha-i-as-ith-iba  surjyo-ṭa bi noi arātutho-re
    old become-CV-V2:come-PERF-INF sun-ART also river bathing,place-LOC
    semiti toke-ith-il-a  ḍhāhōbikol he-i.
    like.that wait-PERF-PST-3s uneasily be-CV

‘As the sun, who had become old (i.e. it was evening), had in that way uneasily waited at the river place.’

The overwhelming majority of occurrences of the articles are with singular and specific, often definite, nouns. Let us consider the two features in turn.

(i) Singular meaning. The articles very often imply singular meaning, e.g. kukuru ‘a dog, the dog, (the) dogs’, kukuru-ṭi ‘the dog’; by contrast, ‘the dogs’ is often rendered as kukuru-mane. However, there are two exceptions:

First, when the suffix -kō is attached to the noun, an inanimate noun can have plural meaning:

(15) se noria-ṭi-kō haṭo-ku ne-b-ō.
    he coconut-ART-all market-DAT take-FUT-3s

‘He will take all the coconuts to the market.’

Secondly, the plural suffixes -mane/-mano can be added to the article, e.g. lokō-ṭi-mane ‘the people’, which indicates that the speaker looks down on the referents. Consider (16) with rumalo-ṭi-mano ‘the handkerchiefs’, where the combination of the article and the plural suffix underlines the affecting character of the situation.

(Two friends meet after a long time. They visit their old school.)

---

2 Misra (1975, p. 34f) derives the two elements -ṭa and -ṭi from OIA -kṛtva + -ka / -kṛtva + -ika. The example is with the numeral pance ‘five’. Then she states: “This -ṭa is extended to other forms also.” So the use with numerals would have been primary.

Bengali has the same two elements -ṭa and -ṭi as Oriya. Chatterji (1926, p. 685f) derives them from OIA vṛtta, vṛttika (from the root vṛt ‘turn’) which developed into MIA *vṛṭṭa, vṛṭṭia: “The employ of these is already well-established in the Early Modern Bengali period.”
3.1.3. Number

(16) semane bos-ith-il-e skul-re bohu puruña mați upor-e
they sit-PERF-PST-3p s.-LOC very old soil top-LOC
rumalo-ți-mano biche-i.
handkerchief-ART-PL spread-CV

‘They were sitting, having spread their handkerchiefs on the very old soil in the school.’ (Short story)

(ii) When a noun occurs with an article, it is specific, i.e. the speaker refers to a particular entity which is familiar to him. By definiteness, we understand the following property: the speaker assumes that the hearer can identify the referent of that noun. Now, there are three arguments which show that the affixes -ṭa / -ṭi do not mark definiteness themselves.

- The articles are used in combination with the indefinite suffix -e, e.g. pila-ṭi-e ‘a child’ (see below 3.1.3.2). However, these nouns are always specific.

- The articles can occur with indefinite pronouns, such as je kounosi ‘any’:

(17) cnyo pokhyo-re k, j, ḍ, ḍh, ... modhyo-ru je kounosi-ṭi jukto
other side-LOC middle-ABL any any-ART joined
byonjono-re dwitiyɔ ba trutiyɔ ho-ith-ile taa-ro
consonant-LOC second or third become-PERF-CONDCV it-GEN
sonkhipto rupɔ hĩ byɔbohruto ḥu-e.
abridged form EMPH used be-3s:HAB

‘On the other hand, if any of k, j, ḍ, ḍh, ... stands as second or third in a conjunct consonant, it is its short form that is used.’ (Oriya school grammar)

- In many clearly definite contexts no articles are used. (18) is the answer to the question “Which person on this photo is the daughter?”:

(The speaker is pointing at the photo.)

(18) ie ho-uch-i jhiɔ.
this be-PROG-3s girl

‘This is the daughter.’

Then what is the function of the articles? We shall advance the hypothesis that the suffixes -ṭa / -ṭi always have the following two functions:

(i) They express the speaker’s attitude towards the referent denoted by the noun.

(ii) They ascribe communicative relevance for the discourse (or specificity) to the noun to which they are attached.
Before treating these two functions in detail, a remark on syntax is in order. There is one context where the articles are syntactically necessary, i.e. with demonstrative / interrogative / relative pronouns in case of non-attributive use. They normally take an article, either -ta or -ti: eiṭi, seiṭi, kouṭi, jēūṭi.

(Two pens are lying on the table.)

(19) tomo-ku kou-ṭa / kou-ṭi / *kou bhōlō lag-e? ei-ṭa / you(POL)-DAT which-ART which-ART which good feel-3s:HAB this-ART ei-ṭi / *ei / *ehi / *eha ni-ō.
this-ART this this this take-2p:IMP

‘Which one do you like? Take this one.’

**Evaluative function**  (i) The two articles have evaluative function.\(^3\) -ta is often used when a negative connotation is to be conveyed (disapproval, disrespect or disgust; see (20) and (21) below, where the behaviour of the child is judged bad).

(20) ag-e pila-ṭa taa bapa-nku jōbab de-u-no-th-il-a.
before-LOC child-ART his father-OBL:DAT answer give-IPFV-NEG-AUX-PST-3s
‘The boy didn’t use to answer his father back.’

(21) pila-ṭa bōhut kagojō nostō kōr-uch-i.
child-ART much paper waste do-PROG-3s
‘The child is wasting much paper.’

-ṭi can appear in case of a positive nuance, including properties such as cuteness, affection, weakness, and compassion. In the following examples the child is described as sweet (22) or poor (23), both properties that evoke positive feelings towards the child, hence the use of -ti.

(22) pila-ṭi-ro kōṇṭha-swoṛc modhurō subh-uch-i.
child-ART-GEN throat-voice sweet sound-PROG-3s
‘The child’s voice sounds sweet.’

(23) pila-ṭi dui bōrṣo tāl-e taa maa-ku hōr-a-il-a.
child-ART two year ago-LOC his mother-DAT be.lost-CAUS-PST-3s
‘The child lost his mother two years ago.’

This contrast is nicely illustrated in a text about king Hariścandra. Hariścandra’s wife had become a servant of a brahman. He allowed her to have her son with her, but he did not appreciate it at all. When the son died, the woman asked the brahman for money for the crematory. He replied as follows (note that he uses -ta to refer to the corpse):

\(^3\)Chatterji (1926, p. 685f) describes the Bengali affix -ta as an originally masculine form, which conveys the idea of “biggishness or crudeness” and -ti as feminine counterpart, which implies “smallness or daintiness”.
(24) sigho ja-i **murdaro-ṭa-ku** noi-re
quickly go-CV corpse-ART-DAT river-LOC
phopar-i-de-i-a.
throw-CV-V2:give-CV-V2:come:2s:IMP
‘Go quickly and throw the corpse into the river.’

The woman does not follow this order, and in the following the corpse is mentioned from a neutral or mournful perspective:

(25) au adhiko kal biḥombo na-kor-i se Rohitaswa-ṛa **sobī-ṭi-ku**
more more time slowness NEG-do-CV she R.-GEN corpse-ART-DAT
kol re dhori kandi mōsani ar-e cal-il-e.
lap-LOC take-CV weep-CV RDP crematory side-LOC go-PST-3p(HON)
‘Without losing more time, she took Rohitāśva’s corpse in her lap and went weeping to the crematory.’

The -ṭa / -ṭi contrast is not limited to human referents. Compare with the following two examples where *rastaṭa* and *rastaṭi* refer to inanimate entities (-ṭa is used for the bad road, -ṭi for the good road).

(26) **rastaṭa** bholo nuh-e. au tikie aste gaśi col-a-ṛ.
road-ART good be:NEG-3s more a little slowly car run-CAUS-2p:IMP
‘The road is not good. Please drive a little more slowly.’

(27) sei-ṭi mōdhya goṭi-e bholo rasta, kintu e **rastaṭi** se rasta
that-ART also CL-INDEF good road but this road-ART that road
ōpekhyā ahuri bholo.
more than good
‘That is a good road too, but this road is better than that.’

In some contexts the absence of the article implies formality, for example:

(28) apōṇa-ṅkā-ṛa **jhīc-Ø** kacca kār-uch-i?
you(HON)-OBL-GEN daughter what do-PROG-3s
‘What is your daughter doing?’ (The speaker does not know anything about the girl.)

(ii) Honorific use excludes occurrence of -ṭa / -ṭi. Consider (29), where -ṭi cannot be inserted since *lekhaṭa* ‘writer’ has honorific status.

(In a book-store. The speaker discovers a book he knows.)

(29) mū e bōhi biṣay-ṛa jaṇ-e; mū **lekhaṭa**(*-ṭi*)-nku
I this book matter-LOC know-1s:HAB I writer(-ART)-OBL:DAT
dekh-ich-i.
see-PERF-1s
‘I know this book; I have seen the author.’
However, a noun which normally has honorific status can also occur in non-honorific contexts with articles. Consider the use of daktor ‘doctor’ in (30), in which that word has honorific connotation (without article, but marked by -babu for honorificity) as against its use in (31), where it has derogatory (with the article -ṭa), and in (32), in which it has a positive connotation (with the article -ṭi).

(Two children are talking about the doctor.)

(30) daktor-babu ajikali michi koh-uch-onti.
    d.-HON  today lie  say-PROG-3p(HON)
    ‘The doctor is telling a lie today.’

(31) daktor-ṭa bohut poisa nɔ-uch-i.
    d.-ART  much money take-PROG-3s
    ‘The doctor takes much money.’

(32) daktor-ṭi bohut kamo kɔr-uch-i.
    d.-ART  much work do-PROG-3s
    ‘The (poor) doctor is working hard.’

(iii) In addition, the article -ṭa can be used with -iba-forms (see 4.3.3) and with personal pronouns (see 3.3.1). When it is attached to an iba-form it can express some positive feelings, such as pride.

(33) maa-ro bholo pa-iba-ṭa ɔti sadhāro ɔ  k̃ othā.
    mother-GEN good find-INF-ART very natural  matter
    ‘A mother’s sympathy is a very natural thing.’

Attached to the pronouns mū ‘I’ or tu ‘you’ it is used in a pejorative sense.4

(34) tu-ṭa boka-ṭa-e!
    you(FAM)-ART fool-ART-INDEF
    ‘You are a fool!’

(35) mū-ṭa kɔu bholo!
    I-ART  any good
    ‘How good am I!’

**Discourse relevance** The two articles mark a noun for discourse relevance. By this term we mean that the speaker draws the hearer’s attention to a particular referent. This will be illustrated by the analysis of two text specimens.

The first is a folk tale about a cow. (36) gives the story in English, within parentheses the Oriya expressions for the two nouns which occur with articles, that is ‘cow’ and ‘Shiva emblem’ (all other nouns are not marked with the article).

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4 For more details on the use of -ṭa see Sahoo 1996.
(36) Folk tale of the holy cow

a. There was once a very honest milkman in the village of Panka-
labâri.

b. He lived doing his work, was neither envious of others because of
what they had nor did he do any harm to anybody.

c. He had a cow (gai-ṭie).

d. That was all he had.

e. The cow (gai-ṭi) was very meek.

f. She (Ø) never entered somebody else’s ground nor did she (Ø) eat
somebody else’s eaves.

g. She (Ø) went to the forest to graze and came home in the evening.

h. One day something happened.

i. The cow (gai-ṭi) was a milk-cow.

j. Like every day, the cow (gai) returned from grazing in the forest.

k. The milkman took a little bucket and went to milk.

l. But what was that?

m. Not one drop of milk!

n. The milkman thought, “Someone must have seen the cow (gai)
and have milked her (Ø).”

o. He got very angry.

p. Whom could he tell it?

q. He remained quiet at home.

r. The next day, the cow (gai) went again to graze.

s. In the evening, she (Ø) returned, but it was the same: no milk
came out of the cow’s (gai-ro cow-GEN) udder.

t. The milkman sat down and put his hands on his head.

u. He was a poor man — who would listen to his complain?

v. Every day it happened like this.

w. The milkman did not get any milk at all.

x. In his disappointment, he wondered whether a secret was hidden
behind this event.

y. He thought, “Perhaps the cow (gai) eats leaves of an unknown tree,
therefore the milk dries; or some scoundrel steals it regularly.”
z. What could he do to clear up the mystery? He followed the cow (gai) well hidden, so that neither the cow (gai) nor anybody else would notice it.

aa. The cow (gai-ti) went straight ahead.

ab. When she (O) saw soft fresh grass, she (O) remained there and ate full of joy.

ac. After a while the cow (gai-ti) stopped eating and went inside the forest.

ad. The milkman went behind.

ae. Without paying attention to trees and shrubs, the cow (gai) went straight ahead forwards.

af. Where was the cow (gai-ta) going like a ghost?

ag. The milkman got afraid.

ah. After some distance the cow (gai-ti) suddenly stopped at a place.

ai. The milkman kept hiding and saw everything.

aj. He saw that all the milk was flowing from the cow's (gai-ro) udder and dropped down.

ak. What a miracle!

al. The milkman could no longer bear it and ran there.

am. He saw that all the milk did not fall on the ground, but rather on an emblem of Shiva (goṭi Sibha-lingo).

an. The cow (gai) was standing striking the hoofs on the Shiva emblem (sehi Sibha-lingo) and by the hoof blows the emblem (lingo-ṭi) was split up in three parts.

ao. The milkman was very astonished.

ap. Without saying anything to the cow (gai-ku) he returned to the village and informed the king, the scholars and the people.

aq. When the king heard that, he expressed his sorrow because he had not arranged any religious service for Shiva before.

ar. Now the king immediately had built a temple and did everything what was necessary to the religious service.

as. That god's name was Subarṇṇēśvara.

at. By Subarṇṇēśvara's favor, the cows (gai-goru) of the milkman multiplied from day to day.

au. He lived in great joy.
As stated above it is claimed that the articles mark discourse relevance. Let us go through the text to see how this hypothesis applies.

- The cow is introduced in sentence (c): *gaîtie* 'a cow' is marked by the article -ši and the indefinite marker -e (for this use, see 3.1.3.2). In (e) the reference is repeated by *gaišti*: the speaker signals by using the article that the cow is in the centre of his interest. In the following sentences the cow is not mentioned explicitly since the discourse relevance, once established, continues unless stated otherwise.

- After a general remark in (h) sentence (i) renews the fact that the cow is the centre of interest. (j) simply continues the action with main attention still on the cow; therefore there is no article.

- Sentence (n) reflects the milkman’s thoughts. He is worried about the missing milk, not about the cow, which is the reason for the absence of the article. This interest in the milk and not in the cow is dominant in the following sentences up to (y). In (z) we still have no article since it is the mystery that is relevant here.

- In (aa), however, the narrator draws attention again to the cow itself marking *gaîtì* with an article.\(^5\) The cow remains in the centre of interest, nevertheless it is again marked in (ac). By this marking the speaker might indicate that what follows is a new scene with the cow as main protagonist.

- In (ae) one would expect an article since the cow is again in the centre of attention whereas the sentence before was about the milkman. The absence of the article can be explained by the fact that the rush through the bush and the shrubs is what is relevant for the story.

- (af) is the milkman’s exclamation about the cow. It should be noted that the article -ša is used instead of -ši. The cow is not the dear animal as before (marked by -ši) but it begins to frighten the milkman. However, we find *gaîtì* with -ši in (ah). The reason could be that it is the narrator's perspective in (ah), but the milkman’s in (af).

- The narrator draws the hearer’s attention to the cow again. From now on *gai* is no longer marked for the article since other entities are more important: first the milk, then the Shiva emblem. That’s why we have the article in the second occurrence of *lingö*ši in (an), which indicates discourse relevance.

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\(^5\)This is called “activation” by Lambrecht (1994). In another story “The clever hare”, the hare is the main character. Since its introduction into the story, it participates throughout the whole discourse, with one exception, i.e. in the end the author shifts the perspective away from the hare and describes hunters being on their watch. When he draws attention to the hare again, he uses the article, which is the only occurrence of -ši in the whole story.
By uttering sehi Sibo-lingo in (an) the narrator establishes the definite status of the emblem. Note that this is done by the demonstrative and not by the article.

Summarising we can state:

- that a noun is marked for discourse relevance by the article when it is relevant for the first time and when the attention was focused to some other referent before.
- that, if a referent is marked by the article although the referent is already the centre of interest, the article marks a new scene and renews the call for attention to the referent.

Let us turn to a second text, a stage play. The hypothesis is again that the article signals the speaker's particular interest. We will look at two objects that occur in the text, which are sometimes marked with the article.

(i) The bandage. In the play there is an old man whose head has been injured in an accident. In the first act he therefore wears a bandage. When it is mentioned the first time, byaⁿdej 'bandage' appears without article:

(Doctor about the patient.)

(37) **byaⁿdej** khol-a-nɔ-j-iba jake kichi koh-i he-u-n-i...  
     b. open-PASS-NEG-go-INF until anything say-CV be-PROG-NEG-3s  
     'As long as the bandage is not opened, nothing can be said ...'

The speaker explains in (37) why he cannot say anything about the patient's state. Example (38) is a stage direction.

(38) **buriha** pos-i-as-il-e — akhi-re **byaⁿdej** nah-i.  
     old.man enter-CV-V2:come-PST-3p(HON) eye-LOC b. be:NEG-3s  
     'The old man entered — there is no bandage on the eyes.'

In both examples the speaker is not particularly concerned about the bandage. He describes facts from a neutral perspective.

On the other hand, the article appears when the old man asks the doctor to remove the bandage:

(39) **poṭi-ta** khol-i-di-ɔ. mo-te ouni swasa lag-uch-i,  
     bandage-ART open-CV-V2:give-2p:IMP I-DAT shortness.of.breath feel-PROG-3s  
     **poṭi-ta** khol-i-di-ɔ.  
     bandage-ART open-CV-V2:give-2p:IMP  
     'Open the bandage, I cannot breathe, open the bandage.'

The difference with the two examples above lies in the speaker's interest: it is fully focused on the bandage since the old man hates the bandage and is very
concerned about it being removed. This interest is seen in all the examples where the word for ‘bandage’ carries the article.

\[(40)\quad \text{dekh-il-u ... ḏaktor akhi-ra pɔti-ça khol-iba-ku sahsɔ ko-l-a see-PST-2s d. eye-GEN bandage-ART open-INF-DAT courage do-PST-3s nahì. NEG 'Look ... the doctor did not have the courage to open the eye-bandage.'}\]

For a closer look consider the following passage. First, in (41a), Šobhā discovers that the old man is no longer wearing his bandage. The centre of her interest is pɔti-ça, therefore with article. In his answer, the old man first emphasises on his wish to see Tūlṭu, that’s why byañdej has no article (41b). Then he admits that the removal of this bandage embodies a risk, so he once again focuses attention on to the bandage by using the article in pɔti-ça (41c).

\[(41)\quad \text{a. A: ë, akhi-ra pɔti-ça? B: khol-i-de-l-i Sobha! INTERJ eye-GEN bandage-ART open-CV-V2:give-PST-1s S. 'Eh, and the bandage for the eyes? — I took it away, Šobhā!' b. sara khora bêl-ço andolono por-e Tūlṭu-ku dekh-iba-ro all noon time-GEN development after-LOC T.-DAT see-INF-GEN iccha ete próbɔ bob-h-l-a je byañdej khol-i-de-ba wish so.much heavy be-PST-3s that b. open-CV-V2:give-INF chora upayɔ nɔ-th-il-a. besides means NEG-be-PST-3s 'After the course of the whole noon, the wish to see Tūlṭu was so heavy that there was no other means than opening the bandage.' c. goṭa-e “risk” — pɔti-ça khol-i-de-ba por-e CL-INDEF r. bandage-ART open-CV-V2:give-INF after-LOC Tūlṭu-ku dekh-iba pā mû sidha eithi-ku as-ich-i ... T.-DAT see-INF for I straight here-DAT come-PERF-1s 'There is a risk — after opening the bandage I have come here straightaway to see Tūlṭu ...'}\]

(ii) Another noun occurring with article in this text is caa ‘tea’. In most of the cases, however, it occurs without an article. Consider some examples:

\[(42)\quad \text{a. Sobha, caa he-l-a? S. tea be-PST-3s 'Śobhā, is there some tea?'}\]

\[\text{The examples might suggest that only pɔti takes an article; however, byañdej-ça occurs in the text as well.}\]
b. tume caa kha-i-na oja?
you(POL) tea eat-PERF-NEG grandfather
‘Have you not had tea, grandfather?’

c. basona jan-i-par-uch-i, caa as-i-gol-a bodhe ...
smell know-CV-can-PROG-3s tea come-CV-V2:go:PST-3s apparently
‘I know the smell, apparently the tea is here (lit. came) …’

d. khoboro potha-ith-il-i mu eithi as-i caa kha-ib-i.
message send-PERF-PST-1s I here come-CV tea eat-FUT-1s
‘I had sent a message that I’ll come here and drink tea.’

e. caa poke-i sut khorap kor-i-de-b-i.
tea throw-CV s. bad make-CV-V2:give-FUT-1s
‘(I warn you) I’ll spoil (your) suit with the tea.’

Common to all of them is that the speaker is concerned about drinking tea (or using the tea as weapon) rather than about the tea itself. This is different in (43):

\[(43) \text{apono-ngo caa-ta eithi-ki?} \]
\[\text{you(HON)-OBL tea-ART here-DAT} \]
‘(Do you want me to bring) your tea here?’

The speaker used to bring the tea to the old man’s bed, but today the old man is walking into the living room, where the speaker is. So she asks him (43), the tea being the focus of the question. The second case of caa + article is (44).

\[(44) \text{mu caa-ta apo ne-i-as-e.} \]
\[\text{I tea-ART first take-CV-come-1s:IMP} \]
‘Let me first bring the tea.’

Preceding (44) is a joke-like quarrel between Šobhā’s husband and a friend about where to drink the tea. Šobhā cuts the discussion short and utters (44), signaling that she will bring the tea they are arguing about.

The factor common to all the occurrences of the article is discourse relevance. The speaker wants to draw the hearer’s attention to the referent, and signals that the referent is especially important for the discourse. In that respect, the article has demonstrative function (cf. Laury 1997 for Finnish). Unlike the demonstrative pronouns e, se, however, it never signals contrast.

### 3.1.3.2 Indefinite marker -e

The indefinite marker -e is attached directly only to a restricted set of nouns, which are characterised by the fact that they make nouns that are measurable (in case of collectives and measure nouns) and countable (in case of classifiers).
(i) Collectives, e.g. dol-e ‘a group’ in (45); other members: hoło ‘pair’, polo ‘flock, herd’.

(45) rasta pakho-re dol-e pila thia ho-ith-il-e.
road side-LOC group-INDEF child standing be-PERF-PST-3p
‘A group of children was standing near the street.’

(ii) Measure nouns, e.g. ghonta-e ‘an hour’ in (46);
gunda ‘handful’, mutha ‘handful (of rice)’, pentha ‘bunch (of flowers)’,
thak ‘shelf’, thali ‘plate’;
- weight, e.g. keji, kilo ‘kilo’;
- distance, e.g. kilomitar ‘kilometer’, mail ‘mile’, koso ‘ca. two miles’, hato ‘hand’s breadth’;
- time, e.g. dino ‘day’, borsa ‘year’, maso ‘month’, thova ‘time’;
- money, e.g. tonka ‘rupee’, paise ‘paisa’.

(46) ame proti dino bogica-re ghonta-e kamac kor-u.
we every day garden-LOC hour-INDEF work do-lpe:HAB
‘We work in the garden for an hour every day.’

Note that reduplicated measure nouns denote plurality: bosta bosta caulo ‘lots of sacks of rice’.

(iii) Classifiers: e.g. jn-e ‘a person’, gota-e or goti-e ‘a, something’, occurring
in nominal (47, 48) and attributive use (49) (for the use of classifiers see 3.4.3).

(A group of children was waiting for the bus.)

(47) bost as-ila bel-e pila-mano-nko modhyc-ru jn-e hato
bus come-INF:PST time-LOC child-PL-OBL middle-ABL CL-INDEF hand
see-CAUS-PST-3s
‘When the bus came, one of the children showed his hand.’

(48) se gati-ru kono gota-e bahar-il-a.
that hole-ABL what CL-INDEF come.out-PST-3s
‘Something came out of that hole.’

(49) goti-e gaa-re tini bhai th-il-e.
CL-INDEF village-LOC three brother be-PST-3p
‘In a village there were three brothers.’

(iv) There is another small group of nouns, which can take the suffix -e. On
the one hand it includes items such as oli ‘thatch’, tilo ‘oilseed’ or podo ‘word’,
which often occur in negated sentences to reinforce the negation.
(50) sohe bhālo kamo kə-ə, ti-l-e hele prə̃sənsa nah-i.
    hundred good work do-2p:HAB oilseed-INDEF but praise be:NEG-3s
    ‘You do hundred good deeds, but you do not get a bit of praise.’

(51) semane kie koŋo koh-uth-il-e mū pod-e suddha
    they who what say-IPFV-PST-3p I word-INDEF even
    bujh-i-par-il-i nahi.
    understand-CV-can-PST-1s NEG
    ‘I did not understand even a word of what they were saying.’

On the other hand there are expressions such as:

(52) paharə ‘blow’ pahar-e deba ‘give a blow’
    pano ‘lesson’ pano cakheiba ‘teach a lesson’
    ghera ‘tour’ ghera-e buliba ‘go on a tour’

(v) The indefinite e occurs with the plural suffixes guɾa / guɾi: pila-guɾa-e / pila-guɾi-e ‘children’ (see 3.1.3.4)

(vi) The numeral soho can take the suffix -e: soh-e ‘a hundred’ vs. dui soho ‘two hundred’ (see 3.4.1.1).

(vii) The suffix -e can also be added to the articles -tə or -ti, e.g. bos-ti-e ‘a bus’.

In all these cases, except for the numerals, the suffix -e makes the referent indefinite; in these the speaker expresses the assumption that the addressee cannot identify the referent.

The indefinite marker -e can occur with a case suffix as well, the case marker is attached to the suffix -e, e.g. moŋisotie-ku ‘a man’ or okhaṭie-re ‘in a sackcloth’. In contrast to the alternative construction with a preceding classifier (goṭie okhare) the variant with suffixed classifier is slightly more informal.

(53) semane soho-kə oʊkhaṭi-re bhortti kə-l-e.
    they corpse-DAT sackcloth-INDEF-LOC full do-PST-3p
    ‘They wrapped the corpse in a sackcloth.’

3.1.3.3 ekə / kə ‘one’

The numeral ekə ‘one’ can be used as an indefinite marker mainly before inanimate nouns.

(54) pila-ti rəkhyə pəiba pāi ekə upaya pənc-il-a.
    child-ART salvation find-INF for one means think-PST-3s
    ‘The child thought about a way to get free.’

ekə and eka (elsewhere ‘alone’) signal that two items are identical, as in ekəsɔnɛ ‘at the same time’ or in the following examples:
3.1.3. Number

(55) tume mo-ṭhū bɔrɔ he-b-ɔ? — na, prayɔ eko bɔyɔsɔ.
you(POL) I-ABL old be-FUT-2p no almost one age
‘Will you be older than I? — No, (we have) almost the same age.’

(56) se modhyɔ sei eka kɔtha kɔh-il-e.
he also that one matter say-PST-3p(HON)
‘He also said the same thing.’

The bound morpheme -kɔ is a short form of the free morpheme eko. The suffix -kɔ occurs with certain measure nouns and classifiers, e.g. bɔrsa-kɔ ‘one year’, masɔ-kɔ ‘one month’ and jɔnɔ-kɔ ‘one’. Note that it is different from the all-inclusive -kɔ, see 3.1.3.5.

(57) Syaṁa bɔrsa-kɔ tɔl-e cakiri hɔr-a-il-a.
S. year-one ago-LOC job be.lost-CAUS-PST-3s
‘Syāma lost his job a year ago.’

(58) jɔjɔyɔ lokɔ-ku kamɔ de-le jɔnɔ-kɔ jaga-re tini-jɔnɔ loŋa
incapable person-DAT work give-CONDĆV CL-one place-LOC three-CL need
hu-ɔnti.
be-3p:HAB
‘If you give work to an incapable person, three persons are necessary instead of one.’

Compare with the expression “Classifier-kɔ + pore + Classifier-e”, as in goṭi-kɔ pore goṭi-e ‘one after the other’.

The suffix -kɔ and the locative case marker -e can be combined to the short form -ke, e.g. singo-k-е ‘with one horn’, thɔrɔ-k-е ‘at one time’, akhį pichuļa-k-е ‘in the twinkling of an eye’.

(59) ta-nkɔ pori sadhu lokɔ hojark-e / sɔhe-k-e goṭi-e.
hel-OBL like righteous person thousand-one-LOC hundred-one-LOC CL-INDEF
‘One in a thousand / hundred is as righteous as he.’

The fact of being only one item can be emphasised by placing eka ‘alone’ in front, e.g. eka rati-k-e ‘in one and the same night’, eka thɔrɔ-k-e ‘at the very same time’, eka capuŋa-k-e ‘with one blow’.

(60) eka capuŋa-k-e tɔmɔ dui-jɔnɔ-nku smɔsɔnɔ-ku
one slap-one-LOC you(POL):OBL two-CL-OBL:DAT cemetery-DAT
poṭhe-i-de-b-i!
send-CV-V2:give-FUT-1s
‘I shall send both of you to the cemetery with a single blow.’
### 3.1.3.4 Plural suffixes

Morphemes with plural meaning

(i) Set I -mane (obl -mano) e.g. balõko-mane ‘the children’
(ii) Set II -gura-kə -gura -gura-e coro-gurako ‘the thieves’
    -guri-kə -guri -guri-e ambo-guriko ‘the mangoes’
(iii) -e balok-e ‘the children’
(iv) -nkə -nku (see case suffixes, 3.1.4)

Note that abstract nouns do not take plural markers, e.g. *prema-guriko ‘loves’, whereas mass nouns can take a plural marker, e.g. *pani-guriko ‘waters’.

In case of coordinated nouns plural marking is added only to the last member.

(61) e bos-re puruso o stri-mano-nko-ro bos-iba jaga och-i.  
this b.-LOC man and woman-PL-obl-gen sit-INF place be-3s  
‘In this bus there are seats for gentlemen and (seats) for ladies.’

All the suffixes listed above are more or less interchangeable with some semantic differentiation, as (62) illustrates:

(62) ame jetebele Këñjhoro ja-uth-il-u, rasta koɾ-ɾe pilə /  
we when K. go-IPFV-PST-1p road side-LOC child  
pilə-mane / pilə-gura(kə) / pilə-guri(kə) / pilə-gurie / pil-e  
child-PL child-PL child-PL child-PL child-PL  
chira ho-ith-il-e.  
standing be-PERF-PST-3p  
‘When we went to Keonjhar, children were standing on the roadside.’

(i) Set I is normally limited to animate nouns (*lokomo-ne ‘people’, *hatimane ‘elephants’) and personal pronouns (*tomemen ‘you (pl.)’, *semen ‘they’). It has a slightly formal character: in (62), pilamane is more formal than pila alone. It is preferred in written style. The suffix variant -mano can be used with inanimate nouns as well in some cases as illustrated in (63); this use belongs to a more literary style.

(63) bibhinno sanskritiko karjyɔkro-mano prɔdɔrsito ho-ith-il-ə.  
various cultural programme-PL presented be-PERF-PST-3s  
‘Various cultural programmes were presented.’ (Newspaper)

(ii) Set II is used mainly with inanimate nouns. If human nouns are used with Set II, the reference is less respectful.

(64) coro-gurako kali dhɔr-a-pɔr-i-gol-e.  
thief-PL:PEJ yesterday catch-PASS-fall-CV-V2:go:PST-3p  
‘The thieves were caught yesterday.’
In addition, Set II suffixes give some indications about the speaker’s attitude; the distinction between the suffixes containing a vs. those containing i is parallel to that of the two articles -ta and -ti (see 3.1.3.1). Suffixes with -a can express the speaker’s indifference, disapproval or disgust towards the referent; consider (65), where laughing at a fat woman is judged to be bad.

(65) pila-gurako moṭ-i stri-loko-ṭa-ku dekh-i hōs-il-e.
child-PL:PEJ fat-F woman-person-ART-DAT see-CV laugh-PST-3p
‘The children laughed at the fat woman.’

Suffixes with -i can express the speaker’s affection, e.g.

(66) e gochar-guriko-re sobubele bhola phulo phuṭ-e.
these tree-PL-LOC always good fruit blossom-3s:HAB
‘These trees always yield good fruit.’

The endings -ko vs. -e of guriko / gurie correlates more or less with definiteness of the noun phrase. Consider pothi-gurie with indefinite meaning in (67):^7

(About true wisdom.)

(67) kebolo pothi-gurie poṛh-i mukhostho ko-le gyanc labhο only book-PL read-CV memorise do-COND-CV knowledge use
hu-c nahī.
be-3s:HAB NEG
‘The knowledge is of no use if you only read and memorise books.’

When pothi-guriko is used, the sentence is about a particular set of books (definite use). (For more details on the suffixes -e and -ko see 3.1.4.2 and 3.1.3.5.a respectively.)

Note that only animate plural subjects trigger verbal agreement. Inanimate subjects, even if explicitly marked for plural by a suffix, do not trigger any agreement on the verb. In (68) phitagurako ‘laces’ is in the plural; but the verb phitiṇjauchi shows the inflection for third person singular.

(68) mo jota-ro phita-gurako phit-i-ja-uch-i.
my shoe GEN lace-PL get.loose-CV-V2:go-PROG-3s
‘My shoe laces are coming undone.’

(iii) The plural suffix -e is restricted to some human nouns and among animals mainly to hati ‘elephant’. It is attached to the noun, often replacing the final vowel. It does not seem to be productive anymore.^8 Some examples:

^7gurie can occur as preposed indefinite quantifier with the meaning ‘many’ (see 3.2.6.3).

^8In addition there are some idiomatic expressions, such as akhre akhi-e luḥo ‘eyes full of tears’ or dukh-e sukh-e cēla ‘go through the sorrows and joys of life’ (-e could be locative as well (see 3.1.4.6).
3.1. Nouns

(69) lok-e 'people' dhoba-e 'washermen'
būra-e 'old men' neta-e 'leaders'
būṛhi-e 'old women' patḥok-e 'readers'
bhai-e 'brothers' hati-e 'elephant'
bhoṇi-e 'sisters'
pil-e/pila-e 'children'
nari-e 'women' *pu-e 'boys'
pandit-e 'Pandits' *raj-e 'kings'
cakor-e 'servants' *kukur-e 'dogs'
Ori-ā-e 'Oriya (pl.)' *pimpuṛi-e 'ants'

The suffix -e in pile in example (62) above indicates familiarity and love towards the children. In other contexts it is considered to be less formal than -māne.

(70) e sōrkacō bodol-ile lok-e santi-re ruh-ɔnt-e.
this government change-CONDCV people-PL peace-LOC live-COND-3p
'People would live in peace if this government changed.'

(71) Sahu-nkac rhac-rclo lok-e bōro koṭha-re ruh-ɔnti.
S.-OBL house-GEN people-PL big building-LOC live-3p:HAB
semānco-nkac-rc bohot ṭonka-poisa th-ib-ɔ.
they-OBL-GEN much money-money be-FUT-3s
'The Sāhu family live in a large building. They must have a lot of money.'

The plural suffix -e can be attached to nouns denoting animals as well (cf. hatie 'elephants' mentioned above), but this use is not common; example (72) was judged to be "not very incorrect" by our informant:

(72) lokā-māne as-ile posu-e luc-i-ja-nti.
people-PL come-CONDCV animal-PL hide-CV-V2:go-3p:HAB
'The animals (in a forest) hide when human beings come.'

Note that a suffix -e occurs with other types of nominals as well, such as personal or indefinite pronouns; this is again limited to the nominative case (see 3.1.4.2).

The suffix -e can also serve to mark the person addressed by the speaker (vocative function), e.g. priy-e '(my) darling'. The suffix is used in this vocative function for plural number as well.

(The teacher is speaking to his students.)

(73) pil-e, tame-māne to Oria ḍhältac sobu sikh-il-ɔ-nti.
child-VOC you(POL)-PL PART O. letter all learn-PST-2p-MIR
'Boys, you have now learnt all the letters of the Oriya alphabet.'
(74) mor-iba dino bi buṛhi ṭhakur-o-nku hat-o jor-i kōh-uth-il-a —
    die-INF day also old.woman god-OBL:DAT hand fold-CV say-IPFV-PST-3s
    “ṭhakur-e, mo nati pāi bohu-ṭie de-i-par-il-ō-ni?”
    god-VOC my grandson for bride-INDEF give-CV-can-PST-2p-NEG
    ‘Even on the day of her death, the old woman was saying to God with
    folded hands, “God, couldn’t you give a bride for my grandson?”’

(iv) With nouns in non-honorific use, the suffix -nkɔ OBL and -nkɔ OBL:DAT
    (see 3.1.4) imply plural meaning, and the plural marker can be omitted
    in combination with these suffixes:

    (75) gruhiṇi cakore(-mano)-nkɔ dwara oṭithi(-mano)-nkɔ pāi caa
        housewife servant-PL-OBL by guest-PL-OBL for tea
        oṅ-e-il-e.
        bring-CAUS-PST-3p(HON)
        ‘The housewife made the servants bring tea for the guests.’

(v) Nouns can have plural meaning without a plural marker, see pila in (62)
    above. Consider (76) from a text, where Kiraṇa speaks to her two brothers
    in (76b), as can be seen from the preceding sentence (76a).

    (76) a. raja cal-i-gola pōr-e Aruṇa o Bṛuṇa as-i
        king go-CV-V2:go:INF:PST after-LOC A. and B. come-CV
        ghor-e pohonc-il-e.
        house-LOC arrive-PST-3p
        ‘After the king had gone away, Aruṇa and Baruṇa came home.’
    b. Kiraṇa kōh-il-a, “bhai, raja bhari bholo mōnisa.”
        K. say-PST-3s brother king very good man
        ‘After the king had gone away, Aruṇa and Baruṇa came home.
        Kiraṇa said, “Brothers, the king is a very good man.”’ (Story)

Moreover, if a noun is already determined by an element with plural meaning,
it cannot take a plural suffix (-jako ‘all’, however, is allowed).

    (77) duiṭi pilã (*-mane, *-guṭiko) ‘two children’
        oṇekɔ kua (*-mane) ‘many crows’
        dōlo pilã (*-mane) ‘a group of children’
        sōbu pilã (*-mane) ‘all children’

    (78) se rabo sun-i kete kuar-u oṇekɔ kua as-i seṭha-re jōna
        that sound hear-CV some where-ABL many crow come-CV there-LOC gather
        ho-i-gol-e. (... ) prōṭhum o kua-ro kaka sōbdo-re oṇya
        crow-V2:go:PST-3p first crow-GEN IDEO sound-LOC other
        kua-mane as-i jōna he-l-e.
        crow-PL come-CV gather be-PST-3p
'Hearing that sound, many crows came from several places and gathered there. (...) At the croaking of the first crow the other crows came and gathered.' (Oriya school grammar)

When a plural noun is definite, a determiner is often added, either a demonstrative or a plural marker. In (79) the speaker saw some apples in the kitchen, went out, and when he came back, they weren't there anymore.

(79) **seu-jako** / **seu** / **seu-guriko** / *seu* kie ne-i-ja-ich-i?
    apple-all those apple apple-PL apple who take-CV-V2:go-PERF-3s
    'Who has taken the apples?'

Indefinite plural nouns can be either unmarked or marked by the suffixes *-gurae / -gurie*, containing the indefinite suffix *-e*. In (80) the speaker, who was in the forest, has been asked what he has seen there.

(80) **jɔŋɔ]-re mū pokhi-gurae / *pokhi-gura dekh-il-i.** (cf. ...)
    forest-LOC I bird-PL-INDEF bird-PL see-PST-1s
    pokhi-gura-ku ...
    bird-PL-DAT
    'I saw birds (cf. I saw the birds).'

Plural marking is, however, compatible with generic noun phrases, as e.g. with **pokhime** 'birds' in (81) below.

(81) **rați pah-iba porjyontɔ pokhi-mane bòsa-ru bahar-ɔnti nahi.**
    night dawn-INF until bird-PL nest-ABL come.out-3p:HAB NEG
    'Birds do not come out of their nests until the day breaks.'

### 3.1.3.5 All-inclusive suffixes

The four suffixes *-ko, -jako, -tokɔ, and -sara* express an all-inclusive sense, i.e. 'all, whole'; the nominals marked by these suffixes all have definite meaning. The quantifiers *sɔbu* 'all' and *somoste* 'all' are discussed in 3.2.6.5.

**-ko** The suffix *ko* with all-inclusive meaning is distinct from the short variant *-kɔ* of the numeral *ekɔ* 'one', see 3.1.3.3. All-inclusive *-kɔ* occurs with the same range of nominals as the indefinite marker *-e*: it is attached to

- collectives and measure nouns; e.g. *dɔlɔ-kɔ* 'the group';
- classifiers; e.g. *jɔŋɔ-kɔ, goṭa-kɔ*; e.g. *bɔnɔ goṭa-kɔ* 'the whole forest';
- articles; e.g. *suna-tı-kɔ* 'all of the gold';
- plural suffixes *gura / guɾi*: *pila-gura-kɔ / pila-gurĩ-kɔ* 'the children' (see 3.1.3.4).
-kɔ can be added to nominals with singular (82) or plural number (84):

(82) pila dɔ̄-kɔ
to-2sg.NOM 'the group of children'
ho-3sg.NOM jota / jota ho-3sg.NOM 'the pair of shoes'
cf. ho-3sg.NOM e e 'a pair of shoes'

(83) cɔrɔ-cɔ ho-3sg.NOM -kɔ-ru go-3sg.NOM e 'one of the pair of sandals'
sandal pair-all-ABL CL-INDEF piece

(84) cau-3sg.NOM pan-3sg.NOM bo-3sg.NOM st-3sg.NOM -kɔ
to-2sg.NOM 'the five sacks of rice'
pila dui dɔ̄-kɔ 'the two groups of children'

As is shown in the examples above, though the sense of all-inclusiveness is present, it is not emphasised; therefore it is often more adequate to translate by a definite noun phrase than by an explicit “whole” or “all”. The same applies to postposed jɔnɔ-kɔ (classifier + -kɔ):

(85) se muna-3sg.NOM hola-1 na-3sg.NOM hɔ-2sg.NOM iba-ru o-2sg.NOM nyɔ  jɔnɔ-kɔ kɔh-il-a, ...
she head shake-CV no do-INF-ABL other CL-DEF say-PST-3s
'Since she shook her head and said no, the other one said, …'

When -kɔ of jɔnɔ-kɔ in (85) is replaced by -e, jɔn- is has indefinite meaning 'another one said'. Postposed jɔnɔ-kɔ indicates that the referent has been mentioned in the preceding discourse. Consider chatri jɔn- kɔ 'the aforesaid lady student' in (86):

(86) kintel to-3sg.NOM don-3sg.NOM to-3sg.NOM somo-2sg.NOM ryaging-2sg.NOM ro-3sg.NOM sikar-3sg.NOM ho-2sg.NOM ith-iba chatri
but inquiry time-LOC r.-GEN victim be-PERF-INF student(f.)
 jɔnɔ-kɔ ko-3sg.NOM ushi-3sg.NOM jo-2sg.NOM ri-3sg.NOM no-th-il-e.
CL-DEF any complain do-PERF-NEG-AUX-PST-3p
'But during this inquiry the lady student who was the victim of the ragging did not complain of anything.' (Newspaper)

Another example with khɔnḍi-kɔ:

(A man had bought two pieces of cheese. He put one aside to keep it for the night and ate the other one. After the meal he went to the food store.)

(87) rati-ku rok-3sg.NOM ith-iba chena khɔnḍi-kɔ potɔ-2sg.NOM re gu-3sg.NOM a-1 night-DAT keep-PERF-INF cheese CL-DEF leaf-LOC wrap-CAUS-CV
pokɛ-2sg.NOM re pura-il-a.
p.-LOC fill-PST-3s
'He wrapped the piece of cheese he had kept for the night up in a leaf, and put it in his pocket.'
-jakó The suffix -jakó ‘all’, ‘whole’ is attached mainly to inanimate nouns and to nouns denoting small animals.

(88) pimpuri-jakó ‘all ants’
ambo-jakó ‘all mangoes’
kolomó-jakó ‘all pens’
sohoró-jakó ‘the whole city’
ghoró-jakó ‘the whole house, all houses’
gochó-jakó ‘the whole tree, all trees’
noádi-jakó ‘the whole river, all rivers’

(89) moja-jakó tume kó-l-o, kóto kamò-jakó mú kó-l-i.
fun-all you(POL) do-PST-2p difficult work-all I do-PST-1s
‘You had all the fun and I had all the hard work.’

Various case markers and postpositions can occur with -jakó.

(90) mú pimpuri-jakó-ku dekh-il-i.
I ant-all-DAT see-PST-1s
‘I saw all the ants.’

(91) bohi-jakó pāi thakó-tie kó-ó.
book-all for shelf-INDEF do-2p:IMP
‘Make a shelf for the books.’

(92) bichóna-jakó(-re) pimpuí bhórtti ho-ich-onti.
bed-all-LOC ant full become-PERF-3p
‘The whole bed is full of ants.’

The noun marked by -jakó often functions as oblique object (see also (92) above):

(After the minister had received a difficult order, he returned home.)

(93) bató-jakó dák-utha-nti, “he probhu Jágónnatho!”
way-all call-IPFV-3p:HAB(HON) INTERJ lord J.
‘All the way he prayed, “Oh Lord Jagannatha!”’

The classifiers -ta, -ti, -gota and the suffix -ko can be added to the combination of a noun and -jakó, giving rise to the singular reading of the noun (“whole”).

(94) muhó-ko-jakó / muhó-tí-jakó ‘the whole face’
deho-gota-jakó ‘the whole body’
bohi-gota-kó-jakó ‘the whole book’
bohi-jakó-kó ‘the whole book’

(95) kolomó-ti-jakó káli ho-ich-i.
pen-ART-all ink become-PERF-3s
‘The whole pen has become full of ink.’
(96) **bona-ta-jako-rɔ pɔsu-pɔkhi seṭha-ku as-ɔnti.**
forest-ART-all-GEN animal-bird there-DAT come-3p:HAB
‘The animals and birds of the whole forest come there.’

*jakɔ* can be used with numerals: it is attached to a classifier. The noun can precede or follow.

(97) **dui-ṭi-jako ambo / ambo dui-ṭi-jako** ‘both mangoes’
*ambo-jako dui-ṭi
dui-joṇo-jako pila**
‘both children’

(98) **mo-te kɔmoła o seu dui-ṭi-jako bhɔb lag-e.**
I-DAT orange and apple two-CL-all good feel-3s:HAB
‘I like both oranges and apples.’

**-tɔkɔ** The suffix -tɔkɔ is mainly restricted to mass nouns: **pani-tɔkɔ** ‘all the water’, **bhato-tɔkɔ** ‘all the rice’ or **caa-tɔkɔ** ‘all the tea’. Some inanimate nouns denoting a small object can take -tɔkɔ as well: **curi-tɔkɔ** ‘all the bangles’, **ambɔ-tɔkɔ** ‘all the mangoes’, **seu-tɔkɔ** ‘all the apples’, but animate nouns cannot: *pimpuri-tɔkɔ* ‘all ants’. Case markers occur rarely with -tɔkɔ, at most the dative -ku (see (100) below). The articles cannot be added to a noun marked by -tɔkɔ.

(99) **calo ambɔ-tɔkɔ amɔ bhito-r-e banṭ-i-ne-b-a.**
HORT mango-all we:OBL inside-LOC share-CV-V2:take-FUT-1pi
‘Let’s share the mangoes among ourselves.’

(100) **se bhato-tɔkɔ-ku kha-ich-i.**
he rice-all-DAT eat-PERF-3s
‘He ate all the rice.’

(101) **semane muṇi phit-a-nti ebong cupcup moharɔ-tɔkɔ**
they bag crack-CAUS-3p:HAB and quietly coin-all
gon-ɔnti.
count-3p:HAB
‘They used to open the bag and to count quietly all the coins.’

**-sara** The affix -sara ‘whole’ is used only with inanimate nouns, either preceding or following the noun. It takes no case markers. -sara can be combined with -jako, e.g. **sara deha-jako** ‘the entire body’.

(102) **sara ambo / ambo-sara** ‘the whole mango’
ghəro-sara ‘the whole house’
deha-sara ‘the whole body’
desə-sara ‘the whole country’
cf. **sara-loko** ‘the population’ (fixed expression)
(103) gota bosar-sara se I.A.S. porikhya pāi prastute
last year whole he examination for ready
he-uth-il-e.
become-IPFV-PST-3p(HON)
‘All last year he was preparing for the I.A.S. examination.’

(104) ta-nkṛ-rā sara jibono obhābo-re kot-ich-i.
he-OBL-GEN whole life want-LOC pass-PERF-3s
‘He has lived in want all his life.’

(105) hati-rā deho-sara pokō bhortti ho-i-ja-ith-il-e.
elephant-GEN body-whole worm full be-CV-V2:go-PERF-PST-3p
‘The whole body of the elephant was full of worms.’

sara can cooccur with the article, e.g. sara sōhārta, sōhārta-sara or sōhār
sara-ta-jakō ‘the whole town’.

(106) Mōhatma Gandhi-nku dekh-iba-ku sara sōhārta
M. G.-OBL:DAT see-INF:DAT whole town-ART
uth-i-as-il-a.
get.up-CV-V2:come-PST-3s
‘The whole town turned out to see Mahātmā Gāndhī.’

3.1.4 Case

3.1.4.1 Forms

There are four cases in Oriya: nominative, dative, genitive, ablative and locative case.

Case suffixes are added to the oblique base of the nominal. This base is
distinct from the stem in the case of pronouns (see 3.3) and in the case of nouns
in honorific use, the base of which is formed by adding -nko. A noun can be
used both in honorific way or in non-honorific way: bhai-ku ‘to the brother
(non-honorific)’ vs. bhai-nku ‘to the brother (honorific)’ (-nku < -nko + -ku).

The two cases ablative and locative differ from the genitive and the dative
in showing the extension -ṭha, obligatorily when attached to nouns referring
to human beings, optionally when attached to other nouns. This distinction
between human and non-human nouns has been observed for case markers in
other languages as well, e.g. in Dravidian. Aristar (1997) calls these mor-
phemes intervening between noun and case suffix (as -ṭha in Oriya) “bridge
morpheme—ku”. ṭha originally means ‘place’ and is also used in the formation
of locative adverbs, e.g. e-ṭha-re ‘here’ (see 3.3.2.3).

(i) According to Misra (1975) -nko and -nku originally designated plurality.
They can still convey this meaning, so that the suffix -mano can be omitted in
the non-nominative cases of the plural paradigm without change of meaning.
Table 3.2: Case suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Type</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Non-human noun</th>
<th>Human noun (non-hon. use)</th>
<th>Human noun (honorific use)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>gōcho ‘tree’</td>
<td>pila ‘child’</td>
<td>stri ‘woman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique base</td>
<td>Ø/-nko</td>
<td>gōcho</td>
<td>pila</td>
<td>stri-nko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>gōcho-ku</td>
<td>pila-ku</td>
<td>stri-nku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>-rc</td>
<td>gōcho-rc</td>
<td>pila-rc</td>
<td>stri-nko-rc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>gōcho(-tha)-ru</td>
<td>pila-tha-ru</td>
<td>stri-nko-tha-ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-re</td>
<td>gōcho(-tha)-re</td>
<td>pila-tha-re</td>
<td>stri-nko-tha-re</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural formsa</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Non-human noun</th>
<th>Human noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>Ø/(-e)</td>
<td>gōcho-guriko ‘trees’</td>
<td>pila-mane ‘children’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique base</td>
<td>Ø/-nko</td>
<td>gōcho-guriko</td>
<td>pila-mano-nko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>gōcho-guri-ku</td>
<td>pila-mano-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>-rc</td>
<td>gōcho-guriko-rc</td>
<td>pila-mano-nko-rc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>gōcho-guriko(-tha)-ru</td>
<td>pila-mano-nko-tha-ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-re</td>
<td>gōcho-guriko(-tha)-re</td>
<td>pila-mano-nko-tha-re</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*For the exact use of the plural suffixes see 3.1.3.5.

(107) əthi  kete-gurie saikel əch-i. kēu-guriko puo-nko-rc o kēu-guriko
here some-PL bicycle be-3s which-PL boy-OBL-GEN and which-PL
jhiō-nko-rc?
girl-OBL-GEN
‘There are some bicycles here. Which belong to boys and which belong
to girls?’

**Variants**  
(i) The sequence -tha-ru can be shortened to -thu, e.g. bapa-nko-th-u ‘from the father’. Likewise, there is the short form -thi of -tha-re, e.g. mo-thi ‘in me’.

(ii) The dative case can be realised as -ki, especially when it has directional meaning. This applies to nouns or pronouns ending in an i-sound (vowel harmony), e.g. Puri-ki ‘to Puri’, əthi-ki ‘here (to this place)’, corhei-aki ‘to the birds’.

(iii) Nouns ending in -rc or -lo show the variants -e and -u of the suffixes -ru for ablative, respectively -re for locative case.
Ablative Locative

ghorō ‘house’  ghōr-u  ghōr-e
sokał ‘morning’  sokał-u  sokał-e

With other nouns these short forms are primarily limited to some idiomatic phrases such as rup-e ‘in form of’, bhab-e ‘in the way of’, baṭ-e ‘by way of’, pakh-e ‘near’, poṭ-e ‘on the side’. Besides, short forms occur in poetic style; consider (108), which is the title of a short story.

(108) naro deh-e Narayana
       man body-LOC N.
       ‘Nārāyaṇa (i.e. Vishnu) in a human body’

Position of the case suffixes  The position of the case suffixes is at the end of the noun phrase. In (109) below the dative case marker -ku is attached to the last element of the nominal phrase odho diṭa ‘the two otters’.

(109) etikibeḷe bilua pohone-i-ja-i  odho di-ṭa-nku  pscar-il-a, ...
       then jackal arrive-CV:V2:go-CV otter two-CL-OBL:DAT ask-PST-3s
       ‘Then the jackal arrived and asked the two otters, …’

When the noun phrase is formed by coordination of several nominals, it is attached only to the last one. In (110) upore diajaithika udahorōṇa ‘the examples given above’ and aloconā ‘discussion’ are coordinated by the conjunction o ‘and’ to form a complex noun phrase, and the ablative case marker -ru is attached only to the second element (it is possible to attach it to the first noun as well).

(110) upor-e di-a-ja-ith-iba  udahorōṇa o  aloconā-ru
       top-LOC give-PASS-go-PERF-INF example and discussion-ABL
       jōn-a-ja-uch-i ...
       know-PASS-go-PROG-3s
       ‘From the examples given above and the discussion it can be learnt …’

Emphatic suffix  There is a suffix -ri⁹, which is added to emphasise a pronoun. It occurs with pronouns, e.g. mori, tori, tankōri etc., with the quantifier sobu ‘all’ (e.g. sobu-ri in (112) below) and with the interrogative pronoun kaha-ri-ku ‘whom’. In most of the cases the pronoun is in the genitive case, but dative and locative case (ta-nkō-ri-ṭha-re ‘(to believe) in him’) are attested as well.

(111) mū taa-ṛo kichi onīstō kōr-u-nah-ḥ.  jodi taa-ṛo kichi onīstō
       I  he-GEN some harm do-PROG-NEG-1s if  he-GEN some harm
       he-b-ō,  to-ri  dwara he-b-ō.
       happen-FUT-3s you(FAM)-EMPH by  happen-FUT-3s

---
⁹The suffix -ri is probably composed of the genitive suffix -ṛo and a suffix -i, which is described as variant of another emphatic suffix -hi in 5.2.1.
'I won't do any harm to him (a child). If anything happens to him, it will be because of YOU.'

(From a detective story.)

(112) soburi muh-re sei gosta-e katha th-il-a, kie hotya ko-l-a all-EMPH mouth-LOC that CL-INDEF matter be-PST-3s who murder do-PST-3s Lajjyaboti-ku.
L-DAT

'In EVERY mouth was the one story: who murdered Lajjyabati?'

Consider the following sections for the details of the various case markers. The use of case markers with infinitives is discussed in 7.4.

3.1.4.2 Nominative

The nominative case is used to mark the subject of a sentence. The subject is the single argument of an intransitive verb (113) or the agent of a transitive verb (114), in both cases triggering agreement on the verb.

(113) balika-mane nac-uch-onti.
girl-PL dance-PROG-3p

'The girls are dancing.'

(114) semane konk gacho-ka kat-uch-onti?
they INT tree-ART cut-PROG-3p

'Are they cutting the tree?'

Many nominals with human referents show a suffix -e in the nominative case, consider the table below (for details see the respective paragraphs).\[10\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>oblique</th>
<th>nominative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) plural suffix -mano, e.g.</td>
<td>pila-mano pila-man-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) personal pronouns 1p</td>
<td>amo am-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sPOL</td>
<td>tumo tum-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) interrogative pronoun</td>
<td>kaha ki-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) reflexive pronoun</td>
<td>niyo niy-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) indefinite pronouns</td>
<td>somosto somost-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) numerals</td>
<td>ubhoyo ubhoy-e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Chatterji (1926, p. 740) has pointed out for Eastern Bengali and Assamese, even in earlier Oriya, the usage of the suffix -e was very productive and frequent. It should be noted that the suffix -e is different from the indefinite marker (see 3.1.3.2).

\[10\]For other homonymous suffixes -e see 3.1.3.
The suffix -e does not occur in attributive position to a head noun, consider e.g. amo ghor: ‘our house’ vs. ame asibu ‘we will come’.

Inanimate nouns cannot take the suffix -e, consider (115) with the plural ending -mano instead of -mane.

(115) se sôhr:ro rasta-mano / *rasta-mane sti sundôro th-il-a.
that town-GEN road-PL road-PL very nice be-PST-3s
‘The roads of that town were very nice.’

There are instances where the suffix -e is used as honorific marker. In this function -e can combine with other case suffixes, e.g. pôndit-e-nku ‘to the pundit’, pôndit-e-nko-tharu ‘from the pundit’.

(116) Mohanti-e seîthi murccha ho-i pôr-i-rôh-il-e.
M.-HON there faint become-CV fall-CV-V2:stay-PST-3p(HON)
‘Mahânti there fell fainting.’

In some contexts there is ambiguity between the honorific and the plural reading, as in (117):

(117) sikhyêk-e pôrh-a-nti.
teacher-PL/HON read-CAUS-3p:HAB
‘The teacher teaches. / The teachers teach.’

3.1.4.3 Dative

The dative case suffix -ku is used to mark the recipient of ditransitive verbs and occasionally the patient of transitive verbs (object),11 the experiencer, the destination, the proportion, the point of time. Another function of the dative case (purpose) is seen with the infinitive (see 7.4.2).

**Object** The case marker -ku occurs with the direct object when the verb is transitive, and it occurs in addition with the indirect object, when the verb is ditransitive.

(i) Recipients always take dative case.

(118) kumari Sumôti pila-mano-nku mîthai de-uch-ônti.
Miss S. child-PL-OBL:DAT sweets give-PROG-3p(HON)
‘Miss Sumati is giving sweets to the children.’

(119) se ta-nkô-ro pita-mano-nku somôto ghotôna
he he-OBL-GEN father-mother-OBL:DAT every event
joñ-a-il-e.
know-CAUS-PST-3p(HON)

---

11In an alternative analysis two homophonous case markers -ku could be recognised, i.e. a dative case and an accusative case.
'He informed his parents about all that had happened.'

(120) mü goṭi-e kōtha apōṅa-nku pōcār-ib-i.
    I    CL-INDEF matter you(HON)-OBL:DAT ask-FUT-1s
'I would like to ask you a question.'

(ii) Object nominals in the role of a patient can be marked for dative case or not. Nominals referring to animate beings are marked for dative case when they are definite.

(121) mü kali tumō sano bhai-ku dekh-il-i; ago-ru ta-ku
    I    yesterday your(POL) little brother-DAT see-PST-1s before-ABL he-DAT
dekh-i-nō-th-il-i.
    see-PERF-NEG-AUX-PST-1s
'I saw your younger brother yesterday; I hadn’t seen him before.'

(iii) When animate nouns in direct object function are indefinite, dative marking is optional. In the following examples (122) to (125) -ku can be added or not. When the suffix -ku appears, the noun is more specific.

(122) pulis jōn-e denga, kọla o darhia loko(-ku) khoj-uch-i.
    p.    CL-INDEF tall black and bearded man-DAT search-PROG-3s
'The police is searching for a tall dark bearded man.'

(123) mü goṭi-e jhio(-ku) dekh-il-i jaha-rc baṇa ṣṭa porjyaṃtō
    I    CL-INDEF girl-DAT see-PST-1s who-GEN hair waist until
lomp-ith-il-a.
    reach-PERF-PST-3s
'I saw a girl whose hair came down to the waist.'

(124) boropatra(-ku) khoj-iba-ku tumō-ku eko maso sōmocō bridgroom-DAT search-INF-DAT you(POL)-DAT one month time
de-l-i.
    give-PST-1s
'I gave you one month to look for a bridgroom (for this girl).'

(125) raja balika-ku ḍak-i an-iba pāi loko(-ku) poṭha-il-e.
    king girl-DAT call-CV bring-INF for person-DAT send-PST-3p(HON)
The king sent someone to call the girl and bring her.'

(iv) Inanimate objects marked for specificity (or discourse relevance, see 3.1.3.1) by the articles -ṭa / -ṭi can or cannot be marked. The usage of -ku still increases the specificity.

(126) se cithi-ṭi(-ku) kie lekh-ith-il-a?
    that letter-ART-DAT who write-PERF-PST-3s
'Who wrote that letter?'
(127) din-e kōdoli̱-tie kha-i se jan-i sun-i copa-ṭi(-ku) ta-nkə day-INDEF banana-INDEF eat-CV he know-CV hear-CV peel-ART-DAT he-OBL ghorə samna rasta majhi-kə phing-i-de-l-a. house front road middle-DAT throw-CV-V2:give-PST-3s ‘One day he ate a banana and knowingly threw the peel on the street before his house.’

(v) Non-specific inanimate objects are never marked by the dative case.

(128) setebele sano bhai-ti goṭi-e sikhyōko cakiri(*-ku) then little brother-ART CL-INDEF teacher job-DAT pa-i-gol-a. find-CV-V2:go:PST-3s ‘At that time the little brother found a teacher’s job.’

The presence or absence of the dative case marker can be explained by an animacy hierarchy of nominals. The higher the hierarchical status of a nominal, the more likely it is to be marked when filling the role of object. The hierarchy is as follows:

+ -ku recipients
+ -ku definite patients with animate referents
± -ku indefinite patients with animate referents
± -ku specific patients with inanimate referents
− -ku non-specific patients with inanimate referents

Of course, a clause can contain two objects marked for dative case:

(129) mū purbo dino jēū jama-ti kīṅ-ith-il-i sei-ṭi-ku mo I before day which frock-ART buy-PERF-PST-1s that-ART-DAT my bhouni-ku de-l-i. sister-DAT give-PST-1s ‘I gave my sister the frock which I had bought the day before.’

Experiencer The “dative subject” construction is one of the most often cited typological features of South Asian languages. The use of “dative subjects” seems to be more common in Oriya than in Bengali and Assamese.

“Dative subjects” in Oriya occur with predicates expressing cognitive, physical or emotional states. Consider the following list:

as- ‘come’ doya as- ‘feel mercy’
dhor- ‘catch’ thōnda dhor- ‘catch a cold’
rokh- ‘keep’ mone rokh- ‘remember’
3.1.4. Case

he-  ‘be’     x borsa he-  ‘be x years old’     jro he-  ‘have fever’
beasana he-  ‘smell’     sos he-  ‘be thirsty’
bodha he-  ‘think’     thondha he-  ‘catch a cold’

lag-  ‘feel’     banti lag-  ‘feel sick’     khopalo lag-  ‘hate’
bhokha lag-  ‘be hungry’     khusi lag-  ‘rejoice’
bhalha lag-  ‘like’     nido lag-  ‘fall asleep’
cita lag-  ‘be tired of’     osubidha lag-  ‘find it difficult’
dukho lag-  ‘be sad’     porisra lag-  ‘need to piss’
goromha lag-  ‘be hot’     rago lag-  ‘be angry’

mar-  ‘rush’     doro mar-  ‘be afraid’     nido mar-  ‘be sleepy’
maid mar-  ‘feel like crying’

as-  ‘can’ (elsewhere ‘come’) (see 4.6.2.4)
mila-  ‘be available’
mona  ‘must not’
por-  ‘must’ (see 4.6.2.9)

(130) Tultu-ku jro tikie ho-ja-ich-i.
T.-DAT fever a.little become-CV-V2:go-PERF-3s
‘Tultu has got a little fever.’

(131) aji tumo-ku kemiti lag-uch-i? — tikie besi durbo
today you(POL)-DAT how feel-PROG-3s a.little more weak
lag-uch-i.
feel-PROG-3s
‘How do you feel today? — I feel a little weaker.’

(132) garir ocheri caa kha-iba-ku amor-ku oja kete mini
train late be-3s tea eat-INF-DAT we-DAT few some m.
milha-jib-o.
be.available-CV-V2:go-FUT-3s
‘The train is late. We’ll have a few minutes for tea.’

There is no agreement between the experiencer and the verb. The verb is always
in the third person singular.

(133) semanoc-nku ho Three lag-uch-i / *lag-uch-onti.
they-DAT laughter feel-PROG-3s feel-PROG-3p
‘They feel like laughing.’

In some cases the “dative subjects” can be replaced by a nominal marked for
genitive case without semantic difference (see 3.1.4.4):

(134) ta-ku / taa-roc taa maa mon-e por-uch-i.
he-DAT he-GEN his mother mind-LOC fall-PROG-3s
'He remembers his mother.'

The use of the term "experiencer" implies that the action happens without the intention of the nominal marked for dative case. As soon as the action is performed voluntarily, a nominative subject is required. Nominative subjects, however, can denote involuntary events as well, see (136b) below.

(135) a. mo-te golapɔ phulɔ bhɔlɔ bas-il-a.
     I-DAT rose flower good smell-PST-3s
     'I smelled a lovely smell from the flowers.'

b. mũ golap phulɔ sungh-il-i.
     I rose flower smell-at-PST-1s
     'I smelled at the flower.'

(136) a. mo-te hoṭhat akasɔ-re ulka dekh-a-gɔl-a.
     I-DAT suddenly sky-LOC comet see-PASS-go:PST-3s
     'I suddenly saw a comet in the sky.'

b. mũ hoṭhat akasɔ-re ulka dekh-il-i.
     I suddenly sky-LOC comet see-PST-1s
     'I suddenly saw a comet in the sky.'

In this context it should be noted that the patient in passive constructions is marked for dative (see 4.6.3).

**Destination** The dative is used to mark the destination towards which an action is directed.

(137) loko-ti no-i-ɔ e kułu-ru se kułu-ku pohɔr-uch-i.
     man-ART river-GEN this bank-ABL that bank-DAT swim-PROG-3s
     'The man is swimming across the river (lit. from this bank of the river to that bank).'

Some other examples:

(138) bichɔna-ku jiba  'go to bed'
     bolu duro-ku jiba  'go far (lit. much distance)'
     dunia-ku asiba    'come to world'
     baharɔ-ku phingiba 'throw outside'

The dative case marker can be missing, e.g. Koṭakɔ-Ø in (139).

(139) go-to bɔrɔ mũ oneko thɔro Koṭakɔ ja-ith-il-i.
     last year I many time C. go-PERF-PST-1s
     'I went to Cuttack many times last year.'
When the destination is a human referent, it appears as a possessor phrase to the noun pakhɔ ‘side’, which functions as bridge morpheme like -tha (see 3.1.4.1).

(140) sadhu raja-nko pakhɔ-ku ja-i-no-th-il-e; raja
pious king-OBL side-DAT go-PERF-NEG-AUX-PST-3p(HON) king
nij-e sadhu-nko pakhɔ-ku as-ith-il-e.
REFL-NOM pious-OBL side-DAT come-PERF-PST-3p(HON)
'The holy man did not go to the king (lit. to the king’s side); the king himself came to the holy man.'

Other functions (i) The dative can express the concept of proportion as “per” or “a” in English do, e.g. dinɔku ‘per day’ in (141) or ʤɔŋku ‘per dozen’ in (142).

(141) e osɔdɔ-ti dino-ku thɔr-e kha-o.
this medicine-ART day-DAT time-INDEF eat-2p:IMP
'Take this medicine once a day.'

(142) ʤɔŋ-ku dosɔ ʧɔnka de-i pijuɿi kiñ-ich-i.
dozen-DAT ten rupees give-CV guava buy-PERF-1s
'I have bought guavas giving ten rupees for a dozen.'

(ii) The dative can express measure.

(To a hostel cook.)

(143) chaṭtɔ sɔnkhya korie-ku boŋh-ile kete khɔrccɔ por-ib-ɔ?
student number twenty-DAT increase-COND cv how.much expenses fall-FUT-3s
'If the number of students is increased by twenty, how much has to be spent?'

(iii) The dative can indicate a point of time when an action takes place, e.g. aji(-ku) ‘today’, sete-bebp-ku ‘at that time’, sesɔ-ku ‘finally’.

(144) ara thɔrɛ-ku ja-i-par-ib-ɔ.
next time-DAT go-CV-can-FUT-2p
'You can go next time.'

(iv) In (145) the dative denotes a circumstance, e.g. jogɔ-ku ‘by chance’.

(145) mo durbhagɔ-ku se ɔndɔ ho-i-ja-ich-ɔnti.
my misfortune-DAT he blind become-CV-V2:go-PERF-3p(HON)
'To my misfortune he (i.e. my husband) has become blind.'
3.1.4.4 Genitive and possession

The genitive case marker -ṛo has two main functions: it is used to denote the experiencer, and it is used in determinative constructions. Besides that, a noun marked for the genitive case can occur in agent function.

**Determination**  (i) The genitive is used to mark a noun phrase which determines the following noun. The relationship between determining NP and determined NP can be of various types (the genitive marker can be omitted in all cases):\(^{12}\)

- **General linkage:** rati(-ṛo) pholo 'night-flower'
- **Subjective:** bapa-maa-nkṛ(-ṛo) iccha 'the parents’ wish'
- **Objective:** poribar(-ṛo) sōhayota 'family support'
- **Possessive:** mō(-ṛo) nāā 'my name'
- **Origin:** Orisā(-ṛo) koila 'coal of Orissa'
- **Descriptive:** sisu(-ṛo) khadhya 'baby food'
- **Measure:** dōsā dina(-ṛo) rohāni 'ten days’ stay'
- **Partitive:** csubidha(-ṛo) kichi onsā 'a part of the problem'

It is used in combination with postpositions:

(146) Ramō(-ṛo) upore 'on Rāma'
     Ramō(-ṛo) sangore 'with Rāma'

In case of honorific and plural nominals, the determiner is always marked by the oblique -ṅko:

(147) pilā(-guṇiko)-ṅko(-ṛo) sikhycō 'the children’s teacher'
     apōnō-ṅko(-ṛo) nāā 'your name'

In some expressions where the determiner is very general and which have become fixed the genitive marker is always avoided. The borderline to nominal composition is fluid (see 3.1.1.2).

(148) mache(*-ṛo) ṭorakari 'fish curry'
     pānī(*-ṛo) boṭal 'water bottle'
     caulo(*-ṛo) cuna 'rice powder'

The genitive can be added to postpositions, e.g. jae-ṛo ‘until + GEN’ in (149).

(149) kōri hojar koṭi ṭonka-ru calisc hojarō ṭonka jae-ṛo
twenty thousand 10,000,000 rupee-ABL forty thousand rupee until-GEN
ratnā-pothāra ehi cncal-re mil-uch-i.
gem-stone this area-LOC be.available-PROG-3s

\(^{12}\)The labels have been adopted from Quirk et al. (1985, p. 95).
‘There are gems in the value of twenty up to forty thousand crores of rupees in this area.’

The genitive can mark the linkage of a whole sentence to another constituent. Consider (150), where the sentence gora-jila megha kahi ki boros-e nahī-ro ‘why do roaring clouds not rain?’ is marked by the genitive -ro as a determiner to the noun phrase bigyanō sommatō karā ṭo ‘science-proved reason’.

(150) sar-nkī-thū Piṣṭu gora-jila megha kahi ki boros-e nahī-ro
S.-OBL-ABL P. roar-INF:PST cloud why rain-3s:HAB NEG-GEN
bigyanō sommatō karā ṭo bujhi-i bujhi-maa-ku ma-ni
science approved reason understand-CV old-mother-DAT show-CV
hōs-i-de-l-a.
laugh-CV-V2:give-PST-3s

‘After Piṣṭu had understood the science-proved reason from the teacher (lit. Sir) why roaring clouds do not rain, he explained (it) to the old mother and laughed.’

(ii) The genitive is generally used to indicate the possessor. When it is used in argument position, it occurs in combination with the verb och- / tha- ‘be’ in the sense of English “have”, see (151, 152) and the chapter on the verb “to be” 4.4.

(151) apūṃ-nkō-ro Bhūboneswar-ro ghar-o och-i?
you(ION)-OBL-GEN Bh.-LOC house be-3s

‘Do you have a house in Bhubaneswar?’

(152) raja-nkō-ro koh-iba-ku au kichi no-th-il-a.
king-OBL-GEN say-INF-DAT more anything NEG-be-PST-3s

‘The king had nothing more to say.’

(iii) A noun or pronoun marked by the genitive case can denote a possessed entity and occur in any syntactic relation in a sentence (taa-ro as subject in (153), māmu-nkō-ro as predicative in (154)). It can be marked by the article, but the genitive case marker is then omitted, e.g. mo-ṭī ‘mine’ in (155).

(153) mo hatō-goro sōrau, kintu taa-ro moṭa.
my arm-leg thin but he-GEN fat
‘My hands and legs are thin, but his are fat.’

(154) e cōsama-ṭi kaha-ro? — ei-ṭī mo māmu-nkō-ro.
this glasses-ART who-GEN this-ART my uncle-OBL-GEN
Whose glasses are these? — They are my uncle’s.’

(155) tūma uttar-ṭi bhul, matro mo-ṭī ṭhik.
your(POL) answer-ART mistake but my-ART correct
‘Your answer is wrong, but mine is right.’
**Experimenter** The experimenter is found in the genitive case with the verbs and nouns in the list below. Most of them belong to the semantic domain of cognitive or emotional states, but there is no criterion distinguishing them from those used with the dative case.

- dis- ‘look like’
- ōeri he- ‘be late’
- he- ‘happen; be’
- mone he- ‘feel, like, think’
- och- ‘be, be supposed to’
- mone poř- ‘remember’
- ucit ‘must, should’ (see 4.2.4.8)
- mone nahĕ ‘forget’ (cf. mone ‘mind’)

The following expressions are often used with he- or och- ‘be’:

- aṣonka ‘be afraid’
- dorkar ‘need, want’ (see 4.2.4.8)
- bhọc ‘fear’
- lořa ‘need’
- bhọ ‘meet’
- lojjito ‘be ashamed of’
- biswaso ‘believe’
- sonehra ‘doubt’
- dharopa ‘think’

(156)  
Hena muhō-re bhọc-cinho dekh-i bapa pocar-il-e,  “konna  
H. face-LOC fear-GEN sign see-CV father ask-PST-3p(HON) what  
he-l-a tump-ro?”  
be-PST-3s you(POL)-GEN  
’When the father saw signs of fear on Henâ’s face, he asked, ‘What  
happened to you?’”

(157)  
kha-iba-ku no-pa-i  semanu-nkọ-ro konta dis-il-a.  
eat-INF-DAT NEG-find-CV they-OBL-GEN pin look-PST-3s  
‘Since they didn’t find anything to eat, they looked (thin) like a pin.’

(Before leaving the speaker says:)

(158)  
phe-ias-iba-ku  mo-ro ďeri he-b-o-ni.  
return-CV-V2:come-INF-DAT I-GEN late be-FUT-3s-NEG  
’I won’t be late to return.’

(159)  
ta-nkọ muhō-ta mo-ro khub mon-e poř-uch-i.  
he-OBL face-ART I-GEN much mind-LOC fall-PROG-3s  
’I remember his face very well.’

(160)  
mo-ro biswaso Gopaļo micho koh-e nahĕ.  
I-GEN belief G. lie say-3s:HAB NEG  
’I believe Gopâla doesn’t tell lies.’

In contrast to the use in possessive constructions, the genitive case marker cannot be dropped when it marks the role of experimenter.

(i) In the same way as has been stated for “dative subjects”, genitive marked experiencers are used for situations with low intentionality. Compare the following two examples: in the first one the person who meets somebody is marked
for genitive (and the person met is introduced by sōnge ‘with’), and the meeting is seen as happening unexpectedly. In the second one the meeting is planned, therefore a transitive construction is used.

(161) a. din-e homo pāi bōna-ru kātho sōngroh ū kōru
day-INDEF sacrifice for forest-ABL wood collect do-ICV RDP
jon-e rupoban jubōko sōnge ta-nkō-rc bheto he-l-a.
CL-INDEF handsome young man with he-OBL-GEN meeting be-PST-3s
‘One day, while he was collecting wood in the forest for the offering, he met a handsome young man.’

b. mū eka se sūr-ncu bhet-ib-i.
I alone those demon-OBL:DAT meet-FUT-1s
‘(I do not need anybody’s help.) I shall meet those demons alone.’

(ii) The experiencer function of the genitive is seen with intransitive verbs which have an inanimate subject. The experiencer referent is concerned by the situation. The suffix -rc cannot be dropped, unlike in possessive constructions.

(162) he bhogoban, mo-rc sobu sār-i-gol-a!
INTERJ god my-GEN all finish-CV-V2:go:PST-3s
‘Oh my God, I’ve lost everything!’

(163) gotkali tama-rc goṣi-e cithi as-ith-il-a.
yesterday you(POL)-GEN CL-INDEF letter come-PERF-PST-3s
‘Yesterday a letter has come for you.’

Agent In Oriya there are not only experiencer nominals that are marked for genitive case, but agent nominals as well, e.g. bagho-rc ‘tiger’ and singho-rc ‘lion’ in (164) below. Since they perform the same function as nominative subjects (single argument of intransitive verbs and agent of transitive verbs) and trigger agreement with the verb as well, they can be called “genitive subjects”.

(164) bagho-rc singho-rc sathi bōs-ith-il-e.
tiger-GEN lion-GEN friend sit-PERF-PST-3p
‘The tiger and the lion made friends.’

(165) mo-rc ta-nkō-rc e kamo-ṭa kō-l-u.
I-GEN he-OBL-GEN this work-ART do-PST-1pi
‘I and he did this work.’

(166) goṣi-e mo bhouni-nkō-rc, goṣi-e dada khuri-nkō-rc au
CL-INDEF my sister-OBL-GEN CL-INDEF uncle-OBL-GEN and
CL-INDEF you(POL)-GEN little sister-GEN give-PERF-3p
‘One (letter) is from my sister, one from the uncle and one from your younger sister (lit. my sister has given one, the uncle has given one, and your younger sister has given one).’
Note that in the example above goće / goție are the objects, referring to letters. The genitive -ro of the last element can be dropped if there are more than two coordinated genitive agents.

Only coordinated nominals occur in this function. They can be conjoined with or without the conjunction au 'and'. Single nominals cannot occur as genitive subject:

(167) *mo-ro j-ib-i.
I-GEN go-FUT-1s
'I will go.'

The verb can have any tense, mood and aspect markers depending on the context.

(168) taa-ro (au) mo-ro j-ib-u / goł-u / ja-ich-u / ja-uch-u.
he-GEN and I-GEN go-FUT-1pe go:PST-1pe go-PERF-1pe go-PROG-1pe
'He and I will go / went / have gone / are going.'

The verb exhibits agreement with the genitive subjects in the same way as with coordinated nominative subjects:

a) with a 1st and 2nd person → 1pi
toma-ro mo-ro j-ib-a.
'You and I will go.'

b) with a 1st and 3rd person → 1pe
mo-ro taa-ro j-ib-u.
'I and he will go.'

c) with a 2nd person (and no 1st) → 2p
Sita-ro toma-ro j-ib-ɔ.
'Sita and you will go.'

d) elsewhere → 3p
Sita-ro Rama-ro j-ib-e.
'Sita and Rama will go.'

All the genitive subjects in the sentences given above can be replaced by nominative subjects, without a semantic difference.

(169) bapa-nkɔ-ro maa-nkɔ-ro j-ib-e. / bapa maa j-ib-e.
father-OBL-GEN mother-OBL-GEN go-FUT-3p father mother go-FUT-3p
'Father and mother will go.'

Genitive subjects are restricted to animate referents; inanimate referents are ungrammatical:

(170) *bohi-ro kɔla-mɔ-ro khɔs-i-pɔr-i-ja-ith-il-a.
book-GEN pen-GEN fall-CV-V2:fall-CV-V2:go-PERF-PST-3s
'The book and the pen had fallen down.'

Genitive subjects can be coreferential with the reflexive njo.
(171) mo-rc au mo bhouni-rc nipo ghor-e pohonc-il-u.
    I-GEN and my sister-GEN REFL house-LOC arrive-PST-1pi
    'I and my sister arrived in our (own) house.'

3.1.4.5 Ablative

The ablative has three main functions: point of departure, separation and cause.

(i) The ablative case marker -ru (for the variant -u see p. 47) denotes the point of departure of an action, i.e.

- the beginning in time, e.g. ebe-th-u 'from now on'. Note that some time expressions marked for ablative do not indicate a starting point, but refer to a certain point in time, e.g. kete bel-u 'when' in (172) below, or ago-ru, purbo-ru 'earlier', sokal-ru 'in the morning' (cf. sokal-ru 'since morning').

(172) kete bel-u as-il-o-ni?
    how.much time-ABL come-PST-2p-MIR
    'When did you come?'

(173) amo-rə sesa sakhyat-ə-tharu ebe gota-e jugo
    we-GEN last meeting-ABL now CL-INDEF age
    ho-i-gol-a-ŋi.
    become-CV-V2:go:PST-3s-MIR
    'It's now ages since we met last (lit. it has become an age now since our last meeting).'

- the starting point of a series or continuum:

(174) burha-tharu pila jae, somost-e jatra-ku gol-e.
    old-ABL child until all-NOM journey-DAT go:PST-3p
    'Old and young, everybody went on journey.'

- the source or origin:

(175) uttarə digo-ru 'from north' (cf. digə 'direction')
    rajyo-ru edhe 'one half of the kingdom'
    almari-ru karhiba 'take from a cupboard'
    nido-ru uthiba 'get up from sleep'
    gəbesəna-ru janəba 'learn from research'
    riport-ru prəkasə heba 'be published from a report'

(176) darkar bel-e mʊ byank-ru tonka uth-a-e.
    need time-LOC I b-ABL money get.up-CAUS-1s:HAB
    'I draw money from the bank in times of need.'
(177) mo-te caa-ru au kichi di-.  
I-DAT tea-ABL more some give-2p:IMP  
'Please give me some more of the tea.'

(178) lok-e jeŭθh-u pa-ile paṇi pi-uch-ontology.  
people-PL where-ABL find-COND CV water drink-PROG-3p  
'Wherever the people find some water, they drink it.'

The bridge morpheme pakho 'side' (see p. 55) is used in connection with verbs of motion when the motion is away from a human referent.

(179) mo katha no-sun-i se mo pakho-ru cal-i-gol-a.  
my matter NEG-hear CV he I:OBL side-ABL go-CV-V2:go:PST-3s  
'Without listening to me he went away from me.'

(ii) The ablative can express the separation from an entity.

(180) dayitwo-ru mukto 'released from responsibility'  
sitolo paniyo-ru dureiba 'refrain from cold drinks'  
se sobhi-tharu niara 'different from all that'

(181) bhagaban somosto-nku bipodo-ru rakhya kar-ontology.  
god all-OBL:DAT danger-ABL salvation do-3p(HON):HAB  
'God saves everybody from danger.'

(182) mo niti ta-nko niti-tharu bhinnɔ.  
my principle he-OBL principle-ABL different  
'My principle is different from his principle.'

When the ablative case marks the standard of a comparison (for details see 3.2.4), it is always expanded by the bridge morpheme -tha.

(183) maa jhio-tharu sundorɔ.  
mother daughter-ABL beautiful  
'The mother is more beautiful than the daughter.'

(iii) The ablative is used to express the semantic role of cause:

(184) ehi karo-ru 'for this reason'  
durbolɔ-ru 'out of weakness'  
amɔ pati-ru 'on our advice' (lit. 'from our mouth')

(185) borsa obhaco-ru bhūi sukhiho-ho-i-ja-ich-i.  
rain want-ABL ground dry become-CV-V2:go-PERF-3s  
'The ground has become dry for want of rain.'

I learned become-PERF-1s he-OBL:EMPH blessing-ABL  
'I have become a learned person thanks to his blessings.'
3.1.4.6 Locative

The suffix -re (for the variant -e see p. 47) is used for both locative case and instrumental case. Since it is not always clear which of the two functions -re has, we shall gloss it as locative case, throughout the grammar.

**Locative**  The locative case marker -re is used to mark location in time and in space.

(187) bhobisycə-re ‘in the future’
      rati-re  ‘at night’
      adhuniko juko-re ‘in modern times’
      proti muhurttcə-re ‘in every moment’

(188) thik ehi somayə-re mo-ro swami as-i-phocnc-il-e.
      just this time-LOC my-GEN husband come-CV-arrive-PST-3p(HON)
      ‘Just at this moment my husband arrived.’

(189) khoborcə-tə sun-i se muncə-re hato de-l-a.
      news-ART hear-CV his head-LOC hand give-PST-3s
      ‘He put his hands on his head when he heard the news.’

(190) muncə-re prosnc as-uch-i.
      mind-LOC question come-PROG-3s
      ‘A question comes to mind.’

When the location is given with a human referent, the bridge morpheme pakhə ‘side’ is used (see p. 55).

(191) tumcə  pakhə-re kichi țonka-poisa och-i?
      you(POL):OBL side-LOC some money-money be-3s
      ‘Have you got any money with you?’

However, when the human location is not understood as spatial but as abstract, the nominal occurs without pakhə (but with -tha).

(192) taa-ro protvəkhə promaŋə mə ajii tumcə-thare pa-il-i.
      it-GEN evident proof I today you(POL)-LOC find-PST-1s
      ‘I found evident proof for it in you today (for the rule that he who follows the advice of the scriptures in his daily activity is really wise).’

In (193) the locative expresses extent of time.

(193) se panco borscə-re gəbesəna sesc kə-l-e.
      he five year-LOC research end do-PST-3s
      ‘He finished his research within five years.’
Some of the adverbial expressions denoting time or location are not marked for case at all.

(194) kichi somayọ pərhiba 'read for some time'
Orissa buliba 'travel around in Orissa (as a tourist)'

**Instrumental**  (i) The case marker -re denotes the tool by which an action is done. Note that -re is not used for human agents in passive constructions; there the postposition dwara 'by' is used (see 4.6.3).

(195) khali akhi-re dekhíheba 'be seen with the naked eye'
hato-re karjyo koriba 'do an activity by hand'
pənkha-re binciba 'fan by a fan'

(196) se goṭi-e nali kəlɔmɔ-re lekh-ucht-i.  
she CL-INDEF red pen-LOC write-PROG-3s  
'She is writing with a red pen.'

(197) garí-ti chɔtisɔ hɔjaro tɔnka-re kĩ-nil-i.  
car-ART thirty-six thousand rupee-LOC buy-PST-1s  
'I bought the car for 36,000 rupees.'

(ii) The locative case expresses the manner by which an action is done.

(198) bɔrɔ paṭi-re kɔtha kɔriba 'speak loudly (with a big mouth)'
phon-re kohiba 'speak on the phone'
Oría-re kohiba 'speak in Oriya'
subidha-re miliiba 'be easily available (lit. with opportunity)'

(199) garí-re sthano sɔŋgɔkhyaŋɔ no-kɔ-le aramɔ-re jatra  
train-LOC place reservation NEG-do-CONDCV comfort-LOC journey  
kɔr-i-he-bɔ nahi.  
do-CV-be-PUT-3s NEG  
'You cannot travel comfortably without booking a seat on the train.'

(200) soho soho sɔnkhyə-re jatri-bahi bɔs Puri as-uchtɔnti.  
hundred RDP number-LOC pilgrim-carrying b. P. come-PROG-3p  
'Hundreds of buses with pilgrims are coming to Puri (lit. they are coming in the number of hundreds).'  

(iii) The locative indicates the material of which an object is made.

(201) ghɔrɔ iṭa o siment-re tiari.  
house brick and c.-LOC built  
'The house is made of brick and cement.'

(iv) In certain contexts the locative expresses cause:
(202) ethi-re khusi ‘happy about this’
e kōtha-re kandiba ‘cry because of this matter’
ōhokarc-re əndhə ‘blind with pride’
rajanko adesō-re ‘by the king’s order’
bhul-re ‘by mistake’

(203) bhokə-re mo peço au tu pau tu he-uch-i. hunger-LOC my stomach IDEO be-PROG-3s
‘My stomach is rumbling with hunger.’

(204) hōijə rog-i ku bhaya-re keh i chū-û-no-th-il-e. cholera patient-DAT fear-LOC anybody touch-IPFV-NEG-AUX-PST-3p
‘Out of fear nobody touched the cholera patient.’

3.1.5 Reduplication

Reduplicated nouns involve two senses: excessive plural meaning and distributive meaning. Excessive plural meaning is seen with temporal expressions, e.g. masə masə dhor i ‘for months’, dino dino dhor i ‘for days’.

(205) jōn-e mōhila borsə borsə dhor-i kichi kichi ortho sōncəyə CL-INDEF woman year RDP take-CV some RDP money collect kor-i-rēkh-uth-il-e. do-CV-keep-IPFV-PST-3p(HON)
‘A woman was collecting money little by little over the years.’

(206) pruthibi-rc priyo mōniso-ncō sango-re cīthi-re cīthire cīthi earth-GEN dear man-OBL with-LOC letter-LOC RDP letter sōmporkə jōr-i-cal-uch-i. relationship join-CV-V2:go-PROG-3s
‘He entertains letter relationships with dear people of the world by lots of letters.’

In other contexts the reduplication signals distributivity.

(207) e-sōbu jinisə gāā gāā-re sōhajə-re mil-uch-i. this-all thing village RDP-LOC easy-LOC be.available-PROG-3s
‘All these things are easily available in any village.’

The noun can be marked for the indefinite suffix -e.

(208) e-bhōli kamə kōr-ə jepor i pruthibi-rc kōn-e kone protyekə this-like work do-2p:IMP in.order earth-GEN corner-INDEF RDP every loko tōmə-ku mōn-e rēkh-ib-e. person you(POL)-DAT mind-LOC keep-FUT-3p
‘Do something so that in every corner of the earth all people will remember you.’
As illustrated in the examples above, the case suffix can be repeated or not. In (210) the reduplication means “x by x”.

(When somebody’s stomach is upset.)

(210) maṭi-ku goḷo goḷo kor-i poṭi akar-re bondh-a-ja-i-par-e.
earth-DAT ball RDP do-CV bandage shape-LOC bind-PASS-go-CV-can-3s:HAB
‘Earth can be shaped into balls and formed as a bandage.’

(211) se dhok-e dhoke caha pi-uch-i.
he gulp-INDEF RDP tea drink-PROG-3s
‘He is drinking the tea in sips.’

3.2 Adjectives

3.2.1 Definition and forms

As almost every language, Oriya distinguishes between nouns and verbs. Their respective features have been listed at the proper place (see 3.1 and 4.2.1 respectively). Here we will deal with the recognition of a third word class, the adjective. Adjectives can be oriented either towards nouns or towards verbs (Wetzer 1992). Oriya adjectives clearly show a noun-like character in that they have the following properties in common with nouns, as opposed to verbs:

- Both occur with the articles -ta / -ṭi.
- Both occur with plural markers.
- Both appear with case suffixes.
- Both occur in predicative position.
- Both can occur as determiner to a (head) noun phrase (without any genitive or oblique marker).

Adjectives form a separate word class from nouns on the basis of the following facts:

- They are specified by intensifier particles, e.g. khub boṛ ‘very big’ (see 5.1.3).
- They are used in comparison constructions.
- They belong to the semantic domain of properties, whereas nouns rather denote entities.
3.2.2. Adjective formation

- Some adjectives are derived from other word classes and are thus distinguished from nouns by formal criteria, see 3.2.2. On the other hand some nouns are derived from adjectives by a Sanskrit-derived process of suffixing:

- ta dirgha-ta 'length' dirgha 'long'
sabdhana-ta 'attention' sabdhana 'attentive'
ucc-a-ta 'height' ucc-a 'high'

Most adjectives are invariable. Some few adjectives have a separate form ending in -i when referring to females, i.e. they exhibit agreement with natural gender; but this agreement is optional, nouns denoting female persons or animals can occur with the adjective in masculine form as well. The form for masculine referents is used when referring to non-human nouns. The forms signalling agreement are inherited from Sanskrit where adjectives exhibited a full agreement system. The list below shows some of the more frequent forms with feminine suffixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>masculine form</th>
<th>feminine form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>geræ</td>
<td>gerï</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moçi</td>
<td>moçi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sundra</td>
<td>sundraï</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other suffixes:

- buddhiman        buddhimoti 'clever'
guñoban           guñoboti  'endowed with good qualities'

After a short look at adjective formation (3.2.2), we shall discuss the various uses of adjectives: attributive, predicative and nominal use (3.2.3). In 3.2.4 the comparative constructions will be described, and 3.2.5 deals with the adverbial use of adjectives. Equative constructions are formed with correlative elements (see 7.8).

3.2.2 Adjective formation

(i) Adjectives can be simple, derived or composed. Most of the simple adjectives are bisyllabic or trisyllabic. Consider the following list with some basic adjectives:

- aræ 'next' haluka 'light' ēdhæ 'half'
bhara 'heavy' kala 'deaf' āsua 'lazy'
bhæ 'good' khali 'empty' ēndha 'blind'
3.2. Adjectives

biseso ‘special’ khorap ‘bad’ onyg ‘other’
bọp ‘big’ kọla ‘black’ osaria ‘wide’
chọto ‘small, short’ kọra ‘spiced, harsh’ puruọa ‘old’
dhịro ‘patient, slow’ kọsto ‘difficult’ sagua ‘green’
dhọla ‘white’ lọp ‘red’ sidha ‘straight’
dhọni ‘rich’ lomba ‘long’ sọbuọ ‘green’
đahano ‘right’ mịtha ‘sweet’ sọhọ ‘easy’
gombhirọ ‘deep’ nali ‘red’ sọsta ‘cheap’
gọrìbo ‘poor’ nọla ‘blue’ thọdọ ‘cold’
gọrọcọ ‘hot’ nọrọcọ ‘soft’ uccọ ‘high’
gọto ‘last’ nua ‘new’

(ii) Derived adjectives are formed from nouns or from verbs. The most frequent derivative suffixes consist of a vowel or vowel sequence (-a, -ia, -ua). Some other suffixes contain a sonorant (-ọra, -li, -ali). It is difficult to assign a distinctive semantic value to the various suffixes. The exact meaning depends heavily upon the noun or the verb to which they are attached. The list below is restricted to native affixes; in the end some suffixes borrowed from Sanskrit will be discussed. Note that the same affixes are also used in the derivation of nouns (see 3.1.1.1).

- -a
darhi ‘beard’ darhi-a ‘bearded’
dokhiọ ‘south’ dokhiọ-a ‘southern’
mati ‘ground’ mati-a ‘brown’

- -i
Bonarọso ‘Varanasi’ Bonarọso-i ‘of Varanasi’
dago ‘sign’ dag-i ‘stained’
Kọtọko ‘Cuttack’ Kọtọko-i ‘of Cuttack’

- -ia
gọrọ ‘leg’ gor-ia ‘legged’
paharọ ‘hill’ pahar-ia ‘mountainous’
sorokarọ ‘government’ sorokar-ia ‘governmental’

- -ua
bolọ ‘strength’ bol-ua ‘strong’
meghọ ‘cloud’ megh-ua ‘cloudy’
ondharọ ‘night’ ondhar-ua ‘very dark’

- -ali, -eli, -uli
coiṭo ‘Chaitra’ (month) coiṭ-ali ‘born in Chaitra’
gāa ‘village’ gā-uli ‘rustic’
suna ‘gold’ sun-ulì / sun-eli ‘golden’
-cia: resemblance pani ‘water’ pani-cia ‘insipid’
    mai ‘female’ mai-cia ‘effeminate’
    lajo ‘red’ lajo-cia ‘reddish’

-ťia dhūā ‘smoke’ dhūā-ťia ‘smoky’
    luha ‘iron’ luha-ťia ‘of iron’
    khora ‘noon’ khora-ťia ‘at noon time’

We include here some of the most frequent suffixes that are borrowed from Sanskrit and occur mainly in Sanskrit loans. Some morphophonological irregularities have been inherited from Sanskrit as well, e.g. the change ē → a in abhidhana ‘dictionary’ vs. abhidhanika ‘lexical’.

- ban (M), boti (F): having the property

    bolo ‘strength’ bolo-ban ‘strong’
    doya ‘mercy’ doya-ban ‘person who forgives’
    mulyo ‘value’ mulyo-ban ‘precious’

-goto: relating to byokti ‘person’ byokti-goto ‘individual’
    dolo ‘group’ dolo-goto ‘group’

- iyo: origin Arōba ‘Arabia’ Arō-iyo ‘Arabian’
    Bharāta ‘India’ Bharāt-iyo ‘Indian’

- ko, iko abhidhana ‘dictionary’ abhidan-iko ‘lexical’
    paribaro ‘family’ paribar-iko ‘related to family’
    prayogo ‘use’ prayog-iko ‘contextual’

-niyo dōnda ‘punishment’ dōnda-niyo ‘who is punished’
    lobo ‘greed’ lobo-niyo ‘creating greed’

-ta, ita byobhaaro ‘use’ byobhara-ta ‘used’
    dukha ‘pain’ dukha-ta ‘unhappy’
    uposthano ‘presence’ upostha-ta ‘present’

There is one frequent derivative prefix: ē- or on- (before a vowel). It forms the antonym to the adjective to which it is preposed. It is used with loanwords from Sanskrit and with native words as well.
osaria ‘wide’  o ṭ-osaria ‘narrow’
sundoro ‘beautiful’  o-sundoro ‘ugly’
sustho ‘healthy’  o-sustho ‘ill’

The prefix can be applied to a few deverbal a-forms as well:

dekh- ‘see’  dekh-a ‘seen’  o-dekh-a ‘unseen’
kac- ‘wash’  kac-a ‘washed’  o-kac-a ‘unwashed’

(iii) The second type of adjective formation is composition. The last part of the
composed word is a simple adjective or derived adjective. The first part can be
a numeral (1), an adjective (2) or a noun (3).

(1) ekɔ-akhi-a kɔŋa lɔko ‘one-eyed blind man’
di-bɔkʰor-ia gʰɔɾo ‘house with two rooms’
dui-tɔnŋ-ia dam ‘a price of two rupees’
15-jɔŋ-ia kɔmɪtɪ ‘committee composed of 15 persons’

(2) lomba-gɔr-ia kukuɾo ‘dog with long legs’
lontɔ-manaŋ-ia lɔko ‘man with a shaven head’
puruna-kaɬ-ia ‘old-fashioned’

(3) rɔɡɔ-ɔmukɔ ‘freed from disease’
noi-kuł-ia gã ‘village on the riverside’

Adjectives can be formed by reduplication:

(4) rɔŋɔ-ɔrɔŋ-ia ‘coloured’
nuhi-a-muɦi dhɔka ‘frontal collision’

3.2.3 Use

Attributive use Adjectives in the function of a modifier are preposed to
their head noun. As mentioned above agreement with a feminine head noun is
optional:

(5) sundoro balika / balaŋ / chɔbi or: sundor-i balika
beautiful girl boy picture beautiful-F girl
‘a beautiful girl / boy / picture’

The following is an example of agreement with a head noun denoting a female
animal:

(6) amo dhɔl-i birari tini- ti chua kɔr-ich-i.
our white-F cat three-CL baby do-PERF-3s
‘Our white cat has given birth to three kittens.’

Note that the fourth example of (1) contains a classifier as second element (jɔŋɔ).
3.2.3. Use

The reduplication of an adjective signals plurality, e.g. bhola bhola loko ‘good people’.

(7) borgo borgo gacho upar-iba pai hati jothesto bolban.
big RDP tree uproot-INF for elephant enough strong
‘The elephant is strong enough to uproot big trees.’

(8) sotokora 70 bhago loko choṭo choṭo gāa-re baso kør-anti.
percent 70 part people small RDP village-LOC living do-3p:HAB
‘70 percent of the people live in small villages.’

Predicative use (i) Adjectives in predicative function in affirmative sentences do not need any copula. There is optional agreement with subjects denoting female referents.

(9) a. se loko-ta moṭa.
that person-ART fat
‘That man is fat.’

b. se stri-loko-ta moṭ-i.
that woman-person-ART fat-F
‘That woman is fat.’

The adjective in predicative function is negated by the auxiliary nuh- ‘not to be’.

(10) ei ghora-ro chato-guriko ucco nuh-ē.
this house-GEN roof-PL high be:NEG-3s
‘The roofs of this house are not high.’

(ii) There is a small group of lexemes which semantically belong to the class of adjectives, but which behave differently in predicative function, insofar as they require the presence of the auxiliaries och- ‘be’ (with present time reference) or tha- ‘be’ (elsewhere). This group includes bondo ‘closed’, änner ‘late’ and khola ‘open’.

(11) e kobaṭo-ti khola och-i. se jhoraṭa-ti bondo och-i.
this door-ART open be-3s that window-ART closed be-3s
‘This door is open. That window is shut.’

When the speaker wants to use these three pseudo-adjectives in attributive position, the use of the infinitive of tha- ‘be’ (thiba) is required.

(12) se bondo th-iba baksre amā-ro lugapota och-i.
that closed be-INF box-LOC we-GEN clothes be-3s
‘Our clothes are in that closed box.’
(iii) The adjective can stand in apposition to a direct object.

(13) Rama ta-ku cintita dekh-il-a.
R. she-DAT worried see-PST-3s
‘Rama saw that she was worried (lit. saw her worried).’

Nominal use Adjectives can function as nominal themselves, without a head noun.

(14) boro kodi mo-ro lafa nah-i. mo-ro sanca dorkar.
big banana I-GEN need be:NEG-3s I-GEN small need
‘I don’t need big bananas. I need small ones.’

(A customer wants to buy a big glue-stick. The vendor says:)

(15) boro nah-i. — choto di-o.
big be:NEG-3s small give-2p:IMP
‘There are no big ones. — (Customer:) Give (me) a small one.’

They can take the articles -ta / ti, e.g. in (16), or the indefinite marker -tie (17) and can be marked for case (18, 19).

(16) keu kot-qi tuma-ku bhola lag-uch-i? kola-ti na neilia-ti?
which coat-ART you(POL)-DAT good feel-PROG-3s black-ART or blue-ART
‘Which coat would you like to have? The black one or the blue one?’

(17) mo-ro puruna kyamera-ti hoi-i-gol-a. ei-ti nua-tie.
I-GEN old camera-ART be.lost-CV-V2:go:PST-3s this-ART new-INDEF
‘I lost my old camera. This is a new one.’

(18) purbe Sanskrita bhasa-re ‘aparupa’ koh-ile kutsita ba
before-LOC S. incomparable say-CONDCV ugly or
sundoro ku bujha-uth-il-a.
NEG-beautiful-DAT understand-CAUS-IPFV-PST-3s
‘In earlier times if you said “aparupa” in Sanskrit, an ugly one or a not-beautiful one was referred to.’ (Oriya school grammar)

(19) ta-nko-ra cari puo. sobu-tharu boro-ti-ku mota daso borsa.
he-OBL-GEN four son all-ABL big-ART-DAT only ten year
‘He has four sons. The eldest is only ten.’

In the examples above the adjectives refer to concrete objects which have the quality described by the adjective. A more abstract use is seen in (20), where the adjectives puruna ‘old’ and nua ‘new’ denote anything with the respective quality.
3.2.4 Comparison

(i) Comparative constructions normally do not require a special form of the adjective (for exceptions, see below). The adjective is optionally marked for comparison by the particles ahuri ‘more’, besi ‘much’ or adhika ‘more’, and by kom ‘less’ for the opposite meaning. The standard of comparison takes the ablative case extended by -tha or appears in the oblique form with the postposition opekhya ‘than’. It normally precedes the comparative.

(21) se mo opekhya ahuri conçal lekh-e.
    he I:OBL than more fast write-3s:HAB
    ‘He writes faster than me.’

(22) Madhu Sadhu opekhya kamo-re besi jatnoban.
    M. S. than work-LOC much careful
    ‘Madhu is more careful in his work than Sādhu.’

(23) e prosno-ti se prosno-tharu adhika kosto.
    this question-ART that question-ABL more difficult
    ‘This question is more difficult than that question.’

(The speaker is afraid to go to the dentist.)

(24) ta-thu pila jommo kor-iba borong kom kosto.
    it-ABL child birth make-INF moreover less difficult
    ‘Even giving birth to a child is less bad than that.’

(ii) An explicit comparative marker (such as adhika ‘more’) can be missing; the nominal marked for ablative case signals that the adjective has comparative meaning.

(25) sri Daso srimoti Daso-tharu deso borse borse.
    Mr D. Mrs D.-ABL ten year big
    ‘Mr Dāsa is ten years older than Mrs Dāsa.’

Comparison can be expressed by two coordinated clauses conjoined by na ‘or’.

(26) etha-ru condro-ra dursta besi na Astreliya-ra dursta besi?
    here-ABL moon-GEN distance much or A.-GEN distance much
'Where is the moon farther away from, from here or from Australia? (lit. Is the distance from here to the moon long or is the distance to Australia long?)'

(27) Inglaŋ ə bhoːc na Bharəc bhoːc?
E. good or India good
'What is better, England or India?'

The case of the standard noun phrase is a fixed case (Stassen (1985, p. 29)): there is no variation depending upon the case of the comparee. So tanko in (28) is not marked for the dative case, although its underlying semantic role is benefactive.

(28) taṅko opekhya se mo-te kəm bəhi de-l-e.
    he-OBL than he I-DAT less book give-PST-3p(HON)
'He gave me fewer books than him.'

The superlative constructions are comparative constructions where the standard of comparison is expressed by the quantifiers sobu or somọtə with the ablative case marker, sobutharu / somọtənkətharu 'of all'.

(29) Jun bərso-ro sobu-tharu gərməc masəc.
    June year-GEN all-ABL hot month
'June is the hottest month of the year.'

(30) Rəmc taṅko-ṛə tini bhai-nkə-tharu bərə th-il-e. Rəmc
    he-OBL-GEN three brother-OBL-ABL big be-PST-3p(HON) R.
    somọtə-nkə-tharu bərə.
    all-OBL-ABL big
'Rāma was older than his three brothers. Rāma was the eldest.'

Adjectives loaned from Sanskrit can have special forms for comparative and superlative: they can take the suffix -təro (comparative) and the suffix -təmo (superlative).

'more . . .' 'most . . .'

loghu loghu-təro loghu-təmo 'light'
nikətə nikətə-təro nikətə-təmo 'near'
sundəkə sundəkə-təro sundəkə-təmo 'beautiful'

(31) emanə-nkə opekhya nəbyə Bharatiya-arjya bhasa-guriko sobo Oriya
    these-OBL than new Indo-Aryan language-PL with O.
    bhasa-roc paribar-ikə somporkə nikətə-təro.
    language-GEN genetic connection near-CMPR
'The genetic relationship of the Oriya language is closer with the New Indo-Aryan languages than with them (i.e. English, German, etc.).'
(Oriya school grammar)
(32) Brahmaputra Bharat-re dirgha-tamo nodi.  
B. India-GEN long-SUP river  
‘The Brahmaputra is the longest river in India.’

3.2.5 Adjectives in adverbial function

Adjectives can be used as modifiers of verbs or of clauses. This is done in several ways:

- The adjectives appear in the same form as in attributive function.
- They take the locative case marker -re.
- They are combined with the converb kor-i ‘having done’.
- They function as modifier to a head noun marked by the locative case, such as rup-e ‘in the form’ or bhabo-re ‘in the thought’.

Besides, some adverbs loaned from Sanskrit have a common final element -tɔ.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>adjective</th>
<th>adverb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bisesɔ</td>
<td>bisesɔ-tɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gounɔ</td>
<td>gounɔ-tɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mukhɔɔ</td>
<td>mukhɔɔ-tɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prɔɔthɔɔmɔ</td>
<td>prɔɔthɔɔmɔ-tɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sadharɔɔnɔ</td>
<td>sadharɔɔnɔ-tɔ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(33) se sadharɔɔnɔ-tɔ kodɔli-potɔɔ-re kha-nti.  
he usual-ADVR banana-leaf-LOC eat-3p(HON):HAB  
‘He usually eats from a banana leaf.’

Compare the adjectival use in sadharɔɔnɔ poristhitire ‘under normal circumstances’.

(i) Without suffix:

(34) se sobha-re bhɔɔlɔ koh-il-e.  
he meeting-LOC good say-PST-3p(HON)  
‘He spoke well at the meeting.’

(ii) With locative case:

G. today meat-ART how cook-PERF-3s beautiful cook-PERF-3s  
‘How has Gauri cooked the meat today? — She has cooked it nicely.’
(36) tume jete sôhôjô-re e gôchô-re cóph-i-par-il-o mû you(POL) how.much easy-LOC this tree-LOC climb-CV-can-FUT-2p I par-il-i. can-FUT-1s
'I can climb this tree as easily as you.'

(37) mû sosta-re ghôra-ţa bik-i-de-l-i. I cheap-LOC house-ART sell-CV-V2:give-PST-1s
'I sold the house cheap.'

There are some short forms such as sôhôj-e ‘easily’ or prôthôm-e ‘first’.

(iii) With korî:

(38) mû tumô bhai-nku bhôlo korî jan-e. I your(POL) brother-OBL:DAT good do-CV know-1s:HAB
'I know your brother well.'

korî in this function cannot be negated, e.g. *bhôlo no-korî. Note that korî is used with the verb in -i in similar function (e.g. dekh-i kor-i having seen’, see 4.3.5.1).

(iv) With rupe (< rupe ‘form’) or bhâbôre (< bhâbô ‘thought’; note that the same noun is used as postposition: bhâbe ‘as’):

(39) mû bhôlo rup-e / bhôlo bhâbô-re jan-e. I good form-LOC good thought-LOC know-1s:HAB
'I know it well.'

(40) bhai jetiki sundôra bhâbô-re lekh-e bhounî setiki brother as.much beautiful thought-LOC write-3s:HAB sister so.much sundôra bhâbô-re lekh-e. beautiful thought-LOC write-3s:HAB
'The sister writes as nicely as the brother writes.'

3.2.6 Quantifiers

Quantifiers determine the quantity of their (following) head, when used in attributive position, or they determine the quantity of the set they refer to, when used as nominal. Most of the quantifiers occur as intensifying particles as well, see 5.1.3.

3.2.6.1 Quantifiers denoting small quantities

The following quantifiers are used to denote small quantities.
3.2.6. Quantifiers

əlpo ‘a few’ (does not occur as nominal)
kəm ‘few, little’
țikie / tike ‘a little’

(i) əlpo and kəm refer both to countable and uncountable referents. When used attributively əlpo can be followed by the indefinite pronouns kete / kichi.

(41) e skul-re mo-ro əlpo kete-jono sango och-anti.
   this s.-LOC I-GEN few some-CL friend be-3p
   ‘I have a few friends in this school.’

(42) brahmən əthakuraŋi-nku əlpo kichi pani de-l-a.
   b. goddess-OBL:DAT few some water give-PST-3s
   ‘The brahman gave a little water to the goddess.’

ketə / kichi can be missing, e.g. əlpo somoyore ‘in a short time.’

(ii) əlpo denotes a small quantity without negative connotation, whereas kəm includes the sense that it is too small and should be greater.

(43) brahmən əthakuraŋi-nku kəm pani de-l-a.
   b. goddess-OBL:DAT little water give-PST-3s
   ‘The brahman gave little water to the goddess.’

(44) mū ete kəm porsent-re e kəm kər-iβə mo pokhy-e sombhəbo
   I so few p.-LOC this work do-INF I:OBL side-LOC possible nah-ē.
   be:NEG-3s
   ‘It is not possible for me to do this job at so few per cent.’

(iii) kəm can be used both as attribute (for examples see above) and as nominal.

(45) eha-ro dam 100 dolar-ru kəm he-b-ō.
   this-GEN price 100 d.-ABL less be-FUT-3s
   ‘Its price will be less than 100 dollar.’

(46) sərutari cakiria-nkə dərəma kichi kəm nuh-ē.
   governmental employee-OBL salary some few be:NEG-3s
   ‘Governmental employees’ salary is not small.’

(The speaker counts a set of tickets for the cinema show in the evening.)

(47) ethi-re dui-ti tikeṭ kəm och-i.
   this-LOC two-CL t. few be-3s
   ‘There are two tickets missing in here.’

(iv) tike has the same meaning as əlpo, but it is less formal than əlpo. Besides, it is used as a politeness particle as well (see 5.1.2).
(48) taa-ro posak-po tiikie dali por-i-gol-a.
    he-GEN cloth-LOC a.little dal fall-CV-V2:go:PST-3s
    'A little dal fell on his clothes.'

*tiikie* is used in negated sentences in the sense of 'not even a bit':

(49) Pina nijo kotha *tiikie* bi cinta kor-u-no-th-il-a.
    P. REFL matter a.little even concern do-IPFV-NEG-AUX-PST-3s
    'Pina did not care about herself a bit.'

### 3.2.6.2 *jothesto* ‘enough’

The quantifier *jothesto* ‘enough’ is used to denote a quantity which equals the required amount.

(50) cahida tułang-po jothesto mukta jogancu nah-i.
    demand comparison-LOC enough pearl supply be:NEG-3s
    'Compared to the demand there are not enough pearls that can be supplied.'

(51) jodi protyek-e tonka-thi di-ont-e, jothesto hu-ont-a.
    if everybody-NOM rupee INDEF give COND-3p enough be:COND-3s
    'If everybody gave one rupee, it would be enough.'

### 3.2.6.3 Quantifiers denoting large quantities

The following quantifiers are used to denote large quantities.

- besi / bes   ‘much, many’
- khub         ‘much, many’
- onekə        ‘much, many’
- bohut / bohu ‘much, many’
- gurie / gurae ‘a lot of’

(i) *gurie* / *gurae* can be attached to *besi*, *bohut* and *onekə*, i.e. *besi-gurie*, *bohut-gurie* and *onekə-gurie* ‘many’.

(52) onekə-gurie hotel-ro kakö jhoroka bhang-ith-il-a.
    many-many  h.-GEN glass window break-PERF-PST-3s
    'Of many hotels the windows broke.'

(ii) *besi* and *onekə* can be combined with *kichi*.

(53) setha-po besi kichi / onekə kichi dekh-iba-ku mil-e.
    there-LOC much some much some see-INF-DAT be.available-3s:HAB
    'There are a lot of things to see there.'
(iii) *khub*, *besi*, *gurie*, and *bohut* have more or less the same meaning:

(54) jilla-ro **khub** / **besi** / **gurie** / **bohut** loka ethi-re sɔnntuswo
    district-GEN many many many many people this-LOC content
    nuh-ɔnti.
    be:NEG-3p
    ‘Many people of the district are not content with this.’

*bohut* seems sometimes to have a more negative connotation.

(55) stri-loko-mane je **bohut** kɔtha kuh-ɔnti, e kɔtha prɔtyekɔ
    woman-person-PL PTCL much matter say-3p:HAB this matter every
    bibahitɔ puruɔ jan-e.
    married man know-3s:HAB
    ‘Every married man knows that women talk a lot.’

(iv) *onekɔ* is used when there are many single items whereas *bohut* is used for overall large quantities, e.g. *onekɔ* somɔyɔre ‘often, many times’ vs. *bohut* somɔyɔ ‘much time’.

(56) se probonto-ru **onekɔ** kɔtha jan-i-he-l-a.
    that article-ABL many matter learn-CV-be-PST-3s
    ‘Many things were learnt from that article.’

(v) When *onekɔ* is used as nominal, the suffix -e is added (see 3.1.4.2).

(57) **onek-ɛ** e kɔtha biswasɔ kor-ɔnti nahi.
    many-NOM this matter belief do-3p:HAB NEG
    ‘Many people do not believe this.’

3.2.6.4 Quantifiers with comparative meaning

There are two quantifiers which involve a comparison (for comparison see 3.2.4): *ɔdhiko* ‘more’ (cf. *ekadhiko* ‘several’ from *eko* ‘one’ + *ɔdhiko*) and *ɔdhikanɔ* ‘most of’ (< *ɔdhiko* + *ongɔ* ‘part’).

(About a group of students.)

(58) semano-ŋkɔ mɔdhyɔ-ru **ɔdhikanɔ** Aphghanistan-ro.
    they-OBL middle-ABL most A.-GEN
    ‘Most of them are from Afghanistan.’

(59) semane dino-ro **ɔdhikanɔ** somɔyɔ bos-i-soh-uch-ɔnti.
    they day-GEN most time sit-CV-V2:stay-PROG-3p
    ‘They are sitting around most of the time during the day.’

(The wife to her drunken husband.)
(60) tume odhiko pi-i-de-ich-o.
you(POL) more drink-CV-V2:give-PERF-2p
‘You have drunk too much.’

3.2.6.5 Universal quantifiers

The following universal quantifiers are found in Oriya.\footnote{In addition, there are many Sanskrit-derived expressions, e.g. somudayo ‘all’, somagro ‘whole’, sorbason ‘everything’, etc.}

sobu ‘all’
somosto ‘all, everyone’
proti ‘each (attributive)’
protyeko ‘each (nom. & attr.)’ \(< \proti + ek\o ‘one’\)
lekhâe ‘each’

The following points can be observed about the occurrence of the universal quantifiers mentioned above.

(i) sobu is used in the following expressions:

(61) sobu kichi ‘everything’
    sobu-thi-i ‘everywhere’ \(< \tha ‘place’\)
    sobu-ar-e ‘everywhere’ \(< \aro ‘side’\)
    sobu-thi-re ‘in everything’ (cf. ethire ‘in this’)
    sobu-mote ‘in every way’ (cf. kounosi mote ‘anyhow’)
    sobu-din\o ‘always’ \(< \din\o ‘day’, belo ‘time’\)
    sobu-bele

(ii) Attributive use: sobu and somosto are interchangeable in most of the cases. somosto often belongs to a more formal style.

(62) biswoc samosto / sobu sastro kuh-e je, ...
world-GEN all all scripture say-3s:HAB PTCL
‘All scriptures of the world say that ...’

sobu can be suffixed to nouns and pronouns (personal, demonstratives, interrogative and relative pronouns), e.g. jahasobu ‘which all’ and sesobu ‘those all’ and the following examples.

(63) dudho sobu ‘all the milk’
baki sobu ‘all the rest’
e suna sobu ‘all this gold’
ehii-sobu gãã ‘all these villages’
e-sobu kiniiha ‘buy all this’
tome-sobu ‘you all’
(About traditions that are in danger of disappearing.)

(64) agami kali se-sobu-ra mulyo jon-a-por-ib-ə.
next time that-all-GEN value know-PASS-fall-FUT-3s

‘In the time to come the value of all those (traditions) will be recognised.’

(65) se ta-nku dhormo bisoy-o-re jaha-sobu pocar-il-e, Rama
he he-OBL:DAT religion matter-LOC what-all ask-PST-3p(HON) R.
taa-ro ḥhik ḥhik uttoro de-l-e.
it-GEN correct RDP answer give-PST-3p(HON)

‘Whatever he asked him about religion, Rama answered (him) very correctly.’

(Bablu planned to go on an excursion the next day.)

(66) rati-re Bablu taa-ro istri kor-a sarṭ, pyaṁṭ, jota, moja sobu
night-LOC B. he-GEN iron do-PTCP s. p. shoe stockings all
sojar-i-rakh-il-a.
arrange-CV-keep-PST-3s

‘In the night Bablu arranged everything: his ironed shirt, pants, shoes, and stockings.’

(iii) Nominal use: when somostə and protyekeə are used as nominals, the suffix -e is added, i.e. somoste ‘all’ and protyeke ‘everybody’. When marked for case, they require the oblique suffix -nkə, e.g. somostə-nku (var. somosti-nki), protyeke-nku ‘to everybody’.

(67) aṭa poribar-i-rə somost-e / *somostə ccono uth-onti.
our family-GEN all-NOM all early get.up-3p:HAB

‘Everyone in our family gets up early.’

(68) ta-nku bhai chor-a mū ta-nku poribar-i somostə-nku bholo
he-OBL brother leave-PTCP I he-OBL family-GEN all-OBL:DAT good
pa-e.
find-1s:HAB

‘I like everyone in his family except his brother.’

In nominal function somoste refers to human beings, whereas sobu mainly refers to non-human referents.

(About a special watch.)

(69) somostə-nku hatə-re e ghori dekh-ib-e-ni.
all-OBL hand-LOC this watch see-FUT-3p-NEG

‘This watch will not be seen on everybody’s wrist (lit. they will not see . . . ).’
(70) **sobu** to jharc borsc-re gol-a, kha-iba kconc?
all PTCL storm rain-LOC go:PST-3s eat-INF what
‘Everything has gone in the storm, what is there to eat?’

(71) se taa-roc **sobu** hor-a-i-bos-il-a.
he he-GEN all be.lost-CAUS-CV-V2:sit-PST-3s
‘He lost everything he had.’

(iv) **proti** primarily occurs in attributive position, whereas **protyeke** is used in both nominal and attributive function. They are distributive quantifiers, i.e. they pick out the members of a group singly rather than referring to them as mass. However, they trigger plural agreement.

(72) **protyeke**-e njo-roc pronsansa su-iba-ku bholo pa-bnti.
every-NOM REFL-GEN praise hear-INF-DAT good find-3p:HAB
‘Everyone likes to hear his own praise.’

(73) “Nndono Kanono” **proti** Ingrai maso-re prthomc scptahc-re
N. K. every E. month-LOC first week-LOC
prokas oc pa-e.
publication find-3s:HAB
‘Nandana Kānana is published every first week of the English month.’

(v) **lekhāe** ‘each’ is used in sentences with distributive meaning:

(74) **protyeke** pila goti-e **lekhāe** biskut kha-il-e.
each child CL-INDEF each b. eat-PST-3p
‘All the children ate one cooky each.’

(vi) The concept of universal quantity can also be expressed by the suffixes -jako, -sara and -toko (see 3.1.3.5). The suffixes -jako and -toko can be added to **sobu** ‘all’ to emphasise the notion of all-inclusiveness: **sobu-toko** ‘all’, **sobu-jako** ‘all’.

(75) se **sobu-toko** pita kha-i-de-ich-i. — kono sobu? — bilkul
she all-all cake eat-CV-V2:give-PERF-3s INT all completely sobu.
all
‘She has eaten all the cakes. — What, every one? — Every single one.’

(76) mú aji tormc-ku **sobu-jako** okhycro bota-i-de-uch-i.
I today you(POL)-DAT all-all letter instruct-CV-V2:give-PROG-1s
‘I’ll teach you all the (Oriya) letters today.’
3.3 Pronouns

There are four types of pronouns in Oriya, forming a system with four series. They include demonstrative, interrogative and relative pronouns and other proforms (see 3.3.2). In addition there are personal pronouns (3.3.1), interrogative (3.3.3), reflexive (3.3.4), and reciprocal pronouns (3.3.5).

3.3.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns refer to human beings. There are three persons in Oriya; first, second and third. The second and the third persons show forms which contrast in honorificity. The second person distinguishes three degrees: familiar, polite and honorific, whereas the third person has only two forms: non-honorific and honorific.

Like nouns, the pronouns can be made plural by the addition of a suffix -mane, or more rarely sobu ‘all’. There is only one pronoun for first person plural, ame ‘we’ (rarely ame-mane and ambhe), although verb forms for 1p exhibit a distinction between inclusive and exclusive meaning (see 4.2.1 and 6.3).

The case system of the personal pronouns differs from that of the nouns in two respects (see Table 3.3):

(i) The oblique base of the singular forms are clearly distinct from the nominative forms: mo 1s:OBL vs. μū ‘I’, to 2s(FAM):OBL vs. tu ‘you’ and ta 3s:OBL vs. se ‘he’. The nominatives of the first person plural and of the polite second person singular pronouns are marked by the nominative case suffix -e: ame ‘we’ and tume ‘you’.

(ii) The case suffixes are the same as those for nouns, except for the dative in the first and second person singular, where -te instead of -ku is used.

As was stated for nouns, a pronoun that refers to a respectful person or is plural takes the oblique marker -nkū in the dative or -nkɔ elsewhere.

Variants

1s/2s DAT mote / tote
1p ambhe
1p / 2p POL amesobu / tumesobu (sobu ‘all’)
2s POL tome, tumbhe; OBL tómɔ
3p eman, eguriko, seguriko (see 3.3.2.2)

(i) The forms ambhe and tumbhe belong to literary style. tome is a variant of tume.

(ii) Note that the pronoun tume / tome can be used for plural referents as well,
Table 3.3: Personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Oblique&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Dative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>mū</td>
<td>mo</td>
<td>mo-te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>ame</td>
<td>amo</td>
<td>amo-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s FAM</td>
<td>tu</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>to-te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s POL</td>
<td>tume</td>
<td>tume</td>
<td>tume-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s HON</td>
<td>apoŋo&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>apoŋo-nko</td>
<td>apoŋo-nku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p POL</td>
<td>tumemanе</td>
<td>tumemanо-nko</td>
<td>tumemanо-nku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p HON</td>
<td>apoŋomanе</td>
<td>apoŋomanо-nko</td>
<td>apoŋomanо-nku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s N-HON</td>
<td>se&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>taa</td>
<td>ta-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s HON</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>ta-nko</td>
<td>ta-nku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>semane</td>
<td>semano-nko</td>
<td>semano-nku</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Ablative</th>
<th>Locative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>mo-ro</td>
<td>mo-th-u / mo-tha-ru</td>
<td>mo-th-i / mo-tha-re</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>amo-ro</td>
<td>amo-th-u</td>
<td>amo-th-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s FAM</td>
<td>to-ro</td>
<td>to-th-u</td>
<td>to-th-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s POL</td>
<td>tumo-ro</td>
<td>tumo-th-u</td>
<td>tumo-th-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s HON</td>
<td>apoŋo-nko-ro</td>
<td>apoŋo-nko-th-u</td>
<td>apoŋo-nko-th-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p POL</td>
<td>tumoŋomanо-nko-ro</td>
<td>tumoŋomanо-nko-th-u</td>
<td>tumoŋomanо-nko-th-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p HON</td>
<td>apoŋomanо-nko-ro</td>
<td>apoŋomanо-nko-th-u</td>
<td>apoŋomanо-nko-th-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s N-HON</td>
<td>taa-ro</td>
<td>ta-th-u</td>
<td>ta-th-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s HON</td>
<td>ta-nko-ro</td>
<td>ta-nko-th-u</td>
<td>ta-nko-th-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>semano-nko-ro</td>
<td>semano-nko-th-u</td>
<td>semano-nko-th-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Note that the oblique form is used as possessive pronoun (see 3.1.4.4).

<sup>b</sup>Note the form apoŋe 'you', used as address in jocular speech.

<sup>c</sup>The pronoun for third person se belongs to the series of demonstrative pronouns (see 3.3.2.2).
Table 3.4: Correspondences between pronouns and grammatical persons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>natural person</th>
<th>pronoun</th>
<th>verb form</th>
<th>grammatical person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2s FAM</td>
<td>tu</td>
<td>an-\text{-}u</td>
<td>2s ‘you (sg) bring’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s POL</td>
<td>tume</td>
<td>an-\text{-}\text{o}</td>
<td>2p ‘you (sg) bring’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s HON</td>
<td>ap\text{-}\text{o}</td>
<td>an-\text{-}\text{onti}</td>
<td>3p ‘you (sg) bring’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p POL</td>
<td>tumemane</td>
<td>an-\text{-}\text{o}</td>
<td>2p ‘you (pl) bring’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p HON</td>
<td>ap\text{-}\text{o}mane</td>
<td>an-\text{-}\text{onti}</td>
<td>3p ‘you (pl) bring’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s N-HON</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>an-\text{-}\text{e}</td>
<td>3s ‘he brings’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s HON</td>
<td>semenae</td>
<td>an-\text{-}\text{onti}</td>
<td>3p ‘he brings’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>semenae</td>
<td>an-\text{-}\text{onti}</td>
<td>3p ‘they bring’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

though normally plural is marked explicitly by -mane or -sobu.

(The judge to a group of young men.)

(1) \text{tomo-ku} \ arest k\text{-}i jel-re bh\text{\-}r\text{\-}ti k\text{-}r\text{-}iba k\text{\-}tha.
you(POL)-DAT a. do-CV j.-LOC filling do-INF should ‘You should be arrested and put into the prison.’

(iii) Table 3.4 below shows the verbal agreement with the various pronouns (for details on verb forms, see 4.2.1). The persons indicated in the glosses of the examples always refer to grammatical encodings.

(iv) Verb forms in 3rd person plural can be used to express generic “one”:

(A weeps because he failed the exam. B says:)

(2) mo bhai-\text{-}ta, ei k\text{\-}tha-re k\text{\-}cono k\text{\-}and-\text{onti}? my brother-ART this matter-LOC INT’ cry-3p:HAB ‘My brother, does one weep because of this?’

(3) k\text{\-}tha-re \text{kuh-onti} ...
speech-LOC say-3p:HAB ‘There is a saying ... (lit. they say in speech ...) .’

(v) Accompanying nouns and numerals follow personal pronouns, e.g. amo \textit{Bharatiyomane} ‘we Indian people’, \textit{tomo-jo\-\text{-}nku} ‘to both of you’.\textsuperscript{15}

(4) amo \textit{Ingrejo-\text{-}mane} somost-e gora ho-ith-iba bel-e \textit{tumo}
we:OBL E.-PL all-NOM fair be-PERF-INF time-LOC you(POL)
\textit{Bharatiyo-\text{-}mane} emitit bibhinnc ro\text{-}onga-\text{-}ro kipiri ho-ich-\text{-}onti?
Indian-PL like:his various colour-GEN how be-PERF-3p
‘How come we English people are all fair, whereas you Indian people are of such varied colours?’

\textsuperscript{15}Note that \textit{ame} and \textit{tume} are possible as well.
3.3.1.1 Degrees of honorificity

(i) Among the pronouns for 2nd persons, \textit{tu} is the least polite and the most intimate. In other words, it expresses either familiarity or lower status of the addressee. Familiarity includes conversation among and towards children and among very close friends. Believers choose this form (or \textit{tume}) when addressing God. On the other hand \textit{tu} is used in speaking to someone of lower status. It appears in the vulgar speech of criminals:

\begin{itemize}
  \item[(5)] to \textit{pakho-re ko\textita{\textcircled{\textalpha}}} \textit{och-i de!}
    \begin{tabular}{c}
      you(FAM):OBL side-LOC what \textit{be-3s give:2s:IMP(=FAM)}
    \end{tabular}
    \begin{enumerate}
      \item ‘Give what you have with you!’
    \end{enumerate}
\end{itemize}

The pronoun \textit{apo\textita{\textalpha}} signals formality and politeness. It is used between business people and as a respectful address towards elder persons, also in the family (parents, uncles, grand-parents). Students choose \textit{apo\textita{\textalpha}} for speaking to the teacher, as do servants to their employers.

In all other cases the pronoun \textit{tume} is used: among colleagues and among known people of the same age. Husband and wife use \textit{tume} as well, even if they are very intimate with each other.

(ii) Besides the choice of the pronoun, other devices are used to express politeness (for details see the respective sections): titles (\textit{sri}, \textit{srijukt\textita{\textalpha}} ‘Sir’), suffixes to names (e. g. -\textit{babu} as in \textit{Ram\textita{\textalpha}-babu} ‘R\textita{\textalpha}ma’), particles (\textit{tiki} ‘please, a little’, \textit{ki} for interrogatives), special imperative and permissive forms (Future, Conditional tense, Imperative 3s), or the use of passive (6) and of impersonal verbs, e. g. \textit{mil}- ‘be available’ (7).

\begin{itemize}
  \item[(6)] \textit{ei-\textita{\textalpha} ni-a-ja-i-par-e} \textit{ki?}
    \begin{tabular}{c}
      this-ART take-PASS-go-CV-can-3s:HAB INT
    \end{tabular}
    \begin{enumerate}
      \item ‘Could I please have this? (lit. can this be taken?)’
    \end{enumerate}
  \\
  \item[(7)] \textit{au kh\textita{\textalpha}d-e pi\textita{\textalpha}ha mil-ib-\textita{\textalpha}?}
    \begin{tabular}{c}
      more CL-INDEF cake \textit{be.available-FUT-3s}
    \end{tabular}
    \begin{enumerate}
      \item ‘Can I have another cake, please? (lit. Will there be available another cake?)’
    \end{enumerate}
\end{itemize}

(iii) Third person singular referents also differ in honorificity: respect is expressed by the case suffixes -\textit{nk\textita{\textalpha}} / -\textit{nk\textita{\textalpha}u} (see above), by the use of the pronoun \textit{semane} (for singular referents as well) and by a verb form with formal agreement for 3p. This applies to those people whom the speaker would address by the honorific pronoun \textit{apo\textita{\textalpha}}, e. g. elder people, parents, kings, etc. Absence of honorific marking in these cases signals either intimacy or disrespect (as when addressing with \textit{tu}). Consider the following examples from the same story:
while the king is referred to by the honorific form rajaṅku in (8), which expresses the normal respect, rajaṅku in (9) is not marked for honorificity, which shows the minister’s lack of loyalty (the sentence is spoken from his point of view).

(8) rajaṅku mohenro mōntī-rc adacano bīṣya-rca sotarko
    king-OBL:DAT also minister-GEN conduct matter-LOC warn
    kor-i-de-l-e.
do-CV-V2:give-PST-3p(HON)
    ‘She (the queen) also warned the king of the minister’s behaviour.’

(9) se rajaṅku mar-i-de-i rāṇi-ku niño-rca stri kor-i-par-ib-c.
    he king-DAT kill-CV-V2:give-CV queen-DAT REFL-GEN wife do-CV-can-FUT-3s
    ‘(The minister thought:) He will kill the king and be able to take the
    queen to be his wife.’ (Story, see A.3)

(iv) Nouns referring to celestial bodies, such as surjyoc ‘sun’, tara ‘star’, condro ‘moon’ and akaso ‘sky’, are sometimes treated as honorific nouns. Consider for example surjyoc ‘sun’: when the sun is seen as a deity, honorificity is marked (by the oblique marker -nkoc in (10)). When the word surjyo ‘sun’ appears in a scientific context as in (11) it is not honorific (agreement with 3s).

(In a fairy tale.)

(10) se dekh-il-a goti-e sato rōngoc-ro setu surjyo-nkoc-tharu
    she see-PST-3s CL-INDEF seven colour-GEN bridge sun-OBL-ABL
    pruthibi jae dhonu pori lomb-i-as-ich-i.
    earth until bow like reach-CV-V2:come-PERF-3s
    ‘She saw that a seven-coloured bridge extended from the sun to the
    earth like a bow.’

(11) sehi megho bhitor-u jhapsa surjyo dis-e.
    that cloud inside-ABL seen.indistinctly sun shine-3s:HAB
    ‘The sun shines indistinctly from inside that cloud (which is before the
    sun).’

3.3.2 Deictic system of demonstratives and adverbs

3.3.2.1 Overview

Besides the pronouns referring to first and second person, Oriya has an elaborated deictic system of pronouns and other pro-forms, including demonstrative, interrogative, indefinite and relative words, belonging to various semantic domains such as reference to entities, location in space and time, quantity and manner. These deictic items can be segmented into a deictic constituent and a second constituent that indicates the type of the pro-form.
(i) The deictic constituent comprises four values:

- e proximal demonstrative
- se distal demonstrative; also used as correlative pro-forms (see 7.8)
- ke interrogative pro-forms (see 3.3.3)
- je relative pro-forms (see 7.8)

The proximal demonstrative e-series refers to entities that are near to the speaker, whereas entities referred to by the distal demonstrative se-series are located farther away.

(12) **ei-ṭi** kōbaṭa. **sei-ṭi** jhoroka.
    this-ART door that-ART window
    'This is a door. That is a window.'

(13) se e poṭa se poṭa cah-il-e.
    he this side that side look-PST-3p(HON)
    'He looked this side and that side.'

The distal se-series can focus upon a relationship of equality or identity, in English expressed by "same".

(Sagar met a beautiful girl. His whole life changed. But looking at nature, he sees that it is still the same.)

(14) gotokali sondhya-ṛc surjya ṭhik semiti oḥ-onti. sehi pōbana ... sehi
    yesterday evening-GEN sun just like that be-3p that wind that
    sunilō gogono.
    light-blue sky
    'Yesterday evening's sun is just the same. The same wind ... the same light-blue sky.'

(ii) The elements e and se can be extended by the suffix -i, cf. the variants ei respectively sei (-i might be related to the emphatic suffix -i, see 3.1.4.1). This suffix emphasises that the demonstrative item focuses the hearer's attention on entities in the current situation of speech. Consider the contrast between eiṭhi and etṭhi, both meaning 'here'. In (15a) the speaker emphasises that his home is where he currently is, whereas in (15b) the focus of the utterance is not on the location, but on the request to stop making problems.

(15) a. tumo ghora kēṭhi? — ghora? hū, ghora pōra eiṭhi!
    your(POL) house where house yes house PTCL here
    'Where's your home? — Home? Yes, my home is here!'

b. etṭhi aḍṭa kōr-ɔ-na, Ṭultu ...
    here problem do-2p:IMP-NEG T.
    'Don't make problems here, Ṭultu ...'

---

16With an oblique form ta- or te-.
The emphatic suffix -i can be inserted in many of the deictic forms of the e- and se-series, e.g. seimane ‘those’, eištare ‘here’, seiare ‘to that side’, seithipáí ‘therefore’, seimiti ‘like that’.

(iii) The original sense of the second constituent cannot always be made out. Recognisable elements are:

- Articles: -ti, -ta (referring to objects)
- Plural suffixes: -mane, -gurikɔ, -sɔbu (referring to groups)
- Local nouns: ɔha ‘place’, ąrɔ ‘side’ (referring to places)

(iv) As another constituent a case suffix can be added. All case suffixes have been found, e.g. the locative in se-ɔha-re ‘there, at that place’, or the dative in se-ɔha-ku ‘there, to that place’.

3.3.2.2 Demonstratives

The different classes of demonstratives (see Table 3.5) are differentiated in accordance with their function (nominal or attributive) and their reference.

**Class I:** The suffix -e in ie, sie, kie and jie formally marks the nominative case (see 3.1.4.2). When case suffixes are added, the oblique base taha, kaha, jaha, respectively the short forms taa, kaa, jaa are used; e.g. kaha-ɛɔ ‘whose?’, kaha-ku ‘whom?’. As noted in 3.3.1 above, se and semane can also serve as third person pronouns ‘he/she’, respectively they’. They then only function as anaphoric pronouns without any deictic meaning, consider (16).

(16) tune mo kukuɾɔ lanjɔ ɔan-ile se kamur-i-de-b-ɔ.
you(POL) my dog tail pull-COND CV it bite-CV-V2:give-FUT-3s
‘If you pull my dog’s tail, it will bite.’

**Class II:** This class is distinguished from class I by the presence of the articles, which allows the addition of case markers, e.g. ei-ti-ku ‘this one’. The use of the articles makes the reference more specific and can add the connotations conveyed by them (affection in case of -ti, disrespect or pride in case of -ți, sec 3.1.3.1). In (17) seiti expresses affection for the fish, whereas taku (ta- is the oblique form of se) has a derogatory meaning here.

(17) bapa goți-e bɔrɔ mache an-ich-oNTi. maa se-Ti / ta-ku
father CL-INDEF big fish bring-PERF-3p(HON) mother that-ART it-DAT
randh-ib-e.
cook-FUT-3p(HON)
‘Father has brought a big fish. Mother will cook it.’
Table 3.5: Deictic system of pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function / Reference</th>
<th>Proximal</th>
<th>Distal</th>
<th>Interrog.</th>
<th>Relative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>e, ie</td>
<td>se, sie</td>
<td>ke, kie</td>
<td>je, jie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nominal / anim.</td>
<td>‘this’</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
<td>‘who?’</td>
<td>‘who’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oblique form</td>
<td>ia / ya</td>
<td>taa, taha</td>
<td>kaa, kaha</td>
<td>jaa, jaha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘of this’</td>
<td>‘of that’</td>
<td>‘of whom?’</td>
<td>‘of whom’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>eitã, eiti</td>
<td>seita, seiti</td>
<td>këuti</td>
<td>jëuti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nominal / ± anim.</td>
<td>‘this’</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
<td>‘which?’</td>
<td>‘which’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>eha</td>
<td>taha (taa)</td>
<td>kaha (kaa)</td>
<td>jaha (jaa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nominal / inanim.</td>
<td>‘it, this’</td>
<td>‘it, that’</td>
<td>‘what?’</td>
<td>‘what’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>e, ei</td>
<td>se, sei</td>
<td>këu(^a)</td>
<td>jëü</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attributive</td>
<td>‘this’</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
<td>‘which?’</td>
<td>‘which’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>ehi</td>
<td>sehi</td>
<td>(kehi)</td>
<td>jehi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attributive</td>
<td>‘this’</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
<td>(‘anyone’)</td>
<td>‘whose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural(^b)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>human</td>
<td>emane</td>
<td>semane</td>
<td>këúmane</td>
<td>jëúmane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘these’</td>
<td>‘those’</td>
<td>‘who?’</td>
<td>‘who’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>general</td>
<td>eguřiko</td>
<td>seguřiko</td>
<td>këuģuřiko</td>
<td>jëuģuřiko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eguru(ko)</td>
<td>‘those’</td>
<td>‘which?’</td>
<td>‘which’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘these’</td>
<td>‘those’</td>
<td>‘which?’</td>
<td>‘which’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esöbu</td>
<td>sesöbu</td>
<td>këusöbu</td>
<td>jëusöbu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tahasöbu</td>
<td>kahasöbu</td>
<td>jahasöbu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘these all’</td>
<td>‘those all’</td>
<td>‘which all?’</td>
<td>‘which all’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)Note the variants kou for këu (e.g. kou-mane ‘who (pl.)’) and jou for jëü (e.g. jou ‘which’).

\(^b\)For the differences between the plural suffixes see 3.1.3.4.
Class III: Except for eha, the demonstratives of this class are identical with the oblique forms of class I. They are often used as discourse deictic demonstratives, i.e. demonstratives which refer to propositions, e.g. eha kohi ‘having said this’, eha suni ‘when (he) heard this’.

(18) eha-tu ahuri bap bap kam koh-ich-i.
    this-ABL more big RDF work do-PERF-1s
    ‘I have done even bigger things than this.’

Class IV and V: Both series are used as attributes. Class V (ehi) is more formal than class IV (e, ei).

(19) jen-e lok kaa-ko ghora-ku bik-ib-o boli mo dorbar-ku
    CL-INDEF man he-GEN horse-DAT sell-FUT-3s COMP my palace-DAT
    an-ith-il-a. mū se ghora-ko cehera deh-ki kih-iba-ku iccha
    bring-PERF-PST-3s I that horse-GEN appearance see-CV buy-INF-DAT wish
    koh-iba-ru mantri koh-il-e, ...  
    do-INF-ABL minister say-PST-3p(HON)
    ‘A man had brought his horse to my palace to sell it. When I saw what
    that horse looked like, I wanted to buy it, so the minister said, ...’
    (Story, see A.3)

(20) jen-e byokti-nka-ko puc sobubele micha koh-uth-il-e sehi
    CL-INDEF person-OBL-GEN son always lie say-IPFV-CONDCV that
    byokti din-e puc-ku koh-il-e ...
    person day-INDEF son-DAT say-PST-3p(HON)
    ‘Since the son of a person was always telling lies, one day that person
    said to the son, ...’

Other forms: (i) The noun kotha ‘matter, speech’\(^{17}\) has been grammaticalised as a pronoun for abstract referents (referring mainly to what has been said or thought). It is combined with the demonstrative elements e / se or with the indefinite pronoun sobu ‘all’. In (21) sobu kotha ‘everything’ refers to the speaker’s mistakes which she wants to hide before her brothers.

(21) eha-ku deh-ki mo bhai-mane sobu kotha jan-i-par-ib-e.
    this-DAT see-CV my brother-PL all matter know-CV-can-FUT-3p
    ‘When they see this, my brothers will know everything (all my mis-
    takes).’

\(^{17}\)Note the other functions of kotha: used as marker for weak obligation (‘should’; see 4.2.4.8) and used in complementation (see 7.2.1).
(ii) There is a group of demonstrative pronouns with a, which are used in colloquial speech: a, eia ‘this’, seia ‘that’, anko ‘these’, anku ‘these (DAT)’, ațhu ‘from this one’.

(iii) tohī is a pronoun for discourse referents, e.g. tohī-ru goṭie ‘one among them’.

(About traditions.)

(22) tohī-re luc-i-rōh-ich-i Oria jati-roc poricus.  
that-LOC hide-CV-V2:stay-PERF-3s O. nation-GEN identity  
‘The identity of the Oriya nation lies hidden in that (i.e. in the traditions).’

3.3.2.3 Locative adverbs

tha ‘place’ Adverbs containing tha ‘place’ and a case marker (-re, -ku, or -ru) have locative function. Table 3.6 illustrates various possibilities for locative adverbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short forms</th>
<th>Proximal e-locative</th>
<th>Distal se-locative</th>
<th>Interrog. ke-locative</th>
<th>Relative je-locative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>locative</td>
<td>ețhi / eițhi</td>
<td>sețhi / seîṭhi</td>
<td>kēūṭhi</td>
<td>jēūṭhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘here’</td>
<td>‘there’</td>
<td>‘where?’</td>
<td>‘where’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dative</td>
<td>ețhikī</td>
<td>sețhikī</td>
<td>kēūṭhikī</td>
<td>jēūṭhikī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘here’</td>
<td>‘there’</td>
<td>‘where?’</td>
<td>‘where’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ablative</td>
<td>ețhu</td>
<td>sețhu</td>
<td>kēūṭhu</td>
<td>jēūṭhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘from here’</td>
<td>‘from there’</td>
<td>‘from where?’</td>
<td>‘from where’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oblique</td>
<td>ețhika</td>
<td>sețhika</td>
<td>kēūṭhika</td>
<td>jēūṭhika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘of here’</td>
<td>‘of there’</td>
<td>‘of where?’</td>
<td>‘of where’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(23) mū nijo kamc-re ețha-ku as-i-nah-ī, guru-nko kamc-re  
I REFL work-LOC here-DAT come-PERF-NEG-1s teacher-OBL work-LOC  
as-ich-ī.  
come-PERF-1s  
‘I have not come for myself here, but for my guru.’
3.3.2. Deictic system of demonstratives and adverbs

(24) jëūthi hatō de-l-i, seṭhi maṭi suna he-l-a.
where hand give-PST-1s there soil gold become-PST-3s
‘Wherever I laid my hand, the soil turned to gold.’

(i) Many more variants containing diphthongs and nasalization are found in rural speech: etḥëi ‘here’, seṭhōū ‘from there’, kouṭhāī ‘where?’ and others.

(ii) The local noun tha ‘place’ is often shortened to th-, dropping its -a before a suffix with initial vowel, e.g. e + tha + i → ethi ‘here’ (-i is a variant of the short form -e of the locative case -re) or e + tha + u → ethu ‘from here’ (u is the short form of the ablative case -ru).

(25) se etḥ-u onyoc kuaṛ-e j-iba-ku cah-ōnti nahī.
here-ABL other where-LOC go-INF-DAT want-3p(HON) NEG
‘He does not want to go anywhere else from here.’

(iii) The suffix -ki in etḥiki can be interpreted as a variant of the dative case -ku, influenced by preceding i (see 3.1.4.1).

(26) mū tebe etḥi-ki au as-ib-i nahī.
then here-DAT more come-FUT-1s NEG
‘Then I won’t come here anymore.

(iv) The question about the location (‘where?’) is usually expressed by kēūthi (e.g. tumo ghoro kēūthi? ‘Where’s your home?’ in (15a)), whereas kuaṛ (see below) is used for the question about the direction (‘whereto?’).

(27) kuaṛ e cal-i-gol-a tu jaṇ-ich-u?
where go-CV-V2:go-PST-3s you(FAM) know-PERF-2s
‘Do you know where he went?’

(v) The oblique form of the locational adverbs marked by -ka is used in attributive function (28) and with postpositions (29).\(^\text{18}\)

(28) etḥi-kā-ṛo loko seṭhi-kā-ṛo loko ṭeṣkhya besi doyalu.
here-OBL-GEN people there-OBL-GEN people than more kind
‘The people of this place are more kind than the people of that place.’

(29) etḥi-kā ṭeṣkhya Suijorlāṇd-re besi thōnda.
here-OBL than S.-LOC much cool
‘It is much cooler in Switzerland than here.’

\(^{18}\text{The same suffix -ka can be attached to the emiti-series (see p. 96) as well as to aji ‘today’ and kali ‘yesterday, tomorrow’ (see 5.1).}
**aṛo ‘side, direction’** Adverbs containing aṛo ‘side, direction’ with a case marker (-re, -ku, -ro or -ru):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>eaṛe / iaṛe</th>
<th>seaṛe / siaṛe</th>
<th>kuaṛe</th>
<th>juaṛe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘to this side’</td>
<td>‘to that side’</td>
<td>‘where?’</td>
<td>‘where’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eaṛe</td>
<td>seaṛe</td>
<td>kēũaṛe</td>
<td>jēũaṛe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to this side’</td>
<td>‘to that side’</td>
<td>‘where?’</td>
<td>‘where’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other cases:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dative</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Ablative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eaṛoku</td>
<td>eaṛo</td>
<td>eaṛoru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to this side’</td>
<td>‘of this side’</td>
<td>‘from this side’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Locative adverbs with aṛo are mainly used to express direction. This applies to those marked for locative case as well.

(Who is coming outside?)

(30) ei to dṛaibhōr koṇo būrhā-nku dhōr-i eaṛ-e as-uch-i.
    this PTCL d. PTCL old.man-OBL:DAT take-CV here-LOC come-PROG-3s
    ‘This is the driver, he is coming here with the old man.’

**Other constituents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>eṇe</th>
<th>tene</th>
<th>(keṇe)</th>
<th>(jene)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘here’</td>
<td>‘there’</td>
<td>‘where?’</td>
<td>‘where’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ethi-</td>
<td>sethi-</td>
<td>kēũthi-</td>
<td>jēũthi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘this’</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
<td>‘which?’</td>
<td>‘which’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(i) The eṇe-series does not occur frequently; in particular, the interrogative and relative items are no longer in use in modern Oriya.

(31) loko-mane eṇe tene douṛ-uth-il-e.
    people-PL here there run-IPFV-PST-3p
    ‘The people were running here and there.’

The use with temporal and discourse deictic meanings is rather more frequent than with local sense (cf. the use as conjunctions: eṇe ‘so’, with ablative suffix en-u ‘so’ and ten-u ‘then, therefore’ (see 7.1)). In (32) eṇe is combined with the dative case marker -ki, eniki ‘hereafter’.

(32) eni-ki se ritimōtō sārhi pindh-uth-il-a.
    here-DAT she regularly s. wear-IPFV-PST-3s
    ‘From this moment on she regularly wore sarees.’

(ii) The ethi-series is always used with case markers or postpositions, e.g. ethire ‘in this’, sethi-pāi ‘therefore’, ethi-mōdhya-re ‘in the meantime’. They are used as discourse deictic demonstratives.
3.3.2. Deictic system of demonstratives and adverbs

(33) ethi-re ascorjyo he-ba-ro kichi nah-i.
    this-LOC surprise be-INF-GEN anything be:NEG-3s
    ‘There’s nothing to be surprised in this.’

3.3.2.4 Other adverbs

Temporal adverbs

Proximal e-  Distal se-  Interrogative ke-  Relative je-
ebe       sebe / tebe       kebe           jebe
‘now’      ‘then’          ‘when?’        ‘when’
etebele    setebele         ketetele      jetebele
‘this time’ ‘that time’    ‘which time?’   ‘which time’

The series of etebele, setebele, ... is composed of ete ‘this much’ (respectively sete, ...), belo ‘time’ and the locative -e. The suffix -e of ebe, tebe, ... can be dropped, e.g. ebo-ro loko ‘today’s people’, kebo-tharu ‘from some time on’.

(What shall we do when the storm comes?)

(34) ame setebele porboto uporo-ku cal-i-j-ib-a.
    we then mountain top-DAT go-CV-V2:go-FUT-1pi
    ‘Then we will go on the mountain.’

Among the two interrogative words, kebe is the general term, whereas ketetele or kete-ṭa-bele (with inserted article) is used for enquiries about more exact clock time.

(35) rasta moramoti he-bơ kebe?
    road repair be-FUT-3s when
    ‘When will the road be repaired?’

(The speaker enquires by phone about a potential flight to Delhi. He learns that there is one on the same evening.)

(36) tahele sighra bahar-i-gole  mil-i-j-ib-ơ.
    then quickly go.out-CV-V2:go:CONDCV be.available-CV-V2:go:FUT-3s
    kete-ṭa-bele,  ... aṭho-ṭa  ...
    how.much-ART-time-LOC  eight-ART
    ‘Then if we go out quickly, there will be one. At what time? ... at eight ...
    ’
3.3. Pronouns

Manner adverbs

emiti semiti kemiti jemiti
'like this' 'like that' 'how?' 'how'
epori sepori kipori jepori
'like this' 'like that' 'how?' 'how'
emonto temonto kemonto jemonto
'like this' 'like that' 'how?' 'how'

(i) There are some variants, such as elipori for epori or seimiti for semiti. Note the conjunction epori-ki 'so'.

(ii) The emiti-series is the most informal one, whereas epori, sepori ... belong to a slightly more formal style and emonto, temonto, ... appear in Sanskritised written style. Note that the element peori appears elsewhere as postposition peori 'like'.

(37) dino-ku dino soubi kichi bodi-i-gole bi hostakhyo-ta
day-DAT day all anything change-CV-V2:go:CONDCV even handwriting-ART kemiti semiti rah-i-ja-e!
how like.that stay-CV-V2:go-3s:HAB
'Even when everything changes from day to day, the handwriting remains the same!'

(The speaker repents:)

(38) e tho-ru mo-te khyoma di-o e-pori kebe khyoti kor-ib-i nahe.
this time I-DAT excuse give-2p:IMP this-like ever harm do-FUT-1s NEG
'Forgive me this time. I shall never do harm like this (again).'

(39) jemonto upavo guru koh-il-e temonto upavo sisyo
how manner teacher say-PST-3p(ION) like.that manner disciple
kor-il-e.
do-PST-3p
'As the teacher speaks, so the disciples act.'

(iii) In informal contexts, the oblique marker -ka can be attached to the emiti-series, e.g. thik semiti-ka karoa-ru 'for exactly the same reason', and to other nominals, such as thro 'time'.

(40) tu jemiti koh-ith-il-u, semiti-ka ciithi khondi-e to
you(FAM) how say-PERF-PST-2s like.that-OBL letter CL-INDEF your(FAM)
bapa-ndo pakho-ku bujhi-a-i-sujh-a-i
father-OBL side-DAT understand-CAUS-CV-clear-CAUS-CV
lekh-i-de-ich-i.
write-CV-V2:give-PERF-1s
'I have written to your father such a letter to explain as you had told.'
(41) goți-e kukurɔ bɔrsɔ-ku tini thɔrc raktɔ de-i-par-ib-ɔ, thɔrc-ka
CL-INDEF dog year-DAT three time blood give-CV-can-FUT-3s time-OBL
ɔdhɔ liŋɔr hisabo-re.
half l. measure-LOC
‘A dog can give blood three times a year, half a litre per time.’

Quantity words

ete sete kete jete
‘so much’ ‘that much’ ‘how much?’ ‘as much’
ere seere keere jere
‘so much’ ‘that much’ ‘how much?’ ‘as much’
etiki setiki ketiki jetiki
‘so much’ ‘that much’ ‘how much?’ ‘as much’
etɔko setɔko ketɔko jetɔko
‘this much’ ‘that much’ ‘how much?’ ‘as much’

(i) The quantity words are used with nouns and adjectives:

(42) ete lɔko ‘so many people’
ete uccɔre ‘so high’
ete ratire ‘so late in the night’
ete sɔkαlu ‘so early in the morning’
ete bɔɾɔ ‘so big’

(About an uninvited visitor.)

(43) se jie he-itha-nitu, ɔntɔɔ jete dinc eŋhi och-ɔnti, sɔbu
he who be-PERF-3p(HON);IMP at.least how many day here be-3p(HON) all
jotno to ne-ba-ku he-b-ɔ.
care PTCL take-INF-DAT be-FUT-3s
‘Whoever he may be, at least as long he is here, every care should be
given (to him).’

(ii) etiki (and its variant eńiki) can be used for small degrees (‘so small, so little’) as well. Note that in (44) the fact of smallness is reinforced by the indefinite marker -tie.

(Seeing a nice baby.)

(44) eńiki-tie pila! keŋiki keriki haṭɔ!
s.o.little-INDEF child how small how small hand
‘Such a small baby! How small its hands!’

(45) etiki baṭɔ as-u asu tume thɔk-i-pɔr-uch-ɔ?
s.o.little way come-ICV RDP you(POL) get.tired-CV-V2:fall-PROG-2p
‘Have you got tired coming this short distance?’
(iii) The article -\( \tau \)a is used for emphasis, e.g. ete-\( \tau \)a.

(46) eha ete-\( \tau \)a s\( \sigma \)oho-sadhy\( \sigma \) nuh-\( \ddot{e} \).
this so-ART easy-straight be:NEG-3s
'This is not SO easy.'

(iv) -\( \tau \)oko is used elsewhere as a nominal plural suffix 'all' (cf. 3.1.3.5).

(v) The quantity words take a classifier when they are combined with count nouns. For instance golapo-phul\( \sigma \) 'roses' in (47) is a count noun, whereas dur\( \sigma \) 'distance' in (48) is a measure noun without a classifier. Combined with the classifier -\( \tau \)a or -\( \ddot{t} \)i, kete can show the allomorph kete-. Note the variant ketek\( \sigma \) 'how many?'.

(47) se jhio keto-\( \ddot{t} \)i golapo-phul\( \sigma \) ne-l-a?
that girl how.many-CL rose-flower take-PST-3s
'How many roses did that girl take?'

(48) tum\( \sigma \) g\( \ddot{a} \)a etha-ru kete dur\( \sigma \)?
your(POL) village here-ABL how.much distance
'How far is your village from here?'

(49) mans\( \sigma \) har\( \sigma \)-\( \ddot{r} \)o jetiki pakh\( \sigma \)-ku tha-e setiki suswadu.
meat bone-GEN how.much side-DAT be-3s:HAB so.much good.taste
'The nearer the bone, the sweeter the meat.'

3.3.3 Interrogatives

In addition to the items from the ke-series listed in 3.3.2 interrogative forms in Oriya include the following:

ko\( \sigma \)o ‘what, why’
ki, ki ki ‘what kind of, which’
kah\( \sigma \) ‘where’
kahiki ‘why’

ki and ko\( \sigma \)o are used also as markers of interrogative sentences, see 6.5.1.

The interrogative forms have three functions: they are used in questions, in exclamations and as indefinite pronouns.

3.3.3.1 Interrogative use

(i) The use of a member of the interrogative ke-series in question is illustrated by (50); for details of interrogative sentences see 6.5.
(50) tume  bôgica-re  këu-mane  gochö  log-a-uth-il-e?  
your(POL) garden-LOC who-PL  tree  apply-CAUS-IPFV-PST-3p  
‘Who were planting trees in your garden?’

(ii) The position of interrogative words is the same as corresponding words in declarative sentences. Consider (51) where kemiti ‘how’ in (51a) occupies the same position as druto gotire ‘fast’ in the declarative sentence (51b).

(51) a. rel-gari-ţa  kemiti  cal-uch-i?  
rail-train-ART how  run-PROG-3s  
‘How is the train running?’

b. rel-gari-ţa  druto  goti-re  ja-e.  
r.-train-ART fast  speed-LOC go-3s:HAB  
‘The train runs fast.’

(iii) kahî ‘where’ occurs in predicative use (only in present tense): ‘be where?’.
It shows agreement with the subject in number and person (not for all persons are forms used):¹⁹

| 1s   | kahî / kâî       (1pî  kahê)  |
|      | (1pe  kahû)       |
| 2s   | kahî              2p  kahô      |
| 3s   | kahî              3p  kahanti   |

(52) jëu  lokö  e  cithi-ţi  an-ith-il-a  se  kah-i?  
which man  this letter-ART bring-PERF-PST-3s  he  be.where-3s  
‘Where is the man who brought this letter?’

(53) apoço-nko  sohokormi  dui-jono  kah-anti?  
you(HON)-OBL colleague  two-CL  be.where-3p  
‘Where are your two colleagues?’

kahî can also take case suffixes:

(54) tume  kahî-re  agrohi?  
you(POL) where-LOC interested  
‘What are you interested in?’

(iv) Reduplication of the interrogative word expresses plurality or inclusiveness. The asking person, presupposing that a complete answer would contain a listing of more than one item meeting the criteria in the question, invites the addressee to tell him all of these. Consider (55) by which the addressee is requested to inform about all those for whom clothes have arrived.

¹⁹Note the similarity with the negative nah-, which shows subject agreement and is restricted to the present as well (see 6.4.2).
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(55) kaha kaha pāi e luga as-ich-i?
who RDP for this cloth come-PERF-3s
‘Whom have these clothes come for?’

(56) ṭur-re ame kuar-e kuare j-ib-a?
t.-LOC we where-LOC RDP go-FUT-1pi
‘Where all will we be going during our tour?’

(57) kire Ramo, to danto kemiti kemiti bhang-il-a?
INTERJ R. your(FAM) tooth how RDP break-PST-3s
‘Hey Rāma, how did you break your teeth?’

3.3.3.2 Exclamatory use

The interrogative words are used in exclamations to express an extreme degree of some variable factor: the variable can be an adjective (58), a predicate (59) or a noun (60).

(58) a. se kere murkha!
he how.much foolish
‘How foolish he is!’
b. kere obhodro mū!
how.much impolite I
‘(As an excuse) how impolite I am!’

(59) se kemiti biswaso kā-l-a!
he how belief do-PST-3s
‘How could he believe it!’

(60) ame ki bhul kor-il-u.
we what.kind mistake do-PST-1pe
‘What a blunder we made!’

3.3.3.3 Indefinite use

There is a group of items that occur only in indefinite use: kεhi ‘anyone’ with the oblique form kaha, kichi ‘some, any’ and kounosi ‘any’.

(i) kεhi and kie ‘who, someone’ (both with the oblique form kaha) refer to human beings. kie is used in questions (61, 64) and affirmative declarative sentences (65), whereas kεhi is used in negative sentences (61, 63) and conditional clauses (62).

(61) deulb bhitor-e kie och-i ki? — na, kεhi nah-i.
temple inside-LOC someone be-3s INT no anyone be:NEG-3s
‘Is there someone in the temple? — No, there isn’t anyone.’
(62) jodi kehi sôndhya-re mo sông dekhâ kor-iba-ku cah-ûnti, anybody evening-LOC I:OBL with meeting do-INF-DAT want-3p(HON)
 7-ţa-ru 8-ţa bhitor-e as-iba-ku koh-ib-e. 7-ART-ABL 8-ART inside-LOC come-INF-DAT tell-FUT-3p
 'If anybody wants to meet me in the evening, tell him to come between
 7 and 8.'

(63) se kebe kaha-ku kichi di-ûnti nahî. 3s ever anyone-DAT anything give-3p(HON):HAB NEG
 'He never gives anything to anyone.'

(64) ta-ńkô bândhu Bômbe cal-i-flags se kaha-ro sahajyô
go-OBL friend B. go-CV-V2:go:CONDCV he who-GEN help
mag-ib-û? ask-FUT-3s
 'Whose help should he ask for when his friend moves to Bombay?'

kie in affirmative declarative sentences often occurs in combination with the
classifier jône.

(65) apôn-ńku kie jône ńak-uch-ûnti. you(HON)-OBL:DAT someone CL-INDEF call-PROG-3p(HON)
 'Someone is calling you.'

ki and kehi are used attributively as well, preceding or following the determined
element, e.g. a personal pronoun (tumô ‘you’ in (66)), a proper noun (Basaṇṭi
in (67)), a noun (jhiô-tie ‘a girl’ in (68) or an adjective (anyô ‘other’ in (69)):

(66) tume somost-e jône jône michua, tumô kaha-ku
you(POL) all-NOM CL-INDEF RDP liar you(POL):OBL anybody-DAT
char-i-di-a-j-ib-ô leave-CV-V2:give-PASS-go-FUT-3s NEG
 'You are all liars, everybody, none of you will be given pardon.'

(67) kie ciṭhî de-ich-i?  — Basaṇṭi kie de-ich-i.
who letter give-PERF-3s B. some give-PERF-3s
 'Who has written the letter? — One Bâṣânti.'

(68) e dui tîni dîno bhitor-e jodi kehi jhîô-tie as-e, ame
this two three day inside-LOC if anybody girl-INDEF come-3s:HAB we
ne-i taa-ri pakho-ûre pohonc-e-i-de-b-û.
take-CV he-OBL-EMPH side-LOC arrive-CAUS-CV-V2:give-FUT-1pc
 'When a girl comes in the next days, we should bring her to him.'

(69) mo kôtha mû bujh-ib-i, bou, mo pâî anyô kaha-ô
my matter I understand-FUT-1s mother I:OBL for other anybody-GEN
mûndo khel-a-iba lôpa he-b-ô nahî.
head play-CAUS-INF need be-FUT-3s NEG
'I know what to do (lit. I will understand my matter), mother, it's not necessary to involve somebody else for me (lit. to make somebody else's head play).'

The indefinite pronouns occur in each of two parallel clauses or phrases with the meaning 'one ... another':

(70) sɔinyɔ-mane 1600 rauŋd guli-cañna kor-ith-il-e ebɔŋg proti-ti
   soldier-PL 1600 r. gun-fire do-PERF-PST-3p and each-ART
   guli kaha-ri na kaha-ri deho-re baj-ith-il-a.
   bullet anybody:OBL-EMPH or anybody:OBL-EMPH body-LOC hit-PERF-PST-3s
   'The soldiers fired 1600 bullets all around, and every bullet hit one or another (lit. in one's or another's body).'</n
(ii) The common indefinite pronoun for things is kichi.20 It shows no distributional restriction. (71) and (72) illustrate its attributive use (classifiers can be inserted, e.g. kichi gotaoe bhul kɔriba 'make any kind of mistake'), (73) its nominal use, together with a classifier.

(71) e gujɔba-re kɔɔɔ kichi sɔtyɔta ɔch-i?
   this rumour-LOC INT any truth be-3s
   'Is there any truth in these rumours?'

(72) tumɔ pɔi mo-ra kichi bhɔlɔ khɔbɔɔɔ ɔch-i.
   you(POL):OBL for I-GEN some good news be-3s
   'I have got some good news for you.'

(73) taa sejo tɔl-e kichi gota-e ɔch-i ki? — na, kichi
   his bed bottom-LOC anything CL-INDEF be-3s INT no anything
   be:NEG-3s
   'Is there anything under his bed? — No, there is nothing.

The interrogative pronoun kɔɔɔ 'what' is found as an indefinite pronoun as well; (74) is an example of its use in combination with a classifier.

(74) se gata-ru kɔɔɔ gota-e bahar-il-a.
   that hole-ABL anything CL-INDEF come.out-PST-3s
   'Something came out of that hole.'

kichi follows other pronouns, e.g. sɔbu kichi 'everything' or jaha kichi 'whatever':

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20If used with human nouns, kichi is non-honorific (in contrast to kie), e.g. kichi loko 'some people'. In combination with the article -ța, kichi has adverbial function, e.g. kichița kɔhiba 'speak a bit'.
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(75) e jogot-re jaha kichi jonmo he-uch-i, se-sobu kichi somoyo
this universe-LOC what anything birth be-PROG-3s that-all some time
etha-re roh-i seso-re mar-i-ja-uch-i.
here-LOC stay-CV end-LOC die-CV-V2:go-PROG-3s
‘Whatever is born in this universe, it stays here for some time and finally
it dies.’

Kichi occurs with adjectives, e.g. biseso kichi ‘something special’, nua kichi
‘something new’ or with reversed word order:

(76) ei kichi nua nuh-ê.
this anything new be:NEG-3s
‘This is nothing new.’

(iii) kaunosi: The indefinite pronoun kaunosi can take case suffixes and the
article, e.g. kaunosi-thare ‘anywhere’ (cf. the expression kaunosimote ‘anyhow’).

(77) mo-te ajikali kaunosi-ti jaga bholo lag-u-nah-i.
I-DAT nowadays any-ART place good feel-PROG-NEG-3s
‘I do not like any place these days.’

Kaunosi is used in negative sentences (78); in other contexts it has the meaning
of a free choice quantifier, i.e. its reference is to all members of a class of
entities, e.g. all good teachers in (79). It then is often combined with the
relative pronoun je.

(78) mui kaunosi likhito adese pa-i-nah-i.
I any written order find-PERF-NEG-1s
‘I haven’t received any written orders.’

(79) je kaunosi uttomo sikhyoko ta-nko bisoyo-ti bholo rup-e
any any good teacher he-OBL subject-ART good form-LOC
read-3p(HON):HAB
‘Any good teacher studies his subject carefully.’

(80) pruthibi-ro prayo edha loko kaunosi na kaunosi prakaro-ro swolpa
earth-GEN about half people any or any kind-GEN little
nidranito somosya-ro samna kor-uch-oniti.
sleep problem-GEN in.front do-PROG-3p
‘About half of the world’s population face minor sleep disturbances of
some kind or other.’

(iv) As mentioned above, all members of the ke-series can also be used as
indefinite words. Some examples:
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(81) itihasa-ro keteka ghotaṇa mon-e rokh-iba gurutwo-purṇaṇa.
    history-GEN some event mind-LOC keep-INF importance-full
    'It is important to remember some events in history.'

(82) mū emit i jhio keūtthi dekh-i-n-i.
    I like this girl anywhere see-PERF-NEG-1s
    'I have not seen such a girl anywhere.'

(v) The reduplication of indefinite pronouns implies the meaning of plurality,
    e.g. kehi kehi 'some (pl.).'

(83) sthoḷa-bisesa-ro kehi kehi eha-ku 'khh' uccaraṇa bi
    place-individual-LOC someone RDP this-DAT pronunciation also
    kór-ith-ant-i.
    do-PERF-HAB-3p
    'In certain places people may pronounce it (= the Oriya letter <kṣ>)
    as [khh] as well.'

(84) semane kete kete juddhā-re prāṇa-murccha lōreṇa kór-ich-ōnti.
    they some RDP battle-LOC life-death fight do-PERF-3p
    'They have fought in many many life-and-death battles.'

In other contexts the meaning is distributive:

(85) pratyekā masā-re se ekā byank-re kichi kichi tōnka jōma kór-e.
    every month-LOC he one b.-LOC some RDP money gather do-3s:HAB
    'Every month he accumulates some money in a bank.'

3.3.4 Reflexives

 Reflexivity\textsuperscript{21} is expressed by the following items:

 nijo ‘self’ (reflexive pronoun)
 ape (oblique form: apoṇa) ‘own’
 swayom ‘self’

 Reflexive use of nijo is discussed in 3.3.4.1 and 3.3.4.2, its emphatic function in 3.3.4.4. nijo can be reduplicated, see 3.3.4.3. The other items will be treated at the end of this section (3.3.4.5).

\textsuperscript{21} For a theoretical treatment of reflexives see Patnaik 1994.
3.3.4. Reflexives

3.3.4.1 Reflexive use of niJo in simple sentences

niJo is used with all persons without changing its form. It occurs with all case markers and postpositions, but not with the oblique -nkɔ nor with any plural markers. niJo occurs in any argument position other than subject: object (86), adverbial phrase (87) and possessor (88). It can be preceded by a possessor pronoun.

(86) mū (mo) niJo-ku bhoul pa-e.
     I   my     REFL-DAT good   find-1s:HAB
     ‘I love myself.’

(87) se (taa) niJo upor-e rag-i-gul-a.
     he his   REFL top-LOC get.angry-CV2:go:PST-3s
     ‘He got angry at himself.’

(88) Sita (taa-rc) niJo(-rc) bahol kunde-il-a.
     S.   he-GEN REFL-GEN hair  comb-PST-3s
     ‘Sītā combed her (own) hair.’

niJo can be replaced by personal pronouns:

(89) tome tomo-ku / niJo-ku ghruṇa kor-ɔ.
     you(POL) you(POL)-DAT REFL-DAT hate   do-2p:HAB
     ‘You hate yourself.’

(90) Ramo taa / niJo dukho kaha-ku kuh-e-ni.
     R.   his  REFL sorrow anybody-DAT say-3s:HAB-NEG
     ‘Rāma doesn’t talk to anybody about his sorrow.’

niJo can refer to a following nominal (taku in (91)):

(91) niJo ghorɔ-ku dekh-i-ki ta-ku khusi lag-il-a.
     REFL house-DAT see-CV-CV he-DAT joy   feel-PST-3s
     ‘When he saw his house, he felt happy.’

niJo normally points to the same referent as the subject does. Consider (92) where niJo can refer only to the subject Sītā and not to the object Susi as well.

(92) Sita Susila-ku niJo phyason so bisɔya-re bərənəna kɔr-uth-il-a.
     S.   S.-DAT     REFL f.   s.   matter-LOC description do-IPFV-PST-3s
     ‘Sītā was telling Suśilā about her, fashion show.’

However, if there is no animate subject, any other prominent animate constituent will be the antecedent.

- Experiencer (“dative subjects”):
(93) **Ramo-ku nijo** prti doya as-il-a.
R.-DAT REFL towards mercy come-PST-3s
‘Rāma felt mercy with himself.’

- Genitive marked agent:

(94) **maa-rc puerc-rc nijo** ghorc-ku j-ib-e.
mother-GEN son-GEN REFL house-DAT go-FUT-3p
‘The mother and the son will go to their own house.’

- Agent and patient in passive constructions:

(95) **maa** dwara **Monindrc-ku nijo** ghorc-ku
mother by M.-DAT REFL house-DAT
potha-gol-a.
send:PASS-V2:go:PST-3s
‘Manindra was sent by mother to his / her house.’

(96) **Lajjyaboti-ku** taa **nijo** storirum-re hotya
L.-DAT her REFL s.-LOC murder
kor-i-di-a-gol-a.
do-CV-V2:give-PASS-go:PST-3s
‘Lajjyābati was killed in her own studyroom.’

- Possessor:

(97) **Ramo-rc garbo** (taa) **nijo-ku** dhwnso ko-l-a.
R.-GEN pride his REFL-DAT destruction do-PST-3s
‘Rāma’s pride destroyed himself.’

(98) **Ramo-rc puc nijo** saikel ne-i-gol-a.
R.-GEN son REFL bicycle take-CV-V2:go:PST-3s
‘Rāma’s son took his bicycle.’

Multiple occurrence of **nijo** in the same clause is possible:

(99) **Sandipo nijo-ku nijo** sohto tulona ko-l-a.
S. REFL-DAT REFL with comparison do-PST-3s
‘Sandīpa compared himself with himself.’

3.3.4.2 Reflexive use of **nijo** in complex sentences

(i) Infinitives: **nijo** can be used as underlying subject of the infinitive clause if it is coreferent with that of the matrix clause.

(100) **Ramo nijo-ku** sudhar-iba-ku cah-ūch-i.
R. REFL-DAT improve-INF-DAT want-PROG-3s
‘Rāma wants to improve himself.’
When *nijö* performs another function than underlying subject in an infinitive clause, it refers either to the subject of the matrix clause or to the underlying subject of the infinitive clause.

do-PST-3s

'The woman; prevented the girl; from beating her; child.'

However, if the embedding is complex, rather the matrix subject constitutes the antecedent than the underlying subject of the infinitive clause:

(102) Sita Gita-ku *nijö-ro* Ḍrisi nacō nac-iba sompokō-re motomō S. G.-DAT REFL-GEN O. dance dance-INF connection-LOC opinion de-ba-ku koh-il-a.
give-INF-DAT say-PST-3s

'Sitā; told Gītā; to give her opinion about her; Orissi dancing.'

(ii) Converbs: *nijö* behaves the same way as in infinitive clauses.

get.afraid-CV-V2:go:PST-3s

'The son; got scared when he saw his father; getting angry at himself; i;j.'

(iii) Complement clauses: *nije* (*nijö + nominative marker -e*) cannot be the subject of the complement clause in case of coreferentiality with the matrix subject:

(104) *Ramo* koh-uth-il-a *nij-e* bohut buddhiman. R. say-IPFV-PST-3s REFL-NOM very intelligent

'Rāma was telling that he is very intelligent.'

*nijö* in complement clauses cannot refer to the matrix subject:

(105) Sita bhab-uch-i Gita *nijö-ro* citro dekh-il-a. S. think-PROG-3s G. REFL-GEN picture see-PST-3s

'Sitā; thinks Gītā; j saw her; own picture.'

*nijö* in recursively embedded complements can have more than one reading:

REFL-GEN one statue build-CV-V2:give-INF-DAT
'The king\(_j\) asked the minister\(_j\) to tell the sculptor\(_k\) to sculpt a statue of himself\(_{i,j,k}\).'

Because of pragmatic reasons the most natural interpretation is that naj\(_o\) refers to the king.

### 3.3.4.3 Reduplication

*naj\(_o\)* is reduplicated in two ways:

(i)  *naj\(_o\) + case marker / postposition + naj\(_e\)*

(ii) *naj\(_o\) naj\(_o\) (+ case marker / postposition)*

(i) The first type emphasises the reflexive component; the suffix -e is the nominative marker (see 3.1.4.1).

(107) *Rābi naj\(_o\)-ku naj\(_e\) gāli de-l-a.*
R. REFL-DAT REFL-NOM scolding give-PST-3s
Rābi scolded himself.'

(108) *Sītā naj\(_o\) upār-e naj\(_e\) hās-il-a.*
S. REFL top-LOC REFL-NOM laugh-PST-3s
Sītā laughed at herself.'

In complex sentences the addition of naj\(_e\) can disambiguate the reference of the reflexive elements. In (109) nij\(_k\)u naj\(_e\) cannot refer to Rāma, but only to Hari. Without naj\(_e\) both possibilities exist.

(109) *Rāma Hari-ku nij\(_k\)-ku (nij\(_e\)) dosā no-de-bā-ku kōh-il-a.*
R. H.-DAT REFL-DAT REFL-NOM guilt NEG-give-INF-DAT say-PST-3s
Rāma told Hari not to blame himself.'

(ii) The second type of reduplication has distributive meaning and therefore requires a plural subject.

(110) *semāne nij\(_o\) nij\(_o\) ghor-e ruh-onti.*
they REFL RDP house-LOC live-3p:HAB
'They live in their respective houses.'

(111) *pīla-mane nij\(_o\) nij\(_o\) pāī jota kīn-il-e.*
child-PL REFL RDP for shoe buy-PST-3p
'The boys bought shoes for themselves.'

(112) *semāne nij\(_o\) nij\(_o\)-ku bipo-ā-re pōka-il-e.*
they REFL RDP-DAT danger-LOC put-PST-3p
'They put themselves into danger.'
3.3.4.4 Emphasising function

When *nij* is in attributive position to the subject, it has the function of an emphatic element. It then is marked by the nominative suffix -e.

(113) mū nij-e ta-nku e prōsnc pōcar-ith-il-i.
   I    REFL-NOM he-OBL:DAT this question ask-PERF-PST-1s
   ‘I had asked him this question myself.’

*nije* in this function can be reduplicated as well:

(114) mū nij-e nije seiṭhi-ki cal-i-j-ib-i.
   I    REFL-NOM RDP there-DAT walk-CV-V2:go-FUT-1s
   ‘I will go there myself.’

The emphatic *nije* can refer to inanimate antecedents:

(115) saikel-ti nij-e por-i-gol-a.
   bicycle-ART REFL-NOM fall-CV-V2:fall:PST-3s
   ‘The bicycle fell on its own.’

3.3.4.5 *ape, apaṇa, svasyong*

*ape* and *apaṇa* are not as frequent as *nij*. *apaṇa* performs the function of a possessive reflexive ‘one’s own’ (116), whereas *ape* (-e is the nominative suffix) always stands in attributive relation to the subject (117) with emphasising function. *ape* can be reduplicated without change in meaning (118). Both reflexive pronouns seem to be related to the honorific pronoun *apaṇa* ‘you’, originally a reflexive pronoun as well.

(116) sehi ka ka dhwoni-re semane apaṇa mōnc-ro dukhō, sokō, bhōyō ba
   that IDEO sound-LOC they REFL mind-GEN grief sorrow fear or
   apprehension know-CAUS-IPFV-FUT-3p
   ‘By that croaking they (the crows) might be expressing their own grief,
   sorrow, fear or apprehension.’ (Oriya school grammar)

(117) Gopaḷa *ape* as-i phōnc-il-a.
   G.    REFL come-CV arrive-PST-3s
   ‘Gopaḷa came himself.’

(118) jōntro-ṭi *ape* *ape* cal-e.
   machine-ART REFL RDP run-3s:HAB
   ‘The machine runs by itself.’

The reflexive pronoun *svasyong* ‘self’ is used in Sanskritised Oriya only.

(119) Rāma *svasyong* krūtō kōrmō jogu cintītō cch-i.
   R.    REFL done work because worried be-3s
   ‘Rāma is worried about his own doing.’
3.3.5 Reciprocals

Reciprocity is expressed by poršsporç 'each other', by reduplication of a classifier or a numeral or by reduplicated verbs (see 4.1.3). The first construction is most commonly used.

3.3.5.1 poršsporç 'each other'

poršsporç is invariable and can take any case markers and postpositions.

The following examples illustrate the use of poršsporç in various argument positions: object (120), adverbial phrase (121) and possessor (122).

(120) Rina o Mina poršsporç-ku sahajyc kor-onti.
R. and M. each.other-DAT help do-3p:HAB
‘Rinā and Minā help each other.’

(121) dui bondhu poršsporç sobito aste aste kothabartta kor-uth-il-e.
two friend each other with softly RDP conversation do-IPFV-PST-3p
‘The two friends were talking to each other softly.’

(122) semane ghonistho bondhu — sobubele poršsporç-rc tarâtwô
they close friend always each.other-GEN essence
ni-onti.
take-3p:HAB
‘They are close friends; they always look after each other.’

poršsporç can be coreferential with the subject as in the examples above or with various other constituents of the clause: object (123, 124), experiencer (125) and genitive subject (126).

(123) semane Rina o Mina-nku poršsporç sathi-re poricôyu
they R. and M.-OBL:DAT each.other together-LOC acquaintance
kor-i-de-l-e.
do-CV-V2:give-PST-3p
‘They introduced Rinā and Minā to each other.’

(124) Ramô o Syamo Mina o Rina-nku poršsporç bisôcy-rc-
R. and S. M. and R.-OBL:DAT each.other matter-LOC
koh-il-e.
say-PST-3p
‘Râma; and Šyāma; told Minâj and Rinâj about each other,ij.’

In the example above poršsporç can refer both to the subject Ramô o Syamo and to the object Mina o Rinâku.

(125) Ramô o Sita-nku poršsporç upor-e ragô as-il-a.
R. and S.-OBL:DAT each.other top-LOC anger come-PST-3s
‘Râma and Sîtâ got angry at each other.’
(126) mo-rc taa-rc porcsporo-ro kotha koh-u.
I-GEN he-GEN each other-GEN matter say-3PL:HAB
'I and he talk about each other.'

porcsporo in non-subject function in subordinate clauses refers to the underlying subject of this clause.

(127) sikhyoko-mane chatro-mane-nku porcsporo-ro kamor iba-ku
teacher-PL student-PL-OBL:DAT each other-GEN work do-INF:DAT
koh-il-e.
say-PST-3p
'The teachers told the students to do each other's work.'

(128) bapa-maa-mane bhab-il-e pila-mane porcsporo kand-uth iba-rc
father-mother-PL think-PST-3p child-PL each other weep-IPFV-INF-GEN
dekh-ich-anti.
sec-PERF-3p
'The parents thought the children have seen each other, crying.'

porcsporo can be reduplicated (emphasising effect).

(129) Gita o Sita porcsporo porcsporo-ku prasansa kor iba porcsendo
G. and S. each other RDP-DAT praise do-INF liking
kor-anti.
do-3PL:HAB
'Gitā and Sitā love praising each other.'

3.3.5.2 Reduplication

Reciprocity is expressed by reduplication of classifiers, such as jone joneku 'each other' or numerals, e.g. duhē duhīnkup 'each other'.

(130) jone juboko o jone juboti jone joneku
CL-INDEF young man and CL-INDEF young woman CL-INDEF CL-DAT
bihir-i-dhor-il-e.
pull-CV-hold-PST-3p
'A young man and a young woman embraced each other.'

(131) jibon-čhaṛu odhikoc bhola pa-i-bos-il-e duhē
life-ABL more good find-CV-V2:sit-PST-3p two-EMPH
duhīnkup.
two-EMPH-OBL:DAT
'The two of them loved each other more than life.'
3.4 Numerals and classifiers

3.4.1 Cardinal numerals

3.4.1.1 Forms

The Oriya numerals (see Table 3.7) are constructed in a decimal system. The numerals 1–10, 20, 100, 1,000, 10,000 and 10,000,000 are simple lexical items. From a historical viewpoint the other numerals are composed, but because of their fusional character the components are very difficult to be isolated, especially those of the numerals 11–18 and the decades. The numerals 19, 29, 39, ..., 99 are constructed by subtracting “one” of the following decades, e.g. ६०-३० ‘sixty-nine’, literally ‘one subtracted from seventy (soturi)’. The remaining numerals 21–98 are formed by addition, whereby the digit component precedes the decade component, e.g. ४०-३० ‘forty-seven’, literally ‘seven-forty’. In higher numerals the order is reversed, i.e. the larger precedes the smaller, e.g. १००-१० ‘hundred twenty’. Note that the root used for ‘twenty’, १००, is distinct from the component of which the numerals ‘19, 21, ..., 28’ are composed.

0  suno, sunya, sunu
1,000  hajarco (formal: sotaro)
10,000  doso hajarco (formal: cyuto)
100,000  sohe hajarco, lokhyc (cf. lokhadyahico ‘more than one lakh’)
1,000,000  doso lokhyc (formal: niyuto)
10,000,000  koti

101  sohe ekco
150  derho soho
200  duio soho/soho
250  orhain soho
300  tini soho
341  tini soho ekocaliso
350  sarhe tini soho
400  cari soho
450  sarhe cari soho

1100  egaro soho
1200  baco soho
1250  sarhe baco soho
1762  soto soho basothi
1991  ungeisa soho ekanobe
2000  duio hajarco
6900  choco hajarco cun cun cun

Other expressions

०  ‘half’  ०  ‘one and a half’
१  ‘and a half’  ०  ‘both’
२२  ‘third’  ०  ‘two, both’
४  ‘quarter’  ०  ‘two and a half’
### Table 3.7: Cardinal numbers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>21</th>
<th>31</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>eko(^a)</td>
<td>egaro</td>
<td>ekoiso</td>
<td>ekotirisoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>dui(^b)</td>
<td>baro</td>
<td>baiso</td>
<td>botiso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tini</td>
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<td>teiso</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>cari</td>
<td>coudo</td>
<td>cobiso</td>
<td>coutirisoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>pano</td>
<td>pondoro</td>
<td>pocosio</td>
<td>pojetirisoe</td>
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<td>cho</td>
<td>solo</td>
<td>chobiso</td>
<td>chotiso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>sati</td>
<td>sorte</td>
<td>soteiso</td>
<td>solotirisoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>othoro</td>
<td>otheiso</td>
<td>ohotirisoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>noo</td>
<td>uoneiso</td>
<td>onotirisoe</td>
<td>onocaliso</td>
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<td>korie</td>
<td>tiriso</td>
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<td>coubono</td>
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<td>pongothi</td>
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<td>sototo</td>
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<td>ekosothi</td>
<td>ekanobe</td>
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<td>72</td>
<td>bastori</td>
<td>boyaosi</td>
<td>boyanobe</td>
<td>boyanobe</td>
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<td>73</td>
<td>testori</td>
<td>teyaosi</td>
<td>teyanobe</td>
<td>teyanobe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
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<td>courao</td>
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<td>sotaosi</td>
<td>sotanobe</td>
<td>sotanobe</td>
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<td>otaosi</td>
<td>ohanobe</td>
<td>ohanobe</td>
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<tr>
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<td>onesto</td>
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<td>80</td>
<td>aso</td>
<td>nohe</td>
<td>soro</td>
<td>soro</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{a}\)Details for the use of the numeral “one” are given in 3.1.3.3.

\(^{b}\)Variant di, e.g. di bhai ‘two brothers’, di borso ‘two years’, pila dija ‘the two boys’.
ubhøyə can occur with nominative suffix -e (see 3.1.4.2), consider ubhoye in (1) below.²³

(1) Aruṇa Kumāra o ta-nkō potni ubhoy-e cakiri kōr-onti.
   A. K. and he-OBL wife both-NOM job do-3p(HON):HAB
   'Both Aruṇa Kumāra and his wife work.'

-dwoyo is suffixed to the determined noun:

(2) ehi s amore-dwoyo-re aji kounosi aghatqo ghot-i-nah-i.
   these town-both-LOC today any accident happen-PERF-NEG-3s
   'No accident has happened in either of these two towns today.'

(i) The numerals can change their final vowel to -o before the classifiers -ta /
-ti.

dui dio-ti pitha ‘two cakes’
tini tino-ti pitha ‘three cakes’
cari caro-ti pitha ‘four cakes’
kete keto-ti pitha ‘how many cakes?’

(ii) Certain numerals can take the indefinite suffix -e when they refer to one unit
of the number they denote, e.g. sohe ‘a hundred’ vs. dui soho ‘two hundred’
(cf. hōjare ‘1000’, lōkhya r o ṣhikō ṭonka ‘more than a lakh rupees’). It does
not, however, have an indefinite meaning: the suffix -e is present both in the
definite noun phrase (3a) and in the indefinite noun phrase (3b).

(3) a. sohe-jono-jako stri-loko pola-ich-onti.
   hundred-CL-all woman-person flee-PERF-3p
   'All hundred women have fled.'

b. sohe-jono stri-loko pola-ich-onti.
   hundred-CL woman-person flee-PERF-3p
   'Hundred women have fled.'

(iii) Multipliers are formed with the noun guño ‘quality’, e.g. dui guño ‘twice’.

(4) suporkompyutər sehi kompyutər-tharu sohe guño oṣhikō sōktisali
   s. that c.-ABL hundred times more powerful
   he-b-ə.
   be-FUT-3s
   'The super-computer will be a hundred times more powerful than that
   computer.'

²²Another way to express “a third” is the expression tini bhagor bhage ‘one part of three
parts’.
²³Some of the numerals have a variant in -e as well, e.g. tine, care, pance, sate, aṭhe.


3.4.2 Ordinal numerals

(5) mū tomo-ku eha-ra daco guño odhika tonka de-b-i.
    I you(POL)-DAT this-GEN ten times more money give-FUT-1s
    ‘I shall give you ten times more money than this.’

3.4.1.2 Use

Numerals generally take a classifier, in attributive use as well in nominal use, see 3.4.3.1. However, in contexts of counting or calculating they appear in their bare form.

(6) dui cari mis-i chaco hu-e.
    two four mix-CV six be-3s:HAB
    ‘Two and four make six.’

The numeral eko ‘one’ never takes a classifier, instead goṭie is used. When two numerals are juxtaposed in a noun phrase, they indicate an approximate count.

(7) Sambalpur-lo re aṭho daco dino ṛoh-ib-u boli bhab-ich-u.
    S.-LOC eight ten day stay-FUT-1pe COMP think-PERF-1pe
    ‘We thought that we would stay for eight or ten days at Sambalpur.’

Reduplication of numerals has various meanings, such as distributivity (8), emphasis (9) and plural meaning (i.e. several groups of the number given by the numeral, 10).

(8) dui dui kō-i eṭha-ku as-ō!
    two two do-CV here-DAT come-2p:IMP
    ‘Come here two by two!’

(9) eka thora-k-e cari jāra-ṣu hotya kō-a-ja-ith-il-a.
    one time-one-LOC four RDP-CL-OBL:DAT murder do-PASS-go-PERF-PST-3s
    ‘At one and the same time four people were murdered.’

(10) ehi sīla-liji soho soho borsō hela eṭha-re ṛoh-ich-i.
    this stone-script hundred RDP year for here-LOC stay-PERF-3s
    ‘This inscription has been lying here for hundreds of years.’

3.4.2 Ordinal numerals

All ordinal numerals are directly inherited from Sanskrit, 1–10 being ordinals in Sanskrit as well, 11–18 corresponding to the cardinals 11–18 in Sanskrit (see Table 3.8).

Other ordinal numbers are formed by adding the suffix -tomo:

pocaso ‘fifty’ pocaso-tomo ‘the fiftieth’
soho ‘hundred’ sohe-tomo ‘the hundredth’
hojaro ‘thousand’ hojare-tomo ‘the thousandth’
Table 3.8: Ordinal numbers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinal number</th>
<th>Ordinal number</th>
<th>Ordinal number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 prothamo</td>
<td>11 ekadosco</td>
<td>21 ekobinsco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 dwitiyo</td>
<td>12 dwadosco</td>
<td>22 dwabinco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 trutiyo</td>
<td>13 traryosco</td>
<td>23 trayobinsco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 doturtho</td>
<td>14 doturpsosco</td>
<td>24 doturbinsco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 ponconco</td>
<td>15 poncadosco</td>
<td>25 poncobinsco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 sastho</td>
<td>16 sasporosco/sasporosco</td>
<td>26 sotchobinsco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 sotcomco</td>
<td>17 sotepadso</td>
<td>27 sotobinsco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 ostcomco</td>
<td>18 ostadosco</td>
<td>28 ostobinsco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 uobinsco</td>
<td>19 unobinsco</td>
<td>29 nobobinsco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 dosco</td>
<td>20 binsco</td>
<td>30 trinsco</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ordinal numbers are adjectives: they are found in nominal (11), attributive (12) and predicative position (13).

(Speaking of the two parts of a sentence.)

(11) **prothamo-ти-rc намо уддесыо о dwitiyo-ти-rc намо бидхев.**
    first-ART-GEN name subject and second-ART-GEN name predicate
    ‘The first (part) is called subject and the second predicate.’

(12) *kaha ghora douп-re prothamo puraskarо pa-il-a?*
    whose horse race-LOC first prize find-PST-3s
    ‘Whose horse won first prize in the race?’

(13) *Naresо porikhyа-re prothamo he-l-a.*
    N. examination first be-PST-3s
    ‘Naresa came first in the examination.’

An ordinal number can be questioned by *kete-tомо* ‘the how-manieth’.

(14) *tumo-rc ei-ти kete-tомо pilа?*
    you(POL)-GEN this-ART how-ORDINAL child
    ‘This is the how-manieth child of yours?’

### 3.4.3 Classifiers

Oriya has four classifiers:

- **goto / -i** ‘piece’
  - used rarely
  - 2-gota bakyо ‘two sentences’
- **joно** ‘person’ (human nouns)
  - 2-jono pilа ‘two children’
- **khoнoдо** ‘piece’ (concrete objects)
  - 2-khonndo ciшhi ‘two letters’
- **ta / ти** ART
  - general (see 3.1.3.1)
  - 2-ти gocho ‘two trees’
The classifiers mainly occur either as proper classifiers, attached to numerals or to the quantity word kete 'how many; some', or as indefinite markers, in combination with the suffix -e. Reduplication of classifiers is discussed in 3.4.3.3. They are used with definite meaning in combination with the suffix -ko (see 3.1.3.5, p. 43).

3.4.3.1 Numeral use

(i) The classifiers with a preceding numeral or kete 'how many?' are used in three of the four possible functions classifiers can have in general (Bisang 1996): they are used to individualise nouns, i.e. to make them countable (but in Oriya they do not combine with attributive demonstratives, as e.g. in Thai), and they classify nouns because there is more than one classifier (e.g. all human nouns form a class since only these can co-occur with jopa). They are used in a kind of referring function (see the use of -ta / -ti as articles in 3.1.3.1), but not in possessive constructions.

The sequence "numeral + classifier" is found in nominal or in attributive function.

**Attributive use.** The sequence "numeral+classifier" normally precedes the head noun; if not, the noun phrase is definite.

15) dekh-o, dui-ta sōndho lōrei kōr-uch-onti.
look-2p:IMP two-CL bull fighting do-PROG-3p:HAB
'Look, two bulls are fighting.'

16) baksō dui-ta mojhi-re kōnō och-i?
b. two-CL middle-LOC what be-3s
'What is there between the two boxes?'

(The text is about the notion of phonemes.)

17) pati: ei rupimo-ku udahorōnō bhabo-re ni-a-ja-u.
mouth this morpheme-DAT example thought-LOC take-PASS-go-3s:IMP
ethi-re cari-goti dhwoni rōh-ich-i, jota: p, a, ū, i.
this-LOC four-CL sound stay-PERF-3s namely

'As an example the morpheme pāti shall be taken. Four sounds are in it, namely: p, a, ū, i.' (Oriya school grammar)

[24] The first item in the above list gota is used in the meaning 'whole' elsewhere. Chatterji (1926) states for Bengali, which has exactly the same situation, that the two uses might be derived from gut-i 'one piece, one whole, one round object'. According to Chatterji the classifier goti is not to be analysed as go+ti.

[25] Very rarely with nouns referring to animals, e.g. 50-jōnō kukuro '50 dogs' (in a newspaper).

[26] E.g. kurop 'hut', sigaret 'cigaret', churi 'knife', moti 'pearl', kaṭho 'wood', kōna 'cloth', pōthoro 'stone', cakiri 'job', etc.
3.4. Numerals and classifiers

(18) tumo sreňi-re kete-jonča balokča o balika och-onti?
your(POL) class-LOC how-many-CL boy and girl be-3p
‘How many boys and girls are there in your class?’

Nominal use. The sequence “numeral+classifier” can take the all-inclusive suffix -jakə and case suffixes, e.g. genitive case in (19).

(19) Ōria byakonča-rod chatro pokhro-re dui-ṭi-jakə-ro niyomča ba sutro
O. grammar-GEN student side-LOC two-CL-all-GEN law or rule
jan-iba dorkar.
know-INF necessary
‘The student of Oriya grammar has to know the laws or rules of both
(Sanskrit and Oriya).’

(20) seu-guričru pila-mano-nko-ro au tini-ṭi dorkar.
apple-PL-ABL child-PL-OBL-GEN more three-CL want
‘The children want three more of the apples.’

(21) tumo laibreri-re Bongaḷa bohi och-i? — hō, kete-khonča och-i.
your(POL) library-LOC Bengali book be-3s yes some-CL be-3s
‘Are there any Bengali books in your library? — Yes, there are some.’

(Speaking of Oriya [d] and [ɾ], which can be substituted for each other without change in meaning.)

(22) e dui-ṭi-ku swotöntra dhwoni bhabo-re bicarə
two-CL-DAT independent sound thought-LOC consider
kör-a-jə-e nahi.
do-PASS-go-3s:HAB NEG
‘These two (=[d] and [ɾ]) are not considered to be independent sounds.’

(ii) Large numbers do not require a classifier. There is no strict boundary between large numbers without classifiers and low numbers that do require them. Consider (23) where the classifier is ungrammatical with dui hojaro ‘two thousand’, optional with soḥo ‘hundred’ and obligatory with doso ‘ten’:

(23) 1990 mošiha-re ei gramčo-re dui hojaro(*-ṭi) lokə (soḥo(-ṭi) lokə 1990 year-LOC this village-LOC two thousand people hundred-CL people
/ doso-ṭi lokə) baso kör-uth-il-e.
ten-CL people residence do-IPFV-PST-3p
‘In 1990 two thousand (hundred / ten) people lived in this village.’

(24) mo pakho-ɾe caļiš-ṭi suna mohono och-i.
my side-LOC forty-CL gold coin be-3s
‘I have forty gold coins.’

In colloquial speech the classifier -ṭi can be dropped in (24); in cultivated language, the classifier would tend to be used.
(iii) Measure nouns do not require a classifier because they are already countable nouns (see 3.1.3.2 for a list).

(25) prayə pano ə kilomiɾər ‘about five kilometer’
dui ə thali bhaṭo ‘two plates of rice’
tini ə balti paṇi ‘three buckets of water’

(26) sarṭaho-re keṭe ə dino oṛh-i?
week-LOC how.many day be-3s
‘How many days are there in a week?’

(iv) The classifier can be missing in some frequent numeral-noun collocations, e.g. dui bhai ‘the two brothers’, dui hato ‘both hands’.

(Beginning of a story)

(27) Madana o Sitaṅkanto dui sango eko srenį-re pṛh-onti.
M. and S. two friend one class-LOC learn-3p:HP
‘The two friends Madana and Sitaṅkanta learn in the same class.’

(28) dui hato aga-ku bōṛh-i se ta-nko muhā-ku
two hand front-DAT stretch-CV he she-OBLS face-DAT
cah-i-ṛoh il c.
look-CV-V2:stay-PST-3p(HON)
‘He stretched out his (lit. both) hands and stared at her face.’

(v) The emphatic suffix -hī/-hē (see 5.2.1) can replace the classifier, in particular with the numerals dui ‘two’ (duhē) and tini ‘three’ (tinihē).

(About three sisters.)

(29) tini-hē raja-nku khyaṃa mag-il-c.
three-EMPH king-OBLS:DAT pardon ask-PST-3p
‘The three begged the king for pardon.’

(vi) Besides, -ta is used for expressing clock time: attached to a numeral, it can be followed by bele or beḷaku ‘at the time’.

how.much time become-PERF-3s nine-CL become-PERF-3s
‘What is the time? — It is nine o’clock.’

(31) cara-ṭa beḷ-e pila-mane skul-ru bahar-i-as-uth-il-c.
four-CL time-LOC child-PL school-ABL come.out-V2:come-IPFV-PST-3p
‘At four o’clock the children were coming out of their school.’
3.4. Numerals and classifiers

3.4.3.2 Indefiniteness

In Oriya the classifiers can combine with the indefinite marker -e to code a referent as indefinite, i.e. to express the assumption that the addressee cannot identify the referent. Note that there are two other devices by which a similar function is performed: by suffixation of -e directly to the noun (see 3.1.3.2) or by the numeral ekə ‘one’ (see 3.1.3.3).

Since a classifier + -e makes a noun specific (for non-specific nouns, see below), this use is related to that of referentialization, defined as covering specificity and definiteness. Bisang (1996) reports referentialization as function of classifiers, e.g. in Hmong and Vietnamese.

(i) The classifiers gota / goṭi and ḫaṇo with the indefinite marker -e (goṭae / gotie and ḫaṇe) generally precede the noun. The classifiers -ta / -ṭi with -e are suffixed to the noun, e.g. jamatie ‘a coat’ (35).²⁷

(The child tells his friends about the journey that will take place the next day.)


‘Imagine, our teacher (lit. Sir) has said that a big bus has been arranged.’

(33) goti-e gāa-re tini bhai th-il-e. CL-INDEF village-LOC three brother be-PST-3p

‘In a village there were three brothers.’

(34) din-e sehī gramā-re jau-e sadhu as-i pohonc-il-e. day-INDEF that village-LOC CL-INDEF pious come-CV arrive-PST-3p(HON)

‘One day a pious man came to that village.’

(35) aji ḫali caulō an-ib-o, taa sōhito puō pāī jamatie an-ib-o. today dal rice bring-FUT-2p it with son for jamatie an-ib-o.

‘When you bring rice and dal today, also bring a coat for (our) son.’

The classifier ḫaṇḍie (var. ḫaṇḍie) is often postposed.

(36) ḫonka-tie matrō di-o, tīket ḫonḍi-e kīn-o. rupee-INDEF only give-2p:IMP ticket CL-INDEF buy-2p:IMP

‘Pay only one rupee and buy a ticket.’

(37) dekh-o mū goti-e ḫatō-re pothoṛo ḫonḍ-e cip-ib-i. look-2p:IMP I CL-INDEF hand-LOC stone CL-INDEF press-FUT-1s

‘Look, I’ll use one hand and press a stone.’

Other classifiers can be postposed as well; this evokes a more literary style.

²⁷Note the use with indefinite pronouns, kie ḫoṇe and kichi gotae (see 3.3.3.2).
3.4.3. Classifiers

(38) Basra sohoro-ru as-uth-iba mukta-ku ne-i jodi haro gothi-e
B. town-ABL come-IPFV-INF pearl-DAT take-CV if necklace CL-INDEF
{tiari kor-a-ja-ith-ib-o,} taha-ro ehi dam.
built do-PASS-go-PERF-FUT-3s it-GEN this price

‘If a chain is made of pearls coming from Basra, it will cost this price.’
(Novspaper)

There is a variant -te (and gote), which signals indifference or disapproval.

(39) mu daktor-te kouth-u an-ib-i?
I d.-INDEF where-ABL bring-FUT-1s
‘Where shall I get a doctor?’

(ii) The classifier + -e and the composed suffix -tie (for the difference, see 3.1.3.2) are both used for referents with discourse relevance, or in other words, referents with an indefinite marker can become topics in subsequent discourse (Lambrecht 1994, p. 83). In (40) hati-tei ‘elephant’ is the central character for the whole story, hence it is marked by -tie, whereas pokhoriku ‘to a pond’ is not marked as indefinite, since it is of minor importance.

(Beginning of a short story.)

(40) din-e hati-tie khub sosila ho-i pokhoriku-pa ni
{day-INDEF elephant-INDEF very thirsty become-CV pond-DAT water
pi-iba-ku ja-uth-il-a.}
drink-INF-DAT go-IPFV-PST-3s
‘One day, an elephant was very thirsty and it went to a pond to drink water.’

(iii) The indefinite markers can express the meaning of the numeral “one” or the notion of identity “same” (eko ‘one’ is used in the same context).

(41) kebo-lo gothi-e corc dhoro-a-por-il-a; onyo somost-e
only CL-INDEF thief catch-PASS-fall-PST-3s other all-NOM
khos-i-pola-il-e.
{escape-CV-flee-PST-3p
‘Only one of the thieves was caught; everyone else escaped.’

(42) se gothi-e thora phunk-i sobu monsom-boti
he CL-INDEF time blow-CV all wax-candle
libh-a-i-de-l-a.
go.out-CAUS-CV-V2:give-PST-3s
‘He blew out all the candles in one go.’

(43) gotha-e kotha-ku kie cari thora bos-i sun-ib-o je?
CL-INDEF matter-DAT who four time sit-CV hear-FUT-3s PTCL
‘Who would like to hear the same speech four times?’
(iv) No indefinite marker is used when the referent is non-specific, e.g. nua ghorc ‘a new house’ in (44):

(44) tume e thi nua ghorc tiari kor-ib-ɔ?
you(POL) here new house build do-FUT-2p
‘Are you going to build a new house here?’

(45) raja din-e swcpo dekh-il-e.
king day-INDEF dream see-PST-3p(HON)
‘One day, the king had a dream (lit. saw a dream).’

(46) tume puɔ-ku ebe teligram kor-ɔ.
you(POL) son-DAT now t. do-2p:IMP
‘Send a telegram to the boy now.’

Generic nouns in non-predicative function are unmarked.

(47) dinɔ choɔ, matɔ maso bɔrc.
day short but month big
‘A day is short, but a month is long.’

(48) casi kɔthino porisramo kor-e, sɔiniko ahuri odhiko porisramo
farmer hard labour do-3s:HAB soldier more more labour
kor-e.
do-3s:HAB
‘A farmer works hard, a soldier works even harder.’

Generic nouns in the singular in predicative function are marked by an indefinite marker.

(Talking about ways of communication, e.g. waving to stop the bus.)

(49) hato dekh-a-iba goti-e sonketo.
hand see-CAUS-INF CL-INDEF sign
‘Showing the hand is a sign.’

(50) apo newo jone sikhyoɔ.
you(HON) CL-INDEF teacher
‘You are a teacher.’

(v) Besides the attributive use, the classifier with the indefinite marker occurs as noun substitute with the meaning “one”. gotiku in (51) stands for the preceding bakyc ‘a sentence’. Note that an occurring case marker replaces the indefinite -e.

(In a grammar: The two sentences “I have recognised that wicked child” and “I have recognised the child who is wicked” are constructed in different ways, but have the same meaning.)
3.4.3. Classifiers

(51) ethi-pae bakyoc dui-ti modhyoc-ru gohi-ku anyo-ti-ro au eko this-for this sentence two-CL middle-ABL CL-DAT other-ART-GEN more one rupco ba rupantaro kuh-a-ja-i-par-ib-co. shape or different.form say-PASS-go-CV-can-FUT-3s

‘That’s why the one of these two sentences can be considered as a variant or a different form of the other.’

(52) e pitha-gurikoc borhia. — tume gohi-e ne-b-o? these cake-PL nice you(POL) CL-INDEF take-FUT-2p

‘These cakes are nice. — Would you like one?’

The indefinite marker can be used as generic “one”:

(How to make phone calls.)

(53) apono emitci obismoronyo char-i-de-i-ja-ntu you(HON) like-this unforgettable impression leave-CV-V2:give-CV-V2:go-3p:IMP jaha pho-lore apono-ndo-tharu au thore phon-re kothabarttta what result-LOC you(HON)-OBL-ABL more time-INDEF ph.-LOC conversation kor-iba pai jon-e iccha kor-e. do-INF for CL-INDEF wish do-3s:HAB

‘Leave such an unforgettable impression that one wishes to talk with you on the phone another time.’

3.4.3.3 Reduplication

(i) Reduplication of a classifier in combination with the verb kori has distributive function, e.g. gohi gohi ‘one by one’ in (54).

(54) gohta-iba: tolu gohi gohi kori utha-i-ne-ba. pick.up-INF bottom-ABL CL RDP do-CV get.up-CAUS-CV-V2:take-INF

‘To pick up: to take from the floor one by one.’ (Dictionary)

(A magician during his performance.)

(55) mui seu-ti-ku khando khando kori ka-t-il-i — khando-guriko I apple-ART-DAT CL RDP do-CV cut-PST-1s piece-PL jo-i-de-l-i o seu-ti-ku puni gotha kor-i-de-l-i. join-CV-V2:give-PST-1s and apple-ART-DAT again whole do-CV-V2:give-PST-1s

‘I cut the apple into slices — I put the slices together, and make it whole again.’

(56) protyeko-nku jonco jonco kori sakhyaco kori-gol-a. each-OBL:DAT CL RDP do-CV meeting do-CV:go:PST-3s

‘Each (of the candidates) was interviewed personally (lit. one by one).’
(ii) The reduplication of the classifier + indefinite marker indicates distributive meaning. In (57) below it is true for each of the consonant letters that they constitute a single syllable.

(57) Oriya bhasa-ro prátyêkā byonjana-borunna sohitā 'ō' swarā-dhwani-ti
O. language-GEN every consonant-letter with a vowel-sound-ART
mis-irāh-itha-e. prakruto-re dekh-ile, egurikō goti-e
mix-CV-V2:stay-PERF-3s:HAB reality-LOC see-CONDCV these CL-INDEF
goti e akhyoro.
RDP syllable

'Every consonant letter in Oriya is combined with the vowel [o]. If you look closer, each of them is a single syllable.' (Oriya school grammar)

(When saying good-bye.)

(58) Anu au Niru, citha khoṇdi-e khoṇdie de-uth-ib-ō, tōmo-ro
A. and N. letter CL-INDEF RDP give-IPFV-FUT-2p you(POL)-GEN
su-khōbōra jōn-a-uth-ib-ō.
good-news know-CAUS-IPFV-FUT-2p

'Anu and Niru, write letter by letter, let us hear your good news.'

3.5 Nominal phrase

(i) The nominal phrase is realised by a syntagm the head of which belongs to one of the four word classes noun, adjective, pronoun and numeral.

(1) se corā-ku / dustā-ku / semanō-nku / du-hī-nku gōchā-re
he thief-DAT wicked-DAT they-OBL:DAT two-EMPH-OBL:DAT tree-LOC
bandhī-de-l-a.
bind-CV-V2:give-PST-3s

'He bound the thief / the wicked one / them / both of them to a tree.'

(ii) When the nominal phrase consists of more than one word, some word order rules prevail. The majority of the determiners precede the determined nominal. Only numerals, quantifiers (collectives and measure nouns) and relative clauses can follow it.

Preceding determiners:
Dem Demonstratives sei jhīo-ṭi 'that girl'
emiti-ka jhīo-ṭi 'such a girl'
Num Numerals (+ CL) tino-ṭi jhīo 'three girls'
Quant Quantifiers dol-e jhio 'a group of girls'
Adj Adjectives sundor jhio-ti 'the beautiful girl'
Ptcp Participles nacuthiba jhio-ťi 'the dancing girl'
Poss Possessor mo-ro jhio-ťi 'my girl'
Case marked noun Kočko-ku rasta 'the road to Cuttack'
kuo-ru pāni 'water from the well'
Postposit. noun bujula sōhita jhio-ťi 'the girl with the bundle'
dođrānko pāi poisa 'money for the poor'
Rel Cl Relative clause jie nacōnti jhio 'the girls who dance'

Following determiners: 28

Num Numerals (+ Class.) jhio tino-ťi 'the three girls'
Quant Quantifiers jhio dol-ko 'the group of girls'
Rel Cl Relative clause jhio jie et ēthiki ase 'the girl who comes here'

The unmarked order among the determiners is as follows:

Case marked N
Postposit. N + Poss + Dem + Num + Quant + Adj + Noun + Num + Rel Cl
Relative clause Participles

Dem - Num - Adj - N sei tino-ťi sundoro jhio 'those 3 beautiful girls'
Dem - N - Num - Rel Cl sei jhio tino-ťi jie aśonti 'those 3 girls who come'
Case m. N - Dem - N gocho-ru sei pātra 'that leaf of a tree'
Poss - Dem - N mo-ro sei jhio-ťi 'that girl of mine'
Poss - Num - N mo-ro jō-ę sango 'a friend of mine'
Postpos. N - Poss - N bujula sohita mo jhio-ťi 'my girl with a bundle'
Ptcp - Dem - N nacuthiba sei jhio 'that girl who's dancing'
Rel Cl - Poss - Dem - N (see (2))

(2) [jou jhio-ťi nac-uch-i] Rel Cl mo piši-nkō-ro sei jhio-ťi
who girl-ART dance-PROG-3s my aunt-OBL-GEN that girl-ART
'that dancing girl of my aunt'

Variation from the order indicated above often occurs, but it is at least slightly marked.

Poss - Postp. N - N mo-rö byak-oro upor-e bohi 'my book on grammar'
Dem - Poss - N sei mo jhio-ći 'that girl of mine'
Num - Postp. N - N sore kočdo pila-nkō pāi bohi '100 books for children'

28As can be seen all of them occur before the determined noun as well. When preceding, the
noun phrase tends to be indefinite, when following, the noun phrase tends to be definite.
3.5. Nominal phrase

Numerals, quantifiers and adjectives can be determined by the addition of some determiners as the following examples illustrate:

Adverb - Num - N  prāvo dōc-ti jhio  ‘about ten girls’
Num - Num - N  prōtho cari-ṭa prōsno  ‘the first four questions’
Adverb - Quant - N  olo kichi jhio  ‘some few girls (lit. few some)’
Num - Quant - N  due dolo jhio  ‘two groups of girls’
Adverb - Adj - N  oti dārthua sephṭi pin  ‘very sharp safety pins’

When the demonstrative precedes the possessor, it indicates pejorative meaning:

\[(3)\]  sei taa-ro jhio  ‘that girl of his (pejorative)’
 taa-ro sei jhio  ‘that girl of his (neutral)’

The same difference in meaning can be seen with participles: when the demonstrative precedes the participle nacuthiba ‘dancing’ in (4) below, the speaker expresses that he does not like that girl.

\[(4)\]  (sei)\(^1\) sinema-re nac-uth-iba  (sei)\(^2\) jhio-ti-ku mū jaṇ-e.
that c.-LOC dance-IPPV-INF that girl-ART-DAT I know-1s:HAB
‘I know that girl who is dancing in the cinema (1. pejorative; 2. neutral).’

There is a tendency to avoid determiner noun phrases with case markers (other than genitive) or postpositions. Genitives and participles are used instead.

\[(5)\]  *tebul upor-e bohi  ‘the book on the table’
tebul upore-ro bohi  ‘the book on the table’
tebul upor-e rokh-a-ho-ith-iba  ‘the book lying on the table (lit.
bohi  being kept on the table)’

\[(6)\]  *gāa-ru jhio-ṭi  ‘the girl from the village’
gāa-ro jhio-ṭi  ‘the girl from the village’
gāa-ru as-uth-iba jhio-ṭi  ‘the girl coming from the village’

Titles and professions are normally preposed (7a,b), other hypernyms are postposed (7c,d).

\[(7)\] a.  adhyapakā Paṭṭonāyaka  ‘Professor Paṭṭanāyaka’
b.  raja Soriyati  ‘King Śarjīṭi’
c.  Brāhmaṇputra nadi  ‘the Brahmaputra river’
d.  Himalāya pārboto  ‘the Himalaya mountains’

When referring to and addressing a male person by name, either the suffix -babu\(^29\) is used (both for first name and surname), or srijukta (for surnames) and srīman (for first names) is preposed. For female persons -debi is attached to the first name, and srīmoti precedes the surname.

\(^{29}\)The suffix -ji borrowed from Hindi has a similar function, e.g. Gandhi-ji ‘Gāndhi’.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Surname</th>
<th>First Name</th>
<th>Alternate Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>men</td>
<td>Məhapatro-babu</td>
<td>Bipul-babu</td>
<td>Mr Mahapatra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>srijukto Məhapatro</td>
<td>sriman Bipul</td>
<td>Mr Bipula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women</td>
<td>Dipti-debi</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ms Dipti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>srimoti Məhapatro</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mrs Mahapatra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Məhasoyo ‘Sir’ and Məhasoya ‘Madam’ are honorific addresses in speaking and writing letters.
Chapter 4

Verbs

4.1 Verb formation

Oriya verb stems can be classified into simple stems and derived stems. Deriva-
tional devices include the causative suffix -a (see 4.1.1) and the homophonous
denominative suffix -a (4.1.2). Reduplication of verbs will be discussed in 4.1.3
and verbal compounds in 4.1.4.

The majority of the Oriya simple verb stems belong to the native vocabulary
and consist of one syllable. Bisyllabic stems are more rare (about a tenth of all
native verb stems), while native trisyllabic stems are absent altogether.

(i) monosyllabic verb stems (many of them show irregularities, see 4.5)

- with final vowel:

  chū- ‘touch’
  de- ‘give’
  dē- ‘jump’
  dhā- ‘run’
  dho- ‘wash’
  ga- ‘sing’
  he- ‘be’
  ja- ‘go’
  kha- ‘eat’
  ne- ‘take’
  nō- ‘bend’
  pa- ‘find’
  pi- ‘drink’
  ro- ‘sow’
  so- ‘sleep’
  tha- ‘be’
  thō- ‘put’
  ū- ‘rise (sun)’

- with final consonant:

  an- ‘bring’
  ank- ‘draw’
  as- ‘come’
  cakh- ‘taste’
  cal- ‘walk’
  char- ‘leave’
  dekh- ‘see’
  dhōr- ‘catch’
  dōr- ‘run’
  dūr- ‘call’
  ghot- ‘happen’
  kōr- ‘do’
  kand- ‘weep’
  kas- ‘cough’
  kat- ‘cut’
  khōs- ‘fall’
  khoj- ‘search’
  mōr- ‘die’
  nac- ‘dance’
  pōr- ‘fall, lie’
  pōrh- ‘read’
  rakh- ‘keep’
  sikh- ‘learn’
  suņ- ‘listen’
  tān- ‘pull’
  thōk- ‘cheat’
  uth- ‘get up’
(ii) bisyllabic verb stems (selection; note that all of them end in a consonant):

bahr- ‘come out’ kamur- ‘bite’ pohonc- ‘arrive’
bodol- ‘change’ kocar- ‘slip’ pohor- ‘swim’
comok- ‘be startled’ otok- ‘stop’ upar- ‘uproot’
gorj- ‘roar’ pocar- ‘ask’

By contrast with other word classes, there are very few Tatsama verbs, i.e. verbs which have the same form as the corresponding Sanskrit verbs (e.g. byap- ‘spread’, swopna- ‘dream’, oposar- ‘retreat’, tisth- ‘exist’); instead, Tatsama verbs appear as conjunct verbs (see 4.6.1).

4.1.1 Causative

(i) The causative derivation is highly productive. Each verb can form a causative stem by the addition of the suffix -a,\(^1\) with a few exceptions: as- ‘come’, dhā- ‘run’, ga- ‘sing’, he- ‘be’ and ja- ‘go’ have no causative counterparts. Some other verbs have no causative formed by -a, but another lexeme, which fills the gap.

- kōt- ‘(time) pass’ kat- ‘spend’
- mor- ‘die’ mar- ‘kill’
- por- ‘lie’ pokar- ‘put’
- rōh- ‘stay’ rōkh- ‘keep’
- sor- ‘end (itr.)’ sar- ‘finish (tr.)’

(1) a. poisa sor-i-jib-o.
money finish-CV-V2:go-FUT-3s
‘The money will be finished.’

b. se silei kamc sar-i-de-b-o.
he sewing work finish-CV-V2:give-FUT-3s
‘He will finish the sewing work.’

Causative formation increases the valency of the simple verb. There are two types: either the simple verb is intransitive and the causative makes it transitive, or the simple verb is transitive (one object) and the causative makes it ditransitive (two objects).

\(^1\)The causative stem is homophonous with the a-form (see 4.3.1).
4.1. Verb formation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>intransitive</th>
<th>transitive</th>
<th>transitive</th>
<th>ditransitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cal- ‘walk’</td>
<td>col-a- ‘drive’</td>
<td>ḍak- ‘call’</td>
<td>ḍok-a- ‘make call’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>col- ‘run’</td>
<td>col-a- ‘make run’</td>
<td>dekh- ‘see’</td>
<td>dekh-a- ‘show’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>libh- ‘go out’</td>
<td>libh-a- ‘put out’</td>
<td>jan- ‘know’</td>
<td>joṇ-a- ‘inform’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oṭok- ‘stop (itr.)’</td>
<td>oṭok-a- ‘stop (tr.)’</td>
<td>poṛh- ‘read’</td>
<td>poṛh-a- ‘teach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uṭh- ‘get up’</td>
<td>uṭh-a- ‘wake’</td>
<td>sikh- ‘learn’</td>
<td>sikh-a- ‘teach’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is a group of verbs which look like causative forms, but have no corresponding simple form, e.g. bota- ‘instruct’, pola- ‘flee’, gandha- ‘smell’, poṭha- ‘send’, ohla- ‘come down, get down’, unca- ‘raise’, poka- ‘put’.

(ii) The causativization can be accompanied by some morphophonemic alternations (see 2.7):

- The root vowel a changes to o by the addition of the causative suffix -a, e.g. an- ‘bring’ vs. oṇa- ‘make bring’ or kata- ‘cut’ vs. koṭa- ‘make cut’.
- Some roots undergo irregular alternations (cf. 4.5), e.g. dho- ‘wash’ vs. dhua- ‘make wash’, kha- ‘eat’ vs. khua- ‘feed’, de- ‘give’ vs. dia- ‘make give’, ne- ‘take’ vs. nia- ‘make take’.
- The suffix -a assimilates to the following vowel: it changes to -e before -i, e.g. oṇ-e-il-e < oṇ-a-il-e ‘they made bring’, and to -o before -u, e.g. poṭh-o-uch-i < poṭh-a-uch-i ‘I am sending’.

(iii) The person who is forced to do something in a causative construction (the causee) is marked by the postposition dvara ‘by’ (see 5.3.2). In the pair of sentences below cakro ‘the servant’ is the agent in the transitive clause in (2a). It has become the causee in the causative construction in (2b) and is marked by dvara.

(2) a. cakro ghoro-ṭi-ku purapuri bhābo-re sopia kór-ich-i.
    servant house-ART-DAT complete thought-LOC clean do-PERF-3s
    ‘The servant cleaned the house completely.’

    b. gruhini cakro dvara ghoro-ṭi-ku sopia kɔr-e-ich-i.
    housewife servant by house-ART-DAT clean do-CAUS-PERF-3s
    ‘The housewife had the house cleaned by the servant.’

The causee can also be marked by the converbs logei (of the causative loga- of lag- ‘feel’) or dei ‘via’ (of de- ‘give’), or by the dative case marker -ku (4).

(3) mù mo jama dhoba-ku loge-i / dhoba de-i sopia
    I my clothes washerman-DAT apply-CV washerman give-CV clean
    kɔr-a-e.
    do-CAUS-1s:HAB
    ‘I have my clothes washed by the washerman.’
4.1.1. Causative

(4) **dhoba-ku** mū jama sāpha kōr-e-ich-i.
    washerman-DAT I clothes clean do-CAUS-PERF-1s
    ‘I had my clothes washed by the washerman.’

Negation can either have the action denoted by the simple verb in scope, signalling prevention, e.g. ‘not to let sleep’ as in (5), or it refers to the causation, e.g. ‘not to make sleep’ as in (6).

(5) **ei jhiṇṭika-ṭa** mo-te rati-sara su-a-i-de-i-n-i.
    this grasshopper-ART I-DAT night-all sleep-CAUS-CV-V2:give-PERF-NEG-3s
    ‘This grasshopper did not let me sleep the whole night.’

(6) **mo-te ei osādhō-ṭa** su-e-i-par-il-a-ni, kintu
    I-DAT this medicine-ART sleep-CAUS-CV-can-PST-3s-NEG but
    din-ṭa-jak-ṛo kōṭhīna pōrisrōmo mo-te haliā kōr-i-de-l-a.
    day-ART-all-GEN hard labour I-DAT tired make-CV-V2:give-PST-3s
    ‘This medicine could not make me sleep, but the entire day’s heavy work made me tired.’

(iv) Permissives (“let somebody do something”) are expressed by de- ‘give’ in combination with the **iba-form + dative -ku**.

(7) mū jaha pindh-iba-ku cah-ē mo maa mo-te sei-ṭa
    I what wear-INF-DAT want-1s:HAB my mother I-DAT that-ART
    **pindh-iba-ku di-e.**
    wear-INF-DAT give-3s:HAB
    ‘My mother lets me wear what I want.’

(A father about his son’s education.)

(8) mū ta-ku kōṇoṣi khyetṛo-re pochua rōh-iba-ku de-b-i nahī.
    I he-DAT any field-LOC behind stay-INF-DAT give-FUT-1s NEG
    ‘I shall not let him be behind in any domain.’

(v) Besides the regular causative formation, there are two other devices with which the two related meanings (intransitive and transitive with change of subject – predicate relation) is expressed. Verbs such as **bhang-** ‘break (itr/tr)’ occur both with intransitive and with transitive meaning. The distinction “intransitive / transitive” correlates with the difference in use of the two light verbs ja- ‘go’ and de- ‘give’ (see 4.6.2.3 for examples). Other verbs which are used in the same way are **char-** ‘stop / leave’, **khol-** ‘open’ (itr./tr.), **ohla-** ‘come / get down’ and **por-** ‘burn’ (itr./tr.).

Another case in which transitivity is marked regularly are the conjunct verbs. The auxiliary **he-** ‘be’ signals intransitive, and the auxiliary kōr- ‘do’ signals transitive meaning (see 4.6.1).
4.1.2 Denominative verbs

There are some noun stems from which a verb is derived. The final vowel of the noun stem is dropped and the suffix -a is added. This suffix undergoes the same changes before high vowels as the causative -a (e.g. anṭh-a- + i → anṭh-e-i-, see above).

*anṭhu* 'knee'  *anṭh-a-* 'to kneel'
*goṛo* 'leg'  *goṛ-a-* 'to follow'
*guṇḍo* 'powder'  *guṇḍ-a-* 'to make powder'
*munḍo* 'head'  *munḍ-a-* 'to carry on the head'
*pochɔ* 'back'  *poch-a-* 'to shrink back'

Other verb stems are derived without any additional suffix:

*koṛoțo* 'saw'  *koṛ-oț-* 'to saw'
*koṭuri* 'scissors'  *koṭur-* 'to cut with scissors'
*kuheḷi* 'mist'  *kuheḷ-ij* 'to smother'
*phemɔ* 'foam'  *phem-* 'to foam'

In addition there are some verbs derived from adjectives (with or without the suffix -a):

*dhoḷa* 'white'  *dhoḷa-* 'to whiten'
*kɔślo* 'soft'  *kɔśl-a-* 'to soften'
*lengerə* 'lame'  *lengerə-* 'to limp'
*osaro* 'wide'  *osar-* 'to widen'

4.1.3 Reduplication

Reduplicated verbs follow the pattern “stem + a + stem + i (+ auxiliary)”.

*bujh-* 'understand'  *bujh-a-bujh-i* 'learning here and there'
*dhɔr-* 'take'  *dhɔr-a-dhɔr-i* 'seizing each other'
*khoj-* 'search'  *khoj-a-khoj-i* 'searching everywhere'
*lag-* 'touch'  *lag-a-lag-i* 'touching each other'

The verb stem occurs twice, the first time with the participle marker -a, the second time with the general convor verb marker -i.convor.general As can be seen in the last example with lag- 'touch', stem vowel /a/ changes to /ɔ/ (loga/ɔgi, see 2.7). The whole verb form is a general convor verb, which can occur with the auxillaries he- 'be' or kɔr- 'do', and is used to express reciprocity or distributivity.

(i) The construction conveys reciprocal meaning “each other”.


(9) semane hato dh̄or-a-dh̄or-i ho-i thiə ho-ith-il-e.
    they hand hold-PTCP-hold-CV be-CV standing be-PERF-PST-3p
    ‘They were standing holding each other’s hands.’

(At a festival.)

(10) pila-θaru buriha porejuncto somost-e nixo nixo bhitor-e rongə
    child-ABL old until all-NOM REFL RDP inside-LOC colour
    bol-a-bol-i hu-onti.
    smear-PTCP-RDP-CV be-3p:HAB
    ‘All smear colours on each other, from young to old.’

(ii) The construction has distributive meaning, e.g. ‘here and there’ in (11).

(11) Arunɔ Kumarc dour-a-dour-i kor-i Bonalota pəi sikhito o
    A.  K. run-PTCP-RDP-CV do-CV B. for educated and
    sundɔc jubokɔ-tie jogarɔ kor-ith-il-e.
    beautiful young:man-INDEF arrangement do-PERF-PST-3p
    ‘Arunɔ Kumara had run here and there and had made an
    arrangement with an educated and beautiful young man for Banalata.’

(12) bohu bul-a-bul-i, hɔso-khusi, sinema dekh-a-dekh-i, əlpo
    much walk-PTCP-RDP-CV laughter-joy movie see-PTCP-RDP-CV few
    chū-a-chū-i por-e Sita Nɔrɔhɔri-ku bibaŋ kɔr-iba-ku raʃi
    touch-PTCP-RDP-CV after-LOC S. N.-DAT marriage do-INF-DAT agree
    he-l-a.
    be-PST-3s
    ‘After much walking around, having fun, watching movies, and
    touching each other a little, Sītā agreed to get married with Narahari.’

(13) Jali e thɔc bhoji-re rondh-a-rondh-i kɔr-iba-ku cah-ûch-i.
    J. this time party-LOC cook-PTCP-RDP-CV do-INF-DAT want-PROG-3s
    ‘Jali wants to do the cooking at the party this time.’

(iii) This reduplicated verb form is used as derived noun as well, consider diâdei
    ‘jumping around’, derived from dẽ- ‘jump’, in (14):

(Monkeys entered the school.)

(14) manκorɔ-manɔ-nko dī-a-dẽ-i phɔlo-re bidyalɔc-əc aǰbestɔs
    monkey-PL-OBL jump-PTCP-RDP-CV result-LOC school-GEN a.
    bhang-i-ja-ich-i.
    break-CV2:go-PERF-3s
    ‘As result of the monkeys’ jumping around the asbestos of the school
    has broken.’ (Newspaper)
4.1.4 Verbal compounds

Verbal compounds consist of two juxtaposed verbs with the same functional load (in contrast to compound verbs, which are composed of a main verb and a light verb, see 4.6.2). The constituents of verbal compounds belong to the same semantic domain; either one verb has the opposite meaning of the other, or they are synonyms. They mainly occur in nonfinite forms (converbs, a-forms and iba-forms).²

Converbs  kho-a-i-pi-a-i  ‘give to eat and drink’
            lekh-i-pořh-i  ‘write and read’
            so-i-bos-i  ‘sleep and sit’
            uth-i-bos-i  ‘get up and sit’
            luc-i-chop-i  ‘hide (lit. hide – hide)’
            poci-sorh-i  ‘rot (lit. rot – rot)’

a-forms  di-a-ni-a  ‘give and take’
          ni-a-ɔŋ-a  ‘fetch and bring’
          randh-a-bořh-a  ‘cook and serve’
          bujh-a-моŋ-a  ‘mutual arrangement (lit. understand – underst.)’
          col-a-bul-a  ‘have a walk (lit. walk – walk)’
          jhink-a-oʃɔr-a  ‘drag and pull’

iba-forms  j-iba-as-iba  ‘go and come’


‘After they had given the golden bird to eat and drink and after they had themselves eaten, they took rest.’

a-forms and iba-forms are often used with the auxiliary kɔr- ‘do’.

(16)  mʊ su-a-bos-a  kɔr-i par-ib-i-ni.  I sleep-PTCP-sit-PTCP do-CV can-FUT-1s-NEG

‘I won’t be able to laze around.’


‘Her brothers had forbidden her to go to the coast and to have a walk on the island.’

²An exception is the expression ja-e as-e nah-i (go-3s:HAB-come-3s:HAB NEG) ‘it does not matter’.
(18) mū khub sabōdhana-Re luc-i luci j-iba-as-iba kār-ib-i.
     I very careful-LOC hide-CV RDP go-INF-come-INF do-FUT-1s
     'I shall go and come very carefully and hideingly.'

4.2 Finite forms

In section 4.2.1 the morphology of Oriya verb forms will be presented. Their use and the explanation for the choice of the terms follows in 4.2.2 and 4.2.3.

4.2.1 Morphology

The structure of the finite verb in Oriya can roughly be characterised as follows (optional elements in parentheses):

stem (+ aspect) (+ auxiliary) + tense / mood + person / number

This scheme applies for all finite affirmative forms. Negative forms are dealt with later (see 6.4). There is one additional suffix -ṇi that is attached to some finite verb forms (see 4.2.3.7). The formation of the three categories aspect, tense/mood and person/number will now be described in turn.

(i) Aspect: Three aspects can be distinguished. These are Simple, Perfect and Imperfective. Their markers are listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Markers</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simple</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>-i-</td>
<td>gloss: CV (general converb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective</td>
<td>-u-</td>
<td>gloss: ICV (imperfective converb)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Perfect and Imperfective aspect verb forms consist of the converb and the auxiliaries tha-/cch- 'be' to which the tense/mood markers are added (for the forms see Table 4.1, for the use as full verb see 4.4).

The converb is composed of the stem and of either of the aspect markers -i or -u, glossed by CV (= general converb, aṇi 'having brought') and ICV (= imperfective converb, aṇu 'bringing') (for the use of converbs see 4.3.5).

(ii) Tense/mood: Oriya verbs are inflected for five categories that can be subsumed under the heading of tense and mood. Their markers are listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense/Mood</th>
<th>Markers</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Habitual</td>
<td>HAB</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>PST</td>
<td>-il-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>-ib-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional</td>
<td>COND</td>
<td>-ont-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 4.1: Auxiliaries *tha-* and *och-*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Habitual</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Conditional</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th><em>och-</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>thae</td>
<td>thili</td>
<td>thibi</td>
<td>thanti</td>
<td>thāē</td>
<td>ochi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p incl</td>
<td>thae</td>
<td>thile</td>
<td>thiba</td>
<td>thante</td>
<td>—<em>a</em></td>
<td>ochē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p excl</td>
<td>thau</td>
<td>thilu</td>
<td>thibu</td>
<td>thantu</td>
<td>thāū</td>
<td>ochū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>thau</td>
<td>thilu</td>
<td>thibu</td>
<td>thantu</td>
<td>tha</td>
<td>ochu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>thāo</td>
<td>thīo</td>
<td>thīo</td>
<td>thanto</td>
<td>thāō</td>
<td>ochō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>thānti</td>
<td>thīle</td>
<td>thībe</td>
<td>thante</td>
<td>thāntu</td>
<td>ochōnti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a* There are no Imperative forms for 1pi, instead the Future is used.

### Table 4.2: Person / number suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Habitual</th>
<th>Past/ Conditional</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Pres Perf/ Pres Prog</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>-e</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-ē*</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p incl</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-u</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-ū</td>
<td>-u</td>
</tr>
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<td>-u</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-e</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>-ōnti</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-ōntu</td>
<td>-ōnti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a* The nasalization is optional.

### Table 4.3: Overview of the TAM system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Simple</th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Habitual</td>
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<td>aŋithae</td>
<td>aŋuthae</td>
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<td>aŋithili</td>
<td>aŋuthili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
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<td>aŋuthībi</td>
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<td>aŋithantī</td>
<td>aŋuthantī</td>
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<td>aŋuthaē</td>
</tr>
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<td>aŋūchī</td>
<td>aŋūchī</td>
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<td>1. Negation</td>
<td>aŋinahī</td>
<td>aŋunahī</td>
<td>aŋunī</td>
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<td>2. Negation</td>
<td>aŋini</td>
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</table>
### Table 4.4: Simple tenses and moods

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<th>Person</th>
<th>Habitual</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Conditional</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>aŋile</td>
<td>aŋiba</td>
<td>aŋonte</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>aŋibu</td>
<td>aŋontu</td>
<td>aŋû</td>
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<td>aŋibu</td>
<td>aŋontu</td>
<td>aŋ</td>
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<td>aŋibo</td>
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<td>aŋo</td>
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<td>aŋile</td>
<td>aŋibe</td>
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<td>aŋontu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Structure: stem + tense/mood + person/number*

### Table 4.5: Perfect tenses and moods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Habitual</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Conditional</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
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<td>anithibu</td>
<td>anithantu</td>
<td>anithaû</td>
<td>aniochu</td>
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<td>anithibu</td>
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<td>anithibô</td>
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<td>anithibe</td>
<td>anithantha</td>
<td>anithantu</td>
<td>aniochônti</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Structure: stem + i + tha/ôch + tense/mood + person/number (stem + i occurs elsewhere as general converb: aŋ-i ‘having brought’)*

### Table 4.6: Imperfective tenses and moods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Habitual</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
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<th>Imperative</th>
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<td>anuthibi</td>
<td>anuthanti</td>
<td>anuthaê</td>
<td>anuôchi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pi</td>
<td>anuthae</td>
<td>anuthile</td>
<td>anuthiba</td>
<td>anuthante</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>anuôche</td>
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<tr>
<td>1pi</td>
<td>anuthau</td>
<td>anuthilu</td>
<td>anuthibu</td>
<td>anuthantu</td>
<td>anuathaû</td>
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<td>2s</td>
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<td>anuatha</td>
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<td>2p</td>
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<td>3s</td>
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<tr>
<td>3p</td>
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<td>anuthile</td>
<td>anuthibe</td>
<td>anuthantha</td>
<td>anuthantu</td>
<td>anuôchônti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Structure: stem + u + tha/ôch + tense/mood + person/number (stem + u occurs elsewhere as imperfective converb: aŋ-u ‘bringing’)*
There are two additional tenses, Present Progressive and Present Perfect\(^3\), formed by the stem + aspect (= convorb) and the auxiliary \(\omega ch\)- ‘be’ (see Table 4.1, for the use of the auxiliary \(\omega ch\)- as a full verb see 4.4).

(iii) Person/number (Table 4.2): The agreement markers represent three persons and two numbers. The first person plural exhibits forms for inclusiveness and exclusiveness. Past and Conditional have the same set of suffixes. The other tenses deviate in one or more forms.

The verb paradigms are very regular. Only few morphophonemic processes operate, see below. There is a small number of irregular verbs, which are treated separately in 4.5.

Table 4.3 represents the dimensions of aspect and tense/mood. All forms are first person singular of the verb \(an\)- ‘bring’.

The linkage between the convorbs \(ani\) / \(anu\) and the auxiliary \(-tha\)- is strong: only the negative \(no\)- (see 6.4) and the particle \(to\) can be inserted:

(1) mù e kótha sumpurŋo bhul-i-ja-i to th-il-i, kintu...

I this matter completely forget-CV-V2:go-CV PTCL AUX-PST-1s but
‘I had forgotten it completely, but …’

**Morphophonemic alternations**

(i) The vowel \(a\) of the auxiliary \(-tha\)- is dropped before an affix with an initial vowel, e.g. \(an + i + tha + il + i \rightarrow an-i-th-il-i\) ‘I had brought’.

(ii) The vowel \(\omega\) of the auxiliary \(\omega ch\)- is usually dropped, e.g. \(an + u + \omega ch + i \rightarrow an-u-ch-i\) ‘I am bringing’ (beside written \(anu\omega\chi\)). \(-ch\)- can be further reduced to \(-c\)-, e.g. \(pōke-i-c-\omega\) ‘you have put’.

(iii) \(-onti\) becomes \(-anti\) after stems or affixes ending in \(-a\). The resulting sequence of double \(aa\) can be shortened to a single \(a\).

\[
pōka + \omega nt + i \rightarrow pōka-nt-i \quad \text{‘they put’}
\]
\[
khel + i + tha + \omega nt + i \rightarrow khel-i-tha-nt-i \quad \text{‘I might play’}
\]
\[
\omega νa + \omega nt + u \rightarrow \omega νa-nt-u \quad \text{‘let them bring’}
\]

In the following the semantics of the various TAM forms will be discussed: aspect in 4.2.2 and tense and mood in 4.2.3. Modality is taken up in 4.2.4.

### 4.2.2 Aspect

Oriya has a threefold aspect distinction, which is seen in all five tenses and moods. There are two explicit aspect markers: The suffix \(-u\) marks Imperfective

\(^3\)This tense form (-ich-) is called Present Perfect to avoid confusion with the Perfect aspect, marked by -i.
aspect and the suffix -i marks Perfect aspect. The third form, called Simple, is formally unmarked for aspect.

4.2.2.1 Simple forms

In Oriya the following verb forms are not explicitly marked for aspect:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Oriya</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Habitual Simple</td>
<td>anē</td>
<td>'I bring'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Simple</td>
<td>anili</td>
<td>'I brought'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future Simple</td>
<td>aqibi</td>
<td>'I will bring'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional Simple</td>
<td>aqonti</td>
<td>'I would bring'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative Simple</td>
<td>anē</td>
<td>'let me bring'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Simple forms are all perfective,\(^4\) maybe with the exception of the Habitual Simple, used for habituality, which is sometimes seen as a type of imperfective aspect.

(Habitual Simple)

\[(2)\] se sabu-dncopolis-ru aṭhō-ṭa be-l-e pher-e.

'He always returns from the office at eight.'

Among the Simple forms, the Past Simple has most of the typical characteristics a perfective aspect should have; it is used in narrative texts (see p. 161), but it is not grammatical in habitual contexts:

(About the post office in a village in former times.)

\[(3)\] jetebele jon-e loko ophis-ru *pher-il-a / pher-ūth-il-a, se

'satisfied o-th-il-a.

When the sentence refers to a situation which happened only once, the Past Simple is used:

\[(4)\] jetebele mo bapa ophis-ru pher-il-e, se sāntustō

'he satisfied o-th-il-e.'

\[^4^\]We follow Bybee et al. (1994) and Comrie (1976) in defining perfective as viewing the situation as “bounded temporally” and imperfective as viewing the situation “from within, with explicit reference to its internal structure”. Note that “perfective” and “perfect” are two distinct notions. Perfect (see 4.2.2.2) describes a situation which is located before reference time and which is relevant to the situation at reference time.
'When my father returned from the post office, he was not satisfied.'

Simple forms of Future, Conditional and Imperative tense / moods primarily have perfective meaning. However, they can occur in habitual contexts as well. For ongoing situations, however, the Imperfective forms are again preferred.

(Future Simple, perfective context)

(5) asontakali satə-ta bel-e əphis-ru pher-ib-ɔ.
tomorrow seven-ART time-LOC o.-ABL return-FUT-3s
'Tomorrow he will return from the office at seven.'

(Future Simple, habitual context)

(6) se jetebele cakiri pa-ib-ɔ, setebele səbu-dinə aθho-ta bel-e
he when job find-FUT-3s then all-day eight-ART time-LOC
əphis-ru pher-ib-ɔ.
o.-ABL return-FUT-3s
'When he will have a job, he will always return from the office at eight.'

The Future Imperfective is preferred for ongoing situations. In (7) below the Future Simple form gadhoibi is not appropriate.

(A: I will call you tomorrow at nine. — B:)

(7) tone kali səkałə noo-ta bel-e mo-te phon kər-iba
you(POL) tomorrow morning nine-ART time-LOC I-DAT ph. do-INF
bel-e mə̈ gadho-uth-ib-i.
time-LOC I bathe-IPFV-FUT-1s
'When you call me at nine tomorrow morning, I will be taking bath.'

(Conditional Simple, perfective context)

(8) se jodi kəmə por-e bojarə-kə ja-nt-a, noo-ta bel-e əphis-ru
he if work after-LOC market go-COND-3s nine-ART time-LOC o.-ABL
pher-ont-a.
return-COND-3s
'If he would go to the market after work, he would return from the office at nine.'

(Conditional Simple, habitual context)

(9) se jodi kəmə kər-ont-a, səbu-dinə aθho-ta bel-e əphis-ru
he if work do-COND-3s all-day eight-ART time-LOC o.-ABL
pher-ont-a.
return-COND-3s
'If he would work, he would always return from the office at eight.'

When the situation is ongoing at reference time, the Conditional Imperfective is preferred:
4.2.2. Aspect

(10) mū jodi etebele Suijorlanđ-re tha-ni-te, tebe bhojono
I if this.time S.-LOC be-COND-1s then lunch
kor-uth-ant-i.
do-IPFV-COND-1s
‘If I were in Switzerland just now, I would be eating lunch.’

(Imperative Simple, perfective context)

(11) aji ṣophis-ru satc-ṭa bel-e pher-ọ.
today o.-ABL seven-ART time-LOC return-2p:IMP
‘Return from the office today at seven.’

(Imperative Simple, habitual context)

(12) sọbu-dinọ ṣophis-ru aṭhọ-ṭa bel-e pher-ọ.
all-day o.-ABL eight-ART time-LOC return-2p:IMP
‘Return from the office always at eight.’

The Imperative Imperfective has very restricted use, so maybe the Imperative Simple has extended its use into imperfective domain.

4.2.2.2 Perfect aspect

In Oriya the following verb forms express Perfect aspect:

- Habitual Perfect  anithae  ‘I have brought’
- Past Perfect  anithili  ‘I had brought’
- Future Perfect  anithibi  ‘I will have brought’
- Conditional Perfect  anithanti  ‘I would have brought’
- Imperative Perfect  anithae  ‘let me bring’
- Present Perfect  anichi  ‘I have brought’

The Perfect aspect signals that the situation has been completed at reference time, but is still relevant. The reference time is established by the tense/mood suffix, e.g. the situation referred to by the verb form anithili ‘I had brought’ is located in the past because of the Past suffix -il and is viewed as completed because of the Perfect aspect marked by the general converb suffix -i. The following examples illustrate the use of the various forms, for details see the following sections.

(Habitual Perfect. In a written text.)

(13) se ṣophis-ru pher-itha-e.
he o.-ABL return-PERF-3s:HAB
‘He had returned from the office (then something happened at home).’

(Past Perfect. Was your friend still at work when you went to his house yesterday evening?)
(14) na, se əphis-ru pher-ith-il-a.
    no he o.-ABL return-PERF-PST-3s
    'No, he had returned from the office.'

(Future Perfect. Will your friend still be at work when you go to his house
tomorrow evening?)

(15) na, mú bhab-uch-i se əphis-ru pher-ith-ib-ɔ.
    no I think-PROG-1s he o.-ABL return-PERF-FUT-3s
    'No, I think he will have returned from the office.'

(Conditional Perfect. Your friend is jobless. But if he had a job, would your
friend be still at work now?)

(16) na, se ebe suddha əphis-ru pher-itha-n-t-a.
    no he now by o.-ABL return-PERF-COND-3s
    'No, he would have returned from the office by now.'

(Present Perfect. Where is your friend? Is he still at work?)

(17) na, se əphis-ru pher-ich-i.
    no he o.-ABL return-PERF-3s
    'No, he has returned from the office.'

It must be noted, however, that the Perfect aspect has a different meaning with
two of the tenses, i.e. with the Imperative Perfect and partly with the Habitual
Perfect. In combination with these two categories the Perfect aspect is used
for emphasis with the same meaning as the corresponding Simple forms phere
(Habitual Simple) and pheru (Imperative Simple) respectively.

(Habitual Perfect)

(18) se səbu-dinə əthɔ-tə be]-e əphis-ru pher-itha-e.
    he all-day eight-ART time-LOC o.-ABL return-PERF-3s:HAB
    'He always returns from the office at eight.'

(Imperative Perfect)

(19) se ebe ghorɔ-kʊ pher-itha-u.
    he now house-DAT return-PERF-3s:IMP
    'Let him now return home.'

4.2.2.3 Imperfective aspect

In Oriya the following verb forms express Imperfective aspect, marked by the
suffix -u:
Habitual Imperfective anuthae ‘I am bringing’
Past Imperfective anuthili ‘I was bringing’
Future Imperfective anuthibi ‘I will be bringing’
Conditional Imperfective anuthanti ‘I would be bringing’
Imperative Imperfective anuthae ‘let me be bringing’
Present Progressive anuchi ‘I am bringing’

The Imperfective aspect signals that the situation is viewed as non-completed at reference time. The reference time is established by the tense / mood suffix, e.g. anuthibi ‘I will be bringing’ refers to a situation which is located in the future with the Future suffix -ib, and which is viewed as non-completed because of Imperfective aspect marker -u.

The following examples illustrate the use of the various forms, for details see the following sections.

(Habitual Imperfective. In a written text.)

(20) se ṣphis-ru pher-utha-e.
     he o.-ABL return-IPFV-3s
     ‘He was returning from the office (when something happened).’

(Past Imperfective. Where was your friend yesterday at eight p.m.?)

(21) se ṣphis-ru pher-uth-il-a.
     he o.-ABL return-IPFV-PST-3s
     ‘He was returning from the office.’

(Future Imperfective. Where will your friend be tomorrow at eight p.m.?)

(22) se ṣphis-ru pher-uth-ib-o.
     he o.-ABL return-IPFV-FUT-3s
     ‘He will be returning from the office.’

(Conditional Imperfective. You friend is jobless. But if he had a job, where would he be right now?)

(23) se ebe ṣphis-ru pher-utha-nt-a.
     he now o.-ABL return-IPFV-COND-3s
     ‘He would be returning from the office now.’

(Imperative Imperfective)

(24) se cal-i cali ghoro-ku pher-utha-u.
     he walk-CV RDP house-DAT return-IPFV-3s:IMP
     ‘Let him return home by foot (as long as he has no bicycle).’

(Present Progressive. It is eight p.m. Where is your friend right now?)
(25) se ebe ɔphis-ru pher-uch-i.
he now o.-ABL return-PROG-3s
‘He is returning from the office now.’

4.2.2.4 Ingressive verbs

There is one group of verbs which deserves special attention concerning their behaviour with aspects. They denote a process leading up to a state, whereas the state itself must be expressed by a verb form with Perfect aspect. The Imperfective aspect cannot refer to the state, only in a secondary reading where the verb receives habitual meaning.

| bonc-  | ‘survive; live’
| bos-   | ‘sit down’
| bahar- | ‘come out; be out (news)’
| bholo pa- | ‘like’
| bujh-  | ‘realise; understand’
| cah-   | ‘look’
| cal-   | ‘go on’
| cihn-  | ‘recognise’
| cup he- | ‘become quiet; be quiet’
| dɔr-   | ‘fear’
| gorom he- | ‘become hot; be hot’
| he-    | ‘become; be’
| jan-   | ‘get to know; know’
| jhul-  | ‘hang (itr)’
| khusi he- | ‘become glad; be glad’
| lag-   | ‘apply’
| luc-   | ‘hide’
| mis-   | ‘mix with’
| pɔr-   | ‘fall down; lie’
| pindh- | ‘put on; wear’
| rɔh-   | ‘stay’
| rag-   | ‘get angry; be angry’
| so-    | ‘fall asleep; sleep’
| thia he- | ‘get up; stand’

(i) Let us examine one verb more closely, the verb so- ‘fall asleep, sleep’. The Imperfective aspect focuses on the process of falling asleep.

(26) se ete halia he-i-ja-ich-i je se so-i-pɔr-uch-i.
he so.much tired be-CV-V2:go-PERF-3s that he fall.sleep-CV-V2:fall-PROG-3s
‘He is so tired that he’s falling asleep.’

The primary way to express the state of being asleep is the use of a Perfect form, e.g. soichi ‘he is asleep’ (= resultative use, see 4.2.3.6, p.4.2.3.6). Consequently, with respect to their aspectual meaning, Perfect verb forms of ingressive verbs correspond to Imperfective verb forms of non-ingressive verbs. In (27) the Past Perfect soithile ‘was sleeping’ is used; with a non-ingressive verb a Past Imperfective form would be used, e.g. pɔrhuthile ‘was reading’.

(Outside there is heavy storm.)

---

5The second meanings refers to the state which is expressed by a Perfect verb form.
(27) se ocinta-re so-ith-il-e — jemiti kichi
he peace-LOC sleep-PERF-PST-3p(HON) as if anything
ho-i-n-i.
happen-PERF-NEG-3s
‘He was sleeping in peace as if nothing happened.’

The Present Perfect soichti in (28) refers to a situation at the present moment of speech:

(28) apono kahiki etha-re so-ich-onti?
you(HON) why here-LOC lie-PERF-3p
‘Why are you lying here?’

(ii) In a secondary reading verb forms with Imperfective aspect can refer to the state of sleeping as well. However, there is a clear contrast in meaning with regard to the Perfect aspect. Consider for example the Present Progressive souchi and Present Perfect soichi: both forms can refer to the state of being asleep, souchi denotes a habit ‘he sleeps’ whereas soichi denotes a state which lasts in the present moment of speech: ‘he is sleeping’.

(Son, I never see you study!)

(29) bapa, apono jetebele so-i-por-uch-onti sehi somoyo-re mu
father you(HON) when sleep-CV-V2:fall-PROG-3p that time-LOC I
porh-uch-i.
learn-PROG-1s
‘Father, when you are sleeping, I am studying.’

The distinction is applied to Past tense forms as well: soithili is judged rather odd in habitual context:

(30) piladin-e muko sobu-dine sosco gohta so-uth-il-i /
childhood-LOC I all-day ten hour sleep-IPFV-AUX-PST-1s
??so-ith-il-i.
sleep-PERF-PST-1s
‘In my childhood I used to sleep ten hours.’

The same is seen with Future tense forms, where the Future Imperfective is the form used in habitual situations:

(To people who work in the night.)

(31) rati-sara onidra ho-i dinore bes aramo-re so-uth-ib-co?
night-all sleepless be-CV day-LOC much comfort-LOC sleep-IPFV-FUT-2p
‘Being awake all nights, do you sleep very comfortably during the day?’
The nonfinite *iba*-forms denote the same difference between a habitual and a non-habitable situation. Consider (32), where the Imperfective *iba*-form is used with habitual meaning:

(About the harm of snoring. It is not only that the person who snores suffers.)

(32) ta-nko pakho-re so-uth-iba loko-nko proti ahuri khayatikarko.
     he-OBL side-LOC sleep-IPFV-INF person-OBL towards more harmful
     'It is even more harmful for the person who is sleeping besides him (who snores).'

Compare this with an example containing a Perfect aspect, with non-habitable meaning (note that the form *southiba* with Imperfective aspect is wrong):

(33) tume se so-ith-iba loko-ku dekh-ich-ɔ?
     you(POL) that sleep-PERF-INF person-DAT see-PERF-2p
     'Have you seen that sleeping person?'

4.2.3 Tenses and moods

4.2.3.1 Habitual

The Habitual includes the following forms:

Simple ahe ‘I bring’
Perfect anuthae ‘I am (always) bringing’
Imperfective anithae ‘I (usually) have brought’

The Habitual is used for habitual situations and states. In addition, it can have a special stylistic function in narratives, and it occurs in some types of subordinate clauses.

Habitual Simple

Habitual use The Habitual Simple indicates that the situation lasts during an extended period of time including the present moment, being characteristic for this period of time.⁶ This includes habits, generic statements and states with present time reference.

We will first give some examples for habitual situations.

(34) o-poreson kor-iba somayɔ-re daktor njo cehera kahikí o.
     do-INF time-LOC d. REFL face why
     dhank-ĩ-ni-ɛ?
     cover-CV2:take-3s:HAB
     ‘Why does the doctor cover his face while doing the operations?’

⁶Comrie (1976).
(35) se Ingraţi porh-a-nti.
    he English learn-CAUS-3p(HON):HAB
    ‘He teaches English (as a job).’

(36) Rameso protyekɔ dino prayo panço hɔjarɔ ʧonka khorɔɔɔ kɔr-e.
    R. every day about five thousand rupee spend do-3s:HAB
    ‘Ramesa spends about five thousand rupees every day.’

The Present Progressive shows a similar use; there are, however, several differences between the two tenses.

(i) A situation referred to by the Habitual Simple is viewed as more general than when referred to by the Present Progressive.

(37) mü niti prayo choɔ-ʈa bel-e uth-e / uth-uch-i.
    I usually about six-CL time-LOC get.up-1s:HAB get.up-PROG-1s
    ‘I get up about five (every day).’

The statement with the Present Progressive uthuchi is not as strong as with Habitual Simple uthe, the habit may hold for some time, but then it will change, whereas uthe denotes a fact that is not supposed to change.

Consider another example, Bongola kɔh- ‘speak Bengali’.

(38) a. se Bongola kɔh-e.
    he B. speak-3s:HAB
    ‘He speaks Bengali.’

b. se Bongola kɔh-uch-i.
    he B. speak-PROG-3s
    ‘He speaks Bengali.’

(38a) means that the subject speaks Bengali as his normal language every day, whereas (38b) means that he is able to speak Bengali, but it may be his second language.

(While talking with her boy-friend Ranju mentions another boy. The boy-friend asks:)

(39) tahele Rameso modhyc tomo pakhɔ-kʊ as-e?
    then R. also you(POL):OBL side-DAT come-3s:HAB
    ‘Then Ramesa comes to you as well?’

The same sentence with the Progressive asuchi is a weaker reproach.

Consider another example where the Habitual Simple cannot be used. It is about a bridegroom’s father who has seen the bride only a few times, so he cannot use the Habitual Simple form cale and present the situation as general.

(In a conversation about marriage the bridegroom’s father says: I appreciate your daughter very much.)

(40) hele Sɔmudi goṭi-e kɔtha, bohu-ʈi-ke gorɔ bhang-i cal-uch-i.
    but S. CL-INDEF matter bride-ART-DEF leg break-CV walk-PROG-3s
    ‘But there is one thing about Samudī, the bride walks with bent legs.’
(ii) The Habitual Simple is used for attitudinal habits, i.e. situations which serve as description of a person or an object.

(About a knife the speaker has found.)

(41) amo guru ethi-re poriba kot-a-kot-i kor-onti.
    our    teacher this-LOC vegetable cut-PTCP-RDP-CV do-3p(HON):HAB
    ‘Our teacher cuts vegetables with it.’

(42) jēu loko sigaret ki modo pi-e nahī taa-ro oöstha kemiti
    which man c. or wine drink-3s:HAB NEG he-GEN condition how
    hu-e, mo stri-ku dekha-iba pāi cah-ē.
    be-3s:HAB my wife-DAT show-INF for want-1s:HAB
    ‘I want to show my wife what a man who does not drink alcohol and
does not smoke is like.’

In (42) above the habit of abstaining from alcohol is viewed as a property of the subject. However, when the addiction is seen as temporarily limited, the Present Progressive is used:

(43) kichi dino purb-e mú gōnjai hka-uth-il-i ta-ku char-i ebe
    some day before-LOC I cannabis eat-IPFV-PST-1s it-DAT leave-CV now
    sigaret pi-uch-i.
    c. drink-PROG-1s
    ‘Some time back I used to take cannabis, now I have left it and I smoke
    cigarettes.’

By contrast a characteristic feature can be expressed by the Progressive to be more polite. In (44) below the sentence with the Habitual Simple dise would sound rather harsh.

(About a bride.)

(44) sei jhiō-ṭi kola dis-uch-i.
    that girl-ART black look-PROG-3s
    ‘That girl looks dark (i.e. has a dark complexion, which is not appreci-
    ated).’

Consider the following group of examples with the verb koh- ‘say’. The first one shows the generic use. In this example the Habitual Simple koh-onti cannot be replaced by the Present Progressive kohuchonti:

(45) kotha-re koh-onti — jor jaa-ro mulo ko taa-ro,
    speech-LOC say-3p:HAB strength who-GEN ground he-GEN
    ‘People say, “Who is strong, he possesses the ground.”’

Bertinetto (1994) draws a distinction between attitudinal habituals and “pure habituals”. Attitudinals are “characterised by the fact that the regular occurrence of a certain event is turned into a permanent property of (a) given individual(s).” (p. 410)
The Habitual Simple is also used when the statement the person makes is of general validity.

(In a text about street kids in Delhi.)

(46) jon-e pila koh-e je, prothom-e jatri-mano-nko poketmarc
   CL-INDEF child say-3s:HAB that first-LOC traveller-PL-OBL pickpocketing
   ko-la bel-e se dharr-a-por-i-ja-uth-il-a.
   do-PST:INF time-LOC he catch-PASS-fall-CV-V2:go-IPFV-PST-3s
   'A child says that in the beginning, when he picked travellers' pockets, he kept being caught.' (Newspaper)

On the other hand, statements which are introduced by a Present Progressive form of koh- ‘say’ are associated with a lower degree of certainty.

(About a person who was injured.)

(47) daktor-mane koh-uch-anti je se cal-i-par-ib-c.
   d.-PL say-PROG-3p that he walk-CV-can-FUT-3s
   'The doctors say that he will be able to walk.'

(iii) Generic statements are usually expressed by the Habitual Simple.

(48) katho pan-ri bhas-e.
   wood water-LOC float-3s:HAB
   'Wood floats on water.'

(A teacher asks his pupils:)

(49) pila-e, barso he-ba somoye-re kahiki bijuli ago dekh-a-ja-e o
   child-PL rain be-INF time-LOC why lightning first see-PASS-go-3s:HAB and
   ghoroghori por-e sup-a-ja-e?
   thunder after-LOC hear-PASS-go-3s:HAB
   'Children, why is the lightning seen first and thunder heard later when it rains?'

Typically, general explanations (as an answer to a question) are expressed with the Habitual Simple.

(Why do you want more money?)

(50) ei kamo pari to bou mo-te dui tonka di-e.
   this work for PTCL mother I-DAT two rupee give-3s:HAB
   'For this work my mother gives me two rupees.'

With the Present Progressive deuchi the answer is weaker.

(The school inspector to a pupil: Why don’t you know that?)
(51) sar, sôto kôh-uch-i mû beleleje skul-ku as-e.
S. truth say-PROG-1s I sometimes school-DAT come-1s:HAB
'Sir, to speak the truth, I come to school (only) sometimes.'

(A: Our country is really poor. — B: Why? — A:)

(52) jôno-ko goti-e lekhâe bôl kîn-i-no-par-i goti-e bôl-re
CL-DEF CL-INDEF each b. buy-CV-NEG-can-CV CL-INDEF b.-LOC
22-jôno khel-onti.
22-CL bring-3p:HAB
'Since not everybody can buy a ball, 22 persons play with the same ball.'

When the Present Progressive replaces the Habitual Simple in the examples above, it makes the statement less general and is therefore avoided. When the generic situation does not hold at the present moment of speech, the Present Progressive is even less possible (khauchi is wrong in (53) below).

(Everything the king was about to eat turned into gold.)

(53) mû eha-ku kha-ib-i kemiti? môngso koço suna kha-e?
I this-DAT eat-FUT-1s how man INT gold eat-1s:HAB
'How shall I eat this? Does man eat gold?' (Fairy tale)

(A mother to a child: Look how the chickens distribute the worms among themselves. And you.)

(54) tu mîthai banî-ila bel-e Manîtu sôhîk kemiti jhâgorp
you(FAM) sweets share-PST:INF time-LOC M. with how quarrel
kor-u!
do-2s:HAB
'How you quarrel with Manîtu when you share some sweets!'

Moral rules belong to the same type of situations (note that the Present Progressive mîluchi in (55) would be wrong).

(55) bipôdo bel-e buddhi baharâ ko-le sôhôj-e rôkhya
danger time-LOC wits outside do-CONDCV easy-LOC salvation
mîl-e.
be.available-3s:HAB
'If you use your intelligence in the time of danger, you easily find an escape.'

(iv) When the habit is viewed as an extended ongoing situation, the Present Progressive is used.

(What do you do?)
4.2.3. Tenses and moods

(56) mu Brahmapuru manibhorisiti-ru em e korphuch-i.
I B. u-ABL M. A. do-PROG-1s
‘I am doing my M.A. at Brahmapur University.’

Note that in this context the Habitual Simple kore is not appropriate, since it
would imply that he studies there since ages.

(57) tu redoi-ru sobubele bidesi steson sunuch-u kahiki?
you[FAM] r.-LOC always foreign s. listen-PROG-2s why
‘Why do you always listen to foreign stations on the radio?’

(At the doctor’s.)

(58) mo puo khabi kanduch-i.
my son only cry-PROG-1s
‘My boy is crying all the time.’

(v) In stative situations we observe the same distinction between the Habitual
Simple and the Present Progressive. Consider the following examples:

(59) konca ambo khota lag-e.
green mango sour taste-3s:HAB
‘Green mangoes taste sour.’

(60) jholu lunin laguch-i.
soup salty taste-PROG-3s
‘The soup tastes salty.’

The state described by the Present Progressive in (59) is transitory, whereas
the Habitual Simple in (60) indicates a permanent state.

Consider the verb roh- ‘stay, live’:

(61) mu Bhuboneswore rohuch-i / rohe.
I Bh.-LOC stay-PROG-1s stay-1s:HAB
‘I stay / live in Bhubaneswar.’

The Present Progressive rohuch-i implies that the stay is limited, the sentence
might be uttered by a tourist, whereas the situation marked by the Habitual
Simple roh-e is said by an inhabitant of Bhubaneswar, who lives there.

In some cases there is no meaning difference between Habitual Simple and
Present Progressive. Consider (62), taken from several wishes for Valentine’s
Day:

(62) mu tamo-ku bholo pauch-i / pa-e.
I you[POL]-DAT good find-PROG-1s find-1s:HAB
‘I love you.’
It cannot be claimed that those who wrote pae love more than those who wrote pauchi (or the other way round).

(vi) In some contexts the Present Progressive is more emphatic than the Habitual Simple. Consider the following examples:

(The conversation is about what Kabitā and speaker B write.)

(63) A: Kəbita bhəlo kəbita lekh-e au tume golpo ... — B:
K. good poem write-3s:HAB and you(POL) story
olət-a-ho-i-gol-a, sar! Kəbita golpo lekh-uch-i, au mū reverse-PASS-be-CV-go:PST-3s S. K. story write-PROG-3s and I kəbita ...
poem
'A: Kabitā writes good poems and you stories ... B: It’s the other way round, Sir! Kabitā writes stories, and I poems ...
'

In the answer speaker A lays special emphasis on the activity of writing to correct speaker B’s wrong assumption, therefore he uses the form lekhuchi.

Use in narratives (i) In narrative texts the Habitual Simple is used for situations with past time reference. Consider (64) from a detective story, which describes the dead victim’s habits:

(64) choṭo pila-ṭie sobubele osodho kha-iba-ku mona kor-e.
small child-INDEF always medicine eat-INF-DAT refuse do-3s:HAB
thor-e taa maa rasogola bhitor-e osodho rəkh-i ta-ku
time-INDEF his mother <sp. sweet> inside-LOC medicine put-CV he-DAT
kha-iba-ku de-l-e.
eat-INF-DAT give-PST-3p(HON)

'A small child always refused to eat medicine. Once his mother put the medicine into a rasagola and gave it to him to eat.'

In this use the Habitual Simple can be replaced by the Past Imperfective (but not by the Present Progressive); consider (65), where the Past Imperfective forms kanduthila and kohuthila can substitute the Habitual Simple forms kande and khe respectively.

(65) jan-e mohila-nkə-ro aṭho-ti pila th-il-e. jebe bi kounosi pila
CL-INDEF woman-OBL-GEN eight-CL child be-PST-3p when ever any child
kounosi karoŋo-ru kand-e se ta-ku cup kor-a-i
any reason-ABL weep-3s:HAB she he-DAT quiet make-CAUS-CV
koh-onti ...
say-3p(HON):HAB

'There was a woman with eight children. Whenever a child cried because of any reason, she used to quieten him by saying ...'
On the other hand it should be noted that the Habitual Simple cannot substitute the Past Imperfective when it establishes past time reference.

(66) mo bou tɔmb-ku kete kɔɔnɔ sod-h-a-sod-h-i kɔ-le
my mother you(POL)-DAT how.much what scold-PTCP-RDP-CV do-COND CV
bi, bapa kintu tɔmb-ku bhari bhoło pa-uth-il-e.
even father but you(POL)-DAT very good find-IPFV-PST-3p(HON)
‘No matter how much my mother scolded you, my father used to like you very much.’

If the Past Imperfective form *paUTHile* is replaced by the Habitual Simple *paANTI*, the sentence cannot occur in this context, since it would imply that the father still lives and likes the addressee.

(ii) The Habitual Simple is used as special style in narratives, which typically occurs in diaries or in biographies. It then has no habitual meaning and could be replaced by Past Simple forms. Consider the verb form *kɔR-ɔnti* in (67).

(The beginning of a short biography.)

(67) Ɗeŋmɑɾk jɪll-ʁɔ Ōdɛns nɑmɔ-ʁe goṭi-e choʃiá gáá. sehí
D. district-GEN O. name-LOC CL-INDEF small village that
gáá-ɾe 1805 mɔsɪhɑ-ɾe Aŋdɔɾsɔn Hɑns Ɍhristɪyan jɔnmɔgɔɾɔhɔŋɔ
village-LOC year-LOC 1805 A. H. Ch. birth
kɔR-ɔnti. taŋkɔ-ʁɔ bapa th-il-e goribo mɔci-tiɛ.
do-3p(HON):HAB he-OBL-GEN father be-PST-3p(HON) poor cobbler-INDEF
‘In the district of Denmark there was a small village called Odense. In that village Hans Christian Andersen was born. His father was a poor cobbler.’

(iii) A special note is in order with regard to the verb *tha*- ‘be’. This verb is used for stative situations with habitual character, whereas actual stative situations are expressed by *ɔch*- (see 4.4). In past narratives, only *tha*- is used.

(68) Ɓɑlɛsɔɾɔ stɛsɔ-ɾe Dɪlli j-iба pài bɔhʊt lɔko ɔpekhya
B. s.-LOC D. go-INF for many people waiting
kɔR-ith-il-e. se dínɔ dúi sɑŋɔ Mɔmɔta o Susɔmɑ Dɪlli
do-PERF-PST-3p that day two friend M. and S. D.
j-iба-ɾɔ thɔ-e.
go-INF-GEN be-3s:HAB
‘At Baleswar station there were many people waiting to go to Delhi. That day two friends, Mamatā and Susamā, had to go to Delhi too.’

The same form is used to describe stative background events, corresponding to the Habitual Imperfective (see below).
(69) pila-mane nijo nijo bhitor-e byakorona pocor-a-pocor-i he-i child-PL REFLEX RDP inside-LOC grammar ask-PTCP-RDP-CV be-CV alocona-re bycostha tha-nti.
discussion-LOC busy be-3p:HAB

'The children were discussing the grammar among themselves asking questions.'

(iv) In narratives the Habitual can be used for situations which are reported with a very high degree of immediateness. The verb dekh- 'see' is especially frequent in this use.

(Since Bidyutprabhā has rendered service to a godly man, she may utter a wish. She desires shadow for her cows. The god promises her a magic grove which accompanies her wherever she goes.)

(70) eha koh-i debo-purusā odrusya ho-i-gol-e. Bidyutprabhā this say-CV god-man invisible become-CV-V2:go:PST-3s B. muhō phera-i dekh-e chaya-purna ekō sundara kunjo bhitor-e se face turn-CV see-3s shadow-full a beautiful grove inside-LOC she bōs-ich-i ...
sit-PERF-3s

'After saying that the divine man disappeared. When Bidyutprabhā turned back her head, she saw that she was sitting in a beautiful grove ...

In (70) above, the Habitual Simple dekhe could be replaced by the Past Simple dekhila.

Subordinate use  (i) The Habitual is used in conditional clauses where the speaker presents the situation as real. It then has no habitual meaning and can also refer to future time.

(71) tume jodi taa pāi goṭi-e upoharc an-c, se au you(POL) if he:OBL for CL-INDEF present bring-2p:HAB he more rag-ib-c nahi. get.angry-FUT-3s NEG

'If you bring him a present, he will not get angry anymore.'

(72) tume jodi dosa-ṭa bel-e as-ō, ḍaktor tumo-ku you(POL) if ten-CL time-LOC come-2p:HAB d. you(POL)-DAT dekh-ib-e.

see-FUT-3p(HON)

'The doctor will see you if you come at ten.'

The verb form asō can be replaced by the Future Simple asibo or the Past Simple asilo without any difference of meaning (for jodi-clauses in general see 7.3).
(ii) The Habitual Simple is used in purposive clauses marked by jepōri or jemiti (for purposive clauses see 7.4.6).

(73) ta-ku sotarko kɔr-a-i-de-b-e, puc jemiti istrí he-DAT careful do-CAUS-CV-V2:give-FUT-2p boy in.order iron
nə-chu-ë.
NEG-touch-3s:HAB
‘Warn her that the boy should not touch the iron.’

In the sentence above the Habitual Simple chuë can be replaced by the Imperative Simple chuũ or the Future Simple chuũbo without change in meaning.

(74) maa mo-te dinó-ku kɔrire tɔnka de-uch-ɔnti, tumɔ-ku mother I-DAT day-DAT twenty rupee give-PROG-3p(HON) you(POL)-DAT jɔr-iba pɔi, nua sahahani tɔmɔ-ku jemiti palɔ-re watch-INF for new lady.employee you(POL)-DAT in.order trap-LOC
nə-poka-nti.
NEG-put-3p(HON):HAB
‘Mother gives me 20 rupees per day to watch you, that the new lady employee does not trap you.’

**Habitual Perfect**

(i) The Habitual Perfect indicates that a situation which is viewed as completed occurs regularly, i.e. that it is a habitual situation.

(75) sɔbubele taa-ɾo sɔrt istrí ho-it;a-e.
always he-GEN s. iron be-PERF-3s:HAB
‘His shirt is always ironed.’

(76) kal-e bijuli kâĉ he-bɔ sethi-pɔi mû sɔbubele ghor-e mohomɔ time-LOC power cut be-FUT-3s that-for I always house-LOC wax boti rokh-it;a-e.
candle put-PERF-1s:HAB
‘I always have candles ready in the house because there might be a power cut.’

(77) mû prayɔ satɔ-ta jae so-it;a-e.
I usually seven-ART until sleep-PERF-1s:HAB
‘I usually sleep until seven o’clock.’

In this use the Habitual Perfect has resultative meaning, i.e. it is the result of a past situation which is relevant. This use is mainly found with ingressive verbs, i.e. verbs whose semantic contents is a process leading to a state, e.g. he- ‘become’, so- ‘fall asleep’, bos- ‘sit down’ or par- ‘fall down’ (see 4.2.2.4).

(ii) Non-ingressive verbs can be used with the same function, consider (78):
4.2. Finite forms

(78) mū niti sōndho suddha mo kamo kor-itha-e.
     I usually evening by my work do-PERF-1s:HAB
     'I usually have done my work by the evening.'

In most instances, however, the Habitual Perfect with non-ingressive verbs is used to put more emphasis on the regularity of a situation than the Habitual Simple does. This additional emphasis can be paraphrased as follows: The situation has occurred so far several times and will continue to occur like that.

(79) proti dino bahu bhaktō sēṭha-ku Simō-dārsonā paī ja-itha-nti.
     every day many believer there-DAT Sh.-seeing for go-PERF-3p:HAB
     'Every day many believers go there to see Shiva.'

The verb form jaithanti in the sentence above can be replaced by the Habitual Simple janti, which would entail less certainty about the statement.

The Habitual Perfect in this use often signals a more literary style. In (80) both the Habitual Perfect deithae and the Habitual Simple die have the same meaning. Note that deithae does not mean 'has given'.

(80) sobudino jetebēle gaurō khīro de-itha-e / di-e mū
     always when milkman milk give-PERF-3s:HAB give-1s:HAB I
     baharā-ku ja-e.
     outside-DAT go-1s:HAB
     'I go out every day when the milkman brings milk.'

(Definition in a dictionary)

(81) sōnsōptōko: jēū sōinyo juddha-bhumī-ru pōḷa-ib-c nahī boli
     <special term> which soldier fight-ground-ABL flee-FUT-3s NEG COMP
     protigya kor-itha-e.
     promise do-PERF-3s:HAB
     'Samśaptaka: a soldier who promises not to flee from the battle field.'

(iii) In narrative texts the Habitual Perfect is used for background situations. The situations are viewed as completed, but their effect still holds during the following story.

(In July 1973 Binoda bought a ticket Bombay-Delhi for 120 rupees.)

(82) setebēle relbai porisdo ekō bigyohti jari kor-itha-nti je
     then r. authority one announced introduction do-PERF-3p:HAB COMP
     Rajdhani Ekspres tiket-re agua songrokhyōnō-ro kōnposi nirddistā
     R. E. t.-LOC future validity-GEN any definite
     somoyā-sima nah-ī.
     time-limit be:NEG-3s
     'At that time the railway authorities had announced that the validity of Rajdhani express tickets is not limited.' (Newspaper)
In this sentence *kārithanti* has perfect meaning, the Habitual Simple *kārānti* is not allowed (however, the Past Perfect *kārithile* can be used instead).

It should be noted that this use also rather belongs to written style, as (83) from a biography show.

(83) kola bikaso kendro-re pātha pōr-iba soha pōrha-utha-e bi. art manifestation centre-LOC studies study-INF with teach-IPFV-1s:HAB also maso-ku doramo panco ṭoṅka. Ākasābāni-ṛ drama aḍison pas month-DAT salary five rupee A.-GEN d. a. p. kōr-itha-e, drama kār-utha-e. do-PERF-1s:HAB d. do-IPFV-1s:HAB

‘In the arts centre I used to take lessons and I used to give lessons as well. The salary was 5 rupees per month. I had passed Ākāṣabāṇi’s drama audition and was making dramas.’ (Biographical article in a newspaper)

In spoken language it is highly marked; consider (84) where the Habitual Perfect *ānithae* is judged wrong.

(84) mū semanā-nkō pāī goṭi-e upahare *ān-itha-e /
I they-OBL for CL-INDEF present bring-PERF-1s:HAB
cut-CV2:go:PST-3s

‘I had brought them a present. When they were opening it, the line was cut.’

(iv) With ingressive verbs the Habitual Perfect is used in a similar way as the Habitual Imperfective with non-ingressive verbs (see below).

(85) se sobubele ghor-e bos-itha-e.
he always house-LOC sit-PERF-3s:HAB

‘He’s always sitting in the house.’

Consider (86) below taken from a narrative, where the ingressive verb *pōr-* ‘lie down’ is used in the Habitual Perfect *pōrithanti* ‘was lying’. The two situations of the king’s lying and the flow of blood describe the setting of the story, which sets in with *ōcēṭa hoigole* ‘became unconscious’.

(86) thār-e raja Pruthwi-Raja sotrā sainyc-nkō dwara aḥota ho-i
time-INDEF king P. enemy soldier-OBL by injured be-CV
juddho-bhūi-re pōr-itha-nti. ta-nkō sōtirā-rc
battle-ground-LOC fall-PERF-3p(HON):HAB he-OBL body-GEN
khyo-tc-sthan-o-man-o-nk-o-ru rkt-o-dhar-o chut-utha-e. kichi injury-place-PL-OBL-ABL blood-flow come.out-IPFV-3s:HAB some somoy-o por-e se oceto ho-i-gol-e. time after-LOC he unconscious become-CV-V2:go:PST-3p(HON)

‘Once upon a time the king Pṛthvī-Rāja had been injured by a hostile soldier and was lying on the battle ground. There was blood flowing from the wounds of his body. Shortly afterwards he became unconscious.’ (Story)

**Habitual Imperfective**

(i) The Habitual Imperfective indicates that an ongoing situation occurs regularly, i.e. that it belongs to a habitual situation.

(87) se juar-e ja-e upoharo de-utha-e. he where-LOC go-3s:HAB present give-IPFV-3s:HAB

‘Wherever he goes, he brings a present.’

(88) mū jetebele taa pakho-ku ja-e se taa-ro pila-ku I when she:OBL side-DAT go-1s:HAB she she-GEN child-DAT gadho-i-de-utha-e. bathe-CV-V2:give-IPFV-3s:HAB

‘Every time I visit her, she is bathing her baby.’

In (88) above the situation of bathing is viewed as being in progress. Compare the Habitual Simple, which points at the situation as a whole:

(89) se sɔkal-u Bipul-b ku gadho-i-di-e. she morning-ABL B.-DAT bathe-CV-V2:give-3s:HAB

‘In the morning she bashes Bipula.’

By contrast, the Present Progressive is used to indicate that a situation is in progress only now.

(90) se Bipulu b ku gadho-i-de-uch-i. she B.-DAT bathe-CV-V2:give-PROG-3s

‘She is bathing Bipula.’

However, there are contexts where the Present Progressive and the Habitual Imperfective have the same function, e.g. when an adverb like sɔbulele ‘always’ creates a habitual situation:

(A man says to his neighbour:)

(91) mū tɔmɔ potni-ku sɔbulele rosei ghɔr-e dekh-uch-i /

1 your(POL) wife-DAT always cooking room-LOC see-PROG-1s
dekh-utha-e. see-IPFV-1s:HAB
'I always see your wife in the kitchen.'

The following examples compare Habitual Imperfective and Habitual Perfect. Both refer to a habit of the subject. The former views the situation as being in progress all the time, whereas the latter emphasises the result of hiding. By contrast, the Habitual Simple focuses on the hiding itself.

a. se sōbulele taa poisa ən əshi sethi luc-o-utha-e.
   she always her money here there hide-CAUS-IPFV-3s:HAB
   'She always keeps her money hidden here and there.'

b. se sōbulele taa-ro ən ənka-kuluc-e-(rökhi-)tha-e.
   she always she-GEN money-DAT hide-CAUS-CV-(keep-CV-)AUX-3s:HAB
   'She always keeps her money hidden.'

Another example, taken from a love-letter:

(92) akhi bonda kə-le tumo-ku mə pa-e
   eye close do-CONDCV you(POL)-DAT I find-1s:HAB
khol-i-de-le akhi tumo-ku khoj-utha-e.
   open-CV-V2:give-CONDCV eye you(POL)-DAT search-IPFV-1s:HAB
   'When I close my eyes, I find you, when I open my eyes, my eyes search for you.'

(ii) In narrative texts the Habitual Imperfective forms are used for background situations. They constitute the setting for the following story. The Past Imperfective is used with the same function.

(93) mə maa-bapa-nəko pəi goṭi-e upaharo an-utha-e (or:
   I mother-father-OBL for CL-INDEF present bring-IPFV-1s:HAB
   an-uth-il-i).
   bring-IPFV-PST-1s
   'I was bringing a present to my parents (when something happened).'

(94) is taken from a narrative text.

(94) se taa pilapili-nku an-i asthanə jome-il-a dɔŋpindha-re.
   he his children-OBL:DAT bring-CV shelter gather-PST-3s veranda-LOC
choṭo choṭo pila-graykə kand-iba arəmbhə kər-i-de-l-e
   small RDP child-PL weep-INF start do-CV-V2:give-PST-3p
bhokha-re. se nilipto. couki-kul aust-i so-itha-e. taa stri
   hunger-LOC he indifferent chair-DAT lean-CV sleep-PERF-3s:HAB his wife
səmbhala-utha-e pila-nku.
   support-IPFV-3s:HAB child-OBL:DAT
'He brought his children and gathered them on the veranda. The small children began to cry with hunger. He did not care. He was sleeping in a chair. His wife was supporting the children.' (Newspaper)

In (94) above sambhaluthae can be replaced by the Past Imperfective sambhaluthila and by the Present Progressive sambhaluchi (judged slightly odd).

In (95) two situations are given as background: Nandalālā’s returning and Jabāhāra’s looking through the window (expressed by Habitual Perfect, see above). The main storyline continues with dekhile ‘he saw’.

(95) e-pori kōtha sun-i Nondalalo mano-dukhā-re
this-like matter hear-CV N. mind-sadness-LOC
pher-i-ja-utha-nti. thik ehi somo-γrh-re Jabarāre
return-CV-V2:go-IPFV-3p(HON):HAB just this time-LOC J.
jhoroka-re raju-poθh-ku cah-itha-nti. dekh-il-e sango
window-LOC king-road-DAT look-PERF-3p(HON):HAB see-PST-3p(HON) friend
Nondalalo pher-i-ja-uch-i. N.
return-CV-V2:go-PROG-3s

‘When Nandalālā heard this, he returned with a sad mind. Just in this moment Jabāhāra was looking at the royal road through the window. He saw (his) friend Nandalālā returning.’ (Story)

In spoken language, however, the Past Imperfective is preferred. In (96) the Habitual Imperfective khauthae would be highly marked (the Present Progressive is not possible).

(96) golā borsā bahaghoro bhoji-re mansā kha-uth-il-i. kha-u
go:INF:PST year marriage feast-LOC meat eat-IPFV-PST-1s eat-ICV
kha-u danto sondhi-re kichi mansā kōnika lag-il-a.
RDP tooth space-LOC some meat piece stick-PST-3s

‘At the wedding feast last year I was eating meat. While I was eating, a piece of meat got stuck between my teeth.’

When the Past Imperfective describes a habitual situation in the past, the Habitual Imperfective cannot replace it. Consider the Past Imperfective form bikuthile ‘they used to sell’ in (97), which cannot be replaced by bikuthante.

(Why do you sell meat? )

(97) mōrc purbopusuro manso bik-uth-il-e. eha amc bōnsæ-rc
I-GEN ancestor meat sell-IPFV-PST-3p this our family-GEN
brutti. mū sehi kamo kor-i peθo pos-uch-i.
means.of.living I that work do-CV belly enter-PROG-1s

‘My ancestors used to sell meat. This is our family’s means of living. I earn my living (lit. I enter the belly) by doing the same work.’ (Fairy tale)
4.2.3.2 Past

The Past includes the following forms:

Simple anili ‘I brought’
Perfect anithili ‘I had brought’
Imperfective anuthili ‘I was bringing’

The functions of the Past forms are to indicate past time reference, report of ongoing situations, immediate future reference, real conditions in if-clauses, and it is also used as an intimate form of imperative.

Past Simple

Past time reference The Past Simple is used for situations which are located prior to the present moment of speech. Their reference time is in the past.

(98) mū ḍojār-ru goṭi-e upohar-ru aṇ-il-i. I market-ABI CL-INDEF present bring-PST-1s ‘I brought a present from the market.’

The Past Simple often has the function of perfective past. The following points (i) to (iii) illustrate the statement.

(i) The Past Simple is the usual verb form used in past narratives, marking sequences of discrete events.

(99) mū dekh-il-i lokō-ṭi bās pacho-re dōr-učh-i, matrō bōs-ku
1 see-PST-1s LOC背景 run-PROG-3s but b.-DAT
dhōr-i-par-um-n-i. tenū mū amō kukoṛō-ṭi-ku
catch-CV-can-PROG-NEG-3s so 1 our dog-ART-DAT
tā-ga-i de-l-i taa pacho-re. kukoṛō dhōrō-re lokō-ṭi
apply-CV-V2:give-PST-1s he:OBL behind-LOC dog fear-LOC person-ART
jor-re dōr-il-a o bās dhōr-i-par-il-a.
force-LOC run-PST-3s and b. catch-CV-can-PST-3s
‘I saw a man running behind the bus, but he could not reach the bus. Then I made our dog run behind him. Out of fear for the dog the man ran very fast and could catch the bus.’

(ii) It is used for situations which happen before a background, which is given by a Past Imperfective form.

(100) jōn-e mohila niqo kar cola-i-ja-uth-il-e. hōthat
CL-INDEF woman REFL c. drive-CV-V2:go-IPFV-PST-3p(HON) suddenly
bāṛ-ṛe ta-nkō-ro start bōndā ho-i-gol-a.
way-LOC she-OBL-GEN s. closed become-CV-V2:go:PST-3s
‘A woman was driving her own car. Suddenly her car stopped.’
(iii) The Past Simple cannot be used for past habitual situations; instead the Past Imperfective is used.

(101) mū jetebele Bharat-re th-il-i sōbu-dino kədojī kiṃ-uth-il-i /
I when India-LOC be-PST-1s all-day banana buy-IPFV-1s

*kīn-il-i.
buy-PST-1s

‘When I was in India, I used to buy bananas every day.’

However, the Past Simple can be used for habitual situations which are part of the storyline.

(102) se jete thɔro bāus ca-kə-iba-ku gəl-a, proti thɔro buda
he how many time bamboo cut-INF-DAT go:PST-3s every time bush
bhitor-u kʰɔnd-e kʰɔnd-e suma pa-il-a.
inside-ABL CL-INDEF RDP gold find-PST-3s

‘Whenever he went to cut bamboo, he found gold pieces inside the bush.’
(Fairy tale)

The Past Simple is used for states as well, when they are integrated into the storyline:

(103) somraṭo pher-i-ja-iba pɔr-e Miyako-ro pɔribarca santi-re dino
ruler return-CV-V2:go-INF after-LOC M-GEN family peace-LOC day
kaṭ-il-e.
spend-PST-3p

‘After the ruler returned, Miyako’s family lived in peace.’
(Fairy tale)

(iv) Iterative situations with past time reference are normally expressed by the Past Simple.

(104) se jεu sɔhɔro-ku gəl-e seṭhi ta-nkə bhai-ku
he which town-DAT go:PST-3p(HON) there he-OBL brother-DAT
khoj-il-e.
search-PST-3p(HON)

‘He searched for his brother in whichever town he went to.’

(105) Madhia-ku jete kəh-il-i se mo kətha jəma suṃ-il-a-ni.
M-DAT as.often say-PST-1s he my matter at.all listen-PST-3s-NEG

‘As often as I told Mādhiā, he did not listen to me at all.’

(v) The Past Simple is used for situations, which happened immediately before the moment of speech.

(The speaker to a person who is coming.)
4.2.3. Tenses and moods

(106) əpəŋə əs-ıl-e!
you(HON) come-PST-3p
‘You have come!’

(The film director to the hero after the shooting of a scene.)

(107) mʊ kəh-ıl-i əkəŋə, təmə kə-l-ə əkəŋə? puŋu an thər-e
I say-PST-1s what you(POL) do-PST-2p what again more time-INDEF
tək ne-bə-ku pər-ib-ə.
take-INF-DAT must-FUT-3s
‘What did I say? What did you do? We have to take the scene once
again.’

The use of the Past Perfect forms kəhithili and kərithili would signal that the
two situations happened earlier and that they do not play any role for the
present moment of speech.

(108) tume ete əræi kəhiki kə-l-ə?
you(POL) so late why do-PST-2p
‘Why are you so late? (lit. why did you do so late?)’

The Past tense is described further in 4.2.3.6 where it is contrasted with the
Present Perfect.

Non-past uses  (i) The Past Simple is used to give reports of ongoing situa-
tions. The speaker’s comments coincide with the moment at which the action is
taking place. The event itself occupies a very short period, so that the Present
Progressive form is not possible.

(109) kəndhei-ti khəs-il-a.
doll-ART fall-PST-3s
‘The doll is just falling down.’

Note that the Present Progressive khəsuchi would refer to an iterative situation,
where the doll is going up and down.

(Television report.)

(110) Bıswənəthə Dınéșə pakə-ku bol pas kə-l-e ... Dınéșə gol
B. D. side-DAT b. p. make-PST-3p(HON) D. g.
kə-l-e!
make-PST-3p(HON)
‘Biśvanātha passes the ball to Dīnēṣa ... Dīnēṣa scores!’

(The speaker sees a couple arriving.)
4.2. Finite forms

(111) sangɔ mɔr-i-gɔl-i — mo potni au premika as-uch-ɔnti.
    friend die-CV-V2:go:PST-1s my wife and lover come-PROG-3p
    '(My) friend, I am dying — my wife and (her) lover are coming.'

There is a related use of hela 'is, was'. hela occurs in equational sentences without past time reference. This use is very frequent.

(112) dokhinɔ Oɾisa-ru jɛ̃-sobu s탄a-ru rɔtɔn-ʊθɔːru mi-l-ʊchi
    south O.-GEN which-all place-ABL gem-stone be.available-PROG-1s
    tɔɣi-ru promukho he-l-a: Kiragɔphonɔ, Lanjijagɔ, ...
    that-ABL principal be-PST-3s K.
    L.
    'Among the places in the south of Orissa where gems are found the most important ones are: Kiragaphanā, Lānjigarā, …' (Newspaper)

hela can be replaced by the Present Progressive form heuchi.

(ii) The Past Simple is used for situations with immediate future time reference. This use seems to be restricted to situations where the speaker expresses his strong intention to perform the action, unless a certain condition is fulfilled.

(113) sighrɔ ja-i Narɔo-nku uṭh-a-i-di-ɔ. nocet mū
    quickly go-CV N.-OBL:DAT get.up-CAUS-CV-V2:give-2p:IMP otherwise I
    gɔl-i!
    go:PST-1s
    'Go quickly and wake Nārada up. Otherwise I am gone!'

(iii) The Past Simple occurs in the if-clause of conditional sentences, which the speaker presents as real. It can be replaced by the Habitual Simple or by the Future Simple. Consider (114), where the Future Simple bajibɔ and the Habitual Simple bajie can replace bajila.

(The prisoner has to hit an apple with an arrow.)

(114) jɔdi to kɔpɔl-ɔ ku tiro seu-re baj-il-a, tu charɔ
    if your(FAM) luck-DAT arrow apple-LOC hit-PST-3s you(FAM) release
    pa-ib-u.
    find-FUT-2s
    'If the arrow hits the apple to your good luck, you will find release.'
    (Story)

(How do you recognise whether a film is a tragedy or a comedy?)

(115) jɔdi philm-re dii poisi labɔɔ mili-gɔl-a tɔ, sei-ɔta
    if f.-LOC two money profit be.available-CV-V2:go:PST-3s PTCL that-ART
    he-l-a kɔmɛdi; jɔdi khyɔti he-l-a, sei-ɔta he-l-a ɔtraedio.
    be-PST-3s c. if loss be-PST-3s that-ART be-PST-3s t.
    'If a film gives double profit, then it is a comedy; if it brings a loss, then it is a tragedy.'
(iv) The Past tense has a modal use: it is used as an imperative form, marking a high degree of intimacy (for imperatives in general, see 4.2.4.1). It is employed within the family (husband/wife, towards children), and among good friends. This use applies to all honorific degrees (familiar, polite and honorific).

(116) kuria ghoro bhitor-u kehi jon-e koh-il-e — “maa, mo-ro
hut house inside-ABL someone CL-IND say-PST-3p(HON) mother 1s-GEN
dorpo-qa an-il-u.”
mirror-ART bring-PST-2s
‘From inside the hut somebody said, “Mother, please bring me the mirror!”’

(117) pil-e, emit gohi-e phol-ro namo koh-il-o, jaha grismo
child-PL like.this CL-INDEF fruit-GEN name say-PST-2p which summer
rutu-re phol-e.
season-LOC ripen-3s:HAB
‘Children, tell me the name of a fruit, that is ripe in summer season.’

(118) apo namo proti dino soka-l-u tikie buli-gol-e.
you(HON) every day morning-ABL a.little walk-CV-V2:go:PST-3p(HON)
‘Please take a short walk in the morning every day.’

Past Perfect

The Past Perfect refers to a situation which is viewed as completed at a point of time in the past.

(119) mui apo-nko pai choqo uphorc an-ith-il-i, kintu
I you(HON)-OBL for small present bring-PERF-PST-1s but
jatra-re höi-gol-a.
journey-LOC get.lost-CV-V2:go:PST-3s
‘I had brought a small present for you, but it got lost on the way.’

(i) The orientation towards a reference point in the past following the situation itself is what distinguishes Past Simple and Past Perfect. In (120) the Past Perfect deithili establishes a reference point in the past, i.e. the time when his wife got twins.

(120) thor-e mui nijo stri-rc gorbhabostha-re “dui bhouni” uponyaso
time-INDEF I REFL wife-GEN pregnancy-LOC two sister novel
porh-iba-ku de-ith-il-i, taa-ro dui-ti jaa-la jhio he-l-a.
read-INF-DAT give-PERF-PST-1s she-GEN two-CL twin girl become-PST-3s
‘Once, during my wife’s pregnancy, I had given her the novel “two sisters” to read. She got two twin girls.’
(ii) The Past Perfect refers to a result of a past situation which is relevant for a reference point in the past (perfect-in-the-past).\(^8\) Consider (121), where the speaker wants to know whether her father had been in the forest, but where the actual act of going there is not important.

(121) bapa, tume para se bono-ku ja-ith-il-o? kacch\(\)o
father you(POL) PTCL that forest-DAT go-PERF-PST-2p what
dekh-i-as-il-o?
see-CV-V2:come-PST-2p

'Father, hadn’t you gone to the forest? What did you see there?'

(iii) The Past Perfect is used to indicate anteriority of one situation to another, both located in the past time (past-in-the-past).

(122) galica-bala je\(\)u bato bote-ith-il-a, sei bato-re gol-e.
carpet-N.AG which way instruct-PERF-PST-3s that way-LOC go:PST-3p

'They took the way the carpet dealer had described.'

When the Past Simple boteila or the Past Imperfective bouthila is used instead of boteithila, the carpet dealer is accompanying them.

In a narrative text the Past Perfect denotes an event which is not part of the main storyline and belongs to the background. It is located prior to the orientation point that is established by the preceding situation (flashback). It often explains the main narrative. Consider (123), where the wicked minister twisted the neck of the parrot to kill the body of the parrot. The king, however, had already left it, and this is expressed by the Past Perfect pos-i-ja-ith-il-e.

(123) se hotat sua-ta-ku jhamp-i-ne-i taa beko
he suddenly parrot-ART-DAT snatch-CV-V2:take-CV his neck
mori-de-l-a. kintu taa purbo-ru tol-e por-ith-iba
twist-CV-V2:give-PST-3s but it before-ABL bottom-LOC lie-PERF-INF
go\(\)a-e m\(\)a-la mohumachi deho-re raja
CL-INDEF die-INF:PST bee body-LOC king
pos-i-ja-ith-il-e. sua-ku dekh-i ra\(\)i
enter-CV-V2:go-PERF-PST-3p(HON) parrot-DAT see-CV queen
rag-i-uth-i montri-ku koh-il-e, ...
get.angry-CV-V2:get.up-CV minister-DAT say-PST-3p(HON)

'Suddenly he snatched the parrot and twisted its neck. But before that the king had entered the body of a dead bee lying on the floor. When

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\(^8\)Beside the three uses mentioned in this section (Perfect-in-Past, Past-in-Past and Reversed Result) Squartini (1999) adds a fourth use, called "past temporal frame": "the Pluperfect emphasises the remote past location of the situation" (p. 58). However, the Past Perfect in Oriya does not have this emphasising function (cf. (vi) below).
the queen saw the (dead) parrot, she got angry and said to the minister, …’ (Story, see A.3)

If the Past Perfect form is replaced by the Past Simple por sigale ‘entered’ and the adverbial phrase purboru ‘before’ is omitted, the situation of this clause is interpreted as happening after the minister twisted the neck and before the queen gets angry.

(iv) The Past Perfect signals that the situation no longer bears any relevance to the present moment of speech (by contrast with the Past Simple which often signals relevance to the present moment of speech), but rather indicates a reversed result. For illustration consider two sentences from a text about India’s fight for freedom. Most events are reported in the Past Perfect, since the results of these situations do not last in the present, e.g. (124). Compare, however, (125) with a Present Perfect verb form denoting a situation of which the result is still valid, i.e. the people mentioned are still dead.

(124) Oriisa-ro bahu neta, korni madhya ehi sorgon-a-re setebele jogo O.-GEN many leader worker also this fight-LOC then join
de-ith-il-e.
give-PERF-PST-3p
‘Many leaders and workers from Orissa joined then in this fight as well.’

(125) kete loko gu-li-mar-re mor-ich-onti.
some people shooting-LOC die-PERF-3p
‘Some people died by shooting.’

The Past Perfect functions as a pragmatic strategy: by distancing oneself from the content of the proposition the speaker makes his statement less direct, and at the same time more polite. Consider (126), where the Past Perfect asithili is used instead of the expected Past Simple asili or Present Perfect asichi.

(A patient to the doctor.)

(126) qaktør-babu, mù as-ith-il-i gôta-e kotha bujh-iba-ku.
d.-HON I come-PERF-PST CL-INDEF matter understand-INF-DAT
‘Doctor, I have come to ask you something.’

(v) The Past Perfect is used for situations in the past which are viewed as single events (in contrast to the Past Simple, which connects the situations to a storyline).

(127) ápôo Galpiko Biswojít Nayóko-nku jan-ith-ib-e? — o
you(HON) G. B. N.-OBL:DAT know-PERF-FUT-3p INTERJ
Biswojít-nku kie no-jan-e, se gôto boro kendro ekađemi award
B.-OBL:DAT who NEG-know-3s:HAB he last year central a. a.

See Fleischman 1989 on temporal distance as metaphor.
pa-ith-il-e.
get-PERF-PST-3p(HON)
'I suppose, you know Gālpika Biśvajit Nāyaka? — Oh, who doesn’t
know Biśvajit, he won the central academy award last year.'

(128) describes separate stages in the life of Pārbatīgiri, a female freedom fighter
of Orissa.

(128) jel-ru mukto ho-i 1945 mōsiha-re se Wardha asrōmō-ku ja-i
j.-ABL free become-CV 1945 year-LOC she W. a.-DAT go-CV
Gandhi-nku sakhyat kōr-ith-il-e. 1948 mōsiha-re se
G.-OBL:DAT meeting do-PERF-PST-3p(HON) 1948 year-LOC she
pāto-pōr-a arombho kōr-ith-il-e o 1951–52 mōsiha-roc
lesson-learn-PTCP start do-PERF-PST-3p(HON) and 1951–52 year-GEN
sadharano nirbācōn-rc Indira Gandhi-nko sōhīto se nirbācōn
common election-LOC I. G.-OBL with the election
prccaro-re ja-ith-il-e.
manifestation-LOC go-PERF-PST-3p(HON)
'After being released from jail in 1945 she went to the Wārddhā ashram
and met Gāndhī. In 1948 she began to study and during the common
elections of the years 1951–52 she went on an election manifestation
together with Indirā Gāndhī.' (Biography)

(vi) The Past Perfect has no inherent remote past reference: the time-span
between the event time and the present moment can range from several hundreds
of years to one hour:

French kingdom-rebellion 1789 Christ-era-LOC happen-PERF-PST-3s
'The French Revolution broke out in 1789 AD.'

(130) se ghōnta-e tol-e etha-ku as-ith-il-e.
he hour-INDEF ago-LOC here-DAT come-PERF-PST-3p(HON)
'He came here an hour ago.'

(vii) In combination with ingressive verbs (see 4.2.2.4) the Past Perfect fulfils the
same functions as the Past Imperfective with non-ingressive verbs (for details
see the next section). It then has no anterior meaning.

(We were three soldiers guarding a post.)

(131) hoṭhat rati-ōdho-re oduro-re sotrā soiniko-ṅko koḷaholo o
suddenly night-middle-LOC nearness-LOC enemy soldier-OBL noise and
phayor-rc sōbdō sun-i duj-joṅo soiniko bhoyo-re sibir-rc char-i
f.-GEN noise hear-CV two-CL soldier fear-LOC tent leave-CV
dhā-i-poḷa-il-e. mū eka raḥi-ja-ith-il-i.
run-CV-flee-PST-3p I alone stay-CV-V2:go-PERF-PST-1s
‘Suddenly in the middle of the night the two soldiers heard nearby the noise of enemy soldiers and of fire, left the tent and ran away in fear. I stayed behind alone.’

It should be noted, however, that the Past Perfect with ingressive verbs does not denote habitual meaning, e.g. bəsithili means ‘I was sitting’, whereas ‘I used to sit’ is expressed by the Past Imperfective bəsuthili.

**Past Imperfective**

The Past Imperfective indicates that the situation is located in the past and is viewed as non-completed. This includes progressive, durative, habitual or conative meaning.

(i) In the function of a past progressive it refers to an ongoing activity in the past, which often constitutes the background to what follows:

(132) mū maa-bapa-nkō pāi goṭi-e upoharc an-uth-il-i, rasta-re
I mother-father-OBL for CL-INDEF present bring-IPFV-PST-1s road-LOC
durghōtōcō ghot-il-a.
accident happen-PST-3s
‘I was bringing a present for my parents, an accident happened on the road.’

(133) mū gari cəla-uth-il-i, moro as-iba-ru gari mor-i-de-l-i
I car drive-IPFV-PST-1s curve come-INF-ABL car turn-CV-V2:give-PST-1s
‘I was driving a car, due to a curve, I turned the car round.’

The Habitual Imperfective is used in the same way, but belongs to a more literary style (see p. 158).

(ii) The Past Imperfective signals that the situation has a certain temporal extension including a reference point in the past. The meaning is durative.

(In an asylum.)

(134) mū jetebelē eṭhā-ku as-ith-il-i, mū nijō-ku prōdhānō mōntri
I when here-DAT come-PERF-PST-1s I REFL-DAT principal minister
boli kōh-uth-il-i.
COMP say-IPFV-PST-1s
‘When I came here, I was saying that I am the prime minister.’

kəhuthili means that he was claiming to be the president quite a period before being brought to the asylum. When the Past Simple kōhili is used instead of kəhuthili, the speaker would have uttered the sentence once when he came to the asylum. When the Past Perfect kəhithili is used, he would have uttered the claim once before coming to the asylum.

Consider the same verb form kəhuthile in (135):
(A young actress claims to be twenty years old.)

(135) kintu aŋo-ŋo maa aŋo-ŋo bɔyɔɔɔɔ pɔrdɔɔɔɔ bɔrɔɔɔɔ cawh-ut-ik-e.
      but you(HON)-OBL mother you(HON)-OBL age fifteen year
      say-IPFV-PST-3p(HON)
      'But your mother was telling that your age is fifteen years.'

Here kohuthile blurs the time when the situation took place (some time ago). By contrast, the Past Perfect kohithile would imply a certain point in the past, the Past Simple kohile would locate the situation just before the speech time.

In (136) the act of shooting, which normally is momentaneous, is viewed as extended by the use of the Past Imperfective.

(A spectator asks the stage-director after a theatre.)

(136) hiro prɔti pɔncɔ mɔn-ti-gulj mar-ut-ik-a kahiiki?
      h. towards five m.-LOC shooting do-IPFV-PST-3s why
      'Why was he shooting at the hero for five minutes? (To wake up the spectators.)'

In (137) the Past Imperfective is used to give a flavour of vagueness to the situation; the form dəkəuthili denotes that the speaker had a look at the book, but did not read it through. By contrast, the Past Simple dəkhili would entail that the whole book has been read.

(137) tɔma  бохи nisɔɔɔɔ pɔh-ib-i. prɔthɔmɔ bohi-ta dəkə-ut-ik-i.
      your(POL) book surely read-FUT-1s first book-ART see-IPFV-PST-1s
      'I'll read your books for sure. I was looking at the first book.'

In (138) the Past Imperfective indicates that the act of running lasted for an extended period of time in the past.

(A thief ran after a man; when he reached him, he discovered that the victim had only one rupee.)

(138) tu ei tɔŋka-tiie ɔńi ete douŋ-ut-ik-u?
      you(FAM) this rupee-INDEF for so.much run-IPFV-PST-2s
      'Were you running so fast for this single rupee?'

(iii) The Past Imperfective signals that the situation is characteristic for a certain temporal extension including a reference point in the past (habitual meaning).

(139) purbɔ-ru mʊ sɔbubɛɛ upɔha rə  an-ut-ik-i, ebe kintu an-e
      before-ABL I always present bring-IPFV-PST-1s now but bring-1s:HAB nahii.
      NEG
      'Before, I used to bring presents, but now I do not so.'
(iv) The Past Imperfective is used for states which lasted for some time in the past. In (141) the man becomes conscious, but the state of not being able to recognise people or to get up continues.

(141) ghot-

a-kā por-e ghār-e ta-nā-kā ceta
hour-one after-LOC house-LOC he-OBL-GEN consciousness
phēr-i-as-il-a kintu se lokā
return-CV-come-PST-3s but he people
ciṁh-i-par-u-no-th-il-e ki
recognise-CV-can-IPFV-NEG-AUX-PST-3p(HON) or
uth-i-par-u-no-th-il-e.
get.up-CV-can-IPFV-NEG-AUX-PST-3p(HON)
‘After an hour he became conscious again, but he couldn’t recognise people or get up.’

(142) matri pāndorō bōra-re se kori bōra-re eka purnānagā jukōti
only fifteen year-LOC she twenty year-GEN one full-limbed young woman
bhājī dekh-a-ja-uth-il-a.
like see-PASS-go-IPFV-PST-3s
‘Already with fifteen she looked like an adult woman of twenty years.’

(v) The Past Imperfective indicates conative meaning (“be about to, try”):

(143) se koṁo koh-i-as-uth-il-e, matri hothat
he something say-CV-V2:come-IPFV-PST-3p(HON) but suddenly
thom-i-gol-e.
stop-CV-V2:go:PST-3p(HON)
‘He was about to say something, but suddenly he stopped.’

(144) raja prathom-e Bānasobhā-ku char-iba-ku rajī
king first-LOC B.-DAT leave-INF-DAT agree
he-u-no-th-il-e, kintu Agnisārmatā jid
be-IPFV-NEG-AUX-PST-3p(HON) but A. insistence
dhār-i-bōs-iba-ru ta-nku badhyā ho-i
take-CV-V2:sit-INF-ABL he-OBL:DAT obliged be-CV
pōtha-i-de-l-e.
send-CV-V2:give-PST-3p(HON)
‘First the king did not agree to leave Bānasobhā, but when Agnisārma insisted he was obliged to send her.’
The verb jiba ‘go’ is frequently used with this meaning. The situation is then expressed by an infinitival clause marked for dative case (-ibaku):

(145) Nibrutti sōbu ghōţona sün-i taa bekō mor-i ta-ku
N. all event hear-CV its neck twist-CV it-DAT
mar-i-de-ba-ku ja-uth-il-e; kintu ...
kill-CV-V2:give-INF-DAT go-IPFV-PST-3p(HON) but
‘When Nibrutti had heard everything, she was going to twist its neck and kill it; but …’ (Story, see A.3)

In this context the Present Progressive can be used as well.

(I was eating meat. Some piece of meat got stuck between my teeth.)

(146) mū kathī khoṇdi-e ne-i seguri-ku baharō kor-iba-ku ja-uth-il-i
I stick CL-INDEF take-CV those-DAT outside do-INF-DAT go-IPFV-PST-1s
/ ja-uch-i, hoṭhat laiṭ kōṭ-i-gol-a.
go-PROG-1s suddenly l. cut-CV-V2:go-PST-3s
‘I was about to pull them out with a stick, then suddenly the light was cut.’

(vi) In modal use the Past Imperfective expresses a higher degree of politeness:

(147) gol-a beḷ-e mo-ra kichi jinisō mū bondhabondhi kor-i
go:PST-PTCP time-LOC I-GEN some thing I arrange do-CV
tomo ghōr-e rokh-l-ja-i-par-e? kal-e tumō-rc your(POL) house-LOC put-CV-V2:go-CV-can-1s:HAB time-LOC you(POL)-GEN
kichi āsubidha ho-i-par-e, sethi-pāi pocar-uth-il-i.
some inconvenience be-CV-can-3s that-for ask-IPFV-PST-1s
‘When I go, may I keep some of my things at your place? I would like to ask (lit. was asking) you in case you may have some inconveniences.’

It is used for polite requests as well:

(148) mū apōṇa-nku mo pandulipi dekho-uth-il-i.
I you(HON)-OBL:DAT my manuscript show-IPFV-PST-1s
‘I would like to show you my manuscript.’

However, this sentence can be said only when the manuscript is present, otherwise the phrase dekheibaku cahe ‘I want to show’ is used.

### 4.2.3.3 Future

The Future includes the following forms:

- Simple anībi ‘I shall bring’
- Perfect anīthibi ‘I shall have brought’
- Imperfective aṇuthibi ‘I shall be bringing’
The Future has the following functions: future time reference, modality (order, exhortation, intention, permission, etc.), habituality, epistemic modality and use in subordination (complement clauses of directive verbs, and purposive clauses).

### Future Simple

**Future time reference** (i) The Future Simple refers to an event which is located after the present moment of speech.

(149) asontakali mū aponə-nkə pāi goṭi-e upoharə an-ib-i. tomorrow I you(HON)-OBL for CL-INDEF present bring-FUT-1s

‘Tomorrow I shall bring you a present.’

(The addressee has thrown a stone.)

(150) tumə pəṭhərə əbəsəyə khub durə-ku gol-a, kintu jēūsthī your(POL) stone certainly much distance-DAT go:PST-3s but wherever he-le təło-ku khəs-i-par-ib-ə. be-CONDCV bottom-DAT fall-CV-V2:fall-FUT-3s

‘Your stone certainly went very far, but wherever it went, it will fall down.’

(151) cəturthə jatiyo kik boksing compiansip colito masə 18-θharu 20 fourth national k. b. ch. current month 18-ABL 20 tarikho poṛjyonto Kọtōko-rc Joḥaharalal Neheru indor stadiyom-re date until C.-GEN J. N. i. s.-LOC onusthito he-b-ə. present be-FUT-3s

‘The fourth national kick boxing championship will take place from the 18th to 20th of this month in the Jabāhāralal Neheru Indoor stadium in Cuttack.’ (Newspaper)

(ii) The Future is used with modal expressions (e.g. obligation, capability, ...) even when the modality holds already in the present moment of speech. While it is the complement that refers to a situation which is yet to come, this futurity is marked on the predicate expressing the modality.

(The son has unknowingly gone away to a dangerous place. His mother asks the father:)

(152) tumə kəŋə ta-nku kəŋəsi-məte you(POL) INT he-OBL:DAT any-how pher-a-i-an-i-par-ib-ə nahī? return-CAUS-CV-bring-CV-can-FUT-2p NEG

‘Anyhow, should he return?’
'Can you not bring him back by any means (lit. will you not be able to)?'

In (152) above the speaker asks about the hearer's ability to help. What he could do will necessarily happen in the future, hence the Future tense is used. Consider another example:

(In an investigation the police inspector says:)

(153) borttoman prathom-e amo-ku hatyakari-ro uddesyo koono
        now first-LOC we-DAT murderer-GEN intention what
jan-iba-ku he-b-o.
        know-INF-DAT be-FUT-3s
    'Now first we have to know the murderer's intention.'

Hence it is the situation to which the modality is applied that determines which tense is marked on the predicate expressing the modality.

(iii) There is no separate form for the future in a past setting:

(154) kete loko-nko muno-re asa th-il-a je, nua soksorbdako
        some people-OBL mind-LOC hope be-PST-3s COMP new millennium
as-ile thokami cori au hotya kom-ib-o.
        come-CONDCV cheat theft and murder diminish-FUT-3s
    'Some people were hoping that when the new millennium came, cheats, thefts and murder cases would become less.'

(iv) The Present Progressive is used for situations with future time reference as well. Generally, the speaker's prediction is stronger than with Future tense. Note that the future use of the Present Progressive has nothing to do with an immediate future.

(This year I have not brought a present from America.)

(155) asonta borso mut goți-e upoharo an-uch-i.
        coming year 1 CL-INDEF present bring-PROG-1s
    'Next year I shall bring a present.'

(The housewife is worried about the fact that a lot of relatives have announced to come visit. Her husband replies:)

(156) asonta soptah-o-re rel-gari dhormoghoto he-uch-i — taapore
        coming week-LOC r-car strike be-PROG-3s then
dekh-ib-a kie as-uch-anti.
        see-FUT-1pi who come-PROG-3p
    'Next week, there will be a railway strike — then let's see who is coming.'

(In a joke. The husband said that he prays to God that his wife may give birth to seven children. His wife reacts:)
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(157) keboč satc jōnmo pāi mū tumc-rc stri he-b-i au cstmoc only seven birth for I you(POL)-GEN wife be-FUT-1s and eighth jōnmo pāi tumc kaha-ku bach-i-ne-uch-ɔ niscöyc birth for you(POL) somebody-DAT choose-CV-V2:take-PROG-2p surely ‘I’ll be your wife only for seven births, and for the eighth you will surely choose someone else.’

In most cases, however, the Future and the Present Progressive are distinct in locating the situation on the time axis. Consider (158):

(158) mū apono-ncmp pāi goṭi-e upharc an-ich-i, kintu I you(HON)-OBL for CL-INDEF present bring-PERF-1s but tōmoc-ku bhōc lag-ib-ɔ / lag-uch-i ki nahi mū you(POL)-DAT good feel-FUT-3s feel-PROG-3s or NEG I jān-i-n-i, know-PERF-NEG-1s ‘I have brought you a present, but I do not know whether you will like / you like it or not.’

The sentence with the Future lagiboc is uttered when the present is still in the visitor’s bag and not yet visible, whereas the Present Progressive laguchi is used when the present can be seen by the addressee.

Modal use In many cases of future use the Future at the same time conveys a modal nuance (for details on modality see 4.2.4). On the other hand any modal use of the Future tense at the same time refers to a situation which is located after the present moment of speech.

(i) Future verb forms with 2nd person can be used in orders. In contrast to the use of an Imperative verb form, the order is either more polite as in (159) or stronger as in (160) and (161). It occurs with all three persons (2s for familiar, 2p for polite and 3p for honorific address).

(159) caa an-ib-u / an-ib-o / an-ib-e. tea bring-FUT-2s bring-FUT-2p bring-FUT-3p(HON) ‘Please bring tea.’

(160) to protigya niscöyc rōkh-ib-u. your(FAM) promise surely keep-FUT-2s ‘Keep your promise no matter what.’

(The judge to a thief.)

(161) au kebe porc sompotti bhogc-dokhɔc kɔr-iba-ku cesta kɔrc-ib-ɔ-ni. more ever other property enjoy-occupy do-INF-DAT try do-FUT-2p-NEG ‘You shall never try to acquire somebody else’s property again.’
In some contexts imperatives with Future tense refer to actions which are to be performed later in the future, not immediately. In (162) the person who dreams must take the mangoes immediately, hence the Imperative form ne ‘take’ is used. What he shall do with them afterwards, however, is expressed with four Future forms.

(God appeared to a believer in a dream and gave him four mangoes. He said:)

(162) ne, ei caro-ṭi ambo-ru goṭi-e mondir-ca-re
take:2s:IMP these four-CL mango-ABL CL-INDEF temple-LOC
rokh-i-de-b-u, goṭi-e pujokọ brahmaṇa-nku de-b-u,
keep-CV-V2:give-FUT-2s CL-INDEF worship b.-OBL:DAT give-FUT-2s
goṭi-e noi pani-re bhos-a-i-de-b-u ebong goṭi-e
CL-INDEF river water-LOC float-CV-V2:give-FUT-2s and CL-INDEF
tu kha-ib-u.
you(FAM) eat-FUT-2s
‘Take and keep one of these four mangoes in the temple, give one to the brahman, float one on the river and eat one.’

(163) tu ago goṭa-e kop caa pii — taapore potaṇi kīṇ-ib-u.
you(FAM) first CL-INDEF c. tea drink:2s:IMP then paper buy-FUT-2s
‘First drink a cup of tea — then buy the newspaper.’

(ii) Sentences with 1pi Future form can be interpreted as exhortatives (“let us . . .”).

(164) tume halia ho-i-gol-ṇi? tahele cało gacho mul-e
you(POL) tired become-CV-V2:go:PST-2p-MIR then HORT tree root-LOC
bhos-i-por-ib-a.
sit.down-CV-V2:fall-FUT-1pi
‘Have you got tired? Then let’s sit under the tree.’

(iii) Future verb forms can be used in sentences expressing a wish or intention (for the same use found in subordinate clauses, see below).

(165) mangolobara dino sandhya-re amọ ghoro-ku
Tuesday evening-LOC our house-DAT eat-INF-DAT
kha-iba-ku as-ib-e?
come-FUT-3p(HON)
‘Would you like to come to dinner with us on Tuesday evening?’

(166) borong mū kōh-ib-i . . .
rather I say-FUT-1s
‘I’d rather say . . .’

(167) jodi birokọ na-he-b-e, goṭi-e kōtha kōh-ib-i.
if displeased NEG-be-FUT-3p(HON) CL-INDEF matter say-FUT-1s
‘If you don’t mind, I would like to tell (you) something.’
The Conditional Simple is used with the same function. However, the sentence is then more polite and less authoritative:

(168) jodi biraktə no-hu-ont-e, goṭi-e katha kəh-ont-i.

if displeased NEG-be-COND-3p(HON) CL-INDEF matter say-COND-1s

'If you don’t mind, I would like to tell (you) something.'

(iv) Future verb forms are used in requests for permission (may I ... ?). For details see 4.2.4.5.

(169) mū paṇi pi-ib-i?

I water drink-FUT-1s

'May I have some water?'

The Conditional Simple pionti can be used as well in (169) above.

(v) Sentences with Future tense forms can express root possibility, i.e. external conditions allow the subject to perform an action.10 This use is especially frequent in questions.

(170) jhintika-ṭa rati-sara phor-phor he-le kaha-ku nido

grasshopper-ART night-all flutter be-CONDCV anybody-DAT sleep

lag-ib-ɔ?

feel-FUT-3s

'Who can sleep when the grasshopper are fluttering all night?'

(About a secret relationship between a man and a woman. Both will meet in the cinema.)

(171) sinema-re koṃco ha-b-ɔ kie kəh-ib-ɔ?

c.-LOC what happen-FUT-3s who say-FUT-3s

'Who can say what will happen in the cinema?'

This use is frequent in result clauses (e.g. with je ‘so that’, see 7.2.1):

(172) caa-ṭa ete goromə ho-ich-i je pi-i-he-b-ɔ nah-ι.

caa-ART so.much hot be-PERF-3s so.that drink-CV-be-FUT-3s NEG

'The tea is too hot to drink (lit. that it cannot be drunk).'</n

Permissive use is seen in (173):

(173) amo-ra guru upadeso de-ich-onti — "cori kəh-ib-ɔ, kintu

we-GEN teacher advice give-PERF-3p(HON) theft do-FUT-2p but

stri-loko kimba sisu-nko deho-re hatə loga-ib-ɔ nahi."

woman-person or child-OBL body-LOC hand apply-FUT-2p NEG

'Our teacher has given the (following) advice, “You may steal, but do

not lay hands on women or children.”'

10 Ability is normally expressed by par- ‘can’ (see 4.6.4).
(vi) Future verb forms are used in deliberative questions ("shall I ...?"): 

(174) tumbo byag-ti kéúthi rokh-ib-i?
your(POL) b.-ART where put-FUT-1s
'Where shall I put your bag?'

(175) e garì moćor sóbb-re mú tomo kotha sun-ib-i kipori?
this car m. noise-LOC I your(POL) matter hear-FUT-1s how
'How will I hear what you say in this motor noise of cars?'

(The king shot a huge animal, believing it to be a tiger, but it was a bull!)

(176) ebe se koono kar-ib-e?
now he what do-FUT-3p(HON) bull-murder great-sin that-ABL
mukti pa-ib-e kemiti?
free find-FUT-3p(HON) how
'What should he do now? Killing a bull is a great sin. How could he get free from that?'

In combination with the interrogative words koono 'what' and kahiki 'why' the Future is used in rhetorical questions which convey the speaker's impatience with a supposed obligation ("why should ...?").

(The hero learned that his brothers had been captured.)

(177) se kand-ib-o koono, sange sange khọnda-ti-ku dhör-i ghör-u
she weep-FUT-3s what immediately sword-ART-DAT take-CV house-ABL
bahir-i-por-il-a.
go.out-CV-V2:fall-PST-3s
'Why should he weep (lit. will he weep / what will he weep)? He immediately took the sword and set out from home.'

(178) sote na koono? — to-te koono mú micho koh-ib-i?
true PTCL INT you(FAM)-DAT what I lie say-FUT-1s
'Is that really true? — Why should I lie to you?'

(Somebody takes the man accompanying the boy to be the boy's father. The boy corrects:)

(179) se mo-ro bapa he-b-e kahiki?
he I-GEN father be-FUT-3p(HON) why
'Why should he be my father?'

Note that situations marked by the Future are always located in the domain of the reality, i.e. an answer to the question or a solution to the problem is possible. By contrast, the use of the Conditional implies that there is no possible solution, since the situation is seen as unreal. If in (176) above kōribi is replaced by the Conditional Simple koronte, the sentence describes an imaginary setting, e.g. "if you were king, what would you do?":


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(180) tume kɔɔŋɔ kor-ont-ɔ?
you(POL) what do-COND-2p
‘What would you do?’

In some cases, however, the situations expressed by the Future verb form might be judged unreal as well. This holds especially for clauses expressing comparisons. Note that in the following two examples the Conditional Simple can be used as well.

(181) meghɔ ete tɔp-ku as-il-a jemiti ghɔɔr-ɔ chato-ku
cloud so bottom-DAT come-PST-3s as.if house-GEN roof-DAT
lag-i-j-ib-ɔ.
touch-CV-V2:go-FUT-3s
‘Finally the cloud came so close to the ground as if it would (lit. will) touch the roof of the house.’

(182) kaha-ri tunḍɔ-re kɔthɑ nɔ-tha-e, e-pɔrɪ ki chunci-tiɛ
who:OBL-EMPH mouth-LOC matter NEG-be-3s this-like PTCL needle-INDEF
por-ilɛ bi sun-a-j-ib-ɔ.
fell-CONDCV even hear-PASS-go-FUT-3s
‘Nobody was speaking a word, so that even if a needle had fallen down, it would have been heard.’

(vii) Future verb forms are used in sentences with commissive meaning (promises and threats).

(183) tumɔ-manɔ-nkɔ-ɔ icchɔ jepɔrɪ purɔŋɔ he-b-ɔ, mʊ se kɔthɑ
you(POL)-PL-OBL-GEN wish so.that full be-FUT-3s I that matter
dekh-ib-i.
see-FUT-1s
‘I will see to it that your wishes will be fulfilled.’

Habitual use The Future is used for habitual situations, when the sentence is a prediction.

(184) ketebɛlɛ phon kɔ-le kɔm poisa por-ib-ɔ!
when ph. do-CONDCV few money fall-FUT-3s
‘Whenever I want to make a phone call, I do not have enough money!’

Note that the Habitual Simple pɔrɛ and the Present Progressive pɔruchɔi can be used with the same meaning. In (185) the Habitual Simple bindhẽ is possible as well.

(185) mo mʊndɔ jebe bindh-ib-ɔ, tahele mo premika mʊndɔ-ku
my head when hurt-FUT-3s then my mistress head-DAT
cum-i-de-b-ɔ au mʊndɔ bindh-ɑ thik ho-i-ja-e.
kiss-CV-V2:give-FUT-3s and head hurt-PTCP okay become-CV-V2:go-3s:HAB
'Whenever my head hurts, my girl-friend kisses my head and the headache disappears (lit. becomes okay).'

(186)  jhорг ботас bel-e se jemiti nouka bah-ib-e, au kehi storm wind time-LOC he how boat navigate-FUT-3p(HON) more anybody semiti bah-i-par-ib-e nahī. like.that navigate-CV-can-FUT-3p NEG

'Nobody can navigate a boat in storm and wind the way he navigates a boat.'

(How to play a game.)

(187) "bого o macho" any-re pilа-manо-nко mzőhyo-ru jоn-e paddy.bird and fish game-LOC child-PL-ABL middle-ABL CL-INDEF bого he-b-o o jоn-e machо jαgαlβi boaсh-a he-b-o. paddy.bird be-FUT-3s and CL-INDEF fish guard choose-PASS-be-FUT-3s anyо sathi pilа-manе machо he-b-e. other comrade child-PL fish be-FUT-3p

'In the game "the paddy bird and the fish" one of the children will be the paddy bird and one will be chosen as fish guard. The other children will be fish.'

Consider two examples which have no predictive character in the context, therefore the Future Simple is not acceptable:

(188)  se Ingrαji *pərh-e-ib-e / pərх-a-nti. he English learn-CAUS-FUT-3p(HON) teach-CAUS-3p(HON):HAB

'He teaches English (as a job).'

(189)  surjyо purbo digо-re uδγо о *he-b-e / hu-nti. sun east direction-LOC rising be-FUT-3p(HON) be-3p(HON):HAB

'The sun rises in the east.'

Epistemic modality  In epistemic modal use the Future Simple expresses the range from inferred certainty to probability (other means to express probability and possibility are the modal verb par- and the construction thaipar-, see 4.6.4).


'You will / may / might be tired, do not work any longer.'

For a clear example of inferred certainty ("must") refer to (209) below.

(A: How many students are in your college? — B: 1,500. — A:)
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(191) emanơ-nkə bhītor-u chatro-mānơ-nkə sōnkhya kete he-b-ə? —
these-ABL inside-ABL student-PL-OBL number how.much be-FUT-3s
ekə hojaɾə-ru kəm nuh-ə.
one thousand-ABL less be:NEG-3s
‘How many male students will be among them? — Not less than one
thousand.’

The Future in epistemic use co-occurs with adverbs such as niscoyə ‘certainly’
and hueto ‘maybe’.

(Teacher: Why do you think that old people run faster than young people? —
The child answers: Children who are smaller than us run more slowly than we
do.)

(192) tebe amo-mañō-nkə-tharu bοc byōkti-mañe niscoyə amo aŋə pekhyə
then we-PL-OBL-ABL big person-PL surely we:OBL than
jor-re dəur-ib-ə.
strength-LOC run-FUT-3p
‘Then people who are bigger than us will surely run faster than we do.’

Use in subordinate clauses  The Future is used in modally marked subor-
dinate clauses, i.e. in complement clauses of directive verbs and in purposive
clauses. In both types the Future can be replaced either by the Imperative or
by the Conditional. (For the equivalent nonfinite counterparts with -ibaku see
7.4.2, for complement clauses in general see 7.2).

Finite complement clauses of directive verbs, marked by je or boli:

(193) mū cah-ə tumə-rc sei konya mo pakho-re rəh-i seba
I want-1s you(POL)-GEN that daughter my side-LOC stay-CV service
kor-ib-ə.
do-FUT-3s
‘I want that daughter of yours to be beside me and serve me.’

Note that the Conditional Simple korɔntə and the Imperative Simple koru is
possible here too. The Future is the strongest form: the speaker knows that
he will get what he wants. When the Imperative koru is used, he is not sure
whether he will get his wish fulfilled. The Conditional Simple korɔntə implies
that the wish has a hesitating character.

(194) se uilo kor-i-de-ith-il-e je ta-nkə-rc somcəstə
he last.will do-CV-V2:give-PERF-PST-3p(HON) COMP he-OBL-GEN all
sompotti cənatho-nku dano kor-i-di-a-jib-ə.
property orphan-OBL:DAT gift do-CV-V2:give-PASS-go-FUT-3s
‘His last will was that all his property should be given to orphans.’
(195) jon-e raja ghaso-na kā-l-e je tongi-mane emiti
CL-INDEF king declaration do-PST-3p[HON] that weaver-PL like this
goṭi-e luṅg-būṅ-ib-e jaha ki akhi-ku dekha-na-nā-jīb-ū.
CL-INDEF cloth weave-FUT-3p who PTCL eye-DAT see-PASS-NEG-go-FUT-3s
'A king declared that the weavers should weave such a cloth that it
cannot be seen.'

Purposive clauses are marked by boli, jepori or jemiti (see 7.4.6).

(196) jon-e loko taa-rō ghora-ku bik-ib-ū boli mo ghorā-ku
CL-INDEF man he-GEN horse-DAT sell-FUT-3s COMP my house-DAT
an-ith-il-ā.
bring-PERF-PST-3s
'A man brought a horse to my house to sell it.'

Subordinate clauses expressing fear are marked for Future as well:

(197) lok-e ragā-re kal-e mar-ib-e sehi bhava-re se
people-PL anger-LOC time-LOC beat-FUT-3p that fear-LOC he
poḷa-i-gōl-ā.
flee-CV-V2:go:PST-3s
'AFraid that the people some time would beat him out of anger, he fled.'

Future Perfect

The Future Perfect is used for future time reference, modal use and epistemic use (as described for Future Simple), always signalling that the situation is viewed as completed.

Future time reference The Future Perfect is used for situations which are viewed as completed and are located after the present moment of speech (future time reference).

(198) asontakali suddha upāharā an-ith-ib-ī.
tomorrow by present bring-PERF-FUT-1s
'I will have brought the present by tomorrow.'

(199) bycsta hu-ōntu nahi, puṅskara ghaso-ṇa he-la beḷ-e mo bōhi
worried be-3p:IMP NEG prize he-la beḷ-e mo bōhi
pres-ru as-i-ja-ith-ib-ū.
p-ABL come-CV-V2:go-PERF-FUT-3s
'Do not worry, when the (book) prize will be declared, my book will
have come off the press.'

When the Future Simple asibo is used instead of asithibo, the book will appear after the prize declaration. When the Future Imperfective asuthibo is used, the book will appear simultaneously with the prize declaration.
With ingressive verbs the Future Perfect has the function of an Imperfective aspect:

\[(200) \text{dúi hato-re amo lagi to upóharó-sobu dhó-ith-ib-c.} \]
\[\text{two hand-LOC we:OBL for PTCL present-all hold-PERF-FUT-2p}\]
\[\text{‘(When you come, I hope) you will be holding all the presents for us in}\]
\[\text{both hands.’}\]

\[(201) \text{tume koço sara rati emiti jhóra ka pakho-re bos-i ñóndharó-ku} \]
\[\text{you(POL) INT all night like this window side-LOC sit-CV darkness-DAT}\]
\[\text{cah-ith-ib-c?} \]
\[\text{look-PERF-FUT-2p}\]
\[\text{‘Will you be sitting like this by the window and looking into the darkness}\]
\[\text{the whole night?’}\]

**Modal use** In Imperatives the Future Perfect is more polite than Future Simple.

(Instructions for the new guard.)

\[(202) \text{tu eíthi randh-i kha-ib-u au dino rati ghoró-ku} \]
\[\text{you(FAM) here cook-CV eat-FUT-2s and day night house-DAT}\]
\[\text{jog-ith-ib-u.} \]
\[\text{watch-PERF-FUT-2s}\]
\[\text{‘You will cook and eat here and watch the house day and night.’}\]

On the other hand, the Future Perfect is more authoritative than the Future Simple \(\text{(asithibe in (203) is more authoritative than asibe).}\)

\[(203) \text{as-ila bel-e kóstó kor-i apóó-nko paspor-t-ku} \]
\[\text{come-INF:PST time-LOC care do-CV you(HON)-OBL p.-DAT}\]
\[\text{ne-i-as-ith-ib-e.} \]
\[\text{take-CV-come-PERF-FUT-3p}\]
\[\text{‘Take care to take your passport when you come.’}\]

Other modal uses are rare, except in combination with ingressive verbs. With these verbs it is the result of the situation to which the modality is applied, e.g. \text{kónjús he- ‘become miserly’ in (204)}:

\[(204) \text{mo-ro emiti gotí-e cakóó dørkar jie kónjús ho-ith-ib-c.} \]
\[\text{I-GEN like this CL-INDEF servant need who miserly become-PERF-FUT-3s}\]
\[\text{‘I need a servant who is miserly.’}\]

\[(205) \text{is an order with the ingressive verb rókh- ‘put, keep’}.\]

(The doctor goes on a journey. He instructs his son who will represent him in

the clinic:)}
(205) tu mo rogi-manɔ-nku hato-re rɔkh-ith-ib-u!
    you(FAM) my patient-PL-OBL:DAT hand-LOC keep-PERF-FUT-2s
    ‘Take care of my patients (lit. keep in your hand).’

**Epistemic meaning**  With epistemic meaning the Future Perfect signals that
the situation is believed to have happened.

(206) se gotɔkali upɔharko an-ith-ib-ɔ.
    he yesterday present  bring-PERF-FUT-3s
    ‘He must have brought the present yesterday.’

(The son to his father, “The teacher beat me.” The father answers:)

(207) tu niscɔyɔ sar-nku hoiranko kɔr-ith-ib-u.
    you(FAM) surely S.-OBL:DAT damage do-PERF-FUT-2s
    ‘You will surely have irritated the teacher (lit. Sir).’

(A: Why are you in prison? — B: I stole a small cord. — A:)

(208) kintu emiti ho-i-nɔ-th-ib-ɔ.
    but like.this happen-PERF-NEG-AUX-FUT-3s
    ‘But this cannot be true (lit. it will not have happened like this).’

Inferred certainty is illustrated in (209):

(Rāma will retire in 2006.)

(209) 60 bɔrsɔ-ɔɔ boyɔcyɔ-ku ɔbɔcyɔɔ boyɔcyɔ dhor-ile ta-nkɔ-ɔɔ
    60 year-GEN age-DAT retirement age take-CONDCV he-OBL-GEN
    jonno-bɔrsɔ ho-ith-ib-ɔ 1946 ɔtɔebo se 16 bɔrsɔ-re hi
    birth-year become-PERF-FUT-3s 1946 therefore he 16 year-LOC EMPH
    em.e. pas kɔr-ith-ib-e.
    M.A. p. do-PERF-FUT-3p(HON)
    ‘If we take the age of 60 as age of retirement, then his year of birth must
    be 1946, and therefore he must have done his M.A. in the age of 16.’

The Future Perfect with ingressive verbs implies that the result of the situation
still lasts.

(Somanātha was walking in a dark quarter of town. Two men approached. He
got scared.)

(210) kale loko dui-ta dɔkayɔtɔ ho-ith-ib-e?
    maybe person two-CL robber become-PERF-FUT-3p
    ‘Maybe the two men will be robbers?’
Future Imperfective

The Future Imperfective is used for future time reference, modality and epistemic meaning for situations which are viewed as non-completed. In all three functions progressive, durative and habitual use are attested.

Future time reference (i) The Future Imperfective is used for ongoing situations with future time reference:

(211) mū jetebele maa-bapa-nkə pāi upoharə aŋ-uth-ib-i,
I when mother-father-OBL for present bring-IPFV-FUT-1s
riksa-bala-ku dekh-ib-i.
r.-N.AG-DAT see-FUT-1s
‘When I bring the present for my parents, I shall see the rickshaw-driver.’

(Sukanyā has to choose her husband among three similarly looking men. What should she do? The goddess Durgā helps her.)

(212) bhōlo kor-i dekh ma. jaha-nkə akhi-re połko poř-uth-ib-o,
well do-CV see:IMP:2s PTCL who-OBL eye-LOC blinking fall-IPFV-FUT-3s
sei to swami.
that your(FAM) husband
‘Have a close look. He whose eyes are blinking is your husband.’

When the Future Simple pořibo is used instead of pořuthibo, he will blink only once.

(ii) The Future Imperfective is used for future situations which are viewed as temporally extended (durative use):

(213) se lengerə he-le hī mū jañ-e se
he lame be-CONDCV EMPH I know-1s:HAB he
nac-i-par-uth-ib-o.
dance-CV-can-IPFV-FUT-3s
‘I know that person will be able to dance even though he is lame.’

(Wish on Valentine’s Day.)

(214) mor-gola por-e mū pāũso hu-e, tothapi
die-CV-V2:go:INF:PST after-LOC I ashes become-1s:HAB nevertheless
gogon-e ur-i koh-uth-ib-i tumo-ku mū bhōlo pa-e.
sky-LOC fly-CV say-IPFV-FUT-1s you(POL)-DAT I good find-1s:HAB
‘After my death, I become ashes, yet I shall fly to the sky and shall say, “I love you”.’
The Habitual Imperfective *kohlthae* can replace the verb form *kohlthibi* in this context.

(iii) The Future Imperfective is used for habitual situations with future time reference:

(215) mo bala dhola ho-i-gala por-e bi tume mo-te my hair white become-CV-V2:go:INF:PST after-LOC even you(POL) I-DAT emititi bholo pa-uth-ib-ɔ? like.this good find-IPFV-FUT-2p

‘When my hair will have turned grey, will you still love me so much?’

In the sentence above the Future Simple *paibɔ* is possible as well, but the Future Imperfective *pauthibɔ* expresses a stronger love than *paibɔ*.

(216) se byokti etko thor-e nuhë barombaro kar-i-par-uth-ib-ɔ. that person like.this time-INDEF NEG again and again do-CV-can-IPFV-FUT-3s

‘That person will be able to do it not only once, but time and again.’

(An astrologer:)

(217) eha badhyɔ nuh-ẽ je protyekɔ thɔːrɔ goiti-e hĩ jɔnmo this obliged be:NEG-3s COMP every time CL-INDEF EMPH birth mil-uth-ib-ɔ. be.available-IPFV-FUT-3s

‘It is not necessarily the case that you will be born as one being (lit. that the same birth will be available) every time.’

**Modal meaning** In imperatives the Future Imperfective is used for orders which should be carried out until something else happens (see further discussion on imperfective aspect in Imperative verb forms on p. 202).

(218) se so-iba porjyɔntɔ jhula-uth-ib-ɔ. he sleep-INF until rock-IPFV-FUT-2p

‘Rock him until he sleeps.’

(A doctor instructs his son what to do with the patients until he will return:)

(219) dɔrkar por-ile semancɔ-nkɔ rogo cihn-i oschedo-potro de-uth-ib-u. necessary fall-CONDCV they-OBL disease recognise-CV medicine-letter give-IPFV-FUT-2s

‘If necessary, diagnose their diseases and give them medicine.’

(In an interview.)
4.2.3. Tenses and moods

(220) aji-thu tume mo ophis-re jen kor-ja-o. ebloli menzialiti today-ABL you(POL) my o.-LOC j. do-CV-V2:go-2p:IMP such m. menzen kor-uth-ib-o. m. do-IPFV-FUT-2p

‘Join my office from today on. Maintain this mentality.’

Habitual meaning The Future Imperfective can refer to habitual situations which are viewed as non-completed. In contrast to the examples mentioned above future time reference is at most secondary. Consider the following paragraph with Future Imperfective (and one Future Perfect, basithibe) forms, which describe the songwriter’s situation:

(A: Why are you so successful? — B: I have an advantage that might be helping me.)

(221) rekording somayo-re gita lekh-ila be-e pocase loko time-LOC song write-INF:PST time-LOC fifty people bas-ith-ib-e. koment de-uth-ib-e “ki gita ie! . . .” taapore se sit-PERF-FUT-3p c. give-IPFV-FUT-3p what song this then that gita-ji cir-a-he-uth-ib-o. song-ART tear-PASS-be-IPFV-FUT-3s

‘When I write songs during the recording, fifty people will be sitting (there). They would give comments such as “What a song this is! . . .” Then that song will be torn.’

Epistemic modality (i) The Future Imperfective is used for ongoing situations, which are expected to happen probably or possibly:

(222) toma-ku to niscayo kat-uth-ib-o se jetebelo por-uth-il-a? you(POL)-DAT PTCL surely cut-IPFV-FUT-3s he when prick-IPFV-PST-3s

‘He must surely be hurting you when he was pricking you?’

Compare the Future Perfect form katithibo which is used when the situation is narrated in retrospective (223).

(223) toma-ku niscayo kat-ith-ib-o to? you(POL)-DAT surely cut-PERF-FUT-3s PTCL

‘He must have hurt you?’

(224) pulis sBu gaari otoka-uch-enti. semane khos-i-pola-ith-iba p. all car stop-PROG-3p they escape-CV-flee-PERF-INF bondi-ku khoj-uth-ib-e. prisoner-DAT search-IPFV-FUT-3p

‘The police are stopping all vehicles. They must be looking for the prisoner who escaped.’
4.2. Finite forms

(ii) The Future Imperfective is for habitual situations, which are viewed to happen probably or possibly:

(225) ṣapom khora-din-e to niscoyo gadha-uth-ib-e? — hā, you(HON) summer-day-LOC PTCL surely bathe-IPFV-FUT-3p yes gadha-e. bathe-1s:HAB

‘You must be bathing in summer? — Yes, I bathe.’

(226) mū bhab-il-i apom bi amiso kha-uth-ib-e. I think-PST-1s you(HON) also non-vegetarian.food eat-IPFV-FUT-3p

‘I thought you would be a non-vegetarian as well.’

(iii) Note that the modal and the epistemic use of the Future Imperfective can even be used for situations in the past.

(227) jetebele bahā ho-i-no-th-il-ɔ setebelə to emit when marriage become-PERF-NEG-AUX-PST-2p then PTCL like.this bhul kɔr-uth-ib-ɔ na nahī? mistake do-IPFV-FUT-2p or NEG

‘When you were not married, would you have been making such mistakes or not?’

4.2.3.4 Conditional

The Conditional includes the following forms:

Simple aponti ‘I would bring’
Perfect anithanti ‘I would have brought’
Imperfective anuthanti ‘I would be bringing’

The Conditional is used for hypothetical unreal situations and for deontic modality (wish, request).

Conditional Simple

The Conditional Simple refers to situations which the speaker regards as unreal.

Hypothetical use (i) The Conditional Simple is used in conditional sentences, both in the protasis (i.e. the clause marked by jodi ‘if’) and in the apodosis (main clause). The sentence has a hypothetical character, i.e. the situation described is unreal and cannot be true at reference time.

(228) se jodi pɔrh-ont-a, mū taa pāl khɔbɔrɔ-kagɔjo he if read-COND-3s I he:OBL for news-paper an-i-di-ont-i. bring-CV-V2:give-COND-1s
'If he could read I would bring him the newspaper.'

In (228) the speaker knows that the subject cannot read; so he will not bring him any newspaper. When the Future is used in the same sentence (229), the speaker does not know whether the subject can read or not, so perhaps he will bring him the newspaper.

(229) se jədī porh-ib-ɔ, mú taa pāi khōboro-kagɔjɔ aŋi-de-b-ı.
  he if read-FUT-3s I he:OBL for news-paper bring-CV-V2:give-FUT-1s
  'If he can read I will bring him the newspaper.'

(To a beggar.)

(230) kamo ko-le tømc bhatɔ kie khant-a.
  work do-CONDV your(POL) rice who eat-COND-3s
  'If you would work, somebody would eat your rice (i.e. if you would work, your rice would be yours, somebody (= you) would eat it).'

In (230) above the speaker does not expect that the addressee will work, therefore the Conditional khant,a is used. When he uses the Future Simple khaibo instead, he assumes that there is a certain probability that the addressee will work.

The if-clause can be missing:

(231) se to mo-ro cɔntɔrɔngɔ bondhu. mo-ro bhɔlɔ-mɔndɔ-ku to se
  he PTCL I-GEN closest friend I-GEN good-bad-DAT PTCL he
  colɔ-i-ne-i-par-ɔnt-ɔ.
  manage-CV-V2:take-CV-can-COND-3s
  'He is my closest friend, isn’t he? He should be able to manage with my character (lit. my good and bad).'

(232) bicark Bakilo ete kɔtha ta-nkɔ pāi ghọt-il-a-ni boli kemiti
  fellow B. such matter he:OBL for happen-PST-3s-MIR COMP how
  jan-i-par-ɔnt-e?
  know-CV-can-COND-3p(HON)
  'How could poor fellow Bākila know that such a thing would happen to him?'

(ii) Conditional sentences can be used as very polite requests. Conditional verb forms signal a higher degree of politeness than Future verb forms.

(233) bhɔlɔ hu-ɔnt-a, tume asonta bɔrɔc jədī goti-e upɔharkɔ
  good be-COND-3s you(POL) coming year if CL-INDEF present
  ne-i-as-ɔnt-ɔ.
  take-CV-come-COND-2p
  'It would be good if you brought a present next year.'
The sentence above is more polite than with the Future Simple forms hebo and neiasibo.

(iii) The Conditional Simple can be used in habitual situations as well (note that the Conditional Imperfective kinuthanti is possible as well).

(234) mū Suijorlando-th-ile, sōbu-dinō chena kin-ont-i.
I S.-LOC be-CONDCV all-days cheese buy-COND-1s
‘If I were in Switzerland, I would buy cheese every day.’

**Deontic use**  (i) The Conditional Simple is used for deontic modality, i.e. the speaker wishes the situation to come about, but he does not believe in it. The construction is used in highly imaginative cases, which are hypothetical and full of expectation. The particle ki often occurs in such sentences.

(The girl has been left by her friend.)

(235) thoro-tie dekh-ont-a ki ta-ku!
  time-INDEF see-COND-3s PTCL he-DAT
  ‘If only she could see him once again!’

In order to express a wish which may be fulfilled, the conditional converb -ile is used (see 4.3.5.5):

(236) thoro-tie ta-ku dekh-ile tō!
  time-INDEF he-DAT see-CONDCV PTCL
  ‘If only she would see him once again!’

(Bad wish.)

(237) bhogban kōr-ont-e ki to-te goṭa-e chōtō
god  do-COND-3p(HON) PTCL you(FAM)-DAT CL-INDEF short
borō mile-ont-a!
bridegroom be.available-COND-3s
‘May God provide you a short bridegroom!’

By using the Conditional the speaker expresses his disbelief in what he wishes, whereas the Imperative Simple kōrantu would express his belief in what he wishes.

(ii) The Conditional Simple is used in very polite requests.

(238) keboḷ mo-ṛa goṭi-e prarthōna — pita-nku tīkī dekh-ont-i.
only  I-GEN CL-INDEF prayer  father-OBL:DAT please see-COND-1s
‘I have only one prayer — may I see my father, please!’

The Future Simple dekhībi can be used as well, but it does not express that the wish should be fulfilled instantaneously. The Imperative Simple dekhē is stronger and not so polite in this case.
4.2.3. Tenses and moods

(239) kali ti̱kie thakur̓-nko mondīr̓-ku ja̱nt-e!
tomorrow please god-OBL temple-DAT go-COND-1pi
‘Please let us go to the temple of god tomorrow.’

(240) to-te bor̓hia chabi ank-i-as-e, mo pāi go̱ti-e
you(FAM)-DAT beautiful picture draw-CV-can-3s:HAB I:OBL for CL-INDEF
chabi ank-i-di-o̱nt-u-ni?
picture draw-CV-V2:give-COND-2s-NEG
‘You can draw beautiful pictures, could you not draw a picture for me?’

For other means to express a request see 4.2.4.5.

Subordinate use  (i) The Conditional is used in subordinate clauses which express an element of will. The Conditional expresses that the situation is wished for, but no order is expressed by it.

(241) mo-ro iccha tume ebe mo-te go̱ti-e gopō koh-o̱nt-o.
I-GEN wish you(POL) now I-DAT CL-INDEF story say-COND-2p
‘I wish that you would tell me a story now.’

The Future and the Imperative can be used as well in this context: when the speaker uses the Future Simple kohibo, he is more certain that the addressee will fulfill his wish, whereas by using the Imperative Simple kohō the sentence equals an order.

(242) semane cah-il-e kōu̱thi ti̱kie bisrāmo ni-o̱nt-e.
they want-PST-3p somewhere a.little rest take-COND-3p
‘They wanted to take a little rest somewhere.’

However, it should be noted that this is a rather marked way of expression; normally speakers use the iba-form + dative case -ku:

(243) semane kōu̱thi ti̱kie bisrāmo ne-ba-ku cah-il-e.
they somewhere a.little rest take-INF-DAT want-PST-3p
‘They wanted to take a little rest somewhere.’

(ii) The Conditional occurs in subordinate clauses which locate the situation in the domain of the unreal.

(About special knowledge which is required to marry the bride.)

(244) montri bicar-il-a ekut̓ia ja-i se jogi-ṭharu bidya-ṭa
minister consider-PST-3s alone go-CV that y.-ABL knowledge-ART
sikh-i-as-o̱nt-a, . . .
learn-CV-V2:come-COND-3s
‘The minister thought of going alone and learning the knowledge from the yogi. (Continuation: But then he thought that the yogi might not talk to him, so he asked the king to come with him.)’ (Story, see A.3)
Conditional Perfect

The Conditional Perfect refers to a situation which the speaker judges unreal and views as completed.

**Use in conditional sentences** (i) Conditional sentences with Conditional Perfect verb forms are counterfactual, i.e. they could have been true, but they are not true now (for the meaning of the Conditional Perfect with ingressive verbs see below (iii)).

(245)  se जोड़ तिकी ओढ़िको परिश्रमको कौर-इथान्त-अ, पास he if a.little more labour do-PERF-COND-3s p. कौर-ि-पर-इथान्त-अ. do-CV-can-PERF-COND-3s कौर-ि-पर-इथान्त-अ. 'He could have passed if he had worked a bit harder.'

Compare the Conditional Simple:

(246)  se जोड़ तिकी ओढ़िको परिश्रमको कौर-ि-पर-ि-त-अ. he if a.little more labour do-COND-3s p. do-CV-can-COND-3s इथान्त-अ. 'He could pass if he would work a bit harder.'

Other examples:

(Three drunkards wanted to get on the train for Bhubaneswar. The station-master helped them, but the train left before the third man could get on. He apologised to him, “I am sorry, Sir, that you have to remain here, but at least, your friends could get on.” The man answered:)

(247)  चु, मु ब्हुमु नेश्वरो जा-िथान्त-ि. se du-hē mo-te INTERJ I Bh. go-PERF-COND-1s those two-EMPH I-DAT गारि-रे बौ-ा-ि-दे-ि. ghorō-ku pher-िथान्त-े. train-LOC sit-CAUS-CV-V2:give-CV house-DAT return-PERF-COND-3p इथान्त-अ. 'Well, it’s me who needed to go to Bhubaneswar. Those two would have returned home after putting me in the train.'

(A car-mechanic was renovating an old rare car, but then it was destroyed in a house crash.)

(248)  सोजर-अ गारि-ि-रे मुल्यक्रया देि-हो लक्ष्यको तन्का arrange-PTCP car-ART-GEN value about one.and.half lakh rupee हो-िथान्त-अ. become-PERF-COND-3s हो-िथान्त-अ. 'The renovated car might have been worth about 150,000 rupees.'
(ii) In interrogative sentences the Conditional Perfect often conveys a modal nuance.

(An actor had been instructed to kiss a girl in a scene. But he did not do it.)

(249) mū ete loko-nkō samna-re kemiti galō-re kis de-itha-nti!
I so-many people-ABL before-LOC how cheek-LOC k. give-PERF-COND-1s
‘How could I have kissed her on the cheek in front of so many people!’

(250) ete ṭonka kuw-u jogarō kor-i-par-itha-nt-e se!
so.much money where-ABL means do-CV-can-PERF-COND-3p(HON) he
‘Where should he get so much money from!’

In (251) the Conditional Perfect entails the meaning of obligation:

(About a scandal.)

(251) kaha-ro dayitwo th-il-a ebong kie kēū kamō kor-itha-nt-a
who-GEN responsibility be-PST-3s and who which work do-PERF-COND-3s
mo-ro se bisoyō-re jan-iba-ro agarō ho nah-i.
I-GEN that matter-LOC know-INF-GEN interest be:NEG-3s
‘I am not interested to know whose responsibility it was and who should
done which job.’

(iii) In combination with ingressive verbs the Conditional Perfect assumes imperfective aspect function. Consider (252) with the expression Āsubidha he-
‘become / be a problem’, where the Conditional Perfect is used, but the situation
is viewed as ongoing or habitual.

(A teacher asks the children:)

(252) e-porjyōnto bijuli-ro udbhābōna ho-i-no-th-ile kōōn
this-until electricity-GEN invention be-PERF-NEG-AUX-COND CV what
Āsubidha ho-itha-nt-a? — etikā Āsubidha ho-itha-nt-a je,
problem be-PERF-COND-3s such problem be-PERF-COND-3s COMP
proti dina mohōma-botī jolā-i amo-ku tēlibhijon dekk-iba-ku
every day wax-candle burn-CV we-DAT television see-INF-DAT
por-ont-a.
must-COND-3s
‘What would be the problem if electricity would not have been invented
so far? — The problem would be that we would have to light a candle
every day to watch TV.’

Deontic use The Conditional Perfect can express a wish which cannot be fulfilled since its realisation would be in the past.

(253) se mo pāi kichi poisa an-itha-nt-a ki!
he I:OBL for some money bring-PERF-COND-3s PTCL
‘If only he had brought me some money!’
Compare the same sentence with Conditional Simple:

(254) se mo pāi kichi poisa an-ont-a ki!
    he I:OBL for some money bring-COND-3s PTCL
    ‘If only he would bring me some money!’

(255) mū ta-ku mo kyamera-ta dharc de-ich-i. no-de-itha-nt-i
    I he-DAT my c.-ART loan give-PERF-1s NEG-give-PERF-COND-1s
    ki. PTCL
    ‘I have lent him my camera. I wish I hadn’t.’

In combination with ingressive verbs the Conditional Perfect is used to signal imperfective aspect:

(A man is desperately searching for a lodging. He goes to a house and asks the house owner:)

(256) τikie eṭha-re so-itha-nt-i!
    please here-LOC fall.asleep-PERF-COND-1s
    ‘Please let me sleep here (in your house)!’

Subordinate use The Conditional Perfect is used in subordinate clauses having to do with situations viewed as unreal:

(257) somudcro-re ete dhēu uth-il-a je jahajo
    sea-LOC so.many wave get.up-PST-3s COMP ship
    bur-i-ja-itha-nt-a.
    sink-CV-V2:go-PERF-COND-3s
    ‘On the sea the waves were so high that the ship would have sunk.’

Conditional Imperfective

The Conditional Imperfective refers to a situation, which the speaker judges to be unreal and which is viewed as non-completed. This includes progressive and habitual meaning.

(i) The Conditional Imperfective refers to unreal situations which are in progress:

(About a plate which is claimed to be magic.)

    it become-PERF-CONDCV this-ABL heavenly light go.out-IPFV-COND-3s
    ‘If that were the case, then a heavenly light would go out from it.’

The Conditional Perfect baharithanta would mean that the light had come out from it earlier. The Conditional Simple baharonta does not imply that the light would come out all the time.
(259)  e dukho bhog-ith-ile apāna bi amā pori emiti riliph
       this sorrow suffer-PERF-CONDCV you(HON) also we:OBL like like this r.
       mag-utha-nt-e.
       ask-IPFV-COND-3p
       ‘If you had suffered this misfortune, even you would be begging for relief
       as we do.’

Note that both progressive and habitual readings are possible because both
sobudiny ‘always’ and borttman ‘now’ can be inserted.

Consider two examples with habitual reading:

(260)  tume jodi amā pakho-re rōh-utha-nt-ō, ame sobu-dinā
       you(POL) if our side-LOC stay-IPFV-COND-2p we all-day
       rōhār-iba-ku ja-utha-nt-e.
       swim-INF-DAT go-IPFV-COND-1pi
       ‘If you lived near us, we would go swimming every day.’

(If there were no girls in the world, who would bring the drunkards on the right
track?)

(261)  premika no-th-ile birōhā jontro nō-tha-nt-a ki kehi
       mistress NEG-be-CONDCV separation pain NEG-be-COND-3s or anybody
       mōdō pi-u-nō-tha-nt-e.
       wine drink-IPFV-NEG-AUX-COND-3p
       ‘If there were no girls, there would be no pain of separation nor would
       anybody drink alcohol.’

(ii) The Conditional Imperfective is used for wishes, again both with progressive
and habitual meaning.

(262)  se mo pāi kichi poisa an-utha-nt-a ki!
       he I:OBL for some money bring-IPFV-COND-3s PTCL
       ‘If only he would bring me some money (would be bringing)!’

(263)  mū he-le gochā-re cōrh-i-par-utha-nt-i.
       I be-CONDCV tree-LOC climb-CV-can-IPFV-COND-1s
       ‘I wish I could climb the tree (lit. If I were [so], I could climb the tree)!’

4.2.3.5 Imperative

The Imperative includes the following forms:

Simple  aņē  ‘let me bring’
Perfect  anithaē ‘let me bring’
Imperfective anuthaē ‘let me be bringing’

The Imperative is used to express deontic modality (especially for orders) and
indifference and appears in some types of subordinate clauses.
4.2. Finite forms

Imperative Simple

Deontic modality  The meaning of Imperative Simple forms depends mainly on the grammatical person: 2nd and 3rd person Imperative forms convey an order, whereas imperatives in the 1st person are used for requesting permission.

(i) The Imperative Simple is used to convey a request for permission:

(264) mū təmo pāi caa anpē.
     I you(POL):OBL for tea bring-1s:IMP
     ‘Let me (just) bring you some tea.’

In contrast to the Present Progressive anuchi the Imperative Simple anē expresses some determinedness, whereas a clause with Future Simple caa anibiki? conveys an open question “Shall I bring you some tea?”.

(To a child who wants to collect the tea cups.)

(265) mū ago caa pi-i-sarē!
     I first tea drink-CV-V2:finish-1s:IMP
     ‘Let me first finish my tea!’

(At the doctor’s.)

(266) mū taa nari dekhē.
     I his pulse see-1s:IMP
     ‘Let me feel his pulse.’

(A serpent asks Bidyutprabhā to hide it from two men chasing it. She thinks:)

(267) jaha he-u poche, jetebēle bipodē-re poṛ-i mo asṛyō cahūch-i,
     what be-3s:IMP though when danger-LOC fall-CV my shelter want-PROG-3s
     mū eha-kū koṇō bhitor-e luca-i-diē.
     I it-DAT lap inside-LOC hide-CV-V2:give-1s:IMP
     ‘Whatever might happen, when it (i.e. a serpent) wants shelter from
      danger, I shall hide it in my lap.’

The verb form lucaidiē signals immediateness — she does it while saying — whereas the Future Simple lucaidebi would imply that she will do it later. The Present Progressive lucaideuchi would signal a more active attitude than lucaidiē.

(ii) The Imperative with 2nd person is used for orders.

(Talking to a servant boy)

(268) are Kedarō, tu sighro ḍaktorkhana ja. bou pāi e
     INTERJ K. you(FAM) quickly hospital go:2s:IMP mother for this
     osodhō sobu ne-i-ja.
     medicine all take-CV-V2:go:2s:IMP
'Hey Kedāra, go to the hospital quickly. Bring all these medicines for mother.'

(269) tume mo ghora-ku cał-ca.  
you(POL) my house-DAT go-2p:IMP

'Come to my house.'

(270) sar, kete dino he-la-ni bhoka-re och-i, kichi di-ontu.  
S. some day be-PST-3s-MIR hunger-LOC be-1s something give-3p:IMP(HON)

'Sir, I have been hungry for some days, give me something.'

Note that Future and Past verb forms appear in imperative sentences too (see 4.2.4.1).

(iii) The Imperative with 3rd person subject conveys a wish or an order. Wishes marked by Imperative forms can be fulfilled (271a), in contrast to wishes marked by the Conditional (271b).

(271) a. bhogaban tumo obhijaso purṇa kɔr-ontu.  
god your(POL) wish full do-3p:IMP

'May God fulfil your wish.'

b. bhogaban tumo obhijaso purṇa kɔr-ont-e ki!  
god your(POL) wish full do-COND-3p(HON) PTCL

'If only God could fulfil your wish!'

(The hare praises the tiger.)

(272) biradhi-birɔ-bɔɾɔ mɔha-bɔlɔ bagho mɔharajɔ-nkɔ-ro jɔyo he-ʊ!  
majesty-warrior-king great-strength tiger great-king-OBL-GEN victory be-3s:IMP

'Victory to the great king, the magnificent warrior Royal Bengal tiger!'  
(Story)

(Lajjyābatī praises her sister.)

(273) to bholi jhiɔ au to bholi bohu sɔbu  
sabu you(FAM):OBL like daughter and you(FAM):OBL like daughter-in-law all  
maa-nku au sɔbu sasu-nku mɪl-ʊ.  
mother-OBL:DAT and all mother-in-law-OBL:DAT be.available-3s:IMP

'May a daughter like you be found for all mothers and a daughter-in-law like you for all mothers-in-law!'

Passive verb forms can occur with Imperative as well:

(274) juboka-ti-ro nāa dhor-a-ja-u Norohori.  
young.man-ART-GEN name take-PASS-go-3s:IMP N.

'The young man's name be Narahari (lit. the name Narahari be taken).'
Orders concerning a third person are expressed by Imperative 3rd person verb forms.

(The hero has to fight against two giants who live in the forest. The king offers him 100 soldiers. But he denies, “I do not need them.”)

(275) semane jōdi j-ib-e, jōngolo bahar-e roh-ontu.
they if go-FUT-3p j. outside-LOC stay-3p:IMP
‘If they come (lit. go), they shall stay outside the forest.’

(Four princes want to marry Candraprabha. She sets up conditions for each of them.)

bring-3p:IMP(HON)
‘One prince shall bring the Buddha’s alms plate from India.’

Constructions with Imperative 3rd person verb forms are used to make an order more polite. (277a) below is more polite than (277b).

(277) a. apoṇo-nko modyā-pano char-u.
you(HON)-OBL wine-drinking leave-3s:IMP
‘Give up drinking alcohol (lit. your drinking may leave)!’

b. apoṇo modyā-pano char-ontu.
you(HON) wine-drinking leave-3p:IMP(HON)
‘Give up drinking alcohol!’

(The bank director to a couple, “In whose name shall the bank account be opened?” The wife quickly says:)

(278) poti joma kor-uth-ib-e au baharo koriba-ro cdhikaro husband deposit do-IPFV-FUT-3p(HON) and outside do-INF-GEN right kebolo potni-ro roh-u.
only wife-GEN stay-3s:IMP
‘The husband will make deposits and the right to draw money shall be only with the wife.’

**Indifference** The Imperative is used to signal indifference:

(279) tu oneko poisa de ba kom poisa de eqi-ki
you(FAM) much money give:2s:IMP or few money give:2s:IMP here-DAT
as-i-par-u.
come-CV-can-2s:HAB
‘No matter whether you give much money or few money, you can come here.’
(280) se Bisu-dada-nkɔ jhio he-u ki Jisu-dada-nkɔ jhio he-u!
she B.-uncle-OBL daughter be-3s:IMP or J.-uncle-OBL daughter be-3s:IMP
‘No matter whether she is uncle Bisu’s daughter or uncle Jisu’s daughter
[it’s all the same to me]!’

(281) se ghor-e tha-u ki nɔ-tha-u mʊ sɔbubele taa jɔnmɔ-dino-re
she house-LOC be-3s:IMP or NEG-be-3s:IMP I always her birth-day-LOC
khiri kɔr-itha-e.
s. do-PERF-1s:HAB
‘No matter whether she is at home or not, I always make kṣirī (= gruel
made with milk and rice) on her birthday.’

In this use the Imperative verb form is typically accompanied by poche ‘however’
or na kahiki ‘or why’. Note that in (282) the Imperative Simple is parallel to a
construction with the conditional converb + bi, which has the same meaning.

(About the saints.)

(282) jete sadharɔnɔ mɔnisc-tie he-le bi, jete nɔγɔnyɔ
how.much common man-INDEF be-CONDCV ever how.much negligible
praʃi-tie he-u poche semaine sɔmɔstɔ-nku khatir
animal-INDEF be-3s:IMP however they all-OBL:DAT attention
kɔr-ich-oni.
do-PERF-3p(HON)
‘However common a human being may be, however negligible an animal
may be, they have paid attention to everybody.’

(283) poisa potɔ poche nɔ-mil-u
money paper however NEG-be.available-3s:IMP they
semane ɔnciɔ-basi-nko
place-inhabitant-OBL
pāi kichi goʃa-e kɔr-iba-ku nisɔtti ne-ith-il-e.
for some CL-INDEF do-INF-DAT decision take-PERF-PST-3p
‘Whether the money would come or not (lit. let the money not come),
they decided to do something for the local people.’

(284) hatyakari jie he-u na kahiki, ta-ku khoj-i baharo kɔr-iba
murderer who be-3s:IMP or why he-DAT search-CV outside make-INF
pulis-rɔ kamɔ.
p.-GEN job
‘It is the police’s job to search and find out the person whoever the
murderer was.’

Subordinate use The Imperative is used in subordinate clauses, i.e. in indirect orders, in complement clauses of directive verbs and in purposive clauses.
4.2. Finite forms

(285) propheswor-nko iccha th-il-a je ta-nku kōlej-rc protyekc p-OBL wish be-PST-3s COMP he-OBL:DAT c.-GEN every punc-jhio namoskarct kōr-ıntu.
boy-girl greeting do-3p:IMP
‘The professor wished that every student of the college should greet him.’

In the sentence above the Future kōribc and the Conditional kōrnte can replace the Imperative form without change of meaning.

(286) mū cah-ūch-i se no-jañ-u e cek-ṭa ta-ku kie de-ich-i I want-PROG-1s he NEG-know-3s:IMP this ch.-ART he-DAT who give-PERF-3s boli.
COMP
‘I want that he does not know who has sent him this cheque.’

(287) Arunā-ku phon-re kōh-ide sighrō as-u.
A.-DAT ph.-LOC say-CV-V2:give-2s:IMP quickly come-3s:IMP
‘Make a phone call to Arunā and tell him that he should come quickly.’

The purposive clause can be marked by jemiti or jepori (cf. 7.4.6).

(288) khotobɔrɔdaro, bhul-re jemiti kaha-ri-ku no-chû-5.
careful mistake-LOC in.order anybody-EMPH-DAT NEG-touch-2p:IMP
‘Be careful, don’t touch anybody by mistake.’

(In a joke. A wife asks her husband, “Why do you go on the roof when I sing?” He answers:)

(289) eithi-pāi je porosi-mane jepori no-bhab-ıntu je mū this-for PTCL neighbour-PL in.order NEG-think-3p:IMP COMP I
tumc-ku ghɔrɔ bhito-r-e mɔ-a-piṭ-a kōr-uch-i.
you(POL)-DAT house inside-LOC beat-PTCP-beat-PTCP do-PROG-1s
‘It is because the neighbours should not think that I am beating you inside the house.’

Imperative Perfect

The Imperative Perfect is used for the same functions as described for the Imperative Simple.

(i) Used in deontic modality, the Imperative Perfect can express a higher degree of politeness than the Imperative Simple.

(The wind blew away the addressee’s hat.)
4.2.3. Tenses and moods

(290) agyā, apə̃-hia ho-itha-ntu, mū ja-uch-i
INTERJ you(HON) standing be-PERF-3p:IMP(HON) I go-PROG-1s
ṭopī-ṭa-kū ne-i-as-ib-i.
hat-ART-DAT take-CV-V2:come-FUT-1s
‘Sir, please stand here, I am going to fetch the hat.’

The Imperative Simple huñtu is possible as well, but a bit less polite. In the same vein, the Imperative Perfect is less authoritative than the Imperative Simple (in (291) diñtu is a stronger order than deithantu).

(291) apə̃-bohī baβodc-re kichī poisā de-itha-ntu / di-ñtu.
you(HON) book exchange-LOC some money give-PERF-3p:IMP give-3p:IMP
‘Give some money in exchange for this book.’

In other cases the Imperative Perfect implies that the order is valid as long as a condition is fulfilled. The condition may be explicit (293) or not:

(292) tome mo-te kichī poisā di- / de-itha-ð. 
you(POL) I-DAT some money give-2p:IMP give-PERF-2p:IMP
‘Give me some money.’

The Imperative Perfect deitha-ð implies that the speaker will give the money back after some time.

(293) mū pher-iba jae tume mo suṭkes-ku jag-itha-ð.
I return-INF until you(POL) my s.-DAT watch-PERF-2p:IMP
‘Watch my suitcase until I return.’

(ii) When expressing indifference, the Imperative Perfect signals that the situation is viewed as completed.

(Abināśa, Pina’s boyfriend, has written her a letter asking her to come and see him, because he is ill. Pina doubts that he is really ill. Her thoughts are reported by the author:)

(294) ta-kū ne-i Boreipañ-ri jonho dekh-ib-ð boli, emi mīcō-ɾc
she-DAT take-CV B.-GEN moon see-FUT-3s that like.this lie-GEN
asṛc£ ne-itha-ñ poche, hele dehō taa-ɾc ḃhol thà-u.
shepherd take-PERF-3s:IMP however but body he-GEN good be-3s:IMP
‘It is okay that he (i.e. Abināśa) has taken refuge (lit. may he have taken refuge [→ it does not matter to me]) to a lie to go to see the moon of Bareipāni with her (i.e. Pina), but his body must be well!’

(iii) With ingressive verbs the Imperative Perfect is used to express the functions which are otherwise signalled by the Imperative Imperfective (see below). (295) to (297) illustrate the use in orders, (298) the use with the meaning of indifference.
4.2. Finite forms

(To a child.)
(295) semiti bōs-itha.
   like-that sit-PERF:2s:IMP
   ‘Remain seated like that.’
(296) mən-e rōkh-itha-ə,
   mind-LOC keep-PERF-2p:IMP
   ‘Remember, …’

(To a door-guard.)
(297) e medom-nku cih-i-rōkh-itha.
   this m-OBLDAT recognise-CV-keep-PERF:2s:IMP
   ‘Take good notice of this madam!’ (She is always allowed to enter here.)

(About a doctor.)
(298) rogi-ti dhoni ho-itha-u ki goribo ho-itha-u, ḍakara
   patient-ART rich be-PERF-3s:IMP or poor be-PERF-3s:IMP call
   pa-ile se tōtkhyoṇat taa ghor-e pohone-i-ja-nti.
   get-CONCV he immediately his house-LOC arrive-CV-V2:go-3p(HON):HAB
   ‘The patient could be rich or poor, when he got a call, he immediately arrived at his house.’

Imperative Imperfective

The Imperative Imperfective is used in the same contexts as the Imperative Simple, but the situations referred to are viewed as non-completed. In case of orders the situation lasts during a certain period of time which is limited by the context.

(i) The Imperative Imperfective is used in orders.

(299) se amə pāi caa an-utha-u / an-itha-u / an-u!
   he we:OBL for tea bring-IPFV-3s:IMP bring-PERF-3s:IMP bring-3s:IMP
   ‘Let him bring us tea!’

Both the Imperative Perfect and the Imperative Imperfective verb forms refer to a situation where tea should be brought several times, whereas the Imperative Simple is unmarked in this respect. In an order with Imperative Perfect the number of cups is defined; in an order with Imperative Imperfective the number is open.

Other examples:

(300) ghonṭa baj-ib-a porjyaṇtə lekhu-utha-ə.
   bell ring-FUT-PTCP until write-IPFV-2p:IMP
   ‘Keep on writing till the bell rings.’

(Sakhu has been bound to a post since she went to a temple without informing her irreligious family. Her sister-in-law mocks her:)


(301) e thano bhot somayya mil-ib-i, Paṇḍuranga-re mona bhor-i
this time much time be.available-FUT-3s P.-LOC mind fill-CV
colour do-IPFV-2p:IMP
‘Now you have plenty of time, colour and fill your mind with Paṇḍuranga
(i.e. Sakhū’s god).’

Note that the Imperative Imperfective cannot refer to a habitual order; instead, an Imperative Simple form is used.

(302) sobu-dino Somayya *an-utha-ɔ / an-ɔ.
all-day S. bring-IPFV-2p:IMP bring-2p:IMP
‘Bring the Samaṇya (i.e. an Oriya newspaper) every day.’

When the Imperative Imperfective is used in this situation, the order refers to a limited period (e.g. the period where the speaker stays here).

(303) sobu-dino Somayya an-i-ki de-utha-ɔ.
all-day S. bring-CV-CV give-IPFV-2p:IMP
‘Bring the Samaṇya every day (e.g. while I am here).’

(ii) The Imperative Imperfective is used with the meaning of indifference:

(Father to the son: This knife belongs to your teacher. Do you not care about that? — Son:)

(304) se khoj-utha-ntu, sethi-re mo-ro koṇa ja-e-as-e.
he search-IPFV-3p:IMP that-LOC 1-GEN what go-3s:HAB-come-3s:HAB
‘Let him search for it, I don’t care (lit. what goes and comes to me in that).’

4.2.3.6 Present Perfect and Present Progressive

The Present Perfect\textsuperscript{11} and the Present Progressive are formed with the auxiliary \textit{ach}.

Present Perfect anichi ‘I have brought’
Present Progressive anuchhi ‘I am bringing’

\textsuperscript{11} The Present Perfect is the label of a verb form, which expresses Perfect aspect, marked by -i. Other verb forms marked by the Perfect aspect are Habitual Perfect, Past Perfect, Future Perfect, Conditional Perfect and Imperative Perfect (see 4.2.2.2).
4.2. Finite forms

Present Perfect

The Oriya Present Perfect has three of the five functions of a perfect tense mentioned in Bybee et al. (1994): current relevance and experiential use, and resultative use with ingressive verbs.\(^{12}\)

Current relevance The Present Perfect refers to a situation in the past which is relevant for the present moment of speech. This current relevance of the past situation can be of various degrees. It can be direct; consider (305) below, where the fact that the speaker has brought a present implies that the present is now here.

\[(305) \text{mū apōn-ndo pāi choṭo uphārō an-ich-i.} \]
\[\text{I you(HON)-OBL for small present bring-PERF-1s} \]
\[\text{‘I have brought you a small present.’} \]

Other examples are given below, where the situation referred to by a Present Perfect verb form entails a state which lasts for the moment of speech.

\[(306) \text{taa gor-c bhang-ja-ich-i.} \]
\[\text{his leg break-CV-V2:go-PERF-3s} \]
\[\text{‘He has broken his leg.’ (→ His leg is still bad.)} \]

The Simple Past bhangigola does not imply the present state of illness.

(In the middle of the night the wife wakes her husband and says:)

\[(307) \text{ghor-e cor-jos pōs-ich-i,} \]
\[\text{house-LOC thief enter-PERF-3s I thing-thing take-CV-V2:go-PROG-1s} \]
\[\text{tume ta-ku dhōr-ə.} \]
\[\text{you(POL) he-DAT catch-2p:IMP} \]
\[\text{‘A thief has entered the house (→ he is in the house), I shall take the things, you catch him.’} \]

(To a patient.)

\[(308) \text{caa-ta-kō pi-i-di-ə.} \]
\[\text{tea-all drink-CV-V2:give-2p:IMP medicine put-CV-V2:give-PERF-1s} \]
\[\text{‘Drink all the tea. I have put some medicine in it (→ the tea contains the medicine).’} \]

Other linkages are less direct.

(A: Let’s go swimming, Sureṣā! — B:)

\(^{12}\)Bybee et al. (1994, p. 61) mention current relevance, “hot news”, experiential, anterior continuing, and resultative.
(309) kintu mū prətigya kor-ich-i je, se porjyontə pəhər-iba
but I promise do-PERF-1s COMP that until swim-INF
sikh-i-n-i, pənə pakhə-ku j-ib-i-ni.
learn-PERF-NEG-1s water side-DAT go-FUT-1s-NEG
‘But I have promised that as long as I have not learned to swim, I shall
not go near the water.’

(Why is this chicken 150 rupees and the others only 50?)

(310) kəthə koça ki? aji səkal-e ei kukuɾa mo-rc 100 tənk-ia
matter what INT today morning-LOC this chicken 1-GEN 100 rupee-ADJ
not-ti-ku gil-i-de-ich-i.
n-ART-DAT swallow-CV-V2:give-PERF-3s
‘What else? This morning this chicken swallowed a 100 rupees note of
mine.’

(In the court the judge asks the defendant:)

(311) tume ki ɔprədəhə kor-ich-ɔ?
you(POL) what crime do-PERF-2p
‘What crime have you committed?’

In most of these cases the Past Simple can be used as well. The Present Perfect,
however, gives more strength to a statement. Consider (312), where the verb
form gərhichu can be replaced by the Past Simple gərhilu, but then there is no
strength in the statement.

(312) bohu kəstə kor-i ame se dələ-ti gərh-ich-u. amo mojuri
much difficult do-CV we that branch-ART make-PERF-1pe our salary
di-əntəu.
give-3p:IMP
‘We have made that branch with much difficulty. Give us our salary.’

(The young man has told his girl-friend how much he loves her. She is very
skeptical:)

(313) ebe kəh-il-ɔ, tome Ranju-ku mo̱dyə emiṭi bəhələ pa-ɔ
now say-PST-2p you(POL) R.-DAT also like.this good find-2p:HAB
boli koh-ich-ɔ na nahəi?
COMP say-PERF-2p or NEG
‘Now tell me, have you told Ranju as well that you love her so much?’

In (313) above the use of the Present Perfect emphasises the gravity of the fact.
When the Past Simple is used instead of the Perfect, the statement can be
more polite. Consider (314) where the Past Simple verb form poṭhaibonahī is
polite, whereas the Present Perfect poṭhaínahī would be rather rude.

(Banasobhā married recently. Her stepmother asks her father:)}
(314) Bonasobha pakho-ku e-porjyonto kichi gotha-e jinis potha-il-o
B. side-DAT this-until some CL-INDEF thing send-PST-2p
nahi?
NEG

'Did you not send anything to Bonasobha so far?'

The same effect is seen in (315), where the Present Perfect magichi is less polite and the Past Perfect magithili even signals the speaker's disgust.

(A policeman controls car-drivers and asks for their driver's licence. A lady gives him her library card.)

(315) medom, mū apoŋ-nku garĩ-ro laisens mag-il-i. apoŋ mo
m. I you(HON)-OBL:DAT car-GEN 1. ask-PST-1s you(HON) my
hato-ku laibreri karĩ-tae bōha-i-de-ich-onti je?
hand-DAT 1. c.-INDEF give-CV2:give-PERF-3p PTCL

'Madam, I asked you for the car license. And you have given me a library card?'

(The dentist to the patient.)

(316) tumo-ro 2-ţa dantc upar-il-i, di-∅ cari sōho ṭonka.
you(POL)-GEN 2-CL tooth draw-PST-1s give-2p:IMP four hundred rupee

'I drew out two of your teeth, give me 400 rupees.'

The subtle difference in meaning between the Present Perfect and the Past Simple is seen in (317), where a father instructs his son before going on a visit:

(317) ta-nko ghor-e jodi kichi kha-iba-ku di-ōnti, tebe koh-ib-u
they-OBL house-LOC if something eat-INF-DAT give-3p:HAB then say-FUT-2s
— "mū ghor-u kha-i-ki as-ich-i."
i house-ABL eat-CV-CV come-PERF-1s

'When they give something to eat in their house, then you will say, "I came from home having eaten already."'

However, when father and son are there, and the housewife offers some food to the son, he replies with the Past Simple asili, conveying the message that he is not unwilling to eat:

(318) mū to ghor-u kha-i-ki as-il-i.
i PTCL house-ABL eat-CV-CV come-PST-1s

'I came from home having eaten.'

Resultative use In combination with ingressive verbs such as bās- 'sit down', so- 'fall asleep', etc. the Present Perfect form refers to the present state that is the result of a process which has been completed (e.g. sitting down → be seated) (for ingressive verbs see 4.2.2.4).
(i) Let us first look at the function of referring to the present state. The Present Perfect with ingressive verbs has the same function as the Present Progressive with non-ingressive verbs. For example the usual way to express the present state of being asleep is by using the Present Perfect. Compare the meaning with Present Progressive.

(319) se so-ich-i. cf. se so-uch-i.
he fall.asleep-PERF-3s he fall.asleep-PROG-3s
‘He is sleeping.’ cf. ‘He is falling asleep.’

(320) se bos-ich-i. cf. se bos-uch-i.
he sit.down-PERF-3s he sit.down-PROG-3s
‘He is sitting.’ cf. ‘He is sitting down.’

Other examples:

(A gentleman said to his friend, “I have lost in the elections only because of my youth.” The friend asks surprised:)

(321) tume to au juboko ho-i-nah-5, buṛha
you(POL) PTCL more young.man become-PERF-NEG-2p old
ho-i-gol-c-ni.
become-CV-V2:go:PST-2p-MIR
‘But you are not young anymore, you have become old.’

(322) khoira-c-kajo-re bahar-ich-i nisa-drob-yo sebono ko-le
news-paper-LOC go.out-PERF-3s drug-substance consumption do-CONCV
kidi khɔrap ho-i-ja-e.
k. bad become-CV-V2:go-3s:HAB
‘The newspaper states that if you take drugs your kidneys will become bad.’

(323) oja, tumo-rc mudo-rc balo pac-i-ja-ich-i.
grandfather you(POL)-GEN head-GEN hair turn.grey-CV-V2:go-PERF-3s
‘Grandfather, the hair on your head has turned grey.’

(ii) Unlike the Present Progressive, which can have habitual meaning as well, the Present Perfect is not used for habitual situations. The form soichi in (324) is not accepted.

(324) mʊ niti choq ɡhoṇṭa su-e / *so-ich-i.
I usually six hour sleep-1s:HAB sleep-PERF-1s
‘I usually sleep for six hours.’

On the other hand, there are some verbs denoting states, such as geographical descriptions.
(325) e rasta Koṭokā ja-ich-i. 
this road C. go-PERF-3s
'This road goes to Cuttack.'

(326) Gonga nodi Himalīyā-ru bahar-ich-i o Bongopōsagāra-re 
G. river H.-ABL go.out-PERF-3s and Bay.of.Bengal-LOC 
pōr-ich-i. 
fall-PERF-3s
'The river Ganges rises in the Himalayas and flows into the Bay of 
Bengal.'

In all the examples above the Habitual Simple is not possible.

(Teacher to the children.)

(327) pil-e, koh-il-o dekh-i pruthibio condre mādhya-re ki 
child-PL say-PST-2p see-CV earth and moon between-LOC which 
somphorko roh-ich-i? 
connection stay-PERF-3s
'Children, tell me, what relationship exists between the earth and the 
moon?'

(iii) The Present Perfect with ingressive verbs can be used for situations with 
future time reference, parallel to the use of the Present Progressive with non-
ingressive verbs.

(In a joke. In the court the attorney asks the witness how the accused had 
scoled him. He answers that he would be ashamed if he had to tell it before 
gentlemen. The attorney replies:)

(328) tebe mū bahar-e thiā ho-ich-i. tume jōj-saheb-nku se 
then I outside-LOC standing be-PERF-1s you(POL) j-s.-OBL:DAT those 
gali-gurarē sun-e-i-di-o. 
scolding-PL listen-CAUS-CV-V2:give-2p:IMP then I-DAT call-FUT-2p 
'then I'll stand outside. Tell those scoldings to the judge. Then call me 
again.'

**Experiential use** (i) The experiential Present Perfect indicates that a given 
situation was true on at least one occasion in the past.

(329) tume amo pāi goṭi-e upoharē kebe ań-ich-o? 
you(POL) we:OBL for CL-INDEF present ever bring-PERF-2p 
'Have you ever brought us a present?'

you(POL) C. go-PERF-2p yes I there-DAT two time go-PERF-1s 
'Have you been to Cuttack? — Yes, I have been there twice.'
4.2.3. Tenses and moods

(331) mű oneko dinc hela hrɔdɔ-kulɔ-ku bul-i-ja-i-nah-i. I many day for lake-shore-DAT walk-CV-V2:go-PERF-NEG-1s 'I have not been at the lake for a long time.'

The Present Perfect is used to single out an event in the past:

(At a wedding anniversary. A: Who of you two made the first move to marry each other? B:)

(332) dekh-ɔntu, 25 borɔ tɔl-e jëu ghɔtoŋa ghɔ-ti-ja-ich-i, see-3p:IMP 25 year ago-LOC which event happen-CV-V2:go-PERF-3s sethi-pãi aji au kahā-ku dosɔ de-ba-ku cah-ū-n-i that-for today more anybody-DAT guilt give-INF-DAT want-PROG-NEG-1s mû. I 'Look, I do not want to blame anybody for an event that has happened 25 years ago.'

(333) mû jaha kor-ich-i ta-ku ne-i mo-ro kounsì cɔbosɔc nah-i. mû I what do-PERF-1s it-DAT take-CV I-GEN any regret be:NEG-3s I jaha bi kor-ich-i mo-ro iccha sakti-re hî kor-ich-i. seithi-pãi what ever do-PERF-1s I-GEN wish power-LOC EMPH do-PERF-1s that-for jaha mû cah-ich-i, taha mû pa-ich-i. what I want-PERF-1s that I find-PERF-1s 'I do not regret anything that I have done. Whatever I have done, I have done it according to my wish. Therefore I have got what I wanted.'

(ii) The Present Perfect often co-occurs with epɔrjɔntɔ / ejae ‘up to now’ + negation with the meaning ‘not yet’.

(334) mû e-pɔrjɔntɔ upɔharɔ de-i-nah-i. I this-until present give-PERF-NEG-1s 'I have not given a present yet.'

(iii) The experience, however, can be given in a narrative way, and then the Past Simple is used:

(335) bujh-ilɔ bhai, mû dii thorɔ sina baha he-l-i hele understand-PST-2p brother I two time PTCL marriage be-PST-1s but dui-jɔnɔ-jako stri mo-te kebɔlɔ dukhɔ hî de-l-e. two-CL-all wife I-DAT only sorrow EMPH give-PST-3p(HON) 'Listen, brother, though I married twice, both wives only gave me troubles.'

(iv) In narrative texts whole passages can be marked for Present Perfect, when the situations are typical for an earlier time period, e.g. typical for childhood.

(The author writes about his relationship to a girl when he was young.)
(336) mū taa benī-ru gilo koṇṭa karh-ut karhu se koṣṭa-re
I her plait.of.hair-ABL fruit pin draw-ICV RDP she difficult-LOC
nā-ī-por-ich-i. mū oṭho kamur-ich-i se mo-te khoj-ich-i
bend-CV-V2:fall-PERF-3s I lip bite-PERF-1s she I-DAT search-PERF-3s
noi tuṭhō-re. mū ta-ku pa-ich-i jonho rati-re.
river place I she-DAT find-PERF-1s moon night-LOC

‘While I picked out fruit pins from her plait, she hardly bent. I bit my
lips. She looked for me at the river place. I found her in the moon
night.’ (Story)

Other uses (i) The Present Perfect is used in narratives with a function
similar to that of the Past Perfect or Habitual Perfect. In combination with
ingressive verbs it indicates that the state which is the result of the situation
still lasts at the reference point given by the story.

(337) se dīno sakal-u sakalu aṭonka an-i-gōl-a. koṭha koṇc
that day morning-ABL RDP fear bring-CV-V2:go:PST-3s matter what
na eko ondira mōisi mat-ich-i.
or one male buffalo become.mad-PERF-3s

‘On that day in the early morning there was an atmosphere of fear.
What happened? A male buffalo was raging (lit. has become mad).’

(338) khunṭo-re bōndha-ho-ich-i Sākhu. dekhi-il-a jōn-e nari
post-LOC bind-PASS-be-PERF-3s S. see-PST-3s CL-INDEF woman
murtti taa ago-re ubha ho-i taa-ro bōndhono
statue he:OBL before-LOC standing be-CV she-GEN binding
khol-i-de-uch-ōnti
open-CV-V2:give-PROG-3p(HON)

‘Sakhu was bound at the post. She saw that a female figure was standing
in front of her and was opening her chains.’ (Story)

(ii) The Oriya Present Perfect is not used for perfect continuative meaning,
except for ingressive verbs. For non-ingressive verbs the Present Progressive
is used, with or without the light verb as- ‘come’ (see 4.6.2.4).

(339) tome cari masō he-b-o emiti koh-i-as-uch-ō.
you(POL) four month be-FUT-3s like.this say-CV-V2:come-PROG-2p

‘You have been saying this for four months.’

Present Progressive

The Present Progressive indicates that the situation is going on at the present
moment of speech.
(i) The typical use is seen with dynamic verbs.\(^{13}\)

(On the road: Where are you going?)

(340) mü maa-bapa-nkə pāi goti-e upoharcə ən-uch-i.
      I mother-father-OBL for CL-INDEF present bring-PROG-1s
      'I am bringing a present to my parents.'

(341) teume k̄aŋə kor-uch-ə? — mü ciθi-ṭie lekh-uch-i.
      you(POL) what do-PROG-2p I letter-INDEF write-PROG-1s
      'What are you doing? — I'm writing a letter.'

(The son says, "No, I did not break the glass." The father who has seen it
answers:)

(342) michə kəh-uch-ə.
      lie say-PROG-2p
      'You are lying.'

The situation referred to by the Present Progressive can be about to start.

(Master and his servant.)

(343) A: kha-iba-ku de.
      eat-INF-DAT give:2s:IMP give-PROG-1s
      — B: de-uch-i.
      'Give something to eat. — I will serve you.'

(To a doctor: "How much do you take to treat a patient at home?" — "100
rupees." — "And how much do you take to treat a patient in the hospital?" —
"20 rupees." The man decides:)

(344) tebe apono klinik-ku tikie cal-ɔntu, mü rogi-ku
      then you(HON) c.-DAT please go-3p:IMP I patient-DAT
      ne-i-ja-uch-i.
      take-CV-V2:go-PROG-1s
      'Then please go to the clinic, I'm taking the patient with me.'

The Present Progressive is not restricted to situations that are actually ongoing
at the moment of speech. Consider (345), where the subject cannot see the
monkey at the present moment of speech, but still the Present Progressive is
used:

(A tiger is chasing a monkey. On the way he meets a man sitting on a chair
and reading a newspaper.)

(345) agyā, mankɔ-ṭie e pot-e as-iba-rc dekh-uch-ɔnti ki?
      INTERJ monkey-INDEF this side-LOC come-INF-GEN see-PROG-3p(HON) INT

\(^{13}\) According to Bybee et al. (1994) the prototypical use of a progressive is with situations
"where an agent is located spatially in the midst of an activity at reference time". (p. 136)
'Excuse me, Sir, did you see a monkey coming this side (lit. are you seeing)类？'

The Present Progressive is used for ongoing iterative situations:

(About a drunken customer in a restaurant.)

(346) jebe bi eha-ku uṭh-a-ile se kebolo bil mag-uch-i ebong when ever this-DAT get.up-CAUS-CONDCV he only b. ask-PROG-3s and pemenṭ kor-i puni so-i-poṛ-uch-i. p. do-CV again fall.asleep-CV-V2:fall-PROG-3s

'Whenever I wake him up, he only asks for the bill and after having paid the bill he falls asleep again.'

(ii) The Present Progressive is used for habitual situations as well. Note that the Habitual Simple is used in similar contexts; for differences between Habitual Simple and Present Progressive see 4.2.3.1.

(347) sobu-dino sokal-e to mo sanc jhio alarm ghonta-rgb kamɔ all-day morning-LOC PTCL my little daughter a. clock-GEN job kor-i-de-uch-i. do-CV-V2:give-PROG-3s

'Every morning my little daughter does the work of an alarm clock.'

(iii) The Present Progressive is used not only with dynamic verbs but with verbs with stative meaning as well. Note that the Habitual Simple is used in similar contexts; for differences between Habitual Simple and Present Progressive see 4.2.3.1.

(348) jholo lunij lag-uch-i. soup salty taste-PROG-3s

'The soup tastes salty.'

(349) tume du-hē noi bɔrhi-rgb jėu rocɔna lekh-ich-ɔ, taha you(POL) two-EMPH river flood-GEN which essay write-PERF-2p it pura mis-i-ja-uch-i. completely mix-CV-V2:go-PROG-3s

'The essays that both of you have written about the river flood are completely identical (lit. are mixing together completely).'

(iv) The Present Progressive is used in performative sentences where the utterance of the sentence constitutes the act described by the sentence.

(350) mū sobha-rgb udjapɔno ghosɔna kor-uch-i. I meeting-GEN closure declaration do-PROG-1s

'I declare the meeting closed.'
(351) mū khyoma magn-uch-i.
I pardon ask-PROG-1s
'I apologise.'

(Why did you call me?)

(352) to ranq kha-uch-i, mū to-te jomā ḍak-i-n-i.
your(FAM) oath eat-PROG-1s I you(FAM)-DAT at.all call-PERF-NEG-1s
'I swear to you, I have not called you at all.'

(v) The Present Progressive is used for future time reference. It denotes a strong prediction that the situation will take place.

(353) tume sobu rel-gari citro kɔr-utha-o, mū panco minīt
you(POL) all r.-train picture make-IPFV-2p:IMP I five m.
pore as-uch-i.
after-LOC come-PROG-1s
'You all draw a picture of a train, I'll come back in five minutes.'

(354) mū sighra khonq-e jomī kin-uch-i. sethi-pāi kichi dharo kɔr-ich-i.
I quickly piece-INDEF land buy-PROG-1s that-for some loan do-PERF-1s
'I am buying a plot of land soon. I have borrowed some money for the purpose.'

For the distinction between Future and Present Progressive see 4.2.3.3.

(vi) In narratives the Present Progressive is used for situations which last for a certain period of time and serve as background for the story. In this use the Present Progressive can be replaced by the Past Imperfective or by the Habitual Imperfective.

(355) bino se ophis-ru ghɔra-ku pher-uch-onti. bato-re jone
that day he o.-ABL house-DAT return-PROG-3p(HON) way-LOC CL-INDEF
sundor-i mɔhila-nku dekh-i cihn-a-cihn-i lag-il-a.
beautiful-F woman-obl:DAT see-CV recognise-PTCP-RDP-CV apply-PST-3s
'That day he was returning home from the office. On the way he saw a
beautiful woman, and they recognised each other.'

(356) kintu kichi-dın pore dekh-a-gol-a Condɔprobha mɔn-rei
but some-day after-LOC see-PASS-go:PST-3s C.
mind-LOC
sukho nah-i. se sobubele koqo bhab-uch-i ebong belebele
happiness be:NEG-3s he always something think-PROG-3s and sometimes
ekuṭia bɔs-i kand-uch-i.
alone sit-CV weep-PROG-3s
'But after a few days Candrāprabhā seemed to be unhappy. She was
always thinking about something and sometimes she sat alone and wept.'
4.2.3.7 The verbal suffix -\(\text{-ni}\)

The invariable suffix -\(\text{-ni}\)\(^{14}\) can be attached to verb forms inflected for Past Simple, Future Simple and Conditional Simple. The speaker signals that the situation is relevant to the present moment of speech. It adds a modal sense attached to the situation, i.e. it always carries an exclamative character. Note that verb forms with -\(\text{-ni}\) cannot be negated.

**Use with Past** (i) In combination with the Past tense the verb form with -\(\text{-ni}\) has the same temporal meaning as the Present Perfect: it indicates that the situation has happened in the past and has relevance to the present moment of speech. In addition -\(\text{-ni}\) signals that the proposition is surprising for the speaker himself or for the addressee, therefore the gloss MIR for mirative.

(The speaker invites his mother to join a party. She objects, “But we do not have any present to bring with us.” He answers:)

(357) mū goṭi-e upoharā an-il-i-\(\text{-ni}\).
1 CL-INDEF present bring-PST-1s-MIR
‘I’ve (already) brought a present.’

(358) tumō-ku au hato-re luga sōpha kər-iba-ku pər-ib-o nahī.
you(POL)-DAT still hand-LOC clothes clean do-INF-DAT must-FUT-3s NEG
luga-dhu-a jonṭro bahar-il-a-\(\text{-ni}\).
clothes-wash-PTCP machine go.out-PST-3s-MIR
‘You don’t have to wash your clothes by hand any more. Washing machines have been invented.’

(358) above conveys information, which the addressee did not expect. In (359) it is the speaker herself who is surprised:

(A wife combs her husband’s hair. She exclaims:)

(359) hōiho, tōmō cuṭi ete pac-i-gol-a-\(\text{-ni}\), mo-ro
INTERJ your(POL) hair so.much grow.grey-CV-V2:go:PST-3s-MIR I-GEN
jomaru nojoro no-th-il-a.
at.all attention NEG-be-PST-3s
‘My dear, I had never noticed at all that your hair had grown grey so much.’

The equivalent sentence with pacijaichi instead of pacigolani lacks the element of surprise. In (359), -\(\text{-ni}\) is used for a situation which involves a slow change, and suddenly the speaker notices the change.

\(^{14}\)Cf. the suffix -\(\text{-nu}\) ‘hardly’, described in (4.3.5.4).
(360) ajikali bigyano lekha lekh-iba pâi lekhok-nto modhyo-re utsâhâ nowadays knowledge writing write-INF for writer-OBL middle-LOC interest bôr-iba-re lag-il-a-ñi / lag-ich-i.
increase-INF-LOC apply-PST-3s-MIR apply-PERF-3s
‘In these days the interest in writing nonfiction books has increased among writers.’

The Present Perfect lagichi expresses the speaker’s own firm opinion whereas lagilani implies that the speaker heard this fact recently.

In (361) the speaker makes his reproach more immediate by using the suffix -ni.
(The judge to the defendant who used the word saḷâ ‘brother-in-law; rascal’ in its first sense. But the judge feels insulted.)

(361) dekh-ô bôrttoman tome mo-te sola. kîh-il-ô-ñi!
sec-2p:IMP now you(POL) I-DAT brother-in-law say-PST-2p-MIR
‘Look, now you called me saḷâ (abusive name).’

The fact that (362) is accepted shows that the suffix -ni cannot be considered as a resultative marker, since there is no lasting result:

(362) se bôhu barô as-il-a-ñi au gol-a-ñi.
he many time come-PST-3s-MIR and go:PST-3s-MIR
‘He has come and gone many times.’

(ii) It should be noted that surprise does not necessarily imply the use of -ni; consider the following examples:

(While reading a book, the speaker has reached the last page without noticing it.)

(363) bôhi-ôi sôr-i-gol-a!
book-ART finish-CV-V2:go:PST-3s
‘Oh, I’ve finished the book!’

(About a baby.)

(364) se jàldî so-il-a to!
he quickly fall.asleep-PST-3s PTCL
‘How quickly he’s fallen asleep!’

(iii) Verb forms with -ni are used in utterances expressing anger.

(To a servant.)

(365) mû tîni thôra kailing bel bôj-e-i-sar-il-i-ñi, cthâço
I three time c. b. ring-CAUS-CV-V2:finish-PST-1s-MIR nevertheless tu leôdî steno pakhô-re bûs-i premo gorô kôr-uch-u na?
you(FAM) l. s. side-LOC sit-CV love story do-PROG-2s PTCL
'I rang the calling bell three times, nevertheless you are sitting with the lady stenographers and are flirting with them?'

(iv) Verb forms with -ni are used in utterances, which are not meant literally, i.e. joking expressions.

(Two young men were talking. One said, "Hey brother! How are you coping with two wives?")

(366) mū tā goṭi-e stri-re pagolo ho-i-gol-i-ni.
     I     PTCL CL-INDEF wife-LOC mad  become-CV-V2:go:PST-1s-MIR
     I went mad already with one wife.'

The statement is an exaggeration. The verb form without the suffix -ni would be appropriate if the speaker expressed that he had left his wife since he could not stand her any longer. With the Present Perfect hoijaichi the matter is even more serious.

(367) kānā gond-e kha-iba-ku dī-o. peço-re musa kuda
     something mouthful-INDEF eat-INF-DAT give-2p:IMP stomach-LOC mouse jump
     mar-il-e-ni.
     boat PST 3p MIR
     'Give something to eat. The mice are jumping around in my stomach.'

(v) The situation referred to by the verb form with -ni can continue in the present moment of speech.

(368) heiti ghonṭa baj-il-a-ni!
     there bell  ring-PST-3s-MIR
     'There goes the bell.'

(369) liphṭ kamo kor-il-a-ni.
     1. work    do-PST-3s-MIR
     'The lift works again.'

(The phone is ringing. While rising from the seat and going to the phone the speaker says:)

(370) dekh-ē puni kie soka-l-u phon kō-l-a-ntī.
     see-1s:IMP again who morning-ABL ph.   do-PST-3s-MIR
     'Let me see who again is calling in the morning.'

In these contexts the Past Simple + -ni can be replaced by the Present Progressive, e.g. koruchi in (370) above.

(vi) Past Simple forms with -ni are used for habitual situations as well. The verb form helani can be replaced by the Present Progressive heuchi.

(371) e jugō-re bina poisa-re kōū kamō he-l-a-ntī!
     this era-LOC without money-LOC which work  be-PST-3s-MIR
     'Which job is done without money in this day and age!'
(vii) The Past Simple + -ni is used for experiential situations, where it can again be replaced by the Present Perfect, e.g. jaichi in (372), or jaicho in (373).

(Mother warns her son to be careful on the road. He says:)

(372) tu byostɔ ho-ɔ-na maa. kichi ho-bɔ-ni. you(FAM) worried be-2p:IMP-NEG mother anything happen-FUT-3s-NEG kete thɔrɔ to mo upɔr-e urajahɔ gol-a-ni, kichi how:many time PTCL 1:OBL top-LOC airplane go:PST-3s-MIR anything ho-i-n-i. happen-PERF-NEG-3s

‘Don’t worry, mother. Nothing will happen. Many times an airplane has passed over me, and nothing happened.’ (i.e. what can a car do to me?)

(Judge to the defendant.)

(373) tɔme kete thɔrɔ jel gol-ɔ-ni? — agyã, barɔ thɔrɔ. you(POL) how:many time j. go:PST-2p-MIR INTERJ twelve time

‘How many times have you been to prison? — Sir, twelve times.’

(viii) Verb forms with -ni can be used in interrogative sentences. Again the speaker expresses surprise.


‘How many years have you been keeping snakes at home? — I have been keeping the snakes at home since my childhood.’


‘Please bring me the office key, I’m getting late to go to the office. — You have not gone yet?’

**Use with Future and Conditional**  (i) When the suffix -ni is combined with Future tense, the Future always has epistemic meaning. The form corresponds to the Future Perfect and signals surprise.

(The speaker remembers a common friend whom they did not see for a long time.)
4.2. Finite forms

(376) kete-guræ boycø he-bɔ-ɔ-ni ta-nku, nuh-ẽ?
some-PL age be-FUT-3s-MIR he-DAT:OBL be:NEG-3s
‘He must have grown rather old, don’t you think?’

When the verb form is replaced by the Future Perfect hoithibo, there is no surprise in the statement.

(377) tume do-so ghænta hela kamø kor-uch-ɔ. klanto
you(POL) ten hour for work do-PROG-2p tired
ho-i-j-ib-ɔ-ni.
become-CV-V2:go-FUT-2p-MIR
‘You are working for ten hours. You must be exhausted.’

(The speaker talks about himself without revealing his identity. After a while he says:)

(378) e thɔrɔ tume onumane kor-i-sar-ib-ɔ-ni mʊ kie?
this time you(POL) guess do-CV-V2:finish-FUT-2p-MIR I who
‘By now you must have guessed who I am?’

(The speaker arrives home and notices that Susãnta has not come yet.)

(379) mʊ sina bhab-ith-il-i, Susante ghor-e
I PTCL think-PERF-PST-1s S. house-LOC
as-i-pohœnc-i-j-ib-e-ɔ-ni.
come-CV-arrive-CV-V2:go-FUT-3p(HON)-MIR
‘Actually I had thought that Susãnta would have arrived home.’

(ii) The use of the suffix -nĩ in combination with the Conditional is very rare. In these cases -nĩ indicates Perfect meaning, and therefore the verb form corresponds more or less to the Conditional Perfect. Again, some surprise is implicit.

(380) mʊ dœhi an-ont-i-ɔ-ni, kıntu khɔra jogũ mʊ
I curd bring-COND-1s-MIR but heat because I
ja-i-par-u-n-i.
go-CV-can-PROG-NEG-1s
‘I should have brought curd, but I cannot go because of the heat.’

The verb form anontini can be replaced by the Conditional Perfect anithanti.

(Why don’t you marry?)

(381) bujh-il-u, Debi ɔpa, mo bahaghɔrc
understand-PST-2s D. elder.sister my marriage
ho-i-sar-ont-a-ɔ-ni. mono mutabɔko ɔrc
be-CV-V2:finish-COND-3s-MIR mind according bridegroom
no-mɪl-iba-ru e-jae rɔh-ich-i.
NEG-be.available-INF-ABL this-until stay-PERF-1s
'Listen, Debī, my sister, I should have been married already. Since I did not find a bridegroom according to my choice, I have been staying like this so far.'

When the Conditional Perfect hoisarithanta is used, marriage is more likely to happen in the end.

(382) mo pori to munda upor-e jodi bojho thant-a, tu I:OBL like your(FAM) head top-LOC if load be-COND-3s you(FAM) kou din-u babaji ho-i-ja-nt-u-ni. some day-ABL sage become-CV-V2:go-COND-2s-MIR

'If a load were on your head as it is on my head, you would have long become a sage.'

### 4.2.4 Deontic modality

This chapter serves to group the various means hinted at in the preceding paragraphs that are used to express modal categories. No new form will be introduced, except for the prohibitive. Deontic modality includes categories whose meaning contains an element of will (Palmer 1986, p. 96): Imperative, prohibitive (negative imperative), exhortative, optative, admonitive, volitive, obligation.

In addition, ability and permissives are expressed by the modal verb par- ’can’ (see 4.6.4). Epistemic modality is signalled by the Future (strong probability, see 4.2.3.3) or again by the modal verb par- (weak probability).

#### 4.2.4.1 Imperative

(i) The subject pronoun is omitted in Oriya imperatives most of the time. The verb forms used can be displayed in a $3 \times 3$ table with two parameters: TAM (Imperative, Future and Past) and person (2s for familiar address, 2p for polite address and 3p for honorific address):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Past</th>
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<tr>
<td>2 FAM</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>an-ib-u</td>
<td>an-il-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 POL</td>
<td>an-ô</td>
<td>an-ib-ô</td>
<td>an-il-ô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 HON</td>
<td>an-ôntu</td>
<td>an-ib-e</td>
<td>an-il-e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Future and Imperative have aspectual variants (perfect and imperfective), e.g. anuthao ‘keep bringing’, see 4.2.3.3 and 4.2.3.5.

(ii) The two parameters have two different functions: the category of person reflects the relationship between the speaker and the addressee. In a relationship between two persons the same grammatical person marking is constantly used,
corresponding to the choice of the three pronouns tu, tɔme and apona, see 3.3.1.1.

By contrast, the category of tense depends upon the situation in which an order is given.

- Imperatives with Future forms can be more polite or stronger than those with Imperative forms, e.g. anibɔ ‘please bring’ vs. aŋo ‘bring’.

- Imperatives with Past forms either add a nuance of intimacy, e.g. anilo ‘why don’t you bring’ vs. aŋo ‘bring’, or they express the right to determine the addressee’s action (383). The common characteristic of both functions is the speaker’s certainty that the addressee will do what he is told to do.

(To a rickshaw-driver:)

(383) mo-te Jɔɡɔnnathɔ mɔndirɔ-ku ne-i-cal-il-u!
       1s-DAT J.       temple-DAT  take-CV-walk-PST-2s
       ‘Take me to the Jagannath temple!’

(iii) Some text examples with variants illustrate this threefold distinction:

- The text is about the founder of the Sikh religion, Guru Nānāka. Once Babara (the later emperor of Delhi) visited him and brought him money and jewels. But Guru Nānāka said, “My jewels are truth, contentment, patience and knowledge, I don’t need your presents. Take them back again.” In that last sentence the Imperative form is used in Oriya:

(384) eha-ku pher-a-i-ne-i-ja-ɔ!
       this-DAT return-CAUS-CV-V2:take-CV-V2:go-2p
       ‘Take that home again!’

The Future jibɔ ‘(lit.) you will go’ instead of jaɔ would imply a stricter order. But he cannot say jibɔ, because he has no power upon Babara. If the Past goɔ ‘(lit.) you went’ had been used, the reader would infer that they met before, so that there is a certain intimacy. At the same time goɔ signals less respect.

- A beggar asks a passer-by:

(385) babu, caa kha-iba-ku dui tɔnka di-ɔntu!
       HON  tea  eat-INF-DAT two rupee  give-3p:IMP
       ‘Sir, give me two rupees to drink tea!’

15 The verb ja- has the forms goɔ ‘I went’ and jibο ‘I shall go’ (see 4.5).
The verb form used in this imperative sentence is the Imperative form. Using the past dele, he would be exerting his right to beg (in this context it would mean a stronger request), whereas the Future debe would be either more like an order (instead of a request) or more polite.

- A woman says to her doctor:

(386) dekh-ontu, eha-nkɔ-ro osusthɔta-ro karonɔ he-l-a nakɔ-ro see-3p:IMP this-OBL-GEN sickness-GEN reason be-PST-3s nose-GEN
byadhi.
disease
‘Look, the reason for his sickness is a nose disease.’

The Past form dekhile conveys an additional tone of complaint; the Future dekhibe, which would resemble to an order, is not possible, since the patient has no right to give orders to her doctor.

- In (387) the Future nebo is used: it signals a strong order (therefore no Imperative form), given by the king, with whom the subjects do not have an intimate relationship (therefore no Past form).

(387) tume duhê se bosta dui-ti-ku bekɔ-ru you(POL) two-EMPH those bag two-ART-DAT neck-ABL
jhul-a-i ghɔr-ku ne-b-ɔ.
hang-CAUS-CV house-DAT take-FUT-2p
‘You two, hang these bags around your neck and take them home.’

- For orders given in anger, only the Imperative is used. Consider (388):

(In a shop a customer complains about the high price of a tie. He says, “For this price one could buy a pair of shoes!” The vendor angrily replies:)

(388) hɔl-e jota apɔŋo-nkɔ goła-re bandh-ontu!
pair-INDEF shoe you(HON)-OBL neck-LOC bind-3p:IMP
‘Tie a pair of shoes around your neck!’

(iv) When the speaker wants to express emphasis, he can use both a Future and Imperative verb form at the same time, conjoined by the particle to:

(A beggar has asked a gentleman for money. But instead of giving money, the gentleman starts to question him and inquire about the beggar’s situation. Finally the beggar says:)

(389) apɔŋo mo-te kichi kha-iba pāi poisa de-b-e to di-ontu,
you(HON) I-DAT something eat-INF for money give-FUT-3p PTCL give-3p:IMP
nohele mȕ cal-il-i.
otherwise I go-PST-1s


'Do give me money to eat something, or else I am gone.'

(v) There are some expressions that are typically used to make an order or a request more polite, e.g. tikie / tike 'please', doya kori 'Would you please ...' (doya 'kindness'), onugroko kori 'Would you please ...' (onugroko 'favour').

(390) tikie pani an-ontu!
please water bring-3p:IMP
'Please get some water!'

(391) apro doya kor-i bicaropoti Rao-nku ethi-re sahajyo
you(HON) kindness do-CV judge R.-OBL:DAT this-LOC help
kor-ib-e!
do-FUT-3p
'Would you please help judge Rão in this matter?'

4.2.4.2 Prohibitive (negative imperative)

The imperatives are negated either by suffixing -na(hi) / -ni or by prefixing no- (only with proper Imperative forms):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 FAM an-na / -ni</td>
<td>no-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 POL an-o-na(hi) / -ni</td>
<td>no-an-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 HON an-ontu-na(hi) / -ni</td>
<td>no-an-ontu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that neither the Past forms nor the Future and Imperative Imperfective and Perfect forms can be used in negated imperatives.

The negated imperative with preposed no- semantically differs from the other forms by conveying either rather an advice than an order (392) or by indicating the speaker’s indifference about it (393).

(392) kheł-na!
play:2s:IMP-NEG
'信息安全!' (neutral) 'Don't play.' (I advise you not to play.)

(393) tu no-kheł-ib-u jodi, no-kheł!, se kheł-ib-o.
you(FAM) NEG-play-FUT-2s if NEG-play:2s:IMP he play-FUT-2p
'If you don’t play, then don’t play, he will play.'

(394) tume poche no-ne-le no-ni-o!
you(POL) ever NEG-take-CONDCV NEG-take-2p:IMP
'And if you never take, then do not take (it does not matter to me).'

There is an additional "pseudo-negative" imperative, formed with the inflected negative markers nah- / n-, which are added to the stem + u. These markers
are stressed, when used for signalling politeness; when they indicate negation, the main verb is stressed.

2 FAM an-u-nahũ ñ an-u-nu ‘bring!’
2 POL an-u-nahũ / an-u-ño
2 HON an-u-nahanti

(395) A: kichi no-bhab-ile, pocar-ont-i. — B: pocar-u-nah-anti!
   anything NEG-think-CONDCV ask-COND-1s ask-IPFV-NEG-3p
   pocar-ontu, pocar-ontu!
   ask-3p:IMP ask-3p:IMP
   ‘A: If you don’t mind, I’d like to ask (you something). — B: Don’t hesitate (lit. don’t ask). Ask, please ask!’

(The speaker wants to play a card game with a child.)

(396) alo, Gouri mo pakho-ku aa. an, an-u-n-u
   INTERJ G. I:OBL side-DAT come:2s:IMP bring:2s:IMP bring-IPFV-NEG-2s taso!
   card
   ‘Hey, Gaurĩ, come to me. Bring the cards!’

Negated Past forms can be used in the same way as the pseudo-negative described above:

(The servant: “It is dark outside, I cannot see anything.” The gentleman:)

(397) alo hunq-i, lṉ̣thɔnɔ-ta sangɔ-re ne-i-ki gol-u-ni!
   INTERJ fool-F lantern-ART with-LOC take-CV-CV go:PST-2s-NEG
   ‘Hey, you idiot, take the lantern and go!’

4.2.4.3 Exhortative

The 1pi form of Future is used as exhortative: “Let us …”, typically reinforced by calo (lit. 2p HAB of cal- ‘walk’).

(398) a. calo randh-ib-a!
   EXHORT cook-FUT-1pi
   ‘Let’s cook!’
   b. calo aji au randh-ib-a-ni!
   EXHORT today more cook-FUT-1pi-NEG
   ‘Let’s not cook today!’

(399) e ambo-guriko tol-ib-a nahi; eguriko ahuri pac-i-nah-i.
   these mango-PL pick-FUT-1pi NEG they more ripen-PERF-NEG-3s
   ‘Let’s not pick these mangoes; they (i.e. mangoes) are not ripe yet.’
(400) ame bohut kotha koh-il-e-ni; as-c kamc arombho kor-ib-a.
    we much matter speak-PST-1pi-MIR come-2p work start do-FUT-1pi
    'We have talked a lot; come, let’s start working.'

Note that the Imperative paradigm comprises only a 1p exclusive form and no 1p inclusive form. Instead the Future form is used (401); the 1pe Imperative form is used when addressing a third party who allows the speaker and someone else to do the action (exclusive use), e.g. randhu in (402).

(401) calo ghoro-ku j-iba!
    EXHORT house-DAT go-FUT-1pi
    'Let’s go home!'

(402) ame tikie aji randh-u!
    we please today cook-1pe:IMP
    'Let us please cook today!'

4.2.4.4 Optative

The Imperative forms are used to express wishes (optative use). This includes prayers, blessings and curses.

(403) caa-ṭa tikie thonga ho-ja-u!
    tea-ART please cold be-CV-V2:go-3s:IMP
    'Let the tea become cold!' (The speaker has been offered tea, but it's too hot to drink.)

(404) bhogoban! ame besi dinc bonc-u!
    god we many day live-1p:IMP
    'God! May we live many days!'

(405) tomọ sotrur-Mane dhawonso ho-ja-ntu!
    your(POL) enemy-PL destruction be-CV-V2:go-3p:IMP
    'May your enemies be destroyed!'

(406) dui-ṭa bhikhya mil-u!
    two-CL alms be-available-3s:IMP
    'Two rupees, please!' (lit. May there be available two alms! = a Brahmin beggar's polite request)

Note that optative sentences are negated by preposed na- (see 6.4.1.2).

(407) e gochɔ-re kebe phɔlp na-ho-u!
    this tree-LOC ever fruit NEG-be-3s:IMP
    'May this tree never bring fruit again!'

(408) tomọ proti kichi durghotoṇa na-ho-u!
    you(POL):OBL towards any accident NEG-happen-3s:IMP
    'May no accident happen to you!'
4.2.4.5 Requests

This section subsumes the various means to express the request for permission to do something. The following sentences all presuppose the same situation: The speaker would like to take and hold the addressee’s baby for a while.

(i) par- ‘can’ + Future: extra polite request

(409) mū tomo pila-ku tikie dhor-i-par-ib-i ki?
    I your(POL) child-DAT please hold-CV-can-FUT-1s INT
    ‘May I hold your baby please?’

(ii) par- ‘can’ + Habitual: polite request

(410) mū tomo pila-ku tikie dhor-i-par-e ki?
    I your(POL) child-DAT please hold-CV-can:HAB-1s INT
    ‘May I hold your baby please?’

(iii) Future: unmarked request

(411) mū tomo pila-ku tikie dhor-ib-i ki?
    I your(POL) child-DAT please hold-FUT-1s INT
    ‘May I hold your baby please?’

(iv) Progressive: spoken while taking the baby, presupposes familiarity

(412) mū tomo pila-ku tikie dhor-uch-i?
    I your(POL) child-DAT please hold-PROG-1s
    ‘May I hold your baby please?’

(v) Simple Past: same as Progressive, but stronger: a negative answer would require an explanation.

(413) mū tomo pila-ku tikie dhor-il-i?
    I your(POL) child-DAT please hold-PST-1s
    ‘May I hold your baby please?’

(vi) Imperative: strong request

(414) mū tomo pila-ku tikie dhor-e!
    I your(POL) child-DAT please hold-1s:IMP
    ‘Let me hold your baby please!’

The same variants can be listed for other requests, e.g. the request for water. In (415) all variants are requests, from left to right with decreasing politeness; the speaker waits for an answer. By contrast, the two variants in (416) presuppose a context where the speaker helps himself.
4.2. Finite forms

(415) mū tikie pani pi-i-par-ib-i / pi-i-par-e / pi-ib-i / pi-e?
    please water  drink-CV-can-FUT-1s  drink-CV-can-1s:HAB  drink-FUT-1s

    drink-1s:HAB

    ‘May I have some water please?’

(416) mū tikie pani pi-uch-i / pi-il-i?
    please water  drink-PROG-1s  drink-PST-1s

    ‘May I have some water please?’

In this context the usual expressions for taking leave may be noted, which
are said just before leaving (the second variant with as- ‘come’ implies more
familiarity and is used among friends):

    go-PROG-1s  come-PROG-1s  yes

    ‘Good bye!’ (lit. I’m going? / I’m coming?) — ‘Good bye!’ (lit. Yes.)

Deliberative sentences “Shall I ...?” are expressed in the same way:

(418) mū tamo-ku sahajyo kor-i-par-ib-i / kor-i-par-e /
    I  you(POL)-DAT  help  do-CV-can-FUT-1s  do-CV-can-1s:HAB

    kor-ib-i?
    do-FUT-1s

    ‘Shall I help you?’

(419) mū riksa-bala-ku kete ṭonka de-b-i?
    I  r.-N.AG-DAT  how.much rupee  give-FUT-1s

    ‘How much shall I give to the rickshaw-driver?’

One of the most formal way to ask for permission is to use onumoti mil- ‘per-
mission is available to’.

(420) mo-te apona-ngi-thu ghoro-ku jiba-ku onumoti
    I-DAT  you(HON)-OBL-ABL  house-DAT  go-INF-DAT  permission

    mil-u?
    be.available-3s:IMP

    ‘Would you please allow me to go home!’ (lit. May the permission for
    me to go home be granted by you!)

4.2.4.6 Admonitive

Besides imperative sentences (see 4.2.4.1), two other constructions are used to
express a warning (i.e. an admonitive): ki naḥi, or the conditional converb +
bholo (huonta), which is more polite.
(421) tome ebe j-ib-ɔ  ki nahi!
you(POL) now go-FUT-2p or NEG
‘You should better go now!’ (lit. You’ll go now, or else …)

(422) tome e pani no-ne-le  bholo (hu-ɔnt-a).
you(POL) this water NEG-take-CONDCV good be-COND-3s
‘You should better not drink this water.’ (lit. If you don’t drink this water, it would be good.’

4.2.4.7 Volitive

The intention to do something is indicated either by the Future, explicitly by the verb cah- ‘want’ or by the conditional converb + bholo (huɔnta). The variants go from least to most polite.

(423) a. mú ṭikie caa pi-ib-i.
    I please tea drink-FUT-1s
b. mú ṭikie caa pi-iba-ku cah-ũch-i / cah-ũth-il-i.
    I please tea drink-INF-DAT want-PROG-1s want-IPFV-PST-1s
c. mú ṭikie caa pi-ile bholo hu-ɔnt-a.
    I please tea drink-CONDCV good be-COND-3s
‘I would like to have some tea.’

4.2.4.8 Obligation

Oriya has various expressions to convey the sense of obligation; all of them are combined with the iba-form with/without a case marker.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>construction</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>experiencer case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>verb + iba-ku he-</td>
<td>‘must; be, become’</td>
<td>dative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>por-</td>
<td>‘must; fall, lie’</td>
<td>dative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb + iba ucit</td>
<td>‘should’</td>
<td>nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dorkar</td>
<td>‘need’</td>
<td>genitive / dative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kɔtha(^{16})</td>
<td>‘should’</td>
<td>nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb + iba-rɔ och-</td>
<td>‘should, be to’</td>
<td>genitive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(i) Obligation expressed by he- or por- is stronger than that expressed by ucit or dorkar.

(424) tomə-ku bapa-maa-nku man-iba-ku por-ib-ɔ /
you(POL)-DAT father-mother-OBL:DAT obey-INF-DAT must-FUT-3s
hɔ-b-ɔ.
be-FUT-3s

\(^{16}\)Cf. the noun kɔtha ‘matter, speech’.
‘You must obey your parents.’

(425) tome tome bapa-maa-nku man-iba ucit / dorkar.
you(POL) your(POL) father-mother-OBL:DAT obey-INF should need
‘You should obey your parents.’

(ii) When dorkar and ucit denote situations with other than present time reference, they are combined with he- ‘be’ or por- ‘fall’. Consider situations with future time reference or with unrealis interpretation:

(426) ehi riport-ku sadharo-re prakas kor-iba ucit he-b-o nahi.
this r.-DAT public-LOC publish do-INF should be-PUT-3s NEG
‘It won’t be necessary to announce this report in public.’

(If there were no women, how could the men sew on their buttons?)

(427) jodi sansar-ko stri-loko no-tha-nt-e, purusā-manā-nku botamā
if world-LOC woman-person NEG-be-COND-3p man-PL-OBL:DAT button
logi-iba dorkar por-i-no-tha-nt-a.
apply-INF need fall-PERF-NEG-AUX-COND-3s
‘If there were no women in the world, the men would not have to sew on buttons at all.’

(iii) kotha ‘should’ expresses that the event referred to will not necessarily take place; on the contrary, it can imply that the event does not or did not take place (non-actuality).

(A student to the teacher.)

(428) sar, mo-ryo racona-ti nimonte mū bhab-u-n-i je, mū suno
S. I-GEN this essay-ART for I think-PROG-NEG-1s COMP I zero
pa-iba kotha.
get-INF should
‘Sir, I do not think that I should get zero (points) for this essay of mine.’

(A man asks his wife’s boss whether she has come to work. The boss answers:)

(429) tu sina jan-iba kotha. mo-te koço pocar-uch-u?
you(FAM) PTCL know-INF should I-DAT INT ask-PROG-2s
‘You should know it. Why do you ask me?’

(430) hato-bari-ti tumo-ro sejo upor-e no-rō-i ghōro kono-re
hand-stick-ART you(POL)-GEN bed top-LOC NEG-stay-CV room corner-LOC
rō-iba kotha.
stay-INF should
‘The walking-stick should be in the corner of the room, not on your bed.’
(iv) The copula och- / tha- combined with an iba-form + genitive case marker is a more general expression meaning ‘there is something to do for’. According to the context, it can or cannot signal obligation.

(431) mo-ro apɔŋɔ-nku goṭi-e jinisɔ mag-ib-a-ro och-i.
I-GEN you(HON)-OBL:DAT CL-INDEF thing ask-INF-GEN be-3s
‘I should ask you something.’

(432) mʊ to kichi suṁ-i-par-u-n-i, apɔŋɔ-nkɔ jaha
PTCL anything hear-CV-can-PROG-NEG-1s you(HON)-OBL what
koh-iba-ro och-i lekh-i-di-ontu.
say-INF-GEN be-3s write-CV-V2:give-3p:IMP
‘I cannot hear anything, write down what you have to tell.’

(433) Ramɔ-babu-nkɔ potni-nkɔ-ro pilapili he-ba-ro th-il-a.
R.-HON-OBL wife-OBL:GEN children happen-INF-GEN be-PST-3s
‘Rāma’s wife was (about) to bear a child.’

(v) The effect of negation depends upon the position of the negative element. When the main verb is negated by preposed no-, the obligation remains (‘must not, should not’).

(434) tome tome bapa-maa-nku no-man-iba ucit.
you(POL) your(POL) father-mother-OBL:DAT NEG-obey-INF should
‘You should not obey your parents.’

When the modal auxiliary is negated, both interpretations are possible. Either the obligation is negated, as in the following examples:

(435) tome tome bapa-maa-nku man-iba on-ucit / ucit
you(POL) your(POL) father-mother-OBL:DAT obey-INF NEG-should should
nuh-ē.
be:NEG-3s
‘It is not necessary that you obey your parents.’

(436) bimano jatri-mano-nkɔ ɔdhiko somɔyo ɔpekhyo kor-iba-ku
airplane passenger-PL-OBL:DAT more time waiting do-INF-DAT
por-ib-a nahi.
must-FUT-3s NEG
‘The air-passengers won’t have to wait a long time.’

Or the negation refers to the event denoted by the main verb.

(437) e-bhoļi ghọtona-ku rajyo ɔrɔkɔrɔ-nkɔ-ro ɔti haluka boli
this-like event-DAT state government-OBL-GEN very light COMP
bhab-iba ucit nuh-ē.
think-INF should be:NEG-3s
‘The state government should not consider such an event to be very harmless.’
4.3 Nonfinite verb forms

From a strictly formal point of view, two types of nonfinite verb forms can be recognised in Oriya: participles and converses. They are called nonfinite since they lack person and number agreement. The formative elements are listed in Table 4.7 with their function. In addition there is a form ending on -onta, which is not productive anymore.\(^\text{17}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Simple</th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-form</td>
<td>ḍa-a</td>
<td>an-i-th-iba</td>
<td>an-u-th-iba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iba-form</td>
<td>ḍa-iba</td>
<td>an-i-th-iba</td>
<td>an-u-th-iba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ila-form</td>
<td>ḍa-il-a</td>
<td>an-i-th-il-a</td>
<td>an-u-th-il-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspectual converb</td>
<td>ḍa-il-a</td>
<td>an-i-th-il-a</td>
<td>an-u-th-il-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional converb</td>
<td>ḍa-il-e</td>
<td>an-i-th-il-e</td>
<td>an-u-th-il-e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- i  perfective aspect
- u  imperfective aspect
- ib (elsewhere future tense)
- il (elsewhere past tense)

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simple</td>
<td></td>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>Imperfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Their function is given very briefly in the following overview:

- **a-form**: It is used like a verbal noun and like a perfect participle.
- **iba-forms**: They are used in nominal and attributive position.
- **ila-forms**: They are used in nominal and attributive position.\(^\text{18}\)

---
\(^{17}\)Only the a-form is unambiguous. All other forms, which are historically derived from a participle (Tripathi 1962, p. 164), have a homonymous finite verb form. The endings and their corresponding finite forms are:

- onto-a = 3s Conditional
- -i-l-a = 3s Past
- -ib-a = 1p incl Future
- -il-e = 3p Past

\(^{18}\)Note that the affixes -iba and -ila are only formally identical with the Future and Past tense markers respectively. In nonfinite forms they have no tense meaning.
• General converb: The converb in -i is mainly used with perfective meaning and functions as sequential converb.

• Imperfective and conditional converbs: The labels of the forms correspond to their functions.

The suffix -a will be referred to as participial marker (PTCP). Note that it is homophonous with the causative morpheme -a (see 4.1.1); both can be attached to the bare verb stem and trigger the same morphophonological processes. They derive, however, from different historical sources. The application of both causative and participial marker in sequence to the same verb is not possible (e.g. *khel-a-a ‘making play’).

stem khel- ‘play’ an- ‘bring’
stem+PTCP khel-a ‘played’ on-a- ‘broken’
stem+CAUS khel-a- ‘make play’ on-a- ‘make bring’

There is a clear formal distinction: the participial marker -a always occupies the final position in a verb form, whereas the causative -a is always attached directly to the stem.  

The nonfinite forms listed above will now be described in detail.

4.3.1 The a-form

When the participial marker -a is added, verbs with stem vowel /a/ change to /o/.

cir- ‘tear’ cir-a ‘torn’
kund- ‘carve’ kund-a ‘carved’
randh- ‘cook’ randh-a ‘cooked’
sojar- ‘arrange’ sojar-a ‘arranged’

Besides the attributive use, which is described below, the a-form occurs as verbal noun (see 7.5 for gerundial clauses).

(1) semano-nko kothabartta bel-e ghoro tol-a bondo
they-OBL conversation time-LOC house build-PTCP finish
tha-i-par-e.
be-CV-can-3s:HAB
‘At the moment of their conversation, the building of the house may have been finished.’

19There is a third suffix -a which derives verbs from nouns (see 4.1.2). But this is clearly a different suffix because the morphophonological change illustrated above does not apply (e.g. anṭhu ‘knee’, but anṭh-a- ‘kneed’ instead of *aṇṭh-a-).

20For irregular verbs see 4.5.
(To a baby who should sleep, but opens his eyes again and again.)

(2) ie ki akhi buj-a?
  this what eye close-PTCP
  ‘What is this eye-closing?’

The semantics of the a-form used attributively are not entirely predictable. Most of the a-forms denote the result of the completed action referred to by the verb stem (they correspond to perfect participles in other languages).

(3) di-a jinisɔ ‘a given thing’
  kot-a poriba ‘cut vegetables’
  libh-a aluɔ ‘a lamp which is not on (lit. switched-off)’

(4) a. couki-ta bhong-a.
    chair-ART break-PTCP
    ‘The chair is broken.’

b. e ghor-e kete-ta bhong-a couki och-i
   this house-LOC some-CL break-PTCP chair be-3s
   ‘There are some broken chairs in this house.’

(5) rel-steson etha-ru 10 miniti-ru col-a baṭo.
    r.-s. here-ABL 10 m.-GEN walk-PTCP way
    ‘The railway station is a ten minutes’ walk away from here.’

(6) se goribo lokɔ-manɔ-nku corh-a sudho dora-re runɔ
    he poor people PL-ABL:DAT raise-PTCP interest rate-LOC loan
    de-uth-il-e.
    give-IPFV-PST-3p(HON)
    ‘He used to give loans to poor people with raised interests.’

Other a-forms have agentive or locative usage:

(7) bhuk-a kukuɔ ‘barking dog’
    bul-a bikalĩ ‘hawk (lit. walking vendor)’
    bur-a jahajɔ ‘submarine (lit. sunken ship)’
    cokh-a lokɔ ‘taster (lit. tasting person)’
    kamar-a kukuɔ ‘biting dog’

(8) dok-a jaga
    call-PTCP place
    ‘a place to which one is called’

In some restricted cases determiners can be added:
4.3.2. The ont-a-form

(9) ḫaŋ ḷoŋ-a ḷoṭoni 'bone breaking labour'
luḥo buẖ-a akhi 'tearful eye (lit. tear-flowing)'
poṭi ḫor-a mohila 'widow (lit. husband-lost woman)'
祎a jol-a sigareṭ 'half-burnt cigarette'
machō kot-a churi 'fish-cutting knife (special knife)'
ṭiket log-a lophapha 'stamped envelope (lit. stamp-applied)'
musa mør-a oschão 'rat-poison (lit. mice killing medicine)'
khoḍoṛo pindh-a loko 'person who wears a Khaddar (sp. cloth)'
cf. pindh-a luga 'worn cloth'

Other combinations are ungrammatical, compare (10) below with (4) above:

(10) *pura bhōnga cōuki cf. pura bhang-i-ja-ith-iba
completely break-PTCL chair completely break-CV-V2:go-PERF-INF
 cōuki
chair
'a completely broken chair'

In some few cases, the a-forms can be negated by preposed ḫ-, which is the negative marker for adjectives.

(11) ḫ-bhōng-a cōuki 'an intact (lit. unbroken) chair'
 ḫ-dekh-a kōtha 'invisible thing'
 ḫ-dhu-a muḥō 'unwashed face'

As has been shown above, the participial use of the a-form is no longer productive. Other devices, such as iba-forms (12) or participles loaned from Sanskrit (e.g. citrītō kanthō 'painted wall') are preferred.

(12) sōr-i-ja-ith-iba kamo
finish-CV-V2:go-PERF-INF work
'finished work'

4.3.2 The ont-a-form

There are only very few ont-a-forms that currently occur in the common language, all having a separate entry in a dictionary, e.g. ji-ont-a 'living', cf. ji-'live'; pher-ont-a 'returning', cf. pher- 'return'. They indicate an ongoing process. Cf. the expressions as-ont-a kāli 'tomorrow (lit. coming time)' and jōl-ont-a mohōmc-botī 'a burning wax candle'.

(13) loko-ṭi col-ont-a gāri-ru ḍē-ī-por-il-a.
person-ART move-PTCP train-ABL jump-CV-V2:fall-PST-3s
'The man jumped from the moving train.'
(14) **ur-onta corhei-ku soro mar-iba sohojo nuh-e.**
fly-PTCP bird-DAT arrow shoot-INF easy be:NEG-3s
‘Shooting a flying bird is not easy.’

Compared with other forms used as participles, the *onta*-form is seen as belonging to a more formal style.

### 4.3.3 The *iba*-form

The nonfinite *iba*-form has three aspectual forms:

- **Simple** aniba ‘bringing’
- **Perfect** anithiba ‘having brought’
- **Imperfective** anuthiba ‘being bringing’

The *iba*-forms can have nominal as well as attributive function.

#### 4.3.3.1 Nominal function

As a nominal the *iba*-form takes all case markers and postpositions like nouns:

- **nominative** an-iba ‘bringing’
- **dative** an-iba-ku ‘to bring’
- **genitive** an-iba-ro ‘of bringing’
- **ablative** an-iba-ru ‘because of br.’
- **locative** an-iba-re ‘in bringing’
- **postposition** an-iba pore ‘after bringing’

Verbal noun in subject function
Purposive
Adnominal, complement of perception verbs
Cause
Specification
Various meanings

The semantics and syntax of the *iba*-forms with the various cases and postpositions will be discussed in 7.4. In this section we will focus on various aspectual functions.

(i) The *iba*-form with the bare root (Simple form) can be contrasted with the Imperfective and the Perfect *iba*-forms. It seems to be neutral with regard to aspect. It is normally this Simple form, which is used as complement of verbs, such as *sikh-* ‘learn’ and *char-* ‘give up’ below, and with many postpositions such as *purboru* ‘before’, *pore* ‘after’, and others.

(15) mû panço borscro-ru he-la por-e gañ-iba sikh-ith-il-i.
I five year-GEN be-INF:PST after-LOC count-INF learn-PERF-PST-1s
‘I had learnt to count when I was five.’

(16) mû koço tumo-ku kebe bholo pa-iba char-ich-i?
I INT you(POL)-DAT ever good find-INF leave-PERF-1s
‘Have I ever stopped loving you?’
(17) tumo-ku sara rati bahar-e buliba au dheri-re ghoro-ku
you(POL)-DAT all night outside-LOC walk-INF and late-LOC house-DAT
as-iba koeca laja lag-u-n-i?
come-INF INT shame feel-PROG-NEG-3s
'Are you not ashamed of walking around all night and of returning home late?'

The fact that sobudino 'always' can be inserted in (17) rather excludes an interpretation of buliba in perfective terms.

The Simple iba-form can replace both the Perfect iba-form and the Imperfective iba-form.

(18) etha-ku Gita as-iba kotha ta-nku koh-ib-u-ni!
here-DAT G. come-INF matter he-OBL:DAT say-FUT-2s-NEG
'Do not tell him about Gita's coming here!'

The Simple form can be interpreted in both ways: either Gita has come (in this case the Perfect form asithiba can be used) or Gita is on the way here (in that case the Imperfective form asuthiba can be used).

(ii) The Perfect iba-form signals that the situation has been completed at the reference time, which is determined by the main clause verb. This normally implies that the situation marked by the iba-form happened prior to the situation expressed in the main clause.

(19) mū sobu-dino kolej-ku ja-ith-iba bel-e Sita as-i-ki
I all-day c.-DAT go-PERF-INF time-LOC S. come-CV-CV
polon-c-e.
arrive-1s:HAB
'Every day when I have gone to college Sita arrives.'

Note that the Simple form jiba in (19) indicates that the speaker's going to college and Sita's arrival happen to occur at the same moment ('every day when I go to college Sita arrives').

In combination with ingressive verbs the Perfect iba-form assumes the function of Imperfective aspect, e.g. soithiba bele means 'while sleeping' or porithiba bele 'while lying'.

(20) mū ta-ku ahote abostha-re rosei ghoro cōtan-c-re
I he-DAT injured condition-LOC cooking room floor-LOC
por-i-roh-ith-iba-ro dekh-ith-il-i.
lie-CV-V2:stay-PERF-INF-GEN see-PERF-PST-1s
'I had seen him lying injured on the kitchen floor.'

However, it should be noted that ingressive verbs are used with Simple iba-forms when they function as complements of verbs. Consider (21), where soithibaku is wrong.
4.3. Nonfinite verb forms

(21) mú khub halia, ebe so-iba-ku (*so-ith-iba-ku) cah-ē.
I very tired now sleep-INF-DAT sleep-PERF-INF-DAT want-1s:HAB
'I am very tired, I want to sleep now.'

(iii) The Imperfective iba-form signals that the situation is viewed as non-completed, that is, it has progressive meaning.

(22) Mohajana kamœ-ru pher-uth-iba bel-e taa-ro puṭuli rasta-re
M. work-ABL return-IPFV-INF time-LOC he-GEN purse road-LOC
khɔs-i-pɔ̄r-ith-il-a.
fall-CV-V2:fall-PERF-PST-3s
'While returning from work, Mahajana had lost his purse on the road.'

When the Imperfective form is replaced by the Perfect form pherithiba, Mahajana has lost his purse before he arrived home. With the Simple form pheriba the sentence has the same meaning as with pheruthiba.

(23) mú jɔ̄n-e loko kɔbaṭ-ro tala khol-uth-iba-ro dekh-il-i.
I CL-INDEF man door-LOC lock open-IPFV-INF-GEN see-PST-1s
'I saw a man opening the lock of the door.'

(24) rasta-re loko jona he-uth-iba-ro karɔ̄n pɔcar-il-e.
road-LOC man he-IPFV-INF-GEN reason ask-PST-3p
'He asked why the people were gathering on the road.'

When the Perfect form hoithibarɔ or the Simple form hebarɔ is used, the people already gathered.

(iv) The time reference of all the iba-forms is determined by the main clause verb. Consider (25) where the situation described by the iba-form has future time reference, since the main clause verb is marked by the Imperative.

(25) kɔlej-ku as-iba bel-e ciṭhi pokɔ-ɔ.
c.-DAT come-INF time-LOC letter put-2p:IMP
'When you arrive at the college, post a letter.'

Past time reference:

(26) mú kɔlej-ku as-iba bel-e ciṭhi poke-il-i.
I c.-DAT come-INF time-LOC letter put-PST-1s
'When I arrived at the college, I posted a letter.'

Present time reference (habitual meaning):

(27) mú kɔlej-ku as-iba bel-e ciṭhi pokɔ-e.
I c.-DAT come-INF time-LOC letter put-1s:HAB
'When I arrive at the college, I post a letter.'
4.3.3.2 Attributive function

As attributes the iba-forms perform the function of restrictive relative clauses. They are discussed in 7.7. In this section we focus on the aspectual distinction between the three forms.

(i) The Simple iba-form is often used with habitual meaning, i.e. it describes a general property of the determined noun. Consider (28) where the speaker tells about his habit of staying in hotels:

(28) mū hotel-re rōh-i  bul-iba loko.
I  h.-LOC stay-CV walk-INF person
'I am a man who stays in hotels when travelling.'

(29) nomaskārā no-kor-iba chatra-mano-nku prophesēr sōskruti upor-e
greeting NEG-do-INF student-PL-OBL:DAT p. culture top-LOC
bhasāṅgā de-ith-il-e.
speech give-PERF-PST-3p(HON)
'The professor gave a talk about culture to those students who did not use to greet.'

(30) bōs-iba jaga ‘seat (lit. sitting place)’
so-iba ghōra ‘sleeping room’
kōh-iba loko ‘speaker’

(ii) The Perfect iba-form is used for situations which are viewed as completed, i.e. the situations happened prior to the reference time established by the main clause predicate.

(31) hos-ith-iba pila-mane ghōra-ku pher-i-as-il-e.
laugh-PERF-INF child-PL house-DAT return-CV-V2:come-PST-3p
'The children who had laughed returned home.'

In combination with ingressive verbs the Perfect iba-form can signal imperfective meaning, e.g. the verb pindh- ‘put on, wear’.

(32) tumō sangō-re pēnt pindh-ith-iba jhīc-ṭi kie th-il-a?
you(POL):OBL with-LOC p. wear-PERF-INF girl-ART who be-PST-3s
'Who was the girl with you who was wearing pants?'

Note that the Imperfective form pindhuthiba refers to a habitual situation, 'who used to wear':

(In an interview.)

(33) amē sobu-dinā sarhi pindh-uth-iba mōhila-nku khoj-uch-u.
we all-day s. wear-IPFV-INF woman-OBL:DAT search-PROG-1pe
'We are looking for women who always wear sarees.'
(iii) The Imperfective *iba*-form is used for situations which are viewed as non-completed. This includes both progressive and habitual use.

(34) ənda-cop, manso-cop bhaj-uth-iba dokani-tie  
egg-ch. meat-ch. fry-IPFV-INF vendor-INDEF  
‘a vendor who is frying / fries egg-chops and meat-chops’

The Imperfective form *bhajithiba* with habitual meaning can be replaced by the Simple form *bhajiba*. The Perfect from *bhajithiba* refers to a vendor who has fried.

Habitual use of Imperfective *iba*-form is seen in (35):

(35) ta-nko-tharu odhikor nirapomwaro jibono japono kər-uth-iba  
he-OBL-ABL more simple life spend do-IPFV-INF  
raja-nku dekh-i se lojjito he-l-e. 
king-OBL:DAT see-CV he ashamed be-PST-3p(HON)  
‘He was ashamed when he saw the king who lived an even more simple life than him.’

(iv) Note that *iba*-forms in nominal and attributive function are found abundantly in newspaper articles.

(36) mukhyɔ-mɔntro Baleswar-o helikoptɔr joge pohanc-iba matre  
prime-minister B.-LOC h. by arrive-INF as soon as  
dui-jonɔ bijepi somɔrthito jubɔko hoɔhat koɔa potaka prɔdɔrsonɔ  
two-CL BJP supporting young.man suddenly black flag exhibition  
kər-iba-ru setha-re uposthito th-iba mukhyɔ-mɔntro-nkɔ  
do-INF-ABL there-LOC present be-INF prime-minister-OBL  
somɔrthɔko-mane ukto dui-jonɔ jubɔko-nku nistuko marɔ  
supporter-PL mentioned two-CL young.man-OBL:DAT excessive beating  
mar-iba-ru semane ahoto ho-i cikisitɔ kər-uth-iba  
beat-INF-ABL they injured be-CV treated be-IPFV-INF  
joŋ-a-pɔr-ich-i.  
know-PASS-fall-PERF-3s  
‘As soon as the prime-minister arrived at Baleswar with the helicopter, two BJP (i.e. the opposition party) supporters suddenly showed a black flag, whereupon the supporters of the prime minister who were there gave them a good thrashing; as a result they have been injured and are getting medical treatment, as it has been reported.’ (Newspaper)

4.3.4 The *ila*-form

Nonfinite *ila*-forms have three aspectual forms:
Simple a-nil a ‘bringing’
Perfect anithila ‘having brought’
Imperfective anuthila ‘being bringing’

The use of ila-forms is similar to that of iba-forms. Their distribution, however, is limited. In order to distinguish them from the iba-forms they will be glossed as INF:PST.

4.3.4.1 Nominal function

In nominal use the ila-forms occur with postpositions and with the case marker -ru (the other case markers are not combined with ila-forms). Their syntax and semantics is described in 7.4. The aspectual distinction between the three ila-forms is the same as has been described for the iba-forms (see 4.3.3).

(37) Kumarə ophis-ru baharə-ku as-ila belə-ku jən-e bhikari
K. o.-ABL outside-DAT come-INF:PST time-DAT CL-INDEF beggar
as-i poisa mag-il-a.
come-CV money ask-PST-3s
‘When Kumāra came out of the office, a beggar came and asked for money.’

When the Imperfective form asuthila is used, the clause has progressive meaning, i.e. the beggar asks Kumāra on his way out.

(38) Kumarə kar-е corh ila belə-ku jən-e bhikari as-i poisa
K. c.-LOC climb-INF:PST time-DAT CL-INDEF beggar come-CV money
mag-il-a.
ask-PST-3s
‘When Kumāra got into his car, a beggar came and asked for money.’

When the Perfect form corhithila is used, the clause has anterior meaning, i.e. the beggar asks Kumāra after he had got into the car.

There seems to be no semantic difference between iba- and ila-forms. In (39) the iba-form joluthiba and the ila-form joluthila have the same meaning, i.e. they indicate an ongoing process.

(39) boti jol-uth-iba / jol-uth-ila bel-e mu so-i-pər-il-i.
candle burn-IPFV-INF burn-IPFV-INF:PST time-LOC I fall.asleep-V2-PST-1s
‘I fell asleep while the candle was burning.’

One of our informants translated the iba-form joluthiba + bele by ‘while’ and the ila-form joluthila + bele by ‘when’. This suggests that the iba-form focuses more on the duration than the ila-form. However, there are clear examples where the action referred to by the ila-form signals the same duration as the action of the main clause, indicated by ‘while’ in English:
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(40) pulis-mane marcc kɔr-uth-ilə beł-e baja baj-uth-il-a.
policeman-PL m. do-IPFV-INF:PST time-LOC drums play-IPFV-PST-3s
‘Drums were beating while the policemen were marching.’

4.3.4.2 Attributive function

Attributive use of ila-forms is rather rare. Some forms from intransitive verbs are frequent and have been lexicalised as adjectives:

- bhok- ‘become hungry’ e.g. bhok-ilə kukurə ‘hungry dog’
- bɔr- ‘grow’ bɔr-ilə jhio ‘grown-up girl’
- jhɔr- ‘flow’ jhɔr-ilə akhí-re ‘with runny eyes’
- pac- ‘ripen’ pac-ilə ambo ‘ripe mango’
- sukh- ‘become dry’ sukh-ilə bhùi ‘dry ground’
- tat- ‘become hot’ tat-ilə niŋa ‘hot fire’
- thɔr- ‘tremble’ thɔr-ilə goḷa ‘trembling voice’

Examples of attributive use in a sentence:

(41) bhuk-ilə kukurə kamur-e nahí.
bark-INF:PST dog bite-3s:HAB NEG
‘A barking dog seldom bites.’

(42) gorɔj-ilə megho bɔrɔs-e nah-í.
roar-INF:PST cloud rain-INDEF be:NEG-3s
‘A roaring cloud does not rain.’

Perfect and Imperfective ila-forms practically never occur. (43) is judged “slightly unnatural”:

(43) ?mù poisa de-ith-ilə loko
I money give-PERF-PST:INF man
‘the man whom I have given money’

The distinction between the iba-form and the ila-form is not clearcut. Originally, ila-forms referred to the past, while iba-forms had present meaning, as Maltby (1986) shows:

(44) mù de-ba dhano vs. mù de-la ʈonka
I give-INF corn I give-PST:INF rupee
‘the corn which I give’ ‘the rupee which I gave’ (Maltby 1986, p. 25)

This distinction is not so clear anymore in modern Oriya. Consider the following event: Sukanyā has got a baby. Sukanyā’s mother holds the baby in her arms for a while, then Sukanyā takes the baby back in her arms and says:
4.3.4. The ila-form

(45) se kand-iba pila nuh-ē. kand-ib-ō nahī.
    he weep-INF child be:NEG-3s weep-FUT-3s NEG
    ‘He is not a child that will weep. He won’t weep.’

After a while Sukanyā comes back to her mother, with the baby crying. Sukanyā’s mother says:

(46) se kand-ila pila nuh-ē. kemiti kand-il-a?
    he weep-INF:PST child be:NEG-3s how weep-PST-3s
    ‘He is not a child that would weep. How could he cry?’

Both participles express the speaker’s expectation about a property the referent of the noun should have. The ila-form in addition presupposes some knowledge about the referent’s having this property; the speaker affirms that this property held in the past and can be expected to hold in the future, e.g. bul-iba loko ‘wandering man (i.e. man who is supposed to wander)’ vs. bul-ila loko ‘wandering man (i.e. man who has wandered till now and is expected to wander tomorrow as well)’.

(47) a. j-iba kōtha gōl-a-ni.
    go-INF matter go:PST-3s-MIR
    ‘What is supposed to be gone, is gone.’

b. gōl-a kōtha gōl-a-ni.
    go:INF:PST matter go:PST-3s-MIR
    ‘What is gone, has gone.’

Another comparative example is shown in (48), where the onta-form, the ila-form and the iba-form all have more or less the same meaning, i.e. that the action is going on:

(48) jōl-onta / jōl-il-a / jōl-iba prōdīpa
    burn-PTCP burn-INF:PST burn-INF lamp
    ‘a burning lamp’

Two remarks are in order. First, the form jōlonta belongs to a higher speech style. Secondly, contrasted with the ila-form jōlila the iba-form jōliba includes an additional nuance of ‘being able to burn’. This is seen again in (49):

(49) mū no-dekh-iba phōli jie aŋ-ib-ō se ekō sōtā swomṇo-mudra
    I NEG-see-INF fruit who bring-FUT-3s he one hundred gold-coin
    pa-ib-ō.21
    find-FUT-3s
    ‘He who brings a fruit that I do not see (i.e. that is invisible to me) will
     get a hundred gold-coins.’
Both the *iba- and the *ila-form can be combined with the derivative suffix -bala:

(50) ei-ṭa-ku randh-iba-bala kie?
    this-ART-DAT cook-INF-N.AG who
    ‘Who is the person who cooked this?’

(51) mü kom de-la-bala nuh-ē.
    I few give-INF:PST-N.AG be:NEG-1s
    ‘I am not a person who gives little.’

4.3.5 Converbs

The forms referred to by the term “converb” occur in adverbial use, besides their use in the formation of complex verb forms together with the auxiliaries *tha- and *cch- (see 4.2.1). “Adverbial” is meant here as a cover term for a function that modifies either a verb, a clause or a sentence. The Oriya converses satisfy three of the four typical characteristics of a converb as formulated by Haspelmath (1995) (1. verbal form; 2. nonfinite; 3. adverbial use). They possess the fourth property of being subordinate as well, since at least one of Haspelmath’s criteria for subordination is met: they allow backwards (implicit) anaphora, i.e. the noun to which the anaphora of the converb refers follows in the main clause.

(52) bharc-samyō ṛkh-i-no-par-i Babuli kulp-ru noi bhita-c-ku
    weight-equality keep-CV-NEG-can-CV B. bank-ABL river inside-DAT
    par-i-gol-a.
    fall-CV-V2:go:PST-3s
    ‘Babuli could not keep his balance and fell from the bank into the river.’

The subject of the converb ṛkhinopari, which is omitted, refers to the subject of the following main verb (*Babuli*).

4.3.5.1 General converb

The general converb with the suffix -i (glossed by CV) is used in the following contexts:

- Simple form: anteriority, sequentiality, e.g. an-i ‘having brought’;
- Negated simple form: substitution, negative concomitance, e.g. no-an-i ‘instead of / without bringing’;
- Converb + *tha-: Perfect tenses (see 4.2.2.2), e.g. an-i th-il-i ‘I had brought’;

\[2\text{Note that dekhiba does not change when the situation is put into the past (‘Somebody who brought a fruit that I could not see …’).}\]
4.3.5. Converbs

- Converb + əch-: Present Perfect (see 4.2.3.6), e.g. an-i əch-i ‘I have brought’;
- Reduplicated converb: manner, e.g. an-i an-i ‘bringing’;
- Converb + kɔr-i: manner, e.g. an-i kɔr-i ‘having brought, bringing’;
- Converb + light verb (V2): compound verb (see 4.6.2), e.g. an-i ja-ich-i ‘I have brought’;
- Converb + motion verb: purpose, e.g. an-i ja-uch-i ‘I’m going to bring’;
- Converb + par-: complement of par- (4.6.4), e.g. an-i par-e ‘I can bring’;

This converb is called general because its only function in some of the uses, i.e. in the last three of them, is to allow the connection with a subsequent verb, without any aspectual specification of the verb it is attached to. In the first four uses the suffix -i is opposed to imperfective -u and carries aspectual (perfective) meaning.

The general converb has two variants; the order indicates increasing formality:

an-i ‘having brought’ informal; most frequent in texts
an-i-ki (< kɔr-i do-cv) more formal; often used in spoken language
an-i-kɔr-i most formal (marked)\(^{22}\)

In combination with kɔr- ‘do’ the converb in -kɔri is avoided (*kərikɔri); instead kəriki or kɔri are used. Compare also the adverbial use of adjectives with -kɔri / -ki (see 3.2.5).

Some converbs in -i (as single item or with an entire clause) have been lexicalised as adverbs, adjectives or as postpositions (see 5.3.1).

mono de-i ‘attentively’ (mono ‘mind’, de- ‘give’)
sun-i jan-i ‘knowingly’ (sun- ‘hear’, jan- ‘know’)
bhāb-i (bɔrɔ) ‘future (husband)’ (bhāb- ‘think’)
dhɔr-i ‘with’ (dhɔr- ‘take’)
lag-i ‘for’ (lag- ‘apply’)

Sequentiality The general converb and its variants mark sequentiality or anteriority: the action of the converb precedes that of the following converb or main verb. In this function it corresponds to what is traditionally called “conjunctive participle” in South Asian linguistics.\(^{23}\)

\(^{22}\)In Hindi this converb in -kari is the unmarked sequential converb.
\(^{23}\)See e.g. Masica 1976.
4.3. Nonfinite verb forms

(53) ame-sōbu bojarāa ja-i / ja-i-ki / ja-i-kər-i jinisāa ki₃-i /
we-all market go-CV go-CV-CV go-CV-do-CV thing buy-CV
ki₃-i-ki / ki₃-i-kər-i aiskrim kha-i / kha-i-ki / kha-i-kər-i
gho₃-ku pher-il-u.
house-DAT return-PST-1pi

‘We went to the market, bought things, had ice cream and returned home.’

The same meaning can be expressed by coordinated clauses:

(54) ame-sōbu bojarāa gol-u, jinisāa ki₃-il-u, aiskrim kha-il-u, taapore
we-all market go:PST-1pi thing buy-PST-1pi i. eat-PST-1pi then
gho₃-ku pher-il-u.
house-DAT return-PST-1pi

‘We went to the market, bought things, had ice cream and returned home.’

Another example:

(A crow touched the wires of an electric post and died.)

(55) ehi somooy-re au goṭi-e kua kē ünivers-u as-i tol-e nor-i
this time-LOC other CL-INDEF crow where-ABL come-CV bottom-LOC die-CV
por-ith-iba kua-ku dekh-i ka ka rābo kōl-a.
fall-PERF-INF:PST crow-DAT see-CV IDEO sound do-PST-3s

‘Then another crow came from somewhere, saw the dead crow on the
bottom and croaked.’

There is a tendency to avoid general converses in -i when they form a verb clause on their own; either suffixation of -ki or -kər-i, or the combination with a light verb (e.g. sar- ‘finish’), or the addition of an overt object, is preferred.

(56) pila-mane *pərh-i / pərh-i-ki / pərh-i-kər-i / pərh-i-sar-i /
child-PL read-CV read-CV-CV read-CV-do-CV read-CV-V2:finish-CV
bahi pərh-i khel-ib-e.
book read-CV play-FUT-3p

‘The children will play after studying (a book).’

This applies to intransitive verbs as well:

(57) pila-mane *pəhōr-i / pəhōr-i-ki / pəhōr-i-kər-i khel-ib-e.
child-PL swim-CV swim-CV-CV swim-CV-do-CV play-FUT-3p

‘After swimming the children will play.’

When the negative prefix no- is added to the general converb, it can occur in
isolated form:
4.3.5. Converbs

(58) pila-mane no-khe{l}-i so-il-e.
child-PL NEG-play-CV sleep-PST-3p
‘Instead of playing the children slept.’

Simultaneity All three verbs (-i, -ki and -kori) can be used with simultaneous meaning as well, specifying the manner in which the action is done. In (59) the verbs with luc- ‘hide’ specify the act of going away from home. The general verb in -i in this function is often reduplicated, but not necessarily (see (70) below).

(59) ehi-pori bicar-i din-e se luc-i-kor-i (luc-i luci / luc-i-ki
this-like consider-CV day-INDEF he hide-CV-do-CV hide-CV RDP hide-CV-CV
/?luc-i/ ghor-u bahar-i-gol-e.
hide-CV house-ABL go.out-CV-V2:go:PST-3p(HON)
‘Considering in this manner, one day he went out from home hidingly.’

(60) tume kete somoye-re pohor-i kori-e no paro
you(POL) how.much time-LOC swim-CV do-CV this river across
ho-i-par-ib-o?
be-CV-can-FUT-2p
‘In how much time can you swim across this river?’

(To a barber: Why do you have thrillers in your shop?)

(61) segurakoshoo poh-i kori-i grahok-amano-nko-rco balo thia
those read-CV do-CV customer-PL-OBL-GEN hair standing
ho-i-ja-e, taapore mo-te balo ka't-iiba pai sohojo
be-CV-V2:go-3s:HAB then I-DAT hair cut-INF for easy
ho-i-ja-e.
be-CV-V2:go-3s:HAB
‘When the customers read them, their hair rises, then it is easy for me to cut their hair.’

Consider some examples with reduplicated general verbs:

(62) cali cali jiba ‘go by feet’
hosi hosi kohiba ‘speak laughingly’
khai khai mota heba ‘become fat by eating’

(63) Kousika Mithila-re pohoc-i loko-mano-nku pocar-i pocari
K. M.-LOC arrive-CV person-PL-OBL-DAT ask-CV RDP
Dharmobyadhoc-nko nikato-ku gol-e.
D.-OBL near-DAT go:PST-3p(HON)
‘Koušika reached Mithila, and asking people he went to Dharmabyadh.’
pocari pocari signals the manner how he found Dharmabyadhā: by asking several people here and there. The same sentence with the non-reduplicated converb pocari would mean that he asked the people once and then he went to Dharmabyādha. In contrast, the reduplicated imperfective converb pocaru pocaru is used, when the situation of asking forms the background of the situation described by the main verb. In (64) the girl whom the speaker had met said something (kohila) while he was asking her (pocaru pocaru).

(64) mū ta-ku kōnō sōbu pocar-u pocaru Lina mo-te kotha
I she-DAT what all ask-ICV RDP L. I-DAT matter
kuh-e-i-no-de-i kōh-il-a, ...
say-CAUS-CV-NEG-V2:give-CV say-PST-3s
‘While I was asking her about everything, Linā said without letting me say anything, . . .’

In (65) the situation described by the reduplicated converb is anterior to that of the main verb; the reduplication emphasises the duration (‘having waited for a long time’).

(65) tomak-ku apekhyā kōr-i kori sesa-re tumā bhouni-ku ne-i
you(POL)-DAT waiting do-CV RDP end-LOC your(POL) sister-DAT take-CV sinema gol-i.
c. go:PST-1s
‘After waiting a long time for you I finally went to the cinema with your sister.’

4.3. Nonfinite verb forms

4.3.5.2 Negation

All three converbs (-i, -ki and -kori) can be negated by preposing no- (see 6.4.3). Note that the position of no- in front of the stem of the main verb (no-de-i-kor-i, instead of treating kori as a verb *de-i-no-kor-i) shows the high degree of the grammaticalization of kori as a converb marker. kori, however, is again marked for formality, and it is even regarded as slightly odd.

(i) Negated general converbs express negative concomitance “without”:

(66) se mo mūhō-ku no-one-i / no-one-i-ki / ?no-one-i-kor-i mo
sāngo kōthabartta kō-l-a.
friend conversation do-PST-3s
‘My friend talked to me without looking at me.’

(67) oto pani no-pi-i pondo-ro dino porjyonta
camel water NEG-drink-CV fifteen day until
rōh-i-ja-i-par-e.
stay-CV-V2:go-CV-can-3s:HAB
‘The camel can live fifteen days without drinking water.’
(ii) Negated general converses express substitution “instead of”:

(68) mū puć-ku gāli no-de-i / no-de-i-ki / ?no-de-i-kōr-i
I son-DAT scolding NEG-give-CV NEG-give-CV-CV NEG-give-CV-do-CV
ta-ku kūnṭhe-ich-i.
he-DAT embrace-PERF-1s
‘Instead of scolding my son, I embraced him.’

(The inspector wanted to speak to the victim’s parents, but he was told that they had gone to the market.)

(69) pulis inspektōr ta-nku opekhya no-kōr-i nījo kāmā-re
p. they-OBL:DAT waiting NEG-do-CV REFL work-LOC
lag-i-gol-e.
apply-CV-V2:go:PST-3p(HON)
‘The police inspector started with his job, instead of waiting for them.’

4.3.5.3 Other uses of the general verb

The general verb in -i covers a wide range of uses. According to the specifics of the context, the verb may express other shades of meanings than anteriority alone; consider the following examples, where the verb occurs in various contexts such as simultaneous (modifying), instrumental, concessive, conditional, and causal.

(i) Simultaneous (modifying):

(70) torobara ho-i se bhikhya-ḍala dhōr-i sonnyasi-nkō pakhō-ku
hurry be-CV she alms-tray take-CV ascetic-OBL side-DAT
gol-e.
go:PST-3p(HON)
‘She hurriedly took the alms-tray and went to the ascetic.’

(ii) Instrumental meaning:

(71) mū sōbu kōtha borttōman kōh-par-ib-i nahī; pōr-e lekh-i
I all matter now say-CV-can-FUT-1s NEG after-LOC write-CV
jōn-a-ib-i.
know-CAUS-FUT-1s
‘I cannot tell everything now; I’ll inform later by letter (lit. having written I’ll inform).’

(iii) Concessive meaning (with bi ‘also’, modhīc ‘also’ or suddha ‘even’):

(72) se cesta kōr-i suddha Kōṭāko-re guṇṭh-e jaga
he try do-CV even C.-LOC 1/25.acre-INDEF land
kiṇ-i-par-i-nah-anti.
buy-CV-can-PERF-NEG-3p(HON)
'He couldn’t buy any land (lit. a 1/25 of an acre of land) in Cuttack although he tried.'

(iv) Conditional meaning:

(73) ei tōka-ta kōuthi maṇisō ho-i-ja-i kūl-re
    this boy-ART somewhere man become-CV-V2:go-CV shore-LOC
lag-i-ja-nt-a ki!
touch-CV-V2:go-COND-3s PTCL

'If this boy became a man somewhere, we could manage (lit. it would touch the shore)!'

(A: Who became the owner of the enemy’s properties? — B:)

(74) mū jōyō kō-l-i — mū ēdhikari no-ho-i au kie hu-ōnt-a?
    I victory do-PST-1s I master NEG-be-CV else who be-COND-3s
'I won — if I am not the owner, who else would be it?'

(v) Cause:

(75) taa byōbhārō-re sōntustō ho-i se ta-ku kōh-il-e, . . .
    her behaviour-LOC glad be-CV be she-DAT say-PST-3p(HON)

'Since he was pleased with her conduct he said to her, . . .'

(vi) There are two verbs of which the conjugate shows a particular use, ne- ‘take’ and ja- ‘go’. The general conjugate nei ‘having taken’ is used as explicit topic marker ‘concerning’. Note the expression se nei ‘about that’, where the use of the nominative se instead of oblique ta (which is normally used as pronominal object of a verb) shows a high degree of lexicalisation.

(About a police investigation.)

(76) pulis e-sōbu ghoṭona-ku ne-i kuheḷika bhīṭor-e th-il-e.
p. this-all event-DAT take-CV mist inside-LOC be-PST-3p

'As far as all these events are concerned, the police are in the dark.'

(77) Eśia mohadesā-re bhārotṭolōṇa-re prōtiḍwōndwita-rō mānō bruddhi
    A. continent-LOC weight-lifting-LOC competition-GEN standard increase
pa-ith-ila beḷe emanō-nku swāṛṇā-pōdōko jīn-iba ne-i
    find-PERF-INF:PST when they-OBL:DAT gold-medal win-INF take-CV
kōṭhino pōrisrōmō kōr-iba-ku por-ib-ō.
hard labour do-INF-DAT must-FUT-3s

'As the competition standard in weight-lifting has raised in the continent Asia, they will have to make hard efforts to win a gold medal.'

(Newspaper)

(vii) The general conjugate jai is used to signal purpose ‘in order to’.
4.3.5. Converbs

(78) srimoti Paṭṭonayk goṭi-e udaharōṇa de-ba-ku ja-i
Mrs P. CL-INDEF example give-INF-DAT go-CV
koh-il-e ... say-PST-3p(HON)

‘Mrs Paṭṭanāyaka said to give an example, …’

4.3.5.4 Imperfective verb

(i) The imperfective verb with the suffix -u (glossed by ICV) implies simultaneity between the action of the main verb and that of the verb. More exactly, the verb provides the background for the action referred to by the main clause, i.e. the action of the imperfective verb has started before and continues beyond the duration of where the action of the main verb happens. The imperfective verb is always reduplicated.

(79) mū tiḥbi ḏekh-u dekhu so-i-poṛ-il-i.
I see-ICV RDP fall.asleep-CV-V2:fall-PST-1s

‘I fell asleep while I was watching TV.’

(80) mū chobo-u chobou goṭi-e goṛi kamur-i-de-l-i.
I chew-ICV RDP CL-INDEF stone bite-CV-V2:give-PST-1s

‘While chewing I bit on a stone.’

By contrast, when the reduplicated general verb is used, both actions have the same temporal extension, and the situation expressed by the verb indicates the manner in which the situation in the main clause happens (see p. 245). Consider (81), where the mention of chewing refers to the way of eating.

(81) caṇa paṇi-re rati-re bōṭura-i sokaḷ-e taha cobe-i cobei
chick-pea water-LOC night-LOC soak-CV morning-LOC that chew-CV RDP
kha-ile deḥo-re boḷ as-iṭha-e.
eat-COND-CV body-LOC strength come-PERF-3s:HAB

‘If you soak chick-pea in water at night and eat that chewing well in the morning, your body becomes strong (lit. strength comes into your body).’

In other contexts the imperfective verb and the general verb (both reduplicated) have the same function.

(82) se kand-u kandu / kand-i kandi koh-il-e, ...
he weep-ICV RDP weep-CV RDP say-PST-3p(HON)

‘He said with tears in his eyes (lit. weeping) …’
(ii) The reduplicated imperfective converb can have the meaning of “as soon as”.

(83) μῦ pɔcar-u pɔcaru prɔsnɔ-ro uṭtcɔ pa-i-gpl-i.
I ask-ICV RDP question-GEN answer find-CV-V2:go:PST-1s
‘As soon as I asked, I got the answer to the question.’

(iii) There is a suffix -nu ‘hardly’ that can be attached to the imperfective converb, which can be reduplicated with an intervening negative particle no-, as in bahar-u-no-baharu-ṇu in (84). In combination with the negation, it expresses that the situation referred to by the converb has hardly begun (85) or is just about to hold (84).

(A doesn’t want B to go out at all, because it is raining. B replies:)

(84) μῦ to kuarɔ-ku bahar-u-no-baharu-ṇu tu ete paṭi
I PTCL where-DAT go.out-ICV-NEG-RDP-hardly you(FAM) so.much mouth
kor-uch-i.
do-PROG-1s
‘Before I even start to go out anywhere, you are shouting so much.’

The suffix -ṇu can occur without reduplication of the converb:

(King Hariścandra had to sell his wife. He gave his agreement to a brahman.)

(85) Horiscondro-nko-ro muhɔ-ru kotha no-sɔr-u-ṇu brahmɔṇo
Soiβya-nko-ro hatɔ dhɔr-i ṭaṇ-i-ne-i jiba-ku
S.-ABL-GEN hand take-CV draw-CV-V2:take-CV go-INF-DAT
bɔs-il-e.
sit-PST-3p(HON)
‘Hariścandra had hardly finished to speak (lit. the speech from Hariścandra’s mouth was hardly finished) when the brahman was about to take Saibya’s hand and draw her away.’

(86) onyo kehi kichi no-koh-u-ṇu nij-o-ku nij-e buphir
other anybody anything NEG-say-ICV-hardly REFL-DAT REFL-NOM old.woman
boli mon-e kɔ-l-u-ṇi na kɔṇɔ?
COMP mind-LOC do-PST-2s-MIR or what
‘As soon as somebody else says anything, you consider yourself as an old woman, or what?’

24There is one verb (cal- ‘go’) which occurs as non-reduplicated imperfective converb. It is always combined with the light verb roh- ‘stay’, e.g. tibhi cal-u-roh-ich-i ‘the TV is still on’.
25Cf. the suffix -ṇi, which, however, is attached to finite verb forms (see 4.2.3.7).
4.3.5. Converbs

4.3.5.5 Conditional verbs

The conditional verb in Oriya has three aspectual forms:

Simple anile 'if I / you ... bring'
Perfect anithile 'if I / you ... have brought'
Imperfective anuthile 'if I / you ... are bringing'

(i) The conditional verbs are used both for real and unreal conditions. The status of the condition is determined by the mood of the main clause predicate. Conditional mood entails a hypothetical condition, e.g. karonete in (87) below. Any other tense marker indicates a real condition, e.g. Habitual Simple karoniti in (88).

(87) tome soto koh-ile lok-e biswasa kari-ont-e.
you(POL) truth say-CONDCAV people-PL believe do-COND-3p
'If you would tell the truth, people would believe you.'

(88) tome soto koh-ile lok-e biswasa kari-onti.
you(POL) truth say-CONDCAV people-PL believe do-3p:HAB
'If you tell the truth, people believe you.'

(ii) The conditional verb can have a strong temporal component that displaces the conditional meaning.

(89) sobha seso ho-i-gole pila-mane goiti-e natokko
meeting end be-CV-V2:go:CONDCAV child-PL CL-INDEF play
dekh-a-ib-e.
see-CAUS-FUT-3p
'When the meeting is over, the children will show a play.'

(90) aparo as-ile mu kha-ib-i.
you(HON) come-CONDCAV I eat-FUT-1s
'I will eat only when you come.'

(iii) Concessive clauses are expressed by a conditional verb and the postposed particle medhyc 'also', bi 'also' or suddha 'even'.

(91) ei kamo kotheina he-le medhyc mo-te bhoka lag-uch-i.
this work hard be-CONDCAV also I-DAT good feel-PROG-3s
'Although this work is hard, I enjoy it.'

(92) park-ťi choṭa he-le bi bhari sundara.
park-ART small be-CONDCAV also very beautiful
'Though the park is small, it is very beautiful.'

Free-choice quantifiers (je-series) can be inserted in concessive clauses:
(93) jere bhala lakha-bindhalī he-le bi e-porī ēbostha-re taa hato how good aim-bowman be-CONDCV even this-like state-LOC his hand koñːo thik roh-i-par-ib-ɔ INT correct remain-CV-can-FUT-3s

‘However good a bowman may be, will his hand remain steady in such a situation?’

Conditional clauses with finite verb forms are discussed in 7.3.

Simple conditional converb

The simple conditional converb has perfective aspect meaning. Consider (94) where the same verb form dekhile is used for a situation of a single evening:

(94) mū ṣondhya be-l-e tibhi dekh-ile rati-re I evening time-LOC TV see-CONDCV night-LOC so-i-par-ib-i-ni. sleep-CV-can-FUT-1s-NEG

‘If I watch TV in the evening, I will not be able to sleep.’

It is used in habitual situations as well.

(95) mū sobu ṣondhya be-l-e tibhi dekh-ile mo-te nido he-b-ɔ I all evening time-LOC TV see-CONDCV I-DAT sleep be-FUT-3s nahi. NEG

‘When I watch TV every evening, I cannot sleep.’

The time reference of the situation referred to by the simple conditional converb depends on the main clause predicate. It can occur in sentences with present (96), past (97) or future time reference (98):

(96) macho mor-i-gole haluka ho-i-ja-e. fish die-CV-V2:go:CONDCV light become-CV-V2:go-3s:HAB

‘When a fish dies, it becomes light.’

(97) soto koh-ile bapa amo-ku dɔŋːo truth say-CONDCV father we-DAT punishment de-u-no-th-il-e. give-IPFV-NEG-AUX-PST-3p(HON)

‘If we told father the truth, he never punished us.’

(A visitor to his host.)

(98) mū puni dharmaghɔ sɔsɔ he-le cal-i-j-ib-i. I again strike end be-CONDCV go-CV-V2:go-FUT-1s

‘When the strike is over, I shall go again.’
Perfect conditional verb

The perfect conditional verb indicates that the situation is viewed as completed. The condition is always counterfactual, except in the case of ingressive verbs (see below).

(99) semane corc-ku dhor-ith-ile pulis jima de-itha-nt-e.
they thief-DAT catch-PERF-CONDCV p. custody give-PERF-COND-3p
‘If they had caught the thief, they would have handed him over to the police.’

Compare with the sentence with the simple conditional verb; it then has hypothetical meaning:

(100) semane corc-ku dhor-ile pulis jima di-ont-e.
they thief-DAT catch-CONDCV p. custody give-COND-3p
‘If they caught the thief, they would hand him over to the police.’

The perfect conditional verb always refers to an unreal situation in the past. Variant (101b), which is meant to express a real condition, is not correct.

(101) a. se kali porjyonto kama kor-ith-ile dui soho tonka
he yesterday until work do-PERF-CONDCV two hundred rupee
pa-itha-nt-a.
get-PERF-COND-3s
‘If he would have done the job till yesterday, he would have got two hundred rupees.’

b. * se kali porjyonto kama kor-ith-ile dui soho tonka
he tomorrow until work do-PERF-CONDCV two hundred rupee
pa-ib-c.
get-FUT-3s
‘If he will have done the job till tomorrow, he will get two hundred rupees.’

Another example:

(102) mū sondhya bel-e tibhi dekh-ith-ile rati-re
I evening time-LOC TV see-PERF-CONDCV night-LOC
so-i-no-tha-nt-i.
sleep-PERF-NEG-AUX-COND-1s
‘If I had watched TV in the evening, I would not have slept in the night.’

In case of ingressive verbs the perfect conditional verb indicates that the situation is seen as completed and its result lasts at reference time.

(103) se so-ith-ile ta-nku disturb kor-c-na!
he fall.asleep-PERF-CONDCV he-OBL:DAT d. do-2p:IMP-NEG
‘If he is asleep do not disturb him!’
(104) tume macho ho-ith-ile biraqi tumo-ku
you(POL) fish be-PERF-CONDCV cat you(POL)-DAT
kha-i-di-ont-a.
eat-CV-V2:give-COND-3s
‘If you were a fish, the cat would eat you.’

**Imperfective conditional converb**

The imperfective conditional converb indicates that the situation is viewed as non-completed, i.e. the situation is going on.

(The speaker is about to talk to his father.)

(105) se cithi lekh-uth-ile mū kotha he-b-i nahi.
he letter write-IPFV-CONDCV I speech be-FUT-1s NEG
‘If he is writing a letter, I will not talk to him.’

The situation can be interpreted as habitual.

(106) jhoroka bhola bhaba-re bonda o khol-u-no-th-ile
window good way-LOC close and open-IPFV-NEG-AUX-CONDCV
mohono-boti-ku jhoroka ghos-ontu.
wax-candle-DAT window rub-3p:IMP
‘If a window does not close and open properly, rub a wax candle on the window.’

(107) stri-ti ghunguri mar-uth-ile swami proti csongyo.
wife-ART snore-CV beat-IPFV-CONDCV husband towards unbearable
‘When the wife snores, the husband cannot bear it (lit. it is unbearable for).’

(About nonfiction books.)

(108) eha taa-ro abosyokota-ku chū-uth-ile sehi-bholi lekha
this he-GEN need-DAT touch-IPFV-CONDCV that-like writing
odhiko-ru odhiko porh-iba pāi pathako mona bola-ib-o.
more-ABL more read-INF for reader mind apply-FUT-3s
‘If this (i.e. the book) touches his needs, the reader will want to read more and more such writings.’

The imperfective conditional converb is used for hypothetical conditions as well.

(109) pruthibi surjyc caripakhe ghur-u-no-th-ile
earth sun around turn-IPFV-NEG-AUX-CONDCV what
hu-ont-a?
be-COND-3s
‘What would happen if the earth didn’t go around the sun?’
4.3.6 Old participles

There are some participles loaned from Sanskrit in -tā.

- onkito ‘drawn’ (cf. ank- ‘draw’)  nirmito ‘built’
- bibahito ‘married’  palito ‘obeyed’
- byobohrito ‘used’  poricito ‘known’
- likhito ‘written’ (cf. lekh- ‘write’)

The participles show agreement with the head of the nominal phrase: they take final -a when the head noun denotes a female person. With other nouns the ending is -a.

- bibahit-ō bhai ‘married brother’
- bibahit-a striloko ‘married woman’
- sikhit-ō pilamane ‘educated children’
- sikhit-a striloko ‘educated woman’

The participles are used as noun attribute (110). In predicative function they are often combined with the auxiliary he- (111). Agents, e.g. se balikaṭi ‘that girl’ in (110), are marked by the postposition dwara ‘by’.

(110) se balika-ṭi dwara likhito golpo-ṭi protho mo puraskara pa-il-a.
that girl-ART by written story-ART first prize find-PST-3s
‘The story written by that girl won first prize.’

(The text is about a certain Oriya letter.)

(111) eha sohito ‘i’ swora-dhwni-ṭi th-ile eha ‘kh’ bhab-e uccarīta
this with i voice-sound-ART be-CONDCV this kh way-LOC pronounced
hu-e.
be-3s:HAB

‘In combination with the vowel [i] (lit. when the vowel [i] is with it) it is pronounced as [kh].’

4.4 “to be”

There are three verbs for the English equivalent “to be”: och-, tha- and he-.

There is an additional copula och-, which is rare and belongs to literary style. Whereas he- is a full verb and has all forms as other verbs (for its irregular forms see 4.5), och- / och- and tha- belong to one paradigm. They show a defective distribution: och- and och- are limited to the Progressive, and tha- occurs in the Habitual, Past, Future and Conditional. Their semantic differences will be discussed in 4.4.2. In the Perfect and Imperfective tenses the forms of he- are used (see 4.4.3).

²⁶Cf. the related language Bengali, which has the same three verbs (Ferguson 1972).
och- and tha- are used as auxiliaries for regular verbs in the Perfect and Imperfective tenses (see 4.2.1).

4.4.1 Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Progressive</th>
<th>Habitual</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Conditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>ochi</td>
<td>ọte</td>
<td>thae</td>
<td>thili</td>
<td>thibi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p incl</td>
<td>oche</td>
<td>ọte</td>
<td>thae</td>
<td>thile</td>
<td>thiba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p excl</td>
<td>ochu</td>
<td>ọtu</td>
<td>thau</td>
<td>thilu</td>
<td>thibu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>ochu</td>
<td>ọtu</td>
<td>thau</td>
<td>thilu</td>
<td>thibu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ochọ</td>
<td>ọtọ</td>
<td>thao</td>
<td>thilo</td>
<td>thibo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>ochi</td>
<td>ọte</td>
<td>thae</td>
<td>thila</td>
<td>thibo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>ochọnti</td>
<td>ọtọnti</td>
<td>thọnti</td>
<td>thile</td>
<td>thibe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Converbs

Perfective  thai
Imperfective thau
Conditional  thaire

The use of the Habitual corresponds to the use of the Simple Habitual of regular verbs, e.g. it is found in generic or habitual situations (see (5) and (9) below) or in conditional clauses (6). The Progressive with och- is used in all other contexts with present time reference (1, 4, 8). The other tenses and forms are used as described for regular verbs.

4.4.2 Use

The following types of relations are expressed by och-, tha-, he- or by no overt copula (zero copula):

locative, existential, possessive och- th- he-

(i) Locative sentences

(1) m̱u eithi och-i. mo maa seithi och-ọnti.
    I here be-1s my mother there be-3p(HON)
    'I am here. My mother is there.'

(2) ame se dino sọkał-e bojarare th-il-ų.
    we that day morning-LOC market-LOC be-PST-1pe
‘We were at the market that morning.’

(3) mû onumanâ kor-uch-i se setha-re thib-c.
I guess do-PROG-1s he there-LOC be-FUT-3s
‘I guess he will be there.’

(ii) Existential sentences

(4) khej-pria-re pila-grie sch-onti.
play-field-LOC child-PL be-3p
‘There are children in the playground.’

(5) sôhre opekhyo grama-manâ-nkâ-re kôm kôlahôlo tha-e.
town than village-PL-OBL-LOC less noise be-3s:HAB
‘There is less noise in villages than in towns.’

The following examples contain an existential dependent clause:

(6) jodi tuma-rc kichi kamô no-tha-e ame byadmintou
if you(POL)-GEN any work NEG-be-3s:HAB we b.
khel-ile hu-ont-a.
play-CONDCV be-COND-3s
‘If you have no work to do, we could play badminton (lit. how would it be if we played badminton).’

(7) matra dui hojârâ tânda muê betonâ pa-uth-iba eâdyapko cakiri
only two thousand rupee value salary get-IPFV-INF professor job
amo desô-re këthi thâ-i-par-e mû bhab-i-par-u-nah-i.
our country-LOC anywhere be-CV-can-3s:HAB I think-CV-can-PROG-NEG-1s
‘I cannot imagine that there is a professor in our country who earns only two thousand rupees (lit. that there is a professor’s job for which one gets ...).’

(iii) Possessive sentences (“to have”). The possessor takes the genitive case, whereas the possessed entity is in the nominative case.

(8) amâ-rc ghora-tie och-i.
we-GEN horse-INDEF be-3s
‘We have got a horse.’

(9) mûtuyu porjiyo nthi manisâ-rc asa thâ-e.
death till man-GEN hope be-3s:HAB
‘Man has hope until death.’

(iv) Descriptive and equational sentences. In such sentences with present time reference no copula is normally used (zero copula). The predicative function is performed by a nominal. In literary style the copula at- is found (12).
4.4. “to be”

(10) cotan-ti sôpha.
floor-ART clean
‘The floor is clean.’

(11) e taa-ro maa.
this she-GEN mother
‘This is her mother.’

(12) ebe 36 borso boyo-si-re padarpô se kôr-ith-ile modhô se now 36 year age-LOC setting one’s foot do-PERF-CONDCV even she Holuî-pô conyô-ti boysto abhinêtri nt-ntî.
H.-GEN one of many busy actress be-3p(HON)
‘Although she is in the age of 36, she is one of busiest actresses of Hollywood.’ (Newspaper)

ôch- is used only in combination with a group of nouns with adjectival meaning (e.g. khali ‘empty’, bondô ‘closed’; see 3.2.3).

(13) mo ghorô-ti khali ôch-i.
my house-ART empty be-3s
‘My house is empty.’

For other tenses tha- with the corresponding tense / mood affix is used (e.g. Past in (14)).

(14) sri Senapati skul-re tuma-ro sikhyo-kô th-il-e? — h5,
Mr S. school-LOC you(POL)-GEN teacher be-PST-3p(HON) yes
th-il-e.
be-PST-3p(HON)
‘Was Mr Senapati your teacher at school? — Yes, he was.’

4.4.3 he- ‘become’

The verb he- has various meanings: ‘become’27 (15), ‘happen’ (16), ‘should’ (see hebo in (18) and 4.2.4.8). In the meaning ‘become’ it is used in descriptive and equational sentences (17, 18), but not in locative, existential nor possessive sentences (unless with Perfect and Imperfective aspect, see below).

(15) 35 borso boyo-si-re se jon-e sebika he-l-e.
35 year age-LOC he CL-INDEF nurse become-PST-3p(HON)
‘She became a nurse at the age of 35.’

(16) ame parêd pořia-ku ja-uch-u. — parêd pořia-re koço we p. field-DAT go-PROG-1pe p. field-LOC what he-uch-i?
happen-PROG-3s
‘We are going to the parade field.’ — What is going on in the parade field?’

27he- is an ingressive verb (see 4.2.2.4); to express the state ‘be’ Perfect aspect verb forms are used.
(17) purb-e Kolkata Bharato-ro rajadhani ho-ith-il-a.
before-LOC C. India-GEN capital be-PERF-PST-3s
‘In former times Calcutta had been the capital of India.’

(In a grammar.)

(18) mon-e rikh-iba-ku he-b-o je Oriya he-uch-i goiti-e nobyo
mind-LOC put-INF-DAT be-FUT-3s COMP Oriya be-PROG-3s CL-INDEF new
Bharotiyo-arjyo bhasa.
Indian-Aryan language
‘You have to remember that Oriya is a New Indo-Aryan language.’

In the meaning ‘happen’ it can be translated by ‘be’ as well, and the construction resembles an existential statement.

(19) kobato-re goiti-e thok thok sobdo he-l-a.
door-LOC CL-INDEF IDEO noise be-PST-3s
‘There was a knock at the door.’

he- replaces och-, tha- and the zero copula in the Perfect and Imperfective tenses. In (20) he- replaces the existential copula och-.

(Beginning of a short story.)

(20) sahitya-a alocona he-utha-e.
literature discussion happen-IPFV-3s:HAB
‘There was a discussion about literature going on.’

Besides that, he- is used as finite verb in conjunct verbs (see 4.6.1) and as auxiliary in passive constructions (see 4.6.3).

4.5 Irregular verbs

There are a few verbs which exhibit irregularities in some of their forms. Below we will describe the most frequent ones, for more details see Dash 1982. Unless otherwise specified, the finite forms refer to first person singular.

(i) The most irregular verb is ja- ‘go’ which has a suppletive stem in the Past (go-l-).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Habitual</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Futur</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Conditional</th>
<th>Converb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ja- ‘go’</td>
<td>jae</td>
<td>gol</td>
<td>jibi</td>
<td>jiba</td>
<td>gol</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note the Imperative form 2p jaa ‘go!’ besides the regular ja-o. Cf. the Imperative form 2s of as- ‘come’: aa ‘come!’.
(ii) Some verb stems ending in -or- have an abridged Past stem (e.g. kor- ‘do’ has ko-l-).  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Habitual</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Conditional</th>
<th>Converb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kor-</td>
<td>‘do’</td>
<td>kore</td>
<td>kali</td>
<td>kore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mor-</td>
<td>‘die’</td>
<td>more</td>
<td>moli</td>
<td>more</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iii) A third group of very frequent verbs ending in a vowel change their stem vowel in the Habitual tense to i (he- becomes hu-) and optionally to o before the Imperfective aspect marker -u (he- also before Perfect -i). In addition they drop the -i of the Past and the Future marker (but not dē-).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>de- ‘give’</th>
<th>he- ‘be’</th>
<th>ne- ‘take’</th>
<th>dē- ‘jump’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HAB 1s</td>
<td>die</td>
<td>hue</td>
<td>nie</td>
<td>dīē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pi</td>
<td>die</td>
<td>hue</td>
<td>nie</td>
<td>dīē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pe</td>
<td>dou</td>
<td>hou</td>
<td>nōu</td>
<td>dēū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>dou</td>
<td>hou</td>
<td>nōu</td>
<td>dēū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>dō</td>
<td>hōu</td>
<td>nōi</td>
<td>dīō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>die</td>
<td>hōu</td>
<td>nōe</td>
<td>dīē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>dionti</td>
<td>hōnti</td>
<td>nōnti</td>
<td>dīōnti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Past     | deli       | heli     | neli       | dēili     |
Future   | debō/debō  | hebo/hobo| nebo/nobo  | dēbo      |
Progressive | deuchi/douchi | heuchi/houchi | neuchi/nouchi | dēuchi   |
Ipfv. tenses | deu-/douthili | heu-/houthili | neu-/nouthili | dēuthili |
Perfect  | deichi     | heichi   | hoichi     | dēichi    |
Pf. tenses | deithili   | hei-/hoithili | neithili    | dēithili  |

a-form  | dia        | nia      | dīā        |
Iba-form | deba/dobā  | hebā/hobā| nēba/nobā  | dēiba     |
General conv.| dei       | hōi      | nēi        | dēi       |
CONDVC  | dele       | hele     | nēle       | dēile     |

(iv) Some verb stems ending in -o or -ah change their stem vowel to u before suffixes with initial -a, -e, or -o.

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28 Other verbs have similar variants, but they belong to rural speech: e.g. por- / paila ‘it fell’, sor- / soila ‘it finished’, koh- / koili ‘I said’, dhor- / dhoili ‘I caught’, as- / aili or oili ‘I came’.  
29 The stem vowel alternates only in forms with the suffixes -o and -u.
dho- ‘wash’  koh- ‘say’

Habitual 1s  dhue  kuhe
1pi  dhue  kuhe
1pe  dhou  kohu
2s  dhou  kohu
2p  dhuc  kuhc
3s  dhue  kuhe
3p  dhuonti  kuhonti

Gerund  dhua  kuha
Past, etc. (regular)  dhoili  kohili

Other verbs with the same vowel alternations are roh- ‘stay’ (the a-form, however, is roha), so- ‘sleep’ and tho- ‘put’.

The stem vowel change to /u/ occurs in the a-form\(^{30}\) of the following verbs:

 bah- ‘row’ buha  pa- ‘find’ pua
 boh- ‘flow’ buha  soh- ‘suffer’ suha
 kha- ‘eat’ khua\(^{31}\)  tho- ‘put’ thua

(v) The stem vowel /a/ of otherwise regular verbs changes to /o/ in the a-form.

 ank- ‘draw’ onk-a  ‘drawn’
 kaft- ‘cut’ koft-a  ‘cut’
 pocr- ‘ask’ pocra-  ‘asked’
 tan- ‘pull’ tona-  ‘pulled’

4.6 Complex verbal units

This chapter deals with verbs which are combined with a second preposed element (noun or verb) so closely that the complex is a single semantic unit and the original meaning of the verb has bleached. We adopt the traditional use of two terms: conjunct verbs consist of noun + verb (see 4.6.1)\(^{32}\), compound verbs comprise two subsequent verbs (4.6.2). In 4.6.3 we describe the use of the a-form in passive constructions. Finally the use of the modal verb par- will be discussed (4.6.4).

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\(^{30}\)The suffix -a is either a participial ending (see 4.3.1), a passive marker (4.6.3) or a causative suffix (4.1.1).

\(^{31}\)Cf. the causative kho- ‘feed’.

\(^{32}\)For the term see Masica 1991, p. 368.
### 4.6.1 Conjunct verbs

Conjunct verbs consist of a noun (or less frequently an adjective, e.g. *bisesito kör- ‘mark’) which provides the main meaning and a verb of which the principal function is to carry the TAM affixes and the personal ending. Four verbs are involved in these constructions, *kör- ‘do’ and *he- ‘be, become’, and in a few cases *de- ‘give’ (e.g. *jogo de- ‘join’) and *pa- ‘find’ (e.g. *bruddhi pa- ‘increase (itr.)’).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjunct verbs with *kör- ‘do’</th>
<th>Conjunct verbs with *he- ‘be’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>byobaharo kör</strong>- ‘use’</td>
<td><strong>baha he</strong>- ‘marry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>jonoçoskho kör</strong>- ‘be born’</td>
<td><strong>bholo he</strong>- ‘get better’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>khyoma kör</strong>- ‘excuse’</td>
<td><strong>khusi he</strong>- ‘be happy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mone kör</strong>- ‘imagine’</td>
<td><strong>kothabartta he</strong>- ‘speak with’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>soskho kör</strong>- ‘participate’</td>
<td><strong>moko he</strong>- ‘feel like’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pekhya kör</strong>- ‘wait’</td>
<td><strong>paro he</strong>- ‘cross (the street)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pas kör</strong>- ‘pass’</td>
<td><strong>raji he</strong>- ‘agree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>probeso kör</strong>- ‘enter’</td>
<td><strong>soso he</strong>- ‘be thirsty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sahajya kör</strong>- ‘help’</td>
<td><strong>thia he</strong>- ‘stand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sotorko kör</strong>- ‘warn’</td>
<td><strong>torotoro he</strong>- ‘hurry’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many nouns used in conjunct verbs occur with more than one auxiliary. Conjunct verbs with *he- or *pa- denoting intransitive situations are on a par with conjunct verbs with *kör- denoting the transitive counterpart.

#### Intransitive meaning

- **arombho he**- ‘start (itr.)’
- **bikri he**- ‘be sold, cost’
- **bondo he**- ‘stop / close (itr.)’
- **nasto he**- ‘fail, spoil’
- **posando he**- ‘like s.th.’
- **seso he**- ‘finish (itr.)’
- **tiari he**- ‘be built’
- **dhwonsa pa**- ‘be destroyed’
- **prokaso pa**- ‘become public’
- **puja pa**- ‘be worshiped’
- **rakhya pa**- ‘escape’
- **uddharo pa**- ‘be released’

#### Transitive meaning

- **arombho kör**- ‘start to do s.th.’
- **bikri kör**- ‘sell’
- **bondo kör**- ‘stop / close (tr.)’
- **nasto kör**- ‘waste’
- **posando kör**- ‘prefer to do’
- **seso kör**- ‘finish (tr.)’
- **tiari kör**- ‘build’
- **dhwonsa kör**- ‘destroy’
- **prokaso kör**- ‘make known’
- **puja kör**- ‘worship’
- **rakhya kör**- ‘save’
- **uddharo kör**- ‘release’

Examples (1a, 2a, 3a) show the intransitive construction, whereas (1b, 2b, 3b) illustrate the corresponding transitive construction.

(1)  a. **nato ehi khyoni arombho he-l-a.**
     **play**  **this moment start**  **be-PST-3s**
‘The play just started.’

b. putru-ku koñ-re cap-i dhö-i bikö-re kand-iba-ku
   son-DAT lap-LOC press-CV take-CV overwhelmed-LOC weep-INF-DAT
   arcmbhö ko-l-e.
   start do-PST-3p(HON)
   ‘She pressed the son in her lap and began to weep overwhelmed.’

(2) a. caulö kilô satô tóŋka-re bikri he-uch-i.
   rice kilo seven rupee-LOC sell be-PROG-3s
   ‘Rice sells at seven rupees a kilo.’

b. se kóñqhei bikri kor-i peço pos-uth-il-e.
   she toys sell do-CV stomach earn-IPFV-PST-3p(HON)
   ‘She earned her living by selling toys.’

(3) a. alurî besi anístö ghot-ib-o, ebòng Hawai dwipo dhwonso
   more much damage happen-FUT-3s and H. island destruction
   pa-i-j-ib-o.
   find-CV-V2:go-FUT-3s
   ‘Much more damage will occur, and the island of Hawaii will be
   destroyed.’

b. Aswâthama Pâñjåba-bânsö dhwonso kor-iba-ku ostö projögo
   P.-family destruction do-INF-DAT weapon use
   ko-l-e.
   do-PST-3p(HON)
   ‘Aśvâthâmâ used weapons to destroy the Pâñjåba family.’

A verbal part of a conjunct verb can govern up to three objects: the noun
which makes up the conjunct verb (e.g. prôdana ‘gift’ in (4)), the patient (se
sokti ‘that power’) and the recipient (duhînku ‘to both of them’).

(4) jogi du-hî-nku se sokti prôdana ko-l-e.
   y. two-EMPH-OBL:DAT that power gift do-PST-3p(HON).
   ‘The yogi gave the power to both of them.’

Note that other elements can be inserted between the noun and the verb of a
conjunct verb:

(About getting into contact with a beautiful girl.)

(5) se bujh-i-par-u-no-th-ile kôthabartta arcmbhö
   he understand-CV-can-IPFV-NEG-AUX-COND-CV conversation start
   kemiti kor-ib-o?
   how do-FUT-3s
   ‘If he does not know how, how should he start a conversation?’
4.6.2 Compound verbs

Compound verbs comprise a finite verb following the converb in -i of the main verb. The finite verb, which carries all inflectional affixes, is called a light verb.\(^{33}\) Its function is to specify the meaning of the main verb. All light verbs can be used elsewhere as full verbs as well.

The compound verbs are structurally parallel to sequences of a general converb and a final finite verb. There are, however, some features that differentiate them from the other type.

- The complex of main verb + light verb forms a semantic unity, where the light verb has lost its original meaning partially or completely.
- The general converb variant -ki cannot be inserted in a compound verb. Only those second verbs which do not allow -ki-insertion in at least one context are called light verbs.

There are no formal restrictions concerning the occurrence of compound verbs: They can appear in all finite and nonfinite, affirmative and negative TAM forms. All light verbs will be glossed as V2 + their meaning as full verb since their function is rather diffuse and not easily captured by a single term.

Table 4.8: Oriya light verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning of the light verb</th>
<th>function as light verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘come’</td>
<td>Emphasis (motion towards speaker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sit’</td>
<td>Emphasis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘walk’</td>
<td>Continuity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘give’</td>
<td>Emphasis (tr. verbs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘go’</td>
<td>Emphasis (itr. verbs, motion away from speaker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘take’</td>
<td>Emphasis (self-benefactive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘put’</td>
<td>Emphasis (spontaneity)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘fall’</td>
<td>Emphasis (suddenness)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘stay’</td>
<td>Continuity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘finish’</td>
<td>Teliciser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘get up’</td>
<td>Emphasis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As indicated in Table 4.8 above the main function of all but three of the light verbs is to emphasise the main verb. This emphasis has a different shape depending on the semantics of the main verb. Whereas the light verbs as-, por-,

\(^{33}\)The term was originally used by Jespersen (1954, VI:117), and more recently e.g. by Butt (1995) for Urdu; other common terms are “vector” or “explicator” verbs. For the treatment of compound verbs in related languages see Hook 1974 for Hindi and Chatterjee 1988 for Bengali.
poka- and uth- convey meanings which can be stated in more or less clear terms, the two light verbs ja- and de- often do nothing else than putting focus on the main verb. In fact, the distinction between main verb + ja- / de- and the main verb alone is so specific that one is tempted to treat any combination of main verb + light verb as a lexeme of its own. In some cases the aspectual contents of the verb is touched (see the discussion of calijiba below), but none of the light verbs can be called teliciser except for sor- ‘finish’.34

Light verbs can be combined; ja- and as- follow other light verbs. Consider (6) with ne- ‘take’ and ja- ‘go’:

(A: Could you please give me back my umbrella? — B:)

(6) se chɔta to mo-þhu goto-e sangɔ
that umbrella PTCL I-ABL CL-INDEF friend
mag-i-ne-i-ja-ich-i.
ask-CV-V2:take-CV-V2:go-PERF-3s
‘A friend has asked me for that umbrella.’

Most verbs can be combined with a whole range of light verbs, consider (7) with the light verbs as-, bos-, de-, ja- and pok-a-:

(7) mʊ goti-e bohut bɔrɔ bhul kɔr-i-æs- / bɔs- / de- / ja- / I CL-INDEF very big mistake do-CV-V2:come / sit / give / go /
poka-ich-i.
throw-PERF-1s
‘I have made a very big mistake.’

The variants entail the following nuances:

a) as- “I have been making this mistake up to now.”

b) bos- “I am still in the affair; remedy is possible.”

c) de- “I apologise for this; I hope you excuse me.”

d) ja- “The mistake has been made; nothing can be corrected.”

e) pok-a- “I suddenly realise that I have made a mistake.”

After discussing some syntactic properties of light verbs we shall start by discussing the two most frequent light verbs ja- and de-.

4.6.2.1 General characteristics of compound verbs

As mentioned above, the main verb is always in the general convverb form. Its variants -ki or -kɔri do not occur.

(8) puɔ-rc bibahɔ bɔyaɔɔ ho-i(*-ki)-gɔl-a-ŋi.
son-GEN marriage age become-CV-CV-V2:go:PST-3s-MIR
‘The son has reached the age of marriage.’

34There is one use of ja- ‘go’ as a teliciser (see below).
If the suffix -ki is added to hoi, the meaning of the sentence changes: ‘The son came in the age of marriage and went’. The fact that ki-insertion is not possible without semantic change is taken here as a criterion for the verb combination to be a compound verb. There is a number of verbs in second position that do not fulfill this condition, but behave semantically like light verbs insofar as they form a semantic unit with a preceding main verb. These are:

- an- ‘bring’ bapa taku borhaianithila ‘the father brought her up’
- dhor- ‘catch’ se mo hatoku tanidhorila ‘he pulled and hold my arm’
- pohonc- ‘arrive’ bapa asipohoncigola ‘father arrived’
- pola- ‘flee’ koedi khospolaiichi ‘the prisoner has escaped’
- rökha- ‘keep’ se cithi lucairkhilha ‘she kept the letter hidden’

There are two other expressions of a converb and a following verb, where -ki cannot be inserted: pheripa- ‘get back’ and phericah- ‘look back’. Nevertheless pa- ‘get’ and cah- ‘look’ will not be considered as light verbs since they retain their full meaning and since the two expressions are unique.

There is no pause between the main verb and the light verb. When a pause is inserted, the light verb is interpreted as full verb (and ki-insertion is possible):

(9) bilei-ći pori-gol-a. vs. bilei-ći pori(-ki) (PAUSE) gol-a.
    cat-ART fall-CV-V2:go:PST-3s cat-ART fall-CV-CV go:PST-3s
    ‘The cat fell down.’ ‘The cat fell down and went away.’

There is a small number of elements that can be inserted in a compound verb:

(i) the negative marker no:

(10) kolom pori-nc-gol-a to koňo he-l-a?
    pen fall-CV-NEG-V2:go:PST-3s PTCL what be-PST-3s
    ‘If the pen did not fall down, so what?’

(ii) the interrogative word kahìki ‘why’:

(11) tame ta-ku sompurñço sotyo kotha-ći koh-i kahìki
    you(POL) he-DAT whole truth matter-ART say-CV why
del-c-ni?
    V2:give-PST-2p-NEG
    ‘Why didn’t you tell him the whole truth?’

(iii) the modal items to, bi and modhyo:

(12) porikhya pài mù kali dina-jakò porh-i to de-ich-i.
    exam for I yesterday day-all study-CV PTCL V2:give-PERF-1s
    ‘Yesterday I learnt for the exam the whole day.’ (The clitic to signals
    that the speaker has studied through, but he does not know how much
    he will remember.)
4.6.2. Compound verbs

(13) mű goṭi-e bohi kiṇ-ich-i ebong ta-ku pōrh-i bi de-ich-i.
I CL-INDEF book buy-PERF-1s and it-DAT read-CV also give-PERF-1s
'I have bought a book and read it through as well.'

(About behaviour concerning death. "Do not think about death all the time.")

(14) kintu mrutyu-ku bhul-i madhyo ja-a nahi.
but death-DAT forget-CV also V2:go-2p NEG
'But do not forget death either.' (Religious article in a newspaper)

In poetic language the light verb can be shifted in front of the main verb.

(15) bilei-ṭi gol-a ṭebul upor-u pōrh-i.
cat-ART V2:go:PST-3s t. top-ABL fall-CV
'The cat fell from the table.'
(var. bilei-ṭi ṭebul upor-u gol-a pōrh-i.)

In coordinated compound verbs with the same light verb the first occurrence cannot be omitted.

(16) mū *randh-i-Ø / randh-i-de-ich-i ebong kha-i-de-ich-i.
I cook-CV cook-CV-V2:give-PERF-1s and eat-CV-V2:give-PERF-1s
'I cooked and ate.'

The main verb can be reduplicated.

(17) mű sobu-toka pani pi-i-pii-de-l-i.
I all-all water drink-CV-RDP-V2:give-PST-1s
'I drank all the water.'

(18) mū so-i-soi-pōrh-il-i.
I sleep-CV-RDP-V2:fall-PST-1s
'I was sleeping.'

(19) emiti eco boyo co jetebo-ku jibon-co unnoti-co
like.this one age when-DAT life-LOC improvement-GEN
sombhaba-∩a-guriko libh-i-libhi-as-il-a-∩i.
possibility-PL go.out-CV-RDP-V2:come-PST-3s-MIR
'He was in such an age when the possibilities of improvement in life have started to disappear.'

4.6.2.2 ja- ‘go’

The light verb ja- ‘go’ is found with various meanings, depending upon the character of the main verb.\(^{35}\) When combined with motion verbs, the function

\(^{35}\)Note that ja- ‘go’ as main verb never takes a light verb.
of ja- ‘go’ is closely related to its original meaning. It denotes the starting point of a motion or the direction of a motion. In a next step, in combination with other, non-motion verbs, the motion is no longer concrete. However, ja- still adds a nuance of “(going) away”. The most abstract function of ja-, where no motion is involved anymore, is to give emphasis to the main verb, or to indicate the completion of the situation described by the main verb. So we have the following functions:

(i) starting point of a motion
(ii) direction of a motion
(iii) “away”
(iv) emphasis
(v) completion

In addition the light verb ja- is used in orders to express politeness (e.g. corhijao ‘get on’ is more polite than corho).

The light verb ja- is used mainly with intransitive main verbs (for transitive verbs the light verb de- is used), only the use (iii), applies both to intransitive and transitive verbs.

(i) In combination with motion verbs such as cal- ‘walk’, dour- ‘run’, mar- ‘rush’ or ur- ‘fly’, the light verb ja- denotes the starting point of the motion. This is seen best with the verb cal- ‘go, walk’. When this verb occurs without a light verb, it refers to a motion which is not directed.

(20) cal-iba arɔmbho koriba ‘(about a baby) to start to walk’
    phyan cal-u-ni ‘the fan is not working (but it is okay)’
    nido-re cal-iba bemarɔ ‘sleepwalking (lit. illness to walk in the sleep)’

In the examples above the light verb ja- is normally not used. By contrast, when the verb cal- is used with a light verb (either ja- ‘go’ or as- ‘come’), the activity of walking or moving is limited in some way: in the case of ja- the starting point is determined, in case of as- the goal is determined (see 4.6.2.4). Consider some examples with the light verb ja- ‘go’, where calija- can be translated by ‘go away’.

(Where is the train?)

(21) sar, aponɔ pano corrot le-t-re as-ile, teŋu garĩ plataʰɔrm S. you(HON) five m. 1.-LOC come-PST-3p so train p.
    char-i cal-i-ja-ich-i.
    leave-CV go-CV-V2:go-PERF-3s
    ‘Sir, you came five minutes late, so the train has left the platform and has gone.’

(About money. First, the coins of 1, 2, 3, and 5 paisas got out of use.)
4.6.2. Compound verbs

(22) taapre e-pər-i-ki ekə, duĩ ḩɔŋk-ia not cal-i-gol-a-ni.
then this-like-PTCL one two rupee-ADJR n. go-CV-V2:go:PST-3s-MIR
‘Then one and two rupee notes disappeared in the same way.’

(23) mʊ paŋh-ərh-a-re ete məŋnə ho-i-jət-h-il-i je
I study-read-PTCP-LOC so absorbed become-CV-V2:go-PERF-PST-1s that
mʊ jaŋ-i-par-il-i nahi ketebele biji cal-i-gol-a.
I know-CV-can-PST-1s NEG when electricity go-CV-V2:go:PST-3s
‘I was so absorbed in my studies that I did not notice when the electricity went off.’

(ii) The light verb ja- indicates that the motion is directed towards an aim. This will again be exemplified by the verb cal- ‘walk’. calijantu in (24) does not mean ‘go away from here’, but rather ‘go ahead’.

(24) Rama-babu apanə-nku opəkhyə kər-ιch-ənti, sabsidha
R.-HON you(HON)-OBL:DAT waiting do-PERF-3p straight
bhıtərə-kə cal-i-ja-n̄tu.
inside-DAT go-CV-V2:go-3p:IMP
‘Rama is waiting for you, go straight inside.’

The light verb as- ‘come’ is used for the opposite meaning; the verb calias-means ‘come (up to) here’.

(25) dhorməgoŋhə he-bə jaŋ-i amə soməst-e purbo-ru
strike be-FUT-3s know-CV we all-NOM before-ABL
caλ-i-as-il-u.
go-CV-V2:come-PST-1pe
‘When we heard that a strike would take place we all came beforehand.’

(iii) The third use of the light verb ja- described here no longer involves a concrete motion, but indicates that the situation referred to by the main verb entails a removal of a participant. Consider for example the expression baha he-‘get married’ in (26) below where the fact that a boy has married (or marries or will marry) a girl has a negative meaning to a third person. The sense could be paraphrased as “marry away from somebody”.

(26) tume kahiki as-ich-o? mo jhiə to 18 bơrsə hebo baha
you(POL) why come-PERF-2p my daughter PTCL 18 year for marriage
ho-i-gol-a-ni.
be-CV-V2:go:PST-3s-MIR
‘Why have you come? My daughter has been married off for 18 years.’

When the verb kha- ‘eat’ is combined with the light verb ja-, it means that the subject is taking away food from somebody by eating it.

(To a lawyer.)
(27) jodi kaha-ro kukuro mo dokanro manso kha-i-ja-e,
    if somebody-GEN dog my shop-ABL meat eat-CV-V2:go-3s:HAB
    tebe mū ta-ku ain onusare kōnō kor-ivar-ib-i?
    then I he-DAT law according to what do-CV-can-FUT-1s
    ‘If somebody’s dog eats meat from my shop, what can I do according to
    the law?’

(iv) The most difficult meaning of the light verb ja- to capture is its use of
    emphasising the main verb. In most of the examples above this emphasis was
    present as well, together with an additional element of meaning which could be
    assigned to ja- ‘go’. In certain contexts, however, emphasis is the only effect,
    when the light verb ja- is added.

    Consider the impersonal verb mil- ‘be available’ (pa- ‘find’ exhibits a very
    similar use). (28) illustrate its use without a light verb. The focus lies on where
    the person has got the cup, not on the act of getting itself.

(28) ei kôp kouth-um mil-il-a? — douro prātiyogita-re prathamo
    this c. where-ABL be.available-PST-3s race competition-LOC first
    he-ba-ru.
    be-INF-ABL
    ‘Where did you get this cup? — From being first in a race.’

By contrast, when mil- is used with the light verb ja-, the act of finding is given
some importance. For instance, the act of finding required some effort from the
finder. In (29) the addressee might have searched for a job for some time, or
the speaker might want to express that he is glad his friend finally found a job.

(29) tune to koh-uth-il-c ehi byutį-klinik-re tumo-ku cakiri
    you(POL) PTCL say-IPFV-PST-2p this b.-c.-LOC you(POL)-DAT job
    mil-i-ja-ich-i.
    be.available-CV-V2:go-PERF-3s
    ‘You were telling me that you have found a job in this beauty clinic.’

In (30a) the speaker would be really happy if they get a corner seat, so he
emphasises his statement with miligole. Note that in the reply (30b) the verb
is negated and used without a light verb:

(A couple goes to the cinema. He says:)

(30) a. koŋo-siṭ mil-i-gole bōhut bhōlo he-b-ɔ.
    c.-s. be.available-CV-V2:go:CONDCV very good be-FUT-3s
    ‘If we get a seat in the corner, it will be very good.’

b. au jodi koŋo-ro siṭ no-mil-e?
    and if c.-GEN s. NEG be.available -3s:HAB
    ‘And if there is no seat in the corner?’
4.6.2. Compound verbs

Some other verbs which frequently occur with the light verb ja- with emphasising function are:

- bhang- / bhangija- ‘break’
- pōla- / pōlaija- ‘flee’
- bhul- / bhulija- ‘forget’
- por- / porija- ‘fall’
- khs- / khsija- ‘escape, fall’
- rag- / ragija- ‘be angry’
- mor- / morija- ‘die’
- so- / soija- ‘sleep’

All of the verbs mentioned above involve some situation change so that the original meaning of the verb ja- ‘go’ can be imagined to apply in some way or other. However, stative situations can take the light verb ja- as well, e.g. besi he- ‘be much’.

(31) apona-nkō ghordi bhola, kintu bhorda ta besi ho-i-ja-uch-i.

you(HON)-OBL house-ART good but rent-ART much be-CV-V2:go-PROG-3s

‘Your house is good, but the rent is very high.’

(v) The light verb ja- indicates that the process is done to completion (telicising function). Consider the verb jōl- ‘burn’. Without a light verb it denotes an activity:

(32) mohomo-boti jōl-ich-i, au ebe bi jōl-i-ja-uch-i.

wax-candle burn-PERF-3s and now also burn-CV-V2:go-PROG-3s

‘The candle has burnt and is still burning (down).’

When the light verb ja- is added, jōlja- means ‘burn down’. In this case the sentence pattern “has V-ed and is still V-ing” is not possible:

(33) * mohomo-boti jōl-i-ja-ich-i, au ebe bi jōl-i-ja-uch-i.

wax-candle burn-CV-V2:go-PERF-3s and now also burn-CV-V2:go-PROG-3s

‘The candle has burnt down and is still burning (down).’

There are some other verbs where the light verb ja- has the same function:

- bōrh- ‘grow’
- bōrhija- ‘grow out’
- sukh- ‘dry’
- sukhija- ‘dry out’
- tōrōl- ‘melt’
- tōrōlija- ‘melt down’

(vi) Finally, there is one use of ja- which falls outside the definition of a light verb since the suffix -ki can be inserted to the main verb. We list this function here since its semantics is not previsible. ja- indicates that the subject has gone away (or is going away) after completing the activity described by the main verb, suggesting a translation “first do”.

(A gentleman asked the vendor for fish. He took it and was about to go away. The vendor calls him:)
(34) babu, machā dam de-i-ja-ç!
HON fish price give-CV-V2:go-2p:IMP
‘Hey Sir, pay the fish first (lit. having given the price go)!’

(The speakers have no money to pay the rickshaw-driver, so they offer him to keep their books.)

(35) amo-rā ehi bohi-sobu ni-contu, kali as-i skul-ru bhora
we-GEN this book-all take-3p:IMP tomorrow come-CV s.-ABL fare
ne-i-j-ib-e ebang amo bohi-sobu de-i-j-ib-e.
take-CV-V2:go-FUT-3p and our book-all give-CV-V2:go-FUT-3p
‘Take all these books of ours, tomorrow you come, take the fare (for the rickshaw) from the school and give (back) our books and go.’

4.6.2.3 de- ‘give’

The light verb de- ‘give’ is used with transitive main verbs only. In most of its occurrences as light verb de- has lost its original meaning. Only the benefactive function is directly related to the notion of “giving”. The uses can be subsumed as follows:

(i) benefactive
(ii) “away”
(iii) emphasis
(iv) politeness

Its functions are partly parallel to those assumed by ja- with intransitive verbs. In (36a) the verb kom- ‘diminish’ is intransitive, hence ja- is used, whereas the causative form of kóm- in (36b), kôma-, is a transitive verb, hence de- is used.

(36) a. ta-nkọ kotha sun-iba pāi lokô-nkô-rc agróho krome
he-OBL matter hear-INF for people-OBL-GEN interest gradually
kom-i-ja-uth-il-a.
diminish-CV-V2:go-IPFV-PST-3s
‘People were getting less and less interested in listening to him. (lit. The people’s interest in listening to him diminished.)’

b. aspirin mo munçâ-botha kom-a-i-de-l-a.
a. my head-ache diminish-CAUS-CV-V2:give-PST-3s
‘Aspirins eased my headache.’

Main verbs which can be used both transitively and intransitively combine with de- as well as with ja- respectively, e.g. bhang- ‘break’ or char- ‘leave, stop’: (37a) and (38a) illustrate their intransitive use and (37b) and (38b) their transitive use.
4.6.2. Compound verbs

(37) a. taa gorɔ bhang-i-ja-ich-i.
   his leg break-CV-V2:go-PERF-3s
   ‘He has broken his leg. (lit. His leg has broken.)’

   b. Rebɔtị mo dɔrpɔnɔ-ța bhang-i-de-ich-i.
      R. my mirror-ART break-CV-V2:give-PERF-3s
      ‘Rebati has broken my mirror.’

(38) a. au prayɔ pondɔrɔ miniñ bhitɔr-e borsa char-i-j-ib-ɔ.
   more about fifteen m. inside-LOC rain stop-CV-V2:go-FUT-3s
   ‘The rain will stop in about fifteen minutes.’

   b. ame se ghɔrɔ-ța char-i-de-l-u-ńi.
      we that house-ART leave-CV-V2:give-PST-1pe-MIR
      ‘We have left that house.’

(i) The light verb de- can have benefactive meaning; consider (39) where the wife’s service for her husband is described by three verbs marked with de-, i.e. pɔkaidei, bariidele and bincidele.

(39) ta-nku bhokɔ kɔr-uth-iba-re jañ-i asɔnɔ pɔka-i-de-i
     he-OBL:DAT hunger do-IPFV-INF-GEN know-CV seat put-CV-V2:give-CV
   ta-nku aco kha-i-ba-ku barih-de-l-e ebong kichi
     he-OBL:DAT first eat-INF-DAT serve-CV-V2:give-PST-3p(HON) and some
     someɔyɔ na-nku pakho-ri thia ho-i pɔnkha-re ta-nku
time he-OBL side-LOC standing be-CV fan-LOC he-OBL:DAT
   binc-i-de-l-e.
   fan-CV-V2:give-PST-3p(HON)
   ‘When she learnt that he was hungry she gave him a seat, first gave him
to eat and fanned him for some time with a fan standing beside him.’

(ii) The light verb de- indicates that the situation expressed by the main verb is
done with the effect of removing an object (“(put, throw, ...) away”). Consider
the following list with some verbs which attest this use:

    bik- ‘sell’ vs. bikide- ‘sell (off)’
    poka- ‘put’ vs. pokeide- ‘put (away)’
    phing- ‘throw’ vs. phingide- ‘throw (away)’

For illustration consider the verb phing- ‘throw’. When the object is not thrown
away, the light verb de- is not obligatorily used:

(Before a football match the referee wants to toss a coin to decide which team
starts.)

(40) chi mudrɔ-ți-ku mʊ urddɔwɔ-ku phing-ib-i. ame dekh-ib-a kɛn
    this coin-ART-DAT I upwards-DAT throw-FUT-1s we see-FUT-1pi which
    pokhɔ-ți upɔrɔ-ku pɔr-i-roh-ich-i.
    side-ART top-DAT fall-CV-V2:stay-PERF-3s
I shall toss this coin. We shall see which side of it is on top when it falls.'

When the speaker wants to express that the object is not with the agent after the throwing ('throw away'), the light verb de- is normally used.

(41) ræoggle kha-il-u? — h5, ræoggle kha-il-i je taa monji
    <sp. sweet> eat-PST-2s yes r. eat-PST-1s PTCL its kernel
    kha-i-n-i phing-i-de-l-i.
    *phing-il-i
    eat-PERF-NEG-1s throw-CV-V2:give-PST-1s throw-PST-1s

'Did you eat the rasagolâ? — Yes, I ate it, but I have not eaten the kernel, I threw it away.'

The same use can be observed with the verb bik- 'sell'. It occurs with the light verb de-, when an object is "sold off", i.e. it is missed by someone after the sale.

(Where is my book?)

(42) se-ta to mû puruña khôbôc-kagojo sohito bik-i-de-l-i!
    that-ART PTCL I old newspaper with sell-CV-V2:give-PST-1s

'I sold that together with the old newspapers.'

(iii) The most frequent use of the light verb de- 'give' is the emphasis of the main verb. Some of the verbs that occur with de- are listed below:

bôha-/ bôhaide- 'hand over' lekh-/ lekhide- 'write'
de- / deide- 'give' potha-/ potheide- 'send'
dekha-/ dekhide- 'show' rôkh-/ rôkhide- 'put'
koh-/ kôhide- 'say'

Consider some examples with potha- 'send'. Without a light verb the act of sending is not in focus.

(An author asks a publisher about his writings.)

(43) mû kichi lekha ebong kahani apôna-nko pakhô-ku potha-ith-il-i.
    I some writing and story you(HON)-OBL side-DAT send-PERF-PST-1s

'I had sent you some writings and stories. (Continuation: Did you find any of them worth publishing?)'

Note that the verb form with light verb would be less polite since it could be interpreted as "I had sent you my writings, please do something with them".

When the light verb is used the act of sending is given importance. Note both variants in (44), where two acts of sending are described. The sending of the photo is not given prominence, since it is only a means to catch the thief, hence potha'i is not marked by a light verb. The main emphasis of the sentence lies upon the sending of the thief to the police station, therefore the verb form pothaidebo takes the light verb.
4.6.2. Compound verbs

(44) ehi loko-rc patha-i
this person-GEN f. send-CV
photo protyekc thana ophisor-nc pakha-ku ko
every station OBL side-DAT side-DAT
adeco de-l-e je ehi loko-ku pa-ile ta-ku giriph
order give-PST-3p(HON) that this person-DAT find-CNDVC he-DAT arrest
kor-i Sadar thana-ku patha-i-de-b-c.
do-CV S. station-DAT send-CV-V2:give-FUT-3s
‘He sent a photo of this man to every police officer and instructed them
to arrest him and send him to the Sadara police station when they found
him.’

Another case is the verb ko-‘say, speak’. In most cases it occurs without
the light verb, e.g. se ko-‘hila, ... ‘he said,that ...’. The light verb is used when
the act of saying has special importance. Consider (45), where the focus of
the sentence is about the act of saying itself:

(45) muku tamo bou-nku ko-ih-de-b-i je, tone sigaret
my your(POL) mother-OBL:DAT say-CV-V2:give-FUT-1s that you(POL) c.
pi-uch-o?
drink-PROG-2p
‘Shall I tell your mother that you smoke cigarettes?’

In (46) it is because the opposite party was telling about the speaker that he
lost the elections:

(Why did you lose the elections?)

(46) muku joubona-rc konga cong kori-ih-l-i birodhi do loko-nku
I youth-LOC what RDP do-PERF-PST-1s opposing party people-OBL:DAT
ko-ih-de-l-e.
say-CV-V2:give-PST-3p
‘The opposition party told the people what I had done in my youth.’

(iv) When the light verb de- is added to the main verb in a sentence with
imperative meaning, the order is more polite, e.g. ko‘ho-‘open’ is less polite than
ko‘olidic ‘open’. Consider (47) where the light verb de- adds more politeness.

(47) e kagso-ti rokh-iba dorkar nah-i, ta-ku
this paper-ART keep-INF need be:NEG-3s it-DAT
phing-i-(de-i-)par-o.
throw-CV-V2:give-CV-can-2p:HAB
‘You do not have to keep this paper, you can throw it away.’

In other contexts the light verb de- has to do with the relationship between
speaker and hearer. The bare form is used when the asking person, e.g. a
beggar, has no authority over the addressee.
4.6. Complex verbal units

(48) sar kete din he-l-a-ni bhokɔ-re ɔch-i, kichi di-ɔntu.
S. some day be-PST-3s-MIR hunger-LOC be-1s something give-3p:IMP
'Sir, I have been hungry for some days, please give me something.'

In contrast, when the asking person has a right to ask, the light verb is used. So the washerwoman who is bringing the clothes she has washed may say poisa dei-diɔntu ‘give me the money’. Another type of ‘right to ask’ is when the asking person stands in an intimate relationship to the addressee.

(Two friends.)

(49) mʊ bhab-i-par-u-n-i je mo swami-nkɔ jɔnɔ-dinɔ-re ki
think-CV-can-PROG-NEG-1s that my husband-OBL birth-day-LOC what
upɔhɔrɔ de-b-i. — ta-nku goti-e nua sarɔ
present give-FUT-1s he-OBL:DAT CL-INDEF new s.
de-i-di-ɔ.
give-CV-V2:give-2p:IMP
'I do not know what present I can offer my husband to his birthday. —
Give him a new shirt.'

4.6.2.4 as- ‘come’

The light verb as- ‘come’ assumes the following functions:

(i) emphasis and direction (opposed to the light verb ja- ‘go’)
(ii) persistent function
(iii) relinquiative
(iv) ability

The various functions will be discussed in turn.

(i) The light verb as- ‘come’ is used to emphasise the main predicate, orientating its action towards the speech centre function, while ja- ‘go’ functions as the opposite: it orientates the action away from the speech centre (see 4.6.2.2). In this sense, sidha caliasontu, ‘come straight (here)’ expresses the direction of the motion. Consider another example, (50): the speech centre is located in Hariscandra’s kingdom. First, the gods go away, hence pherigole\(^{36}\); then the royal family comes back to the kingdom, hence pherisale in the second part.

(The gods had come down from heaven and had appeared to king Hariscandra, his wife and his son.)

(50) debota-mane raja, rani o Rohitaswo-ku asirbad o kor-i sworgo-ku
god-PL king queen and R.-DAT blessings do-CV heaven-DAT
pher-i-gol-e. Hariscondro stri o putro-ku songο-re ghen-i
return-CV-V2:go:PST-3p H. wife and son-DAT together-LOC hold-CV

\(^{36}\) gol- is the Past stem of the verb ja- ‘go’.
nijo rajya-ku pher-i-as-il-e.
REFL kingdom-DAT return-CV-V2:come-PST-3p
'The gods blessed the king, the queen and Rohitāśva and returned to heaven. Hariścandra held wife and son and came back to his kingdom.'

(ii) The light verb as- is used for situations which have started in the past and continue to last in the present (persistent situation).

(51) Kongres prathom-cu ei bhul kor-i-as-ich-i.
C. first-ABL this mistake do-CV-V2:come-PERF-3s
'The Congress has been making this mistake from the beginning.'

(52) Norahari au Rita prayo dui boro hela porcspor-cu bhelo
N. and R. almost two year for each.other-DAT good
pa-i-as-uch-onti.
find-CV-V2:come-PROG-3p
'Narahari and Rīta have been fond of each other for almost two years.'

(iii) Another function of as- is to indicate that the action of the main verb has been completed somewhere else and has been left behind ("do and come"). In this use, however, the verbal complex is not a compound verb, since ki-insertion is possible.

(53) tu dekh-i(-ki)-as-ib-u ratī he-l-a-nī ki?
you(FAM) see-CV-CV-V2:come-FUT-2s night be-PST-3s-MIR INT
'Go and see whether night has fallen (lit. see and come).'

(A: Grandfather told me he would leave. — B: Really? Where will he go to? — A:)

(54) kuar-e? pocar-i-as-ib-i?
where-LOC ask-CV-V2:come-FUT-1s
'Where? Shall I ask? (lit. shall I ask and come?)'

(iv) The verb as- with dative subject can signal ability "can".

(55) ta-ku randh-i-as-e nahī, basaṇo maj-i-as-e
she-DAT cook-CV-V2:come-3s:HAB NEG utensil polish-CV-V2:come-3s:HAB
nahī, sejo poka-i-as-e nahī, kichi kamo as-e nahī.
NEG bed put-CV-V2:come-3s:HAB NEG any work come-3s:HAB NEG
'She cannot cook, she cannot clean the utensils, she cannot make the beds, no work can she do.'

The main verb can appear as a-form as well (cf. as- with the noun kamo ‘work’ in (55) above).
4.6. Complex verbal units

(56) e-porjyontə mo-te lekh-a-porh-a as-u-no-th-il-a.
this-until I-DAT write-PTCP-read-PTCP come-IPFV-NEG-AUX-PST-3s
'I was not able to write and read up to now.'

4.6.2.5 **bos-** ‘sit’

The light verb **bos-** ‘sit’ indicates that the subject is completely engaged in the activity. In some cases the original meaning ‘sit’ can be imagined to be present, e.g. **jgibos**- ‘sit and watch’, **khaibos**- ‘sit and eat’ or **ghuncibos**- ‘move aside (sitting)’, as in (57).

(In the bus.)

(57) tikie **ghunc-i-bos-ib-e** ki?
please move-CV-V2:sit-FUT-3p INT
‘Would you please move a bit?’

In other contexts the light verb **bos**- has lost the meaning ‘sit’.

(The subject referent has fallen into the river.)

(58) se kuļo-ku uth-i-asa iba khyoni Madhobu ta-ku
he side-DAT get.up-CV-V2:come-INF moment M. he-DAT
mar-i-bos-i tol-e poka-i-de-l-a.
rush-CV-V2:sit-CV bottom-LOC throw-CV-V2:give-PST-3s
‘When he was about to climb to the riverside, Madhobu pushed him and threw him down.’

(About a boy.)

(59) se jid dhor-i-bos-ich-i godho upor-e corh-i bul-iba-ku.
he obstination hold-CV-V2:sit-PERF-3s donkey top-LOC climb-CV walk-INF-DAT
‘He persists in his wish to ride on a donkey.’

Without the light verb **bos**- the boy is described as less obstinate.

(60) sarakarco sobu kotha-re cap-i-poka-i-bos-ile kola-rc
government all matter-LOC press-CV-V2:put-CV-V2:sit-COND-CV art-GEN
bikaso ho-i-par-ib-o nahī.
manifestation be-CV-can-FUT-3s NEG
‘If the government interferes in everything, art cannot flourish.’

4.6.2.6 **cal-** ‘go’

The light verb **cal-** ‘go, walk’ signals that the situation, which is a dynamic one, continues at reference time. For example the situation that somebody continued to read after an interruption is rendered by **se bohi lekhicalila** ‘he continued to read a book’.
(61) se din̂-jako kha-i-cal-ich-i.
    he day-all eat-CV-V2:walk-PERF-3s
    ‘He is eating all the day.’

(62) choṭo choṭo kotha-re swami stri-nko bhitor-e jhogora
    small RDP matter-LOC husband wife-OBL inside-LOC dispute
    bolh-i-cal-il-a.
    flow-CV-V2:walk-PST-3s
    ‘In little matters the quarrelling between husband and wife kept going.’

(63) bors♂ por-e bors♂ gor-i-cal-il-a.
    year after-LOC year roll-CV-V2:walk-PST-3s
    ‘Year after year passed.’

Non-telic situations cannot be marked by the light verb cal-:

(64) * se sejɔ-re so-i-cal-ich-i.
    he bed-LOC sleep-CV-V2:walk-PERF-3s
    ‘He keeps lying on the bed.’

The main verb can be reduplicated to emphasise that the situation continues.

(65) mun̂ bhitor-e suna-mohoro borh-i-borhi-cal-itha-e.
    bag inside-LOC gold-coin grow-CV-RDP-V2:walk-PERF-3s:HAB
    ‘The amount of gold coins grew continuously in the bag.’

4.6.2.7 ne- ‘take’

The light verb ne- ‘take’ emphasises that the action takes place with special respect to the agent. He is the beneficiary of the action:

bach- / bachine- ‘choose for oneself’
dak- / dakine- ‘call, invite’
jan- / jañine- ‘learn for oneself’
kin- / kiniñe- ‘buy for oneself’
khoj- / khojine- ‘search for oneself’
rɔkh- / rɔkhine- ‘keep for oneself’

The light verb emphasises that the agent profits from the action.

(66) lokɔ-manɛ runo sujh-i-no-par-ile semanɔ-nkɔ-ro ghɔrɔbari
    people-PL loan clear-CV-NEG-can-COND-LOC they-OBL-GEN homestead
    nilama kor-a-i-ne-uth-il-e.
    auction do-CAUS-CV-V2:take-IPFV-PST-3p(HON)
    ‘When the people couldn’t clear the loan, he used to have them auction their homestead.’
(67) tahele sangore koono koono no-ba hostel nona-nku pocaar-i
then together what RDP take-INF hostel cook-OBL:DAT ask-CV
lekh-e-i-ne-itha-o.
write-CAUS-CV-V2:take-PERF-2p:IMP
'Then you had better consult the hostel-cook and make him write down
a list of things we should take (lit. asking the hostel cook what to take
together, make write down (for you)).'

(68) dhori-ni-o,
tume roh-ith-iba koθori-re hoθhat niia
hold-CV-V2:take-2p:IMP you(POL) stay-PERF-INF building-LOC suddenly fire
lag-il-a.
catch-PST-3s
'Imagine (lit. hold for yourself), fire will break out in the building you
are staying in.'

Consider now some examples with dekh- 'see'. All the examples below have one
thing in common: there is some emphasis on the fact that the subject referent
is the one who sees or has seen. In (69) the speakers want to see the film for
their own enjoyment.

(69) aji ame philm dekh-i-ne-b-a.
today we f. see-CV-V2:take-INF-1pi
'Today we will see a film.'

In (70) the use of ne- underlines the fact that the sister has seen something she
should not have seen.

(70) tomó bhouni kolej-ru pher-ila bel-e, mú tumo-ku kis
your(POL) sister c.-ABL return-INF:PST time-LOC I you(POL):DAT k.
de-ba-ro dekh-i-ne-l-a, kichi osubidha he-b-ɔ-ni tɔ?
give-INF-GEN see-CV-V2:take-PST-3s any problem be-FUT-3s-NEG PTCL
'When your sister came back from the college, she saw me giving you a
kiss, there won't be any problems, will there?'

In (71) the speaker emphasises that instead of himself the addressee should have
a look at the patient:

(71) apɔnɔ tikie rogi-ʃi-ku dekh-i-ni-contu!
you(HON) please patient-ART-DAT see-CV-V2:take-3p:IMP
'Please have a look at the patient yourself!'

These examples suggest that the light verb ne- does not always indicate that
the subject is the beneficiary, but rather that the subject is especially concerned
by the action he does or has done.

The light verb is mainly used with transitive verbs. Intransitive verbs, how-
ever, occur as well.
(In the train. The passenger shows a stamp as ticket. The conductor asks, "What is the matter with this stamp?" Passenger:)

(72) agyā, lophapha ṭo ei tiket-ru sara Bharata bul-i- ni-e.
INTERJ letter PTCL this t.-ABL all India walk-CV-V2:take-3s:HAB
'Sir, a letter goes to all of India with this stamp. (Why should I not be able to go to Cuttack with it?)'

4.6.2.8 poka- ‘put’

The light verb poka- ‘put’ indicates that the action happens suddenly, abruptly or spontaneously. Some frequent combinations are:

dhor- / dhōripoka- ‘catch, hold’
hos- / hosipoka- ‘break out in laughter’
kand- / kandipoka- ‘cry suddenly’
kaṭ- / kaṭipoka- ‘cut’
koh- / kōhipoka- ‘say suddenly’
kuṇḍha- / kuṇḍhaipoka- ‘embrace’

Most of the verbs which are used with the light verb poka- are transitive; with intransitive verbs por- is used (see 4.6.2.9). In (73) the light verb poka- indicates that the subject suddenly notices the lady.

(A lady is showing off her jewels at a party, but nobody notices them. She is talking with this and that person.)

(73) ehi somoyo-re Subrato ta-nku dekh-i-poka-i koh-il-a ...
this time-LOC S. she-OBL:DAT see-CV-V2:run-say-PST-3s
'At this moment, Subrata saw her and said to her ...'

(74) mú goṭi-e biraṇi-ku mar-i-poka-il-i.
I CL-INDEF cat-DAT run. over-CV-V2:run-PST-1s
'I ran over a cat this morning.'

(In a club for unmarried men, one person asks:)

(75) jon-e sodasho jodi apono-ndo klōb-ṛc sōbhya th-iba bel-e
CL-INDEF member if you(HON)-OBL c.-GEN member be-INF time-LOC
bibahā kor-i-poka-e, tebe apono ta-nku ki sasti
marriage do-CV-V2:run-3s:HAB then you(HON) he-OBL:DAT what punishment
de-b-e?
give-FUT-3p
'When a person is member of your club and (suddenly) marries, what punishment will you give him?'

In (76) the speaker says that his lies may appear here and there, but he does not lie intentionally.
4.6. Complex verbal units

(76) mū belebele michō kōtha kōh-i-poka-e.
I sometimes lie matter say-CV-V2:put-1s:HAB
'I sometimes tell lies.'

The light verb *poka-* often implies that the action happens quickly. Consider the following order:

(77) e thia ho-i-rch-ich-u koono? ja sarhi-ṭa
INTERJ standing be-CV-V2:stay-PERF-2s INT go:2s:IMP s.-ART
bodēl-i-poka!
change-CV-V2:put:2s:IMP
'Hey, what are you standing there? Go and quickly change your saree.'

In requests the light verb *poka-* can add the meaning "just":

(Doctor: "Sorry, Sir, we have to operate again, my gloves have been forgotten in your belly." — Patient:)

(78) au goṭi-e globhs kiṇ-i-poka-u-n-o?
more CL-INDEF g. buy-CV-V2:put-PROG-NEG-2p
'Why don’t you just buy another pair of gloves?'

The light verb can be used to express the speaker’s lack of understanding of an action. In (79) the speaker does not understand why Irabati is breaking the glasses.

(Irabati is mad with anger and is breaking one glass after the other. Her friend cries:)

(79) e koono kor-uch-o pagōl-o-nko pori? kacčo-ga gilasc-gurako
INTERJ what do-PROG-2p mad-OBL like glass-GEN g.-PL
emiti bhang-i-poka-uch-o kahīki?
like.this break-CV-V2:put-PROG-2p why
'Hey, why are you behaving like a crazy woman? Why are you breaking the glasses?'

The light verb *poka-* is often used to express the speaker’s disapproval of the action. (80) is used, when the speaker is angry about the fact that somebody else has eaten his cake:

(80) se pura piṭha-ṭa kha-i-poka-il-a.
he whole cake-ART eat-CV-V2:put-PST-3s
'He ate the whole cake.'

(81) moṇtri-nko amipostithi-re pi. e. boro bhul kōr-i-poka-il-e.
minister-OBL absence-LOC p. a. big mistake do-CV-V2:put-PST-3p(HON)
'In the minister’s absence the personal assistant made a big mistake.'
The disapproval can be on the hearer's side as well.

(In the early morning the wife starts to scold her husband. He asks:)

(82) aji eś niḍo-ru uṭh-u uṭhu kōṇa emiti kōri-poke-il-i
today this sleep-ABL get.up-ICV RDP what like.this do-CV-V2:put-PST-1s
je?
PTCL
'What did I do (wrong) as soon as I got up today?'

4.6.2.9  poř- 'fall'

The light verb poř- has the same emphasising function as has been described for ja- above. In addition it indicates that the action happens suddenly or abruptly. It is restricted to intransitive verbs; for transitive verbs its counterpart poka- 'put' is used. Some frequent combinations are:

bos-/basi-poř- 'sit down' so-/soi-poř- 'fall asleep'
bhang-/bhangi-poř- 'break down' ṭhia he-/ṭhia ho-poř- 'get up'
de-/dei-poř- 'jump' ṭol-/ṭol-poř- 'fall down'
khos-/khoi-poř- 'fall down' uṭh-/uṭhi-poř- 'get up'
ohla-/ohlai-poř- 'come down'

As the examples above show, poř- retains its meaning 'fall' in some cases, e.g. with bhang- 'break' or bos- 'sit down'. A clear example where poř- cannot mean 'fall' is (83).

(83) aste aste kuh-ɔ, bapa uṭhi-poř-il-e.
softly RDP say-2p:IMP father get.up-CV-V2:fall-FUT-3p(HON)
'Speak softly, father will wake up.'

The light verb poř- is not restricted to involuntary situations; consider the order in (84):

(A passenger got on the wrong bus, but he is obstinate, and claims to be on the right one. The conductor says:)

(84) tume bhul-re cōri-ja-ich-ɔ. onyo gaɾi-re j-ib-ɔ,
you(POL) mistake-LOC climb-CV-V2:go-PERF-2p other car-LOC go-FUT-2p
ohlai-poř-ɔ.
come.down-CV-V2:fall-2p:IMP
'You have got on the wrong bus. Take another bus, get off (quickly).'</n
(85) sikhya-ko gruho-ɾ probeśo kōri-ba mātre pila-mane ṭhia
teacher room-LOC enter do-INF as.soon.as child-PL standing
hoi-poř-il-e.
become-CV-V2:fall-PST-3p
'The children stood up as soon as the teacher entered the class room.'
In some cases there is no difference between the light verbs ja- and por-.\(^{37}\)

(86) semane hālia ho-i bārō-gārō mūlō-re so-i-por-il-e /
    they tired become-CV Banyan-tree root-LOC fall.asleep-CV-V2:fall-PST-3p
    so-i-gol-e.
    fall.asleep-CV-V2:go:PST-3p
    ‘They were tired and fell asleep under a Banyan tree.’

However, the use of the light verb por- instead of ja- can underline the fact that the situation happened quickly, as in (87):

(A woman’s car breaks down. The driver behind horns and horns, finally he gets out and says to her, “I have been horning for five minutes, and you do not move on!”)

(87) eha sun-i mohila jōnō-ko cātāpōc kar-ru oha-i-por-i
    this hear-CV woman CL-DEF quickly c.-ABL come.down-CV-V2:fall-CV
    koh-il-e ... say-PST-3p(HON)
    ‘Hearing this, the woman got out of the car and said …’

In orders and requests the light verb por- can convey the meaning of “just”. Consider (88):

(At a river. A asks B, “How will the water be?” — B:)

(88) no bhitōrō-ku de-i-por-ō, tume dekh-ib-ō.
    river inside-DAT jump-CV-V2:fall-2p:IMP you(POL) see-FUT-2p
    ‘Just jump into the river, you will see.’

4.6.2.10 roh- ‘stay’

The verb roh- means ‘stay, live, be’ as main verb. As a light verb it denotes that the situation described by the main verb lasts for a certain period at reference time. It is an ingressive verb (see 4.2.2.4), i.e. Perfect aspect entails resultative meaning. roh- is frequently combined with ingressive verbs. Consider the following list with some of the combinations:

bonc- / bonciroh- ‘keep living’
cah- / cahirōh- ‘keep looking’
cup he- / cup hoirōh- ‘keep quiet’
jōg- / jōgiroh- ‘keep watching’
por- / poriroh- ‘keep lying’
ṭhiā he- / ṭhiā hoirōh- ‘keep standing’

\(^{37}\)Note the different uses of the light verbs with bhang- ‘break’: bhangipor- is used for mental states, whereas bhangija- is used for breaking of objects.
4.6.2. Compound verbs

In many of these combinations roh- is not a light verb in the strict sense, since the converb marker -ki can be inserted.

(89) se muko pori setha-re thia ho-i(-ki)-roh-il-e.
        he dumb like there-LOC standing become-CV-CV-V2:stay-PST-3p(HON)
     ‘He remained standing there as if dumb.’

However, when roh- cannot be understood in its literal sense “stay”, ki-insertion is not possible.

(90) mo-te aji jae thanda lag-i(*-ki)-roh-ich-i.
        I-DAT today until cold feel-CV-V2:stay-PERF-3s
     ‘I have been suffering from a cold up to today.’

The light verb roh- is restricted to verbs, which are used intransitively; transitive verbs take the verb rokh- ‘keep’ to express the same meaning. Consider some other examples:

(About an old man who had wanted to die.)

(91) se puni moniso bhitor-e sneho momota-ro dorco bandh-i
        he again man inside-LOC affection love-GEN rope bind-CV
     bonc-i-roh-iba-ku iccha koro-onti.
     live-CV-V2:stay-INF-DAT wish do-3p(HON):HAB
     ‘He wants to bind strings of affection and love to other persons again and keep living.’

(92) semane ordhha-ulgnco obostha-re somudro-belra-re
        they half-naked state-LOC sea-shore-LOC
     pori(-ki)-roh-ich-onti.
     fall-CV-CV-V2:stay-PERF-3p
     ‘They are lying half naked on the beach.’

The light verb roh- indicates that the situation continues for some time, longer than it normally lasts. Consider (93) where the people looked at the man:

(A gentleman was urinating in the courtyard.)

(93) cakoro o aanyaca bhadrloko obak ho-i ta-nko arco-ku
        servant and other gentleman stunned be-CV he:OBL side-DAT
     cah-i-roh-il-e.
     look-CV-V2:stay-PST-3p
     ‘The servant and the other gentleman were stunned and looked in his direction.’

When the expression tanka aroku cahirohile is replaced by tanku dekh-, which is a transitive construction, the light verb rokh- is used instead of roh- (tanku dekhirokhile).
4.6. Complex verbal units

(94) praphesɔr sobubele niJo bhabɔnɔ-re bur-i-roh-uth-il-e.
     p. always REFL thought-LOC sink-CV-V2:stay-IPFV-PST-3p(HON)
     ‘The professor was always sunk in his thoughts.’

4.6.2.11 sar- ‘finish’

From a semantic point of view, sar- ‘finish’ is not a typical light verb since its
original meaning remains present in the compound verb construction as well.
The light verb sar- indicates that the action has been completed. It makes the
situation telic. Consider the activity verb kha- ‘eat’:

(95) se kha-ich-i, au ebe bi kha-uch-i.
     he eat-PERF-3s and now also eat-PROG-3s
     ‘He has eaten and is still eating.’

The same sentence pattern is wrong in combination with the light verb sar-
‘finish’:

(96) *se kha-i-sar-ich-i, au ebe bi kha-i-sar-uch-i.
     he eat-CV-V2:finish-PERF-3s and now also eat-CV-V2:finish-PROG-3s
     ‘He has finished eating and is still finishing eating.’

The light verb sar- is applied to both transitive and intransitive verbs. Consider
some other examples:

(97) gota-e rutʃi kha-i-sar ila por-e to peʃɔ au
     CL-INDEF chapati eat-CV-V2:finish-INF:PST after-LOC your(FAM) belly more
     koŋɔ khali th-ib-ɔ?
     INT empty be-FUT-3s
     ‘Will your belly still be empty after you have eaten a chapati (= special
     bread)?’

(A customer to a shopkeeper.)

(98) mʊ apaŋɔ-nku jinisɔ dekh-i-sar-ich-i. kintu mʊ
     I you(HON)-OBL:DAT thing see-CV-V2:finish-PERF-1s but I
     ja-uch-i, oŋɔ koŋɔsi dokanɔ-ru k𝑖ŋ-ib-i.
     go-PROG-1s other any shop-ABL buy-FUT-1s
     ‘I have seen your things. But I am going, I shall buy from another shop.’

(99) bʊ, tume to goti-e potrika-ɾo sompadiko
     mother you(POL) PTCL CL-INDEF magazine-GEN editor
     rɔh-i-sar-ich-ɔ, koŋɔ tume koh-i-par-ib-ɔ je, . . . ?
     be-CV-V2:finish-PERF-2p INT you(POL) say-CV-can-FUT-2p PTCL
     ‘Mummy, you have been the editor of a magazine, can you tell me . . . ?’
In (100) first the feeding is to be completed, only then the child can be put to bed.

(Mother to the elder daughter)

(100) agō Bāblu-ku khu-a-i-sar-i su-a-i-poka.
first B.-DAT eat-CAUS-CV-V2:finish-CV sleep-CAUS-CV-V2:put.2s:IMP
‘Please feed Bablu first and put him to sleep.’

Sometimes the use of sar- implies that the action is accomplished earlier than expected, which is rendered with “already” in English.

you(POL) this story-book-ART read-FUT-2p I read-CV-V2:finish-PERF-1s
‘Will you read this story book? — I have already read it.’

4.6.2.12 ut[h]- ‘get up’

The light verb ut[h]- ‘get up’ indicates that the action takes place suddenly. It occurs mainly with intransitive verbs; very few transitive verbs are attested, e.g. kôh- ‘speak’. Some of the combinations are:

cir- / ciriũth-
‘get angry’
jol- / joliũth-
‘burn’
citkarô kôr- / kôriũth-
‘shout’
kôh- / kôhiũth-
‘speak out’
gombhirô hê- / hôiũth-
‘become serious’
 tôr- / thôriũth-
‘tremble’
hôs- / hôsiũth-
‘laugh’

In many of the examples given above the meaning of rising or breaking out is present. However, this is not necessarily the case, as gombhirô hôiũth- ‘become suddenly serious’ and other examples show.

There are two verbs, kôh- ‘speak’ and hôs- ‘laugh’, which occur both with pôka- and ut[h]-. In both cases the act of speaking / laughing occurs abruptly. However, kôhiũth- rather emphasises the beginning of a speech: ‘begin to speak suddenly’.

(The inspector asked the girls whether they had received any anonymous letters. They were thinking about it, and some of the girls denied.)

(102) haṭhat Kōbīta kôh-i-ut[h]-il-a — “mo pakhô-ku semiti
suddenly K. say-CV-V2:get.up-PST-3s L:OBL side-DAT like.that
gošt-e duî-ʃa cîtshì as-ith-il-a, inspek'ar.”
CL-INDEF two-CL letter come-PERF-PST-3s i.
‘Suddenly Kubitā said, “I got one or two such letters, inspector.”

By contrast, kôhipôka- rather signals that the persons in the situation are surprised about the act of speaking.
4.6. Complex verbal units

(103) Sudhiro-babu aphis bhitar-ku pos-u posu ta-nku-re sôhokormi
S.-HON o. inside-LOC enter-ICV RDP he-OBL-GEN colleague
ta-nku dekh-i khusi-re kôh-i-poka-il-a — “mo stri ebe
he-OBL:DAT see-CV joy-LOC say-CV-V2:put-PST-3s my wife now
gorbhoboti ho-ich-i.”
pregnant become-PERF-3s

‘As soon as Sudhîra entered the office, his colleague said happily when
he saw him, “My wife is pregnant now.”’

Other examples:

(The police caught a drunkard on the road. His reaction;)

(104) lokoti khusi-re hos-i-uth-il-a kôh-il-a ...
person-ART joy-LOC laugh-CV-V2:get.up-PST-3s say-PST-3s

‘The man laughed joyfully and said …’

(After explaining the history of Orissa in the last centuries.)

(105) ethi-ru spostâ ho-i-uth-e je, Öria bhasa-re bôhu
this-ABL clear become-CV-V2:get.up-3s:HAB that O. language-LOC many
Parsi-Arobi sôbdô prôbesô kôr-ich-i.
P.-A. word enter do-PERF 3s

‘From this is clear that many Persian-Arabic words have entered into
the Oriya language.’ (Oriya school grammar)

(106) akhi ago-re bhas-i-uth-il-a cir-a jama pindh-i
eye before-LOC wash-CV-V2:get.up-PST-3s tear-PTCP shirt wear-CV
skul-ku ja-uth-iba Rajiboro-rc sukhipla muhî-tî.
school-DAT go-IPFV-INF R.-GEN pale face-ART

‘(About Rajîba’s father.) Before his eyes was Rajîba’s pale face, going
to school with a washed-out and torn shirt.’

4.6.3 Passive constructions

Oriya has several constructions that can be called passive or passive-like:

(i) ja-passive stem + a + ja-
(ii) he-passive stem + a + he-
(iii) he-“passive” stem + i + he-
(iv) por-“passive” stem + a + por-

(i) Of these, only the ja-passive and he-passive (stem + a) can be called genuine
passives. They have the following characteristics:

- The main verb is in the a-form.\textsuperscript{38} To this, the auxiliaries ja- or he-
are added.

\textsuperscript{38}There is no passive of as- ‘come’, dhâ- ‘run’, ga- ‘sing’, he- ‘become’ and ja- ‘go’. Note that
• The object of the corresponding active clause appears either with dative case marker: the object of the corresponding active clause does not promote to subject position in the passive sentence, but remains the object. This passive type can be called impersonal passive (see Comrie 1977). The verb form of the auxiliary he- or ja- is always third person singular (no verbal agreement);

or it appears in the unmarked nominative case: the underlying object then agrees with the verb.

• The subject of the corresponding active clause optionally appears as postpositional noun phrases marked by dwara ‘by’.

• The word order does not change.

For illustration consider the following triplet of examples, where (107a) is an active sentence, (107b) a passive sentence with the object in the dative and no verbal agreement, and (107c) a passive sentence as well, with the object in the nominative and with verbal agreement:

(107)  a. pila-manɔ-nku se lɔkɔ kхоj-il-a.
child-PL-OBL:DAT that man search-PST-3s
‘That man looked for the children.’

b. pila-manɔ-nku se lɔkɔ dwara kхоj-a-gɔl-a.
child-PL-OBL:DAT that man by search-PASS-go:PST-3s
‘The children were looked for by that man.’

c. pila-mаne se lɔkɔ dwara kхоj-a-gɔl-e.
child-PL that man by search-PASS-go:PST-3p
‘The children were looked for by that man.’

Other examples:

(108) mɯ́ sустhɔ th-iba-ru prɔti dинo mo-te ʤaktɔrkhaな-ku
I ill be-INF-ABL every day 1-DAT hospital-DAT
ni-a-ja-e.
take-PASS-go-3s:HAB
‘I am taken to hospital every day because I am ill.’

(109) sɔbha-pɔti-nkɔ dwara jhiɔ-ʧi-ku pleado pɔdɔkɔ
meeting-chief-OBL by girl-ART-DAT CL-INDEF medal
di-a-gɔl-a.
give-PASS-go:PST-3s
‘The girl was given a medal by the president.’

the passive of causative verbs is homophonous with the non-passive form (two suffixes -a- in sequence are not allowed). This results in ambiguity: dekha-ja-i-ch-i ‘it has been shown / seen’.
4.6. Complex verbal units

(110) e bōhi-ṭi-ku tini-ṭi bhasa-re onubado kɔr-a-ja-ich-i.
    this book-ART-DAT three-CL language-LOC translation do-PASS-go-PERF-3s
    'This book was translated into three languages.'

The linkage between the main verb and the auxiliary is the same as in the case of compound verbs: particles (e.g. to) and interrogative words (e.g. kahiki 'why') can be inserted.

(111) ta-ku donga di-a kahiki ja-uch-i?
    he-DAT punishment give-PASS why go-PROG-3s
    'Why is he being punished?'

As has been described in connection with the dative case marking (see 3.1.4.3), objects are not always marked for dative case. This applies to passives as well. Objects unmarked for dative in the active sentences remain unmarked in the passive.

(112) a. mo bapa sobu-dino khirɔ kĩn-ɔnti.
    my father all-day milk buy-3p:HAB
    'My father buys milk every day.'

b. mo bapa nkɔ dwara sobu-dino khirɔ kĩn-a-ja-e.
    my father-OBL by all-day milk buy-PASS-go-3s:HAB
    'Milk is bought by my father every day.'

(113) Bharatɔ-ʁɔ sobu onco-ʁe Hindi kuh-a-ja-e.
    India-GEN all part-LOC H. say-PASS-go-3s
    'Hindi is spoken in every part of India.'

(114) e bakṣa-ṭi jɔn-e loko dwara tek-a-ho-i-par-ib-ɔ?
    this box-ART CL-INDEF person by lift-PASS-be-CV-can-FUT-3s
    'Can this box be lifted by one man?'

It should be noted that recipients (115) in active clauses keep their marking in the passive clause.

(115) sobu goribɔ loko-nku poisa di-a-ja-ich-i.
    all poor person-OBL:DAT money give-PASS-go-PERF-3s
    'All poor people have been given money.'

Passive verb forms can occur in general converses, but they are seldom used in colloquial Oriya.

(116) nisa de-la somɔya-ʁe rogi-ṭi hoṭhat hrud-rogo-ʁe
    sedative give-INF:PST time-LOC patient-ART suddenly heart-illness-LOC
    puncɔsɔ akranṭo ho-i-poɔ-ith-il-e, jẽũthi pãi hrud-rogo
    again attacked be-CV-V2:fall-PERF-PST-3p(HON) which for heart-illness
    bibhagɔ bisesɔgyɔ-nku ḍɔk-a-ja-i niscetɔko bibhagɔ-ru
    department specialist-OBL:DAT call-PASS-V2:go-CV anaesthesia department-ABL
diphbrileor kardiak monitor ityadi abosyo ko joncrpati turonto
d. m. etc. necessary instruments immediate
caja-cikitsa obeahoto rokhi-thi-ile modho
bring-PASS-go-CV medicine incessant keep-PERF-CONDCV although
rogi-ku mrutyu mukho-ru bonc-aja-i-par-i-no-thil-a.
patient-DAT death face-ABL save-PASS-go-CV-can-PERF-NEG-AUX-PST-3s
‘When he gave him medicine, the patient’s heart suddenly suffered an
attack once again, which is why the heart specialist was called and
the necessary machines such as the defibrillator from the anesthesia
department and the cardiac monitor were brought immediately and the
medicine was applied incessantly, although the patient couldn’t be saved
from death.’ (Newspaper)

Imperfective convers varieties with a passive verb form are possible, but even more
unusual. Consider (117):

(117) Rama dwara moraja jau bagho-iti bonci-gol-a.
R. by beat-PASS-go-IV RDP tiger-ART live-CV-V2:go:PST-3s
‘Being beaten by Rama, the tiger survived.’

Instead of a verb with passive morphology, the active form can appear (kori
instead of korajai in (118)):

(118) eko debodaru gachorean jaoikko jubokku hotya kori
one d. tree-LOC one young.man-DAT murder do-CV
jholiaidi-ajathila.
hang-CAUS-CV-V2:give-PASS-go-PERF-PST-3s
‘A young man had been murdered and hung at a deodar tree.’

Light verbs precede the passive auxiliaries. In (119) the verb form *parsa-jaidela (main verb + passive + ja + light verb) would be ungrammatical.

(119) tinco ondoa kolija bhaja parsidiagol-a.
curry egg and liver curry(sp.) serve-CV-V2:give-PASS-go:PST-3s
‘Curry, egg and fried liver was served.’

Intransitive verbs can be passivised as well.

(120) somostoknu sethi-ki douragol-a.
all-OBL:DAT there-DAT run-PASS-go:PST-3s
‘Everybody ran there.’

In contrast to the active version of the sentence (somste dourigale ‘everybody
ran’) the use of passive implies some force applied on the agent (somostenku).
(ii) ja- and he-passives often are semantically identical.\textsuperscript{39} In negated sentences, however, the he-passive in addition has capabilitative meaning,\textsuperscript{40} consider (121):

(121) \text{semano-nkô dwara e kamô kor-a-ho-bô-ni /}
\text{they-OBL by this work do-PASS-be-FUT-3s-NEG}
\textit{kôr-a-jib-o-ni.}
\text{do-PASS-go-FUT-3s-NEG}
claim 'This work cannot / will not be done by them.'

(iii) There is a second passive construction with he-, where the auxiliary is attached to the stem + i (= general converb). The underlying object is normally in the nominative case and triggers verbal agreement, e.g. mû bandhiheb-i ‘I'll be bound’. Its meaning often has an additional modal nuance.

(122) \text{rasta upôr-e phutbol khelî-ho-bô nahi.}
\text{road top-LOC f. play-CV-be-FUT-3s NEG}
‘Football cannot be played on the road.’

(123) \text{mukta-harc goja-re pindh-ith-iba mohila je kete kete lokhyô}
\text{pearl-chain neck-LOC wear-PERF-INF woman PTCL how many RDP 100,000}
\text{tonka-ro harc pindh-ich-onti, taha otôkôl korî-hu-e nahi.}
\text{rupee-GEN necklace wear-PERF-3p it guess do-CV-be-3s:HAB NEG}
‘It should not be possible to guess how many lakhs of rupees a pearl necklace is worth which a woman wears around her neck.’ (Newspaper)

(To a boy: How big do you want to become?)

(124) \text{ete bôro je maa-nkû nô-pôcar-i bahâr-cî ku ja-i-ho-bô.}
\text{so big that mother-OBL:DAT NEG-ask-CV outside-DAT go-CV-be-FUT-3s}
‘So big that (I) do not have to ask my mother to go outside.’

(iv) A small group of verbs form a passive-like construction with the auxiliary por-. These verbs (\textit{bujh-} ‘understand’, \textit{cinh-} ‘recognise’, \textit{dekh-} ‘see’, \textit{dhâr-} ‘catch’, \textit{jan-} ‘know-’) appear with the passive -a and agree with the underlying object, which is in the nominative case.

(125) \text{a. e khobôro mo dwara somostô-nkû jen-a-pôr-îla.}
\text{this news I-OBL by all-OBL:DAT know-PASS-fall-PST-3s}
‘This news was made known by me to everybody.’

\textsuperscript{39}Klaiman (1981) states for Bengali, which has a “become-passive” and a “go-passive” like Oriya, that only the “become-passive” can co-occur with an overt agent. This does not apply for Oriya: both he- and ja- allow the expression of an agent phrase (121).

\textsuperscript{40}Mukherjee (1985) ascribes this meaning to the Bengali “go-passive”.
b. bhodrɔ-lokc-mane mo dwara somɔstɔ-nku jɔn-a-par-il-e.
gentle-man-PL I:OBL by all-OBL:DAT know-PASS-fall-PST-3p
‘The gentlemen were made known by me to everybody.’

(126) karɔŋ koɔŋ, taha bujh-a-par-u-nah-i.
reason what that understand-PASS-fall-PROG-NEG-3s
‘It cannot be understood what the reason is.’

The difference between the two auxiliaries par- and ja- lies in the dimension of intention: par- indicates that the action happens unintentionally (yet not always, see (125a)), ja- implies intention. Compare the two sentences:

(127) semane jɔn-a-ja-nti.
they know-PASS-go-3p:HAB
vs. semane jɔn-a-par-onti.
they know-PASS-fall-3p:HAB
‘They are known (people get to know them).’ vs. ‘They are noticed.’

4.6.4 Modal verb par-

Oriya has only one verb with exclusively modal function: par- ‘can’. Other Oriya equivalents to English modal verbs such as ucit ‘should’, par- ‘fall; must’ are combined with an infinitive (see 7.4.3). The verb sequence main verb + par- could be classified as compound verb, since 1) the preceding main verb is in the form of the general converb, and 2) the complex main verb + par- cannot be separated except by some few elements (negative particle no, bi ‘also’, the particle to). However, par- can occur on its own with the same modal function:

(Father to a son about the son’s escapade with Simã.)

(128) tu hueto koh-ib-u “bapa, mũ Sima sohitə sobu somɔrkə
you(FAM) maybe say-FUT-2s father I S. with all relationship
tuña-i-de-b-i,”
settle-CV-V2:give-FUT-1s but T. can-FUT-2s NEG
kinto Toŋoŋo, par-ib-u nahĩ.

‘Maybe you will say, “Father I’ll stop every relationship with Simã”, but
Tapanã, you cannot.’

The modal verb par- is used to express ability, permission and weak epistemic modality.

4.6.4.1 Ability

(i) The modal verb par- expresses ability, including the subject’s mental (e.g. ‘can read’) and physical (e.g. ‘can run fast’) ability with respect to the action.

(129) tume Hindi pɔrh-i-par-ib-ɔ?
you(POL) H. read-CV-can-FUT-2p
‘Can you read Hindi?’
(130) citabagho pọsu-manac-nko mohyc-re sọbu-ṭharu jor-re
leopard animal-PL-OBL middle-LOC all-ABL strength-LOC
daur-į-par-onti.
run-CV-can-3p
'Leopards can run the fastest of all animals.'

Ability can be expressed by the Habitual as well:

(131) se Bongola koh-e.
he B. speak-3s:HAB
'He speaks / can speak Bengali.'

(ii) The modal verb par- is used for general enabling conditions external to the agent as well. Consider (132) where the addressee is asked how far a certain quantity of petrol allows him to go.

(132) goṭa-e liṭor petrol-re kete ki.mi. skuṭor-re ja-į-par-uch-u?
CL-INDEF 1. p.-LOC how many km s.-LOC go-CV-can-PROG-2s
'How many kilometres can you go by scooter with one litre of petrol?'

(They tried to shoot a raging deer.)

(133) dur-bhagya, guļi-ti lokhya-bhedo kɔri-par-il-a nahi.
ill-luck bullet-ART aim-reaching do-CV-can-PST-3s NEG
'Unfortunately, the bullet couldn’t reach the aim.'

(134) osubidha sɔmyo-re niyɔmɔ man-i cɔl-iba sɔmbhɔbo
difficulty time-LOC order obey-CV run-INF possible
hoi-nə-par-e.
become-CV-NEG-can-3s:HAB
'In times of difficulties it may not be possible to obey the rules.'

Another means to express this general type of possibility is the verb mil- 'be available':

(135) dui prakarɔ badala dekh-iba-ku mil-e.
two type cloud see-INF-DAT be-available-3s:HAB
'Two types of clouds can be seen.'

(iii) Note that the modal verb par- frequently occurs with verbs of cognition and perception such as jaŋ- ‘know’, bujh- ‘understand’, cihn- ‘recognise’, dekh- ‘see’ and sup- ‘hear’. These verbs are often combined with par- when they refer to a situation where the referent of the subject undergoes the cognitive or perceptive process unintentionally. Consider the verb jaŋ-, which means ‘know, learn’ without the modal verb par-:
(136) apoŋ to jan-onti swami-ro seba stri-ro poromano you(HON) PTCL know-3p:HAB husband-GEN service wife-GEN best kɔrttɔbyɔ.
duty
‘You surely know that the wife’s first duty is the husband’s service.’

(137) mo-ro se bisɔyɔ-re ɔdhiko jan-iba-ro iccha.
I-GEN that matter-LOC more know-INF-GEN wish
‘I want to learn more about that.’

In combination with the modal verb par- it means ‘notice’:

(The subject referent lost his key on the way.)

(138) se jān-i-par-il-e nahī.
he know-CV-can-PST-3p(HON) NEG
‘He did not notice it.’

(The speaker is blind.)

(139) basona jān-i-par-uch-i, caa as-i-gol-a bodhe ...
smell know-CV-can-PROG-1s tea come-CV-V2:go:PST-3s apparently
‘I know the smell, apparently the tea is here (lit. came) …’

Consider (140) with the verb dekh- ‘see’, where the same distinction with respect to intentionality can be seen, i.e. dekh- + par- signals that the referent of the subject sees without intention:

(The speaker has just learned that the hearer was in the same cinema hall at the same time.)

(140) mū tumə-ku to hoł-re dekh-i-par-il-i-ni.
you(POL)-OBL PTCL h-LOC see-CV-can-PST-1s-NEG
‘I couldn’t see you in the hall.’

Compare with (141) without par-, where the act of seeing is intended by the subject:

(141) se cithi-ti ne-i dekh-il-a.
she letter-ART take-CV see-PST-3s
‘She took the letter and looked at it.’

(iv) Note that the negative marker either immediately precedes or follows the modal verb par- when the ability is to be negated (142); to express the idea of “be able not to do something” the negative element precedes the main verb (143), and a converb (nɔ-kha-i ‘without eating’) construction is used.

(142) mū tini dino kichi kha-i-par-i-nɔ-th-il-i.
I three day anything eat-CV-can-PERF-NEG-AUX-PST-1s
‘I could not eat anything for three days.’
(143) mū tini dìnc kichi nò-kha-i ròh-i-par-ith-il-i.
I three day anything NEG-eat-CV stay-CV-can-PERF-PST-1s
'I was able not to eat for three days.'

4.6.4.2 Permission

The modal verb par- signals that the subject referent is allowed to do the action described by the main verb.

(144) se bòrttòman sinema dekh-i ja-i-par-e.
he now cinema see-CV go-CV-can-3s:HAB
'We may go to see the film now.'

(145) pìla bel-e mū sinema dekh-iba-ku ja-i-par-u nò-th-il-i.
child time-LOC I c. see-INF-DAT go-CV-can-IPFV-NEG-AUX-PST-1s
'As a child I was not allowed to go to the cinema.'

(146) mū se chatrò-rc namè jàn-i-par-e ki?
I that student-GEN name know-CV-can-1s:HAB INT
'May I know that student’s name?'

4.6.4.3 Epistemic modality

The modal verb par- signals weak epistemic modality41 (possibility).

(Doctor to a very sick patient.)

(147) tume hueto besì sàmac typography bònc-i nò-par-ò.
you(POL) maybe much time live-CV-NEG-can-2p:HAB
'You may not live for a long time.'

(148) aji tuincorrect-a-08-k-rc ago-re jaha eko birâtc pòcsnc, se pòcsnc
today you(POL)-PL-OBL-GEN before-LOC what one big question he question
hueto taə ago-re kichi nò-ho-i-par-e.
maybe he:OBL before-LOC anything NEG-be-CV-can-3s:HAB
'What is a big question for you today, maybe that is no question at all for him.'

(149) Urmila Debi ebe ghōr-e th-ib-e? — thā-i-par-änti,
U. D. now house-LOC be-FUT-3p(HON) be-CV-can-3p(HON):HAB
nò-tha-i bi par-änti.
NEG-be-CV also can-3p(HON):HAB
'Could Ürmila Debi be at home now? — She may or may not be. (How should I know?)'

41Strong epistemic modality is expressed by the Future (see 4.2.3.3).
When par- is combined with the auxiliary tha- 'be', which is inserted between
the main verb and par-, an even weaker degree of epistemic modality is ex-
pressed. The main verb takes perfect (150, 151) or imperfective aspect (152,
153).

(150) se ta-nkɔ pakhɔ-ku gotɔkali as-i-tha-i-par-ɔnti.
he he-OBL side-DAT yesterday come-PERF-be-CV-can-3p(HON):HAB
'He might have come to him yesterday.'

(The station-master advises a customer who has lost his luggage:)

(151) tume ja-i Haođa-re khoj-ɔ, seθa-re kẽũ̄thi
you(POL) go-CV H.-LOC search-2p:IMP there-LOC somewhere
par-i-tha-i-par-e.
lie-PERF-be-CV-can-3s:HAB
'Go and search in Howrah, it might be lying there somewhere.'

(152) se tomo pokeṭ-ru  tônka ne-u-tha-i-par-e.
he your(POL) pocket-ABL money take-IPFV-be-CV-can-3s:HAB
'He might be taking money from your pocket.'

(153) e-bholi ɔnyɔ kounɔsi prodɔkt mɔdhyo aponɔ-nkɔ sɔhɔrɔ-rc
this-like other any p. also you(HON)-OBL town-GEN
dokanɔ-rc mił-u-tha-i-par-e.
shop-LOC be.available-IPFV-be-CV-can-3s:HAB
'There might be other such products in shops of your town.'
Chapter 5

Uninflected word classes

In this chapter we will discuss adverbs, particles, postpositions, conjunctions and interjections. In contrast to nominals and verbs, they are all invariable. Adverbs and particles function as modifiers of single constituents (other than nouns), phrases or entire clauses. Postpositions specify the semantic relationship between a verb and a nominal. Conjunctions connect words, phrases, and clauses. Interjections constitute a clause on their own, often coming first in the sentence.

5.1 Adverbs

Adverbs are distinguished from particles by their status of independent words. They qualify the predicate as in (1), the entire clause as in (2) or single constituents as in the case of focus adverbs (see 5.1.4 below).

1. nua bohu-ți sasu ghor-e ḍraya kothabartta ko-l-a nahi.  
   new bride-ART mother-in-law house-LOC hardly conversation do-PST-3s NEG  
   'The bride hardly talked in her mother-in-law's house.'

2. tome bodhe əthi proti dina kho硼o-kago jo di-ɔ?  
   you(POL) apparently here every day newspaper give-2p:HAB  
   'Apparently you supply the newspapers here every day?'

There is one formal means to derive adverbs from adjectives, namely the suffix -tɔ, which is borrowed from Sanskrit, e.g. sadharaṇo ‘usual’ vs. sadharanceto ‘usually’ (see 3.2.5).

Other adverbs are denominal or deverbal forms, e.g. bodhe ‘apparently’ (lit. bodha ‘perception’ + locative -e).

In the following sections no attempt is made to give an exhaustive listing of Oriya adverbs. It should be noted that a large part of them have already been mentioned in the discussion of the deictic system, see 3.3.2. We will present the remaining adverbs according to their semantics: temporal, modal, intensifying and focus adverbs.
5.1.1 Temporal adverbs

The following list is intended to give a selection of the most important temporal adverbs.¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aji</td>
<td>‘today’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kali</td>
<td>‘tomorrow, yesterday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pohorodino</td>
<td>‘day before yesterday, day after tomorrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barambaro</td>
<td>‘again and again’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phere, puni</td>
<td>‘again’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agɔ</td>
<td>‘first’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḋeri</td>
<td>‘late’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eĩna</td>
<td>‘now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>odhuna</td>
<td>‘right now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sobubele</td>
<td>‘always’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sobudino</td>
<td>‘always’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turontɔ</td>
<td>‘immediately’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The exact time reference of kali ‘tomorrow, yesterday’ depends on the context and is further specified by the tense of the verb form. It can be specified by preposing asonta ‘coming’ or gɔtɔ ‘last’ to mean ‘tomorrow’ respectively ‘yesterday’.

(3) mo-ro man-e he-uch-i se kali ghɔrɔ-ku pher-ib-ɔ.
    I-GEN mind-LOC be-PROG-3s he tomorrow house-DAT return-FUT-3s
    ‘I think he will return tomorrow.’

(4) kali ki barmo th-il-a? — kali sonibarɔ th-il-a.
    yesterday INT day be-PST-3s yesterday Saturday be-PST-3s
    ‘Which day was yesterday? — Yesterday was Saturday.’

(5) ɗaktor asonta kali-tharu onupɔsthito roh-ib-e.
    doctor coming tomorrow-ABL absent stay-FUT-3p(HON)
    ‘The doctor will be absent as of tomorrow.’

The oblique suffix -ka can be attached to aji and kali, as e.g. in aji-ka khoerokagojo ‘today’s newspaper’.

5.1.2 Modal adverbs

(i) There are four modal adverbs, which belong to the domain of epistemic modality:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bodhe, bodhɔhue</td>
<td>‘apparently’ &lt; bodh-e ‘perception-LOC’ + hu-e ‘be-3s:HAB’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hueto</td>
<td>‘perhaps’ &lt; hu-e ‘be-3s:HAB’ + tɔ PTCL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niscεe, niscɔγɔ</td>
<td>‘certainly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔbɔsyo</td>
<td>‘certainly, definitely’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹Note the more formal variants bɔrtəman ‘now’, prɔyɔtɔ ‘often’, pumɔrbarɔ ‘again’, somprɔtɔ ‘now’, sɔrbəda ‘always’ and tɔt khɔnɔt ‘immediately’.
²Cf. aji-kali ‘nowadays’.
(An old man goes to listen the reading of the Puranas every day. Somebody says to him:)

(6) tome bodhahue Purana suñ-iba-ku khub bhocal pa-ç. you(POL) apparently P. hear-INF-DAT very good find-2p:HAB

‘Apparently, you like listening to the Puranas much.’

(How many people read your books?)

(7) jon-e to niscya porh-e. CL-INDEF PTCL certainly read-3s:HAB

‘At least one person reads them.’

(About an unknown person.)

(8) obosya se Puna-ru je as-ich-ønti sethi-re sondeha definitely he P.-ABL PTCL come-PERF-3p(HON) that-LOC doubt nah-i. be:NEG-3s

‘There is no doubt that he has come from Poona.’

(ii) Other modal adverbs are:

pøra relevance particle
sina <on the one hand>
sote ‘really’ < sot-e ‘truth-LOC’
tikie, tike ‘please’ cf. tiki ‘little’

(9) oja, sote mo pài motør kiñ-i-de-b-o? grandfather really I:OBL for m. buy-CV-V2:give-FUT-2p

‘Grandfather, will you really buy a car for me?’

pøra. In declarative sentences the modal adverb pøra emphasises the current relevance of the statement to the present situation. In (10) the speaker argues that the addressee cannot be hungry, by emphasising the fact that he has just had a big meal.

(10) tumç-ku bhokç he-u-no-th-ib-ç. tume pøra ebe you(POL)-DAT hunger be-IPFV-NEG-AUX-FUT-3s you(POL) PTCL now goto-e sokto modhyanço bhojono kor-ich-ç. CL-INDEF big lunch meal do-PERF-2p

‘You can’t be hungry. You’ve just had a big lunch.’

In (11) Speaker B uses pøra to emphasise that his writing of the book is the reason for his thorough knowledge, by which A was surprised.

(In a conversation B has explained many details about festivals in Orissa.)
5.1.3. Intensifying adverbs

(11) A: apana ete kotha ba jan-il-e kipori? B: mū pūra Orissa you(HON) so.much matter PTCL know-PST-3p how I PTCL O.
porboporbāṇi upor-e goṭa-e probondhol lekh-uch-i.
festival top-LOC CL-INDDEF paper write-PROG-1s
‘How could you know about all of these? — I am now writing a paper on Orissa’s festival.’

In yes/no questions pūra is used to suggest an affirmative answer.

(12) Orissa-ro prādhāno bhasa Oria pūra? — hā.
O.-GEN main language O. PTCL yes
‘The main language of Orissa is Oriya, isn’t it? — Yes.’

sina. The adverb sina is used in the first sentence of a pair of sentence. It signals that the proposition of the second sentence is opposed to that of the first one.\(^3\)

(The mother tells her husband what she expects when her son will return after a long time of learning in the guru’s house.)

(13) tume sina chuти pa-ib-ɔ. mo-ro chuти kah-ɪ? pū ḱarko Ḹamo-ku
you(POL) PTCL leave find-FUT-2p I-GEN leave where-3s son INT we-DAT
randh-i-baṛh-i kha-iba-ku de-b-ɔ?
cook-CV-serve-CV eat-INF-DAT give-FUT-3s
‘You may find some leave. (But) where is my leave? Will the son cook and serve us food (lit. will he give us to eat having cooked and served)?’

ṭikie is used for polite requests.

(14) tume tala-ṭa khol-ř-par-il-ɔ nahī, mū ḿṭikie cesta kɔr-e.
you(POL) lock-ART open-CV-can-PST-2p NEG I please try do-1s:IMP
“You couldn’t open the lock, let me try.’

5.1.3 Intensifying adverbs

Intensifying adverbs always precede their head. They qualify adjectives, adverbs and predicates. Many of them are quantifiers (ahuri ‘more’, bes, khub, ɔti ‘much’, see 3.2.6), boro ‘big’ is an adjective.

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{ahuri} & \text{‘more’} & \text{ahuri} & \text{boro} & \text{boro} & \text{kamo} \\
\text{bes(i)} & \text{‘very; much’} & \text{sohore}t̪hur̪u & \text{besi} & \text{duro} \\
\text{bhari} & \text{‘very’} & \text{bhari} & \text{bholo} & \text{paiba} \\
\end{array}
\]

\`
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\text{ahuri} & \text{‘more’} & \text{ahuri} & \text{boro} & \text{boro} & \text{kamo} \\
\text{bes(i)} & \text{‘very; much’} & \text{sohore}t̪hur̪u & \text{besi} & \text{duro} \\
\text{bhari} & \text{‘very’} & \text{bhari} & \text{bholo} & \text{paiba} \\
\end{tabular}
\`

\(^3\)sina in this function corresponds to German zwar or Ancient Greek men.
5.1. Adverbs

bọrọ 'very; big'  
bọrọ muskil 'very difficult'
khub 'very; much'  
khub sotkarɔ koriba 'to welcome much'
ɔti 'very, too'  
ʃone ɔti sɔrʊlo lɔko 'a very honest man'
prayɔ 'hardly, almost'  
prayɔ korie bɔro pɔre 'after almost 20 years'

(15) ta-ŋkɔ bapa kemiti ochi-ɔnti? — se bọrọ oṣustho.
he-OBL father how be-3p(HON) he very ill
'How is his father? — He’s very ill.'

(16) tome mo-te no-pa-i khub hotasɔ ho-i-j-ib-ɔ.
you(POL) I-DAT NEG-find-CV very disappointed be-CV-V2:go-FUT-2p
'You will be very disappointed when you will not meet me.'

(17) Japan-ru as-uth-iba mukta-harɔ dam ahuri ɔdhiko pɔr-e.
J.-ABL come-IPFV-INF pearl-chain price more more fall-3s:HAB
'The price of pearl chains from Japan is much higher.'

There is a set of intensifying particles such as joma 'ever, only' or mote 'ever, only', which are used in negative sentences, see 6.4.4.

5.1.4 Focus adverbs

Focus adverbs determine a nominal, which they precede or follow.

preposed:  au  'more', elsewhere 'and'
 kebolɔ  'only'
 khali  'only', elsewhere 'empty'
  ámbik  'just, precisely', elsewhere 'correct'

postposed:  bi  'also, even'
 modhɔ  'also, even', elsewhere 'middle'
 matro  (also preposed) 'only', elsewhere 'but'
 suddha  'even', elsewhere 'by'

(i) The focus particles bi⁶ and modhɔ have additive or inclusive function: they indicate that the focused constituent is an addition. In (18) the occurrence of bi entails that somebody else wants to go to the addressee’s house as well. bi belongs more to the colloquial, modhɔ more to the formal style.

(18) mǔ bi tumo ghɔrɔ-ku j-iba-ku ja-ith-il-i.
 I also your(POL) house-DAT go-INF-DAT go-PERF-PST-1s
'I also wanted to go to your house.'

⁴In other contexts prayɔ is used as determiner with the meaning 'about', e.g. prayɔ 60 hojɔ dɔrɔsɔ 'about 60,000 spectators'.

⁵It is used as adjective as well, e.g. toro ekɔ-matro sɔntaño 'your only child'.

⁶bi has the phonological status of a clitic, i.e. it needs a preceding host. It is nevertheless treated in this section because of its semantics.
5.1.4. Focus adverbs

(19) semane mohyc amo bholi choṭo pila.
they also we:OBL like small child
'Even they are kids like us.'

(20) mo bhouni Hindi khu-h-e. se Hindi poh-i-par-e bi.
my sister H. speak-3s:HAB she H. read-CV-can-3s:HAB also
'My sister speaks Hindi. She also reads Hindi.'

Both particles can signal that the focused constituent is not only an addition, but is ranked on the extreme position of an evaluative scale ('even'). The same function is expressed by suddha 'even'. All three particles are used to introduce concessive clauses (see 4.3.5.4).

(21) tume debota-man-o-nku bi jin-i-ja-ich-o.
you(POL) god-PL-OBL:DAT even win-CV-V2:go-PERF-2p
'You even have outdone the gods.'

(22) se nijo kotha tikie bi cinta kor-u-no-th-il-a.
she REFL matter a.little even concern do-IPFV-NEG-AUX-PST-3s.
'She did not care about herself even a bit.'

(23) pocho-ku thor-e suddha pher-i-cah-il-a nahi.
behind-DAT time-INDEF even return-CV-look-PST-3s NEG
'She didn’t look back even once.'

(ii) khalī, matra and kebolō have restrictive function: They signal that the proposition can be applied exclusively to the focused constituent ('only').

(24) oṭo-re kubjo-re khalī corebo hortti ho-i-roh-itha-e.
camel-GEN hunch-LOC only fat fill be-CV-V2:stay-PERF-3s:HAB
'The hunch of the camel is filled with fat only (lit. only fat is filled in the hunch ...).'

(25) mü thor-e matra Puri ja-ich-i.
I time-INDEF only P. go-PERF-1s
'I have been to Puri only once.'

(26) se kebolō gata-e swopno th-il-a.
that only CL-INDEF dream be-PST-3s
'That was only a dream.'

(iii) thik is used as a focus particle ‘just, precisely’. It is used to focus on the identity of an indication of time, measurement, location, comparison, etc.

(When had you given me a phone call? What did you say?)

(27) bortto-man, thik ghor-u bahar-iba ago-ru.
now just house-ABL go.out-INF before-ABL
'Now, just before leaving from home.'
(What was Mantu’s relationship to Šruti?)

(28) **thik** goṭa-e bondhu bhōli . . .
    just CL-INDEF friend like
    ‘Just like a friend . . .’

(The doctor to the patient:)

(29) **thik** kēüthi kōstō he-uch-i?
    just where difficult happen-PROG-3s
    ‘Where exactly does it hurt?’

(iv) The focus adverb *au* signals addition (‘more’), e.g. *au thore* ‘once again’.

(30) mo-te **au** tikie somaṣo di-ontu.
    I-DAT more a.little time give-3p:IMP
    ‘Give me some more time.’

(31) mū **au** kōh-iba pāi cah-ū-n-i.
    I more say-INF for want-PROG-NEG-1s
    ‘I do not want to say (anything) more.’

In negative contexts *au* indicates that the situation no longer lasts.

(32) kali-thu Țulțu **au** saikel-re skul-ku j-ib-่อ-ni.
    tomorrow-ABL T. more c.-LOC s.-DAT go-FUT-3s-NEG
    ‘From tomorrow on Țulțu won’t go to school by cycle anymore.’

The particle *au* can have modal function in questions:

(33) mū **au** koço seṭha-ku ja-itha-nt-i?
    I PTCL what there-DAT go-PERF-COND-1s
    ‘What do you think I have gone there?’

(The police is looking for a dangerous gang.)

(34) lok-e koṇpsi byokti-ku sondēhajonoko sthiti-re dekh-ile
    people-PL any person-DAT doubtful circumstance-LOC see-CONDCV
    ta-ku bhāb-uch-ōnti e sehi gyang-ṛō ki **au**?
    he-DAT think-PROG-3p this that g.-GEN INT PTCL
    ‘When the people see any person in doubtful circumstances they wonder
    whether he might belong to that gang.’

### 5.1.5 Manner adverbs

In this section a list some other adverbs is given.
Some adverbs have the formal property of being reduplicated forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Reduplicated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bege</td>
<td>'quickly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhor</td>
<td>'early'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bilkul</td>
<td>'completely'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conço</td>
<td>'fast'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekathí</td>
<td>'together'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekedom</td>
<td>'totally'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krôme</td>
<td>'gradually'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>majhire</td>
<td>'now and then'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>âjulejule</td>
<td>'more and more'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñore</td>
<td>'gradually'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhire</td>
<td>'slowly, softly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghono</td>
<td>'continuously'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sathe</td>
<td>'quickly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jor</td>
<td>'speedily'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2 Particles

The particles fulfill similar functions as adverbs; however, they do not have the status of independent words, but of clitic insofar as they need a preceding host. From a semantic point of view, we distinguish between focus particles (hi 'also', see 5.1.4, hi EMPHASiser, see below) and modal particles. Modal particles express the speaker's point of view on the content of the clause. They are found rarely in the standard written language (newspaper, magazines); they are, however, very frequent in spoken language. They can be divided into sentence-final particles and constituent-bound particles.

5.2.1 The emphatic particle hi

(i) The emphatic particle hi (with variants i, hê) focuses on the constituent to which it is attached. The emphasised element can be a word, a phrase or a clause.

1. prañi-manco macye-re kebo lo manusyc hi bhasa byobhcara living.being-PL-OBL middle-LOC only man EMPH language use kor-e. do-3s:HAS

   'Among the living beings, only man uses language.'

2. ebe jañ-uch-i mû-i bodhcue sobu norntha-ro mubô. now learn-PROG-1s is.EMPHE perhaps all disturbance-GEN root

   'Now I learn that maybe it is me who is the cause of all disturbances.'
(3) "punnačcheda" ba "." cihno sōhita ame poricitc. eha bibruti ba
full.stop or sign with we acquainted this statement or
muntōbyo-rc seso-ku hī suciot kor-e.
remark-GEN end-DAT EMPH indicated do-3s:HAB
‘We are acquainted with the full stop or the “.”-sign. It is the end of a
statement or remark that it indicates.’ (Oriya school grammar)

(4) atmoc-pronsa-re nij-e nijō-ku bhul-i-j-iba hī
self-praise-LOC REFL-NOM REFL-DAT forget-CV-V2:go-INF EMPH
hen-ART-GEN death-GEN cause become-PERF-PST-3s
‘That the hen forgot itself in self-praise, that was the cause for its death.’

Finite verbs are emphasised by reduplication and hī.

(Give me a medicine to become strong and be able to run very fast.)

(5) osodha kōna? mo bil dekh-ile to tume dour-ib-ō hī
tume what my b. see-CONDVC PTCL you(POL) run-FUT-2p EMPH
douribo.
RDP
‘What (shall I give you) medicine for? When you see my bill, THEN you
will run.’

Note that the particle hī is not used for focus marking in general; focus marking
is primarily done by stress. In (6) the focussed noun bapanku is not marked by
hī.

(Did you see my mother yesterday?)

(6) na, kintu bapa-nku dekh-il-i.
no but father-OBL:DAT see-PST-1s
‘No, but I saw (your) father.’

5.2.2 Sentence-final particles

The three particles lo, re and be are used to express a familiar relationship
between speaker and hearer and are restricted to utterances where the addressee
is referred to by 2nd person singular familiar tu. Their position is sentence final,
so that their scope is the whole sentence, or they are attached to a proper noun
or to a title. In combination with prefixed a- they are used as call for attention,
e.g. alo, are (see 5.5).

lo intimacy; said to female persons
re intimacy; said primarily to male persons
be intimacy or impoliteness

(i) Examples with lo:
5.2.2. Sentence-final particles

(7) tu kอนาคต kha-ib-u ki lo?
you(FAM) what eat-FUT-2s INT PTCL
‘What will you eat?’

(8) Sita, eithi-ki aa lo?
S. here-DAT come:2s:IMP PTCL
‘Sītā, come here!’

(9) din-e pāṇḍa pāṇḍia-ṇi-ku kāh-īl-a — “pāṇḍia-ṇi lo, piṭha
day-INDEF p. p.-F-DAT say-PST-3s p.-F PTCL cake
kā-īl-u nahi?”
do-PST-2s NEG
‘One day the pāṇḍā (= class of brahmins) said to his wife, “Pāṇḍiaṇi,
didn’t you make a cake?”’ (Oriya folktale)

(ii) Example with re:
(Two young men are talking to each other.)

(10) are bhai! tu duí-duí-ṭa stri-ku ne-i kemiti ca|-uch-ọ
INTERJ brother you(FAM) two-RDP-CL wife-DAT take-CV how live-PROG-2s
re?
PTCL
‘Hey brother! How are you living with TWO wives?’

(iii) Example with be:

(11) tu ki kamā kār-ib-u be? ei dekh, ei ruṭi-ṭa
you(FAM) what work do-FUT-2s PTCL this see:2s:IMP this bread-ART
tu purapuri poṛ-i-de-ich-u.
you(FAM) completely burn-CV-V2:give-PERF-2s
‘What work CAN you do? Look at this, you burnt this bread completely!’

(iv) The particle ma (probably related to maa ‘mother’) is used in the same
position to express familiarity both towards elder and towards younger persons.
(The king had been away and had learned the sad news there that his young
daughter would have to become the servant of an old, blind man. When he
came back, his daughter asked him:)

(12) “kอนาคต dekh-i-as-il-ọ?” — “kichi nāi ma, tu ja.”
what see-CV-V2:come-PST-2p anything NEG PTCL you(FAM) go:2s:IMP
etiki koh-i raja dirgho-swaso char-il-e.
like.this say-CV king long-breath leave-PST-3p(HON)
‘ “What did you see there?” — “Nothing, my dear, go,” the king said
and took a deep breath.’
(v) There are two other particles which occur at the end of the sentence: bo expresses that the speaker gives way reluctantly, and ti is used for emphasis.

(13) mū j-ib-i bō.
    I go-FUT-1s PTCL
    ‘I’ll go.’ (‘Oh yes, I’ll go, even though I don’t like it.’)

In (14) with the particle ti, the speaker wants to be assured whether he should go or not.

(14) mū j-ib-i ti? no-j-ib-i jōdi, kōh-i-di-o.
    I go-FUT-1s PTCL NEG-go-FUT-1s if say-CV-V2:give-2p:IMP
    ‘Shall I go? Tell me if I don’t have to.’

In (15) the speaker is not sure whether the hearer will make some cakes or not, since she is busy.

(15) tu ruṭi kōr-ib-u ti?
    you(FAM) bread do-FUT-2s PTCL
    ‘You will make some bread, won’t you?’

5.2.3 Constituent-bound particles

This group of modal particles follow the constituent which they emphasise. They are not confined to sentence-final position.

- ba inevitability particle
- je emphasising particle
- mo pejorative particle
- na insistence particle
- to counterassertive particle

(i) The particle ba (which is homophonous with the conjunction ‘or’) is used in questions to express the speaker’s helplessness. A certain situation seems inevitable or impossible to him. (16) follows in a situation where the speaker has said before, “I am a simple housewife; but you are a brahman. You have studied many scriptures.”

(16) mū ba apōṇa-nku ki sikhya de-b-i?
    I PTCL you(HON)-OBL:DAT what teaching give-FUT-1s
    ‘What could I teach you?’

The particle ba in (16) above indicates that the woman considers it impossible to be able to teach anything to the brahman. Similarly the speaker of (17) feels that it is impossible that there is somebody who would not like to marry such a girl:
(17) e-pori sundor-i o guñobi kona-ku bibha he-ba pää kaha-ro
this-like beautiful-F and good bride-DAT marriage be-INF for anybody-GEN
ba iccha no-he-boo?
PTCL desire NEG-be-FUT-2s
'Who would not like to marry such a beautiful and good girl?'

(18) ta-nko pää eha-tharu bhōjī odhikō khusi-ro khōborc au ba kōcē
he-OBL for this-ABL like more joy-GEN news more PTCL what
ho-i-par-itha-nt-a!
be-CV-can-PERF-COND-3s
'What could have been a more happy news for him than this!'

(ii) The particle je functions elsewhere as complementiser, see 7.2.1. As a modal particle it emphasises either the whole sentence (when in sentence-final position) or the constituent it follows.

(A bad woman had taken the queen’s shape and replaced her. The true queen comes every night to see her son. The king suspects that the queen is not his true wife. One night, he notices the nightly visitor and sees:)

(19) ki ascorjyo! ei je mo-ro prōkṛto raṇi Bānosobha puo-ku
what surprise this PTCL I-GEN true queen B. son-DAT
dhōr-i gēlo kār-učh-i!
hold-CV affection do-PROG-3s
'What a surprise! This is my true queen Banasobhā who is holding and caressing my son!'

(The speaker has learned what life really is.)

(20) au kōcē dārkar je!
more what need PTCL
'What more is necessary!'

In other contexts je signals that the clause which precedes je is in opposition to what follows.

(Don’t you want to get married?)

(21) baha he-ba pāi icchā sach-i je, hele jōn-e buddhimōti jhiō
marriage be-INF for wish be-3s PTCL but CL-INDEF intelligent girl
khoj-učh-i.
search-PROG-1s
'It is true, I’d like to get married, but I am looking for an intelligent girl.'

(iii) The particle mo expresses the speaker’s anger.
(22) sei-ta kie mo?
that-ART who PTCL
‘Who the hell is she?’ (Answer: She is nobody.)

(Early in the morning, the wife sees her husband dancing in the nude in the living-room. She asks:)

(23) are, emiti kono he-uch-co mo?
INTERJ like this what be-PROG-2p PTCL
‘Hey, what are you doing?’

The particle mo is used to push the hearer to an action.

(The speaker is advertising a car.)

(24) Leksos el. es. 400 corh-ontu mo!
L. L. S. 400 climb-3p:IMP PTCL
‘Get in the Lexus LS 400!’

(iv) The particle na in modal function indicates closeness or insistence. Note that na occur elsewhere as conjunction ‘or’ and as negative element. Modal (25a) versus negative function (25b) is distinguished by stress, indicated by accent <á>:

(25) a. tu já-na.
you(FAM) go-NEG:2s
‘Don’t go.’
b. tu ja ná!
you(FAM) go:2s:IMP PTCL
‘Please go!’

(There is a big crowd in the market place. A man is standing in front of his king who accuses him for rebellion. Then a boy runs towards the man. The king asks:)

(26) e to-ros puo na?
this you(FAM)-GEN son PTCL
‘This is your son, isn’t he?’

(Judge to the accused thief:)

(27) tu pher as-il-u-ni. goto thoro dongo de-la
you(FAM) again come-PST-2s-MIR last time punishment give-INF:PST
bele mū to-te koh-uth-il-i na je cori kor-i mo
time-LOC I you(FAM)-DAT say-IPFV-PST-1s PTCL that theft do-CV my
pakho-re as-i tu eniki muhō dekh-a-ib-u nahi.
side-LOC come-CV you(FAM) here face see-CAUS-FUT-2s NEG
'Now you’ve come again. Last time when I punished you, I told you that you shouldn’t steal, come to me and show your face here.'

(A guest in a hotel praises how clean it is. The manager answers:)

(28) dhonyobado apoço kipori jan-il-e doya kor-i kuh-ontu na!
    thank you you (HON) how know-PST-3p kindness do-CV say-3p:IMP PTCL
    'Thank you! Would you please tell me how you got to know (how clean it is)?'

(A should have brought a vehicle to B, but he did not. B says to A:)

(29) mū hoiraço ho-i-gol-i na!
    I problem be-CV-V2:go-PST-1s PTCL
    '(You see,) I got really into problems!'

(v) The postposed particle to is used to mark a piece of information of a statement which either contradicts previous knowledge or is intended to counter some presupposition the speaker assumes his addressee is entertaining. In (30) Speaker B supposes Speaker A to be unaware of the fact that today is Sunday, hence he contradicts Speaker A’s belief by using to. The pragmatic function of the statement containing to is to recall a fact the addressee should know.

(30) A: tome ciṭhi-ṭa post kor-iba-ku bhul-i-gol-ọ? — B: are na,
    you (POL) letter-ART p. do-INF-DAT forget-CV-V2:go-2p oh no
    mū bhul-i-n-i. aji to robibaro, ḃako-ghoro bonda.
    I forget-PERF-NEG-1s today PTCL Sunday post-house closed
    'A: You have forgotten to post the letter? — B: Oh no, I haven’t forgotten. Today is Sunday, and the post office is closed.'

In (31) one would expect that Speaker A still has his umbrella with him. to expresses that this expectation is not fulfilled.

(31) A: mū bahar-ila bel-e chọta-ṭa mo pakhō-re th-il-a,
    I go.out-INF:PST time-LOC umbrella-ART I:OBL side-LOC be-PST-3s
    ebe to nahi. — B: tume bos-re char-i-de-ith-ib-ọ.
    now PTCL NEG you (POL) bus-LOC leave-CV-V2:give-PERF-FUT-2p
    'A: I had my umbrella with me when I came out, but I haven’t got it now. — B: You must have left it on the bus.'

In questions to expresses the expectation that the answer will be affirmative (as was noted for para above). Consider (32) and (33):

(Talking about a birthday party.)
(32) somost-e bhari moja kör-ith-ib-ɔ. nuh-ɛ? to-ʁo to nua all-NOM very fun do-PERF-FUT-2p be:NEG-3s you(FAM)-GEN PTCL new jama ho-ith-ib-ɔ? — hɔ, nua jama ho-ith-il-a. shirt become-PERF-FUT-3s yes new shirt become-PERF-PST-3s ‘All of you must have enjoyed a lot. Isn’t it? You must have got new shirts? — Yes, I got new shirts.’

Note that the expectation of an affirmative answer is indicated by “I hope …” in English in (33).

(33) Sunita bi to risərc west-uth-ib-ɔ? — hɔ, se risərc kor-iba-ku S. also PTCL r. do-IPFV-FUT-3s yes he r. do-INF-DAT Amerika ja-ich-i. A. go-PERF-3s ‘I hope Sunita is also doing her research now? — Yes, she has gone to America for her research.’

In (34) the speaker encourages the hearer to follow his invitation.

(34) kyanara kĩ-ib-ɛ to! ɗik och-i. bɔrhia model-tie bach-i-ntu. c. buy-FUT-3p PTCL okay be-3s nice m.-INDEF choose-3p:IMP ‘You surely want to buy a camera! That’s right. Choose a nice model.’
to can be used as coordinating conjunction, e.g. in (35) to can be replaced by au ‘and’.

(35) ketebele pori kɔtha to, ketebele bhuto kɔtha kohn-ɔnti. sometimes fairy matter PTCL sometimes ghost story tell-3p(HON):HAB ‘Sometimes she tells fairy tales, sometimes ghost stories.’

In other contexts the particle to indicates that the clause in which it occurs has conditional function.

(A young man says to his girl-friend’s father, “I ask for the hand of your daughter.” Answer:)

(36) tɔme mag-ib-ɔ to, pura jhio-ku mag-ɔ. you(POL) ask-FUT-2p PTCL whole girl-DAT ask-2p:IMP ‘If you ask, then ask for the whole girl!’

(37) sobu to jhɔrɔ-borsa-re gol-a, kha-ib-ɔ koŋo? all PTCL storm-rain-LOC go:PST-3s eat-FUT-3s what ‘(In view of the fact that) everything went away in the stormy rain, what can he eat?’
5.3 Postpositions

5.3.1 Forms

Oriya postpositions may be formally classified into four groups: "true" postpositions, lexicalised verbal forms, relational nouns and bare nouns or adjectives. The nominal determined by a postposition appears in the oblique base, e.g. stri-nko in (1).

(1) se sōbubēlē ta-nko stri-nko sōnge sinema-ku dekh-iba-ku
    he always he-OBL wife-OBL with cinema-DAT see-INF-DAT
    ja-nti.
    go-3p(HON):HAB
    'He always goes to the cinema with his wife.'

(i) The group of "true" postpositions is characterised by the fact that they do not appear as nominals nor occur without a nominal elsewhere.

bina    'without'    pori    'like, as if'
dwara    'by'    porjyontō    'until'
pāi    'for'    sohō, sohīta    'with'

These postpositions are illustrated in 5.3.2. Others are:

nimonte  'for'. It is used for purposive clauses as well (see 7.4.6, p. 379).

(2) as-onta    biswō kik bōksing campionship nimonte Bharatīya doḷ-rc
    come-PTCP world k. b. ch. for Indian team-GEN
    mononcyōnc kor-a-ja-ib-oc.
    selection do-PASS-go-FUT-3s
    'The selection of the Indian group for the coming universal kick boxing championship will be made.' (Newspaper)

unusare  'according to'

(3) ain unusare doṇḍo paiba    'be punished according to the law'
    tanko mōtō unusare    'according to his opinion'
    hisabo unusare 37 jōnō ...    'according to the counting 37 people ...'

opexhya  'than'. This postposition marks the standard of comparison, see 3.2.4.

proti  'towards' (elsewhere 'each')

(4) posako proti nojaro deba    'care about dress'
    sōngito proti agraḥi    'interested in music'
    swami proti striro kārttōbyō    'the wife's duty towards the husband'
5.3. Postpositions

(5) se porosi-manco-ntc proti rukhyc byobharc kor-e.
    she neighbour-PL-OBL towards rude behaviour do-3s:HAB
    ‘She is rude to her neighbours.’

**suddha** ‘by’ (elsewhere ‘even’)

(6) e maso seso **suddha** tumo bohi seso hex-b-a?
    this month end by your(POL) book end be-FUT-3s
    ‘Will your book be finished by the end of this month?’

(ii) There are verb forms that are lexicalised to postpositions, bhali ‘like, so that’ (< bhali be mistaken-cv ‘mistaken’), jae / jae ‘until’ (< jā-e go-1s:IMP ‘may I go’). Both items are illustrated in 5.3.2. Other lexicalised postpositions are:

**chora** ‘besides’ (< chora leave-NOM ‘left’)

(7) Oriya **chora** tume ki ki bhasa jan-c?
    O. besides you(POL) what RDP language know-2p:HAB
    ‘What languages do you know besides Oriya?’

**dei** ‘via’ (< de-i give-cv ‘having given’)

(8) Kōlikata dei Orisaku asiba ‘come to Orissa via Calcutta’
    dōra dei mōrība ‘die by the rope’
    jhōrōka dei baharōku oneiba ‘look out by the window’

**gheni** ‘for, with’ (< ghen-i grant-cv ‘having granted’)

(9) raja sighri loko-manco-ntc gheni rajōdhani-ku pher-il-e.
    king quickly man-PL-OBL with capital-DAT return-PST-3p(HON)
    ‘The king quickly returned to the capital with the men.’

**hela** ‘for’ (< he-l-a be-PST-3s ‘it was’) and **hebo** (< he-b-a be-FUT-3s ‘it will be’), which, in contrast to Past Simple form, adds some vagueness to the statement.

(10) semane ghanta-e **hela** ctha-re opekhya kor-ich-onti.
    they hour-INDEF for here-LOC waiting do-PERF-3p
    ‘They have been waiting here for an hour.’

(11) gato kichi dino **hebo** barombaro borsa jogū caso-re khyoti
    past some day for again rain because farming-LOC loss
    porilkhito ho-ich-i.
    observed be-PERF-3s
    ‘Because of the new rain for the last few days damages in the farming has been observed.’
jogū ‘because of’ (< jog-ū join-1pe:IMP ‘may we join’), cf. (11) above. It is used in clauses expressing the cause (see 7.4.6, p. 379).

(12) chuṭi jogū bando  ‘closed because of holidays’
goṭi durghāṭaṇa jogū cṭokiba  ‘stop because of an accident’

lagi ‘for’ (< lag-i apply-cv ‘having applied’). It is used for purposive clauses (see 7.4.6, p. 379).

(13) apoṇa-nkō lagi mū boro cintitc th-il-i, mōnima.
you(HON)-OBL for I very worried be-PST-1s Lord
‘I was very worried about you, my Lord.’

The fact that the noun can be marked by the oblique marker -nkō confirms the postpositional status of the items listed above, e.g. bandhobi-mana-nkō chōra ‘except the girl-friends’, Mohapatra-nkō bhōli ‘like Mahāpātra’. If the item still functions as verb, the preceding noun has object function and cannot take -nkō, but the dative case marker -nkū.⁷

(iii) Relational nouns are nouns denoting a local or temporal relation. They occur as full nouns (14) and in adverbial function elsewhere (15, 16):

(14) bakṣo-ṭi-ra Ṛpoṇa-ṭa saγua o ṭol-ṭa koḷa.
box-ART-GEN top-ART green and bottom ART black
‘The top of the box is green and the bottom is black.’

(15) semane pahacō-re ṭol-ku ṭhila-il-e.
they steps-LOC bottom-DAT come.down-PST-3p
‘They walked down the steps.’

(16) mū dukhō-ku khub pakha-ru dekh-ich-i.
I sorrow-DAT very side-ABL see-PERF-1s
‘I have seen the sorrow closely (lit. from near).’

As postpositional phrases they always take a case suffix: locative, ablative or dative (see Table 5.1).

(17) stesōn baharōku calijiba  ‘go outside of the station’
jongolo bahare rohiba  ‘stay outside of the forest’
ghoṛō baharu oļia kāṛhiba  ‘take out the dirt from the house’

(18) se seso-re eko kuṛiā ghōṛō nikoṭo-re pohonc-il-e.
he end-LOC one hut near-LOC reach-PST-3p
‘Finally, he arrived near a hut.’

⁷There is a very frequent convenb form, functioning like a postposition, dhori (<dhör- ‘take’), which however takes complements marked for dative case, e.g. se pano-joṇa jhīa-ŋkū dhori pheriasila ‘He returned with the five girls’.

⁸Variant loaned from Sanskrit mādhyā.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>dative (direction)</th>
<th>ablative (source)</th>
<th>locative (location)</th>
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<td>ago</td>
<td>ago-ku</td>
<td>ago-ru</td>
<td>ago-re</td>
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<tr>
<td>‘front’</td>
<td>‘before’</td>
<td>‘before’</td>
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<td>arê-ku</td>
<td>ar-u</td>
<td>ar-e</td>
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<td>‘at’</td>
<td>‘from’</td>
<td>‘at’</td>
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<td>bahar-o-ku</td>
<td>bahar-u</td>
<td>bahar-e</td>
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<td>‘out’</td>
<td>‘out of’</td>
<td>‘outside’</td>
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<td>belô</td>
<td>belô-ku</td>
<td>bel-u</td>
<td>bel-e</td>
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<td>‘time’</td>
<td>‘at’ (temporal)</td>
<td>‘since’</td>
<td>‘at’ (temporal)</td>
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<td>‘into’</td>
<td>‘from inside’</td>
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<td>mojhi-ku</td>
<td>mojhi-ru</td>
<td>mojhi-re</td>
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<td>‘into the middle’</td>
<td>‘from the middle’</td>
<td>‘in the middle’</td>
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<td>‘in front’</td>
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<td>tôle-ru</td>
<td>tôle-e</td>
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<td>‘bottom’</td>
<td>‘downwards’</td>
<td>‘from under’</td>
<td>‘under, ago’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uporo</td>
<td>uporo-ku</td>
<td>uporo-ru</td>
<td>uporo-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘top’</td>
<td>‘upwards’</td>
<td>‘from above’</td>
<td>‘on’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.3.1. Forms

(19) goṭi-e kukurō ta-nkō počhō-re cal-itha-e.
CL-INDEF dog he-OBL back-LOC go-PERF-3s:HAB
'A dog was following them.'

(20) Rajesō-nkō samna-re ghoro khol-a-gol-a.
R.-OBL front-LOC room open-PASS-go:PST-3s
'In front of Rājesā (i.e. in his presence) the room was opened.'

(21) draibhōr brij-rc thik sommukho-re bos-ṭi-ku ṭok-a-il-a.
d. b.-GEN just front-LOC b.-ART-DAT stop-CAUS-PST-3s
'The driver stopped the bus just before the bridge.'

(iv) There are some other nouns and adjectives, which are used as postpositions:

baṭe ‘by way of’ (< baṭa ‘way’)

(What happens when you tell him something?)

(22) tebe se ta-ku taa di kanō-re suṇ-ib-ō au sōnge sōnge taa muhō
then he-it-DAT his two ear-LOC listen-FUT-3s and immediately his mouth
baṭe baharo kōr-i-de-b-ō.
by outside do-CV-V2:give-FUT-3s
'Then he will listen to it with both of his ears, and he will let it out
through his mouth immediately.'

bhaba ‘as’ (< bhaba ‘manner’)

(23) mōṇisā-rc sabu-ṭhu besi biswāstā prani bhaba kukurō
man-GEN all-ABL much faithful animal as dog
joṇ-a-suṇ-a.
know-PTCP-hear-PTCP
'The dog is known as the animal most faithful to man.'

byotita ‘except’ (< byotita ‘passed away’)

(24) Hori-nkō byotita au kie rakhya kōr-ib-ō?
H.-OBL except more who salvation do-FUT-3s
'Who else than Hari will bring salvation?'

hetu ‘because’ (< hetu ‘reason’)

(25) cṣusthata hetu ḍerī-re utṭ-uchi.
ill.health because late-LOC get.up-PROG-1s
'I am getting up late because of my ill health.'

joge ‘by’ (< joga ‘joining’)

(26) ɗako joge  ‘by mail’
       kar joge buliba  ‘travel by car’

(27) nilamo intɔrnest joge cal-ib-.  
    auction i.  by  go-FUT-3s
    ‘The auction will take place via internet.’

kɔtha  ‘about’ (< kɔtha ‘matter, speech’)

(28) maa ebe mo kɔtha bhab-thi-ib-e.  
    mother now my matter think-IPFV-FUT-3p(HON)
    ‘Mother will be thinking about me now.’

nimittɔ  ‘because’ (< nimittɔ ‘reason’)

(29) harɔ tiari  nimittɔ mukta Japan-ru kiŋ-a-ja-uch-i.  
    chain production for  pearl J.-ABL  buy-PASS-go-PROG-3s
    ‘Pearls for the production of chains are bought from Japan.’

sangɔre  ‘with’ (< sangɔ ‘friend’) and sɔnge  ‘with’ (< sɔngɔ ‘association’); for examples see p. 326.

sɔttwe  ‘in spite of’ (< sɔttɔ ‘soul’)

(30) dɔkhiŋo-purɔ Esia-rc ɔrthɔnoitikɔ ɔbɔnitɔ  sɔttwe mukta cijɔ-ʃi  
    south-east A.-GEN economical depression in.spite.of pearl thing-ART  
    e-pɔri adɔɾɔniŋiŋ je, taha-rc karɔbarɔ kodapi kom-ib-.  nahi.  
    this-like appreciated that it-GEN trade ever diminish-FUT-3s NEG
    ‘In spite of the economical depression in Southeast Asia the pearl objects  
    are so popular that its trade will never lessen.’ (Newspaper)

5.3.2 Use of postpositions

In the following the use of the most important postpositions is illustrated. They
are arranged in alphabetic order. Besides the use with nouns the postpositions
are used with iba- and ila-forms to express interclausal adverbial relations (see
7.4.6).

agɔ ‘front’: agɔre / agɔru ‘before’. The relational noun agɔ ‘front’ is used
to express spatial as well as temporal relations (cf. agɔ sit ‘front seat’ and the
use as adverb agɔ ‘first’). agɔre denotes anterior location, agɔku direction and
agɔru source or temporal priority. In addition, agɔru expresses the interclausal
relation of posteriority (see p. 378).
5.3.2. Use of postpositions

(31) nījō akhi agōre ‘before one’s own eyes’
agōku caliba ‘move on’
agōru asiba ‘approach (lit. come from in front of)’
ajīthu agōru ‘before today (lit. before from today)’

(32) Bharōcō apōhōcakari-nkō agō-re munjō nūā-iiba ucit nuh-ē.
India kidnapper-OBL front-LOC head bend-INF should be:NEG-3s
‘India should not give in to the kidnappers (lit. bend the head before).’

(33) agō-ku grismo-rutu as-uch-i.
before-DAT summer-season come-PROG-3s
‘The summer season is approaching.’

(34) se mo agō-ru skul-re pōhōc-il-a.
he 1:OBL before-ABL s.-LOC arrive-PST-3s
‘He arrived at school earlier than me.’

aṛō ‘side’: aṛōku ‘towards’, aṛu ‘from’, aṛe ‘at’. The relational noun aṛō ‘side’ is used in local and temporal sense. It indicates directionality with the dative (36), source with the ablative (37) and spatial location with locative (38).

(35) cari aṛe ‘everywhere’ (< cari ‘four’)
Septembor sesc aṛōku ‘till the end of September’
noīrō tolc aṛōku jiba ‘go down the river (lit. to the bottom of)’

(36) mū taa aṛō-ku cah-uch-i.
1 he:OBL side-DAT look-PROG-1s
‘I am looking at him (lit. to his side).’

(37) baghō-tie jongō aṛ-u as-il-a.
tiger-INDEF j. side-ABL come-PST-3s
‘A tiger came out of the jungle.’

(38) pulis bahini bimanobondoro aṛ-e age-il-e.
p. army airport side-LOC come-PST-3p
‘The police unit arrived at the airport.’

beļō ‘time’: beļe / beļōku ‘at’ (temporal), beļu ‘since’. The relational noun beļō ‘time’ indicates temporal relations. beļe (with locative case) and beļōku (with dative case) both denote the time of an event. beļu (with ablative case) refers to the beginning point of time, e.g. setebeļu ‘from then on’.

(39) se dipōhōc beļ-e taa dokano bondo ko-l-a.
he noon time-LOC his shop closed do-PST-3s
‘He closed his shop at noon.’
5.3. Postpositions

(40) e borso seso belo-ku tumo-rc saka runo
this year end time-DAT you(POL)-OBL-GEN all loan
suji-h-t-ib-o?
clear-CV-V2:go-FUT-2p
‘Can you clear all your loans by the end of this year?’

bhitorc ‘inside’: bhitoroku ‘into’, bhitoru ‘from’, bhitore ‘in’. The relational noun bhitorc ‘inside’ with the locative -e denotes interior location (41). The dative -ku adds the meaning of direction (42) “into” and the ablative -u the meaning of source (43) “from inside”.

(41) e-poci goholi bhitor-e je kounosi loko haj-i-ja-i-par-e.
this-like crowd inside-LOC any any person get.lost-CV-go-CV-can-3s:HAB
‘In such a crowd anyone can get lost.’

(42) panh pi-iba pai hati sunda-ki-ku panh bhitorc-ku
water drink-INF for elephant trunk-ART-DAT water inside-DAT
borh-e-i-de-l-a.
grow-CAUS-CV-V2:give-PST-3s
‘In order to drink water the elephant put the trunk into the water.’

(43) skul bhitor-u burha coukidarc-ti bahar-i-as-il-a.
s. inside-ABL old watchman-ART come.out-CV-V2:come-PST-3s
‘From inside the school the old watchman emerged.’

There are two additional functions:

(i) bhitore is used in a temporal sense denoting a period of time “in, within”, e.g. amo jibon ka bhitore ‘during our lifetime’.

(44) e gochra-ta clpo kete dino bhitor-e mor-i-j-ib-o.
this tree-ART few some day inside-LOC die-CV-V2:go-FUT-3s
‘This tree will die in a few days.’

(ii) bhitoru is used to express the notion of partitiveness “among”, e.g. semanko bhitoru 21-ti santanc ‘21 children among them’.

(45) e seu-guriko bhitor-u odhikanso mitha.
these apple-PL inside-ABL most sweet
‘Most of these apples are sweet.’

bhol ‘like, as if, so that’. The general verb of the verb bhol ‘be mistaken’ is used for comparison. In addition, it is used in result and comparison clauses (see p. 379 and p. 381).
5.3.2. Use of postpositions

(46) se onathi-ni jhari-ta-ku nijo jhio bholi pal-ith-il-e.
he orphan-F niece-ART-DAT REFL daughter like raise-PERF-PST-3p
‘He had raised up the orphan niece like his own daughter.’

(47) bhikari ḍahano hati-ku bhong-a bholi hol-a-uch-i.
beggar right arm-DAT break-PTCP like shake-CAUS-PROG-3s
‘The beggar is shaking his right arm as if it is broken.’

bina ‘without’. The adpositional status of bina ‘without’ is unclear because it often precedes the noun which is marked by the locative case. In this context bina behaves rather like an adjective.

(48) bina tike-ṭe jatra koriba ‘travel without a ticket’
bina karoṭa-če ciriuthiba ‘get angry without any reason’
bina bibahā-če ekathī rohiba ‘live together without marriage’

(49) bhū-kompoṇo kounosi jontro-ṛo bina sahajyo-če
earth-quake any machine-GEN without help-LOC
mop-a-ja-i-par-e nahī.
measure-PASS-go-CV-can-3s NEG
‘Earth-quakes cannot be measured without the help of an instrument.’

bina can follow the noun as well:

(50) prōmano bina biswasa kor-ib-i-ni.
proof without belief do-PST-1s-NEG
‘I won’t believe it without proof.

dvara ‘by’. The postposition dvara ‘by, means of’ marks instrumentality, e.g. jontropati dvara dekhiba ‘watch with an instrument’. In addition, it is used to introduce manner clauses (see p. 381).

(51) dokhina sighra no-de-le obhisapo dvara sorboswa bhosmo
present quickly NEG-give-CONDCV curse by everything ashes
kor-i-de-b-e boli rusi dhomoko de-ith-il-e.
do-CV-V2:give-FUT-3p(HON) COMP saint threat give-PERF-PST-3p(HON)
‘The saint threatened to turn everything to ashes by a curse if he did not give the present quickly.’

(52) sapo jibho dvara sup-i-par-e.
snake tongue by hear-CV-can-3s:HAB
‘The snake can hear with its tongue.’

dvara is also used to mark the causee in causative constructions (see 4.1.1) and to mark the agent in passive clauses, both in he- / ja- passive construction (see 4.6.3), as well as in combination with participles loaned from Sanskrit.

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\^Cf. dvaro ‘door’.
jæ ‘until’. The postposition jæ or jāē ‘until’\(^{10}\) is a lexicalised form of the verb ja- ‘go’ (jæ is 3s HAB ‘he goes’) and signals the limit up to which a situation continues. In addition, it is used to link subordinate “until”-clauses (see 7.4.6, p. 378).

(53) besi rati jæ ‘up to late in the evening’
ete dino jæ ‘up to this day’
surjonkotbaru pruthibi jæ ‘from the sun to the earth’
1803-ru 1947 jæ ‘from 1803 to 1947’

(54) kete jāē patho pɔrh-ich-ɔ?
how.much until study learn-PERF-2p
‘Until when have you gone to school?’

(55) aśrōmo jæ amsa-ku ta-nko-ro bolo pa-il-a nahi.
unti come-INF-DAT he-OBL-GEN strength find-PST-3s NEG
‘He did not have the power to reach the ashram.’

mojhi / modhyɔ ‘middle’: mojhire / modhyore ‘among, between’.
The postposition mojhire and its variant modhyore (recent loan from Sanskrit) express medial location: ‘among, between, in the middle of’.

(56) ehi byag modhyore ‘in this bag’
borsokon modhyore ‘within a year’
ethi/-iti-modhyore ‘in the meantime’
eñdharo modhyore ‘in the darkness’

(57) pahaɾo dui-ti mojhi-re rasta-te ocm-i.
hill two-CL middle-LOC road-INDEF be-3s
‘There is a road between the hills.’

(58) chatro-mano-nko modhyore ekɔ hastɔkɔla protijogita tɔthɔ student-PL-OBL middle-LOC one handicraft competition similarly
prɔðɔrɔni he-b-ɔ.
exhibition be-FUT-3s
‘There will be a handicraft competition as well as an exhibition among the students.’

mojhi can be combined with other case suffixes as well, e.g. with the dative.
(The boy had eaten a banana.)

(59) se jān-i-sun-i copa-ti-ku rasta mojhi-ku phing-i-de-l-a.
be know-CV-hear-CV peel-ART-DAT road middle-DAT throw-CV-V2:give-PST-3s
‘He threw the peel in the middle of the street on purpose.’

\(^{10}\)There is a variant with the same meaning, jake (e.g. sesɔ jake ‘till the end’), which is probably related to the all-inclusive marker -jako ‘all’.
pāi ‘for’. The postposition pāi ‘for’ is used to express benefactive (60) and temporal meaning (61), e.g. masokā pāi ‘for one month’. Other expressions are prothomo thoro pāi ‘for the first time’ and porikhya pāi prostuto ‘ready for the exam’. In addition it is used for purposive clauses (see p. 379).

(60) e komiŏ-ti kēu dorjo tumbo pāi tiari kor-ich-i?
this shirt-ART which tailor you(POL):OBL for making do-PERF-3s
‘Which tailor has made this shirt for you?’

(61) apone eha-ku sobu bebā pāi mon-e rakh-ontu.
you(HON) this-DAT all time for mind-LOC keep-3p:IMP
‘Remember this for always.’

pakho ‘side’. The relational noun pakho ‘vicinity, side’ with the locative -re (or the short form pakhe) expresses proximate location.

(62) chośo pila-ti taa maa pakho-re thia ho-ith-il-a.
little child-ART his mother side-LOC standing be-PERF-PST-3s
‘The little child stood beside his mother.’

(63) lokō-nkō pakho-re kha-iba-ku nah-i.
people-obl side-LOC eat-INF-DAT be:NEG-3s
‘People have nothing to eat (lit. there is nothing to eat near the people).’

Compare the composed expression caripakhe ‘around’ (cf. cari ‘four’).

(64) pruthibi surjiyo caripakh-e bul-uch-i.
earth sun around-LOC walk-PROG-3s
‘The earth moves around the sun.’

The dative marker -ku adds directionality “towards”.

(65) ōebul pakho-ku tumbo cōuki-ti ṭan-i-an-ō.
t. side-DAT your(POL) chair-ART draw-CV-bring-2p:IMP
‘Draw your chair up to the table.’

The ablative marker -ru adds the notion of source or separation “from”.

(66) somudra mordirō pakho-ru tini kilomītor durō.
sea temple side-ABL three k. distance
‘The sea is three kilometers from the temple.’

(67) tume ethi-pāi kand-uch-ō, je-hetu tume nījo poti
you(POL) this-for weep-PROG-2p which-because you(POL) REFL husband
pakho-ru ṭōga he-uch-ō?
side-ABL separate be-PROG-2p
‘Are you crying because you are separated from your husband?’
The relational noun pakhć ‘side’ has been called a “bridge morpheme”\(^\text{11}\) since it is obligatory when human referents are to be combined with the dative, ablative or locative case in a local sense (see 3.1.4.3, 3.1.4.5 and 3.1.4.6). Similar functions may be observed with the relational nouns anć ‘side’, nikć ‘near’, poć ‘side’ (for examples see the respective sections).

parsi ‘like, as if’. The postposition parsī is used to mark a comparison. In addition, it is used for clauses of comparison (see 7.4.6, p. 381).

(68) Sarasvatī parsī ripobhoti ‘beautiful like Sarasvati’
sobudim parsī ‘like every day’
pagolāk parsī cikara karība ‘shout like mad’
hindunamol parsī luga pindhība ‘wear clothes like Hindus’

(69) se jōn-e bisesọg parsī kōtha kōh-uch-i. ‘He talks like an expert.’
he CI-INDEF expert like matter say-PROG-3s

parjyanta ‘until’. The postposition parjyanta ‘until’ denotes a temporal, spatial or abstract limit that is reached.

(70) aji parjyanta ‘up to today’
asontā pandacā dina parjyanta ‘for the next fifteen days’
eparjyanta ‘up to now, still’
separjyanta ‘in the meantime’

(71) ame noi bandhā-re surjyasta parjyanta bōs-il-u. ‘We sat on the bank of the river till sunset.’
we river bank-LOC sunset until sit-PST-1pe

(72) se njo ghōrcǝ-re porisa ghōrcǝ-rǝ draingrum parjyanta he REFL house-GEN wall-LOC neighbour house-GEN d. until
koña kor-i-de-l-a. ‘He made a hole in the wall of his house up to the drawing-room of his neighbour’s house.’
hole do-CV-V2:give-PST-3s

(73) kokei guhalo sopha-tharu aronbho kor-i bojarco sonođa parjyanta uncle cow-shed cleaning-ABL start do-CV market shopping to
sobu kama kor-onti. all work do-3p:HAB
‘The uncle does every work from cow-shed cleaning to market shopping.’

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\(^{11}\)A bridge morpheme is a morpheme intervening between stem and case marker depending upon the animacy status of the referent. See Aristar 1997 and 3.1.4.1 above.
**pore** ‘next’, **pore** ‘after’, **porcθaru** ‘since’. The postposition **pore** ‘after’ consisting of **pore** ‘next’ and the locative -e expresses posteriority.

(74) sitodino pore-e bosonto as-e. 
    winter after-LOC spring come-3s:HAB
    ‘Spring comes after winter.’

Note the expression ehi ghɔtna-ro kichi dino pore ‘some days after this event’, literally ‘after some days of this event’.

The use with the ablative -ru is more rare. It then identifies a point starting from which the situation is true.

(75) swadhinota pore-tharu deso-re oneko poriborttanu independence next-ABL country-LOC many change
     ho-i-gol-a-ni. 
     happen-CV-V2:go:PST-3s-MIR
     ‘Many changes have taken place in the country since independence.’

**potɔ** ‘side’: **pɔtɔku** ‘towards’, **pɔtɔru** ‘from’, **pote** ‘at’. The relational noun **pote** ‘side’ is used only in a local sense. It indicates

(i) directionality with the dative case:

(76) mo stri mo poto-ku pithi kor-i chi-ra ho-ith-il-a. 
    my wife my side-DAT back do-CV standing be-PERF-PST-3s
    ‘My wife was standing with her back towards me.’

(ii) source with the ablative case:

(77) kar-re as-uth-iba bel-e eko dutogami jip samna poto-ru dhokka c.-LOC come-IPFV-INF time-LOC one speedy j. front side-ABL collision de-l-a. 
    give-PST-3s
    ‘While he was coming by car, a speedy jeep collided (with him) frontally.’

(iii) spatial location with locative case:

(78) ta-nko pocho pot-e guli baj-il-a. 
    he-OBL back side-LOC bullet hit-PST-3s
    ‘The bullet hit in his back.’

Compare the expression caripote ‘around’ (cf. cari ‘four’), surjyo caripote ghuriba ‘turn around the sun’.
**purbo** ‘previous’: **purboru** ‘before’, **purbe** ‘ago’. The postpositions **purboru** ‘before’ with the ablative -ru (79) and **purbe** ‘ago’ with the locative -e (80) are both used to express anteriority in time.

(79) tume surjiyodɔɔyɔ **purbo-ru** uth-ɔ?
you(POL) sunrise before-ABL get.up-2p:HAB
‘Do you get up before sunrise?’

(80) lok-e koh-ɔnti etha-re bohu kalo **purbe** goți-e boro paharɔ
people-PL say-3p:HAB here-LOC much time ago-LOC CL-INDEF big hill
th-il-a.
be-PST-3s
‘They say there was a big hill here long ago.’

**sangɔre, sɔnge, sɔho, sɔhitɔ ‘with’**. The four postpositions **sangɔre** (< **sangɔ** ‘friend’), **sɔnge** (< **sangɔ** ‘association’), **sɔho, sɔhitɔ** all denote a concomitant relation “with”.

(81) sangɔsathibi-mano-nko **sɔhitɔ** kɔla-yo tyagɔ kɔr-ɔ.
friend-PL-OBL with quarrel giving.up do-2p:IMP
‘Give up quarrelling with your friends.’

(82) aponɔ emanɔ-nko **sangɔ-re** au kebe e-pɔri byɔbɔlarɔ kor-ib-e
you(HON) they-OBL with-LOC more ever this-like behaviour do-FUT-3p
nahi.
NEG
‘You shall not treat them like this ever again.’

**tolɔ** ‘bottom’: **tolɔku** ‘down’, **tolu** ‘from under’, **tolɛ** ‘under, ago’. The relational noun **tolɔ** ‘bottom’ can be used both for spatial and temporal relations. In the first use **tolɛ** (with the locative -e) expresses inferior location “under”, e.g.

(83) polithin tole rɔhiba ‘live under a polythene roof’.
gɔcho tole soibɔ ‘sleep under a tree’.

The dative -ku adds the notion of directionality:

(84) se siri **tolɔ-ku** ohla-uch-i.
she stairs bottom-DAT come.down-PROG-3s
‘She is coming down the stairs.’

The ablative -u denotes the source:

(85) sɔbo-ti maši to]-u prayɔ 4 phuṭ ucco-re jhul-uth-il-a.
corpse-ART ground bottom-ABL about 4 f. height-LOC hang-IPPV-PST-3s
‘The corpse was hanging about 4 feet from the ground.’
5.3.2. Use of postpositions

*tole* is used as temporal postposition as well, expressing a period back in time (‘ago’).

(86) sohe borsa tole e ghoro-ți tiari ho-ith-il-a.
    hundred year ago-LOC this house-ART build be-PERF-PST-3s
    ‘This house was built a hundred years ago.’

*upe* ‘top’: *upe*ku ‘upwards’, *upe*ru ‘from above’, *upe*re ‘on, about’.
(i) The relational noun *upe* ‘top’ with the locative -e is primarily used to express superior location ‘on top of, above’, e.g. *hati* upere bòsiba ‘sit on an elephant’.

(87) tumo ćebul upere sobu-bele ophidham-ți roh-ib-a ucit.
    your(POL) t. top-LOC always dictionary-INDEF stay-INF should
    ‘You should always have a dictionary on your table.’

The dative -ku adds the notion of directionality:

(88) birari-ța gòchò upere-ku gorh-il-a.
    cat-ART tree top-DAT climb-PST-3s
    ‘The cat climbed up the tree.’

(89) tapo-matra 33 upere-ku gòl-a.
    heat-measure 33 top-DAT go: PST-3s
    ‘The temperature rose to 33 degrees.’

The ablative -u denotes the source:

(90) topa topa jòb mòtha upere-u tolo-ku khös-i-as-uth-il-a.
    drop RDP water head top-ABL bottom-DAT fall-CV-V2:come-IPFV-PST-3s
    ‘Water was falling down from his head (lit. from the top of his head) to the ground, drop by drop.’

(ii) The use of the postposition *upe*re is extended to denote complements of some expressions like the following ones:

(91) kahanko upere akromeko koriba ‘make an attack on somebody’
    kahanko upere besi khusi ‘very happy about somebody’
    kahanko upere nirbhoro koriba ‘rely on somebody’
    e podobi upere asa ‘the hope for this post’

(92) cönekö somayọ-øre tan-ńko stri ta-ńko upere rag-onti.
    many time-LOC he-OBL wife he-OBL top-LOC get.angry-3p:HAB
    ‘His wife often gets angry at him.’
5.4. Conjunctions and coordination

In this section coordinating conjunctions within the clause will be discussed. All the conjunctions below are also used to connect clauses, see 7.1.

'and'  o, au  (1,2)
'or'  ba  inclusive 'or'  (3)
kimba  exclusive 'or' in declarative sentences ('either ... or')  (4)
na  exclusive 'or' in interrogative sentences  (5)
ki  exclusive 'or' in interrogative or negative contexts ('or', 'neither ... nor')  (6)

(1) ondho o choṭa loko-mano-nku upohaso kor-o naḥi.
  blind and lame person-PL-OBL:DAT laughing do-2p:IMP NEG
  'You mustn't laugh at blind and lame people.'

(2) Bhubanesworo soḥoro bhitor-e  au soḥoro cari pakho-re onekṛ.
  Bh. town inside-LOC and town four side-LOC many
dekh-iba jaga soch-i.
  see-INF place be-3s
  'There are many places to visit inside the town of Bhubaneswar as well as around it.'

(3) purbo-kal-re prọja-mane raja-nku mudra ba drọbyo akaro-re
  before-time-LOC people-PL king-OBL:DAT coin or materials form-LOC
  koro de-i-par-uth-il-e.
taxes give-CV-can-IPFV-PST-3p
  'In old time people could pay taxes to the king in cash or kind.'
(4) *Sōtis̄ə kimbə taa sango e jhokarka-ṭi bhang-ich-i.*
   S. or his friend this window-ART break-PERF-3s
   ‘Either Sātiśa or his friend has broken this window.’

(5) *koṇa kha-ib-ə? caa na kɔphi?*
   what eat-FUT-2p tea or coffee
   ‘What will you take? Tea or coffee?’

(6) *rēł-gari ki bɔs pani-re cal-e nahi.*
   rail-train or bus water-LOC go-3s:HAB NEG
   ‘Neither a train nor a bus runs on water.’

The copulative coordination with o ‘and’ can be emphasised by adding *ubhɔyɔ*
‘both’.

(7) *mo bapa ubhɔyɔ Hindi o Bɔŋgɔla Jan-ɔnti.*
   my father both H. and Bengali know-3p(HON):HAB
   ‘My father knows both Hindi and Bengali.’

Any constituent in a clause can consist of a coordinated structure:

(i) Subject and object: see (4, 6, 7) above. The conjunction can be omitted when the coordinated nominals can be grouped into one unity of the same semantic domain; e.g. *bhaṭɔ tɔrkari* in (8) is understood as one dish (cf. *pitha au bhaṭɔ* ‘cake and rice’ = two dishes):

(8) *bhaṭɔ tɔrkari khaiba*  ‘eat rice and curry’
   swami stri  ‘husband and wife’
   maa puć  ‘mother and son’¹²
   ḍakṭɔr rogi bhitar gopo  ‘conversation between doctor and patient’
   muhō hato dhoibå  ‘wash the hands and the face’

These coordinated nominals can be interpreted as nominal compounds, see 3.1.1.2.

(ii) Adjectives

(9) *mui goṭi-e lɔmba ebɔŋg sunderɔ gopo pɔrh-il-i.*
   I CL-INDEF long and beautiful story read-PST-1s
   ‘I read a long and beautiful story.’

(iii) Participles:

(10) *mo maa poṭha-iba au ame kha-ith-iba pitha bohut bhālo.*
   my mother send-INF and we eat-PERF-INF cake very good
   ‘The cake that my mother sent and that we ate was very good.’

¹²Cf. *maa ebɔŋg mo sango* ‘mother and my friend’.
5.5. Interjections

Interjections include short answers to questions, greetings, calls and exclamations.

(i) Yes/no questions are answered as follows:

Positive:  
- hā, hō, hū  
  ‘yes’ (1, 2)  
- hou  
  ‘okay’ (3)  
- accha  
  ‘okay; well’, see (3)  
- oho  
  ‘okay, I see’ (4)  
- sabas, bas  
  ‘okay’ (5)  
- agyā  
  ‘yes, well’ (honorisific use)

Negative:  
- na, nā(i), namo  
  ‘no’ (cf. 6.4)  
- nare  
  ‘no’

The interjection hō is used for positive answers, no matter whether the question was in the affirmative or in the negative.

(1)  
sar, ōtikie bahar-ku j-ib-i? — hō, ja-i-par-u.  
S. please outside-DAT go-FUT-1s yes go-CV-can-2s:HAB  
‘Can I please go out, Sir? — Yes, you can.’

(2)  
bapa, borsa bel-e kāhīki surjiyo bahar-onti nahī? — hū,  
father rain time-LOC why sun come.out-3p(HON):HAB NEG yes  
bahar-onti. come.out-3p(HON):HAB  
‘Daddy, why does the sun not come out when it rains? — Yes, it comes out.’
(Suratā visits her friend Jayantī, just before dinner. They talk about J.’s daughter who should marry. J. asks S. to think about a possible bridegroom. She then answers):

3. hou, mū di cari dino bhitor-e khoñora poṭhe-ib-i. accha, mū e okay I two four day inside-LOC news send-FUT-1s well I this thoro uth-e. tome ja-ṇa, khi-a-pi-a kor-ib-ko. time get.up-1s:HAB you(POL) go-2p:IMP eat-PTCP-drink-PTCP do-FUT-2p ‘Okay, I will send some information in a day or two. Let me go now. You please go and have your food.’

(Don’t you know me? Do you remember the child in the neighbourhood who was always playing tricks on you?)

4. oho, tume tahele sei pila. INTERJ you(POL) then that child ‘I see! Then you are that child.’

(A journalist wants to question Mr Rāo on how he has become such a rich man. Before they start the interview Mr Rāo says, “To explain this to you, I will need at least two hours. Why should the light be burning so long? We can talk in the dark.” The journalist replies:)

5. bas bas au kichi khoña bār dorkar nahi! mū sōbu okay okay more anything say-INF need NEG I all jan-i-go-ī. learn-CV-V2:go:PST-1s ‘Okay, okay, there is no need to say anything more! I know everything.’

The interjection agyā expresses politeness towards the hearer (“yes, Sir”).

(The teacher sees that the students are looking back again and again during the exam. He orders them to stop that. A student replies:)


(ii) Greetings may be classified by degrees of formality.

Formal: namaskarō, namaste (for both meeting and parting)
Informal: juharc (rural speech)

(A visitor arrives with his daughter Anu and greets the host.)
(7) **nomaskar**, mausi! are Anu, nomaskar kôr-ô mausi-nku.
   n. aunt INTERJ A. n. do-2p:IMP aunt-OBL:DAT
   ‘Namaskar, Auntie! Hey Anu, say namaskar to Auntie.’

(iii) Calls are used to draw the attention of a person towards the speaker.

alo, ilo, lo to female persons only
are, re to male and female persons
kio within marriage and joking relationships

Others are he, hoio, hoire, go, ago.

(8) **alo, kemiti ooch-u?**
   INTERJ how be-2s
   ‘How are you?’

(Father to his son after seeing his school report.)

(9) **are** Mântu, to-ro to goânto-re ete kôm nombôr
   INTERJ M. you(FAM)-GEN PTCL mathematics-LOC so low n.
   roh-uch-i
   stay-PROG-3s
   ‘Hey Mântu, your marks in mathematics are so low.’

(10) **he** pila, mo kôtha sun-ô!
   INTERJ child my matter hear-2p:IMP
   ‘Hey child, listen to me!’

(iv) Exclamations represent a spontaneous reaction to a situation, such as annoyance, disgust or joy:

- Joy: ho ho, ba
- Annoyance: aha, baba
- Disgust: chi, dhet, ihi, uhû, thu
- Sadness: o, ha, hayô

(11) **ho ho, ame jîn-i-gol-u!**
    INTERJ we win-CV-V2:go:PST-1pe
    ‘Hurrah, we’ve won!’

(The teacher to a child.)

(12) **ba! tu țhik kôh-ich-u!**
    INTERJ you(FAM) correct say-PERF-2s
    ‘Bravo! You have answered correctly.’
(13) aha, mo caa-təkə dḥal-i-ho-i-gəl-a!
INTERJ my tea-all pour-CV-be-CV-V2:go:PST-3s
‘Oh dear! I’ve spilled my tea (lit. my tea has been poured out).’

(14) chi, ete mojiła!
INTERJ how.much dirty
‘Ugh, how dirty!’

(There are misfortunes that nobody can be blamed for.)

(15) keboḷ həyə həyə kor-i bhagyc-ku nind-iba byoṭiṭo mənišo nikoṭo-re
only alas RDP do-CV destiny-DAT blame-INF except man near-LOC
bikəlpə rəh-e nahi.
alternative stay-3s:HAB NEG
‘There is no alternative for man than to lament and blame destiny.’
Chapter 6

Simple sentences

6.1 Shortest possible sentences

A sentence in Oriya consists at least of a predicate which can be verbal or nominal. The agent in subject function, which is semantically implied by the predicate, is not obligatorily mentioned. Compare (1) below where the subject tume ‘you(POL)’ is missing, but can be supplied from the context, especially from the verb form sunichɔ, which is marked for 2p.

(1) kali rati-re mũ ghɔrɔ-ku as-ib-a-ɾɔ ɔbdo suṇ-ich-ɔ? —
yesterday night-LOC I house-DAT come-INF-GEN noise hear-PERF-2p
na, mũ so-i-pɔɾ-ith-ib-i.
no I fall.asleep-V2:fall-PERF-FUT-1s
‘Did you hear me coming in last night? — No, I must have been asleep.’

In (2) the second sentence contains a nominal predicate, i.e. khamɔkhialia ‘whimsical’. Again the subject se ‘he’ is missing.

(Beginning of a story)

(2) jõ-n-e raja th-il-e. bhari khamɔkhialia.
       CL-INDEF king be-PST-3p(HON) very whimsical
‘There was a king. He was very whimsical.’

Objects can be implied by the verb without mention as well. Consider (3) where chota ‘the umbrella’ is mentioned in the first sentence, but in the following explicit reference to it is missing, although it is the object of searching, finding and giving.

(3) mo-te lag-uch-i tumo ghor-e mo chota-ṭa
       I-DAT feel-PROG-3s your(POL) house-LOC my umbrella-ART
char-i-de-ich-i. tume ʘ dekh-ich-ɔ? — na, tebe mũ ʘ
leave-CV-V2:give-PERF-1s you(POL) see-PERF-2p no then I
khoj-ib-i. jodi ʘ pa-e, tumo-ku ʘ de-b-i.
search-FUT-1s if find-1s:HAB you(POL)-DAT give-FUT-1s
'It seems to me that I have left my umbrella in your house. Have you seen it? — No, then I will look for it. If I find it, I'll give it to you.'

"Dative subjects" can be dropped as well:

(4) Ø lag-uch-i aji Rama Sita-ku bul-e-i-nō-b-ō.
    feel-PROG-3s today R. S.-DAT walk-CAUS-CV-take-FUT-3s

'It seems (to me) that Rāma will take Sītā out today.'

Minimal answers can consist of a single word, not necessarily a verb.

(5) kie as-il-a? — mū.
    who come-PST-3s I

'Who came? — I.'

(6) kaha-ku dekh-il-a? — ta-ku.
    who-DAT see-PST-2p he-DAT

'Who did you see? — Him.'

(7) kaha-ra pu'o kand-il-a? — taa.
    who-GEN son weep-PST-3s hers

'Whose child wept? — Hers.'

6.2 Word order

Oriya is a modifier-head language. The unmarked word order is Object Verb; the various nominal phrases have the order Adjective Noun, Determiner Noun, Numeral Noun (however Noun Numeral is possible, when the noun phrase is definite), and Possessor Noun (for details see 3.5). Restrictive relative clauses precede the main clause. Participles stand before their head (see the respective paragraphs for examples).

The unmarked word order in a sentence is Subject – Time Adverbial – Object (Patient) – Object (Recipient) – Place Adverbial – Verb.

(1) mū kali tini-ta bel-e se jinisō-ta tumō-ku ghor-e
    I tomorrow three-CL time-LOC that thing-ART you(POL)-DAT house-LOC
give-CV-V2:give-FUT-1s

'Tomorrow at three I shall give you that thing at home.'

The information structure of a sentence can change the order given above: the more topical a nominal is, the more it is located in the beginning of the sentence. Since the subject is often topic, the order SOV is very frequent. Consider (2) where the most salient and least topical information is kichi biskut 'some biscuits', hence this noun phrase follows the other two mo maa 'my mother' and mote 'me'.
(2) mo maa mo-te kichi biskuṭ de-l-e.
   my mother I-DAT some biscuits give-PST-3p
   'My mother gave me some biscuits.'

Compare the order of Recipient and Patient in the following pair of questions. The first question (3a) points at whether the cat or somebody else was the recipient, therefore bileiku 'to the cat' follows the object macho 'fish'. The second question (3b) has been asked to find out whether it was fish that the addressee has given to the cat; therefore macho follows the recipient bileiku.

(3) a. tume macho bilei-ku de-l-σ ki? — na, kukurø-ku
    you(POL) fish cat-DAT give-PST-2p INT no dog-DAT
de-l-i.
give-PST-1s
   'Did you give the fish to the cat? — No, I gave it to the dog.'

b. tume bilei-ku macho de-l-σ ki? — na, ruṭi de-l-i.
    you(POL) cat-DAT fish give-PST-2p INT no bread give-PST-1s
   'Did you give the fish to the cat? — No, I gave bread (to the cat).' When the patient is more topical than the subject, it precedes the latter. Consider (4), where the subject kie 'who' comes as second constituent. Interrogative subject pronouns often occur in this position.

(4) se parsol-ṭi kie tumø pakхо-ku potha-ith-il-a?
    that parcel-ART who you(POL):OBL side-DAT send-PERF-PST-3s
   'Who sent you that parcel?'

The predicate can be put into topic position as well; it is then followed by the subject and / or other constituents. In (5) the nominal moṭe duijøco 'only two persons' follows the predicate.

(5) kintu roh-i-gol-e moṭe duijøco.
    but stay-CV-V2:go:PST-3p only two-CL
   'But there were two who were staying (lit. but as for staying there were only two).'

(There was a king who wanted to find the laziest person in his whole kingdom. He announced that the house where the lazy persons lived would be torched. Half of the inhabitants moved out when they heard that. Many of the rest fled when the house was burning.)

(After cleaning the house, the servant took several runs to leave, but the housewife wanted her to do this and that. Finally the servant said:)

(6) ja-uch-i mū.
    go-PROG-1s I
   '(Now) I am going.'
(Judge: Why did you beat that man? Accused: He scolded me first. Judge:)

(7) koono koh-i gați de-ith-il-a se tumo-ku?
     what say-CV scolding give-PERF-PST-3s he you(POL)-DAT
     ‘What did he say when he scolded you?’

6.3 Agreement

In at least some cases the person-marking on the verb is not due to grammatical agreement, but to anaphorical agreement, i.e. the verb form itself contains an anaphor.\(^1\) This can be seen in sentences like (1), where no subject nominal occurs, and the ending -a alone indicates that a 3rd person singular ‘he/she’ is agent.

(1) kohiki as-il-a?
     why come-PST-3s
     ‘Why did he/she come?’

The fact that a clause has no subject nominal can also be explained by omission of an underlying subject (see 6.1). However, even if a nominal with subject function is present, the verb form is not necessarily fully determined by the grammatical agreement. Consider (2) where the subject nominal pila ‘child’ is not determined for number, only the verb marks the fact that more than one child is involved:

(2) pila khel-uch-anti.
     child play-PROG-3p
     ‘Children are playing.’

This applies especially to interrogatives and indefinite pronouns, where kie and kehi can refer to one or more persons:

(Referring to one person.)

(3) kehi jodi cori kor-e, ain onusare donq pa-ib-o.
     anybody if theft do-3s:HAB law according fine find-FUT-3s
     ‘If somebody steals, he will be punished according to the law.’

(Referring to more than one person.)

(4) ebe ta-nku kehi pocar-u-nah-anti.
     now he-OBL:DAT anybody ask-PROG-NEG-3p
     ‘No one cares about him now.’

\(^1\) For the distinction between grammatical and anaphoric agreement see e.g. Bresnan and Mchombo 1987.
For simplicity sake, the correspondence between subject and verbal person-marking is simply called agreement here.

Verbal agreement is seen with the animate subject, i.e. the nominal which is in the unmarked nominative case, and with genitive subjects (see 3.1.4.4). Dative and genitive experiencers do not trigger agreement. In case the subject consists of coordinated nominals, the agreement follows the following hierarchy: 1st person > 2nd person > 3rd person. If a 1st person is involved, 1p is used: together with a 2nd person 1p inclusive, together with a 3rd person 1p exclusive; otherwise, if a 2nd person is involved, 2p is marked, and 3p elsewhere.

(5) mū au se skul-ku mis-i-ki j-ib-u.
   I and he s.-DAT mix-CV-CV go-FUT-1pe
   ‘I and he will go to school together.’

(6) tome mū ekatha e luga-ṭa sōpha kōr-ib-a.
   you(POL) I together this cloth-ART clean do-FUT-1pi
   ‘You and I will clean this cloth together.’

(7) se au tome kebe sinema j-ib-ọ-ni.
   he and you(POL) ever c. go-FUT-2p-NEG
   ‘He and you will never go to the cinema.’

In coordinated clauses with omission of the first predicate the verb agrees with the subject which immediately precedes it.

(8) a. mū bhatō au Mina torkari kha-il-a.
     I rice and M. curry eat-PST-3s
     ‘I ate rice and Minā ate curry.’

b. Mina bhatō au mū torkari kha-il-i.
     M. rice and I curry eat-PST-1s
     ‘Minā ate rice and I ate curry.’

In case of a third person subject which designates the speakers or the addressees (e.g. indefinite or interrogative pronouns ‘all of us’, ‘who among you’), the verb can show 2nd person marking to include the addressee explicitly; cf. helọ ni ‘you got’ in (9):

(9) tome bhitor-u somost-e baha he-lọ-ni / he-lọ-ni.
    you(POL):OBL inside-ABL all-NOM marriage be-PST-3p-MIR be-PST-2p-MIR
    ‘All among you got married.’

(At the phone.)

(10) kie kōh-uch-ọ / kōh-uch-u / kōh-uch-oni?
    who speak-PROG-2p speak-PROG-2s speak-PROG-3p
    ‘Who is speaking?’ (Depending upon whom the speaker is expecting, he uses different forms.)
6.4 Negation

na is the general negative particle.\(^2\) It is often combined with the particle -hī (nahī).\(^3\) There are several variants: no, nā, namō and nāī (short form of nahī). nah- can be conjugated. There is an alternative stem nuh-, which can be conjugated as well. (PN = person and number ending)

na, nā(i), namō negative answer to a question (‘no’, (1))
nahī, nāī, na, ni negation of finite verbs (6.4.1.1)
nah- + PN neg. copula (6.4.2); neg. of Progressive & Perfect (6.4.1.3)
no negation of nonfinite and of complex verb forms (6.4.1.2 and 6.4.3); modal use with other verb forms
nuh- + PN negative copula (6.4.2)
\(\ominus\)- derivative negative prefix for adjectives and participles (see 3.2.2)

na is used as negative answer to a question.

(1) tu Koṇarko deh-k-n-u? — na, mū deh-k-n-i.
you(FAM) K. see-PERF-NEG-2s no I see-PERF-NEG-1s
‘Haven’t you seen Konark? — No, I haven’t seen it.’

na or nahī in combination with ki ‘or’ is used in indirect yes/no questions.

(2) se komiṭi-rō sōbhīc he-ba-kū rajī ki na ta-nku pōcār-o,
he c.-GEN member be-INF-DAT agree or NEG he-OBL-DAT ask-2p:IMP
‘Ask him whether he is willing to be a member of the committee.’

(3) e kousōc phōc-prōc he-b-ō ki nahī mo-rc ghorō sōndēc.
this plan fruit-giver be-FUT-3s or NEG I-OBL-GEN violent doubt
‘I very much doubt whether the plan will succeed.’

6.4.1 Negation of finite verbs

There are three devices to negate a finite verb:

(i) inflected verb + nahī,
(ii) no + finite verb, or verb + no + finite auxiliary,
(iii) stem + aspect + -n- / -nah- + person / number ending.

6.4.1.1 nahī
nahī agrees neither in number nor in person with the subject, see (4a) and (4b). It invariably follows the main verb and builds a complex verb form with

\(^2\)There is another homophonous na, which is used as conjunction ‘or’ (5.4).

\(^3\)It might be related to the emphatic particle hī (5.2.1).
it which cannot be broken up by any element, except by the particle to, e.g. hobo to nāhi, kiunu ... 'he won't be, but ...'. The main verb can have any tense / mood, e.g. Past in (4), Habitual in (5), Imperative in (8). Negated Imperfective and Perfect verb forms, however, are formed by the insertion of nɔ (see 6.4.1.2).

(4) a. se gɔl-a nāhi. he go-PST-3s NEG ‘He did not go.’
   b. se as-il-e nāhi. he come-PST-3p(HON) NEG ‘He (honorific) did not come.’

(5) baghɔ-mane gāa-re basɔ kɔr-ɔnti nāhi. tiger-PL village-LOC living do-3p:HAB NEG
   ‘Tigers do not live in the village.’

Instead of nāhi the shorter forms nāi, na or ni can be used:

(6) khel-e-ni / khel-il-a-ni / khel-ib-u-ni
    play-1s:HAB-NEG play-PST-3s-NEG play-FUT-1p-NEG
    ‘(I) don’t play / (he) didn’t play / (we) won’t play’

(7) de nāhi! / de-ni!
    give:2s:IMP NEG    give:2s:IMP-NEG
    ‘Don’t give! / Don’t give!’

(King Hariscandra is asked to give his wife away as a servant.)

(8) na na, taha kebe ho-i-par-e-na; jie rani, se he-b-o
    no no that ever become-CV-can-3s:HAB-NEG who queen she become-FUT-3s
    aji dasi!
    today servant
    ‘No, no, that can never be; she as queen will be a servant today!’

6.4.1.2  nɔ + finite verb

This device for negative formation applies to verbs in the Imperfective and Perfect aspect. nɔ is inserted between the aspect marker and the auxiliary tha-.

(9) a. khel-u-nɔ-th-il-i
    play-IPFV-NEG-AUX-PST-1s
    ‘I was not playing’

   b. dekh-i-nɔ-th-il-i
    see-PERF-NEG-AUX-PST-1s
    ‘I had not seen’

The defective verb tha- ‘be’ (cf. 4.4.1) is always negated by preposed nɔ-.

(10) se dɔba-re mo pāi jaga nɔ-th-il-a.
    that coach-LOC I:OBL for place NEG-be-PST-3s
    ‘There was no room for me in that coach.’
6.4.1. Negation of finite verbs

Other verb forms can be negated by no- as well. This applies to non-declarative sentences, where the negative marker is not used to negate a fact, but to add persuasive force, consider rhetorical questions (11,12) and exclamations (13):

(11) Ḥaladhara borg kropo. eha kie no-jaṇ-e?
H. big miser this who NEG-know-3s:HAB
‘Ḥaladhara is a big miser. Who does not know this?’

(12) kintu borttoman se no-ji-b-o kahiki?
but now she NEG-go-FUT-3s why
‘But why shouldn’t she go now? (being offered such an attractive offer)’

(13) thok bhou̍n-ma̍n-no kotha-re por-i se ki onyay̍
cheat sister-PL-OBL speech-LOC fall-CV he what injustice
no-kor-ich-onti!
NEG-do-PERF-3p(HON)
‘What injustice hasn’t he done, having followed the deceitful sisters’ words!’

Other contexts where negation is marked by no-:

(i) imperatives and clauses with similar meaning (purposives, modally marked relative clauses):

(14) mo rajyo-ro kou̍n̄si loko jepori e du-hi-nku
my kingdom-GEN any person however this two-EMPH-OBL:DAT
jiniso-potro bikri no-kor-e.
thing-thing sale NEG-do-3s:HAB
‘Nobody in my kingdom shall sell anything to these two in any way.’

(A boxer was accused because he did not want to cut his beard.)

(15) ta-nko darhi jepori kaha-ro khyoti no-got-a-e sethi-proti
he-OBL beard in-order anybody-GEN harm NEG-cause-3s:HAB that-towards
dotnaban he-ba-ku kör nirdesc de-ich-onti.
careful be-INF-DAT c. assignment give-PERF-3p
‘The court assigned that he should take care that his beard does not disturb anybody.’

(16) jie Mṅgola-nko osa no-kor-ib-o, taa-ro borg puo
who M.-OBL fast NEG-do-FUT-3s he-GEN old son
mor-i-ji-b-o.
die-CV-V2:go-FUT-3s
‘Who does not observe the fast for Mṅgola, his eldest son will die.’

(ii) conditionals:
(17) mű jodi sālo ghor-e no-paHoln-e, bapa
I if early house-LOC NEG-arrive-1s:HAB father
rag-i-par-onti.
get.angry-CV-can-3p(HON):HAB
‘If I don’t return home early, father might get angry.’

(iii) “until”-clauses:

(18) je porjyontō grajuet no-ho-ich-i, se-porjyontō kebehele bibaho
as until g. NEG-become-PERF-1s that-until ever marriage
kōr-ib-i nahī.
do-FUT-1s NEG
‘I will not marry as long as I am not graduated.’

In all these contexts no can precede the whole of a Perfect and Imperfective verb form (instead of being inserted before the auxiliary tha-), e.g. the negated conditional converbs nohoithile instead of hoingothile in (19) or nojaiparile instead of jainoparile in (20).

(19) ta no-ho-ith-ile bogo-ro mrutyu kōtha
it NEG-be-PERF-CONDCV paddy.bird-GEN death matter
jan-ont-e kipōri?
know-COND-3p(HON) how
‘(He thought that she was not a normal woman.) If this had not been the case, how could she know about the death of the paddy bird?’

(20) se au skul no-ja-i-par-ile kōro he-l-a?
he more s. NEG-go-CV-can-CONDCV what be-PST-3s
‘If he cannot go to school any more, what does it matter?’

6.4.1.3 Special verb forms

The negation of Present Progressive and Present Perfect forms is provided by special verb forms (see Table 6.1). The full form consists of the stem, an aspect marker and the negative copula (see 6.4.2). In the short form the negative element is shortened to the suffix -n plus a vowel that agrees with the grammatical person. The inflected copula can be replaced by the invariable nahī, e.g. ame kōrinahī ‘we have not done’.

(21) mū kichi kōr-u-n-i / kōr-u-nah-ī.
I anything do-PROG-NEG-1s do-PROG-NEG-1s
‘I am doing nothing.’

(22) bhasa-kendra borttōman khol-i-n-i / khol-i-nah-ī.
language-centre now open-PERF-NEG-3s open-PERF-NEG-3s
‘The language centre is not open now (lit. has not opened).’
Table 6.1: Negative Progressive and Perfect forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Progressive</th>
<th>Perfect</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>full form</td>
<td>full form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>kheḷunahī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p incl</td>
<td>kheḷunahē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p excl</td>
<td>kheḷunahū</td>
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<tr>
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<td>kheḷunahī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>kheḷunahānti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.4.2 Negation of the copula

The copula has two paradigms; nah- is the negation for the locative ‘be’ (ochn- in affirmative clauses), nuh- for the equational copula (tha- or Ø) in affirmative clauses. Both paradigms are limited to present time reference; in the other tenses tha- ‘be’ is used with the negative marker no. The verb he- ‘be’ is negated like regular verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>locative, existential, possessive</th>
<th>affirmative present</th>
<th>non-present</th>
<th>negative present</th>
<th>non-present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>locative, descriptive, equational</td>
<td>ochn-</td>
<td>tha-</td>
<td>nah-</td>
<td>no-tha-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locative, existential, descriptive, possessive</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>tha-</td>
<td>nuh-</td>
<td>no-tha-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1s nahī          nuhē       nuhō (more frequent in spoken form)
1p incl nahē      nuhē       nohū
1p excl nahū      nuhō       nuhō (more frequent in spoken form)
2s nahū          nuhē       nuhō (more frequent in spoken form)
2p nahō          nuhō       nuhō (more frequent in spoken form)
3s nahī          nuhē       nuhō (more frequent in spoken form)
3p nahānti      nuhōnti

Examples for negation with nah-:

(23) mo ghɔɾɔ-ṭi khali ochn-i. sethi-re kehi nah-antи.
    my house-ART empty be-3s there-LOC anyone be:NEG-3p
    ‘My house is empty. There is no one in it.’
(On the market.)

(24) tomo-ɾo kɔŋɔ konca Lɔŋkə nah-i ki?
you(POL)-GEN INT green L. be:NEG-3s INT
‘Don’t you have green chilli (lit. green Lankan)?’

Examples for negation with nuh-:

(25) mū sikhyɔkɔ nuh-ẹ.
I teacher be:NEG-1s
‘I am not a teacher.’

(26) mo bhai buŋha nuh-ɔnti.
my brother old be:NEG-3p(HON)
‘My brother is not old.’

6.4.3 Negation of nonfinite verbs

Nonfinite forms are negated by preposed no. In Imperfective and Perfect aspect verb forms it is placed before the auxiliary tha-, see 6.4.1.2 above.

Iba forms

no-khel-iba ‘not to play’

khel-i-no-th-iba ‘not to have played’

Converbs

no-khel-i ‘not having played’

no-khel-u-ņu ‘before playing’

Conditional converses

no-khel-ile ‘if not playing’

khel-i-no-th-ile ‘if not having played’

(27) mɔkɔdɔmə no-kɔr-iba-ku mū tumo-ku poramɔrɔ de-uch-i.
court NEG-do-INF-DAT I you(POL)-DAT advice give-PROG-1s
‘I advise you not to go to court.’

The reduplicated general verb in -i shows a twofold occurrence of the negative marker no, whereas the imperfective verb is negated by inserting no between the two converses.

General verb

no-khel-i no-khel-i ‘without playing’

Imperfective converses

khel-u no-khel-u ‘while not playing’

khel-u no-khel-u-ņu ‘before playing’

(28) se no-gadhe-i no-gadhei əsɔna ne-i-gɔl-a-ńi.
he NEG-wash-CV RDP dirty take-CV-V2:go-3s-MIR
‘Because he didn’t wash himself, he became dirty.’

(29) mū (khel-u-)no-khel-u-ņu se mo-te gali de-l-a.
I play-ICV-NEG-play-ICV-hardly he I-DAT scolding give-PST-3s
‘She scolded me before I played.’ (The reduplication indicates that the speaker was about to play, when he was scolded.)

6.4.4 Scope of negation

Single constituents are negated by a marker attached to the verb and by preposing or by stressing (signalled by bold print in (30)) the constituent to be negated.

(30) a. kali mū Kāṭako j-ib-i-ni, poro dino j-ib-i.
    tomorrow I C. go-FUT-1s-NEG next day go-FUT-1s
    ‘I won’t go to Cuttack tomorrow, I’ll go the day after tomorrow.’

b. kali mū Kāṭako j-ib-i-ni, Rāsanando j-ib-o.
    tomorrow I C. go-FUT-1s-NEG R. go-FUT-3s
    ‘I won’t go to Cuttack tomorrow, Rasānanda will go.’

c. kali mū Kāṭako j-ib-i-ni, Puri j-ib-i.
    tomorrow I C. go-FUT-1s-NEG P. go-FUT-1s
    ‘I won’t go to Cuttack tomorrow, I’ll go to Puri.’

d. kali mū Kāṭako j-ib-i-ni, Kāṭako-ru as-ib-i.
    tomorrow I C. go-FUT-1s-NEG C.-ABL come-FUT-1s
    ‘I won’t go to Cuttack tomorrow, I’ll come from Cuttack.’

The negation can be emphasised by the negative identificational copula nuh-.

(31) mū nuh-ē, se gōl-a.
    I be:NEG-1s she go:PST-3s
    ‘She went, not I.’ (or with inverted order: se gōl-a, mū nuh-ē.)

(32) bōjarā-ku nuh-ē, mū stesān gōl-i.
    market-DAT be:NEG-3s I s. go:PST-1s
    ‘I went to the station, not to the market.’

(33) mū mo porīsa ghōrā-rc nuh-ē, mo sango-rc jhiā-ku
    I my neighbour house-GEN be:NEG-3s my friend-GEN daughter-DAT
    dekh-il-i.
    see-PST-1s
    ‘I saw my friend’s daughter, not my neighbour’s.’

(In a preface to a collection of folktales.)

(34) khānda nuh-ē, Orīsa-rc kimboḍonti-re mukhā-sthānā gṛāḥomi
    sword be:NEG-3s O.-GEN folktales-LOC first-place accept
    kōr-īch-i dhormā.
    do-PERF-3s religion
    ‘It is not the sword, but the religion that is the main topic in Orissa’s folktales.’
A whole clause is negated by ta nuhê 'it is not the case that', forming a complement clause to ta nuhê.

(35) so-i-roh-uth-iba loko je sobu kichi sleep-CV-V2:stay-IPFV-INF person PTCL all something hor-a-uch-i ta nuhê, borong onekɔ matra-re se be.lost-CAUS-PROG-3s it be:NEG-3s moreover much measure-LOC he swasthya drusti-ru bɔhut kichi pa-uch-i. health view-ABL much something get-PROG-3s

'It is not the case that a person who always sleeps loses everything, he rather gets a lot from the point of view of health.'

The negation can be intensified by particles: adou 'at all', joma / jomaru 'ever, only', kodapi 'ever', moṭe 'ever, only'.

(36) e kamo pāi se adou upojukto nuhê. this work for he at.all suitable be:NEG-3s

'He is not fit for this work at all.'

(37) e-sobu ago-ru jan-ith-ile, joma this.all before-ABL know-PERF-CONDCV at.all as-i-nɔ-tha-nt-i. come-PERF-NEG-AUX-COND-1s

'If I had known all this before, I would not have come at all.'

(38) mū kodapi michɔ koh-e nahi. I ever lie say-1s:HAB NEG

'I never tell a lie.'

(39) tume jua khel-uch-ɔ? — moṭe nuhê, ranɔ kha-i you(POL) gambling play-PROG-2p at.all be:NEG-3s oath eat-CV koh-uch-i. say-PROG-1s

'Do you gamble? — Not at all, I swear.'

Note that the interrogative ke-pronominal series (kebe 'ever, never', kehi 'nobody', etc.) is used for negative indefinite pronouns.

(40) maa kebe ta-nkɔ nijɔ pāi kichi kɔr-ɔnti nahi. mother ever she-OBL REFL for anything do-3p:HAB NEG

'Mother never does anything for herself.'

Double negation can occur in rare cases, e.g. in conditional clauses. Consider (41), where the negative marker nahi precedes a negated conditional clause. Double negation is used for emphasis and never for neutralization of the negation.
(41) nahi jodi to tirc seu-re no-baj-ib-ɔ kimba puɔ deho-re NEG if your(FAM) arrow apple-LOC NEG-hit-FUT-3s or son body-LOC baj-ib-ɔ, tebe eĩthi sange sange to-ɾɛ munçu-katɔ he-b-ɔ. hit-FUT-3s then here immediately you(FAM)-GEN head-cutting be-FUT-3s 'If your arrow does not hit the apple or if it hits the son's body, then your head will be cut here immediately.'

The verb can or cannot fall under the scope of the negated matrix verb:

(42) Kausika nirjono bono-ku ja-i toposya arɔmbho ko-l-e-ni. K. lonely forest-DAT go-CV penance start do-PST-3p(HON)-NEG
1. 'Kausika didn't go to the lonely forest and begin his penance.'
2. 'Having gone to the lonely forest, Kausika didn't begin his penance.'

In appropriate contexts negation shift is possible. Instead of negating the verb (no-khel-i-ki in (43)) the matrix verb is negated, but semantically the verb clause is in the negative, e.g. the second meaning of (43). The sentence is ambiguous.

(43) khel-i-ki semane halia he-l-e-ni.
play-CV-CV they tired become-PST-3p-NEG
1. 'Having played they didn’t get tired.'
2. 'Without playing they got tired.'

In other sentences the meaning with negation shift is even the more natural one:

(44) mû kha-i-ki as-i-ni / as-ib-i-ni / j-ib-i-ni.
eat-CV-CV come-PERF-NEG-1s come-FUT-1s-NEG go-FUT-1s-NEG
'Without eating, I have come / I will come / I will go.'

6.5 Interrogative sentences

Interrogative sentences include two subtypes: yes/no questions (neutral, leading and tag questions) and question-word questions.

Echo questions are not distinct from true questions; that is, most questions can be used both as true and as echo questions. Indirect interrogative sentences are discussed in 7.2.3.

6.5.1 Yes/no questions

(i) Neutral yes/no questions are formed either by intonation alone (with lengthening of the sentence-final vowel, see (1)) or by adding the interrogative particles ki (elsewhere 'what, what kind of') or kɔɔŋɔ (elsewhere 'what').
6.5. Interrogative sentences

(1) e bakyɔ-ʧi thik th ila pɔri subh-uch-i-i?
    this sentence-ART right be-INF:PST like sound-PROG-3s-INT

'This sentence sound right?'

They can co-occur with other interrogative words in the same sentence. ki occurs in sentence-final position and expresses politeness.

(2) tɔme etʰa-ku nua as-ich-o ki? — h5, mʊ etʰa-ɾo nua
    you(POL) here-DAT new come-PERF-2p INT yes I here-GEN new postman.

P.

'Are you new to this place? — Yes, I am the new postman here.'

(3) tɔme ete cįhi kaha pakhɔ-ku lekh-ib-o ki?
    you(POL) so many letter whose side-DAT write-FUT-2p INT

'Who do you write so many letters to?'

kɔoŋə can be inserted anywhere between the constituents of the interrogative sentence:

(4) (kɔoŋə) tɔme (kɔoŋə) setɕ-re (kɔoŋə) mo (kɔoŋə) cįhi
    INT you(POL) INT truth-LOC INT my INT letter

(kɔoŋə) bhul-i-ja-ith-il-o (kɔoŋə)?
    INT forget-CV-V2:go-PERF-PST-2p INT

'Have you really forgotten my letter?'

(5) dɔɾ-o-dam kɔoŋə sighɾo khɔs-ib-o?
    rate-price INT soon fall-FUT-3s

'Will prices come down soon?'

kɔoŋə often expresses the speaker's disbelief ("do you really ...?").

(6) kintu sadhu mɔhasɔyo, sɔnnyasi-nko pokhɔ-ɾe e-ɔri rago kɔr-iba
    but honest Sir ascetic-OBL side-LOC this-like anger do-INF

kɔoŋə ucıt?
    INT necessary

'But honest Sir, is it really necessary that an ascetic gets that angry?'

(ii) In leading questions, when an affirmative answer is expected, the particle to is used (7a) (see 5.2.3); when expecting a negative answer, to does not occur (7b).

(A: He has now eaten. — B:)

(7) a. ta-ku to au bhokɔ ho-b-ɔ-ŋi?
    he-DAT PTCL more hunger be-FUT-3s-NEG

'He won't be hungry, will he?'
b. se au kha-ib-ɔ?
   he more eat-FUT-3s
   ‘Will he (really) eat more?’

(Misfortune has hit the country. The king has gathered his consultants to find
the reason why. A minister asks about a holy man:)

(8) ta-nkɔ tɔpɔsy-a-re kehi baddha de-i-nah-i tɔ?
   he-OBL penance-LOC anybody obstruction give-PERF-NEG-3s PTCL
   ‘It’s not that somebody has disturbed him in his penance, is it?’

(iii) Tag questions are leading questions as well; in case of affirmative sentences,
they consist of the main verb form, to which a negative marker, ki nahi or the
particle tɔ is added:

(9) se kali nisɔcyɔ as-ib-ɔ, as-ib-ɔ-ni / as-ib-ɔ ki nahi
   he tomorrow surely come-FUT-3s come-FUT-3s-NEG come-FUT-3s or NEG
   / as-ib-ɔ tɔ?
   come-FUT-3s PTCL
   ‘He will surely come tomorrow, won’t he?’

In case of negative sentences the tag question consists of the main verb alone.

(10) se kebe michɔ koh-ib-ɔ-ni, koh-ib-ɔ?
   he ever lie say-FUT-3s-NEG say-FUT-3s
   ‘He will never tell a lie, will he?’

6.5.2 Question word questions

The question word normally occurs in the same position as the corresponding
word in a declarative sentence (in-situ interrogatives). It can, however, be
inserted anywhere between the sentence constituents:

(11) (kahiki) tɔme (kahiki) ta-ku (kahiki) sompurnɔ satya
   why you(POL) why he-DAT why whole truth
   kɔɔha-ti (kahiki) koh-il-u-ni?
   matter-ART why say-PST-2s-NEG
   ‘Why didn’t you tell him the whole truth?’

Determiners such as thik ‘exactly’ precede the question word.

(Doctor to the child.)

(12) Tulṭu, thik kɛuthi kɔstɔ he-uch-i?
T. exactly where difficult be-PROG-3s
   ‘Tulṭu, what in particular is aching?’
Any constituent in the matrix clause and in a subordinate clause can be questioned.

(i) Subject: Note that the verbal agreement with kie ‘who’ indicates what the speaker expects: in case of a plural verb form more than one person is expected, in case of a singular verb form only one.

(13) e ghër-e kie räh-e? vs. e ghër-e kie (kie) räh-önti?
    this house-LOC who live-3s:HAB  this house-LOC who RDP live-3p:HAB
    ‘Who lives in this house? / Who live in this house?’

(ii) Object:

(14) pulis kaha-ku sönëho kör-uch-i?
    p.  who-DAT suspicion do-PROG-3s
    ‘Whom do the police suspect?’

(iii) Possessor:

(15) ta-nkö bëndhu Bämbe cal-i-gële se kaha-rë sahajyö
    he-OBL friend B. move-CV-V2:go:CONDCV he who-GEN help
    mag-ib-ö?
    ask-FUT-3s
    ‘Whose help should he ask for when his friend moves to Bombay?’

(iv) Determined noun phrase (by a possessor or by a demonstrative):

    you:POL A.-HON-OBL-GEN what be-2p:HAB something be:NEG-1s
    ta-nkö potni Anupoma-debi-nkö somporkiyö.
    he-OBL wife A.-HON-OBL relative
    ‘How are you related to Aruña (lit. You are Aruña’s what)? — Not in any way. I am a relative of his wife Anupamā.’

(17) taa-rö kouthö më taa-ku dekh-a kör-ib-i?
    he-GEN where I he-DAT see-PTCP do-FUT-1s
    ‘In what place of his (e.g. house or office) will I meet him?’

(18) e kënnë ko-l-o montri?
    this what do-PST-2p minister
    ‘What is this that you did, minister?’

(v) Attribute:

(19) kou sårhi-ţi tumë-ku sóbë-ţihu besi bhoë-lag-e?
    which s.-ART you(POL) all-ABL more good feel-3s:HAB
    ‘Which saree do you like best?’

(vi) Element in an infinitival clause:
(20) **kɔɔnɔ** sar-iba-ku tome Dilli go-l-ɔ?
    what finish-INF-DAT you(POL) D. go:PST-2p
    ‘You went to Delhi to finish what?’

(vii) Element in a converb clause:

(21) **kɔɔnɔ** kha-i-ki se skul-ku as-ich-i?
    what eat-CV-CV he s.-DAT come-PERF-3s
    ‘Having eaten what has he come to school?’

(22) se **kɔɔnɔ** kɔr-u kɔru so-i-pɔr-il-a?
    he what do-ICV RDP sleep-CV-V2:fall-PST-3s
    ‘Doing what did he fall asleep?’

(viii) Element in an adverbial clause:

(23) tune **kɔɔnɔ** kɔr-iba purbo-ru as-ich-ɔ?
    you(POL) what do-INF before-ABL come-PERF-2p
    ‘Before doing what have you come?’

(ix) Element in a relative clause:

(24) se jhio-ta tumɔ sango, jie **kɔɔnɔ** pindh-ich-i?
    that girl-ART your(POL) friend who what wear-PERF-3s
    ‘The girl who is wearing what is your friend?’

(x) Element in a participial clause:

(25) **kɔɔnɔ** pindh-ith-iba jhio-ta tumɔ sango?
    what wear-PERF-INF girl-ART your(POL) friend
    ‘The girl who is wearing what is your friend?’

(xi) Element in a conditional clause:

(26) **kɔɔnɔ** ko-le adɔu poisa khɔrcɔ he-b-ɔ nahi ?
    what do-CONDCV at.all money spend be-FUT-3s NEG
    ‘How should they behave to spend no money at all? (lit. if doing what, no money will be spent at all?)’

(xii) Element in a complement clause:

(27) **kie** kali as-ib-ɔ boli Ṙ胺 bhab-uch-i?
    who tomorrow come-FUT-3s COMP R. think-PROG-3s
    ‘Whom does Ṙ胺 think will come tomorrow?’

Question words of postposed complement clauses marked by *je* can appear in the main clause (e.g. **kɔɔnɔ** ‘what’ in (28)); most of the cases, however, are judged slightly odd.
6.5. Interrogative sentences

(28) ?κονο Rama hhab-uch-i je Priyamboda kor-ib-o?
    what R. think-PROG-3s COMP P. do-FUT-3s
    ‘What does Rāma think that Priyambadā will do?’

(xiii) Coordination: Constituents out of a coordinate structure cannot be questioned (however, as echo-questions they are acceptable.)

(29) ?? sasu au kie randh-il-e?
    mother-in-law and who cook-PST-3p
    ‘The mother-in-law and who cooked?’

cf. sasu kaha songe randh-il-e?
    mother-in-law who with cook-PST-3p(HON)
    ‘With whom did the mother-in-law cook?’
Chapter 7

Complex sentences

When a sentence consists of more than one clause (defined as predicate with its arguments), it is called a complex sentence. The clauses involved can stand in a symmetric relationship (coordination, see 7.1), or one of the clauses can be dependent upon the other, i.e. when it cannot constitute a sentence of its own (subordination).

Subordinated clauses are embedded in the main clause; they perform three functions:

(i) the function of a nominal; this includes subject, object (complement) and adverbial clauses; the verb form is

   • either finite: complement clauses (7.2), conditional clauses (7.3),
   • or nonfinite: infinitival clauses (7.4), gerundial clauses (7.5), converbial clauses (7.6);

(ii) the function of an attribute: participial clauses (7.7);

(iii) the function of an apposition: correlative clauses (7.8).

7.1 Coordination

Coordination involves the combination of two or more clauses of equal status. This is done by conjunctions which express different kinds of connections (most of the conjunctions are also used for clause-internal coordination, see 5.4):

(i) copulative  au  ‘and’ (more colloquial)
    bōrong  ‘moreover’
    ebōng  ‘and’
    o  ‘and’

(1) se sinema j-ib-c  au / o / ebōng mū bi sinema j-ib-i.
   he c.  go-FUT-3s and and  and  I  also c.  go-FUT-1s
'He will go to the cinema, and I will go to the cinema too.'

(About making phone calls.)

(2) apona khaliphon-re kothabartta he-u-nah-anti, borong samna you(HON) only ph.-LOC conversation be-PROG-NEG-3p moreover before samni kotha he-uch-anti.

RDP matter be-PROG-3p

'You are not just speaking on the phone, but you are standing right in front (of somebody).'

(ii) disjunctive

na ‘or’
ba ‘or’
ki ‘or’ (only in negative or interrogative sentences)
kimba ‘either... or’
nocet ‘otherwise’
nhele / nhile ‘otherwise’ < na-he-le (NEG-be-CONDCV) ‘if it is not’
əthoba ‘otherwise’

(3) na puc kha-ib-ca na mū kha-ib-i.
either boy eat-FUT-3s or I eat-FUT-1s

'Either the boy will eat, or I will eat.'

(4) mo ghorō Kerol-re nuh-ē ki / na / ba Tamilnadu-re nuh-ē,

my house K.-LOC be:NEG-3s or or or T.-LOC be:NEG-3s

mo ghorō Bihar-re.

my house B.-LOC

'My home is neither in Kerala nor in Tamilnadu, my home is in Bihar.'

(5) e osdhī-ṭi ni-ca kimba daktorkhana-ku ja-ca.

this medicine-ART take-2p:IMP or hospital-DAT go-2p:IMP

'Either take this medicine or go to the hospital.'

(6) tumo-ku jota khol-iba-ku he-b-ō, nohele mo gālica-ṭa mōila

you(POL)-DAT shoe open-INF-DAT be-FUT-3s otherwise my carpet-ART dirty

ho-i-j-ib-ō.

become-CV-V2:go-FUT-3s

'You must take off your shoes, or my carpet will get dirty.'

Coordination in a complement clause (see 7.2):

(7) rōh-ib-i ki j-ib-ī mū thik kor-i-par-il-i nahi.

stay-FUT-1s or go-FUT-1s I correct do-CV-can-PST-1s NEG

'I couldn’t decide whether to stay or to go.'
(iii) adversative

hele ‘but’ (more colloquial) < he-le (be-CONDCV) ‘if it is’
kintu ‘but’
matro ‘but; only’
othaco ‘but’
tothapi ‘yet’

Adversative conjunctions can appear in second position in the sentence (9).

(8) Indira cal-i-gol-e,  kintu Samjaya
   1. go-CV-V2:go:PST-3p(HON) but S.
     roh-i-gol-e.
     stay-CV-V2:go:PST-3p(HON)
   ‘Indirä went away, but Samjaya stayed.’

(I have come here for many times.)

(9) Anu-ro kintu ethi-ki as-iba ei prathomco.
    A.-GEN but here-DAT come-INF this first
   ‘But for Anu it’s the first (time) to come here.’

(10) mu jan-uch-i tume obhabo-re och-o, matro mu tumo-ku
     I know-PROG-1s you(POL) need-LOC be-2p but I you(POL)-DAT
     sahajyo kor-i-par-ib-i nahi.
     help do-CV-can-FUT-1s NEG
     ‘I know you are in need, but I can’t help you.’

(11) tumo-ku donfo di-a he-uch-i, tothapi tume
     you(POL)-DAT punishment give-PASS be-PROG-3s yet you(POL)
     hos-uch-o?
     laugh-PROG-2p
   ‘You are being punished, yet you are laughing?’

(iv) explanatory: karco ‘for’ < karco ‘reason’

(12) etha-re kehi gadhu-onhi nahi, karco etha-re bohut kumbhirco
     here-LOC anybody bathe-3p:HAB NEG for here-LOC many crocodile
     och-onhi.
     be-3p
     ‘Nobody takes a bath here, for there are many crocodiles here.’

(v) conclusive enu ‘so’ < en-u (here-ABL) ‘from here’
    eporiki ‘so’ < e-por-ki (this-like-PTCL) ‘like this’
    sethipai ‘therefore’ < sethi-pai (that-for) ‘for that’
    ta(ha)hele ‘then’ < ta(ha) he-le (it be-CONDCV) ‘if it is’
    tenu ‘so’ < ten-u (there-ABL) ‘from there’
(13) tu jodī goṭi-e mūhurtta bi cinta no-kor-i michō
you(FAM) if CL-INDEF moment also concern NEG-do-CV lie
koh-i-par-ib-u, tahele mū to-te panoča tōnka de-bi.
say-CV-can-FUT-2s then I you(FAM)-DAT five rupee give-FUT-1s
‘Look son, if you can tell a lie without worrying for one moment, I shall
give you five rupees.’

(14) mo-ro poisa no-th-il-a, tenu mū bōjare-ku gōl-i nahi.
I-GEN money NEG-be-PST-3s so I market-DAT go-PST-1s NEG
‘I had no money, so I didn’t go to the market.’

(vi) sequential taapore ‘then’ < taa-pore (it-after) ‘after it’

(A small child never wanted to take medicine, so his mother once put the
medicine inside a sweet and gave it to him to eat.)

(15) taapore pōcar-il-e — “rōsogola kha-il-u?”
then ask-PST-3p(HON) <sp. sweet> eat-PST-2s
‘Then she asked, “Did you eat the rasagola?”’

The above examples all contain finite coordinated clauses. Nonfinite clauses
can be coordinated as well; consider (16) where the three occurrences of the
conditional verb nothile ‘if it is not’ are coordinated.

(16) kōnōsci kariyō kie kor-uch-i a) jōn-a no-th-ile, b)
any action who do-PROG-3s know-PTCP NEG-be-CONDCV
jan-iba-ro upayō no-th-ile ba c) janib-a abōsyōko
know-INF-GEN means NEG-be-CONDCV or know-INF necessary
no-th-ile ame Passive Voice byōbōhara kor-u.
NEG-be-CONDCV we p. v. use do-1pe:HAB
‘We use the Passive Voice a) if it is not known or b) if there is no means
of knowing or c) if it is not necessary to know who is doing something.’

7.2 Complement clauses

Oriya has three markers for finite complement clauses (there are nonfinite com-
plement clauses which are discussed in the chapter on infinitival clauses, see
7.4).¹

je for postposed complement clauses: particle (see 5.2.3), related to the rela-
tive je-pronoun series

boli for preposed complement clauses: general verb of bol- ‘speak’

¹See Bal 1990 for details of Oriya complement clauses, Bayer 1996 for the closely related
Bengali.
ki used in the same ways as je: particle ('or', interrogative); the use in complement clauses seems to be borrowed from Hindi.

In addition unmarked complement clauses are used, especially when they are postposed:

(1) mū bhab-uch-i Ø e gochɔ-ᵗᵃ ᵇₚₒ kete dino bhitor-e
  I think-PROG-1s this tree-ART few some day inside-LOC
  mor-i-j-ib-ɔ.
  die-CV-V2:go-FUT-3s
  'I think this tree will die in a few days.'

(2) se niscitɔ Ø taa suṭkes-ᵗⁱ gaɾi-re char-i-de-l-a.
  he sure his s-ART train-LOC leave-CV-V2:give-PST-3s
  'He was sure he left his suitcase on the train.'

Section 7.2.3 discusses direct and indirect speech.

7.2.1 je

The particle je is used in combination with complement clauses in two ways:

(i) It occurs at the end of the matrix clause, followed by the complement clause; a pause can be inserted after je, marked by a colon in written Oriya.

(3) Kongres pokhya-ru kuh-a-ja-ich-i je, puja prarthona keboɔ C. side-ABL say-PASS-go-PERF-3s PTCL worship prayer only
  Sonskruto-ʁe he-ba ucit.
  S.-LOC be-INF should
  'From the side of the Congress it was said that worship and prayer
  should be done only in Sanskrit.' (Newspaper)

(ii) je can mark complement clauses depending upon a following noun, e.g. kɔṭha 'matter, speech', khɔbaɾo 'news', mично 'lie', sombhaboṇa 'possibility', etc.

(4) mū je j-ib-i e kɔṭha mū jaⁿ-ith-il-i.
  I PTCL go-FUT-1s this matter I know-PERF-PST-1s
  'I had known that I shall go.'

Its position is variable (excepted are clause-initial and clause-final):

(5) (???)je Rama (je) Sita-ku (je) baha (je) hɔ-bɔ (*je) e
  PTCL R. PTCL S.-DAT PTCL marriage PTCL be-FUT-3s PTCL this
  kɔṭha mū jaⁿ-e.
  matter I know-1s:HAB
  'I know that Rāma will marry Sītā.'
The complement clause can be embedded (je can then precede the clause):

(6) mū je [Ramō Sita-ku baha ho-b-ω] e kōtha jań-e.
    I PTCL R. S.-DAT marriage be-FUT-3s this matter know-1s:IIAB
    ‘I know that Rāma will marry Sītā.’

The complement clause can be detached from the noun and be postposed:

(7) e kōtha mū jań-e je Ramō Sita-ku baha ho-b-ω.
    this matter I know-1s:IIAB PTCL R. S.-DAT marriage be-FUT-3s
    ‘I know that Rāma will marry Sītā.’

Note that a demonstrative element always precedes the noun when it is the head of a finite clause. In case of nonfinite clauses the demonstrative never appears.

(8) a. se gruhini je ta-ńku cētha-ku pōtha-ich-ōnti, e kōtha se that house-wife PTCL he-DAT here-DAT send-PERF-3p(HON) this matter he ba jań-il-e kipori?
PTCL know-PST-3p(HON) how

b. se gruhini je ta-ńku cētha-ku pōtha-ith-iba kōtha se ba that house-wife PTCL he-DAT here-DAT send-PERF-INF matter he PTCL
  jań-il-e kipori?
  know-PST-3p(HON) how

‘How could he know that that house-wife had sent him here?’

The fact that the pause is after je, and the fact that je is optional in most of the cases, suggest that je is used as particle and not as complementiser. It signals a dependency on a following clause (in case of postposed complement clauses). Elsewhere it has modal function, see 5.2.3.

(iii) je can introduce result clauses: a subordinate clause that is the consequence of the proposition made in the main clause. The result is typically unintended, in contrast to the intended result conveyed by a purposive clause (see 7.4.6, p. 379).

(9) gocho-ța ete denga je cōrh-i-he-b-ω nahi.
    tree-ART so.much high that climb-CV-be-FUT-3s NEG
    ‘The tree is too tall to climb (lit. so tall that it cannot be climbed).’

(10) niā-ța ete conço cohōt-i-gol-ą je gāā lok-e
    fire-ART so.much quickly spread-CV-V2:go:PST-3s that village people-PL
    libh-a-i-par-il-e nahi.
    go.out-CAUS-CV-can-PST-3p NEG
    ‘The fire spread so quickly that the villagers couldn’t put it out.’
7.2.2  boli

*boli* normally marks the end of preposed complement clauses.²

(11) se tumo gai-ţa cori kór-ich-i **boli** tume niscito ki?  
he your(POL) cow-ART theft do-PERF-3s COMP you(POL) sure INT  
'Are you sure he has stolen your cow?'

(12) eha sotyo ho-ith-ib-ó **boli** mű asa kór-uch-i.  
this true become-PERF-FUT-3s COMP I hope do-PROG-1s  
'I hope it is true.'

The complement clause can be embedded:

(13) mű [Ramo Sita-ku baha ho-b-ó] **boli** jan-e.  
I R. S.-DAT marriage be-FUT-3s COMP know-1s:HAB  
'I know that Ráma will marry Síta.'

In addition **boli** has many more uses which are not shared with *je*.

(i) Purpose clause (either with Future, Conditional or Imperative verb forms):

(14) mű keboľ [ei kamo-ći kór-ib-i] **boli** ete baće as-ich-i.  
I only this work-ART do-FUT-1s COMP so.much way come-PERF-1s  
'I have come this way only to do this work.'

(ii) Reason:

(Talking about an accident)

(15) ame du-hē saikel aste col-ć-uth-il-u **boli** besi kichi  
we two-EMPH bicycle slowly run-CAUS-IPFV-PST-1pe COMP much something  
he-l-a-ní.  
be-PST-3s-NEG  
'Nothing much happened because we were both cycling slowly.'

(iii) Appositional marker:

(16) mo-ço Ramo **boli** goći-e sango och-i.  
I-GEN R. COMP CL-INDEF friend be-3s  
'I have a friend called Ráma.'

(17) mű Sunonda **boli** mo jhić-ku đak-ib-i.  
I S. COMP my daughter-DAT call-FUT-1s  
'I shall call my daughter Sunandá.'

(18) mű Ramo-ku to buddhia **boli** bhab-e.  
I R.-DAT PTCL intelligent COMP think-1s:HAB  
'I think Ráma is intelligent.'

²For the theoretical details about **boli** refer to Patnaik 1998.
7.2. Complement clauses

(19) ubhayō debata-nkū se ekā o ṛbhinnā boli gyanō
both god-OBL:DAT she one and same COMP knowledge
kār-uth-il-e.
do-IPFV-PST-3p(HON)
‘She knew that both gods (i.e. Vishnu and Shiva) are one and the same.’

(20) se niṣe-ku bicarāc不动tī Rāo boli cinh-a-i 15 ṛjaro ṭonka
he REFL-DAT judge R. COMP recognise-CAUS-CV 15 thousand rupee
sahajye mag-il-e.
help ask-PST-3p(HON)
‘He made himself known as judge Rāo and asked for 15 thousand rupees.’

(iv) “only”:

(21) ta-nkā-ṛo goṭi-e boli puṇō.
they-OBL-GEN CL-INDEF COMP son
‘They had only one son.’

(v) Immediate future in combination with he-:

(22) se as-ib-ṛo asibō boli ṛa-uch-i.
he come-FUT-3s RDP COMP be-PROG-3s
‘He is about to come.’

7.2.3 Direct / indirect speech

Preceding direct speech is optionally marked by postposed boli.

(23) Sita joldi randh boli Rāmā paṭi kā-l-a.
S. quickly cook:2s:IMP COMP R. mouth do-PST-3s
‘“Sitā, cook quickly!” Rāma shouted.’

(24) Rāmā kāṅgo boli pōcar-il-a.
R. what COMP ask-PST-3s
‘Rāma asked, “What?”’

Following direct speech is unmarked:

(25) Rāmā kāh-il-a — “mū Ingrai lekh-ib-i.”
R. say-PST-3s I English write-FUT-1s
‘Ramā said, “I would like to write English.’

Indirect speech is introduced by boli, je and ki (the latter two both in postposed indirect speech) or without a marker. Indirect speech has the following characteristics:
(i) The grammatical person within the direct speech is changed according to the referentiality of the grammatical persons in the matrix clause (‘He said: “I . . .” ‘ → ‘He said he . . . ’, etc.). Consider (26), where the verb porheiboni ‘you will not teach’ is marked for 2p, replacing a 1s form porheibini ‘I will not teach’ in corresponding direct speech.

(26) tome skul j-ib-ɔ kɔh-uch-ɔ, ɔthɔɔ skul-re porhe-ib-ɔ-ni
you(POL) s. go-FUT-2p say-PROG-2p yet s.-LOC teach-FUT-2p-NEG
boli kɔh-uch-ɔ kemiti?
COMP say-PROG-2p how
‘You say that you will go to the school; yet why do you say that you will not teach?’

In case of je-marked clauses the third person can be coreferential with a third person matrix nominal:

(27) kali Roma kɔh-uth-il-ɑ je, se as-ib-ɔ.
yesterday R. say-IPFV-PST-3s PTCL she come-FUT-3s
‘Yesterday Ramāi was saying that she will come.’

In case of boli the referent of the third person in the indirect speech is different from that in the main clause.

(28) se Ingrají lekh-ib-ɔ boli Roma kɔh-il-ɑ.
she English write-FUT-3s COMP R. say-PST-3s
‘Ramāi said that she would like to write English.’

(ii) The tense does not change in the indirect speech, irrespective of the tense in the main clause. Consider the Future verb form kɔribe ‘he would do’ in the indirect speech of (29):

(29) se sthiro kɔ-l-e bɔŋɔ-ku ja-i kichi dinɔ topɔsya
he decision do-PST-3p(HON) forest-DAT go-CV some day penance
kɔr-ib-e.
do-FUT-3p(HON)
‘He decided to go to the forest and to do penance for some days.’

This is why the Progressive (as jhuluchi ‘is swinging’ in (30)) and the Perfect tense can occur in narratives, although the time frame is past.

(30) Hena turi sɔbdɔ ara-ku uth-i-ja-ũ-jaũ dekh-il-ɑ mɔniso
H. flute sound side-DAT get.up-CV-V2:go-ICV-RDP see-PST-3s man
ruɔ pori kɔnɔ go-ta-e pani bhitor-e jhul-uch-i.
shape like what CL-INDEF water inside-LOC swing-PROG-3s
‘While Henā rose towards the flute sound she saw that something like a human being was floating in the water.’ (Fairy tale)
(iii) Imperatives in indirect speech take the Conditional form of the verb (direct speech in (31a), indirect speech in (31b)):

(31) a. se barombaro Krousno-nku prarthona kor-uth-il-e
    he again.and.again K.-OBL:DAT prayer do-IPFV-PST-3p(HON)
    "he Krusno! mo-te apọna-ra kor-i-ni-ọ.
    'He was praying again and again to Krishna, "He Krishna! Make me your own.'"

b. se barombaro Krousno-nku prarthona kor-uth-il-e je,
    he again.and.again K.-OBL:DAT prayer do-IPFV-PST-3p(HON) PTCL
    Krousno ta-ńku apọna-ra kor-i-ni-ọntu.
    K. he-DAT own-GEN do-CV-V2:take-3p(HON):IMP
    'He was praying again and again to Krishna that he should make him his own.'

(iv) Interrogatives in indirect speech can optionally be marked by je or boli.

(32) mū pɔcar-uth-il-i (je) Ramo kaha-ku upohar do-b-ọ.
    I ask-IPFV-PST-1s COMP R. anyone-DAT present give-FUT-3s
    'I was asking whom Rama will give a present.'

Indirect questions can depend upon a noun, e.g. kọtha ‘matter’.

(33) Ramo kie (je) Kọmọla-ku baha he-l-a e kọtha pɔcar-uth-il-a.
    R. who PTCL K.-DAT marriage be-PST-3s this matter ask-IPFV-PST-3s
    'Rama was asking who married Kamala.'

Indirect yes/no questions are marked by a negative element and the particles na, ki or to. Neither je (in case of a postposed question) nor boli (in case of a preposed question) can occur; internal je is possible.

(34) mū ta-ku pɔcar-il-i ta-ku bhoko ho-uch-i na nahī / ho-uch-i
    I he-DAT ask-PST-1s he-DAT hunger be-PROG-3s or NEG be-PROG-3s
    ki nahī / ho-u-nah-ī to.
    or NEG be-PROG-NEG-3s PTCL
    'I asked him whether he was hungry or not.'

Indirect yes/no questions can depend upon a noun:

(35) se je as-ib-e ki nahī e kọtha mū jań-i-n-i.
    he PTCL come-FUT-3s or NEG this matter I know-PERF-NEG-1s
    'I don't know whether he will come or not.'
7.3 Conditional clauses

There are two types of conditional clauses: either they are finite clauses, introduced by *jodi* 'if' (with the concessive variants *jodio, jodiçi* 'even though') or *kaße* 'in case' (< *kało* ‘time’ + locative -e), or they are nonfinite clauses with the conditional verb *-ile*, which is described in 4.3.5.5 and 7.6.3.

(i) If the situation in the (finite) conditional clause is taken for real, it contains a verb with Habitual tense in most of the cases. The conjunction *jodi* ‘if’ is often placed in initial position or in second position of the conditional clause, which in turn always precedes the main clause.

(1) pagó *jodi* khórap hu-e, semane as-ib-e nahi.  
weather if bad be-3s:HAB they come-FUT-3p NEG  
‘If the weather is bad, they won’t come.’

(2) *jodi* to-ro kebe kichi çoisubidha hu-e, mo-te  
if you(FAM)-GEN ever any problem be-3s:HAB I-DAT  
jon-a-ib-u, know-CAUS-FUT-2s  
‘If you ever have any problems, let me know.’

(3) tume *jodi* niyomíto bhábo-re poísa di-ɔ, mū tumó-ku  
you(POL) if regular thought-LOC money give-2p:HAB I you(POL)-DAT  
ghóro-ṭi bhóra de-b-i.  
house-ART rent give-FUT-1s  
‘I’ll rent out the house to you as long as you pay regularly.’

However, other tenses occur as well: Past, Future, Present Perfect and Present Progressive.

(4) *jodi* kebe bipódo-re mo-te ḍak-ib-u, mū to-te sahajyo  
if ever danger-LOC I-DAT call-FUT-2s I you(FAM)-DAT help  
kɔr-ib-i, do-FUT-1s  
‘If you ever call me in danger, I will help you.’

(5) tume *jodi* ciṭhi lekh-i-sar-ich-ɔ, mū ḍako-re  
you(POL) if letter write-CV-V2:finish-PERF-2p I post-LOC  
póka-i-de-b-i.  
put-CV-V2:give-FUT-1s  
‘If you have finished writing the letter, I’ll post it.’

(6) tume *jodi* prodhán-sikhyōko-nku khoj-uch-ɔ, ta-nku  
you(POL) if chief-teacher-OBL:DAT search-PROG-2p he-OBL:DAT  
ɔphís-re pa-ib-ɔ.  
ɔ.-LOC find-FUT-2p

³The particle *to* can be used in conditional clauses as well (see 5.2.3).
‘If you are looking for the headmaster, you’ll find him in the office.’

For unreal conditions the Conditional tense is used (for discussion see 4.2.3.4).

(7) **Sruti jodi kounosi jubokɔ sɔhițɔ sɔmpɔrķɔ rɔkh-itha-nt-a, tebe**
    S. if any young.man with relation keep-PERF-COND-3s then
    **taha amo-ku ɔgɔcɔ ɔn-tha-nt-a.**
    it we-DAT unknown NEG-AUX-COND-3s

    ‘If Sruti had had anything with a young man, then this would not have been unknown to us.’

Habitual, Past, Future and Conditional verb forms in conditional clauses are normally negated by preposed no.

(8) **tume jɔdi tɔɾɔɾɔ no-hu-ɔ, bos pa-ib-c nahi.**
    you(POL) if hurry NEG-be-2p b. find-FUT-2p NEG

    ‘If you don’t hurry, you will miss the bus.’

(ii) In addition, there is a conjunction kałe with the meaning ‘in case’:

(9) **tume kałe amo gʰɔrɔ-.ta no-pa-ib-c, sɛtʰi-pəi mʊ ɔnɔkɔsa-tie**
    you(POL) in.case our house-ART NEG-find-FUT-2p that-for I map-INDEF
    kɔɾ-i-de-b-i.
    do-CV-V2:give-FUT-1s

    ‘I’ll draw a map for you if you can’t find our house.’

(10) **kałe mʊ tən-ku au tʰɔr-e no-dekʰ-i bɪdɑyɔ**
    in.case I he-OBL:DAT more time-INDEF NEG-see-FUT-1s this-for farewell
    jon-ə-il-i.
    know-CAUS-PST-1s

    ‘I said goodbye to him in case I wouldn’t see him again.’

(iii) Two coordinated clauses can stand in a conditional relationship to each other.

(An old man says to his son about his grandson, “He won’t go to school by bike anymore. It is too dangerous.” The grandson asks:)

(11) **saikɛl-re j-ib-i-ni, tebe kemiti j-ib-i, oja?**
    c-.LOC go-FUT-1s-NEG then how go-FUT-1s grandfather

    ‘If I don’t go by bike, how shall I go then, grandfather?’

### 7.4 Infinitival clauses

Infinitival clauses are marked by a case marker or a postposition, or they occur unmarked, i.e. with nominative case. The verb forms in infinitival clauses
usually take the suffix -iba. The ila-form is much less frequent; it primarily occurs with ablative case and the postpositions bele ‘when’, bhôli ‘like’, matre ‘as soon as’, pori ‘like’ and porjyonto ‘until’.

Case relations in infinitival clauses remain intact: The subject appears unmarked (nominative case) (but it can be marked for genitive or dative case), and objects are optionally marked for dative case. Consider (1), where the object taa chuaku ‘her child’ is marked for dative.

(1) goți-e maa pāi [ taa chuau-ku bhôlo4 pa-iba-ṭa ] ọti sadhorônc
    CL-INDEF mother for her child-DAT good find-INF-ART very natural
    kôtha.

    ‘It is very natural for a mother to love her child (lit. Loving her baby is
    very natural for a mother.).’

This is in contrast with gerundial clauses, where the subject is always marked for genitive case and the object never takes dative case (see 7.5).

(2) Ramâ-ro (*Syamâ-ku) gaḷi di-a ucit he-l-a-ni.
    R.-GEN S.-DAT scolding give-PTCP necessary be-PST-3s-NEG

    ‘Râma’s scolding (Śyâma) was not necessary.’

Infinitival clauses have some nominal characteristics: When the iba-form is not marked for case, the article -ta and demonstrative elements (very rarely) can be added (this is not possible with ila-forms). Adjectives, however, are ungrammatical.

(3) e j-iba-ṭa sombhôbô he-b-ô.
    this go-INF-ART possible be-FUT-3s

    ‘This trip (lit. going) will be possible.’ (The addressee had talked about
    going abroad.)

The fact that the underlying subject can be marked for genitive case is again a nominal feature, since it can be interpreted as a possessor phrase of the iba-form. This is confirmed by the fact that the genitive marker -ro can be omitted, e.g. gruhini-nko jaṇiba pāi1*(things) for the housewife to know’ or tomômanâncô ‘you (pl.)’ in (4):

(Teacher to his pupils.)

4bhôlo in (1) has not the function of an adjective; bhôlo pa- is an idiomatic expression for ‘love, like’.

5The genitive marker can be omitted only in determinative function, but not in agent or experiencer function (see 3.1.4.4).
The subject of the infinitival clause is not necessarily co-referential with the subject of the main clause. Now the functions of infinitival clauses with the various markers are discussed in turn.

7.4.1 Nominative

(i) The subject of the infinitival clause is in the nominative, or, slightly odd, in the dative or genitive.


he he-DAT he-GEN dance-INF nice I-DAT feel-3s:HAB-NEG

'I don't like his dancing (lit. his dancing does not please me).'

The clause functions as subject.

(6) e hotel-re rch-iba amo-ro ebe trutiyọ thọc he-l-a.

this h.-LOC stay-INF we-GEN now third time be-PST-3s

'This was now the third time that we stayed at this hotel.'

(7) ne-ba opekhya de-ba bhọlọ.

take-INF than give-INF good

'Giving is better than taking.'

(8) pila-ọta ete thọr Ramulu ghọrọ-ku ja-uth-ibu mo-te bhọlọ

child-ART so many time R. house-DAT go-IPFV-INF I-DAT good

lag-u-nah-i.

feel-PROG-NEG-3s

'I don't like the boy visiting Rāmulu's house so often.'

(ii) The modal expressions ucit 'should' and ḏorkar 'need' take a nominative infinitival clause.6

(9) eyar hostes namọ lekh-a-iba-ku he-le prarthi-ni dwadosọ

a. h. name write-CAUS-INF-DAT be-CONDCAV candidate-F twelfth

sreni uttirnọ ho-ith-ibu ucit.

class completed be-PERF-INF should

6For details on obligation see 4.2.4.8.
'Candidates who want to enroll as air hostess must have completed the twelfth class.'

(10) jetebele khub jor-re nido lag-uth-ib-c, sei samca-re when very strength-LOC sleep feel-IPFV-FUT-3s that time-LOC bichona-ku j-iba dorkar.
    bed-DAT go-INF need
    'You should go to bed when you are very tired.'

(iii) In this function the *iba*-form can take the article.

(11) klas-re sehi bissca-re alocna-re monc de-ba-ta tha-e sote that matter-LOC discussion-LOC mind give-INF-ART be-3s:HAB really what-like-PTCL r.
    'Concentrating on the discussion about that in the class is really like a routine.'

(12) jodi sobu kichi seso ho-i-j-iba-ta soto, tebe e dharmo if all anything end be-CV-V2:go-INF-ART true then this faith unbelief-GEN meaning what
    'If it is true that everything will end, then why this discussion about faith and unbelief (lit. what is the meaning of this faith and unbelief)??'

(iv) Since the genitive and the dative case markers are often dropped, those *iba*-forms are formally identical to those in nominative case (see the sections on clauses with dative and genitive case).

7.4.2 Dative

(i) The subject of the infinitival clause is in the nominative or dative, while the genitive is slightly odd; it should be noted that in most cases there is no overt subject at all.

    want-PROG-1s
    'I want them to go.'

(ii) The *iba*-form with the dative can mark a purposive clause.

(14) Bulu naco dekh-iba-ku as-uch-i.
    B. dance see-INF-DAT come-PROG-3s
    'Bulu is coming to see the dance.'
(15) saikel-tie **kĩña-iba-kū** mo-ro jōhestō poisa nahi.
    bicycle-INDEF buy-INF-DAT I-GEN enough money be:NEG-3s
    ‘I haven’t enough money to buy a bicycle.’

A similar meaning is expressed by the postposition pāi ‘for’, which is even more frequent in this function than the dative (see 7.4.6, p. 379).

(16) ame bonc-iba pāi kha-u.
    we live-INF for eat-1p:HAB
    ‘We eat to live.’

Elsewhere the iba-form + dative is used as complement of verbs expressing wish (desiderative verbs; for the expression of volition see 4.2.4.7), causation (directive verbs, e.g. ‘order’), obligation (e.g. ‘must’, see 4.2.4.8) and other semantic values (e.g. ‘fear’, ‘forget’). The element with purposive meaning is no longer the dative case marker, but it is included in the semantics of the matrix verb. Consider the following list with examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>desiderative:</th>
<th>manipulative:</th>
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<tr>
<td>bholo lag-</td>
<td>adesō de-</td>
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<td>bholo pa-cah-</td>
<td>de-</td>
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<td>cesta kor-iccha och-khorapō lag-mil-</td>
<td>sukho pa-</td>
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<td>mōno hena-rajo</td>
<td>ṭhik kor-</td>
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<td>nispotti kor-posando kor-protisruti kor-</td>
<td>manipulative:</td>
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<td>paramorso de-</td>
<td>‘order’</td>
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<td>anurodho kor-</td>
<td>‘give, let’ (18)</td>
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<td>obligation:</td>
<td>‘tell sb. to’ (19)</td>
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<td>[time expr.] lag-</td>
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<td>‘take’ (22)</td>
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<td>‘be about’</td>
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<td>‘be about, begin’ (21)</td>
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<td>‘give up’</td>
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<td>‘begin’</td>
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<td>‘try’ (17)</td>
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<td>‘feel like’</td>
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<td>‘find time to’ (20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘fear’</td>
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<td></td>
<td>‘forget’</td>
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<td></td>
<td>‘be about’</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘must’</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘should’</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘be urgent’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(17) mūta-ku rōkhyā kor-iba-kū cesta kor-ib-i.
    I he-DAT salvation do-INF-DAT try do-FUT-1s
    ‘I’ll try to save him.’
(18) mo-te pi-iba-ku ťikie paňi di-ő!
I-DAT drink-INF-DAT a little water give-2p:IMP
'Give me a little water to drink!'

(19) aji mo-te dekh-a kor-iba-ku ta-nku kuh-a-ho-i-nō-th-il-a.
today I-DAT see-PTCP do-INF-DAT he-DAT say-PASS-be-PERF-NEG-PST-3s
'He wasn’t told to see me today.'

(20) bondhu-manō-nkō pakhō-ku ciṭhi lekh-iba-ku mū beļo
friend-PL-OBL side-DAT letter write-INF-DAT I time
find-PROG-NEG-3s
'I don’t find time to write to my friends.'

(21) raja jemiti kha-iba-ku bos-ich-oṇti, sōbu suna
king however eat-INF-DAT sit-PERF-3p(HON) all gold
pālōt-i-gol-a.
turn-CV-V2:go:PST-3s
'Everything the king was about to eat turned into gold.'

(22) sōkō rasta-re Pune j-iba-ku bōhit sōmōyo lag-e.
road road-LOC P. go-INF-DAT much time take-3s:HAB
'It takes a long time to go to Poona by road.'

(iii) Interestingly the aspectual variants of the iba-form (Perfect and Imperfective) rarely co-occur with the dative and are avoided. They are, however, possible:

(23) bapa jetebeļe ghorō-ku as-ib-e, pila-mane
father when house-DAT come-FUT-3p(HON) child-PL
kha-i-sar-īth-iba-ku mū cah-e.
eat-CV-V2:finish-PERF-INF-DAT I want-1s:HAB
'I want the children to have finished eating when father comes home.'

(iv) The use with the dative case is the only context where the suffix -ib (the regular future marker in finite verb forms) still has future reference in nonfinite forms: all situations are viewed as possible events in the future or as possible events in general (which includes the future), as in (24) below. When the iba-forms are used with other case markers, this original meaning of -ib is no longer present.

(v) The dative case marker -ku is often dropped:

(24) bonua hati-ku posa mon-a-iba(-ku) bōhit sōmōyo lag-e.
wild elephant-DAT pet obey-CAUS-INF-DAT much time take-3s:HAB
'It takes a long time to tame a wild elephant.'
7.4. Infinitival clauses

However, -ku is required if the complement is emphasised. Consider (25), where the suffix -ku of jibaku cannot be dropped.

I P. go-INF-DAT want-1s:HAB K. go-INF-DAT be:NEG-3s
‘I want to go Puri, not to Konark.’

In combination with the verbs of motion as- ‘come’, ja- ‘go’ and pher- ‘return’ the whole ending -ibaku can be dropped, and only the suffix -i is then attached to the verb stem.

(26) purb-ē raj-o-putro-mane sikarō kō-ri ja-uth-il-e.
before-LOC king-son-PL hunt do-CV go-IPFV-PST-3p
‘Formerly princes used to go hunting.’

In this case the construction is ambiguous: the verb form can be interpreted as the general convverb with sequential meaning, or it can be understood as a reduced iba-form. Consider (27), where the first translation reflects the convverb reading and the second translation the infinitival reading.

(27) tu sinema dekh-i as-il-u?
you(FAM) c. see-CV come-PST-2s
1. ‘Have you come having seen a movie?’
2. ‘Have you come to see a movie?’

There is a difference in pronunciation: When the sentence has the first meaning, the stress falls on asilu, when it has the second meaning, the stress falls on dekhī.

(vi) In some contexts the infinitival clause functions as object clause without having purposive function. It then can be marked by the article.

with equal level-LOC keep-PASS-go-PERF-3s
‘In many books going to a club is put on the same level as bad habits like drinking wine.’ (Newspaper)

The dative case marker can be dropped in this context as well.

(29) mū jaṁ-ich-i semane j-iba-ta.
I know-PERF-1s they go-INF-ART
‘I know about their going.’

(30) ete dēri-re to-rō kolej-ru pher-iba mū au soh-ib-i-ni.
so late-LOC you(FAM)-GEN k.-ABL return-INF I more suffer-FUT-1s-NEG
‘I won’t tolerate any longer that you return from college so late.’
7.4.3 Genitive

The subject of the infinitival clause is in the nominative, in the dative or genitive.

(31) mû se / ta-ku / taa(-ro) nac-iba-ro dekh-il-i.
I he he-DAT he-GEN dance-INF-GEN see-PST-1s
‘I saw him dancing.’

Dropping of the genitive -ro is frequent. In emphasised speech, however, it cannot be dropped:

(32) sei-ña mo-ro dekh-ith-iba-ro (*dekh-ith-iba-∅) kotha na!
that-ART I-GEN see-PERF-INF-GEN see-PERF-INF matter PTCL
‘But that is what I have seen myself!’ (said to persuade a hesitant person)

The iba-form with genitive case marker appears with three functions.

(i) The iba-form with genitive serves as complement of a noun.

agrōho ‘interest’ mulyo ‘value’
bisayo ‘matter’ niyomô ‘rule’
karonô ‘reason’ ortho ‘meaning’
khoboro ‘news’ pholo ‘result’
kotha ‘matter’ sombhabona ‘probability’
lôkhyo ‘aim’ somporko ‘behalf’

(33) dako-tiek: ciṭhi poṭha-iba-ro mulyo sworupo ciṭhi-re
postage-t. letter send-INF-GEN value form letter-LOC
log-a-ja-ith-iba sorokari ñikeṭ:
touch-CAUS-go-PERF-INF governmental t.
‘Postage stamp: An official ticket put on the letter with the value for sending a letter.’ (Dictionary)

(34) tume koh-iba-ro ortho koṛo?
you(POL) say-INF-GEN meaning what
‘What do you mean? (lit. What is the meaning of your speaking?)’

(35) aji uporocoli borsa he-ba-ro sombhabona odi.
today afternoon rain be-INF-GEN probability be-3s
‘There is the probability of rain this afternoon.’

kotha, khoboro and bisayo are used very frequently and fulfill the function of complementisers (see complement clauses, 7.2).

(36) mû gobesoṇa kør-uth-iba kotha tômā-ku kie koh-uth-il-a?
I research do-IPFV-INF matter you(POL)-DAT who say-IPFV-PST-3s
‘Who had told you about my research?’
7.4. Infinitival clauses

(37) Romeša somostč-nkč as-iba k Hoboro Raju-ku de-l-a.
R. all-OBL come-INF news R.-DAT give-PST-3s
‘Rameša told Raju about everybody’s coming.’

Note that the transition to participial use is fluid, since the case marker can be dropped. Consider (38) below, where the iba-form is used as infinitival complement to bačo ‘way’, and (39) where it is used as attributive adjective of rasta ‘road’.

(38) jěü bhul kor-ich-i, ta-kú sejar-iba-ro bačo th-ile mo-te which wrong do-PERF-1s it-DAT arrange-INF-GEN way be-CONDCV I-DAT kom-č.
say-2p:IMP
‘If there is a way to make up what I did wrong, tell me.’

(39) mú as-ith-iba rasta as-iba rasta nhu-ē.
I come-PERF-INF road come-INF road be:NEG-3s
‘The road I came is not the road where (people normally) come.’

(ii) The genitive can mark the complement of verbs of perception, e.g. dekha-‘see’, sun- ‘hear’, jan- ‘learn’.

(40) deuło ghonta baj-uth-iba-ro sun-i-par-uch-č?
temple bell ring-IPPV-GEN hear-CV-can-PROG-2p
‘Can you hear the temple bell ringing?’

(iii) The iba-form with genitive can be used as complement of time expressions, e.g. dosā boro helani ‘it has been ten years since ...’.

(41) amo-ku Dilli as-iba-ro dosā boro he-l-a-ni.
we-DAT D. come-INF-GEN ten year become-PST-3s-MIR
‘It has been ten years since we came to Delhi.’

7.4.4 Ablative

The subject of the infinitival clause is in the nominative or genitive.

(42) se / *ta-ku / taa-ro mo-te bare-iba-tharu mú ta-ku bare-iba-ta
he he-DAT he-GEN I-DAT beat-INF-ABL I he-DAT beat-INF-ART
bholo ho-b-č.
good be-FUT-3s
‘Better I beat him, than he beats me.’

When the infinitival clause marked by the ablative case indicates a source, the bridge morpheme -þa7 is usually inserted. Only the iba-form occurs.

7See 3.1.4.1.
7.4.5. Locative

(43) Prema Koṭakā as-iba-θharu mū ta-ku jaṇ-ich-i.
P. C. come-INF-ABL I he-DAT know-PERF-1s
‘I have known Prema since he came to Cuttack.’

When the infinitival clause signals cause or temporal overlap, the bridge mor-
pheme -ṭha does not occur; in this case the ila-form is used as well, without
meaning difference.

(44) bapa-nkā sōhakari cūstho th-iba-ru se nij-e ta-nkā cīthi-gurīkā
father-OBL assistant ill be-INF-ABL he REFL-NOM he-OBL letter-PL
ṭaip kōr-uch-ōnti.
t. do-PROG-3p(HON)
‘Father is typing his letters himself because his assistant is ill.’

(45) mū as-ila-ru ete āsubidha he-l-a.
I come-PST:INF-ABL so.much problem happen-PST-3s
‘All the problems happened because I came.’

(46) Subhodra-ku pōcar-iba-ru se eṇu teṇu phand-i michō kōtha
S.-DAT ask-INF-ABL she so so invent-CV lie matter
kōh-il-a.
say-PST-3s
‘When he asked Subhadrā, she invented a false story and lied.’

Normally the subject of the main clause is not identical to that of the subordi-
nate -ru-clause:

(47) montri e bisoṛo Bidyutprobhā-ku jōn-a-iba-ru se mukā
minister this matter B.-DAT know-CAUS-INF-ABL she face
ṭoʃ-ku pot-i kōh-il-a, “mo bapa-nkā songe e bisoṛo-re
bottom-DAT bow-CV say-PST-3s my father-OBL with this matter-LOC
kōṭhabarītta kōr-ōntu.”
conversation do-3p(HON)
‘When the minister told Bidyutprabhā about this, she bowed her face
down and said, “Please speak with my father about this.”’ (Fairy tale)

In (47) above the pronoun se cannot refer to the minister as well, even when
the honorific difference is ignored.

7.4.5 Locative

(i) The subject of the infinitival clause is in the nominative or genitive.

(48) mo-te se / *ta-ku / taa-ro nac-iba-re ascioṛyo he-l-a.
I-DAT he he-DAT he-GEN dance-INF-LOC surprise be-PST-3s
‘I was surprised about his dancing.’
(ii) On the one hand, the *iba*-form marked by the locative case occurs with the following adjectives, nouns and verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>byostc</td>
<td>‘busy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhbyostc</td>
<td>‘learned’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bilmbhɔ kɔr-</td>
<td>‘be slow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rag-</td>
<td>‘be angry at’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dɔkhyɔ</td>
<td>‘able’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sahajyo kɔr-</td>
<td>‘help’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lag-</td>
<td>‘keep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sɔhɔjogɔ kɔr-</td>
<td>‘cooperate’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(49) se sarhi-tie bun-iba-re byостc och-i.
He saree-INDEF weave-INF-LOC busy be-3s
‘He is busy weaving a saree.’

(50) tume mo-te bibahɔ kɔr-iba-re e te bilmbhɔ kɔr-uch-ɔ kahiki
you(POL) I-DAT marriage do-INF-LOC so.much slowness do-PROG-2p why je?
INT
‘Why are you so slow in marrying me?’

(51) dino-ku dino dɔrdam bɔrh-iba-re lag-ich-i.
day-DAT day price rise-INF-LOC keep-PERF-3s
‘Prices keep rising from day to day.’

(52) oθho, jibhɔ, danta adi onyo kamo pāi uddiṣṭa ongɔrɔtyɔngɔ-hi kotha
lip tongue tooth main other work for referred.to all.limbs-EMPH matter
koh-iba-re sahajyo kɔr-e.
say-INF-LOC help do-3s:HAB
‘It is the lip, tongue and tooth, all limbs, that are intended primarily
for other functions, that help in the speech production.’ (Oriya school
grammar)

(iii) On the other hand, it is used in adverbial function with temporal meaning
(this function is rather rare):

(53) taa-rɔ karɔnɔ pɔcar-iba-re ophis kɔrmɔcari koh-il-e,
...      it-GEN reason ask-INF-LOC o. employee say-PST-3p(HON)
‘When they asked for its reason, the office employee said, …’ (Newspaper)

7.4.6 Postpositions

The following lists show the variety of interclausal adverbial relations in Oriya. Most of them are expressed by infinitival clauses marked by postpositions. To give a complete overview, other constructions have been included. The terms are taken from Kortmann (1997). The subordinators belong to different categories:

- postpositions (PP), always combined with a *iba-* or *ila-*form;
- conjunctions (CONJ) with finite verb forms;
- complementiser (COMP) with finite verb forms;
- relative words in correlative constructions (CORREL) with finite verb forms;
- case markers, dative (DAT) and ablative (ABL) with nonfinite verb forms;
- conversbs: general verb (CV), imperfective verb (ICV) and conditional verb (CONDCV).

(i) Time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concepts</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Oriya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simultaneity:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>overlap</td>
<td>'when'</td>
<td>PP bele; ABL -ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duration</td>
<td>'while'</td>
<td>PP bele, reduplicated ICV (see 7.6.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>co-extensiveness</td>
<td>'as long as'</td>
<td>PP jae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anteriority</td>
<td>'before'</td>
<td>PP agoru, purboru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate anteriority</td>
<td>'as soon as'</td>
<td>CONJ matre, jemiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terminus a quo</td>
<td>'since'</td>
<td>ABL -thar, PP porothar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posteriority</td>
<td>'after'</td>
<td>PP pore; general CV (see 7.6.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terminus ad quem</td>
<td>'until'</td>
<td>PP porjvonta, jae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contingency</td>
<td>'whenever'</td>
<td>CORREL jetebele ... setebele (see 7.8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) Causal, conditional, concessive

| Cause                                        | 'because'   | COMP boli, PP hetu, jogu, ABL -ru |
| Condition                                    | 'if'         | CONJ jodi, CONDCV (see 7.3, 7.6.3) |
| Concession                                   | 'although'   | CONDCV + mo'dhya, bi (see 4.3.5.5) |
| Contrast                                     | 'whereas'    | PP bele              |
| Result                                       | 'that, so that' | PP bholi; CONJ je, jepori |
| Purpose                                      | 'in order to'| PP lagi, pāi, nimonte; DAT -ku; CONJ jemiti, jepori |

(iii) Modal

| Manner (doing)                               | PP dwara, soho; general verb (see 7.6.1) |
| Similarity, ‘as; the . . . the’             | CORREL e.g. jete ... sete; jetiki ... setiki (see 7.8) |
| proportion                                   | jetiki ... setiki (see 7.8)               |
| Comparison ‘as if’                            | PP bholi, pori, CONJ jemiti               |

(iv) Others
Substitution ‘instead of’ negated general converb (see 7.6)
Negative concomitance ‘without’ negated general converb (see 7.6)
Concomitance ‘while’ PP sōngé sōngé, sōhó, sōhito

The subject of the infinitival clause with postposition is in the nominative or genitive.

(54) mū se / *ta-ku / taa-ro nac-iba pāi dayi nuh-e.
I he he-DAT he-GEN dance-INF for responsible be:NEG-1s
‘I am not responsible for his dancing.’

The various notions that are expressed by postpositions (for their use with nouns, see 5.3) are now discussed in turn. Note that with many postpositions only the iba-form occurs. When the ila-form is used as well, it will be explicitly stated. Some types of subordinate clauses with finite verb forms will be mentioned where they perform a function semantically similar to nonfinite clauses with iba- / ila-forms.

Simultaneity (i) The relational noun belo ‘time’ with locative case (bele) or dative case (belo’ku) is used to signal simultaneity. The action in the subordinate clause can either overlap with the action in the main clause (English ‘when’, see (55)) or last on during the action of the main clause (English ‘while’, see (56)). Both iba- and ila-forms are used.

(From a story about two sisters’ sons-in-law.)

(55) din-e bory jōi as-ila belo-ku sans jōi bi
day-INDEF big son-in-law come-INF:PST time-DAT little son-in-law also
as-i pohonc-ich-onti.
come-CV arrive-PERF-3p(HON)
‘One day, when the big son-in-law came (for a visit), the little son-in-law arrived as well.’

(56) se ta-nko gāa-re th-ila bel-e bibahc kor-ith-il-e.
he he-OBL village-LOC be-INF:PST time-LOC marriage do-PERF-PST-3p(HON)
‘She got married while she was in her village.’

(57) kha-uth-ila bel-e kothabartta kor-u-nah-i.
eat-IPFV-INF:PST time-LOC conversation do-PROG-NEG-3s
‘Don’t speak while you are eating.’

(ii) The use of belo has been extended to express the concept of contrast, which results in the temporal meaning being lost.

(Talking about Oriya short letters for vowels.)
(58) onyɔ swɔrɔ-bɔrɔ-ŋu-ɡuriko-ɾɔ ɡoĩ-ɛ ɡoũ-ɛ sɔŋkiptɔ rupa other vowel-letter-PL-GEN CL-INDEF RDP condensed form
roh-ith-iba be-lɛ ˈiː-ɾɔ dui-ṭi sɔŋkiptɔ rupa ɔch-i.
stay-PERF-INF time-LOC i-GEN two-Cl condensed form be-3s
‘While the other vowels have only one short form, <i> has two.’ (Oriya school grammar)

(iii) Another postposition with simultaneity meaning is bhitore (< bhitor ‘inside’).

(The house-wife says to her cook:)

(59) se eθi roh-iba bhitor-e e-sobu tiari hu-o nahi.
she here stay-INF inside-LOC this-all preparation be-2p:IMP NEG
‘Do not prepare all this while she is staying here.’

Anteriority  Anteriority is expressed by the postpositions agɔru and purbɔru ‘before’.

(60) so-iba agɔ-ru aluɔ-gurikɔ libh-a-i-de-bɔ.
sleep-INF before-ABL light-PL go.out-CAUS-CV-V2:give-FUT-2p
‘Put out the lights before you go to bed.’

(61) so-iba purbo-ru tiibhi dekh-uth-il-e.
sleep-INF before-ABL TV see-IPFV-PST-3p
‘Before sleeping she was watching TV.’

Immediate anteriority  (i) Immediate anteriority is signalled by matre ‘as soon as’ (cf. matra ‘only, but’). matre does not occur with nouns. Note that matre occurs with both the iba- and the ila-form.

(62) sikhyɔkɔ gruho-re probesɔ kor-iba matre pila-mane thia
teacher room-LOC enter do-INF as.soon.as child-PL standing
ho-i-por-il-e.
become-CV-V2:fall-PST-3p
‘The children stood up as soon as the teacher entered the class room.’

(63) hatɔ-re kichi poisa he-la matre ta-ku boɗo-l-a-i
hand-LOC some money be-INF:PST as.soon.as it-DAT change-CAUS-CV
ɡoũ-ɛ lekhae suna mohɔro bojarɔ-ru ne-i-as-uth-il-e.
CL-INDEF each gold coin market-ABL take-CV-V2:come-IPFV-PST-3p
‘As soon as they had some money in their hands, they exchanged it and brought gold coins for each of it from the market.’

(ii) The relative pro-form jemiti ‘as’ is used for subordinate clauses with finite verb forms with immediate anteriority meaning. The verb form is marked for Present Perfect.
7.4. Infinitival clauses

(64) se jemiti bimano-bondorɔ lauj-ru bahar-ich-ɔnti, ta-nku
he as.soon.as airplane-port l-ABL come.out-PERF-3p(HON) he-ABL:DAT
turɔntɔ pulis gher-i-gol-e. immediately p. surround-CV-V2:go:PST-3p
‘The police immediately surrounded him as soon as he came out of the airport lounge.’

Terminus a quo The iba-form with the postposition porɔtharʊ or with the ablative case -tharʊ (see 7.4.4) indicates since when the situation described by the main clause has been going on.

(65) rajɔɔ ortho-seba-re jogɔ de-la porɔ-θarʊ ɔdi-t-re kebehele
state money-service-LOC join give-INF:PST after-ABL a.-LOC ever
se no-th-il-e. he NEG-be-PST-3p(HON)
‘Since he joined the state financial service, he never worked in the audit.’

Posteriority Posteriority is expressed by the postposition porɛ ‘after’. Both ila- and iba-forms occur.

(66) taa gorɔ bhang-i-j-iba por-e se au kebe phutbol khel-il-a
his leg break-CV-V2:go-INF after-LOC he more ever f. play-PST-3s
nahi. NEG
‘After he broke his leg, he never played football again.’

(67) somost-e cal-i-gɔla por-e Bɔnolɔta kha-il-a.
all-NOM go-CV-V2:go:INF:PST after-LOC B. eat-PST-3s
‘After all had gone, Banalatā ate.’

Terminus ad quem The postpositions jae ‘until’ and porjyɔntɔ both mean ‘until’. In addition jae expresses co-extensiveness (“as long as”). Both ila- and iba-forms occur.

(68) Hindu o Musɔlomano-mane kołuho bondɔ kor-iba porjyɔntɔ
H. and M.-PL quarrel stop do-INF until
Gandhi-ji ta-nkɔ oɔsonɔ tyagɔ ko-l-e nahi.
G.-HON he-ABL fast giving.up do-PST-3p(HON) NEG
‘Gāndhī didn’t give up his fast until the Hindus and Muslims stopped quarrelling.’

(69) ambo pac ila porjyɔntɔ tol-ɔ nahi.
mango ripen-INF:PST until pick-2p:IMP NEG
‘Don’t pick the mangoes until they are ripe.’
(Subhadrā wanted to become queen.)

(70) rani bōnc-uth-iba jae ta kāṇo sōmbhōbcō?
queen live-IPFV-INF until it INT possible
‘Was that possible as long as the queen lived?’

Cause The postpositions āetu and jōgū introduce causal clauses (besides the ablative suffix -ru (see 7.4.4) and the conjunction boli (see 7.2.2)).

(71) sikhyōko ta-ku pōrha kōr-i-но-th-iba āetu kāṇo dhōr-i dōsc teacher he-DAT study do-PERF-NEG-AUX-INF because ear take-CV ten
thrōc uṭh-a-bos-a kōr-iba dōndo de-ιth-il-e.
time get.up-PTCP-sit-PTCP do-INF punishment give-PERF-PST-3p(HON)
‘The teacher took him by the ears and punished him by making him rise
and sit down ten times because he did not do his studies.’

(72) rasta cūyantō cōcōsaria th-iba jōgū ekōrō dui-gōti mōcō garī pas
road too narrow be-INF because together two-CL m. car p.
kōr-iba sōmbhōbcō.
do-INF impossible
‘Since the road is too narrow, it is impossible for two cars to pass one
another.’

Purpose and result (i) The postposition pāi ‘for’ is used to express purpose-

(73) Sitakanto porikhya pāi prōstūto he-ba pāi taa-rō bohi khol-il-a.
S. exam for ready become-INF for he-GEN book open-PST-3s
‘Sitākanta opened his book to prepare for the exam.’

The postposition nimōnte is a more formal variant with the same meaning.

(In the announcement of the meeting of the society for children literature.)

(74) ehi sōbhā-re jōgōdano kōr-iba nimōnte sōmmlōni-rc sōhō
this meeting-LOC participation do-INF for society-GEN with
sōmpādōko Śrī Lingōraja Rōtho, sisu sahityikō o sisu
secretary S. L. R. child author and child
sahityo-premi-nku cnurodhō jōn-a-ich-ōnti.
literature-lover-OBL:DAT request know-CAUS-PERF-3p(HON)
‘The secretary Śrī Lingarāja Ratha together with the society has made
known the request to authors and lovers of children literature to partic-
ipate in this meeting.’ (Newspaper)

In combination with the iba-form it can introduce the complement of verbs
of causation (e.g. ‘order’) and wish (the same functions are performed by the
dative case marker, see 7.4.2).
7.4. Infinitival clauses

(75) ta-nku bheṭ-iba pāi Baborc-nko-rc iccha he-l-a. he-OBL:DAT meet-INF for B.-OBL-GEN wish be-PST-3s
‘Bābara wished to meet him.’

(76) e ḍoba saheboc-nko bos-iba pāi. this coach s.-OBL sit-INF for
‘This coach is for the sahebs to sit in.’

Indirect speech with future content can be expressed by an iba-form and the postposition pāi.

(77) mū ta-nku kōh-uth-il-i aji as-iba pāi. I he-OBL:DAT say-IPFV-PST-1s today come-INF for
‘I was telling him that I would come today.’

(ii) The postposition lagi is used for purposive clauses as well.

(78) 13 kōti sisu-nko polio rogo-ru muktc kār-iba lagi ehi 13 10,000,000 child-ABL p. disease-ABL free make-INF for this
ṭikadano karjyokROM ayojito ho-ith-il-a. vaccination programme organised be-PERF-PST-3s
‘This vaccination programme was organised to free 130 millions of children from polio.’

(iii) Besides the meaning of comparison, bhōli signals a purpose or result clause as well.

(79) baksō-ṭi ete guṛae jinisoc dhōr-i-par-iba bhōli borga nuh-ē. b.-ART so many thing hold-CV-can-INF for big be:NEG-3s
‘The box is not big enough to hold so many things.’

(80) akhi-re loge-ila bhōli goṭi-e osadhoc och-i. eye-LOC apply-INF:PST for CL-INDEF medicine be-3s
‘There is a medicine to apply on the eyes.’

(iv) There is another type of purposive clause, introduced by the relative proforms jepori and jemiti ‘in order to, that’. These purposive clauses contain finite verb forms. (boli is used in the same function, see 7.2.2.)

(81) mū taa pāi kichi khadyoc puṛia kār-i-de-ich-i, jepori se I he:OBL for some food packet do-CV-V2:give-PERF-1s in.order he
baṭo-re kha-i-par-ib-č. way-LOC eat-CV-can-FUT-3s
‘I’ve packed him a little food so that he can eat it on the way.’
7.4.6. Postpositions

(82) mū cīthi-ti sabodhān-re luc-a-i rōkh-il-i jepōri kehi
I letter-ART careful-LOC hide-CAUS-CV keep-PST-1s in.order anyone
cīthi-ti-ku dekh-i-no-par-onti.
letter-ART-DAT see-CV-NEG-can-3p:HAB
‘I hid the letter carefully so that no one could see it.’

(83) chop-i chōpi-ka gol-a gai-ra poch-e poche, jemiti ki gai
hide-CV RDP-CV go:PST-3s cow-GEN back-LOC RDP in.order PTCL cow
kimba onyo kehi jañ-i-no-par-ib-e.
or other anybody know-CV-NEG-can-FUT-3p
‘He went behind the cow hidingly so that neither the cow nor anybody
else could notice it.’

Manner  Manner is expressed by the postposition dvara ‘by’.

(84) ehi pōrbāporbānī-guri-ku paḷano kōr-iba dvara mona anondo
these festival-PL-DAT celebration do-INF by mind joy
roh-e.
stay-3s:HAB
‘There is much joy by celebrating these festivals.’

Comparison  (i) Subordinate clauses of comparison are signalled by the post-
positions bhōli and pōri ‘like, as if’. Here, the ila-form is more frequent than the
iba-form.

(85) Srutiranī taa stori tebul upor-e muhō mar-i so-ila bhōli
S. her s. t. top-LOC face put-CV sleep-INF:PST as.if
por-ith-ila.
lie-PERF-PST-3s
‘Srutiṇī lay there with the face on her story table as if she was sleep-
ing.’

(86) mo pado-re kichi goṭa-e baj-ila pōri mo-te lag-il-a.
my foot-LOC something CL-INDEF strike-INF:PST as.if I-DAT feel-PST-3s
‘I felt something touch my foot (lit. I felt as if something touched my
foot).’

(87) mū jon-e nua loko ho-ith-ila pōri se mo sōhito
I CL-IND new person become-PERF-INF:PST like she I:OBL with
byōbōhāro ko-1-e.
use do-PST-3p(HON)
‘She treated me as though I had become a stranger.’

(ii) The relative pro-form jemiti ‘as if’ is used for subordinate comparative
clauses with finite forms.
(88) ta-nku lag-il-a akaso-ru jemiti cando khos-ich-i!
   he-OBL:DAT feel-PST-3s sky-ABL as.if moon fall-PERF-3s
   ‘He felt as if the moon has fallen from the sky (i.e. he was extremely happy).’

Concomitance The postpositions sōnge sōnge (< sōnge ‘with’), sōhito and sōho ‘with’ signal the relation of concomitance: the situation of the subordinate clause accompanies that of the main clause.

(89) taa-rc boycso bərh-iba sōng sōnge odhiko dayitwo taa upor-e
   she-GEN age grow-INF with RDP more duty she:OBL top-LOC
   por-il-a.
   fall-PST-3s
   ‘With growing age more and more duties fell on her.’

(About a uproar in a school.)

(90) jonoikc porikhyarthi porikhycko-nko-tharu somesto khata
   one examinee examiner-OBL-ABL all book
   chɔr-a-i-ne-ba səho onanyo porikhyarthi-mane uttyqkta
   leave-CAUS-CV-V2:take-INF with other examinee-PL excited
   ho-i țebul couki adi ascbabo-potro bhongaruja kɔr-il-e.
   become-CV t. chair other furniture-thing breaking do-PST-3p
   ‘While one examinee took all books from the examiner, the other examinees got excited and broke table, chairs and other furniture.’ (Newspaper)

By semantic extension these postpositions can indicate manner as well:

(91) 71 bors-iyo raja ponjuri madhyo-ru due-ti kopota-nku akaso-ku
   71 year-ADJR king cage middle-ABL two-CL dove-OBL:DAT sky-DAT
   up-a-iba soho ehi protijogita-ku udghaṭona kɔr-ith-il-e.
   fly-CAUS-INF with this competition-DAT opening do-PERF-PST-3p(HON)
   ‘The 71 years old king opened this competition by letting two doves fly from a cage to the sky.’ (Newspaper)

7.5 “Gerundial” clauses

The a-form functions as a verbal noun (called “gerund” traditionally) to which case markers and postpositions can be added.

Nominative (with subject function):

(1) Rama-ro mdo pia sor-il-a-ti to?
   R.-GEN liquor drink-PTCP finish-PST-3s-MIR PTCL
   ‘Has Rama stopped drinking (lit. has Rama’s drinking liquor stopped)’
Dative (with object function):

(2) Ramō-rc mōdō pi-a-ku sab orthodox.
R.-GEN liquor drink-PTCP-DAT careful
‘Be aware of Rāma’s drinking.’

Genitive (with possessor function):

(3) Ramō-rc mōdō pi-a-rc onto nah-i.
R.-GEN liquor drink-PTCP-GEN end be:NEG-3s
‘There is no end to Rāma’s drinking.’

Locative (with oblique object function):

(4) Ramō-rc mōdō pi-a-re ta-ku kehi par-ib-e-ni.
R.-GEN liquor drink-PTCP-LOC he-DAT nobody can-FUT-3p-NEG
‘Nobody can beat Rāma in drinking.’

Postposition (with oblique object function):

(5) Ramō-rc mōdō pi-a pāi kie dayi?
R.-GEN liquor drink-PTCP for who responsible
‘Who is responsible for Rāma’s drinking?’

The following characteristics suggest a nominal character (cf. Nayak 1987):

(i) When the agent is present, it is marked for genitive case (like a possessor),
instead of nominative or dative case (see examples above).

(ii) No argument marked for dative is allowed, e.g. the addition of the object
Syamouku in (6) is not allowed. Objects are unmarked and incorporated into a
fixed noun-verb complex, e.g. mōdō pia ‘drinking’, gali dia ‘scolding’.

(6) Ramō-rc (*Syamo-ku) gali di-a ucit he-l-a-ni.
R.-GEN S.-DAT scolding give-PTCP necessary be-PST-3s-NEG
‘Rāma’s scolding (Śyāma) was not necessary.’

(iii) The gerund cannot be negated, e.g. *no-pia ‘not drinking’.

(iv) No adverb can be inserted between the agent and the a-form, e.g. bōhut
‘much’ is ungrammatical in (7):

(7) Ramō-rc (*bōhut) gali di-a khārap subh-il-a.
R.-GEN much scolding give-PTCP bad sound-PST-3s
‘Rāma’s scolding (much) sounds bad.’

(v) The article -ta can be added to the gerund:

(8) Ramō-rc mōdō pi-a-ta kom-i komi as-il-a-ni.
R.-GEN liquor drink-PTCP-ART diminish-CV RDP come-PST-3s-MIR
‘Rāma’s drinking is getting less and less.’
In contrast to the *iba*-forms, the *a*-form denotes habituality; compare (8) above, where the drinking is a habit of Rāma’s, with (9) below, where Rāma’s drinking takes place presently:

(9) Rām-o-ro mədɔ pi-iba pāĩ kie dayi?
    R.-GEN liquor drink-INF for who responsible
    ‘Who is responsible for Rāma’s drinking?’

Some further examples:

(10) apɔno pohɔr-a jaŋ-ich-ɔnti?
    you(HON) swim-PTCP know-PERF-3p
    ‘Can you swim?’

(A carpenter said he would come on Thursday.)

(11) gurubarɔ gɔl-a, sukrobɔrɔ gɔl-a, tɔthapi bɔrhe-i-ro
    Thursday go:PST-3s Friday go:PST-3s nevertheless carpenter-GEN
    dekh-a nah-ĩ.
    see-PTCP be:NEG-3s
    ‘Thursday passed, Friday passed, but the carpenter did not turn up (lit.
    there was no seeing of the carpenter).’

(12) to caa khi-a sor-i-ja-ich-i?
    your(FAM) tea eat-PTCP finish-CV-V2:go-PERF-3s
    ‘Have you finished your tea (lit. has the drinking of your tea finished)?’

The *a*-form is used by far less frequently than the *iba*-forms. However, it can occur with various auxiliaries (*he-* ‘be’, *ja-* ‘go’ and *pɔr-* ‘fall’), giving rise to passive meaning (see 4.6.3).

### 7.6 Converbial clauses

There are three verb forms, called converb: the general converb with the ending -i (with the variants mentioned in 4.3.5.1), the imperfective converb with the ending -u and the conditional converb with the ending -ile.

#### 7.6.1 General converb

The general converb marks

- sequentiality or anteriority;
- simultaneity (when reduplicated);
- ‘without’- and ‘instead’-clause (when negated); see 4.3.5.1 for examples.
The underlying subject of the general verb is never overt. The matrix subject can, however, appear in front of the verb clause, e.g. *jon-e pulis ophisor* ‘a police officer’ in (1). Note that a pause is possible rather after *ophisor* than after the verb *ṭokai*, confirming that the *ophisor*-NP has to be detached from and is not part of the verb phrase.

(1) jon-e pulis ophisor [jon-e mohila-nku kar oṭok-a-i]
   CL-INDEF p. o. CL-INDEF woman-obl:DAT c. stop-caus-CV
   l. ask-PST-3p(HON)
   ‘A police officer stopped a woman’s car and asked for her licence.’

Example (2) confirms this analysis: the verb phrase *khaiki* ‘having eaten’ is inserted into the main clause:

(2) mū ṭvọ ghō-r-u [kha-i-ki] as-il-i.
   I PTCL house-ABL eat-CV-CV come-PST-1s
   ‘I came from home having eaten.’

The verb phrase and the main clause are strongly knitted together: in case of animate subjects, the subjects of the two clauses are normally identical; different animate subjects are ungrammatical:

(3) *Kulamoni* kha-i-ki Sita so-i-gol-a.
   K. eat-CV-CV S. sleep-CV-V2:go:PST-3s
   ‘Kulamoni ate, and Sītā slept.’

**Roles in the matrix clause** The subject of the verb can appear in various other roles than subject in the matrix clause:

(i) **Experimenter:**

(4) Nālini-ṛō cithi pōṛh-i Rābindra-ku rago as-il-a.
   N.-GEN letter read-CV R.-DAT anger come-PST-3s
   ‘Rabinda got angry after reading Nālini’s letter.’

(5) apāc-i-ṛō bahaghora kōtha sūn-i mo-te khusi lag-il-a.
   you(HON)-obl:GEN marriage matter hear-CV I-DAT joy feel-PST-3s
   ‘I felt happy when I heard about your marriage.’

(ii) **Possessor (used as argument):**

(6) Sila-ṛō dai-ṛī pīla Amerika-re he-l-e. Bharat as-i-ki
   S.-GEN two-CL child A.-LOC be-PST-3p India come-CV-CV
   taṅko-ṛō ahuri dai-ṛī pīla he-l-e.
   she-OBL:GEN more two-CL child be-PST-3p
   ‘Sheila got two children in America. After she came to India, she got two more.’
7.6. Converbial clauses

(iii) Possessor (used as attribute):

(7) տեր-է էտար հոր-ի-կի մո ջառա ոսոնա հո-ի-գոլ-ա.
t.-LOC journey do-CV-CV my clothes dirty become-CV-V2:go:PST-3s
‘Having travelled by train, my clothes got dirty.’

(8) Օրիա-է էտ կոմ դինո ռու-ի-կի բի տաա Օրիա գյանո մո-տե ուկիտո օ-LOC so few day stay-CV-CV even his Օ. knowledge I-DAT surprise go:PST-3s
‘His Oriya knowledge, after having stayed so little time in Orissa, surprised me.’

Note that the experiencer mote ‘I’ in (8) cannot be inserted after the verb rohiki bi; the argument taa ‘his’, which connects the verb clause with the main clause, must be adjacent to the verb.

(iv) Certain postpositional noun phrases (especially with bhitor-e ‘inside’):

now also work do-INF-GEN energy be-3s
‘Even though they have worked continuously from the morning, the workers still have energy left to work (lit. in the workers there’s energy . . . ).’

Sentences with other postpositions (e.g. pāī ‘for’) are ungrammatical:

(10) *Օրիա ան-սիկի-կի մո պայփ տում-րկո բուժ-իբա կոսցո Օ. NEG-learn-CV-CV I-OBL for you(POL)-DAT understand-INF difficult
‘Having never learnt Oriya, it is difficult for me to understand you.’

Dative marked objects in passive constructions cannot be combined with a preceding verb (11). Without an overt object, the linkage of a verb with a passive in the main clause is possible (12).

O. NEG-learn-CV-CV I-DAT cheat-PASS-go:PST-3s
‘Having never learnt Oriya, I was cheated.’

(12) Sita dwara ekatthi bos-i-kor-i kichi kamō S. by together sit-CV-do-CV any work kor-a-ja-i-par-ib-ո-ի ni.
do-PASS-go-CV-can-FUT-3s-NEG
‘You cannot do anything together with Sītā (lit. sitting together with Sītā, any work cannot be done).’
If the main clause does not contain any element which resumes the underlying subject of the verb, the sentence is ungrammatical; consider (13), where the main clause borsa hela does not refer to the person who has arrived in Bhubaneswar.

(13) *Bhuboneswarc-re pohnc-ija-borsa he-l-a.  
   Bh.-LOC arrive-CV-V2:go-CV rain be-PST-3s  
   'Having arrived in Bhubaneswar, it rained.'

Roles in the verb clause  
(i) Instead of the subject, there are some other roles in the verb clause that can link the two clauses; these elements (e.g. taarc in (14)) can be put explicitly in the verb clause (unlike underlying subjects).

- Possessor:

(14) (taa-ro) tini-ta pila ho-i-ki bi PrasadR ckhusi  
    he-GEN three-CL child be-CV-CV even P. joy  
    rch-u-n-i.  
    stay-PROG-NEG-3s  
    'Prasada is not happy, although he has three children.'

- Experiencer in the genitive:

(15) (taa-unko-ro) tota chai-re kichi somcyc bisramc kor-iba-ku  
    he-OBL-GEN grove shadow-LOC some time rest do-INF-DAT  
    icchakor-i se ghora-ru olha-il-e.  
    desire do-CV he horse-ABL descend-PST-3p(HON)  
    'Because he wanted to take rest for some time in the shadow of the grove, he jumped off his horse.'

- Locative argument:

(16) (taa bhitor-e) ete sahasi ho-i-ki Caitaka bhago-ku  
    he-OBL inside-LOC so.much brave be-CV-CV C. tiger-DAT  
    dekh-i-ki pola-i-gol-a.  
    see-CV-CV flee-CV-V2:PST-3s  
    'Even though he had such courage, Caitaka ran away after having seen the tiger.'

- However, dative marked experiencers are not possible:

(17) *(semanc-nku) bhokc lag-i-ki pila-mane kand-iba-ku  
    they-OBL:DAT hunger feel-CV-CV child-PL weep-INF-DAT  
    lag-il-e.  
    feel-PST-3p
Having felt hungry, the children started crying.'

(ii) Inanimate subjects of verbs can be different from matrix subjects.

(18) bohut borsa he-i phosolo khorap ho-i-gol-a. much rain be-CV crop bad become-CV-V2:go:PST-3s 'The crops got spoiled due to heavy rainfall.'

(19) ghoro por-i bohut loka mor-i-gol-e. house fall-CV many people die-CV-V2:go:PST-3p 'A lot of people died when the house collapsed.'

(20) taa-ro muh5-rasta-re pi7-aho-i-j-iba-ru danto bhangi he-GEN face road-LOC hit-CV-be-CV-V2:go-INF-ABL tooth break-CV muh5-ru roko bahar-il-a o se bohut kosto bhog-il-a. face-ABL blood go.out-PST-3s and he much difficult experience-PST-3s 'As his face hit the street, he broke some teeth, blood came out of his mouth, and he suffered a lot.'

In (20) above, the subject of bhangi is danto, whereas roko is the subject of the main verb baharila.

Objects Within a sentence with intransitives each of the subclauses can have its own objects. Consider (21):

(21) swami-nku dekh-i se bhikhya-dala tho-i-de-i husband-OBL:DAT see-CV she alm-tray put-CV-V2:give-CV swami-nko-ro padre dho-i-de-l-e. husband-OBL:GEN foot wash-CV-V2:give-PST-3p(HON) 'When she saw her husband, she put the alms-tray (for the beggar) aside and washed her husband's feet.'

When the object of the verb and that of the main clause is the same, it occurs only once and does not have to be resumed as pronoun:

(22) kebo6 pothi-gurie porh-i (ta-ku) mukhosth0 ko-le gyano only book-PL read-CV it-DAT memorise do-CONDCV knowledge labho hu-e nahi. use be-3s:HAB NEG 'The knowledge is of no use if you only read and memorise books.'

(23) kukuru-chua-7ie an-i taa sejo-re rokh-i-de-l-e. dog-baby-INDEF bring-CV her bed-LOC keep-CV-V2:give-PST-3p(HON) 'They brought a puppy and put it in her bed.'
7.6.2. Imperfective verb

**Time reference** The time reference of the verb depends upon the tense of the main verb. In (24) below, *jai* and *nei* is located in the future as is the main verb *asibi*. Equally the verb *roҳi* in (25) is under the scope of the Conditional mood of *gauthanti*. In (26) the Imperative mood of *rakho* applies to the verb *logai* as well.

(24) thako-re mo cosoma-ta och-i. — mū ja-i tumo pāi ne-i
time-LOC my glasses-ART be-3s I go-CV you(POL) for take-CV
come-FUT-1s

‘My glasses are on the shelf. — I’ll go and get them for you.’

(A cock has been caught by a fox and is now between his teeth.)

(25) bilua bhai, mū jodi tumo jaga-re tha-nt-i o mo pori
fox brother I if you(POL) place-LOC be-COND-1s and I:OBL like
gōta-e sundoro kuku Ra ne-i-ja-utha-nt-i, tebe tumo
CL-INDEF beautiful cock take-CV-go-IPFV-COND-1s then you(POL):OBL
bholi cupcakes no-roh-i mū anandā-re gito ga-utha-nt-i.
like quiet NEG-stay-CV I joy-LOC song sing-IPFV-COND-1s

‘Brother fox, if I were in your place and if I had caught such a beautiful
cock like me, I wouldn’t keep quiet and would sing a song with joy.’

(26) pothāro khand-e loga-i kōbatā-ta mela rakh-ā.
stone CL-INDEF apply-CV door-ART open keep-2p:IMP

‘Hold the door open with a stone.’

The same holds for the modal verb *par*- ‘can’: its scope is over the whole sentence, including the verb.

(27) mū chuti-re Kōlikota ja-i mo pila-mano-nku an-i-par-e.
I holiday-LOC C. go-CV my child-PL-OBL:DAT bring-CV-can-1s:HAB

‘I can go to Calcutta during the vacation and bring my children.’

Converbs in yes/no questions can be under the scope of interrogation or not.

(28) tome Nandāna Kanona ja-i posu-mano-nku dekh-ich-ā?
you(POL) N. K. go-CV animal-PL-OBL:DAT see-PERF-2p
1. ‘Having gone to Nandana Kānana, have you seen the animals?’
2. ‘Have you gone to Nandana Kānana and have you seen the animals?’

For the behaviour with negation see 6.4.4.

### 7.6.2 Imperfective verb

The imperfective verb with the suffix -*u* signals simultaneity (for semantic details see 4.3.5.4). The clause formed by the imperfective verb is inserted
into the main clause; consider (29) where the reduplicated imperfective converb clause *batore jau jau* ‘going on the way’ is embedded:

(29) mo-te [batɔ-re ja-u jau] 100 ʧənk-ia no-t- siè mil-il-a.
I-DAT way-LOC go-ICV RDP 100 rupee-ADJR n.-INDEF be.available-PST-3s

‘Walking on the road, I found a hundred rupee note.’

There is no same-subject constraint:

(30) maa taa pila-ku do-li-re jhul-ɔ-u jhulɔu pila-tı
mother her child-DAT cradle-LOC swing-CAUS-ICV RDP child-ART
so-i-por-il-a.
fall.asleep-CV-V2:fall-PST-3s

‘The child fell asleep while the mother was rocking it in the cradle.’

Imperfective conversbs in yes/no questions can be under the scope of interroga-

(31) garı cola-u cola-u se tumɔ sɔn to kɔhabartta ko-l-a?
car drive-ICV RDP he you(POL):OBL with conversation do-PST-3s
1. ‘Did he talk to you, while driving the car?’
2. ‘Did he drive the car and talk to you?’

7.6.3 Conditional conversbs

The conditional converb with the ending -ile is used

- for real and unreal conditions;
- for concessive clauses (*mɔdhyo* ‘also’ or *bi* ‘also’), for examples see 4.3.5.5.

There is no same-subject constraint. Consider (32) where the speakers are the
subject in the main clause, whereas *se* in the conditional converb clause refers
to their son.

(32) se as-ile goṭi-e upojukto kɔnya-patọ dekh-i taa-ro bibahɔ
de he come-CONDCV CL-INDEF suitable bride-person see-CV he-GEN marriage
kor-a-i-de-b-a.
do-CAUS-CV-V2:give-FUT-1pi

‘When he comes we will look for a suitable bride and arrange his mar-
riage.’

Conditional clauses with finite verb forms are discussed in 7.3.
7.7 Participial clauses

Participial clauses are formed by the a-, iba- and ila-forms. The a-form and the ila-form are both used in a restricted way (see 4.3.1 and 4.3.3).

The head noun in the main clause can perform subject, object or adverbial function (marked for ablative or locative) in the participial clause. In any case there is no resumptive pronoun in the participial construction.

(i) Relativised subject function:

(1) ḍakā-bala cithti aṅ-iba-rc nirdistc somyac koh-iba o suṅ-iba
post-N.AG letter bring-INF-GEN definite time say-INF and hear-INF
lokā ubhoy-e jaṅ-onti.
person both-NOM know-3p:HAB
'The speaker and the hearer both know the moment when the postman brings the letters.'

(ii) Relativised object function (patient):

(Definition in a dictionary.)

(2) kacā: stri-lokā-mane hat-rc pindh-iba oḷonkarā.
bangle woman-person-PL hand-LOC wear-INF ornament
'Bangle: an ornament which women wear at the hand.'

(3) sikhyača pccar-ith-iba prṣnā-gūriko kothiño ho-ith-il-a.
teacher ask-PERF-INF question-PL difficult be-PERF-PST-3s
'The questions asked by the teacher were difficult.'

(iii) Relativised object function (recipient):

M. letter write-PERF-INF person-ART-GEN wife die-CV-V2:go:PST-3s
'The wife of the man whom Mahēśā had written a letter died.'

(iv) Relativised experiencer function:

(5) mū sei jorā ho-ith-iba lokā-ku dekh-il-i.
I that fever be-PERF-INF man-DAT see-PST-1s
'I saw that man who had fever.'

(v) Relativised genitive function:

(6) se carī-ṭa puč th-iba bapa-ku bohut kōsti soh-iba-ku
that four-CL son be-INF father-DAT very difficult suffer-INF-DAT
pcc-ich-i.
must-PERF-3s
'That man who had four sons had to suffer a lot.'
(vi) Relativised adverbial function: source (7), instrument (8) and location (9).

S. water bring-IPFV-INF well-ART very dirty be-PERF-3s
‘The well where Sītā gets water is very dirty.’

(8) mo-te se rasta dekh-e-iba boti
I-DAT he road see-CAUS-INF candle
‘the candle with which he showed me the way’

(9) Rama kha-uth-iba ōbul upor-e bilei bos-ich-i.
R. eat-IPFV-INF t. top-LOC cat sit-PERF-3s
‘The cat is sitting on the table where Rāma is eating.’

(vii) Possessor and postpositional noun phrases cannot be relativised by iba-forms.

(10) *pila kand-ith-iba maa
child weep-PERF-INF mother
‘the mother whose child wept’

(11) *mū skul ja-uth-iba bondu
I s. go-IPFV-INF friend
‘the friend with whom I go to school’ (cf. mo sōnge skul jiba ‘go to school with me’)

The iba-form must be adjacent to the head noun, and (12) below is thus incorrect. When the word order is changed (gāāre rūthihiba lokāṭi), the sentence is correct.

(12) *rūh-uth-iba gāā-re lokāṭi aji as-ith-il-a.
stay-IPFV-INF village-LOC man-ART today come-PERF-PST-3s
‘The man who was staying in the village had come today.’

Iba-forms can be embedded into other participial clauses:

(13) mo-te Kōṭok-ru tiari kor-e-i an-ith-iba sāṅhi de-ith-iba
I-DAT C.-ABL make do-CAUS-CV bring-PERF-INF s. give-PERF-INF
lokāṭi-vero ghorā kōṭhi?
man-ART-GEN house where
‘Where is the house of the man who gave me the saree he had made in Cuttack and brought (here)?’

Negation is marked by preposed nō-

(14) nō-kha-iba lōko ‘a man who does not eat’
nō-kand-uth-iba pila ‘a child that is not weeping’
\[\text{no-ga-ith-iba} \text{ gitc} / \text{ga-i-no-th-iba} \text{ gitc}\]

\text{NEG-sing-PERF-INF song} \quad \text{sing-PERF-NEG-AUX-INF song}

‘a song which has not been sung’

The \text{iba}-forms in the examples given so far are all restrictive relative clauses. However, \text{iba}-forms are used for non-restrictive relative clauses as well, but more rarely.

(In a competition.)

\[\text{‘csustho poribeso’-ro nomuna tiari kor-ith-iba Atul srestho}
\text{unhealthy environment-GEN model build do-PERF-INF A. best}
\text{sthano pa-ich-i.}
\text{place get-PERF-3s}
\]

‘Atul, who has made the model “unhealthy environment”, has reached the first place.’

### 7.8 Correlative constructions

Correlative constructions in Oriya involve a relative clause which syntactically bears an adverbial (or ad-sentential) relationship towards the main clause, although it often depends semantically upon a noun alone. For the reasons for an adverbial treatment of the relative clauses, we refer to the end of this section.

Relative clauses can be preposed, postposed or embedded after the head noun. Preposed relative clauses involve the use of two sets of pro-forms: the relative \text{je-series} in the preceding subordinate clause and the correlative \text{se-series} in the main clause. The latter are the same as the distal demonstrative series. Below is a list of some of them, for a full list see 3.3.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relative pro-forms</th>
<th>Correlative pro-forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\text{je, jie}</td>
<td>\text{se, sie}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\text{jēū}</td>
<td>\text{se}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\text{jēūmane}</td>
<td>\text{semne}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\text{jaharō}</td>
<td>\text{taharō}</td>
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<tr>
<td>\text{jepori}</td>
<td>\text{sepori}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\text{jete}</td>
<td>\text{sete}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The pronouns \text{jēū} and \text{se} are used as attributes, the other items function as nominals. Postposed and embedded relative clauses do not entail the use of correlative pro-forms in the main clause.

(i) Preposed relative clauses are restrictive. The head noun is placed in the preceding subordinate relative clause and preceded by a relative pronoun, e.g. \text{jēū lokomane} ‘the people’ in (1). It is either resumed in the main clause by
the correlative pronoun (semanoku in (1)) or repeated in full form in the main clause, e.g. jēū bhasa ‘which language’ and sehi bhasa ‘that language’ in (2).

(1) jēū loko-mane e ghor-e roh-onti, mū semanoku
which person-PL this house-LOC live-3p:HAB I they-obl:DAT
jan-e nahī.
know-1s:HAB NEG
‘I don’t know the people who live in this house.’

(2) tumo purbo purusoc-mane hōjarc hōjarc borsc purb-e jēū
you(POL):obl before man-PL thousand RDP year before-LOC which
bhasa koh-uth-Il-e, tume borttomman se bhasa sun-ile
language say-IPFV-PST-3p you(POL) now that language hear-CONDcv
adou bujh-i-par-ont-oc nahī.
at.all understand-CV-can-COND-2p NEG
‘If you heard the language now that the men before you spoke many
thousands of years ago, you couldn’t understand anything at all.’ (Oriya
school grammar)

The correlative pronoun can be missing.

(3) jēū kagojoti hōj-i-jaa-th-Il-a, mū pa-ich-i.
which paper-ART be:lost-CV-V2:go-PERF-PST-3s 1 find-PERF-1s
‘I have found the paper which was lost.’

(ii) Any constituent in the relative clause can be relativised, consider the following examples:

• subject:

(4) dhaba pakho-re jēū būrha bōs-ich-i, se ei dhaba-ro malikoc.
inn side-LOC which old.man sit-PERF-3s that this inn-gen owner
‘The old man who is sitting next to the inn is the owner of this
inn.’

• object:

(5) jēū loko-ti-ku tume cah-uch-ɔ, se ehi khyoni
which person-ART-DAT you(POL) want-prog-2p he this moment
bahar-i-gol-a.
go.out-CV-V2:go:PST-3s
‘The man you want has just left.’

• possessor:

(6) jaha-ro poribaroc choto, se sukhi.
who-gen family small he happy
‘He who has a small family is happy.’
• adverbial phrase:

(7) se jēū hotel-re rōh-ich-onti, tume dekh-ich-ɔ?
he which h.-LOC stay-PERF-3p you(POL) see-PERF-2p
‘Have you seen the hotel he is staying at?’

• There are even constituents of a subordinate clause within the relative clause which can be relativised, consider (8) where jēū somoyore ‘at which time’ is an adverbial phrase in a complement clause within the relative clause.

(8) kounosī ghọt-ณा jēū somoyore ghọt-ib-ɔ boli asa
any event which time-LOC happen-FUT-3s COMP expect
kɔr-a-ja-utha-e, taha æg-ru ghọt-i-ja-ich-i
do-PASS-go-IPFV-3s:HAB that before-ABL happen-CV-V2:go-PERF-3s
boli bujh-a-ile “already” byəbhrutɔ hù-e.
COMP understand-CAUS-CONDCV used be-3s:HAB
‘When one wants to say that an event has happened before the time when it was expected to happen, “already” is used.’

(iii) When the head noun is indefinite, the relative clause follows the main clause. There is no correlative pronoun in the main clause.

(9) hati goṭi-e prañi, jaha-ɾo dehɔ-ti bɔrɔ, kintu akhi dui-ʈi
elephant CL-INDEF animal who-GEN body-ART big but eye two-CL
small chɔtɔ.
‘The elephant is an animal whose body is large, but both its eyes are small.’

(10) Haidrabad puruṇa səhɔɾɔ re karigɔɾɔ sɛh-onti, jēu-manɛ mukta-ku
H. old town-LOC artisan be-3p who-PL pearl-DAT
ghɔs-i-maj-i palis kɔr-onti, harɔ gunth-i-di-onti.
‘In the old town of Hyderabad there are artisans who rub and polish pearls and connect them in chains.’

(iv) Relative clauses that are embedded in the main clause after the head noun are non-restrictive.

(11) Nidhia, [jaha-ku setebelo caudo borsɔ ho-ith-il-a.] bilo-bari-re
N. who-DAT then fourteen year be-PERF-PST-3s field-field-LOC
mul-ia kama kɔr-i maa-ku sahajyɔ kol-a.
salary-ADJR work do-CV mother-DAT help do-PST-3s
‘Nidhia, who was fourteen years old then, helped his mother by working in the field for salary.’
(12) inspektor Candò, [ jaha-nko pura name Prabina Kumāra Candò, ]
   i. C. who-OBL full name P. K. C.
   kōh-il-e, ...
say-PST-3p(HON)
   'Inspector Cànda, whose full name was Prabina Kumāra Cànda, said ...

Postposed relative clauses can be non-restrictive as well. Consider (13) where the relative pronoun jēūthī pāī serves as causal clause linker 'for which reason'.

(13) rogi-ṭi hōthat hrud-rogo-re punsco akranto
    patient-ART suddenly heart-illness-LOC again attacked
    ho-i-por-iṭh-il-e, jēūthī pāī hrud-rogo bibhago
    be-CV-V2:fall-PERF-PST-3p(HON) which for heart-illness department
    bisesçgyo-nku dōk-a-ja-iṭh-il-a.
specialist-OBL:DAT call-PASS-V2:go-PERF-PST-3s
   'Suddenly, the patient's heart suffered an attack once again, which is why the heart specialist was called.' (Newspaper)

It should be noted, however, that not all postposed relative clause are non-

restrictive:

(14) e sehi lokō, je mo ghonṭa cori kōr-iṭh-il-a.
    this that person who my watch theft do-PERF-PST-3s
    'This is the man who stole my watch.'

(15) apōnō ekō-matṛc byokti, je ki8 mo-ro kōbitā-ku mōnc de-i
    you(HON) one-only person who PTCL I-GEN poem-DAT mind give-CV
    sun-il-e.
    listen-PST-3p
    'You are the only person who listened to my poems attentively.'

(v) The relative pro-form can be interpreted as a free-choice quantifier (König 1986), i.e. the pro-form signals a free choice in the selection of its values, as in English "wherever", "however", etc. The anchoring in the main clause can be missing, see (17).

(16) taa mundō-re jaha pos-e, se taha kōh-e.
    his head-LOC what enter-3s:HAB he that say-3s:HAB
    'He says whatever comes into his head.'

(17) jaha mag-uch-u, mag.
    what ask-PROG-2s ask:2s:IMP
    'Ask whatever you want.'

8Notice the particle ki which can follow a relative pronoun, expressing emphasis.
(18) Biju jēū-ar-e ja-uth-il-a, taha taa pochā-re gorā-uth-il-a.
B. which-side-LOC go-IPFV-PST-3s it her back-LOC follow-IPFV-PST-3s
‘It (a lamb) followed Biju wherever she went.’

It is in this sense that the correlative construction expresses a contingency relation (i.e. at all times when p is true, q is true, too), signalled by jetebele ... (setebele) ‘whenever’ (19).

(19) jetebele iccha, tume mo songe dekh-a kār-a.
whenever want you(POL) I:OBL with see-PTCP do-2p:IMP
‘See me whenever you like.’

(20) bapa jetebele bōjarā kār-onti, setebele byag-re hol-e-i
father when market do-3p(HON):HAB then b.-LOC shake-CAUS-CV
holei poriba pura-ntri odhikā dhār-iba pāi.
RDP vegetable fill-3p(HON):HAB more take-INF for
‘When my father goes to the market, he fills the bag with vegetables
shaking it so that it will take more.’

The expression na kāhīki, literally ‘or why’, can be added to clauses with free-choice quantifiers:

(21) aponā jaha kuh-ontu na kāhīki, se nisce bholā porh-uth-ib-a.
you(HON) what say-3p:IMP or why he surely good study-IPFV-PUT-3s
‘Whatever you say, he surely must be a good student.’

It is in this function as free-choice quantifiers that a relative pro-form can appear in a main clause, consider the following two examples:

(22) mo-te kintu giti-natyā jete bhōla lag-e jatra sete bhōla
I-DAT but song-play how.much good feel-3s:HAB y. so.much good
lag-e-ni. — hī, jaha-ku jemiti bholā lag-e.
feel-3s:HAB-NEG yes who-DAT how good feel-3s:HAB
‘I do not like Yātrā (open air theatre) as much as I like operas on the
radio. — Yes, it depends on one’s own taste (lit. however it pleases
whomever).’

(Discussing life-style: Sureśa likes country life, Naresh city life. Sureśa con-
cludes:)

(23) jaha-ro jepāri ruci.
who-GEN how love
‘Everybody his taste.’

(vi) Reduplication of relative pro-forms conveys a distributive meaning. Con-
sider the next two examples. The passage from which the first one is taken
begins with eight examples of composed nouns, which are analysed into their component afterwards. In (24), jeũ jeũ in the preceding relative clause refers to each of the eight composed nouns. Note that the predicate of the relative clause is nominal (gothito ‘built’) and that the correlative pronoun in the main clause is tahaku.

(24) eguriko jeũ jeũ ek-adhiko pado dwara gothito, tahaku nimno-re these which RDP one-more word by built those-DAT below-LOC jothakrome (9)-ru (16) udahorno modhyo-re respectively-ABL (9)-ABL (16) example middle-LOC dekh-a-ı-di-a-ja-uch-i. see-CAUS-CV-V2:go-PASS-go-PROG-3s

'Those several words of which each of these (= the eight compound nouns) are composed are given respectively below in the examples (9) to (16).' (Oriya school grammar)

In (25) the reduplicated jaha refers to whatever is needed (all-inclusiveness).

(25) to-ı jaha jaha dörkar, se-sıbo mu you(FAM)-GEN what RDP need that-all I sọja-ı-de-uch-i. arrange-CV-V2:give-PROG-1s

'I am arranging all that you need.'

(vii) Correlative constructions are also used in sentences that express the concept of similarity (26, 27).

(26) Raurokela jete nirmolo, Koʃko sete nirmolo nuh-ǝ. R. how.much clean C. so.much clean be:NEG-3s

'Cuttaek is not as clean as Rourkela.'

(27) mo maa je-pori bholo randh-onti, mo bhouni se-pori randh-e. my mother how-like good cook-3p:HAB my sister that-like cook-3s:HAB

'My sister cooks as well as my mother.'

(viii) The correlation can be multiple, i.e. there can be more than one pair of relative-correlative words; consider (28) which contains two of each: jetebele / setebele and jeũ / sei.

(28) jetebele jeũ porbo pǝr-e, setebele sei porbo-ku lok-e whenever which festival fall-3s:HAB then that festival-DAT people-PL paloŋo kor-onti. observance do-3p:HAB

'Whenever the festivals come, whatever they may be, people observe them.'
(29) jēū bhasa jete ahōrɔŋɔ-siŋ, taha sete jibontɔ.  
which language how.much collection-character that so.much lively 
'A language is as lively as it is productive.'

(ix) The correlative clauses can be treated as adverbial (rather than adnominal) clauses, as the following arguments suggest:

- The position of correlative clauses is not within a main clause. They precede or follow the main clause as a whole.
- By the use of two sets of pro-forms neither the main clause nor the subordinate clause lacks any argument that has to be tracked in the other clause. They are both complete.
- Subordinate clauses with indisputably adverbial function (e.g. temporal situation, similarity, see (26, 27) above) can be constructed in the same way as correlative clauses specifying a noun.
- The correlative pro-form can be missing in the main clause, especially if the linkage between main and subordinate clause is provided by an adverb. The relative item in the subordinate clause which is then the only sign of a correlative construction may be considered as an adverbial subordinator, which, however, is not placed in final position like e.g. the complementiser boli 'that', but in second position, e.g. jetebele 'when' in (30).

(30) mü jetebele ta-nku phon kɔ-l-i, uttɔrɔ miḻ-il-a nahī.  
I when he-OBL:DAT ph. do-PST-1s answer be.available-PST-3s NEG 
'When I phoned him, there was no answer.'

(x) Some relative pro-forms are used as conjunction of subordinate clauses: jepɔri signals result and purpose, and jemiti signals purpose, immediate anteriority and comparison (see 7.4).
Appendix A

Texts

A.1 Pearls

gola-re lomb-ich-i mukta-haro
throat-LOC be.long-PERF-3s pearl-chain

'A long pearl-chain is around the throat'\(^1\)

(1) moha-nongri-mano-nko-re khub bittsal-ji poribar-ra mohila-man
big-city-PL-OBL-LOC very rich family-GEN woman-PL
muni-mukta-ra hara gola-re pindh-uch-oni.
gem-pearl-GEN necklace throat-LOC wear-PROG-3p

'The women of very rich families in the big cities wear necklaces of gems and pearls.'

(2) standard saij mukta gunth-a-ho-ith-iba goti-e mukta-haro
s. s. pearl knit-PASS-be-PERF-INF CL-INDEF pearl-chain
mulya he-uch-i 1 lokhyo-ru 7 lokhyo tonka.
value be-PROG-3s 1 lakh-ABL 7 lakh rupee

'A necklace made of pearls of standard size costs between 100,000 and 700,000 rupees.'

(3) Iran desec Basra shor-ru as-uth-iba mukta-ku ne-i jodi
I. country B. town-ABL come-IPFV-INF pearl-DAT take-CV if
haro goti-e tiari kor-ja-ith-ib-o, taha-ra ehi dam.
necklace CL-INDEF production do-PASS-go-PERF-FUT-3s it-GEN this price

'When a necklace is made of pearls coming from the town Basra in Iran, this (will be) its price.'

(4) kintu Japan-ru as-uth-iba. mukta-haro dam ahuri odhiko por-e.
but J.-ABL come-IPFV-INF pearl-necklace price more more fall-3s:HAB

'The price of pearl chains from Japan is much higher.'

(5) Japan joga-uth-iba goti-e gotie mukta-ra dam pondaro hojaro
J. supply-IPFV-INF CL-INDEF RDP pearl-GEN price fifteen thousand

\(^1\)The text is taken from the newspaper Sama\ya 7/12/1998 (p.5).
The price for pearls delivered from Japan is 15,000 rupees each.

Accordingly the price of one pearl-chain is much higher.

Pearls can be natural and they can be artificial, they are called "natural pearls" and "cultural pearls" (respectively).

Nowadays very good plastic imitations of pearls have entered the market as well.

In earlier times people dived to the depths of the sea and searched for pearl bearing oysters and brought them, and the pearls were collected from the bodies of those sea animals.

These people had the special skill, and they were made "pearl divers", that is, experts who could search and bring pearls.

Japan, Astreia, Cin, Jormani deso-ro somudro upokulo-re ajikali J. A. C. G. country-GEN sea shore-LOC nowadays
"cestor pharm" mukta songrbo karjyo cal-ich-i.

Pearl collecting activity go-PERF-3s
'Nowadays pearl collecting activities are going on in “oyster farms” at the sea-shores of Japan, Australia, China and Germany.'

(6) eṭha-ru cultured pearls songṛaḥo ṵor-a-ja-e.  
    here-ABL c. p. collect do-PASS-go-3s:HAB  
    'From here the cultured pearls are collected.'

(7) Japan-ru utpadito ehi dhɔrɔincare mukta dam-re ɔdhɪko ɔt-e.  
    J.-ABL produced this nature-GEN pearl price-LOC more be-3s  
    'The pearls which are produced in this manner in Japan are more expensive (lit. are more in the price).'

(8) Singapur cɔlɔnkarɔ dokanɔ-re karigɔrɔ-manɛ ehi Japan-i mukta dwara  
    S. jewelry shop-LOC artisan-PL this J.-ADJR pearl by  
    mukta-maḷ proṣṭhato ɔr-uch-ɔnti.  
    pearl-string ready do-PROG-3p  
    'The artisans in jewelry shops in Singapur make necklaces of these Japanese pearls.'

(9) mukta e-pori goṭi-e mɔharghɔ podartha, jahar-ɔ dam  
    pearl this-like CL-INDEF precious article which-GEN price  
    kaḷ-krɔme ɔdhɔko-ru ɔdhɪko ho-i-ja-e.  
    time course more-ABL more become-CV-V2:go-3s:HAB  
    'Pearls in this form are a precious article whose value increases (lit. become from more to more) in the course of time.'

(10) Singapur-re th-iba mukta cɔlɔnkarɔ sɪlɔre gɔtɔ goṭi-e bɔrsɔ-re  
    S.-LOC be-INF pearl jewelry art-LOC past CL-INDEF year-LOC  
    mulya 15-ru 20 protisɔto bruddhi lobh-ich-i.  
    value 15-ABL 20 per.cent increase obtain-PERF-3s  
    'The value of pearl jewelry artifacts from Singapur increased between 15 and 20 per cent within the last year.'

(11) Japan-i mukta jɔthestɔ pɔrimaṇɔ-re utpadito ho-i-par-u-nah-į.  
    J.-ADJR pearl enough measure-LOC produced be-CV-can-PROG-NEG-3s  
    'Japanese pearls cannot be produced in sufficient amount.'

(12) cahida tʊlanɔ-re jɔthestɔ mukta jogaṇɔ nah-į.  
    demand comparison-LOC enough pearl supply NEG-3s  
    'Compared to the demand there are not enough pearls that can be supplied.'

    so pearl and pearl-necklace price increase be-PERF-3s rapid speed-LOC  
    'Therefore the price of pearls and pearl-necklaces rises rapidly.'

(14) cɔlɔnkarɔ karigɔrɔ-manɛ sɔrɔbɔda Singapur bɔjarɔ-re mukta-ɾɔ  
    jewelry artisan-PL always S. market-LOC pearl-GEN  
    'dimanḍ' 'sɔplai' poriṣṭhiti upɔr-e tikhmɔdrɔsti ᵃkh-ich-ɔnti.  
    d. s. circumstances top-LOC vigilance keep-PERF-3p
'The jewelry artisans always keep an eye on the situation of demand and supply of pearls on the market of Singapur.'

(15) ketekə Bharatiyo Singapur-re mukta beparə kər-uχ-ənti. some Indian S-LOC pearl trade do-PROG-3p 'Some Indians trade with pearls in Singapur.'

(16) Solani Juelers goti-e Bharatiyo protisthanə. S. J. CL-INDEF Indian institution 'The Solani Jewellers are an Indian firm.'

(17) eha-rə malikə kəh-ənti — <citation in English> this-GEN owner say-3p:HAB 'Its owner says, "Quantity of pearls floating in the market is closely checked to ensure that there is never an over-supply."'

(18) ehi karun-ru antorjatiyo bojar-e mukta mulyə sadharmo-hueto this reason-ABL international market-LOC pearl value usually maybe sthilo rəh-e kimba boř-h-i bořli cal-e. stable stay-3s:HAB or rise-CV RDP go-3s:HAB 'Therefore the price for pearls on the international market usually may remain stable or it continually rises.'

(19) kəsminkałe, kodapi mukta mulyə hraso pa-e nahi. to.date yet pearl value lessening find-3s:HAB NEG 'Yet to date pearls do not go down in value.'

(20) mukta sasta-re bikrzyću-hu-e nahi. pearl cheap-LOC sale be-3s:HAB NEG 'Pearls are not sold cheap.'

(21) jaha-ku natural pearls ba osli mukta kəh-ənti, antorjatiyo which-DAT n. p. or pure pearl say-3p:HAB international bojar-ə taha-rə joganə khub simito ot-e. market-LOC it-GEN supply very limited be-3s 'The supply of those pearls which are called natural or pure pearls is very limited on the international market.'

(22) se-pərə goti-e mukta-ro dam ajikali he-uch-i Amerika mudra-re that-like CL-INDEF pearl-GEN price nowadays be-PROG-3s A. coin-LOC oti kom-re 10 bojarə dollar. very few-LOC 10 thousand d. 'The price of such a pearl is nowadays at least 10,000 dollar in American currency.'

(23) dosə bojarə dollar-ru arumbho kər-i osli mukta goti-kə-ro dam ten thousand d.-ABL start do-CV pure pearl CL-DEF-GEN price ek-adhiko niyuto dollar ho-itha-e. one-more million dollar be-PERF-3s:HAB
'The price of one pure pearl is between 10,000 dollar and more than a million dollar.'

(24) eha-hi mukta bojar-c-re dor-c-dam poristhitii. this-EMPH pearl market-LOC price-price circumstances

'This is the price situation of the pearl market.'

(25) milion dolar he-uch-i niti-din-ia bojar-c dor-c. m. d. be-PROG-3s usual-day-ADJR market price

'One million dollar is a usual market price.'

(26) Astrelia niko-c-bortti jëu onca-l-ku South Sea kuh-a-ja-e, A. near-ADJR which area-DAT S. S. say-PASS-go-3s:HAB
setha-ru mil-uth-iba go-ji-e mukta jaha-ro akar-c 8-ru there-ABL be.available-IPFV-INF CL-INDEF pearl which-GEN shape 8-ABL
17 milimitor, sei-ti 3 holar-c dolar-ru 1 lokhyo 20 holar-c dolar-re 17 m. that-ART 3 thousand d.-ABL 1 lakh 20 thousand d.-LOC
bikroyo hu-e. sale be-3s:HAB

'A pearl which comes from the area near Australia called South Sea and whose size is between 8 and 17 millimetre is sold for a price between 3,000 and 120,000 dollars.'

(27) "South Si" ilaka-c-re mukta jodi tikie bor-c akriti-cro S. department-LOC pearl if a.little big shape-GEN
ho-itha-e (9-ru 18 milimitor), tebe sei goji-k-a-ro dam 11 be-PERF-3s:HAB 9-ABL 18 m. then that CL-DEF-GEN price 11
holar dolar porjyo-nto corph-i-ja-e. thousand dolar until climb-CV-V2:go-3s:HAB

'When a pearl of the South Sea area is of a bit bigger shape (between 9 and 18 millimetre), then its price climbs up to 11,000 dollar.'

(28) au goji-e deso he-uch-i Tahiiti. more CL-INDEF country be-PROG-3s T.

'Another country is Tahiti.'

(29) se deso-ru upojato mukta goji-ku oti kom-re 200 dolar-ru 7,000 that country-ABL native pearl CL-DAT very few-LOC 200 d.-ABL 7,000
dolar dam-re bikri hu-e. d. price-LOC sale be-3s:HAB

'A pearl from that country is sold for at least 200 up to 7,000 dollar.'

(30) Bharata-roc annkaro byobosayi jëu mukta-mala utpadono kor-onti, India-GEN jewelry trader who pearl-string production do-3p:HAB
sadharonti semane Cin deso somudro tacho-bortti onca-l-remo usually they C. country sea shore-ADJR area-LOC spotless
kor-a-ja-uth-iba mukta amodani kor-i toddwara haro tiari
do-PASS-go-IPFV-INF pearl import do-CV by.that necklace production
kɔr-ɔnti.
dɔ-3p:HAB

‘India’s jewel traders who produce pearl necklaces usually import pearls which are cleaned at sea-shores of China and make necklaces from them.’

(31) Cantonara nǐkɔ-ʐɛ Haidrabad puɾuŋa sɔʰɔɾa-ʐɛ kəɾɾiɡoɾa ɔch-ɔnti,
C. near-LOC II. old town-LOC artisan be-3p
jɛu-maŋe mukta-ku ʁhs-i-ŋaj-i palis kɔr-ɔnti, harɔ
gunth-i-di-ɔnti.
knit-CV-V2:give-3p:HAB

‘In the old town of Hyderabad near Charminar there are artisans who rub and polish the pearls and knit them to chains.’

(32) Cin dɛsɔ-ɾu ʔas-ʊtʰ-i-ba mukta çẹnko bɔɾɔ bɔhr-i bɔcbɔhruta
C. country-ABL come-IPFV-INF pearl many year hold-CV used
he-le sei mukta-ɔila kɛb-kɾome taha-rɔ cakoɔkɔyɔ hɔr-a-e,
be-COND CV that pearl-string time-course it-GEN brilliance lose-3s:HAB

‘When pearls coming from China are used for many years, that pearl necklace loses its brilliance in the course of time.’

(33) eha-ku Ingrajii-ɾe “vanerability (sic!) to wear and tear”
this-DAT E.-LOC
kuh-a-ja-uch-i.
say-PASS-go-PROG-3s

‘This is called “vulnerability to wear and tear” in English.’

(34) Dilli ɔŋkɔɾa prɔtisthano Basra Strand mukta an-i taha gunth-i
D. jewelry institution B. S. pearl bring-CV it knit-CV
mala tiarɔ kɔɾ-uch-ɔnti.
string production do-PROG-3p

‘The jewelry firm Basra Strand in Delhi brings pearls, joins them and makes necklaces of them.’

(35) Basra mukta ɔpeksakruto ɔdhiko dam pɔɾ-e ebong ɔneko bɔɾɔ
B. pearl comparatively more price fall-3s:HAB and many year
pɔɾjyɔntɔ taha cakoɔkɔ ho-i-par-e,
until it glittering be-CV-can-3s:HAB

‘Basra pearls are comparatively expensive, and they can glitter for many years.’

(36) Basra mukta-haro khub mulyɔban ho-ith-ib-a-ɾu eha-ɾɔ maliko
B. pearl-necklace very expensive be-PERF-INF-ABL this-GEN owner
jɔdi kɔŋɔsi karɔɾa-ɾu harɔ-ɭi-ku ɓikri kɔɾ-i-de-ba-ɭu
if any reason-ABL necklace-ART-DAT sale do-CV-V2:give-INF-DAT
cah-ɛ sɔhoɾa-ɾe grahoɔ mil-ɔnti nahi.
want-3s:HAB easy-LOC customer be.available-3p:HAB NEG
'Since Basra pearl necklaces are very expensive, customers cannot be found easily if the owner wants to sell the necklace for some reason.'

(37) eha Dilli poristhitī.
this D. circumstances
'This is the situation in Delhi.'

(38) Basra mukta-harc golā-re pindh-ith-iba mohila je kete kete
B. pearl-chain neck-LOC wear-PERF-INF woman PTCL how.many RDP
lokhyac tōnka-rc harc pindh-ich-antī, taha tōkōkō kōr-i-hu-e
lakh rupee-GEN necklace wear-PERF-3p it guess do-CV-be-3s:HAB
nahī. NEG
'It should not be possible to guess how many lakhs a Basra pearl necklace which a woman is wearing at her neck is worth.'

(39) <<citation in English>>
"One may not exactly wear the basra pearl with a price tag declaring the lakhs of rupees paid for it."

(40) mukta-harc Dilli-re tiari he-uch-i.
pearl-necklace D.-LOC production be-PROG-3s
'Pearl necklaces are made in Delhi.'

(41) Haidrabad-re tiari he-uch-i.
H.-LOC production be-PROG-3s
'They are made in Hyderabad.'

(42) harc tiari nimittc mukta kīn-a-ja-uch-i Japan-ru Caina-ru
chain production for pearl buy-PASS-go-PROG-3s J.-ABL Ch.-ABL
Basra-ru.
B.-ABL
'Pearls for the production of chains are bought from Japan, China and Basra.'

(43) Bharotc-re mukta ḍonkārc cahida simito ọț-e.
India-LOC pearl jewelry demand limited be-3s
'In India the demand for pearl jewelry is limited.'

(44) kintu dōkhiço purbo Esia-rc bibhinno des-rc mukta samogri
but south east A.-GEN various country-LOC pearl materials
banijya 1999 salc-re 20 sotanso obhibruddhi kōr-i-cal-ib-ọ
trade 1999 year-LOC 20 per.cent increase do-CV-V2:walk-FUT-3s
boli tōkōkō kōr-a-ja-uch-i.
COMP guess do-PASS-go-PROG-3s
'But in various countries of Southeast Asia the pearl trade is estimated to increase 20 per cent in 1999.'

(45) Singapurc-re barsiko obhibruddhi 15-ru 20 protisoto
S.-LOC annual increase 15-ABL 20 per.cent
In Singapore the annual rate of growth is between 15 and 20 per cent.

'Inspite of the economical depression in Southeast Asia the products with pearls are so popular that its trade will never lessen.'

The island of Okinawa, the countries Fiji and Tahiti have been commended for their pearl production for a long time.

Since 1930 until today the United States of America is the main country which imports pearls.

The United States import cultured pearls for 740,000 dollars a year.

One dollar is now more than 42 rupees.

Calculate: America imports pearls for tens of millions of rupees every year. — Dr Sūrijakānta Dāsa'

A.2 Letter from a reader

1 Mahasaya
   Sir
Sir,\(^2\)

"jatri-manco seba-re relbai" boli slogan di-a-ja-uth-iba
traveller-PL-OBL service-LOC r. COMP s. give-PASS-go-IPFV-INF
bel-e relbai-ro mustimeyo kormocari jatri-nku seba
time-LOC r.-GEN handful employee traveller-OBL:DAT service
joga-i-de-ba to dur-rc kotha semano-nko-ro samanyo
supply-CV-V2:give-INF PTCL distance-GEN matter they-OBL-GEN common
osubidha proti modhyo kor投保kor-u-nah-anti.
problem towards also attentive do-PROG-NEG-3p

'While there is the slogan "railway in the service of travellers", there are
a few employees who are far from doing service to the travellers, they
are not even attentive towards their common problems.'

e-bholi ek dukhoda ghonta-ro kotha etha-re lekh-uch-i.
this-like one sad event-GEN matter here-LOC write-PROG-1s
'I am writing here about such a lamentable incident.'

mū jon-e Ṫhia kolkarca.
I CL-INDEF O. artist
'I am an Oriya artist.'

Bangalore-re abosthano kor-uch-i.
B.-LOC residence do-PROG-1s
'I live in Bangalore.'

gato batya o bonya-re biporno ho-ith-iba. mo
last cyclone and flood-LOC distressed be-PERF-INF my
gāa-loko-manco-nku bontono kor-iba sokase mū Bangalore-ru praya
village-people-PL-OBL:DAT division do-INF for I B.-ABL about
3-ti komboło kroko kor-i okha-byag-re bhorītī kor-i
3-CL blanket purchase do-CV sackcloth-b.-LOC fill do-CV
Bangalore-Cennai mel-re 11/12/99 tarikho-re rel-dako-seba joge
B.-Ch. m.-LOC 11/12/99 date-LOC r.-mail-service by
Bhubaneswar-ku parsol kor-ith-il-i.
Bh.-DAT p. do-PERF-PST-1s

'In order to distribute among my village people who are in distress be-
cause of the last cyclone and of the flood, I had bought some three blank-
ets in Bangalore, put them into bags of sackcloth and sent the parcel
on 11/12/99 to Bhubaneswar by railmail service with the Bangalore-
Chennai mail.'

parsol rosid n.-377 398.
p. receipt n.-377 398
'The parcel receipt number is 377 398.'

\(^2\)The text is taken from the newspaper *Dharitri* 9/1/2000 (p. 4).
(8) matraṇa ṣdyabodhi ehi parsol mū pa-i-par-i-nah-i.  
but up.to.now this p. I get-CV-can-PERF-NEG-1s
‘But I have not received this parcel up to now.’

(9) bārōṃbaro Bhubanesworo rei-steson-ku ja-i noyanto he-ba  
again and again Bh. r.-s.-DAT go-CV very.tired be-INF
por-e o steson-master tōtha swoctontro ādhikari-nko-tharu mithya  
after-LOC and s.-m. and independent official-OBL-ABL lie
protisruti pa-iba por-e mū Khōrdha-sthitā rei-bibhago-ṛ  
promise get-INF after-LOC I Kh.-located r.-department-GEN
ketekō boristhō ādhikari-nku bhet-ith-il-i.  
some lovely official-OBL:DAT meet-PERF-PST-1s
‘After I had become tired of going to the Bhubaneswar railway station  
again and again and after the station master and other officials had given  
me false promises, I met some lovely officials of the railway department  
in Khurdha.’

(10) semane mo-te e digō-re sōhayota kōr-iba durō-ṛ kōtha  
they I-DAT this direction-LOC help do-INF distance-GEN matter
samanyo-tomo soująnyo ba sohanobhuti dekh-a-il-e nahi.  
common-SUP courtesy or sympathy see-CAUS-PST-3p NEG
‘Far from helping me in this matter, they did not show me (even) the  
most common courtesy or sympathy.’

(11) bōrōṅ kōh-il-e, tume ja-i Hāoḍa-re khoj-ō, setha-re  
moreover say-PST-3p you(POL) go-CV H.-LOC search-2p:IMP there-LOC
kēūṭhī por-i-tha-i-par-e.  
somewhere lie-PERF-be-CV-can-3s:HAB
‘They even said to me, “Go and search in Howrah, it might be lying  
there somewhere.”’

(12) e sompōrkō re mū ucco kōrttrupōkhyo-nku sōgōto  
this connection-LOC I high authority-OBL:DAT known
kōr-a-ib-i  ki boli kōh-iba-ru setha-re mo-te nana  
make-CAUS-FUT-1s INT COMP say-INF-ABL there-LOC I-DAT various
gālī-gulōjo suṇ-iba-ku por-il-ā.  
scoiling hear-INF-DAT must-PST-3s
‘When I said that I would inform the high authorities about this, I had  
to listen to various scoldings there.’

(13) “ame kaha-ku ḍor-i-n-u” boli mo-te mōdhya dhomāko  
we anybody-DAT fear-PERF-NEG-1pe COMP I-DAT also threat
di-a-gol-ā.  
give-PASS-go:PST-3s
‘I was even threatened, “We do not fear anybody.”’

(14) mū e sompōrkō re relbai montri Mōmāta Banarji-nku cithi lekh-i  
I this connection-LOC r. minister M. B.-OBL:DAT letter write-CV
A.3 Body change (fairy tale)

deho bodāØ
body change
‘Body change’

(1) Himalāyo parbōtā-rc padō desā-re jon-e rusi bāso
H. mountains-GEN foot country-LOC CL-INDEF saint living
kōr-uth-il-e.
do-IPFV-PST-3s

‘In a country at the foot of the Himalaya mountains there lived a saint.’

(2) din-e se ta-nkō asromā bhogic-ru phulo tol-uth-iba bel-e
day-INDEF he he-ABL hermitage garden-ABL flower pluck-IPFV-INF time-LOC
dekh-il-e kehi jon-e tāskārō ēlō durā-re goṭī-e
see-PST-3p(HON) someone CL-INDEF thief few distance LOC CL INDEF
jhīō-ku pūkā-i-de-i pola-i-gōl-a.
girl-DAT put-CV-V2:give-CV flee-CV-V2:go:PST-3s

‘One day, while he was plucking flowers in the garden of his hermitage, he saw a thief close by putting down a girl and fleeing away.’

(3) rusi dōr-i-ja-i jhīō-tī-ku tol-u uth-a-i taa dehō
saint run-CV-V2:go-CV girl-ART-DAT bottom-ABL get.up-CAUS-CV her body
jhar-i-jhur-i de-l-e.
sweep-CV-RDP-CV give-PST-3p(HON)

‘The saint ran there, raised the girl off the ground and dusted off her body.’

(4) thik sehi somō-yō-rc ghora dōr-a-i jon-e tejōswi purusō
just that time-LOC horse run-CAUS-CV CL-INDEF powerful man
sethā-re uposthīto he-l-e.
there-LOC present become-PST-3p(HON)

‘Just at that moment a powerful man appeared there, riding a horse.’

(5) rusi-nku dhonyōbdadō jon-a-i se kōh-il-e, “mū
saint-OBL:DAT thank.you know-CAUS-CV he say-PST-3p(HON) I
Gondhorbā-maño-nkō-rc raja ebong e mo-ro konya ‘Nibrutti’. G.-PL-OBL-GEN
king and this I-GEN daughter N.

‘He thanked the saint and said, “I am the king of the Gandharvas, and this is my daughter Nibrutti.’

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3The story has been taken from a story book for children (Banda 1991).
(6) mo-ro jon-e projā bolpurbokā ta-ku dhor-i-ne-uth-il-a.  
I-GEN CL-INDEF tenant by.force she-DAT catch-CV-V2:take-IPFV-PST-3s  
'One of my tenants was taking her by force.'

(7) mo-te pacho-ru dekh-i ta-ku etha-re pokā-i-de-i  
I-DAT back-ABL see-CV she-DAT here-LOC put-CV-V2:give-CV  
pola-i-ja-ich-i.  
flée-CV-V2:go-PERF-3s  
'When he saw me behind, he put her down here and fled.'

(8) mū ja-uch-i se dusti-ku dhor-i ucit sikhya de-b-i.  
I go-PROG-1s that wicked-DAT catch-CV necessary lesson give-FUT-1s  
'I'm going to catch that wicked person and teach him a necessary lesson.'

(9) pher-iba jae apono doya kō-i Nibrutti-ku rakh-itha-ntu.  
return-INF until you(HON) kindness do-CV N.-DAT keep-PERF-3p:IMP  
'Please keep Nibrūttī until I return.'

(10) mo as-iba-ro jodi besi bilāmba hu-e, upojukta patra  
my come-INF-GEN if very long be-3s:HAB suitable bridegroom  
sāngō-re taa-ro bibhāk kor-a-i-de-b-e.  
with-LOC she-GEN marriage do-CAUS-CV-V2:give-FUT-3p  
'If I do not come for a very long time, marry her with a suitable bridegroom.'

(11) kintu goṭi-e kōtha mān-e rakh-ib-e, mā-la jibo dehō-re  
but CL-INDEF matter mind-LOC keep-FUT-3p die-INF:PST animal body-LOC  
pās-iba-ro sakti jaha-ru th-ib-a, sei he-b-ō taa-ru  
enter-INF-GEN power who-GEN be-FUT-3s that become-FUT-3s she-GEN  
husband  
'But keep one thing in mind: He who has the power to enter dead animal bodies shall become her husband.'"

(12) eha kōh-i Gandhornbo-raja ghora jhopot-a-i cal-i-gol-e.  
this say-CV G.-king horse run-CAUS-CV go-CV-V2:go:PST-3p(HON)  
'Having said this, the Gandharva-king rode away on his horse.'

(13) rusi onekā dina spekhya ko-l-e, kintu Nibrutti-rō pita au  
saint many day wait do-PST-3p(HON) but N.-GEN father more  
pher-īl-e nahī.  
return-PST-3p(HON) NEG  
'The saint waited many days, but Nibrūttī's father did not return.'

(14) din-e homo pāi pacho-rū kāṭha sāngrhō kōr-u koru jon-e  
N.-INDEF sacrifice for forest-ABL wood collect do-ICV RDP CL-INDEF  
rupoban jubokā sōnga ta-nko-ru bheṭa he-l-a.  
handsome young man with he-OBL-GEN meeting be-PST-3s
A.3. Body change (fairy tale)

‘One day, while he was collecting wood in the forest for an offering, he met a handsome young man.’

(15) rusi pɔcar-il-e, “e nirjonǝ sthano-re apono ke?”
saint ask-PST-3p(HON) this lonely place-LOC you(HON) who
‘The saint asked, “Who are you in this lonely place?”’

(16) jubokǝ koh-il-e, “mü Pruthwi Bhusonǝ des-ǝ-ǝ raja
young man say-PST-3p(HON) I earth Bh. country-GEN king
Suklopokhyǝ.”
S.
‘The young man replied, “I am king Suklapaksa of the country of Prthvi Bhushana.”’

(17) rusi pronǝ kǝ-1-e, “apono ǝθha-re ekutia kahi ki?”
saint question do-PST-3p(HON) you(HON) here-LOC alone why
‘The saint asked, “Why are you here alone?”’

(18) raja koh-il-e, “se ekǝ durjgo.
king say-PST-3p(HON) that one bad luck
The king said, “That was bad luck.”

(19) jon-e loko taa-ro ghora-ku bik-ib-ǝ boli mo dorobarǝ-ku
CL-INDEF man he-GEN horse-DAT sell-FUT-3s COMP my palace-DAT
an-ith-il-a.
bring-PERF-PST-3s
‘A man came to my palace to sell his horse.’

(20) mü se ghora-ro cehera dekh-i kin-iba-ku iccha kǝr-iba-ru
I that horse-GEN appearance see-CV buy-INF-DAT wish do-INF-ABL
montri koh-il-e, “nua ghora-ku porikhyǝ no-kǝr-i kin-iba
minister say-PST-3p(HON) new horse-DAT exam NEG-do-CV buy-INF
thik nuh-ǝ.”
correct be:NEG-3s
‘When I saw what that horse looked like, I wanted to buy it, so the minister said, “It is not good to buy a horse without trying it.”’

(21) ta-nko kǝtha mo mone-ku pa-il-a.
he-OBL matter my mind-DAT find-PST-3s
‘I liked his proposal (lit. His matter found my mind well).’

(22) mü ghora uporǝ-ku kud-i-poǝ-il-i.
horse top-DAT jump-CV-V2:fall-PST-1s
‘I mounted the horse.’

(23) taa logama dhor-iba matre se pobonǝ bego-re chuǝ-il-a.
its reins take-INF as soon as it wind speed-LOC run-PST-3s
‘As soon as I grasped its reins, it ran as fast as the wind.’
(24) LineColor anko durc as-i ei bongo pakho-re hotath thia
much distance come-CV this forest side-LOC suddenly standing
ho-i-gol-a ebong au ago-ku no-berh-i thori-thori
be-CV-V2:go:PST-3s and more front-DAT NEG-move-CV tremble-CV RDP
tol-i-por-il-a.
fall-CV-V2:fall-PST-3s

‘After running a long distance it suddenly stopped near this forest,
didn’t move forward anymore and fell down trembling.’

(25) mū kipori rajadhani-ku pher-ib-i cinta kōr-i kori bul-uth-il-i,
I how capital-DAT return-FUT-1s concern do-CV RDP walk-IPFV-PST-1s
ei obostha-re apono-nko songe dekh-a he-l-a.’
this condition-LOC you(HON)-OBL with meeting be-PST-3s

‘I was walking around, worrying about how I could return to the capital,
in this condition I met you.’

(26) rusi kōh-il-e, “cinta kōr-ontu nahī, raja.
saint say-PST-3p(HON) concern do-3p:IMP NEG king
‘The saint said, “Don’t worry, king.”

(27) as-ontu, mo arsmo-re ajiko rōh-i-j-ib-e.”
come-3p:IMP my hermitage-LOC today stay-CV-V2:go-FUT-3p(HON)

‘Come, stay in my hermitage today.’

(28) cha kōh-i se raja-nku ta-nkō arsmo-ku
this say-CV he king-OBL:DAT he-OBL hermitage-DAT
dak-i-ne-l-e.
call-CV-V2:take-PST-3p(HON)

‘Having said this, he invited the king to his hermitage.’

(29) Nibrutti-ku setha-re dekh-i raja pōcar-il-e, “e juboti-ți N.-DAT there-LOC see-CV king ask-PST-3p(HON) this young.woman-ART kie?”
who

‘When the king saw Nibrutti there, he asked, “Who is this young woman?”

(30) rusi taa-ṛo somasto itihas-oo raja-nkō ago-re bornona
saint he-GEN all history king-OBL front-LOC description
kō-l-e ebong seso-re kōh-il-e “taa-ṛo pita sehi
do-PST-3p(HON) and end-LOC say-PST-3p(HON) she-GEN father that
dino-tharu pher-i-nah-anti, teṇu se mo pakho-re kōch-i.
day-ABL return-CV-PERF-3p(HON) so she my side-LOC be-3s

‘The saint told the king her whole story and said in the end, “Her father
has not returned since that day, so she is staying with me.’

(31) kintu mo-ṛo goṭi-e prōdhano cinta Je se e-porjyonto bibaḥo
but I-GEN CL-INDEF main concern PTCL she this-until marriage
kōr-i-nah-ī.
do-PERF-NEG-3s
'But my main concern is that she is not married yet.'

(32) taa-ro pita se dayitwo mo upor-e
she-GEN father that duty 1:OBL top-LOC
char-i-de-i-ja-ich-onti.”
leave-CV-V2:give-CV-V2:go-PERF-3p(HON)

'Her father has left that duty to me.'

(33) raja Nibrutti-ku bibha he-ba-ro iccha jøn-a-iba-ru rusi
king N.-DAT marriage be-INF-GEN wish know-CAUS-INF-ABL saint
køh-il-e, “oti uttamo kotha.
say-PST-3p(HON) very good matter

'As the king told him his wish to marry Nibrutti, the saint said, "That's very good.'

(34) mo mòto-re apønc jøn-e upøjkto patro, kintu taa
my opinion-LOC you(HON) CL-INDEF suitable bridegroom but her
pita-nko-ro go-ti-e sortto th-il-a. — mɔ-la jibo
father-OBL-GEN CL-INDEF condition be-PST-3s die-INF-PST animal
deho-re pos-iba-ro sokti jaha-ro th-ib-ɔ, se he-b-ɔ taa-ro
body-LOC enter-INF-GEN power who-GEN be-FUT-3s he be-FUT-3s she-GEN
swami.'

'In my opinion you are a suitable bridegroom, but her father had a condition: He who has the power to enter dead animal bodies shall be her husband.'

(35) “e to bɔŋ kɔthiŋo sortto; tothapi mú se sokti labho kør-iba-ku
this PTCL very hard condition yet 1 that power receipt do-INF-DAT
cesta kɔr-ib-i.”

try do-FUT-1s

‘“This is a very hard condition; nevertheless I shall try to get that power.’

(36) raja e-pɔri kɔh-iba-ru rusi køh-il-e, “tebe apønc
king this-like say-INF-ABL saint say-PST-3p(HON) then you(HON)
Nibrutti-ku bibha ho-i eθha-ru ne-i-ja-i-par-ɔnti,
N.-DAT marriage be-CV here-ABL take-CV-V2:go-CV-can-3p(HON):HAB
matro ta-ku nooro bhitoro-ku ne-b-e nahĩ.
but she-DAT palace inside-DAT take-FUT-3p(HON) NEG

'As the king said this, the saint said, “Then you can marry Nibrutti and
take her from here, but you must not take her into the palace.’

(37) se sokti pa-ila ... por-e ta-ku pakho-re rɔk.ib-e.”
that power get-INF-PST after-LOC she-DAT side-LOC keep-FUT-3p(HON)

'After getting that power, you can keep her with you.”

(38) raja rusi-nko kotha-re rají he-ba-ru Nibrutti songe ta-nko-ro
king saint-OBL matter-LOC agree be-INF-ABL N. with he-OBL-GEN
bibaha sei asomo-re sompuncu he-l-a.
marriage that hermitage-LOC performed be-PST-3s

'As the king agreed with what the saint said, his marriage with Nibrtti was performed in that hermitage.'

(39) thik sehi somya-re raja-nko loko-mane ta-nku khoj-i khoji just that time-LOC king-OBL people-PL he-OBL:DAT search-CV RDP setha-re as-i-pohunc-il-e.
there-LOC come-CV-arrive-PST-3p

'Just at that time, the king's people arrived there, in search of him.'

capital-DAT return-CV-V2:go:PST-3p(HON)

'So the king took leave of the saint and returned to the capital together with Nibrtti.'

(41) raja Suklopokhyo montri-nko naa Krusnopokhyo.
king S. minister-OBL name K.

'King Suklapakṣa's minister was called Krṣṇapakṣa.'

(42) boro bicitra kotha je du-hi-nko namo songe du-hi-nko very odd matter PTCL two-EMPH-OBL name with two-EMPH-OBL prakruti modhyo thik khapo kha-uth-il-a.
character also exactly agreement eat-IPFV-PST-3s

'lt was a very odd fact that the names of both corresponded exactly to their characters (lit. their characters ate exact agreement with their names).'

(43) raja jemiti sorolo-biswa th-il-e, montri th-il-a semiti king as simple-faithful be-PST-3p(HON) minister be-PST-3s like.that kopaṭi.
deceitful

'As simple and faithful the king was, so deceitful was the minister.'

(44) raja-nku bipodo-re pok-a-iba paṇi jan-i-sun-i se goṭa-e king-OBL:DAT danger-LOC put-INF for know-CV-hear-CV he CL-INDEF dusta omnia ghoṇa on-a-ith-il-a.
wicked not.tamed horse bring-CAUS-PERF-PST-3s

'In order to expose the king to danger, he knowingly had made bring a vicious horse which was not tamed.'

(45) bhab-ith-il-a raja ghoṇa-ru por-i mor-i-gol-e se think-PERF-PST-3s king horse-ABL fall-CV die-CV-V2:go:PST-3p(HON) he gadi mar-i-bos-ib-ɔ, matro taha he-l-a nahī.
throne rush-CV-V2:sit-FUT-3s but that happen-PST-3s NEG
'He had thought that when the king would fall from the horse and die, he could ascend the throne, but this did not work out.'

(46) raja to nirapod-rc re pher-il-e, puńi sangore an-il-e
king PTCL safety-LOC return-CONDCV again with bring-PST-3p(HON)
porrora-sundori Nibrutti-ku.
best-beautiful N.-DAT
'The king returned safely and he even brought the very beautiful Nibrūtī with him.'

(47) eha dekh-i montri-rc munda bigir-i-gol-a.
this see-CV minister-GEN head go.wrong-CV-V2:go:PST-3s
'When the minister saw this, he went crazy.'

(48) kintu mono-rc bhabo-ku luc-a-i-rōkh-i se raja-nku
but mind-GEN thought-DAT hide-CAUS-CV-keep-CV he king-OBL:DAT
koh-il-e, "apoṇo-nko lagi mū bora cintiće th-il-i, monima.
say-PST-3s you(HON)-OBL for I very worried be-PST-1s Lord
'But he kept his thoughts hidden and said to the king, “I was very worried about you, my Lord.”'

(49) sukhra kotha, apoṇo nirapod-rc pher-ich-onti."
joy-GEN matter you(HON) safety-LOC return-PERF-3p(HON)
'I’m glad to hear that you have returned safely.”’

(50) raja taapre Nibrutti-ku dekh-ai montri-nku koh-il-e,
king then N.-DAT see-CAUS-CV minister-OBL:DAT say-PST-3p(HON)
"nua rajni-nku mū bibaho kor-ich-i.
new queen-OBL:DAT I marriage do-PERF-1s
'Then the king showed Nibrūtī and said to the minister, “I have married a new queen.”'

(51) kintu borttman paï e noor-rc nu-ja-i bogica bhitor-e
but now for this palace-DAT NEG-go-CV garden inside-LOC
goto e ologe ghor-e roh-ib-e.
CL-INDEF separate house-LOC stay-FUT-3p(HON)
'But for now she won’t go to this palace, but will stay in a separate house in the garden.'

(52) sehi byöbostha kor-i-di-ɔ.”
that arrangement do-CV-V2:give-2p:IMP
'Make that arrangement.”'

(53) montri-ku dekh-u dekhu caturi Nibrutti jai-i-par-il-e
minister-DAT see-ICV RDP clever N. know-CV-can-PST-3p(HON) he
bhlo loko nuh-ɛ.
good person be:NEG-3s
'While she looked at the minister, the clever Nibrūtī realised that he was not a good man.'
(54) raja-nku mohya montri-ro acarana bisaya-re sotarko
ing-OBL:DAT also minister-GEN conduct matter-LOC warn
kor-i-de-l-e, matri raja-nko purbo dharana bodol-il-a
do-CV-V2:give-PST-3p(HON) but king-OBL before belief change-PST-3s
nahi.
NEG
'She also warned the king of the minister's behaviour, but the king's
opinion didn't change.'

(55) se bhob-uth-il-e montri ta-nko-ro khub biswasi.
he think-IPFV-PST-3p(HON) minister he-OBL-GEN very loyal
'He considered the minister to be very loyal to him.'

(56)сто bhokti je coca-ro lokhya-e katha se
much devotion PTCL thief-GEN nature this matter he
jan-i-par-il-e nahi.
know-CV-can-PST-3p(HON) NEG
'He was so devoted that he didn't notice that the minister was a thief.'

(57) tenu rusi-nko sortto bisaya-re se ta-nko songe param or so
saint-OBL condition matter-LOC he he-OBL with advice
ko-l-e.
do-PST-3p(HON)
'So he consulted with him about the saint's condition.'

(58) mola deha-re pos-iba sutro kie bote-i-par-ib-o taha
die-INF:PST body-LOC enter-INF clue who instruct-CV-can-FUT-3s that
bujh-iba pahi se ta-nku onurodho ko-l-e.
understand-INF for he he-OBL:DAT request do-PST-3p(HON)
'He asked him to find out who could instruct them a way to enter dead
bodies.'

(59) kha p-buddhi montri mon-e ko-l-a se swargaro cando hataro
mean-witted minister mind-LOC do-PST-3s he heaven-GEN moon hand-LOC
pa-ich-i.
find-PERF-3s
'The mean minister thought that he had got the heaven's moon (i.e.
good fortune) in his hand.'

(60) sutro-ti pa-i-gole se raja-ku mar-i-de-i Nibrutti-ku
nijo-ro stri kor-i-par-ib-o.
REPL-GEN wife do-CV-can-FUT-3s
'If he finds the clue, he will kill the king and will be able to make Nibrutti
his wife.'

(61) bhab-i bhabi se raja-nku koh-il-a, "go ti e dhorma-sala
think-CV RDP he king-OBL:DAT say-PST-3s CL-INDEF piety-house
khol-i-de-le oneko sadhu as-ib-e.
open-CV-V2:give-COND CV many pious.man come-FUT-3p
‘After thinking it over he said to the king, “If you open a pilgrim’s home, many pious men will come.’

(62) semano-nku e bidya jön-a th-ib-ə.”
they-OBL:DAT this knowledge know-PTCP be-FUT-3s
‘They will have this knowledge.’

(63) raja-nko mono-ku kotha-ṭa besi pa-il-a.
king-OBL mind-DAT matter-ART well find-PST-3s
‘The king liked the proposal much.’

(64) dharmo-sala khol-a-he-ba-ru oneko sadhu as-il-e.
piety-house open-PASS-be-INF-ABL many pious.man come-PST-3p(HON)
‘As the pilgrim’s home was opened, many pious men came.’

(65) kintu kehi se sutro bote-i-par-il-e naḥi.
but nobody that clue instruct-CV-can-PST-3p(HON) NEG
‘But nobody could show that clue.’

(66) tenu raja mṇṭrī-ku koh-il-e, “onya ar-u khorobō
so king minister-DAT say-PST-3p(HON) other side-ABL news
ni-ə.”
take-2p:IMP
‘So the king said to the minister, “Find it out from other sources.”’

(67) mṇṭrī cari ar-e khoj-a-khoj-i kɔr-u kɔru din-e
minister four side-LOC search-PTCP-search-CV do-ICV RDP day-INDEF
jön-e calica bepari-ku bheṭ-il-a.
CL-INDEF carpet trader-DAT meet-PST-3s
‘The minister was searching everywhere, and one day he met a carpet dealer.’

(68) kal-e ta-ku kichi jön-a th-ib-ə bhab-i pɔcar-il-a,
time-INDEF he-DAT something know-PTCP be-FUT-3s think-CV ask-PST-3s
‘tume to oneko nua nua jaga-ku ja-uth-ib-ə.
you(POL) PTCL many new RDP place-DAT go-IPFV-FUT-2p
‘Thinking he might know something, he asked, “You must be going to many new places.’

(69) mɔ-la dehɔ-re pɔs-i-par-iba sokti kaha-ṛo ɔch-i jan-ɔ
die-INF:PST body-LOC enter-CV-can-INF power who-GEN be-3s know-2p:HAB ki?”
INT
‘Do you know who has the power to enter dead bodies?’”

(70) bepari koh-il-a, “jan-e agya.
trader say-PST-3s know-1s:HAB Sir
‘The dealer said, “I know, Sir.’
(71) jôñ-e jogi-nku e bidya jôñ-a och-i.
CL-INDEF y.-OBL:DAT this knowledge know-PTCP be-3s
'A yogi has this knowledge.'

(72) kintu ta-nko pakho-ku j-iba borg koškošorō.
but he-OBL side-DAT go-INF very difficult
'But it is very difficult to reach him.'

(73) mōntrii mōn-e mone khusi ho-i pōcar-il-a, ‘kahikī?’
minister mind-LOC RDP happy be-CV ask-PST-3s why
'The minister was happy to himself and asked, ‘Why?’'

(74) galica-bala kōh-il-a, ‘amo sōhōc-θharu praya sohe mail
carpet-N.AG. say-PST-3s our town-ABL about hundred m.
duro-re rasta du-i pakho-re du-i-ti tałg−goča och-i.
distance-LOC road two side-LOC two-CL palm-tree be-3s
'The carpet dealer said, ‘There are two palm trees on both sides of a road which is about 100 miles away from our town.'

(75) go̱ṯi-e goča-re kua ebong onyo-ṯi-re go̱ṯi-e honsō
CL-INDEF tree-LOC crow and other-ART-LOC CL-INDEF duck
sit-PERF-3s:HAB
'There is a crow sitting on one tree and a duck sitting on the other tree.'

(76) sei rasta-re gole eko ghoncō jōngōlo pō̱r-e.
that road-LOC go:CONDTV one dense forest lie-3s:HAB
'When you go that road, you will come to a dense forest.'

(77) taa bhī tér-e go̱ṯi-e porbotō upor-e jogi Sadānanda tōposya
it inside-LOC CL-INDEF hill top-LOC y. S. penance
korontii.
dō-3p(HON):HAB
'In it the yogi Sadānanda does penance on a hill.'

(78) ta-nkū e bidya jôn-a och-i.”
he-OBL:DAT this knowledge know-PTCP be-3s
'He has this knowledge.’

(79) mōntrii pōcar-il-a, “tumo sōhōc-θa kēu̱thi?”
minister ask-PST-3s your(POL) town-ART where
'The minister asked, ‘Where is your town?’'

(80) bepari kōh-il-a, “e rajyo-rō sima tōp-i barc-ta gāā, noco-ta
trader say-PST-3s this kingdom-GEN end surpass-CV twelve-CL village nine-CL
nogoro ebong panco-ta sōhōc pari ho-i-gole amo sōhōc
city and five-CL town cross be-CV-V2:go:CONDTV our town
por-i-bō.”
lie-FUT-3s
"The trader said, "When you leave the borders of this kingdom and pass twelve villages, nine cities and five towns, you will get to our town."

(81) montri bicar-il-a ekutia ja-i se jogi-tharu bidya-ta
minister consider-PST-3s alone go-CV that y.-ABL knowledge-ART
sikh-i-as-ont-a, kintu kal-e jogi ta-ku
learn-CV-V2:come-COND-3s but time-LOC y. he-DAT
no-koh-ib-e eha bhab-i raja-nku somosto bisyo NEG-say-FUT-3p(HON) this think-CV king-OBL:DAT every matter
jo-n-a-il-a.
know-CAUS-PST-3s

'The minister thought of going alone and learning the knowledge from the yogi, but (then) he thought that the yogi might not talk to him (lit. having thought that in case the yogi would not talk to him), and he informed the king about everything.'

(82) sun-ila matre raja dhai-gol-e Nibrutti-nku
hear-INF:PST as soon as king run-CV-V2:go:PST-3p(HON) N.-OBL:DAT
koh-iba-ku matro caturi Nibrutti sobu sun-i-sar-i
say-INF-DAT but clever N. all hear-CV-V2:finish-CV
koh-il-e, "swami, e khobar-qa jetiki bhola, setiki mondo.
say-PST-3p(HON) husband this news-ART as good so bad

'As soon as the king heard this, he ran to tell Nibrutti, but when the clever Nibrutti had heard everything, she said, "Husband, this news is as bad as good."

(83) montri-nku sangore ne-le bipodo ghos-ti-par-e.
minister-OBL:DAT with take-COND-CV danger happen-CV-can-3s:HAB
'If you take the minister with you, some dangerous accident may happen.'

(84) apo-ko ekutia ja-ntu.
you(HON) alone go-3p:IMP
'Go alone.'

(85) montri-nku koh-ontu se etha-re roh-i rajyo minister-OBL:DAT say-3p:IMP he here-LOC stay-CV kingdom
bujh-a-bujh-i kor-ib-e."
look.after-PTCP-RDP-CV do-FUT-3p(HON)
'Tell the minister to stay here and govern the kingdom."

(86) matro montri ki sethi-re bhul-iba lokol! but minister what that-LOC fail-INF man
'But how should the minister fail in that matter (lit. but how is he a failing man in that)!'

(87) raja-nko katha sun-i se koh-il-a, "hajuro, apono-nku ekutia
king-OBL matter hear-CV he say-PST-3s majesty you(HON)-OBL:DAT alone
char-i-de-i mū niscintō rōh-ib-i kipori?
leave-CV-V2:give-CV I carefree stay-FUT-1s how

'When he heard the king's words, he answered, "Majesty, how can I leave you alone without getting worried?"

(88) rajo katha bujh-iba-ku cnyo loko cch-onti".
kingdom matter look.after-INF-DAT other people be-3p
'There are other people to govern the kingdom.'

(89) tenu raja badhyō ho-i montri-ku sangore ne-i jogi-nko pakho-ku so king obliged be-CV minister-DAT with take-CV y.-OBL side-DAT
go:PST-3p(HON)
'So the king was obliged to go to the yogi together with the minister.'

galica-bala jēū baṭc bote-ith-il-a, sei baṭc-re ja-i semane
carpet-N.AG. which way instruct-PERF-PST-3s that way-LOC go-CV they
jogi-nko pakho-ku pohnic-il-e.
y.-OBL side-LOC arrive-PST-3p
'They took the way the carpet dealer had described and arrived at the yogi.'

(90) jogi setebēle dhyanā-re bos-itha-nti.
y. then meditation-LOC sit-PERF-3p(HON):HAB
'At that time the yogi was sitting in meditation.'

(91) raja o montri ghora-ru ohla-i cup ho-i bos-i-rob-il-e.
king and minister horse-ABL come.down-CV quiet be-CV sit-CV-V2:stay-PST-3p
'The king and the minister got off their horses and sat down quietly.'

(92) onko sācya-por-e jogi akhi khol-i raja-nko aro-ku cah-i
much time after-LOC y. eye open-CV king-OBL side-DAT look-CV
koh-il-e, "mū tumā upor-e sambu-to ho-i-cch-i.
say-PST-3p(HON) I you(POL):OBL top-LOC pleased be-PERF-AUX-1s
'After a long time the yogi opened his eyes, looked at the king and said,
"I am pleased with you.'

(93) ki boro mag-uč-ɔ mag-ɔ.
what wish ask-PROG-2p ask-2p:IMP
'Ask for whatever you wish.'

(94) raja hatc jor-i koh-il-e, "he moh-atma, mō-la jibc
king hand join-CV say-PST-3p(HON) INTERJ great-soul die-INF:PST animal
derc-re pos-iba-rc sakti mo-te di-ontu."
body-LOC enter-INF-GEN power I-DAT give-3p:IMP
'The king joined his hands and said, "Oh Mahātmā, give me the power
to enter dead animal bodies.'

(95) etikibele montri bi age-i-ja-i sehi boro mag-i-bos-il-a.
then minister also advance-CV-V2:go-CV that wish ask-CV-V2:sit-PST-3s
'Then the minister also advanced and asked for that gift.'

(97) jogi raja-nkŏ arș-ku cah-ĩ kôh-il-e, "mũ kebo lo tumo-ku y. king-OBL side-DAT look-CV say-PST-3p(HON) I only you(POL):DAT se sokti de-b-i. that power give-FUT-1s

'The yogi looked at the king and said, “I will give this power only to you.’

(98) tumo songi-ku de-b-i nahĩ. your(POL) friend-DAT give-FUT-1s NEG

‘I won’t give it to your friend.’

(99) se ethi-pāi upojuktɔ nuh-ė. he this-for suitable be:NEG-3s

‘He is not qualified for this.’

(100) taa chora e bidya bọl-re se tumo-řo onistɔ it beside this knowledge power-LOC he you(POL)-GEN harm kor-i-par-e.”

do-CV-can-3s:HAB

‘Beside he can harm you with the power of this knowledge.”’


gift do-PST-3p(HON)

‘But the simple-minded king didn’t believe him, and since he insisted for the minister, the yogi was obliged to give that power to both of them.’

(102) jogi-nkɔ-tharu bidayɔ mag-i raja o montri ghɔra-ku as-il-e. yogi-OBL-ABL farewell ask-CV king and minister house-DAT come-PST-3p

‘The king and the minister took leave of the yogi and were on the way home.’

(103) bațɔ-re goto-e mo-la hati por-ith-iba-ɾo dekh-i raja way-LOC CL-INDEF die-INF:PST elephant lie-PERF-INФ-GEN see-CV king kôh-il-e, "montri, jogi jēũ sokti de-ich-oenti, taha say-PST-3p(HON) minister yogi which power give-PERF-3p(HON) that porikhya kor-iba pāi e eko sujogɔ.
test do-INF for this one opportunity

‘On the way the king saw a dead elephant lying there and said, “Minister, this is an opportunity to test the power the yogi has given.’

(104) mũ ja-uch-i hati deh-o re pos-ib-i. I go-PROG-3s elephant body-LOC enter-FUT-1s

‘I’m going to enter the elephant’s body.’
(105) mū pher-iba jae tumē mo nirjibo pindo-ta-ku jog-itha-c."  
I return-INF until you(POL) my lifeless body-ART-DAT watch-PERF-2p:IMP  
'You watch my dead body until I return.'"

(106) raja eha koḥ-ū koḥū hati-ta jḭ-i uth-i bho̱-ku  
king this say-ICV RDP elephant-ART revive-CV get.up-CV forest-DAT  
cal-i-gol-a ebong ta-nko nirjibo deho-ta setha-re  
go-CV-V2:go:PST-3s and he-OBL lifeless body-ART there-LOC  
pōr-i-rove-il-a.  
lie-CV-V2:stay-PST-3s  
'While the king said this, the elephant got alive again and went away to the forest, and his dead body remained lying there.'

(107) hoṭhat monti mundo-re ek kobol buddhi pōs-il-a.  
suddenly minister head-LOC one mean idea enter-PST-3s  
'Suddenly a mean idea entered the minister's mind.'

(108) se bhab-il-a sobā bhitor-e pōs-i rajodhani-ku cal-i-j-ib-c  
think-PST-3s corpse inside-LOC enter-CV capital-DAT go-CV-V2:go:FUT-3s  
ebong Nibrutti-ku bibha ho-i raj-o-gadi dakhola kor-ib-c.  
and N.-DAT marriage be-CV king-throne occupation do-FUT-3s  
'He thought he would enter the corpse, go the capital, marry Nibrūtti and occupy the royal throne.'

(109) songe songe se taha-hī kal-ia ebong nījo sobo-ta-ku nīā-re  
immediately he that-EMPH do-PST-3s and REFL corpse-ART-DAT fire-LOC  
pōr-i-de-i ghoro-re bōs-i rajodhani-ku chuṭ-il-a.  
lie-CV-V2:give-CV horse-LOC sit-CV capital-DAT run-PST-3s  
'He did this immediately, and after having thrown his own corpse in the fire, he mounted the horse and hurried to the capital.'

(110) kichi somāyo por-e hati-deho-dhari raja purbo sthano-ku  
some time after-LOC elephant-body-holding king before place-DAT  
as-i dekh-il-e ta-nko sobo-ta nah-ī ki montri  
come-CV see-PST-3p(HON) he-OBL corpse-ART be:NEG-3s nor minister  
be:NEG-3p(HON)  
'shortly afterwards the king in the body of the elephant came to the same place and saw that neither his corpse nor the minister were there.'

(111) nikāto-re nīā goda dekh-i se sobu bujh-i-par-il-e.  
near-LOC fire heap see-CV he all understand-CV-can-PST-3p(HON)  
'When he saw a fireplace nearby, he understood everything.'

(112) "montri niscya c mo sobo-re pōs-i poja-i-jaich-i.  
minister surely my corpse-LOC enter-CV flee-CV-V2:go:PERF-3s  
"The minister has surely entered my corpse and fled.'
A.3. Body change (fairy tale)

(113) Nibrutti o jogi Sodanond thik koh-ith-il-e.
N. and y. S. correct say-PERF-PST-3p
‘Nibrutti and the yogi Sadananda were right.’

(114) mū ta-nkō kotha-ku biswasa no-kō-i bipō-ko re po-ri-il-i.”
I they-OBL matter-DAT belief NEG-do-CV danger-LOC fall-PST-1s
‘Since I didn’t believe them, I fell in danger.’

(115) ehi-pori onutapo kō-i se hati rupa-re rajūdhani arō-ku
this-like repentance do-CV he elephant shape-LOC capital side-DAT
muha-il-e.
head.for-PST-3p(HON)
‘He repented in this way and headed for the capital in the shape of an
elephant.’

(116) eñe raja-deho-dhari montri rajūdhani-re pohonc-i somost-ko-nku
now king-body-holding minister capital-LOC arrive-CV all-OBL:DAT
koh-i-de-itha-e, “boñua hati-ta-e sohoro-ku
say-CV:V2:give-CV:3s:HAB wild elephant-ART-INDEF town-DAT
pos-iba-ro dekh-ile somost-e mis-i ta-ku mar-i-poka-ib-o.”
enter-INF-GEN see-CONDCV all-NOM mix-CV he-DAT kill-CV:V2:put-FUT-2p
‘Now the minister in the king’s body arrived in the capital and told
everybody, “When you see a wild elephant entering the town, you kill
him all together.”’

(117) taapore Nibrutti pakho-ku ja-i se koh-il-a, “mū jogi-nko-ṭhara sokti
then N. side-DAT go-CV he say-PST-3s I y.-OBL-ABL power
ghen-i pher-ich-i.”
keep-CV return-PERF-1s
‘Then he went to Nibrutti and told her, “I have returned with the power
from the yogi.’

(118) mo songe noor-ko as-o.”
I:OBL with palace-DAT come-2p:IMP
‘Come into the palace with me.’”

(119) rani-nko mono-re ke-jañi kahiki sondeho he-l-a.
queen-OBL mind-LOC who-knows why doubt be-PST-3s
‘The queen began to have doubts, who knows why.’

(120) se koh-il-e, “sokti an-ich-o sun-i khusi he-l-i.
she say-PST-3p(HON) power bring-PERF-2p hear-CV joy be-PST-1s
‘She said, “I’m glad to hear you have brought the power.’

(121) kintu mo-ro goṭa-e bruto odha oḥi-e.
but I-GEN CL-INDEF vow half be-3s
‘But there is another half of a vow of mine.’

(122) taha purṇā he-le mū j-ib-i.”
that full become-CONDCV I go-FUT-1s
'When that is fulfilled, I'll go.'

(123) "hou tebe, sighro broto purmna kor-i mo-te khobar de-b-o.
OK then quickly vow full do-CV I-DAT news give-FUT-2p
'OK, then fulfil the vow quickly and give me notice.'"

(124) eha koh-i se dusto montri noor-ku pher-il-a.
this say-CV he wicked minister palace-DAT return-PST-3s
'Having said this the wicked minister returned to the palace.'

(125) bato-re sun-il-a gosta-e donta hati sohoro arc-ku
way-LOC hear-PST-3s CL-INDEF tusked elephant town side-DAT
as-uch-i.
come-PROG-3s
'On the way he heard that a tusked elephant was approaching the town.'

(126) sange sange se dhonu-soor dohor-i desobolo soho hati-ku
immediately he bow-arrow take-CV troop with elephant-DAT
mar-iba-ku dhah-il-a.
kill-INF-DAT run-PST-3s
'He took bow and arrow immediately and ran with the troop to kill the
elephant.'

(127) hati-deho-dhari raja ete-gurae lokonku dekh-i bono-ku
elephant-body-holding king so-many person-OBL:DAT see-CV forest-DAT
poila-iba-ku lag-il-e.
flee-INF-DAT feel-PST-3p(HON)
'The king in the body of the elephant saw the numerous people and began
to flee to the forest.'

(128) bato-re gosta-e mo-la horino por-ith-iba-ro dekh-i se
way-LOC CL-INDEF die-INF:PST deer lie-PERF-INF-GEN see-CV he
bhab-il-e,
"mu e horino deho-re pos-i-gole
think-PST-3p(HON) I this deer body-LOC enter-CV-V2:go:CONDCV
emanonku hatatu rakhyo pa-ib-i.
they-OBL hand-ABL escape find-FUT-1s
'On the way he saw a dead deer lying there and thought, "When I enter
this deer body, I can escape from their hands."'

(129) sange sange hati-hta mori por-i-gol-a ebong horino-hta
immediately elephant-ART die-CV fall-CV-V2:go:PST-3s and deer-ART
ji-i uth-i mar-il-a di-a.
revive-CV get.up-CV rush-PST-3s jump-PTCP
'The elephant died immediately and fell down, and the deer got alive,
got up and jumped to run.'

(130) montri somosto rohorsyo bujhi-par-i lokonku koh-il-a,
minister all secret understand-CV-can-CV person-OBL:DAT say-PST-3s
"sighro se horino-ku lokhya kor-i tiro mar-o."
quickly he deer-DAT aim do-CV shoot kill-2p:IMP
‘The minister understood all secrets and said to the people, “Aim at that deer quickly and shoot it.”’

(131) matrō hōrino dehō-re tīrci baj-iba purbo-ru raja sethā-re but deer body-LOC shoot hit-INF before-ABL king there-LOC por-ith-iba eko mā-la sua dehō-re pos-i ur-i fall-PERF-INF one die-INF:PST parrot body-LOC enter-CV fly-CV cal-i-gol-e.
go-CV-V2:PST-3p(HON)

‘But before a shot could hit the deer, the king entered the body of a dead parrot lying there and flew away.’

(132) montri taha lākhyo kor-i-par-il-a nahi.
minister that sight do-CV-can-PST-3s NEG

‘The minister couldn’t see that.’

(133) mā-la hōrino-ku dekh-i bhab-il-a, “raja ei thoro sesā
die-INF:PST deer-DAT see-CV think-PST-3s king this time end pa-i-ja-ich-i.”
find-CV-V2:go-PERF-3s

‘When he saw the dead deer, he thought, “This time the king has found his end.”’

(134) eṇe sua-dehō-dhari raja Nibrutti-ku sobu jōn-a-i-de-ba
now parrot-body-holding king N.-DAT all know-CAUS-CV-V2:give-INF
pāi taa jhōrka pakho-ku ur-i-ja-ū jau byadho-rō jalo-re
for her window side-DAT fly-CV-V2:go-ICV RDP hunter-GEN net-LOC
por-i-gol-e.
fall-CV-V2:go:PST-3p(HON)

‘Now, while the king in the body of the parrot was flying to Nibṛttri’s window to let her know everything, he got in a hunter’s net.’

(135) byadho ta-nku dhōr-iba-ku as-iba-ru se koh-il-e,
hunter he-OBL:DAT take-INF:DAT come-INF:ABL he say-PST-3p(HON)
“mo-te mar-ɔ-na.
I-DAT kill-2p:IMP-NEG

‘When the hunter came to take him, he said, “Don’t kill me.’

(136) mū mānisā pori spostō kōtha koh-i-par-e.
I human being like clear matter say-CV-can-1s:HAB
‘I can speak clearly like a human being.’

(137) mo-te bik-ile tume bohut tonka pa-ib-ɔ.”
I-DAT sell-COND:CV you(POL) much money find-FUT-2p

‘If you sell me, you will get much money.’

(138) byadho bhab-il-a, “ṭhik kōtha.
hunter think-PST-3s correct matter
‘The hunter thought, “That’s correct.”’
(139) mû eha-ku bik-i-de-b-i.”
I this-DAT sell-CV-V2:give-FUT-1s
‘I will sell this (bird).’

(140) taa kôtha kuh-a sua-ku dekh-iba pāi bojar-çe oneko loko
his matter say-PTCP parrot-DAT see-INF for market-LOC many people
runço he-l-e.
gathering be-PST-3p
‘Many people gathered on the market to see his speaking parrot.’

N.-OBL-GEN CL-INDEF servant also there-DAT go-PERF-PST-3s
‘A servant of Nibrutti’s had also come there.’

(142) ta-ku dekh-i se sua pɔcar-il-a, “rańi-nko khôbôrc kôncoc?”
she-DAT see-CV that parrot ask-PST-3s queen-OBL news what
‘When that parrot saw her, it asked, “How is the queen?”’

(143) dasi ascôrjyo ho-i byadhô-ku kôh-il-a, “e sua kôncoc mo-te kôtha
servant surprised be-CV hunter-DAT say-PST-3s this parrot INT. I-DAT matter
kôh-uch-il!”
say-PROG-3s
‘The servant was surprised and said to the hunter, “This parrot is really
speaking to me.”’

(144) byadhô kôh-il-a, “se kôncoc sadharococ sua?
hunter say-PST-3s it INT usual parrot
‘The hunter said, “(Did you think) it is a normal parrot?”

(145) taa mulyô pora lôkhy-e tônka.”
its value PTCL lakh-INDEF rupee
‘Its value is 100,000 rupees.’

(146) dasi-ṭharu sua kôtha sun-i Nibrutti kôh-il-e, “ja,
servant-ABL parrot matter hear-CV N.
say-PST-3p(HON) go:2s:IMP
raja-nku tônka mag-ib-u, sua-ṭi-ku kîn-ib-a.”
king-OBL-DAT money ask-FUT-2s parrot-ART-DAT buy-FUT-1pi
‘When Nibrutti heard about the parrot from her servant, she said: “Go, ask
the king for money, let us buy the parrot.”’

(147) kintu ete tônka de-i sua-taε kin-iba-ku raja-deho-dhari
but so.much money give-CV parrot-INDEF buy-INF-DAT king-body-holding
montri raji he-l-a nahi.
minister agree be-PST-3s NEG
‘But the minister in the king’s body didn’t agree to buy a parrot for so
much money.’

(148) teņu niĵo hâc-ru tônka de-i Nibrutti sua-ți-ku
so REFLEX hand-ABL money give-CV N. parrot-ART-DAT
kin-i-an-iba-ku  dasi-ku  potha-i-de-l-e.
buy-CV-bring-INF-DAT servant-DAT send-CV-V2:give-PST-3p
'So Nibrutti gave of her own money and sent the servant to buy the parrot.'

(149) montri mono-re nana sondhe ho-l-a.
minister mind-LOC various doubt be-PST-3s
'The minister had various doubts in his mind.'

(150) kotha-re  och-i, "coro mono gonthi-re."
speech-LOC be-3s thief mind knot-LOC
'People say, "A thief's mind is in a knot (i.e. a thief always fears his detection)."'

(151) lokhy-e  tonka de-i  Nibrutti sua-tae  kin-uch-i  kahiki?
lakh-INDEF rupee give-CV N. parrot-INDEF buy-PROG-3s why
'Why does Nibrutti buy a parrot for 100 000 rupees?'

(152) se dhaila  rani-nko  pakha-ku.
he run-PST-3s queen-OBL side-DAT
'He ran to the queen.'

(153) dekh-il-a dasi  sua-ti ku  dhor-i as-uch-i.
see-PST-3s servant parrot-ART-DAT hold-CV come-PROG-3s
'He saw that the servant was bringing the parrot.'

(154) se hotthat  taa hato-ru  sua-ta-ku  jhampi-ne-i  taa beko
he suddenly her hand-ABL parrot-ART-DAT snatch-CV-V2:take-CV his neck
mor-i-de-l-a.
twist-CV-V2:give-PST-3s
'He suddenly snatched the parrot from her hand and twisted its neck.'

(155) kintu  taa purbo-ru  tol-e  por-itha boga-e  mo-la
but it before-ABL bottom-LOC lie-PERF-INF CL-INDEF die-INF-PST
mohumachi  deho-re  raja  pos-i-ja-ith-il-e.
bee body-LOC king enter-CV-V2:go-PERF-PST-3p(HON)
'But before that the king had entered the body of a dead bee lying on the floor.'

(156) sua-ku  dekh-i raani  rag-i-uth-i  montri-ku
parrot-DAT see-CV queen get.angry-CV-V2:get.up-CV minister-DAT
koh-il-e,  "mo  tonka-re  mii  ta-ku  kin-ith-il-i.
say-PST-3p(HON) my money-LOC I it-DAT buy-PERF-PST-1s
'When she saw the parrot, the queen got angry and said to the minister, "I had bought it with my money.'

(157) tumo-ro  ki  adhikaro  th-il-a  ta-ku  mar-iba-ku?
you(POL)-GEN what right be-PST-3s it-DAT kill-INF-DAT
'What right did you have to kill it?'
(158) mo sua di-ɔ, noile mû jibonɔ hor-a-i-de-bi-i.”
my parrot give-2p:IMP otherwise I life lose-CAUS-CV-V2:give-FUT-1s
‘Give (me) my parrot, otherwise I shall get rid of my life.’

(159) montri bɔrɔ ɔrua-re por-ɪl-a.
minister big mess-LOC fall-PST-3s
‘The minister got into big trouble.’

(160) tikie bhab-i mo-la sua-ku pakho ghorɔ-ku ne-i-ja-i
a.little think-CV die-INF:PST parrot-DAT side room-DAT take-CV-V2:go-CV
taa deho-re pos-i-gol-a ebong Nibrutti pakho-ku
its body-LOC enter-CV-V2:go:PST-3s and N. side-DAT
ur-i-as-il-a.
fly-CV-V2:come-PST-3s
‘After a little reflexion, he took the dead parrot in the neighbouring
room, entered its body and flew to Nibrɔtti.’

(161) taa sɔbo-ta seṭha-re por-itha-e.
his corpse-ART there-LOC lie-PERF-3s:HAB
‘His corpse was lying there.’

(162) ehi sujogɔ-re raja mohumachi deho char-i taa bitor-e
this opportunity-LOC king bee body leave-CV it inside-LOC
pos-i-gol-e ebong niJo rupɔ-re Nibrutti ago-re
enter-CV-V2:go:PST-3p(HON) and REF1 shape-LOC N. before-LOC
thia he-l-e.
standing be-PST-3p(HON)
‘At this opportunity the king left the body of the bee, entered the corpse
and stood in front of Nibrɔtti.’

(163) prɔkruto raja o raṇi-ŋkɔ-ʁɔ miŋo dekh-i sua
true king and queen-ABL-GEN finding see-CV parrot
khos-i-i-iba-ku bos-ith-il-a, matrɔ dasi ta-ku
escape-CV-V2:go-INF-DAT sit-PERF-PST-3s but servant he-DAT
dhor-i-pɔka-il-a.
catch-CV-V2:put-PST-3s
‘When the parrot saw that the true king and the queen had met, he
tried to escape, but the servant caught him.’

(164) jogi-ŋkɔ sɔnge dekh-a he-ba porɔ-tharu jaha ghɔt-ith-il-a, raja
y-OBL with see-PTCP be-INF after-ABL what happen-PERF-PST-3s king
gɔtɪ goṭi kor-i Nibrutti-ŋkɔ ago-re bornɔna kɔ-l-e.
CL RDP do-CV N.-OBL before-LOC description do-PST-3p(HON)
‘One after the other the king described to Nibrɔtti what had happened
since he had met the yogi.’

(165) “jeu sokti bolo-re montri mo-te mar-i-de-i tomo-ku
which power power-LOC minister I-DAT kill-CV-V2:give-CV you(POL)-DAT
rañi kɔr-itha-nt-a boli bhab-ith-il-a, sei sɔkti he-l-a
queen do-PREF-COND-3s COMP think-PERF-PST-3s that power do-PST-3s
taa-ro kalo.
he-GEN death

"That power with which the minister thought he could kill me and
make you his queen was his death."

(166) bɔrttɔman dekh-ɔ, sua dehɔ-re rɔh-i se dusto kipɔri
now look-2p:IMP parrot body-LOC stay-CV that wicked how
khɔs-i-j-iba-ku cah-ů-ch-i.”
escape-CV-V2:go-INF-DAT want-PROG-3s

‘Now look how that wicked person in the body of the parrot wants to
escape.’

(167) Nibrutti sobu ghotɔna sun-i taa bekɔ mɔr-i ta-ku
N. all event hear-CV its neck twist-CV it-DAT
mar-i-de-ba-ku ja-uth-il-e; kintu raja ta-nku
kill-CV-V2:give-INF-DAT go-IPFV-PST-3p(HON) but king she-OBL:DAT
badha de-i kɔh-il-e, "thau-rani, ta-ku chũ-ile
obstruction give-CV say-PST-3p(HON) be-3s:IMP queen it-DAT touch-COND
papo he-b-ɔ.
sin be-FUT-3s

‘When Nibrutti had heard everything, she was going to twist its neck and
kill it; but the king prevented her and said, “Let it be, queen, if you
touch it, it will be a sin.”

(168) goṭa-e luhə pinjɔra-re ta-ku rɔkh-i-de-b-a.
CL-INDEF iron cage-LOC it-DAT keep-CV-V2:give-FUT-1pi

‘Let’s keep it in an iron cage.’

(169) tahahele obiswasi-ro kи dɔsa hu-e, loko-mane sobu-dine
then unfaithful-GEN what condition be-3s:HAB people-PL all-day
dekh-uth-ib-e.”
see-IPFV-FUT-3p

‘So the people will always see what is the destiny of an unfaithful per-
son.’

A.4 Discovery

abiskarɔ
discovery

‘Discovery’

(1) Tɔpɔnɔ: Sobha, caa he-l-a?
T. S. tea be-PST-IND

The text is taken from a theatre piece by Manoranjana (Satapathy 1992, pp. 1-10).
'Tapana: Šobhā, is there some tea?'

(2) Sobha: no-uch-i.
S. take-PROG-1s

'Sobhā: I'll bring some (lit. I'm bringing).'

(3) (Taruṇa-ons stri Sobha bhitar-u-ku pās-i-as-il-e —
T.-OBL wife S. inside-DAT enter-CV-V2:come-PST-3p(HON)
purīpaṭī ati sorga. sukh-ila deho-re ekā manosika klanti o
style very simple get.dry-INF:PST body-LOC one human tiredness and
obosado phuṭ-ī bahar-utha-e.)
grief bloom-CV go.out-IPFV-3s:HAB

('Taruṇa’s (another name for Tapana) wife Šobhā went inside — her
style was very simple. A human tiredness and grief was emanating from
her skinny body (lit. bloomed in her dry body).')

(4) T. (kagor-ṭa dekh-a-i) dekh-il-ɔ, Orisa-re khub bōrhi he-uch-i.
paper-ART see-CAUS-CV see-PST-2p O.-LOC much flood be-PROG-3s

'(Showing the paper) look, there is much flooding in Orissa.'

(5) Brahmani, Baitaranī, Mahanadi, Kharasrota subu mis-i ekakar —
B. B. M. Kh. all mix-CV alike
INTERJ go-PST-3s kingdom-ART

'Brahmani, Baitaranī, Mahanadi, Kharasrota, all the same — my
dear, the country is gone!'

(6) Ś. tomā gāā-ro kichi he-i-n-i to?
your(POL) village-GEN anything be-PERF-NEG-3s PTCL

'Has anything happened to your village?'

(7) T. gāā bodhe khinikhorapā ho-i-ja-ith-ib-ɔ, tebe Sironasti
village perhaps spoilt be-CV-V2:go-PERF-FUT-3s then S.
Siropīrā kahiki?
S. why

'The village might have been spoilt, why should we bother (lit. then
why Śironāsti, why Siropīrā = idiomatic expression)?'

(8) nījī-ra ghorodorārā to nah-i — se bisēyō-re cinta
REFL-GEN household PTCL be:NEG-3s that matter-LOC concern
kor-i labhco kōṇā?
do-CV profit what

'I have no own household there — what’s the use of worrying about
that?'

(9) gōṭa-e digo-ru bapa bholo kor-i-de-i
CL-INDEF direction-ABL father good do-CV-V2:give-CV
ja-ith-il-e.
go-PERF-PST-3p(HON)
‘On the one hand father had done well to go.’

kebolo ghory-dico-ta — au Kofoko kotha char-i sobu sompotti se only house-site-ART and C. building leave-CV all property he bikri kor-i bou hato-re gocchito panthi sale do-CV mother hand-LOC deposited capital rokh-i-de-i-ja-ith-il-e.
keep-CV-V2:give-CV-V2:go-PERF-PST-3p(HON)

‘Only the site for the house — and having left the building in Cuttack he sold all the property and kept the deposited capital in mother’s hand.’

go details digo-ru bholo nuh-e to au koono — oneko CL-INDEF direction-ABL good be:NEG-3s PTCL and what many jhinjihi somsya to onotoco kom-i-ja-ich-i.
very.thin problem PTCL at.least diminish-CV-V2:go-PERF-3s

‘On the other hand, it is not good, by no means — at least many small problems have diminished.’

S. hoi, tome sina ghordwara gaaaa-gonda char-i bahar-e yes you(POL) PTCL household village-compound leave-CV outside-LOC bul-uch-o boli emitii koh-il-o.
walk-PROG-2p COMP like this say-PST-2p

‘Yes, you said that you left the household and the village compound and live outside.’

jeuo-manco-nko-rse gaaaa char-iba-rse upayoo nah-i, semane who-PL-OBL-GEN that village leave-INF-GEN means be:NEG-3s they emitii muh5 mar-i-no-por-i au koono kor-ib-e?
like this face fall-CV-NEG-V2:fall-CV more what do-FUT-3p

‘Those who have no means to leave that village, what else should they do but give in and stay like this (lit. fall on their face)?’

be-CV-V2:go-FUT-3s NEG

‘Besides that, when all have left the village and gone away, the problem won’t be solved.’

au ame je gaaaa-ru bohu duro-re roh-ich-u boli more we PTCL village-ABL much distance-LOC live-PERF-1pe because sobu dur-ghocho-ra mukto, se kotha to nuh-e.
all bad-event-ABL free that matter PTCL be:NEG-3s

‘It is not true that we are free of misfortune now that we live far away from the village.’

dhor-o, ebe jodi Jomuna-rc bondho-ta phat-i-j-ib-o!
take-2p now if Y.-GEN dam-ART crack-CV-V2:go-FUT-3s
Imagine, if now the dam of the Yamuna burst!

(17) (mōtōr gyarej-ru bahar-iba sōbdo
car g.-ABL go.out-INF noise
('Noise from the garage.')

(18) Š. ete sōkāl-u gārī kōṇcō bahar-il-a-nī?
so.much morning-ABL car INT go.out-PST-3s-MIR
'A car is on the way so early in the morning?'

(19) T. dekh-i-par-u-n-ɔ?
see-CV-can-PROG-NEG-2p
'Can't you see (it)?'

(20) Š. are sōtɔ tɔ, tome bi to p.osako-potro pindh-i tiarɔ.
INTERJ true PTCL you(POL) also PTCL clothes-thing wear-CV ready
'Hey, indeed, you too are ready with clothes on.'

(21) ete sōkāl-u kuar-e?
so.much morning-ABL where-LOC
'Where (are you going) so early in the morning?'

(22) T. rogi dekh-iba pāĩ jie causøthi ɔntkā phis nĩ-e, taa pāĩ
patient see-INF for who sixty-four rupee f. take-3s:HAB he:OBL for
sōkāl sōnjo bicarɔ kōṇcō?
morning evening decision what?
'When somebody takes a fee of 64 rupees to see a patient, what shall
he do (every) morning and evening?'

(23) Š. rogi dekh-i?
patient see-CV
'To see a patient?'

(24) T. au kōṇcō taahele?
else what then
'What else then?'

(25) Š. kie jaŋ-e tomo kōtha lɔ ma!
who know-3s:HAB your(POL) matter PTCL PTCL
'Who knows what you mean (lit. your words), my dear!'

(26) T. Sōbha, tume ēniki mo-te prōtyēkō kōṭha-re obiswačo
S. you(POL) now I-DAT each matter-LOC unbelief
kō-l-ɔ-nī.
do-PST-2p-MIR
'Sōbhā, you have now (started to) distrust everything I say.'

(27) Š. rag-il-ɔ?
get.angry-PST-2p
'Are you angry (lit. did you get angry)?
(28) (hos-i-poka-i)  
laugh-CV-V2:put-CV  
(‘She broke out in laughter.’)
(29) mū tomar-ku cire-iba pāi semiti koh-i-de-l-i na!  
you(POL)-DAT tease-INF for like.that say-CV-V2:give-PST-1s PTCL  
‘I said that to tease you!’
(30) T. o (jemiti Sobha-rc koiphiyat-re se sobu  
INTERJ as.if S.-GEN explanation-LOC he all  
bhul-i-gol-e)  
forget-CV-V2:go:PST-3p(HON)  
‘Oh (as if he had forgotten Šobhā’s whole explanation)’
(31) bhurha uṭh-il-e-ni?  
old.man get.up-PST-3p(HON)-MIR  
‘Did the old man get up?’
(32) Š. khali uṭh-il-e-ni?  
only get.up-PST-3p(HON)-MIR  
‘He only got up?’
(33) sakalo-rc kamo sar-i ređio sun-uch-onti.  
morning-GEN work finish-CV r. listen-PROG-3p(HON)  
‘He finished the morning toilet and is (now) listening to the radio.’
(34) T. kichi bhola pa-il-ć ta-nkο-rc poricayco!  
something certainly find-PST-2p he-OBL-GEN identity  
‘You surely found out his identity!’
(35) Š. na.  
no  
‘No.’
(36) T. na mane?  
no meaning  
‘“No” means?’
(37) pocar-i-na na kćoŋo?  
ask-PERF-NEG or what  
‘You did not ask or what?’
(38) Š. cesta kər-ich-i oneko thoro; kintu sobubele sei goti-e uttoro.  
try do-PERF-1s many time but always that CL-INDEF answer  
‘I have tried many times; but always that same answer.’
(39) T. kćoŋo? “mo-rc kichi poricayco nahi.”  
what my-GEN some identity be:NEG-3s  
‘What? “I have no identity”.’
(40) Ś. kali rati-re au thor-e pocar-ith-il-i —
yesterday night-LOC more time-INDEF ask-PERF-PST-1s
‘Last night I asked once again —’

(41) koh-il-i — “kaha pakho-ku khoborɔ de-ba-ku he-b-o?”
say-PST-1s who:OBL side-DAT message give-INF-DAT be-FUT-3s
‘I asked, who is to be informed?’

(42) T. koɔɛ koɔ-h-il-e?
what say-PST-3p(HON)
‘What did he say?’

(43) Ś. kɔh-il-e — “mo-ro kehi nah-₁.”
say-PST-3p(HON) I-GEN anybody be:NEG-3s
‘He said, “I have nobody.”’

(44) T. ɔbɔsɔɔ se Puna-ru je as-ich-ɔnti sethi-re sondɛhɔ
certainly he P.-ABL PTCL come-PERF-3p(HON) that-LOC doubt
nah-₁.
be:NEG-3s
‘There is certainly no doubt that he has come from Poona.’

(45) Ś. kemiti jañ-il-o?
how know-PST-2p
‘How did you find out?’

(46) T. kar Puna-re registri kɔr-a-ja-ich-i.
c. P.-LOC r. do-PASS-go-PERF-3s
‘The car has been registered in Poona.’

(47) Ś. mʊ Puna kotha pocar-ith-il-i.
I P. matter ask-PERF-PST-1s
‘I had asked about Poona.’

(48) T. mʊ bi pocar-ith-il-i —
I also ask-PERF-PST-1s
‘I too had asked him —’

(49) Ś. dirghɔ-niswaɔ pok-a-i koh-il-e — “Bharɔtɔ-ɔ arɔ-sɔ-ta
long-breath put-CV say-PST-3p(HON) India-GEN twelve-CL
solɔhɔ-ɔre mo-ro ghɔro cɔči —
town-LOC I-GEN house be-3s
‘He took a long breath and said, “I have houses in twelve towns of
India . . .’

(50) maŋisɔ nah-anti ....
man be:NEG-3p
‘I have no person . . .’
(51) e ghór-e mo-te olpo kete dino asroyo de-ba-ku raji
this house-LOC I-DAT few some day shelter give-INF-DAT agree
nuh-ë tome?"
be:NEG-3s you(POL)

'Would you mind (lit. don’t you agree) giving me lodging in this house
for a few days?''

(52) mú au kichi pocar-i-par-il-i nāhī.
I more something ask-CV-can-PST-1s NEG
'I couldn’t ask more.'

(53) T. bholo kor-ich-ō.
good do-PERF-2p

'You have done well.'

(54) Ś. tume thór-e pocar-u-na?
you(POL) time-INDEF ask-PROG-NEG

'Aren’t you asking (him) once?'

(55) T. jan-e-na kahikī pocar-i pocar-u-n-i.
know-1s:HAB-NEG why ask-CV ask-PROG-NEG-1s

'I do not know why to ask or not to ask.'

(56) ta-nkō-ro sei kimāhī ṗeṭo-ṛo moṭa ḍhōc cikōkō cemāpa-ṛo
he-OBL-GEN that crocodile belly-GEN fat yet smooth skin-GEN
muhō, sei thōr-il-a thōrila ḍhōc, sei
face that shiver-PST:INF RDP lip that
dekh-ì-par-u-nc-th-iba bhitor-ē tibro drusti-re cah-iba-ṛo
see.CV-can-IPFV-NEG-AUX-INF inside-LOC sharp look-LOC look-INF-GEN
bhongi, e-sōbu bhitor-ē sote, sote muhō khol-u-n-i
mode this-all inside-LOC as.if RDP face open-PROG-NEG-3s
ta-nkū kichi pocar-iba-ku.
he-OBL-DAT anything ask-INF-DAT

'He has a face of a fat, yet smooth skin, like the belly of a crocodile, he
has shivering lips and that way of looking sharp while he cannot see
anything; all this is as if his face does not open, to ask him anything.'

(57) munḍō-phōt-a ḫar-ōbhōṅ-a ba ākṣidēnt-re ɔnɔ ėkhoṅo
head-crack-PTCP bone-break-PTCP or a.-LOC other injury
ho-ith-iba ḍogō-ku ḍaktor hisaţ-re mū hat-o-re gorimati
be-PERF-INF patient-DAT d. account-LOC I hand-LOC stone-ground
cokṭ-ila pori ṣhaṇ-ṭ-ich-i —
tread-INF:PST like treat-PERF-3s

'According to the doctor's account the patient has a cracked head,
broken bones and other injuries from the accident, I have treated him
like trodden stones in the hand (i.e. treated him very badly) —'

(58) kintu koṅo ba ākṣidēnt ne-i se as-ith-il-e
but what PTCL a. take-CV he come-PERF-PST-3p(HON)
daiktorkhana-ku ...?
hospital-DAT

'But how had he come to the hospital with such an accident?'

(59) kar-ṭa prayo cuna ho-i-ja-ith-il-a; kintu muhō
car-ART almost powder become-CV-V2:go-PERF-PST-3s but face
hat-ṛe samanyo aghato ...
hand-LOC little injured

'The car had almost become powder; but he was only little injured in the face and hands ...'

(60) stiyring-ṭa piṭ-i-ho-i-ja-ith-il-a nako au akhi upor-e.
s.-ART crack-CV-be-CV-V2:go-PERF-PST-3s nose and eye top-LOC

'The steering had cracked above the nose and the eyes.'

(61) akhi dui potro mōsəl-gurako cip-i-ho-i raktə
eye two side-GEN m.-PL press-CV-be-CV blood
bahar-uth-il-a.
go.out-IPFV-PST-3s

'The muscles of both eye sides had been pressed and blood was flowing out.'

(62) (kichı somoyo cup roh-i)
some time quiet stay-CV

('After staying quiet for some time.')

(63) byaṇḍej khol-a-no-ṇ-iba jake kichi koh-i he-u-n-i
b. open-PASS-NEG-go-INF as.long anything say-CV be-PROG-NEG-3s
... se drusti pher-i-pa-il-e ki nahi.
he sight return-CV-find-PST-3p(HON) or NEG

'As long as the bandage is not opened, nothing can be said ... whether he will get his sight back or not.'

(64) Š tome bhọl kor-i dekh-ith-il-ọ ti?
you(POL) good do-CV see-PERF-PST-2p PTCL

'Had you had a close look?'

(65) T. na, tebe Aruṇo koh-uch-i ...
no then A. say-PROG-3s

'No, then Aruṇa is saying ...'

(66) Š tome dekh-u-na — sobu-dine Aruṇo as-i koço ṭikie
you(POL) see-PROG-NEG all-day A. come-CV INT a.little
dekh-i-ja-uch-onti.
see-CV-V2:go-PROG-3p(HON)

'You are not looking — Aruṇa always comes and has a look.'

(67) T. Aruṇo baje daiktor nuh-ē, Sobha!
A. foolish d. be:NEG-3s S.

'Aruṇa is not a foolish doctor, Sobhā!'
(68) Š. se kōtha to kō-h-u-n-i, tebe tume nije no-dekh-i ... that matter PTCL say-PROG-NEG-1s then you(POL) REFL NEG-see-CV
'I do not say that, but without seeing it yourself you . . .'

(69) T. mū nije kichi ta-nku pōcar-i-par-u-n-i. I REFL anything he-OBL:DAT ask-CV-can-PROG-NEG-1s
'I cannot ask him anything.'

(70) se dīn-o kōtha aji bi spostā mon-e och-i. that day-GEN matter today also clear mind-LOC be-3s
'What happened that day is clear in (my) mind even today.'

(71) oōreson tebul-ku ne-ba agō-ru hoṭhat kahīki jā-i sei o. t.-DAT take-INF before-ABL suddenly why go-CV that checa a checa kopaḷ upor-e haṭa tho-i-de-l-i ... smash-PTCP RDP skull top-LOC hand put-CV-V2:give-PST-1s
'Before we took him to the operation table, I suddenly put my hand on that smashed skull, without knowing why . . .'

'As if tying it with an iron chain he pressed my arm with both of his hands and said, "Doctor, don’t keep me in this hospital."'

(73) jan-ō Sobha, kōṇo he-l-a mo-ṛa? know-2p S. what happen-PST-3s I-GEN
'Do you know, Šobhā, what happened to me?'

(74) hoṭhat mūṇḍa-ṛa bhūṛi kha-i bul-i-gōl-a, obōso suddenly head-ART whirling eat-CV walk-CV-V2:go:PST-3s helpless oṃubhōbo kōl-i, taapore Arouṇa-ku ḍak-i e kes-ta de-i feeling do:PST-1s then A.-DAT call-CV this case-ART give-CV pher-i-śa-il-i cēmbor-ku. return-CV-V2:come-PST-1s ch.-DAT
'Suddenly my head was going like a whirlpool, I felt helpless, then I called Aruna, gave him this case and returned to my room.'

(75) sethi bi bōs-i-par-il-i nāhi . . . there also sit-CV-can-PST-1s NEG
'I couldn’t sit there either . . .'

(76) oōreson tebul-ru beḍ-ku ni-a-jā-uth-il-a, baṭo-ru o. t.-ABL b.-DAT take-PASS-go-IPFV-PST-3s way-ABL chor-i an-il-a pori niṣo kar-re an-i-rokh-il-i. leave-CAUS-CV bring-INF:PST like REFL c.-LOC bring-CV-keep-PST-1s
'He was being brought from the operation table to the bed, I made him leave of the way and brought him with my car to keep him.'

(77) baṣo-re ceta  he-ba por-e  mo-te koh-il-e,
    way-LOC consciousness be-INF after-LOC I-DAT say-PST-3p(HON)
    "kuar-e?"
    where-LOC

    'After getting conscious on the way, he asked me, "Where?"

(78) ghoro-ku ne-i-uch-o  daktor?
    house-DAT take-CV-V2:go-PROG-2p d.
    'Are you taking (me) home, doctor?'

(79) gar-i pher-a-i  daktorkhana-ku ne-i cal-o.
    car return-CAUS-CV hospital-DAT take-CV go-2p:IMP
    'Turn the car and return to the hospital.'

(80) tume  seṣṭimenṭal ho-i-ja-uch-o  daktor!
    you(POL) s.  become-CV-V2:go-PROG-2p d.
    'You are becoming sentimental, doctor!'

(81) Š. bholo kor-ich-o  daktorkhana-re no-char-i.
    good do-PERF-2p hospital-LOC NEG-leave-CV
    'You have well done, not leaving him in the hospital.'

(82) ago  se bholo he-i-ja-ntu  ... taapore  ...
    before he good  be-CV-V2:go-3p:IMP  then
    'May he first get well ... then ...'

(83) buṛha: (durō-ru)  Sobha, kagoj o as-il-a-ni?
    old.man distance-ABL S.  paper come-PST-3s-MIR
    'Old man: (from far) Šobha, has the newspaper arrived?'

(84) T. ei  se utīh-i-as-uch-onti  na koṇo?
    this he get.up-CV-V2:come-PROG-3p(HON) or what
    'Is he getting up or what?'

(85) Š. ghoro-gurako cihn-i-gol-e-ni.
    room-PL recognise-CV-V2:go:PST-3p(HON)-MIR
    'He has recognised the rooms.'

(86) hato  mar-i-mar-i thik  cal-i-as-ib-e.
    hand beat-CV-RDP correct go-CV-V2:come-FUT-3p(HON)
    'He is really coming, groping his way.'

(87) T. kintu ...
    but
    'But ...'
(88) Š. Aruṇa koh-ich-onti samanyo e ghoro se ghoro he-le
A. say-PERF-3p(HON) a.little this room that room be:COND CV
kichī khōṭi nah-i.
any harm be:NEG-3s

'Aruṇa has said if it's a bit from this room to that room, there is no harm.'

(89) ontōto mono-ta ...
at.least mind-ART

'At least the mind …'

(90) T. o ...
INTERJ

'O …'

(91) b. kagojo as-il-a-ṇi?
paper come-PST-3s-MIR

'Has the newspaper arrived?'

(92) (buṭha pos-i-as-il-e
old.man enter-CV-V2:come-PST-3p(HON)

('The old man entered —'

(93) sərīro goṭhono byōco-ro ingito-ku porihaso kor-uč-i,
body-GEN constitution age-GEN signal-DAT ridicule do-PROG-3s
kothabartta-re drūhota-ro abhaso, akhi-re byandej …
conversation-LOC firmness-GEN indication eye-LOC b.

'The constitution of his body revealed his age, a trace of firmness in the conversation, a bandage on the eyes …')

(94) Š. as-il-a-ṇi.
come-PST-3s-MIR

'It has arrived.'

(95) (se goṭa-e kauc-re bōs-a-i-de-l-e.)
she CL-INDEF c.-LOC sit-CAUS-CV-V2:give-PST-3p(HON)

('She made him sit on a couch.')

(96) b. dekh-il-u, Simōla-re bōrpho por-iba kotha kichi bahar-ich-ī?
see-PST-2s S-LOC snow fall-INF matter something go.out-PERF-3s

'Have a look, is there something on snow-fall in Simla?'

(97) Š. dekh-il-ō Simōla-re ...
see-PST-2p S-LOC

'Look for Simla …'

(98) (kagojo-ta ṭebul upor-u Tōpōn-nku bōṭha-i-de-i)
paper-ART t. top-ABL T.-OBL:DAT hand-CV-V2:give-CV

('She took the newspaper from the table and gave it to Tapana.')
(99) T. ü — Simola-re ...
INTERJ S-LOC
‘Hm — in Simla...’

(100) (prustha leut-ə-iba-re byostə)
page turn-CAUS-INF-LOC busy
(‘Busy turning the pages.’)

(101) b. kie, ḍaktər na ... (paṭi kə-r-i) kie?
who d. or mouth do-CV who
‘Who, is it the doctor ... (shouting) who?’

(102) T. mū Təpənə ...
I T.
‘It’s me, Tapana...’

(103) b. Simola bəŋəphə kətha kichi och-i?
S. snow matter something be-3s
‘Is there something about snow in Simla?’

(104) T. na ta.
no PTCL
‘No.’

(105) Š. apoŋə-ŋko caa-tə eithi-ki?
you(HON)-OBL tea-ART here-DAT
‘(Do you want me to bring) your tea here?’

(106) b. Ṭulṭu kha-il-a-ni?
T. eat-PST-3s-MIR
‘Ṭulṭu has already drunk (lit. eaten)?’

(107) Š. se ...?
he
‘He ...?’

(108) apoŋə kha-i-ni-əntu, mū ta-ku siar-e ...
you(HON) eat-CV-V2:take-3p:IMP I he-DAT there-LOC
‘You please drink, I (will send) him there ...’

(109) (se bahar-i-gol-e.)
she go.out-CV-V2:go:PST-3p(HON)
(‘She went out.’)

(110) b. na na, Ṭulṭu mo ṣōnge caa kha-ib-ə.
no no T. I:OBL with tea eat-FUT-3s
‘No no, Ṭulṭu will drink tea with me.

(111) Ṭulṭu ... Ṭulṭu!
T. T.
‘Ṭulṭu ... Ṭulṭu!’
(112) (Ṭulṭu pọs-i-as-il-a.)
T. enter-CV-V2:come-PST-3s
(‘Ṭulṭu entered.’)

(113) (egarco boro-ro swasthyoban pila — kothabartta byobbharo
eleven twelve year-GEN healthy child conversation use
sobuthi-re concolita.)
all-LOC speed
(‘A healthy boy of eleven, twelve years, speed in conversation, behaviour, in everything.’)

(114) Tu. tume caa kha-i-na, ọja?
you(POL) tea eat-PERF-NEG grandfather
‘Have you not drunk tea, grandfather?’

(115) b. na, to-te ọpekhya kor-ich-i.
no you(FAM)-DAT wait do-PERF-1s
‘No, I have been waiting for you.’

(116) (caa tre dhɔr-i pọs-i-as-il-e Sobha.)
tea t. take-CV enter-CV-V2:come-PST-3p(HON) S.
(‘Śobhā entered with a tea tray.’)

(117) b. basona jañ-i-par-uch-i, caa as-i-gol-a bodhe ...
smell know-CV-can-PROG-3s tea come-CV-V2:go:PST-3s apparently
‘I know the smell, apparently the tea is here (lit. came) …’

(118) Ś. tu e chọtọ kɔp-ta dhɔr, Ṭulṭu — apoṇo dhɔr-ontu
you(FAM) this small c.-ART take:2s:IMP T. you(HON) take-3p:IMP
piala-ta, mů dhal-i-de-uch-i.
cup-ART I pour-CV-V2:give-PROG-1s
‘You take this small cup, Ṭulṭu, you please take the cup, I’ll pour out.’

(119) Tu. na bou, mū ọja-nku caa khu-a-i-de-uch-i.
no mother I grandfather-OBL:DAT tea eat-CAUS-CV-V2:give-PROG-1s
‘No, mother, I’ll give tea to grandfather.’
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The book gives an overview of the basic grammatical structures of six Kiranti languages: Athpare, Bantawa, Camling, Khaling, Limbu and Thulung. The Athpare and Camling data are from the author's fieldwork in Nepal and presented here for the first time. Data on Bantawa and Khaling are mainly derived from unpublished texts. Special emphasis is given to some typologically interesting features: complex agreement patterns, inverse marking (in 2 langs.), grammatization of the vertical dimension (e.g. in locative case suffixes), degrees of finiteness in subordination and complex predicate formation. Due to the limited material there is little information on phonology and clausal syntax. The appendix contains 130 pages of texts with morphemic glosses.


In this in-depth analysis of the modal and aspectual system of Belhare (Tibeto-Burman, Nepal) close attention is paid to factoring out semantic entailments from generalised conversational implicatures, which allows a morphological analysis without zero morphemes. The aspectual system is described withina theory of aspect which attempts at typological adequacy and which allows a detailed assessment of the interaction of aspect marking with lexical Aktionsart (time schemata). The theory elaborates on earlier work by Breu and Sasse, and is compatible with the format of semantic representation proposed by Jackendoff as well as with the representational format used in Role and Reference Grammar.


Contributions: Thomas BEARTH, Tense-aspect markers as viewpoint operators in Swahili discourse. • Eva A. CSATÓ, Turkic double verbs in a typological perspective. • Östen DAHL, Languages without tense and aspect. • Karen H. EBERT, Tense-aspect flip-flop and a somewhat elusive gram type. • Mathias JENNY, The aspect system of Thai. • Lars JOHANSON, The aspectually neutral situation type. • Johanna MATTISSEN, Tense and aspect in Laz • Olivier ROOS, Mandarin Chinese -zhe. • Fernando ZÜNGA, A selection theory of Mapudungun aspect.