

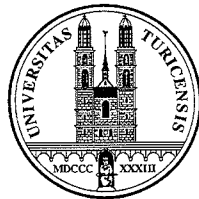
ASAS

Arbeiten des Seminars für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft

Nr. 17

Lukas Neukom & Manideepa Patnaik

A grammar of Oriya



Universität Zürich 2003

Series editor: Seminar für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft
der Universität Zürich
Plattenstrasse 54
CH-8032 Zürich, Switzerland

© 2003 Lukas Neukom & Manideepa Patnaik

ISBN 3-9521010-9-5

Contents

Preface	viii
Abbreviations	ix
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Genetic classification and history	1
1.2 Language variation	2
1.3 Previous work on Oriya	2
1.4 Vocabulary	2
1.5 Object of this grammar	3
2 Phonology	4
2.1 Consonants	4
2.2 Vowels	5
2.3 Syllable structure	7
2.4 Phonotactics	8
2.5 Stress	9
2.6 Phonological irregularities	9
2.7 Morphophonological rules	10
2.8 Script	11
3 Nominals	14
3.1 Nouns	14
3.1.1 Noun formation	14
3.1.1.1 Derivation	15
3.1.1.2 Composition	19
3.1.2 Gender	21
3.1.3 Number	22
3.1.3.1 The articles	23
3.1.3.2 Indefinite marker -e	34
3.1.3.3 <i>eko</i> / <i>ko</i> ‘one’	36
3.1.3.4 Plural suffixes	38
3.1.3.5 All-inclusive suffixes	42

3.1.4	Case	46
3.1.4.1	Forms	46
3.1.4.2	Nominative	49
3.1.4.3	Dative	50
3.1.4.4	Genitive and possession	56
3.1.4.5	Ablative	61
3.1.4.6	Locative	63
3.1.5	Reduplication	65
3.2	Adjectives	66
3.2.1	Definition and forms	66
3.2.2	Adjective formation	67
3.2.3	Use	70
3.2.4	Comparison	73
3.2.5	Adjectives in adverbial function	75
3.2.6	Quantifiers	76
3.2.6.1	Quantifiers denoting small quantities	76
3.2.6.2	<i>jəthestə</i> ‘enough’	78
3.2.6.3	Quantifiers denoting large quantities	78
3.2.6.4	Quantifiers with comparative meaning	79
3.2.6.5	Universal quantifiers	80
3.3	Pronouns	83
3.3.1	Personal pronouns	83
3.3.1.1	Degrees of honorificity	86
3.3.2	Deictic system of demonstratives and adverbs	87
3.3.2.1	Overview	87
3.3.2.2	Demonstratives	89
3.3.2.3	Locative adverbs	92
3.3.2.4	Other adverbs	95
3.3.3	Interrogatives	98
3.3.3.1	Interrogative use	98
3.3.3.2	Exclamatory use	100
3.3.3.3	Indefinite use	100
3.3.4	Reflexives	104
3.3.4.1	Reflexive use of <i>nijə</i> in simple sentences	105
3.3.4.2	Reflexive use of <i>nijə</i> in complex sentences	106
3.3.4.3	Reduplication	108
3.3.4.4	Emphasising function	109
3.3.4.5	<i>ape</i> , <i>apəna</i> , <i>swəyɔŋg</i>	109
3.3.5	Reciprocals	110
3.3.5.1	<i>pəɾəspəɾə</i> ‘each other’	110
3.3.5.2	Reduplication	111
3.4	Numerals and classifiers	112

3.4.1	Cardinal numerals	112
3.4.1.1	Forms	112
3.4.1.2	Use	115
3.4.2	Ordinal numerals	115
3.4.3	Classifiers	116
3.4.3.1	Numeral use	117
3.4.3.2	Indefiniteness	120
3.4.3.3	Reduplication	123
3.5	Nominal phrase	124
4	Verbs	128
4.1	Verb formation	128
4.1.1	Causative	129
4.1.2	Denominative verbs	132
4.1.3	Reduplication	132
4.1.4	Verbal compounds	134
4.2	Finite forms	135
4.2.1	Morphology	135
4.2.2	Aspect	138
4.2.2.1	Simple forms	139
4.2.2.2	Perfect aspect	141
4.2.2.3	Imperfective aspect	142
4.2.2.4	Ingressive verbs	144
4.2.3	Tenses and moods	146
4.2.3.1	Habitual	146
4.2.3.2	Past	161
4.2.3.3	Future	172
4.2.3.4	Conditional	188
4.2.3.5	Imperative	195
4.2.3.6	Present Perfect and Present Progressive	203
4.2.3.7	The verbal suffix <i>-ni</i>	214
4.2.4	Deontic modality	219
4.2.4.1	Imperative	219
4.2.4.2	Prohibitive (negative imperative)	222
4.2.4.3	Exhortative	223
4.2.4.4	Optative	224
4.2.4.5	Requests	225
4.2.4.6	Admonitive	226
4.2.4.7	Volitive	227
4.2.4.8	Obligation	227
4.3	Nonfinite verb forms	230
4.3.1	The <i>a</i> -form	231

4.3.2	The <i>onta</i> -form	233
4.3.3	The <i>iba</i> -form	234
	4.3.3.1 Nominal function	234
	4.3.3.2 Attributive function	237
4.3.4	The <i>ila</i> -form	238
	4.3.4.1 Nominal function	239
	4.3.4.2 Attributive function	240
4.3.5	Converbs	242
	4.3.5.1 General converb	242
	4.3.5.2 Negation	246
	4.3.5.3 Other uses of the general converb	247
	4.3.5.4 Imperfective converb	249
	4.3.5.5 Conditional converbs	251
4.3.6	Old participles	255
4.4	“to be”	255
	4.4.1 Forms	256
	4.4.2 Use	256
	4.4.3 <i>he</i> - ‘become’	258
4.5	Irregular verbs	259
4.6	Complex verbal units	261
	4.6.1 Conjunct verbs	262
	4.6.2 Compound verbs	264
	4.6.2.1 General characteristics of compound verbs	265
	4.6.2.2 <i>ja</i> - ‘go’	267
	4.6.2.3 <i>de</i> - ‘give’	272
	4.6.2.4 <i>as</i> - ‘come’	276
	4.6.2.5 <i>bos</i> - ‘sit’	278
	4.6.2.6 <i>cal</i> - ‘go’	278
	4.6.2.7 <i>ne</i> - ‘take’	279
	4.6.2.8 <i>poka</i> - ‘put’	281
	4.6.2.9 <i>pər</i> - ‘fall’	283
	4.6.2.10 <i>roh</i> - ‘stay’	284
	4.6.2.11 <i>sar</i> - ‘finish’	286
	4.6.2.12 <i>uṭh</i> - ‘get up’	287
	4.6.3 Passive constructions	288
	4.6.4 Modal verb <i>par</i> -	293
	4.6.4.1 Ability	293
	4.6.4.2 Permission	296
	4.6.4.3 Epistemic modality	296

5	Uninflected word classes	298
5.1	Adverbs	298
5.1.1	Temporal adverbs	299
5.1.2	Modal adverbs	299
5.1.3	Intensifying adverbs	301
5.1.4	Focus adverbs	302
5.1.5	Manner adverbs	304
5.2	Particles	305
5.2.1	The emphatic particle <i>hī</i>	305
5.2.2	Sentence-final particles	306
5.2.3	Constituent-bound particles	308
5.3	Postpositions	313
5.3.1	Forms	313
5.3.2	Use of postpositions	318
5.4	Conjunctions and coordination	328
5.5	Interjections	330
6	Simple sentences	334
6.1	Shortest possible sentences	334
6.2	Word order	335
6.3	Agreement	337
6.4	Negation	339
6.4.1	Negation of finite verbs	339
6.4.1.1	<i>nahī</i>	339
6.4.1.2	<i>no</i> + finite verb	340
6.4.1.3	Special verb forms	342
6.4.2	Negation of the copula	343
6.4.3	Negation of nonfinite verbs	344
6.4.4	Scope of negation	345
6.5	Interrogative sentences	347
6.5.1	Yes/no questions	347
6.5.2	Question word questions	349
7	Complex sentences	353
7.1	Coordination	353
7.2	Complement clauses	356
7.2.1	<i>je</i>	357
7.2.2	<i>boli</i>	359
7.2.3	Direct / indirect speech	360
7.3	Conditional clauses	363
7.4	Infinitival clauses	364
7.4.1	Nominative	366

7.4.2	Dative	367
7.4.3	Genitive	371
7.4.4	Ablative	372
7.4.5	Locative	373
7.4.6	Postpositions	374
7.5	“Gerundial” clauses	382
7.6	Converbial clauses	384
7.6.1	General converb	384
7.6.2	Imperfective converb	389
7.6.3	Conditional converbs	390
7.7	Participial clauses	391
7.8	Correlative constructions	393
A	Texts	400
A.1	Pearls	400
A.2	Letter from a reader	407
A.3	Body change (fairy tale)	410
A.4	Discovery	430
	Bibliography	443
	Index	448

List of Tables

2.1	Consonants	5
2.2	(Quasi-) minimal pairs for consonantal phonemes	6
2.3	Vowels and diphthongs	6
2.4	Vowel letters	12
2.5	Consonant letters	12
2.6	Combination of consonant and vowel	13
3.1	Marking of singular und plural	23
3.2	Case suffixes	47
3.3	Personal pronouns	84
3.4	Correspondences between pronouns and grammatical persons	85
3.5	Deictic system of pronouns	90
3.6	Deictic system of locative adverbs	92
3.7	Cardinal numbers	113
3.8	Ordinal numbers	116
4.1	Auxiliaries <i>tha-</i> and <i>och-</i>	136
4.2	Person / number suffixes	136
4.3	Overview of the TAM system	136
4.4	Simple tenses and moods	137
4.5	Perfect tenses and moods	137
4.6	Imperfective tenses and moods	137
4.7	Nonfinite forms	230
4.8	Oriya light verbs	264
5.1	Relational nouns	316
6.1	Negative Progressive and Perfect forms	343

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.

Lukas Neukom would like to thank the Swiss National Foundation for the large financial support during his stay in Orissa und the work done in Switzerland. The book was part of the project “Areal typology in South Asia”, under Grant No. 1214-049271.96/1.

Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	INT	interrogative
ADJR	adjectiviser	INTERJ	interjection
ADVR	adverbialiser	IPFV	imperfective
ART	article	itr.	intransitive
AUX	auxiliary	LOC	locative
CL	classifier	MIR	mirative
COMP	complementiser	N.AG	nomen agentis
CMPR	comparative	NOM	nominative
COND	conditional	NEG	negation
CONDVC	conditional converb	OBL	oblique
CV	converb	OIA	Old Indo-Aryan
DAT	dative	p	plural
DEF	definite	PEJ	pejorative
e	exclusive	PERF	perfect
ECHO	echo word	PL	plural
EMPH	emphatic	POL	polite
FAM	familiar	PROG	progressive
F	feminine	PRS	present
FUT	future	PST	past
GEN	genitive	PTCL	particle
HAB	habitual	PTCP	participle
HON	honorific	RDP	reduplication
HORT	hortative particle	s / sg	singular
i	inclusive	SUP	superlative
ICV	imperfective converb	tr.	transitive
IMP	imperative	v2	light verb in compound verbs
INDEF	indefinite		
INF	infinitive	VOC	vocative

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Genetic classification and history

Oriya, spelled <Oriā> 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 (= Apabhraṁśa)
- New Indo-Aryan (= late medieval and modern vernaculars)

The Eastern languages are said to be the descendants of the Magadhan Apabhraṁśa 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.

The other research oriented works focus only on parts of the grammar, such as morphology (Bhattacharya 1993, Dash 1982, Misra 1975), syntax (anaphora: Patnaik 1994; complementation: Bal 1990, Patnaik 1976; nonfinite clauses: Nayak 1987; nominal phrases: Sahoo 1996) and historical evolution (Majumdar 1970, Pattanayak 1966, Tripathi 1962).

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. *smṛuti* <smṛti> ‘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 *gr̥ha*).

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. *jobab* ‘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 Deśaja). 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, /t̪, t̪h, d̪, d̪h/ are alveolar, whereas /ɳ, l/ and [ɽ, ɽh] are retroflex. Interestingly /t/ and /d/ in English loans are rendered by /t̪/ and /d̪/ respectively in Oriya (e.g. *pocket* ‘pocket’, *card* ‘card’), whereas English /θ/ and /ð/ are transcribed by /t/ and /d/ in Oriya (*thumb* ‘thumb’, *mother* ‘mother’).

(ii) [ɲ] and [ŋ] occur mainly in homorganic nasal-plosive clusters, e.g. *lanja* [lan̪ɟɔ] ‘tail’ or *songe* [sɔŋge] ‘with’. [ŋ] additionally occurs in syllable-final position of a few words, e.g. *ebong* [ebɔŋ] ‘and’. Instead of syllable-final [ŋ] the preceding vowel can be nasalised, e.g. *honsa* ‘duck’ is pronounced [hɔŋsɔ] or [hōsɔ]. In this book [ɲ] 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 /d̪/ and /d̪h/ are realised as [ɽ] and [ɽh] respectively, e.g. /bɔd̪ɔ/ [bɔɽɔ] ‘big’ or /dad̪hi/ [daɽhi] ‘beard’. In this book this allophony will

Table 2.1: Consonants

			bilab.	dent.	alveol./ retrofl.	palat.	velar	glott.
plosives	vcl.	-asp.	p	t	ʈ	c	k	
		+asp.	ph	th	ʈh	ch	kh	
	vcd.	-asp.	b	d	ɖ	j	g	
		+asp.	bh	dh	ɖh	jh	gh	
nasals			m	n	ɳ	(ɲ)	(ŋ)	
fricatives				s		(ʃ)		h
laterals				l	ɭ			
trills				r	(ɽ / ɽh)			
glide			(w)			y		

be represented in the orthography: *bɔɽɔ* and *daɽhi*.

(iv) Some speaker pronounce /s/ in some words loaned from Sanskrit as [ʃ] according to the original sound. However, the clusters written as <kʃ> and <ʃt> are generally pronounced as [khy] ([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. *mɔjja* ‘waist’ vs. *mɔja* ‘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/, /ɭ/ and /r/ are clearly three phonemes and do not influence the choice of the initial consonant. /ɳ/ and /ɭ/ contrast with /n/ and /l/ only in intervocalic position.

/ɳ/	kaɳɔ	‘crow’	/n/	kaɳɔ	‘ear’
/ɭ/	kaɭɔ	‘time’	/l/	kaɭɔ	‘deaf’
/l/	maɭɔ	‘goods’	/r/	maɽɔ	‘death’
			/ɭ/	maɭɔ	‘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

	voiceless		voiced	
	non-asp.	aspirated	non-asp.	aspirated
bilabial	<i>paɭɔ</i> 'straw'	<i>phaɭɔ</i> 'plough-share'	<i>baɭɔ</i> 'hair'	<i>bhoɭɔ</i> 'good'
dental	<i>taɭɔ</i> 'palm fruit'	<i>thaɭɔ</i> 'bowl (sp.)'	<i>daɭɔ</i> 'wife'	<i>dhaɭɔ</i> 'flow'
retroflex	<i>ʈaɭɔ</i> 'deep water'	<i>ʈhaɭɔ</i> 'signal'	<i>ɖaɭɔ</i> 'branch'	<i>ɖhaɭɔ</i> 'vessel (sp.)'
palatal	<i>caɭɔ</i> 'thatch'	<i>chaɭɔ</i> 'skin'	<i>jaɭɔ</i> 'fuel'	<i>jhaɭɔ</i> 'sweat'
velar	<i>kaɭɔ</i> 'time'	<i>khaɭɔ</i> 'ditch'	<i>gaɭɔ</i> 'cheek'	<i>ghaɭɔ</i> 'dozel'
sonorants	<i>maɭɔ</i> 'garland'	<i>naɭɔ</i> 'canal'	<i>laɭɔ</i> 'saliva'	<i>raɭɔ</i> 'tar'
fricatives	<i>saɭɔ</i> 'Sal tree'	<i>haɭɔ</i> 'whereabouts'		

(Quasi-) minimal pairs:

piɕɔ	'beat'	phuɕɔ	'pierce'	joɭɔ	'water'	jhoɭɔ	'soul'
peɕɔ	'belly'	paɕɔ	'silk cloth'	jhulo	'swing'	jhaɭɔ	'sweat'
poɕɔ	'burn'	poɕɔ	'fall'				

The vowel [ɛ] seems to be a coalescence of the sequence /y + a/ or /y + ɔ/. It may be on the way towards acquiring phonemic status. For instance *byɕstɔ* 'busy' can be pronounced [bestɔ], or *byakɔɕɔ* 'grammar' can be heard as [bekɔɕɔ]; opposing this pronunciation to *bekɔ* 'neck', /e/ and /ɛ/ are dis-

Table 2.3: Vowels and diphthongs

	front	central	back		i	e	a	ɔ	o	u
high	i		u	i	ii	ie	ia	io	–	iu
mid-high	e		o	e	ei	ee	–	–	–	eu
mid-low	(ɛ)		ɔ	a	ai	ae	aa	aɔ	–	au
low		a		ɔ	ɔi	ɔe	–	ɔɔ	–	ɔu
				o	–	–	–	–	oo	–
				u	ui	ue	ua	uo	–	uu

tinctive phonemes.

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

o	/	oo	kooṇo	‘corner’	kooṇo	‘what’
a	/	aa	ba	‘or’	baa	‘air; father’
i	/	ii	niti	‘custom’	niiti	‘every day’
u	/	uu	tume	‘you(POL)’	tuuṇo	‘vegetable’
e	/	ee	phere	‘I return’	pheere	‘again’
o	/	oo	ghoro	‘you grind’	ghooro	‘extreme’

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:

non-nasalised		nasalised	
naa	‘boat’	nãã	‘name’
pai	‘having found’	pãĩ	‘for’
nouchi	‘I am taking’	nõũchi	‘I am bending’
chua	‘kid’	chũã	‘touched’
ui	‘ant’	ũĩ	‘sp. rice’

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

V	e	‘this’	CV	ba	‘or’
VV	ai	‘grandmother’	CVV	nãã	‘name’

Disyllables

V.CV	a.lu	‘potato’
V.CVV	u.ṭhei	‘having raised’
VV.CV	ũi.ba	‘to rise’
CV.VV	su.ei	‘having put to bed’
CV.CV	ka.nɔ	‘ear’
CV.CVV	mi.ṭhai	‘sweets’
CVV.CV	pɔi.sa	‘money’
CVV.CVV	pãũ.sia	‘ashy’
CVC.CV	ḍen.ga	‘tall’
CVC.CVV	kɔŋ.ḍhei	‘doll’

Trisyllables

CV.CV.CV	pɔ.bo.nɔ	‘wind’
CVC.CV.CV	kum.bhu.ri	‘crocodile’
CV.CVV.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	gumphɔ	‘cave’	mbh	arɔmbhɔ	‘start’
nt	kantɔ	‘wall’	nd	bɔndɔ	‘closed’
ŋṭ	ghɔŋṭa	‘hour’	ŋḍh	meŋḍha	‘sheep’
nc	pancɔ	‘five’	nj	lanjɔ	‘tail’
nk	ank-	‘to draw’	ng	ḍɔnga	‘boat’

¹Mohanty 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 rɔ	'warrior'
	'ca si	'farmer'
trisyllables	'o ki lɔ	'lawyer'
	'dɔ rɔ ma	'salary'
tetrasyllables	'cha pa kha na	'printing press'
	'ɔ ʃɔn ka rɔ	'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 -*ɔnti* is always stressed, e. g. a '*sɔn ti* 'they come', a *si 'chɔn 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 *kɔp* 'cup' or *pulis* 'police'. However, many Oriya native words can drop final -*ɔ* as well in colloquial speech (maybe influenced by Hindi), e. g. *gɔrɔm* 'hot', *aram* 'comfortable'.
- (ii) Word-initial and otherwise unknown word-medial clusters do exist in Sanskrit loans, e. g. *klantɔ* 'tired' or *ujjvɔʃɔ* '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

ḍho-ḍho	‘cracking’	bhəs-bhəs	‘bubbling of water’
bhē-bhē	‘weeping’	jhun-jhun	‘tinkling of anklet ornament’
		phus-phus	‘whispering’
		ṭhək-ṭhək	‘knocking’
		ting-ting	‘ringing of a bell’

Bisyllabic and trisyllabic reduplicands (first consonant may alternate)

khili-khili	‘gurgling of a river’
tərə-tərə	‘hurrying’
kiciri-miciri	‘chirping’
ṭəngərə-ṭəngərə	‘moving to and fro’

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

- (1) ḡyɔɔ-ṭi **ph̄s-ph̄s s̄s-s̄s** ho-i taa aɾɔ-ku maɾ-i-as-il-a.
bison-ART snorting be-CV he:OBL side-DAT rush-CV-V2:come-PST-3s
‘The bison rushed towards him snorting.’
- (2) **kiciri-miciri** səbdɔ kər-i choṭɔ cəɾhei-tie uɾ-i-as-il-a.
chirping sound do-CV small bird-INDEF fly-CV-V2:come-PST-3s
‘Chirping, a small bird came flying.’
- (3) ḡhərə-ṭi **hu-hu** jɔɔ-uth-il-a.
house-ART in.full.blaze burn-IPFV-PST-3s
‘The house was burning in full blaze.’

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	→	[+high]	/	—	+	V
[low]						[high]
						[+back]

de-	‘give’	+	ɔ	2p:IMP	→	di-ɔ	‘give’
ne-	‘take’	+	a	PTCP	→	ni-a	‘taken’
so-	‘sleep’	+	ɔnti	3p:HAB	→	su-ɔnti	‘they sleep’

(ii) The unstressed vowel ɔ is dropped when a vowel-initial suffix is added.

$\text{ɔ} \rightarrow \emptyset / _ + \text{V}$
 ghɔɔ 'house' + e LOC \rightarrow ghɔr-e 'at home'
 lokɔ 'person' + e PL \rightarrow lok-e 'people'

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

bhang- 'break' + -a PTCP \rightarrow bhɔng-a 'broken'
 chaɾ- 'leave' + -a PTCP \rightarrow chɔɾ-a 'left'

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

dɔɾɔkarɔ \rightarrow [dɔɾkar] 'necessary'
 dokanɔ \rightarrow [dokan] 'shop'
 pɔbɔnɔ \rightarrow [pɔbɔn] 'wind'

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

jɪnisɔ \rightarrow [jɪnsɔ] 'thing'
 ɔsna \rightarrow [ɔsna] 'dirty'

Vowels in disyllabic words are normally not omitted:

hatɔ \rightarrow *[hat] 'hand'
 pagɔ \rightarrow *[pag] 'weather'

One exception to this rule is noticed in the word *bhulɔ* '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. *dɔɾkar* or *ɔsna* 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> (s) and palatal <ś> (ś), which all represent phonemic /s/.

(ii) The script has two symbols for long and short <i> (᳚ and ᳛) and <u> (᳜ and ᳝) 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

ଅ	ଌ	(a)	ଐ	a	(ā)	ଏ	e	(e)	ଐ	ai	(ai)
ଇ	ି	(i)	ଈ	i	(ī)	ଓ	o	(o)	ଔ	ou	(au)
ଉ	ୁ	(u)	ଊ	u	(ū)						
ୠ	ru	(r)									

Table 2.5: Consonant letters

କ	k ³	(k)	ଚ	c	(c)	ଟ	ṭ	(ṭ)	ତ	t	(t)	ପ	p	(p)
ଖ	kh	(kh)	ଛ	ch	(ch)	ଠ	ṭh	(ṭh)	ଥ	th	(th)	ଫ	ph	(ph)
ଗ	g	(g)	ଜ	j	(j)	ଢ	ḍ	(ḍ)	ଦ	d	(d)	ବ	b	(b)
ଘ	gh	(gh)	ଝ	jh	(jh)	ଢ଼	ḍh	(ḍh)	ଧ	dh	(dh)	ଭ	bh	(bh)
ଞ	ng	(ṅ)	ଞ	n	(ṅ)	ଣ	ṇ	(ṇ)	ନ	n	(n)	ମ	m	(m)
ଠ	y	(y)	ଝ	j	(ṅ)	ର	r	(r)	ଲ	l	(l)			
ଶ	s	(ś)	ଷ	s	(ṣ)	ସ	s	(s)						
ହ	h	(h)	ଳ	l	(l)				ୠ	r	(r)	ୡ	rh	(rh)

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 ଌ, e.g. କ [k᳚].

Table 2.6: Combination of consonant and vowel

ଗ	(+ ଅ)	ଗଠ	(ga)	ଗା	(+ ଆ)	ଗା	(gā)
ଗି	(+ ଇ)	ଗଠି	(gi)	ଗାଁ	(+ ଈ)	ଗାଁ	(gī)
ଗୁ	(+ ଊ)	ଗଠୁ	(gu)	ଗୁ	(+ ଉ)	ଗୁ	(gū)
ଗୃ	(+ ଋ)	ଗଠୃ	(gru)				
ଗେ	(+ ଏ)	ଗେ	(ge)	ଗୈ	(+ ଐ)	ଗୈ	(gai)
ଗୋ	(+ ଓ)	ଗୋ	(go)	ଗୌ	(+ ଔ)	ଗୌ	(gau)
ଗ	(+ ଠ)	ଗ	(g)				

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-manᅇ-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.

3.1.1.1 Derivation

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

dur-	‘bad’	dinɔ	‘day’	dur-dinɔ	‘bad day’
ku-	‘bad’	bhasa	‘language’	ku-bhasa	‘indecent language’
nir-	‘without’	mɔɭɔ	‘blemish’	nir-mɔɭɔ	‘clean’
ɔ-	NEG	subidha	‘opportunity’	ɔ-subidha	‘problem’
su-	‘good’	namɔ	‘name’	su-namɔ	‘good name’

We provide below the list of derivational suffixes:

- vowels: *-a, -ei, -ia, -ɔ, -ɔi, -ua*;
- retroflex nasal *-ŋ-* + vowels: *-aŋi, -aŋɔ, -eŋi, -ɔŋa, -ɔŋi, -ɔŋɔ, -uŋa, -uŋi*;
- liquids + vowels: *-(u)aɭɔ, -aɭi, -ari, -uria, -ra, -ra.*

The initial vowel of the suffix replaces final *-ɔ* 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

bɛθi	‘forced labour’	bɛθi-a	‘forced labourer’
ghaɬɔ	‘bathing place’	ghaɬ-ia / ghaɬ-ua	‘ferryman’
hɔɭɔ	‘plough’	hɔɭ-ia / hɔɭ-ua	‘cultivator’
Bhubɔneswɔɔ	‘Bh.’	Bhubɔneswɔɔ-ia	‘person from Bh.’
Kɔɬɔkɔ	‘Cuttack’	Kɔɬɔk-ia	‘person from Cuttack’
sɔhɔɔ	‘town’	sɔhɔɔ-ia	‘townsman’
Bipuɭɔ	‘Bipuɭa’ (name)	Bipuɭ-a	<diminutive of Bipuɭa>
khɔɬɔ	‘bed’	khɔɬ-ia	‘small bedstead’
thaɭi	‘plate’	thaɭi-a	‘small plate’

- *-i*: origin, profession, activity, diminutive

Bonarəsɔ	'Varanasi'	Bonarəs-i	'person from Varanasi'
Kəʈəkɔ	'Cuttack'	Kəʈək-i	'person from Cuttack'
dokanɔ	'shop'	dokan-i	'shop-keeper'
telɔ	'oil'	tel-i	'oilpresser'
cakɔɔ	'servant'	caKir-i	'service'
ɖaktɔɔ	'doctor'	ɖaktɔɔ-i	'medicine (study)'
ghəntɔ	'bell'	ghəntɔ-i	'small bell'
ghəʈɔ	'pitcher'	ghəʈɔ-i	'small pitcher'
kəʈhɔ	'wood'	kəʈhɔ-i	'small piece of wood'

- *-ua*: person, profession

baʈɔ	'way'	baʈ-ua	'traveller'
haʈɔ	'market'	haʈ-ua	'market trader'
michɔ	'lie'	mich-ua	'liar'

(ii) Suffixes with liquids

- *-aɭɔ*: profession

gai	'cow'	gai-aɭɔ	'cowherd'
mōisi	'buffalo'	mōis-aɭɔ	'tender of buffaloes'
paɪti	'daily work'	paɪti-aɭɔ	'day-labourer'

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

bhikɔ	'alms'	bhik-ari	'beggar'
səŋga	'bracelet'	səŋg-ari	'maker of bracelets'
sunə	'gold'	sun-ari	'goldsmith'
kəʈhɔ	'wood'	kəʈh-urɪa	'wood-cutter'
naa	'boat'	na-urɪ(a)	'boatman'
kacɔ	'bangle'	kacɔ-ra	'dealer in bangles'
paʈɔ	'silk cloth'	paʈɔ-ra	'dealer in cloth'

(iii) Other suffixes

- *-ami*: abstract nouns

dustɔ	'wicked'	dust-ami	'wickedness'
murkhɔ	'foolish'	murkh-ami	'foolishness'
pagɔɭɔ	'lunatic'	pagɔɭ-ami	'lunacy'

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

ḍakᵋ	‘mail’	ḍakᵋ-bala	‘mailman’
pulis	‘police’	pulis-bala	‘policeman’
gāã	‘village’	gāã-bala	‘villager’
gaṛi	‘vehicle’	gaṛi-bala	‘driver of a car’
ghᵋᵋ	‘house’	ghᵋᵋ-bala	‘master of the house’

- *-darᵋ*: activity, profession (borrowed from Persian *dar*^a ‘holder’)

cᵋuki	‘chair (for watching)’	cᵋuki-darᵋ	‘watchman’
jᵋmi	‘land’	jᵋmi-darᵋ	‘landlord’
ᵋnsᵋ	‘part’	ᵋnsi-darᵋ	‘partner’
ṭhika	‘contract’	ṭhika-darᵋ	‘contractor’

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

chapa	‘printing’	chapa-khana	‘printing press’
ḍaktᵋṛ	‘doctor’	ḍaktᵋṛ-khana	‘hospital’
pagᵋᵋ	‘lunatic’	pagᵋᵋ-khana	‘asylum’

- *-pᵋᵋᵋ*: property

birᵋ	‘brave man’	birᵋ-pᵋᵋᵋ	‘braveness’
bᵋṛᵋ	‘big’	bᵋṛᵋ-pᵋᵋᵋ	‘bigness’
siaṇa	‘clever’	siaṇa-pᵋᵋᵋ	‘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*

mᵋdhurᵋ	‘sweet’	mᵋdhurᵋ-ta	‘sweetness’
swadhino	‘independent’	swadhino-ta	‘independence’
uccᵋ	‘high’	uccᵋ-ta	‘height’
- *-twᵋ*

durᵋ	‘distant’	durᵋ-twᵋ	‘distance’
mᵋdhurᵋ	‘sweet’	mᵋdhurᵋ-twᵋ	‘sweetness’
Musᵋᵋᵋmanᵋ	‘Muslim’	Musᵋᵋᵋmanᵋ-twᵋ	‘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’
 toḷ- ‘to build’ toḷ-a ‘act of building’ toḷ-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’
 loṛh- ‘to fight’ loṛh-ei ‘fighting’
- *-o* ḍak- ‘to call’ ḍak-o ‘calling’
 hoṣ- ‘to laugh’ hoṣ-o ‘laughter’
 kheḷ- ‘to play’ kheḷ-o ‘play’

(ii) Suffixes with the retroflex *-ṇ*

- *-aṇi* bhṛṣ- ‘to float’ bhṛṣ-aṇi ‘floating’
 cah- ‘to look’ cah-aṇi ‘look’
 suṇ- ‘to hear’ suṇ-aṇi ‘hearing of a case’
- *-aṇo* bond- ‘to worship’ bond-aṇo ‘prayer’
 ḍor- ‘to fear’ ḍor-aṇo ‘threatening’
 mis- ‘to be mixed with’ mis-aṇo ‘addition’
- *-eṇi* bhaḷ- ‘to think’ bhaḷ-eṇi ‘anxiety’
 jaḷ- ‘to burn’ jaḷ-eṇi ‘fuel’
- *-oṇa* binc- ‘to fan’ binc-oṇa ‘fan’
 kand- ‘to weep’ kand-oṇa ‘weeping’
 kheḷ- ‘to play’ kheḷ-oṇa ‘toy’
- *-oṇi* chōnd- ‘to tie’ chōnd-oṇi ‘rope to tie cows’
 khōṭ- ‘to labour’ khōṭ-oṇi ‘daily service’
 loṭ- ‘to roll’ loṭ-oṇi ‘turning somersaults’

- -*oṇo* jhul- ‘to swing’ jhul-oṇo ‘swinging festival’
 khōṇḍ- ‘to cut’ khōṇḍ-oṇo ‘cutting’
 mag- ‘to ask’ mag-oṇo ‘begging’
- -*uṇi* dhank- ‘to cover’ dhank-uṇi ‘a cover’
 mag- ‘to ask’ mag-uṇi ‘request’
 map- ‘to measure’ map-uṇi ‘measurer’

(iii) Suffixes with liquids

- -*aḷi*, -*uaḷo*: profession

bik-	‘to sell’	bik-aḷi	‘vendor’
kheḷ-	‘to play’	kheḷ-aḷi	‘player’
pōhōr-	‘to swim’	pōhōr-aḷi	‘swimmer’
jōg-	‘to watch’	jōg-uaḷo	‘guard’
rōkh-	‘to protect’	rōkh-uaḷo	‘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 bōgica ‘flower garden’ seu gocho ‘apple tree’
 moṭoro gari ‘motor car’ hato ghoṇṭa ‘wrist watch’
 gāā muṇḍo ‘village chief’ tusaro dhobolo ‘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) *oṭomuhā* denotes a person who has a face like a camel (note that here the suffix -a is an adjectiviser).

- (3) oṭo + muhō → oṭo-muh-ā ‘person with a face like a camel’
 camel face
- (4) mōha + mani → mōhamani ‘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) | həɔ-khusi | ‘happiness (lit. laughter-joy)’ |
| | bapa-maa | ‘parents (lit. father-mother)’ |
| | dinɔ-rati | ‘day and night’ |
| | jubəkɔ-jubɔti-mane | ‘the young men and women’ |
| (6) | dhəni-dəridrɔ | ‘rich and poor’ |
| | ghɔrɔ-dwarɔ | ‘house-hold’ |
| | Krusnɔ-Bɔɔbramɔ | ‘Krishna and Baɔarāma’ (* <i>Bɔɔbramɔ-Krusnɔ</i>) |
| | Həri-Hɔrɔ | ‘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) | gāā-phāā | ‘villages and the like’ | jhiɔ-phiɔ | ‘girls ...’ |
| | ghɔrɔ-phɔrɔ | ‘houses and the like’ | phɔɔ-mɔɔ | ‘photos ...’ |
| | gilasɔ-philasɔ | ‘glasses and the like’ | ʈren-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 | kɔɔɔ | cithi | 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) | agyā | dhɔr-ith-il-a | ... | kintu ... | — | kintu | phintu | kichi |
| | INTERJ | hold-PERF-PST-3s | | but | | but | ECHO | anything |
| | nah-ī! | | | | | | | |
| | 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):

- (10) paṭhᵛ-saṭhᵛ 'studies (lit. lesson-knowledge)
 ḍako-hako 'calling etc. (lit. call-call)
 kᵛlᵛpᵛṇa-jᵛlᵛpᵛṇa 'speculation (lit. imagination-talking)
- (11) bhul-bhal 'many mistakes (lit. mistake-ECHO)
 cakᵛrᵛᵇ-bakᵛrᵛᵇ 'many servants (lit. servant-ECHO)

Some compounds consist of reduplicated constituents:

- (12) puruᵛᵇ-puruᵛᵇ 'generation'
 juḷu-juḷa 'firefly'
 diṇᵛᵇ-diṇᵛᵇ '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.

baḷᵛᵇᵇ	'boy'	baḷika	'girl'
chatᵛᵇᵇ	'student (m.)'	chatri	'student (f.)'
juḅᵛᵇᵇ	'young man'	juḅᵇᵇᵇᵇ	'young woman'
sikhyᵛᵇᵇᵇ	'teacher (m.)'	sikhyᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇ	'teacher (f.)'
hᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇ	'drake'	hᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇ	'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. *kᵛṇa* vs. *kaṇi* 'blind person'.

	masculine	feminine	
-i	buṛha	buṛh-i	'old man / woman'
	ghoṛa	ghoṛ-i	'horse'
	kᵛṇa	kaṇ-i	'blind person'
	oṭᵇ	oṭ-i	'camel'
-aṇi	cakᵛrᵛᵇ	cakᵛrᵛ-aṇi	'servant'
	tᵇṇᵇᵇᵇ	tᵇṇᵇᵇᵇ-aṇi	'weaver'
	ḍaktᵛᵇᵇ	ḍaktᵛᵇᵇ-aṇi	'doctor'
	mastᵛᵇᵇᵇ	mastᵛᵇᵇᵇ-aṇi	'master'

-uṅi	Bongali	Bongaḷ-uṅi	‘Bengali’
	hati	hat-uṅi	‘elephant’
	bhikari	bhikar-uṅi	‘beggar’
-oṅi	dhoba	dhob-oṅi	‘washerman / -woman’
	coro	cor-oṅi	‘thief’

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

masculine		feminine	
bapa	‘father’	maa	‘mother’
puo	‘son’	jhio	‘girl’
puruso	‘man’	stri	‘woman’

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

oṅdira cheli	‘billy goat’	mai cheli	‘nanny goat’
oṅdira kukuṛa	‘cock’	mai kukuṛa	‘hen’

3.1.3 Number

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

- (13) *boloḍo gaṛi ṭaṅ-uch-onti o dui-ṭi lokḥ ta-ku ṭhel-uch-onti.*
 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.’

boloḍo refers to more than one bullock as is indicated by the plural verb form *ṭaṅuchonti*, likewise *lokḥ* in combination with the numeral *dui* refers to more than one man, whereas *gaṛi* 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: *sokaḷo-ṭa-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

¹e with the meaning ‘this’ is also part of the demonstrative series (see 3.3.2.2).

Table 3.1: Marking of singular und plural

Morphemes with singular meaning

(i) Articles	-ta / -ti ^a	e. g. baɓɔkɔ-ta	‘the boy’
(ii) Indefinite suffix	-e	dɔɭ-e	‘a group’
(iii) Numeral ‘one’	eko	eko hotiarɔ	‘a weapon’

Morphemes with plural meaning

(ii) Set II	-guɾa-kɔ / -guɾa / -guɾa-e	corɔ-guɾakɔ	‘the thieves’
	-guɾi-kɔ / -guɾi / -guɾi-e	ambo-guɾikɔ	‘the mangoes’
(iii)	-e	baɓɔk-e	‘the children’
(iv)	-nkɔ / -nku	(see case suffixes, 3.1.4)	

All-inclusive suffixes

‘all, whole’	-kɔ	e. g. pila dɔɭ-kɔ	‘the group of children’
	-jakɔ, -tɔkɔ, -sara	e. g. sɔndhya-jakɔ	‘the whole evening’

^aThere 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. *pila* besides *pilae* ‘the children’).

3.1.3.1 The articles

The articles are found with the following word classes.

Nouns	jhiɔ	‘girl’	jhiɔ-ti	‘the girl’
Adjectives	boɾɔ	‘big’	boɾɔ-ti	‘the big one’
Demonstratives	e, se	‘this, that’	ei-ti, sei-ti	‘this one, that one’
Interrogatives	kẽũ	‘which?’	kẽũ-ti	‘which one?’
Relatives	jẽũ	‘which’	jẽũ-ti	‘which one’
Possessives	mo	‘my’	mo-ti	‘mine’

Compare with the use as classifier (see 3.4.3):

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.² 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. *Ramṭ-ṭi* ‘Rāma’. The same applies to unique referents, e.g. *surjyṭ-ṭa* ‘the sun’ in (14) taken from a literary text:

- (14) buṛḥa ho-i-as-ith-iba surjyṭ-ṭa bi nai arṭuṭḥo-re
 old become-CV-V2:come-PERF-INF sun-ART also river bathing.place-LOC
 semiti tṭake-ith-il-a ḍoḥoḷobikoḷo 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. *kukuro* ‘a dog, the dog, (the) dogs’, *kukuro-ṭi* ‘the dog’; by contrast, ‘the dogs’ is often rendered as *kukuro-mane*. However, there are two exceptions:

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

- (15) se nṛṇia-ṭi-ko haṭṭo-ku ne-b-o.
 he coconut-ART-all market-DAT take-FUT-3s
 ‘He will take all the coconuts to the market.’

Secondly, the plural suffixes *-mane/-manṭ* can be added to the article, e.g. *loko-ṭi-mane* ‘the people’, which indicates that the speaker looks down on the referents. Consider (16) with *rumalo-ṭi-manṭ* ‘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.)

²Misra (1975, p. 34f) derives the two elements *-ṭa* and *-ṭi* from OIA *-kṛtva* + *-ka* / *-kṛtva* + *-ika*. The example is with the numeral *pañco* ‘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 **vaṭṭa*, *vaṭṭia*: “The employ of these is already well-established in the Early Modern Bengali period.”

- (16) semane bəs-ith-il-e skul-re bohu puruṇa maṭi upər-e
 they sit-PERF-PST-3p s.-LOC very old soil top-LOC
rumalə-ṭi-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 kəuṇəsi* ‘any’:

- (17) ənyə pəkhyə-re k, j, ḍ, ḍh, ... mədhyə-ru je kəuṇəsi-ṭi juktə
 other side-LOC middle-ABL any any-ART joined
 byənjəno-re dwitiyə ba trutiya ho-ith-ile taa-rə
 consonant-LOC second or third become-PERF-CONDCV it-GEN
 sənkhiptə rupə hī byəbəhrutə hu-e.
 abridged form EMPH used be-3s:HAB
 ‘On the other hand, if any of k, j, ḍ, ḍh, ... stands as second or third part 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 hə-uch-i jhiə.
 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:

- They express the speaker’s attitude towards the referent denoted by the noun.
- 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 *-ṭa* or *-ṭi*: *eiṭi*, *seiṭi*, *kouṭi*, *jēūṭi*.

(Two pens are lying on the table.)

- (19) *tomṭo-ku kou-ṭa / kou-ṭi / *kou bholo lag-e? ei-ṭa /*
 you(POL)-DAT which-ART which-ART which good feel-3s:HAB this-ART
*ei-ṭi / *ei / *ehi / *eha ni-ṭo.*
 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 *-ṭa* 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 jobab de-u-nṭo-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 bohut kagojṭo nṭoṭṭo kor-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 *-ṭi*.

- (22) *pila-ṭi-ro kṇṭho-sworo modhuro subh-uch-i.*
 child-ART-GEN throat-voice sweet sound-PROG-3s
 ‘The child’s voice sounds sweet.’
- (23) *pila-ṭi dui boroṭṭo ṭol-e taa maa-ku hṇr-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 *-ṭa* to refer to the corpse):

³Chatterji (1926, p. 685f) describes the Bengali affix *-ṭa* as an originally masculine form, which conveys the idea of “biggishness or crudeness” and *-ṭi* as feminine counterpart, which implies “smallness or daintiness”.

- (24) sigrɔ ja-i **murdarɔ-ʈa-ku** noi-re
 quickly go-CV corpse-ART-DAT river-LOC
 phopaɣ-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 ɔdhikɔ kaɭɔ biɭɔmbɔ nɔ-kɔr-i se Rohitaswɔ-rɔ **sɔbɔ-ʈi-ku**
 more more time slowness NEG-do-CV she R.-GEN corpse-ART-DAT
 koɭɔ-re dhɔr-i kand-i kandi mɔsaɳi aɣ-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 *-ʈa* / *-ʈi* contrast is not limited to human referents. Compare with the following two examples where *rastaʈa* and *rastaʈi* refer to inanimate entities (*-ʈa* is used for the bad road, *-ʈi* for the good road).

- (26) **rasta-ʈa** bhɔɭ nuh-ē. au ʈikie aste gaɣi cɔɭ-a-ɔ.
 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-ʈi mɔdhyɔ goʈi-e bhɔɭ rasta, kintu e **rasta-ʈi** se rasta
 that-ART also CL-INDEF good road but this road-ART that road
 ɔpekhya ahuri bhɔɭ.
 than more good
 ‘That is a good road too, but this road is better than that.’

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

- (28) aɔɳɔɳ-nkɔ-rɔ **jhiɔ-Ø** kɔɳɔ kɔr-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 *-ʈa* / *-ʈi*. Consider (29), where *-ʈi* cannot be inserted since *lekhɔkɔ* ‘writer’ has honorific status.

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

- (29) mū e bɔhi bisɔyɔ-re jaɳ-e; mū **lekhɔkɔ(*-ʈi)-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 *ḍakṭor* ‘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) **ḍakṭor-babu** ajikali micho kōh-uch-ōnti.
 d.-HON today lie say-PROG-3p(HON)
 ‘The doctor is telling a lie today.’
- (31) **ḍakṭor-ṭa** bohut pōisa nō-uch-i.
 d.-ART much money take-PROG-3s
 ‘The doctor takes much money.’
- (32) **ḍakṭor-ṭi** bohut kamō kōr-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-rō bhōḷo **pa-iba-ṭa** ṭi sadharōṇo kōtha.
 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** kōu bhōḷo!
 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).

⁴For more details on the use of *-ṭa* see Sahoo 1996.

(36) Folktale of the holy cow

- a. There was once a very honest milkman in the village of Pankalabāri.
- 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-tie**).
- d. That was all he had.
- e. The cow (**gai-ti**) 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-ti**) 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 (\emptyset) saw soft fresh grass, she (\emptyset) 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 (**goti Sib-lingo**).
- an. The cow (**gai**) was standing striking the hoofs on the Shiva emblem (**sehi Sib-lingo**) and by the hoof blows the emblem (**lingo-ti**) 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 Subarṇeśvara.
- at. By Subarṇeśvara'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): *gaiṭie* ‘a cow’ is marked by the article *-ṭi* and the indefinite marker *-e* (for this use, see 3.1.3.2). In (e) the reference is repeated by *gaiṭi*: 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 *gaiṭi* 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 *-ṭa* is used instead of *-ṭi*. The cow is not the dear animal as before (marked by *-ṭi*) but it begins to frighten the milkman. However, we find *gaiṭi* with *-ṭi* 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 *lingo-ṭi* in (an), which indicates discourse relevance.

⁵This 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 *-ṭi* in the whole story.

concerned about it being removed. This interest is seen in all the examples where the word for ‘bandage’ carries the article.

- (40) dekh-il-u ... daktor akhi-rō **pōṭi-ṭa** khol-iba-ku sahoṣo kō-l-a
 see-PST-2s d. eye-GEN bandage-ART open-INF-DAT courage do-PST-3s
 nahī.
 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), Śobhā discovers that the old man is no longer wearing his bandage. The centre of her interest is *pōṭi-ṭa*, therefore with article. In his answer, the old man first emphasises on his wish to see Ṭulṭu, that’s why *byaṇḍej* 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 *pōṭi-ṭa* (41c).⁶

- (41) a. A: ē, akhi-rō **pōṭi-ṭa**? 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, Śobhā!’
- b. sara khōra beḷo-rō andoḷoṇo pōr-e Ṭulṭu-ku dekh-iba-rō
 all noon time-GEN development after-LOC T.-DAT see-INF-GEN
 iccha ete prōḷoḷo he-l-a je **byaṇḍej** khol-i-de-ba
 wish so.much heavy be-PST-3s that b. open-CV-V2:give-INF
 chōṛa upayo nō-th-il-a.
 besides means NEG-be-PST-3s
 ‘After the course of the whole noon, the wish to see Ṭulṭu was so heavy that there was no other means than opening the bandage.’
- c. goṭa-e “risk” — **pōṭi-ṭa** khol-i-de-ba pōr-e
 CL-INDEF r. bandage-ART open-CV-V2:give-INF after-LOC
 Ṭulṭu-ku dekh-iba pāi mū sidha eiṭhi-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 Ṭulṭu ...’

(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) a. Sobha, **caa** he-l-a?
 S. tea be-PST-3s
 ‘Śobhā, is there some tea?’

⁶The examples might suggest that only *pōṭi* takes an article; however, *byaṇḍej-ṭa* 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 jaṅ-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 poṭha-ith-il-i mū eiṭhi 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** pōke-i suṭ khōrap kōr-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) apōṅo-nko **caa-ta** eiṭhi-ki?
 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) mū **caa-ta** ago ne-i-as-e.
 I tea-ART first take-CV-come-1s:IMP
 ‘Let me first bring the tea.’

Preceding (44) is a joke-like quarrel between Śobhā’s husband and a friend about where to drink the tea. Śobhā 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. *dəj-e* ‘a group’ in (45); other members: *həjə* ‘pair’, *polə* ‘flock, herd’.

- (45) *rasta pakhə-re dəj-e pila ʈhia 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. *ghəŋʈa-e* ‘an hour’ in (46);

- volume: *balti* ‘bucket’, *bəsta* ‘sack’, *gocha* ‘bundle’, *goda* ‘stack (of hay)’, *guŋʈa* ‘handful’, *mutha* ‘handful (of rice)’, *pentha* ‘bunch (of flowers)’, *thako* ‘shelf’, *thali* ‘plate’;
- weight, e. g. *keji*, *kilo* ‘kilo’;
- distance, e. g. *kilomiṭər* ‘kilometer’, *mail* ‘mile’, *kosə* ‘ca. two miles’, *hato* ‘hand’s breadth’;
- time, e. g. *dino* ‘day’, *borsə* ‘year’, *masə* ‘month’, *thəro* ‘time’;
- money, e. g. *ṭanka* ‘rupee’, *poisa* ‘paise’.

- (46) *ame prəti dino bogica-re ghəŋʈa-e kamə kər-u.*
 we every day garden-LOC hour-INDEF work do-1pe:HAB
 ‘We work in the garden for an hour every day.’

Note that reduplicated measure nouns denote plurality: *bəsta bəsta cauḷə* ‘lots of sacks of rice’.

(iii) Classifiers: e. g. *jəŋ-e* ‘a person’, *goṭa-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) *bəs as-ila beḷ-e pila-manə-nkə mədhyə-ru jəŋ-e hatə*
 bus come-INF:PST time-LOC child-PL-OBL middle-ABL CL-INDEF hand
dekh-a-il-a.
 see-CAUS-PST-3s

‘When the bus came, one of the children showed his hand.’

- (48) *se gatə-ru kəŋə goṭa-e bahar-il-a.*
 that hole-ABL what CL-INDEF come.out-PST-3s
 ‘Something came out of that hole.’

- (49) *goti-e gāā-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 *oḷi* ‘thatch’, *tiḷə* ‘oilseed’ or *podə* ‘word’, which often occur in negated sentences to reinforce the negation.

- (50) *səhe* *bhələ* *kamə* *kər-ɔ*, **tiḷ-e** *hele* *prəʒənsa* *nah-ī*.
 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* *kəŋə* *kəh-uth-il-e* *mū* **pəd-e** *suddha*
 they who what say-IPFV-PST-3p I word-INDEF even
bujh-i-par-il-i *nahī*.
 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’
panə ‘lesson’ *pan-e* *caḱheiba* ‘teach a lesson’
ghera ‘tour’ *ghera-e* *buliba* ‘go on a tour’

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

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

(vii) The suffix *-e* can also be added to the articles *-ṭa* or *-ṭi*, e.g. *bəs-ṭi-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. *məŋisəṭie-ku* ‘a man’ or *əḱhaṭie-re* ‘in a sackcloth’. In contrast to the alternative construction with a preceding classifier (*goṭie əḱhare*) the variant with suffixed classifier is slightly more informal.

- (53) *semane* *səbə-ku* **əḱha-ṭie-re** *bhərtti* *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-ṭi* *rəḱhya* *pa-iba* *pāī* **ekə** *upayə* *panc-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 *ekəsəŋge* ‘at the same time’ or in the following examples:

- (55) *tume mo-ṭhū bəɾɔ he-b-ɔ?* — na, prayɔ **ekɔ** bəyɔsɔ.
 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 mɔdhyɔ 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 *ekɔ*. The suffix *-kɔ* occurs with certain measure nouns and classifiers, e. g. *bərsɔ-kɔ* ‘one year’, *masɔ-kɔ* ‘one month’ and *jɔɾɔ-kɔ* ‘one’. Note that it is different from the all-inclusive *-kɔ*, see 3.1.3.5.

- (57) *Syamɔ bərsɔ-kɔ tɔl-e cakiri hɔr-a-il-a.*
 S. year-one ago-LOC job be.lost-CAUS-PST-3s
 ‘Śyāma lost his job a year ago.’
- (58) *ɔjogɔ lokɔ-ku kamɔ de-le jɔɾɔ-kɔ jaga-re tini-jɔɾɔ lɔɾa*
 incapable person-DAT work give-CONDCV 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* + *pɔre* + Classifier-*e*”, as in *goṭi-kɔ pɔre 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. *singɔ-k-e* ‘with one horn’, *thɔrɔ-k-e* ‘at one time’, *akhi pichuḷa-k-e* ‘in the twinkling of an eye’.

- (59) *ta-nkɔ pɔri sadhu lokɔ hɔjarɔ-k-e / sɔhe-k-e goṭi-e.*
 he-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 capuṛa-k-e* ‘with one blow’.

- (60) *eka capuṛa-k-e tɔmɔ dui-jɔɾɔ-nku smɔsanɔ-ku*
 one slap-one-LOC you(POL):OBL two-CL-OBL:DAT cemetery-DAT
pɔṭhe-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 -manə) | e. g. | bałəkə-mane | ‘the children’ |
| (ii) | Set II | -guṛa-kə -guṛa -guṛa-e
-guṛi-kə -guṛi -guṛi-e | | corə-guṛakə
ambə-guṛikə | ‘the thieves’
‘the mangoes’ |
| (iii) | | -e | | bałək-e | ‘the children’ |
| (iv) | | -nkə / -nku (see case suffixes, 3.1.4) | | | |

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

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

- (61) e bəṣ-re **purusə o stri-manə-nkə-rə** bəṣ-iba jaga əch-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 jetebeḷe Kēūjhəṛə ja-uth-il-u, rasta kəṛə-re **pila /**
 we when K. go-IPFV-PST-1pe road side-LOC child
pila-mane / pila-guṛa(kə) / pila-guṛi(kə) / pila-guṛie / pil-e
 child-PL child-PL child-PL child-PL child-PL
 chiṛa 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 (*lokəmane* ‘people’, *hatimane* ‘elephants’) and personal pronouns (*təməmane* ‘you (pl.)’, *seməne* ‘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 *-manə* 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 sanskrutikə **karjəkrəmə-manə** prədərsitə ho-ith-il-a.
 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) **corə-guṛakə** kali dhəṛ-a-pəṛ-i-gəḷ-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-gurakɔ** moʈ-i stri-lokɔ-ta-ku dekh-i hɔs-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 **gɔchɔ-gurikɔ-re** sɔbubele bhɔlɔ phulɔ phuʈ-e.
 these tree-PL-LOC always good fruit blossom-3s:HAB
 'These trees always yield good fruit.'

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

(About true wisdom.)

- (67) kebɔlɔ **pothi-gurie** pɔrɪ-i mukhɔsthɔ kɔ-le gyanɔ labhɔ
 only book-PL read-CV memorise do-CONDCV knowledge use
 hu-e nahī.
 be-3s:HAB NEG
 'The knowledge is of no use if you only read and memorise books.'

When *pothi-gurikɔ* is used, the sentence is about a particular set of books (definite use). (For more details on the suffixes *-e* and *-kɔ* 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) *phitagurakɔ* 'laces' is in the plural; but the verb *phitijauchi* shows the inflection for third person singular.

- (68) mo jota-rɔ **phita-gurakɔ** phiʈ-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:

⁷*gurie* can occur as preposed indefinite quantifier with the meaning 'many' (see 3.2.6.3).

⁸In addition there are some idiomatic expressions, such as *akhire akhi-e luhɔ* 'eyes full of tears' or *dukh-e sukh-e cɔliba* 'go through the sorrows and joys of life' (*-e* could be locative as well (see 3.1.4.6)).

(69)	lok-e	‘people’	dhoba-e	‘washermen’
	buřha-e	‘old men’	neta-e	‘leaders’
	buřhi-e	‘old women’	pařhok-e	‘readers’
	bhai-e	‘brothers’	hati-e	‘elephant’
	bhauņi-e	‘sisters’		
	pil-e / pila-e	‘children’		
	nari-e	‘women’	*pu-e	‘boys’
	pauđit-e	‘Pandits’	*raj-e	‘kings’
	cakor-e	‘servants’	*kukur-e	‘dogs’
	Ořia-e	‘Oriya (pl.)’	*pimpuři-e	‘ants’

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

(70) e soroکارو bodol-ile **lok-e** santi-re ruh-ont-e.
 this government change-CONDCV people-PL peace-LOC live-COND-3p
 ‘People would live in peace if this government changed.’

(71) Sahu-nko ghororo-**lok-e** boru kořha-re ruh-onti.
 S.-OBL house-GEN people-PL big building-LOC live-3p:HAB
 semano-nko-ru bohut řanka-poisa th-ib-o.
 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) lok-manee as-ile **pösu-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**, tome-mane to Ořia okhyoro sobu sikh-il-o-ři.
 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) mər-iba dino bi buḥi ṭhakuro-nku hatə joṛ-i kəh-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-ə-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 *-nko* OBL and *-nku* OBL:DAT (see 3.1.4) imply plural meaning, and the plural marker can be omitted in combination with these suffixes:

- (75) gruhiṇi cakoro(-mano)-nko dwara otithi(-mano)-nko pāi caa
 housewife servant-PL-OBL by guest-PL-OBL for tea
 ɔṇ-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 Kirāṇa speaks to her two brothers in (76b), as can be seen from the preceding sentence (76a).

- (76) a. raja cal-i-gəla pər-e Aruṇə o Bəruṇə as-i
 king go-CV-V2:go:INF:PST after-LOC A. and B. come-CV
 għər-e pəhənc-il-e.
 house-LOC arrive-PST-3p
 ‘After the king had gone away, Aruṇa and Baruṇa came home.’
 b. Kirəṇə kəh-il-a, “**bhai**, raja bhari bhəb məṇiso.”
 K. say-PST-3s brother king very good man
 ‘After the king had gone away, Aruṇa and Baruṇa came home.
 Kirāṇa 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 pila (*-mane, *-guriḱə) ‘two children’
 ɔnekə kua (*-mane) ‘many crows’
 dəḷe pila (*-mane) ‘a group of children’
 sobu pila (*-mane) ‘all children’
- (78) se rabə suṇ-i kete kuəṛ-u ɔnekə kua as-i seṭha-re jəma
 that sound hear-CV some where-ABL many crow come-CV there-LOC gather
 ho-i-gəl-e. (...) prəthəmə kua-rə kaka səbdə-re ɔnyə
 be-CV-V2:go:INF:PST-3p first crow-GEN IDEO sound-LOC other
kua-mane as-i jəma 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-jakɔ** / **se seu** / **seu-gurikɔ** / ***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) **jɔngɔɔ-re mũ pɔkhi-gura-e** / ***pɔkhi-gura dekh-il-i**. (cf. ...
 forest-LOC I bird-PL-INDEF bird-PL see-PST-1s
pɔkhi-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 *pɔkhimane* ‘birds’ in (81) below.

- (81) **rati pah-iba pɔrjyɔntɔ pɔkhi-mane bɔsa-ru bahar-ɔnti nahĩ**.
 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 *-kɔ*, *-jakɔ*, *-tɔkɔ*, 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 *sɔmɔste* ‘all’ are discussed in 3.2.6.5.

-kɔ The suffix *kɔ* 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. *dɔɔɔ-kɔ* ‘the group’;
- classifiers; e. g. *jɔɔɔ-kɔ*, *goɔa-kɔ*; e. g. *bɔɔɔ goɔa-kɔ* ‘the whole forest’;
- articles; e. g. *suna-ti-kɔ* ‘all of the gold’;
- plural suffixes *gura* / *guri*: *pila-gura-kɔ* / *pila-guri-kɔ* ‘the children’ (see 3.1.3.4).

-kə can be added to nominals with singular (82) or plural number (84):

- (82) *pila dələ-kə* 'the group of children'
hələ-kə jota / jota hələ-kə 'the pair of shoes'
 cf. *hələ-e jota* 'a pair of shoes'
- (83) *cəpələ hələ-kə-ru goti-e pətə*
 sandal pair-all-ABL CL-INDEF piece
 'one of the pair of sandals'
- (84) *caulə pancə bəsta-kə* 'the five sacks of rice'
pila dui dələ-kə '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 *jəpəkə* (classifier + *-kə*):

- (85) *se muŋdə hələ-i nahī kər-iba-ru ənyə jəpəkə kəh-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 *-kə* of *jəpəkə* in (85) is replaced by *-e*, *jəpə-e* has indefinite meaning 'another one said'. Postposed *jəpəkə* indicates that the referent has been mentioned in the preceding discourse. Consider *chatri jəpəkə* 'the aforesaid lady student' in (86):

- (86) *kintu tədəntə səməyə-re ryaging-rə sikarə ho-ith-iba chatri*
 but inquiry time-LOC r.-GEN victim be-PERF-INF student(f.)
jəpəkə *kəpəsi əbhijogə kər-i-nə-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 *khəndi-kə*:

(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 rəkh-ith-iba chena khəndi-kə pətərə-re guṛ-a-i*
 night-DAT keep-PERF-INF cheese CL-DEF leaf-LOC wrap-CAUS-CV
pəkətə-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.'

-jako The suffix *-jako* ‘all’, ‘whole’ is attached mainly to inanimate nouns and to nouns denoting small animals.

- (88) *pimpuri-jako* ‘all ants’
ambo-jako ‘all mangoes’
kolom-jako ‘all pens’
sohoro-jako ‘the whole city’
ghoro-jako ‘the whole house, all houses’
goch-jako ‘the whole tree, all trees’
nodi-jako ‘the whole river, all rivers’
- (89) **moja-jako** tume ko-l-o, kosto **kamo-jako** mū ko-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 *-jako*.

- (90) mū **pimpuri-jako-ku** dekh-il-i.
 I ant-all-DAT see-PST-1s
 ‘I saw all the ants.’
- (91) **bōhi-jako** pāi thako-ṭie kor-o.
 book-all for shelf-INDEF do-2p:IMP
 ‘Make a shelf for the books.’
- (92) **bichōṇa-jako(-re)** pimpuri bhōrtti ho-ich-ōnti.
 bed-all-LOC ant full become-PERF-3p
 ‘The whole bed is full of ants.’

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

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

- (93) **baṭo-jako** ḍak-utha-nti, “he probhu Jōgōnnatho!”
 way-all call-IPFV-3p:HAB(HON) INTERJ lord J.
 ‘All the way he prayed, “Oh Lord Jagannātha!”’

The classifiers *-ṭa*, *-ṭi*, *-goṭa* and the suffix *-ko* can be added to the combination of a noun and *-jako*, giving rise to the singular reading of the noun (“whole”).

- (94) *muhō-ko-jako* / *muhō-ṭi-jako* ‘the whole face’
deho-goṭa-jako ‘the whole body’
bōhi-goṭa-ko-jako ‘the whole book’
bōhi-jako-ko ‘the whole book’
- (95) **kōlom-ṭi-jako** kaḷi ho-ich-i.
 pen-ART-all ink become-PERF-3s
 ‘The whole pen has become full of ink.’

- (96) **bɔŋɔ-ʈa-jakɔ-ro** pɔsu-pɔkhi seʈha-ku as-onti.
 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-ʈi-jakɔ ambɔ / ambɔ dui-ʈi-jakɔ ‘both mangoes’
 *ambɔ-jakɔ dui-ʈi
 dui-jɔŋɔ-jakɔ pila ‘both children’
- (98) mo-te kɔmɔla o seu **dui-ʈi-jakɔ** bhɔɔ 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: *paŋi-tɔkɔ* ‘all the water’, *bhatɔ-tɔkɔ* ‘all the rice’ or *caa-tɔkɔ* ‘all the tea’. Some inanimate nouns denoting a small object can take *-tɔkɔ* as well: *cuŋi-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) calɔ **ambɔ-tɔkɔ** amɔ bhitɔr-e baŋʈ-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 **bhatɔ-tɔkɔ-ku** kha-ich-i.
 he rice-all-DAT eat-PERF-3s
 ‘He ate all the rice.’
- (101) semane muŋi piʈʈ-a-nti ebɔŋg cupcup **mohɔrɔ-tɔkɔ**
 they bag crack-CAUS-3p:HAB and quietly coin-all
 gɔŋ-onti.
 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 *-jakɔ*, e. g. *sara deho-jakɔ* ‘the entire body’.

- (102) sara ambɔ / ambɔ-sara ‘the whole mango’
 ghɔrɔ-sara ‘the whole house’
 deho-sara ‘the whole body’
 desɔ-sara ‘the whole country’
 cf. sara-lokɔ ‘the population’ (fixed expression)

- (103) *gəto bərsə-sara se I.A.S. pərikhya pāi prəstuto*
 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-nkə-rə sara jibəno əbhəbə-re kəṭ-ich-i.*
 he-OBL-GEN whole life want-LOC pass-PERF-3s
 ‘He has lived in want all his life.’
- (105) *hati-rə dehə-sara pəkə bhərtti 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 səhəro-ṭa*, *səhəro-ṭa-sara* or *səhəro sara-ṭa-jakə* ‘the whole town’.

- (106) *Məhatma Gandhi-nku dekh-iba-ku sara səhəro-ṭa*
 M. G.-OBL:DAT see-INF-DAT whole town-ART
uṭh-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 five 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 *-nkə*. 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* < *-nkə* + *-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 morphemes 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) *-nkə* and *-nku* originally designated plurality. They can still convey this meaning, so that the suffix *-manə* can be omitted in the non-nominative cases of the plural paradigm without change of meaning.

Table 3.2: Case suffixes

Singular forms

	Suffix	non-human noun	human noun (non-hon. use)	human noun (honorific use)
Nominative	Ø	gɔcho 'tree'	pila 'child'	stri 'woman'
Oblique base	Ø/-nko	gɔcho	pila	stri-nko
Dative	-ku	gɔcho-ku	pila-ku	stri-nku
Genitive	-rɔ	gɔcho-rɔ	pila-rɔ	stri-nko-rɔ
Ablative	-ru	gɔcho(-t̥ha)-ru	pila-t̥ha-ru	stri-nko-t̥ha-ru
Locative	-re	gɔcho(-t̥ha)-re	pila-t̥ha-re	stri-nko-t̥ha-re

Plural forms^a

	Suffix	non-human noun	human noun
Nominative	Ø/(-e)	gɔcho-guriko 'trees'	pila-mane 'children'
Oblique base	Ø/-nko	gɔcho-guriko	pila-manɔ-nko
Dative	-ku	gɔcho-gurɪ-ku	pila-manɔ-nku
Genitive	-rɔ	gɔcho-guriko-rɔ	pila-manɔ-nko-rɔ
Ablative	-ru	gɔcho-guriko(-t̥ha)-ru	pila-manɔ-nko-t̥ha-ru
Locative	-re	gɔcho-guriko(-t̥ha)-re	pila-manɔ-nko-t̥ha-re

^aFor the exact use of the plural suffixes see 3.1.3.5.

- (107) eṭhi kete-gurɪe saikel ɔch-i. kēū-guriko puɔ-nko-rɔ o kēū-guriko
 here some-PL bicycle be-3s which-PL boy-OBL-GEN and which-PL
jhio-nko-rɔ?
 girl-OBL-GEN

'There are some bicycles here. Which belong to boys and which belong to girls?'

Variants (i) The sequence *-t̥ha-ru* can be shortened to *-t̥hu*, e.g. *bapa-nko-t̥h-u* 'from the father'. Likewise, there is the short form *-t̥hi* of *-t̥ha-re*, e.g. *mo-t̥hi* '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', *eṭhi-ki* 'here (to this place)', *cɔrhei-nki* 'to the birds'.

(iii) Nouns ending in *-rɔ* or *-ɔ* show the variants *-e* and *-u* of the suffixes *-ru* for ablative, respectively *-re* for locative case.

Ablative Locative

ghəɾɔ	‘house’	ghəɾ-u	ghəɾ-e
səkəlɔ	‘morning’	səkəl-u	səkəl-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’, *baʃ-e* ‘by way of’, *pakh-e* ‘near’, *pət-e* ‘on the side’. Besides, short forms occur in poetic style; consider (108), which is the title of a short story.

- (108) nɔɾɔ **deh-e** Narayəɳɔ
 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 *odhɔ diʃa* ‘the two otters’.

- (109) etikibeʃe bilua pəhənc-i-ja-i **odhɔ di-ʃa-nku** pəcar-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) *upəre diajaithiba udahəɾəɳɔ* ‘the examples given above’ and *alocəna* ‘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) upəɾ-e di-a-ja-ith-iba udahəɾəɳɔ o **alocəna-ru**
 top-LOC give-PASS-go-PERF-INF example and discussion-ABL
 jəɳ-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 *-ri*⁹, which is added to emphasise a pronoun. It occurs with pronouns, e. g. *mori*, *tori*, *tankəri* etc., with the quantifier *səbu* ‘all’ (e. g. *səbu-ri* in (112) below) and with the interrogative pronoun *kahari-ku* ‘whom’. In most of the cases the pronoun is in the genitive case, but dative and locative case (*ta-nkɔ-ri-ʃa-re* ‘(to believe) in him’) are attested as well.

- (111) mū taa-ɾɔ kichi ənistɔ kəɾ-u-nah-ĩ. jɔdi taa-ɾɔ kichi ənistɔ
 I he-GEN some harm do-PROG-NEG-1s if he-GEN some harm
 he-b-ɔ, **to-ri** dwara he-b-ɔ.
 happen-FUT-3s you(FAM)-EMPH by happen-FUT-3s

⁹The suffix *-ri* is probably composed of the genitive suffix *-ɾɔ* 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) **sɔbu-ri** muhɔ̄-re sei goṭa-e kotha th-il-a, kie hoṭya kɔ-l-a
 all-EMPH mouth-LOC that CL-INDEF matter be-PST-3s who murder do-PST-3s
 Lɔjyaboti-ku.
 L.-DAT

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

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) **baḷika-mane** nac-uch-ɔnti.
 girl-PL dance-PROG-3p
 'The girls are dancing.'
- (114) **semane** kɔɔṅɔ gocho-ṭa kaṭ-uch-ɔnti?
 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

		oblique	nominative	
a)	plural suffix <i>-manɔ</i> , e. g.	pila-manɔ	pila-man-e	'the children'
b)	personal pronouns 1p	amɔ	am-e	'we'
	2sPOL	tumɔ	tum-e	'you'
c)	interrogative pronoun	kaha	ki-e	'who'
d)	reflexive pronoun	nijɔ	nij-e	'self'
e)	indefinite pronouns	sɔmɔstɔ	sɔmɔst-e	'all'
		ɔnekɔ	ɔnek-e	'many'
f)	numerals	ubhoɔɔ	ubhoɔ-e	'both'

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).

¹⁰For other homonymous suffixes *-e* see 3.1.3.

The suffix *-e* does not occur in attributive position to a head noun, consider e. g. *amə ghərə* ‘our house’ vs. *ame asibu* ‘we will come’.

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

- (115) *se səhərə-rə rasta-manə / *rasta-mane* *əti sundərə 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. *pəṇḍit-e-nku* ‘to the pundit’, *pəṇḍit-e-nkə-ṭharu* ‘from the pundit’.

- (116) *Məhanti-e* *seṭhi murccha ho-i pəṛ-i-rəh-il-e.*
 M.-HON there faint become-CV fall-CV-V2:stay-PST-3p(HON)
 ‘Mahānti there fell fainting.’

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

- (117) *sikhyək-e* *pəṛh-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 Suməti pila-manə-nku miṭhai de-uch-ənti.*
 Miss S. child-PL-OBL:DAT sweets give-PROG-3p(HON)
 ‘Miss Sumati is giving sweets to the children.’
- (119) *se ta-nkə-rə pita-mata-nku səməstə ghəṭəna*
 he he-OBL-GEN father-mother-OBL:DAT every event
jəṇ-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) mū goṭi-e kōtha **apōṇo-nku** pōcar-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) mū kali tumō sanō **bhai-ku** dekh-il-i; agō-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 jōṇ-e ḍenga, kōḷa o darhia **lokō(-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) mū goṭi-e **jhiō(-ku)** dekh-il-i jaha-rō baḷō oṇṭa pōrjyōntō
 I CL-INDEF girl-DAT see-PST-1s who-GEN hair waist until
 lōmb-ith-il-a.
 reach-PERF-PST-3s
 ‘I saw a girl whose hair came down to the waist.’

- (124) **bōrōpatrō(-ku)** khoj-iba-ku tumō-ku ekō masō sōmōyō
 bridegroom-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 bridegroom (for this girl).’

- (125) raja baḷika-ku ḍak-i aṇ-iba pāi **lokō(-ku)** pōṭha-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 **ciṭhi-ṭi(-ku)** kie lekh-ith-il-a?
 that letter-ART-DAT who write-PERF-PST-3s
 ‘Who wrote that letter?’

- (127) *din-e kōdōḷi-ṭie kha-i se jaṅ-i suṅ-i copa-ṭi(-ku) ta-nko*
 day-INDEF banana-INDEF eat-CV he know-CV hear-CV peel-ART-DAT he-OBL
ghōrō samna rasta mōjhi-ku 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) *setebeḷe sanō bhāi-ṭi goṭi-e sikhyōkō cakiri(*-ku)*
 then little brother-ART CL-INDEF teacher job-DAT
pa-i-gōl-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 purbō dinō jēū jama-ṭi kiṅ-ith-il-i sei-ṭi-ku mo*
 I before day which frock-ART buy-PERF-PST-1s that-ART-DAT my
bhōṅi-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’ | dōya as- | ‘feel mercy’ |
| dhōr- | ‘catch’ | thōṅḍa dhōr- | ‘catch a cold’ |
| rōkh- | ‘keep’ | mōne rōkh- | ‘remember’ |

he-	'be'	x borsɔ he-	'be x years old'	jɔrɔ he-	'have fever'
		basɔna he-	'smell'	sosɔ he-	'be thirsty'
		bodho he-	'think'	thɔŋɔ he-	'catch a cold'
lag-	'feel'	banti lag-	'feel sick'	khɔrapɔ lag-	'hate'
		bhokɔ lag-	'be hungry'	khusi lag-	'rejoice'
		bholɔ lag-	'like'	nido lag-	'fall asleep'
		ciɕa lag-	'be tired of'	ɔsubidha lag-	'find it difficult'
		dukho lag-	'be sad'	pɔrisra lag-	'need to piss'
		gɔrɔmɔ lag-	'be hot'	ragɔ lag-	'be angry'
mar-	'rush'	ɔrɔ mar-	'be afraid'	nido mar-	'be sleepy'
		kandɔ mar-	'feel like crying'		
as-	'can' (elsewhere 'come') (see 4.6.2.4)				
miɭ-	'be available'				
mɔna	'must not'				
pɔɾ-	'must' (see 4.6.2.9)				

- (130) **Tultu-ku** jɔrɔ ɕikie ho-i-ja-ich-i.
 T.-DAT fever a.little become-CV-V2:go-PERF-3s
 'Tultu has got a little fever.'
- (131) aji **tumɔ-ku** kemiti lag-uch-i? — ɕikie besi durbɔɔ
 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) gari ɔeri ɔch-i. caa kha-iba-ku **amɔ-ku** ɔɔpɔ kete minit
 train late be-3s tea eat-INF-DAT we-DAT few some m.
 miɭ-i-j-ib-ɔ.
 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) semano-nku hɔsɔ **lag-uch-i** / ***lag-uch-ɔnti**.
 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-rɔ** taa maa mɔn-e pɔɾ-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. **mɔ-te** golapɔ phulɔ bhɔlɔ bas-il-a.
 I-DAT rose flower good smell-PST-3s
 ‘I smelled a lovely smell from the flowers.’
- b. **mū** golap phulɔ sungh-il-i.
 I rose flower smell.at-PST-1s
 ‘I smelled at the flower.’
- (136) a. **mɔ-te** hɔʔhat akasɔ-re ulka dekh-a-gol-a.
 I-DAT suddenly sky-LOC comet see-PASS-go-PST-3s
 ‘I suddenly saw a comet in the sky.’
- b. **mū** hɔʔhat 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) lokɔ-ti noi-rɔ e kulɔ-ru se **kulɔ-ku** pɔhɔr-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) bichɔŋa-ku jiba ‘go to bed’
 bɔhu durɔ-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. *Kɔʔɔkɔ-Ø* in (139).

- (139) gɔtɔ bɔrsɔ mū ɔnekɔ thɔrɔ **Kɔʔɔkɔ** ja-ith-il-i.
 last year I many time C. go-PERF-PST-1s
 ‘I went to Cuttack many times last year.’

3.1.4.4 Genitive and possession

The genitive case marker *-rɔ* 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(-rɔ) phɔɔ	'night-flower'
Subjective:	bapa-maa-nkɔ(-rɔ) iccha	'the parents' wish'
Objective:	poribarɔ(-rɔ) sɔhayɔta	'family support'
Possessive:	mo(-rɔ) nãã	'my name'
Origin:	Oṛisa(-rɔ) kɔila	'coal of Orissa'
Descriptive:	sisu(-rɔ) khadhɔ	'baby food'
Measure:	dɔsɔ dino(-rɔ) rɔhɔɳi	'ten days' stay'
Partitive:	ɔsubidha(-rɔ) kichi ɔnsɔ	'a part of the problem'

It is used in combination with postpositions:

- (146) Ramɔ(-rɔ) upɔre 'on Rāma'
 Ramɔ(-rɔ) sangɔre 'with Rāma'

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

- (147) pila(-guriɔ)-nkɔ(-rɔ) sikhɔɔkɔ 'the children's teacher'
 apɔɳɔ-nkɔ(-rɔ) nãã '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) machɔ(*-rɔ) tɔɔkari 'fish curry'
 paɳi(*-rɔ) botɔɔl 'water bottle'
 caulɔ(*-rɔ) cuna 'rice powder'

The genitive can be added to postpositions, e. g. *jae-rɔ* 'until + GEN' in (149).

- (149) kɔɔie hɔjar kɔɔi tɔɔnka-ru calisɔ hɔjarɔ tɔɔnka **jae-rɔ**
 twenty thousand 10,000,000 rupee-ABL forty thousand rupee until-GEN
 rɔtɔɔ-pɔthɔɔ ehi ɔncɔɔɔ-re miɔ-uch-i.
 gem-stone this area-LOC be.available-PROG-3s

¹²The 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 *gəɾɔjɪla meghə kahiki bəɾəse nahī* ‘why do roaring clouds not rain?’ is marked by the genitive *-rə* as a determiner to the noun phrase *bigyaṅə səmmətə karəṅə* ‘science-proved reason’.

- (150) **sar-nkə-ṭhū Piṅṭu gəɾɔj-ila meghə kahiki bəɾəs-e nahī-rə**
 S-OBL-ABL P. roar-INF:PST cloud why rain-3s:HAB NEG-GEN
bigyaṅə səmmətə karəṅə bujh-i buḥi-maa-ku əna-i
 science approved reason understand-CV old-mother-DAT show-CV
həs-i-de-l-a.
 laugh-CV-V2:give-PST-3s

‘After Piṅṭu 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 *əch-* / *tha-* ‘be’ in the sense of English “have”, see (151, 152) and the chapter on the verb “to be” 4.4.

- (151) **apəṅə-nkə-rə** Bhubəneswəɾə-re ghəɾə əch-i?
 you(IION)-OBL-GEN Bh.-LOC house be-3s
 ‘Do you have a house in Bhubaneswar?’
- (152) **raja-nkə-rə** kəh-iba-ku au kichi nə-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-rə* as subject in (153), *mamu-nkə-rə* as predicative in (154)). It can be marked by the article, but the genitive case marker is then omitted, e.g. *mə-ṭi* ‘mine’ in (155).

- (153) *mə hatə-gəɾə sərua, kintu taa-rə məṭa.*
 my arm-leg thin but he-GEN fat
 ‘My hands and legs are thin, but his are fat.’
- (154) *e cəɾəma-ṭi kaha-rə? — ei-ṭi mə mamu-nkə-rə.*
 this glasses-ART who-GEN this-ART my uncle-OBL-GEN
 Whose glasses are these? — They are my uncle’s.’
- (155) *tumə uttəɾə-ṭi bhul, matə mə-ṭi ṭhik.*
 your(POL) answer-ART mistake but my-ART correct
 ‘Your answer is wrong, but mine is right.’

Experiencer The experiencer 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'	ḍeri he-	'be late'
he-	'happen; be'	mōne he-	'feel, like, think'
ṣch-	'be, be supposed to'	mōne pōṛ-	'remember'
ucit	'must, should' (see 4.2.4.8)	mōne nahī	'forget' (cf. mōno 'mind')

The following expressions are often used with *he-* or *ṣch-* 'be':

asōnka	'be afraid'	dōrkar	'need, want' (see 4.2.4.8)
bhōyo	'fear'	loṛa	'need'
bheṭṭo	'meet'	lōjjito	'be ashamed of'
biswasō	'believe'	sōndehō	'doubt'
dharōṇa	'think'		

- (156) Hena muhō-re bhōyo-rō cinhō dekh-i bapa pōcar-il-e, "kōṇṇo
 H. face-LOC fear-GEN sign see-CV father ask-PST-3p(HON) what
 he-l-a **tumō-rō?**"
 be-PST-3s you(POL)-GEN
 'When the father saw signs of fear on Henā's face, he asked, "What happened to you?"'
- (157) kha-iba-ku nō-pa-i **semanō-nkō-rō** kōṇṭa 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) pher-i-as-iba-ku **mo-rō** ḍeri he-b-ṣ-ni.
 return-CV-V2:come-INF-DAT I-GEN late be-FUT-3s-NEG
 'I won't be late to return.'
- (159) ta-nkō muhō-ṭa **mo-rō** khub mōn-e pōṛ-uch-i.
 he-OBL face-ART I-GEN much mind-LOC fall-PROG-3s
 'I remember his face very well.'
- (160) **mo-rō** biswasō Gopāḷo michō kōh-e nahī.
 I-GEN belief G. lie say-3s:HAB NEG
 'I believe Gopāḷa 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 experiencer.

(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 *songe* ‘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 bəno-ru kəho songroho kor-u koru*
 day-INDEF sacrifice for forest-ABL wood collect do-ICV RDP
jon-e rupoban juboko songe ta-nko-ro bheho 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 osuro-nku bheh-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 *-ro* cannot be dropped, unlike in possessive constructions.

- (162) *he bhogoban, mo-ro sobu sor-i-gol-a!*
 INTERJ god my-GEN all finish-CV-V2:go:PST-3s
 ‘Oh my God, I’ve lost everything!’
- (163) *gotokali tom-ro gohi-e cihi 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-ro* ‘tiger’ and *singho-ro* ‘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-ro singho-ro sathi bos-ith-il-e.*
 tiger-GEN lion-GEN friend sit-PERF-PST-3p
 ‘The tiger and the lion made friends.’
- (165) *mo-ro ta-nko-ro e kamə-ṭa ko-l-u.*
 I-GEN he-OBL-GEN this work-ART do-PST-1pi
 ‘I and he did this work.’
- (166) *gohi-e mo bhəuni-nko-ro, gohi-e dada khuṛi-nko-ro au*
 CL-INDEF my sister-OBL-GEN CL-INDEF uncle-OBL-GEN and
gohi-e tumo-ro sano bhəuni(-ro) de-ich-onti.
 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 *goṭe* / *goṭie* are the objects, referring to letters. The genitive *-rɔ* 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-rɔ** 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-rɔ** (au) **mo-rɔ** j-ib-u / **gɔl-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 *tɔmɔ-rɔ mo-rɔ j-ib-a*.
'You and I will go.'
- b) with a 1st and 3rd person → 1pe *mo-rɔ taa-rɔ j-ib-u*.
'I and he will go.'
- c) with a 2nd person (and no 1st) → 2p *Sita-rɔ tɔmɔ-rɔ j-ib-ɔ*.
'Sitā and you will go.'
- d) elsewhere → 3p *Sita-rɔ Rāmɔ-rɔ j-ib-e*.
'Sitā and Rāma will go.'

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

- (169) **bapa-nkɔ-rɔ** **maa-nkɔ-rɔ** 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) ***bɔhi-rɔ** **kɔlɔmɔ-rɔ** khɔs-i-pɔɣ-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 *nijɔ*.

- (171) **mo-rɔ** au mo **bhɔuŋi-rɔ** niʒɔ ghɔr-e pɔhɔnc-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 beɭ-u* ‘when’ in (172) below, or *agɔ-ru*, *purbɔ-ru* ‘earlier’, *sɔkɔɭ-u* ‘in the morning’ (cf. *sɔkɔɭɔ-ru* ‘since morning’).

- (172) **kete beɭ-u** as-il-ɔ-ŋi?
 how.much time-ABL come-PST-2p-MIR
 ‘When did you come?’

- (173) **amɔ-rɔ** sesɔ **sakhyatɔ-tʰaru** ebe goʒa-e juʒɔ
 we-GEN last meeting-ABL now CL-INDEF age
 ho-i-gɔɭ-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) **buɾha-tʰaru** pila jae, sɔmɔst-e jatra-ku gɔɭ-e.
 old-ABL child until all-NOM journey-DAT go:PST-3p
 ‘Old and young, everybody went on journey.’

- the source or origin:

- (175) **uttɔrɔ digɔ-ru** ‘from north’ (cf. *digɔ* ‘direction’)
rajyɔ-ru ɔdhe ‘one half of the kingdom’
almari-ru kɔɾhiba ‘take from a cupboard’
nidɔ-ru uʒhiba ‘get up from sleep’
gɔbesɔŋa-ru jaŋiba ‘learn from research’
ripɔɾt-ru pɔkaso heba ‘be published from a report’
- (176) **dɔɾkar beɭ-e** mū **byank-ru** tɔnka uʒ-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-ɔ.
I-DAT tea-ABL more some give-2p:IMP
'Please give me some more of the tea.'
- (178) lok-e **jēūṭh-u** pa-ile paṇi pi-uch-ɔnti.
people-PL where-ABL find-CONDCV water drink-PROG-3p
'Wherever the people find some water, they drink it.'

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

- (179) mo kɔtha nɔ-suṇ-i se **mo pakhɔ-ru** cal-i-gɔl-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) dayitwɔ-ru muktɔ 'released from responsibility'
sitɔɔ paniyɔ-ru dureiba 'refrain from cold drinks'
se sɔbu-ṭharu niara 'different from all that'
- (181) bhɔgɔban sɔmɔstɔ-nku **bipɔdɔ-ru** rɔkhya kɔr-ɔnti.
god all-OBL:DAT danger-ABL salvation do-3p(HON):HAB
'God saves everybody from danger.'
- (182) mo niti ta-nkɔ **niti-ṭharu** 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 *-ṭha*.

- (183) maa **jhiɔ-ṭharu** sundɔɔ.
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 karɔɔ-ru 'for this reason'
durbɔɔ-ru 'out of weakness'
amɔ paṭi-ru 'on our advice' (lit. 'from our mouth')
- (185) bɔrsa **ɔbhahɔ-ru** bhūi sukhila 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.'
- (186) mū gyani ho-ich-i ta-nkɔ-ri **asirbadɔ-ru**.
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) *bhōbisyōtō-re* 'in the future'
rati-re 'at night'
adhunikō jugō-re 'in modern times'
prōti muhurtō-re 'in every moment'
- (188) *ṭhik ehi sōmōyō-re mo-rō swami as-i-pōhōnc-il-e.*
 just this time-LOC my-GEN husband come-CV-arrive-PST-3p(HON)
 'Just at this moment my husband arrived.'
- (189) *khōbōrō-ṭa suṇ-i se mūṇḍō-re hatō 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) *mōnō-re prōsnō 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 *pakhō* 'side' is used (see p. 55).

- (191) *tumō pakhō-re kichi ṭonka-pōisa oḥ-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 *pakhō* (but with *-ṭha*).

- (192) *taa-rō prōtyōkhyō prōmaṇō mū aji tumō-ṭhare 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 paṅcō bōrsō-re gōbesōṇa sesō kō-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 s̄om̄oȳo p̄ar̄hiba 'read for some time'
 Oṛisa 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 *dvara* 'by' is used (see 4.6.3).

- (195) khali akhi-re dekh̄iheba 'be seen with the naked eye'
 hat̄o-re karj̄yo k̄oriba 'do an activity by hand'
 p̄onkha-re binciba 'fan by a fan'
- (196) se goṭi-e nali k̄ol̄om̄o-re lekh-uch-i.
 she CL-INDEF red pen-LOC write-PROG-3s
 'She is writing with a red pen.'
- (197) gaṛi-ṭi ch̄otis̄o h̄ojar̄o ṭ̄onka-re kiṇ-il-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) b̄or̄o paṭi-re k̄oṭha k̄oriba 'speak loudly (with a big mouth)'
 phon-re k̄oṭiba 'speak on the phone'
 Oṛia-re k̄oṭiba 'speak in Oriya'
 subidha-re miḹiba 'be easily available (lit. with opportunity)'
- (199) gaṛi-re sthan̄o s̄ongr̄okhȳoṇ̄o n̄o-k̄o-le aram̄o-re jatra
 train-LOC place reservation NEG-do-CONDCV comfort-LOC journey
 k̄or-i-he-b̄o nah̄i.
 do-CV-be-FUT-3s NEG
 'You cannot travel comfortably without booking a seat on the train.'
- (200) s̄oh̄o s̄oh̄o s̄onk̄hya-re jatri-bahi b̄os Puri as-uch-̄onti.
 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) gh̄or̄o iṭa o s̄iment̄-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'
 ɔhōnkārō-re ɔndhō 'blind with pride'
 rajankō adeso-re 'by the king's order'
 bhul-re 'by mistake'
- (203) **bhokō-re** mo peṭō auṭu pauṭu he-uch-i.
 hunger-LOC my stomach IDEO be-PROG-3s
 'My stomach is rumbling with hunger.'
- (204) hōija rogi-ku **bhōyō-re** kehi chū-ū-nō-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. *masō masō dhōri* 'for months', *dinō dinō dhōri* 'for days'.

- (205) jōṇ-e mōhīḷa **bōrsō bōrsō** dhōr-i kichi kichi oṛthō sōncōyō
 CL-INDEF woman year RDP take-CV some RDP money collect
 kōr-i-rōkh-uth-il-e.
 do-CV-keep-IPFV-PST-3p(HON)
 'A woman was collecting money little by little over the years.'
- (206) pruthibi-rō priyō mōṇisō-nkō sangō-re **cīthi-re cīthire** cīthi
 earth-GEN dear man-OBL with-LOC letter-LOC RDP letter
 sōmpōrkō jōṛ-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 jinisō **gāā gāā-re** sōhōjō-re miḷ-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-bhōḷi kamō kōr-ō jepōri pruthibi-rō **kōṇ-e kōṇe** prōtyekō
 this-like work do-2p:IMP in.order earth-GEN corner-INDEF RDP every
 lokō tumō-ku mōn-e rōkh-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.'

- (209) *rasta-ro kur-e kure gocho-gurie och-i.*
 road-GEN side-LOC RDP tree-PL be-3s
 ‘There are trees along the road.’

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) *mati-ku golb golb kor-i pota akaro-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 / -ti*.
- 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 boro* ‘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.

- 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	dirgho-ta	'length'	dirgho	'long'
	sabodhano-ta	'attention'	sabodhano	'attentive'
	ucco-ta	'height'	ucco	'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:

masculine form	feminine form	
geṛa	geṛi	'short'
moṭa	moṭi	'fat'
sundoro	sundori	'beautiful'

Other suffixes:

buddhiman	buddhimoti	'clever'
guṇoban	guṇoboti	'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:

aro	'next'	haluka	'light'	odho	'half'
bhara	'heavy'	kala	'deaf'	oḷosua	'lazy'
bhola	'good'	khali	'empty'	ondho	'blind'

biseso	'special'	khorap	'bad'	onyo	'other'
boro	'big'	koḷa	'black'	osaria	'wide'
choṭo	'small, short'	koṛa	'spiced, harsh'	puruṇa	'old'
dhiro	'patient, slow'	koṣṭo	'difficult'	sagua	'green'
dhola	'white'	laḷo	'red'	sidha	'straight'
dhoni	'rich'	lomba	'long'	sobujo	'green'
ḍahanō	'right'	miṭha	'sweet'	sōhojo	'easy'
gombhiro	'deep'	nali	'red'	sōsta	'cheap'
goribo	'poor'	neḷia	'blue'	thoṇḍa	'cold'
goromo	'hot'	nōromo	'soft'	ucco	'high'
gotō	'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 (-ora, -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'
dōkhiṇo 'south' dōkhiṇ-a 'southern'
maṭi 'ground' maṭi-a 'brown'
- -i Bōnarōso 'Varanasi' Bōnarōs-i 'of Varanasi'
dago 'sign' dag-i 'stained'
Kōṭōko 'Cuttack' Kōṭōk-i 'of Cuttack'
- -ia goṛo 'leg' goṛ-ia 'legged'
pahaṛo 'hill' pahaṛ-ia 'mountainous'
sōrōkarō 'government' sōrōkar-ia 'governmental'
- -ua bōḷo 'strength' bōḷ-ua 'strong'
megho 'cloud' megh-ua 'cloudy'
ōndharō 'night' ōndhar-ua 'very dark'
- -ali, -eli, -uli
cōito 'Chaitra' (month) cōit-ali 'born in Chaitra'
gāā 'village' gā-ūli 'rustic'
suna 'gold' sun-uli / sun-eli 'golden'

- *-cia*: resemblance paṇi ‘water’ paṇi-cia ‘insipid’
 mai ‘female’ mai-cia ‘effeminate’
 laḷo ‘red’ laḷo-cia ‘reddish’
- *-ṭia* dhūā ‘smoke’ dhūā-ṭia ‘smoky’
 luha ‘iron’ luha-ṭia ‘of iron’
 khora ‘noon’ khora-ṭia ‘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 *ṛ* → *a* in *abhidhano* ‘dictionary’ vs. *abhidhaniko* ‘lexical’.

- *-ban* (M), *boti* (F): having the property
 boḷo ‘strength’ boḷo-ban ‘strong’
 dōya ‘mercy’ dōya-ban ‘person who forgives’
 mulyo ‘value’ mulyo-ban ‘precious’
- *-gotṛo*: relating to byṅkti ‘person’ byṅkti-gotṛo ‘individual’
 dolo ‘group’ dolo-gotṛo ‘group-’
- *-iyo*: origin Arabo ‘Arabia’ Arab-iyō ‘Arabian’
 Bharoto ‘India’ Bharot-iyō ‘Indian’
- *-ko*, *-iko* abhidhano ‘dictionary’ abhidan-iko ‘lexical’
 paribarō ‘family’ paribar-iko ‘related to family’
 prayogo ‘use’ prayog-iko ‘contextual’
- *-niyo* dōṇḍo ‘punishment’ dōṇḍo-niyo ‘who is punished’
 lobho ‘greed’ lobho-niyo ‘creating greed’
- *-to*, *-ito* byōbohāro ‘use’ byōbohru-to ‘used’
 dukho ‘pain’ dukh-ito ‘unhappy’
 upōsthano ‘presence’ upōsth-ito ‘present’

There is one frequent derivative prefix: *ṅ-* or *ṅn-* (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'	ɔn-osaria	'narrow'
sundɔɔ	'beautiful'	ɔ-sundɔɔ	'ugly'
susthɔ	'healthy'	ɔ-susthɔ	'ill'

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

dekh-	'see'	dekh-a	'seen'	ɔ-dekh-a	'unseen'
kac-	'wash'	kɔc-a	'washed'	ɔ-kɔc-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),¹³ an adjective (2) or a noun (3).

- (1) ekɔ-akhi-a kɔɲa lokɔ 'one-eyed blind man'
 di-bɔkhɔr-ia ghɔɔ 'house with two rooms'
 dui-tɔnk-ia dam 'a price of two rupees'
 15-jɔɲ-ia kɔmiti 'committee composed of 15 persons'
- (2) lɔmba-gor-ia kukurɔ 'dog with long legs'
 lɔɲɔ-muɲɔ-ia lokɔ 'man with a shaven head'
 puruɲa-kaɭ-ia 'old-fashioned'
- (3) rogɔ-muktɔ 'freed from disease'
 nɔi-kuɭ-ia gɔ̃ 'village on the riverside'

Adjectives can be formed by reduplication:

- (4) rɔngɔ-rɔng-ia 'coloured'
 muhã-muhĩ 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) **sundɔɔ** baɭika / baɭkɔ / chɔbi or: **sundɔɔ-i** baɭika
 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) amɔ **dhɔɭ-i** birɔɲi 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.'

¹³Note that the fourth example of (1) contains a classifier as second element (jɔɲɔ).

The reduplication of an adjective signals plurality, e. g. *bhələ bhələ lokə* ‘good people’.

- (7) *bəɾə bəɾə* gəçhə upaɾ-iba pāi hati jəthestə bəɬəban.
big RDP tree uproot-INF for elephant enough strong
‘The elephant is strong enough to uproot big trees.’
- (8) sətəkəɾə 70 bhagə lokə *çotə çotə* gāā-re basə kəɾ-ənti.
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 lokə-*ta* *mo⁺ta*.
that person-ART fat
‘That man is fat.’
- b. se stri-lokə-*ta* *mo⁺-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 ghəɾə-rə çatə-gurikə *uccə 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 *əch-* ‘be’ (with present time reference) or *tha-* ‘be’ (elsewhere). This group includes *bəndə* ‘closed’, *çeri* ‘late’ and *khola* ‘open’.

- (11) e kəbatə-*ti* *khola* əch-i. se jhəɾəkə-*ti* *bəndə* əch-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 *bəndə th-iba* baksə-re amə-rə lugapə⁺*ta* əch-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) Ramo ta-ku **cintito** dekh-il-a.
 R. she-DAT worried see-PST-3s
 ‘Rāma saw that she was worried (lit. saw her worried).’

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

- (14) boro kodoḷi mo-ro loṛa nah-ī. mo-ro **sano** dorakar.
 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-ī. — **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 *-ṭa / ṭi*, e.g. in (16), or the indefinite marker *-ṭie* (17) and can be marked for case (18, 19).

- (16) kēū koṭ-ṭi tumo-ku bholo lag-uch-i? **kola-ṭi** na **nelia-ṭi**?
 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 puruṇa kyamera-ṭi hoj-i-gol-a. ei-ṭi **nua-ṭie**.
 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) purb-e Samskruto bhāsa-re ‘aparuṇa’ koḥ-ile **kutsito** ba
 before-LOC S. language-LOC incomparable say-CONDCV ugly or
o-sundoro-ku bujh-a-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-ro cari puo. sobu-ṭharu **boro-ṭi-ku** moṭe doro boro.
 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 *puruṇa* ‘old’ and *nua* ‘new’ denote anything with the respective quality.

- (20) **puruṇa-ku** chaṛ-i **nua-ku** apṇe-iba-ku mənə sərbəda
 old-DAT leave-CV new-DAT make.one's.own-INF-DAT mind always
 tətpəɾə ho-i-uth-e.
 enthusiastic be-CV-V2:get.up-3s:HAB
 'The mind is always enthusiastic about taking the new and leaving the old.'

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 *ədhikə* 'more', and by *kəm* 'less' for the opposite meaning. The standard of comparison takes the ablative case extended by *-ṭha* or appears in the oblique form with the postposition *əpekhyə* 'than'. It normally precedes the comparative.

- (21) se mo əpekhyə **ahuri** cəncəɬə lekh-e.
 he I:OBL than more fast write-3s:HAB
 'He writes faster than me.'
- (22) Mədhu Sadhu əpekhyə kamə-re **besi** jətnəban.
 M. S. than work-LOC much careful
 'Madhu is more careful in his work than Sādhu.'
- (23) e pɾəsənə-ṭi se pɾəsənə-ṭharu **ədhikə** kəstə.
 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-ṭhū pila jənmə kəɾ-iba bəɾəŋg **kəm** kəstə.
 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 *ədhikə* 'more') can be missing; the nominal marked for ablative case signals that the adjective has comparative meaning.

- (25) sri Dasə sriməti **Dasə-ṭharu** dəsə bərsə bəɾə.
 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) eṭha-ru cəndrə-rə durəta **besi na** Astreliya-rə durəta **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) Inglonḍ bhōḷo **na** Bharōḷo bhōḷo?

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 *tankō* in (28) is not marked for the dative case, although its underlying semantic role is benefactive.

(28) **ta-nkō** opekhyā se mo-te kōm bōhi 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 *sōbu* or *sōmōstō* with the ablative case marker, *sōbuḥaru* / *sōmōstōnkōḥaru* ‘of all’.

(29) Jun bōrsō-rō **sōbu-ḥaru** gōrōmō masō.

June year-GEN all-ABL hot month

‘June is the hottest month of the year.’

(30) Ramō ta-nkō-rō tini bhāi-nkō-ḥaru bōḷo th-il-e. Ramō

R. he-OBL-GEN three brother-OBL-ABL big be-PST-3p(HON) R.

sōmōstō-nkō-ḥaru bōḷo.

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 *-tōḷo* (comparative) and the suffix *-tōmō* (superlative).

‘more ...’

‘most ...’

lōghu lōghu-tōḷo lōghu-tōmō ‘light’

nikōḷo nikōḷo-tōḷo nikōḷo-tōmō ‘near’

sundōḷo sundōḷo-tōḷo sundōḷo-tōmō ‘beautiful’

(31) emanō-nkō opekhyā nobyō Bharōḷiyō-arjyō bhāsa-gurikō sōhō Oḷiā

these-OBL than new Indo-Aryan language-PL with O.

bhāsa-rō paribar-ikō sōmpōrkō **nikōḷo-tōḷo**.

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) Br̥hm̥aputr̥ Bhar̥at̥-r̥ **dirgh̥-t̥m̥** n̥di.
 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 *k̥r-i* ‘having done’.
- They function as modifier to a head noun marked by the locative case, such as *rup-e* ‘in the form’ or *bhab̥-re* ‘in the thought’.

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

adjective		adverb	
bises̥	‘special’	bises̥-t̥	‘specially’
g̥uṇ̥	‘inferior’	g̥uṇ̥-t̥	‘secondarily’
mukhy̥	‘primary’	mukhy̥-t̥	‘primarily’
pr̥th̥m̥	‘first’	pr̥th̥m̥-t̥	‘first (adv.)’
sadhar̥	‘usual’	sadhar̥-t̥	‘usually’

- (33) se **sadhar̥-t̥** k̥d̥ḷi-p̥tr̥-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 *sadhar̥ pr̥sthitire* ‘under normal circumstances’.

(i) Without suffix:

- (34) se s̥bha-re **bh̥** k̥h-il-e.
 he meeting-LOC good say-PST-3p(HON)
 ‘He spoke well at the meeting.’
- (35) G̥uri aji mans̥-ṭa kemiti randh-ich-i? — **sund̥r̥** randh-ich-i.
 G. today meat-ART how cook-PERF-3s beautiful cook-PERF-3s
 ‘How has Gaurī cooked the meat today? — She has cooked it nicely.’

(ii) With locative case:

- (36) tume jete **səhəjə-re** e gəcho-re cəh-i-par-ib-ə mū
 you(POL) how.much easy-LOC this tree-LOC climb-CV-can-FUT-2p I
 par-ib-i.
 can-FUT-1s
 'I can climb this tree as easily as you.'
- (37) mū **səsta-re** ghəro-ṭa 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 *səhəj-e* 'easily' or *prəthəm-e* 'first'.

(iii) With *kəri*:

- (38) mū tumə bhai-nku **bhələ kər-i** jaṅ-e.
 I your(POL) brother-OBL:DAT good do-CV know-1s:HAB
 'I know your brother well.'

kəri in this function cannot be negated, e.g. **bhələ nə-kəri*. Note that *kəri* is used with the converb in *-i* in similar function (e.g. *dekh-i kər-i* 'having seen', see 4.3.5.1).

(iv) With *rupe* (< *rupə* 'form') or *bhabəre* (< *bhabə* 'thought'; note that the same noun is used as postposition: *bhabe* 'as'):

- (39) mū **bhələ rup-e** / **bhələ bhabə-re** jaṅ-e.
 I good form-LOC good thought-LOC know-1s:HAB
 'I know it well.'
- (40) bhai jetiki **sundəro bhabə-re** lekh-e bhəuṇi setiki
 brother as.much beautiful thought-LOC write-3s:HAB sister so.much
sundəro bhabə-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.

oꞑpo	'a few' (does not occur as nominal)
kɔm	'few, little'
ʈikie / ʈike	'a little'

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

- (41) e skul-re mo-ro **oꞑpo** kete-ʃoꞑo sangɔ ɔch-ɔnti.
 this s.-LOC I-GEN few some-CL friend be-3p
 'I have a few friends in this school.'
- (42) brahmɔɔ ʈhakuraɔi-nku **oꞑpo** kichi paɔi de-l-a.
 b. goddess-OBL:DAT few some water give-PST-3s
 'The brahman gave a little water to the goddess.'

kete / *kichi* can be missing, e. g. *oꞑpo sɔmɔɔre* 'in a short time.'

(ii) *oꞑpo* denotes a small quantity without negative connotation, whereas *kɔm* includes the sense that the quantity is too small and should be greater.

- (43) brahmɔɔ ʈhakuraɔi-nku **kɔm** paɔi de-l-a.
 b. goddess-OBL:DAT little water give-PST-3s
 'The brahman gave little water to the goddess.'
- (44) mū ete **kɔm** pɔrsent-ɔ-re e kamɔ kɔr-iba mo pokhy-e sɔmbhɔbɔ
 I so few p.-LOC this work do-INF I:OBL side-LOC possible
 nah-ẽ.
 be:NEG-3s
 'It is not possible for me to do this job at so few per cent.'

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

- (45) eha-ro dam 100 ɔɔlar-ru **kɔm** he-b-ɔ.
 this-GEN price 100 d.-ABL less be-FUT-3s
 'Its price will be less than 100 dollar.'
- (46) sɔrɔkari cakiria-nko dɔrɔma kichi **kɔm** nuh-ẽ.
 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 ɔui-ʈi ʈiket **kɔm** ɔch-i.
 this-LOC two-CL t. few be-3s
 'There are two tickets missing in here.'

(iv) *ʈikie* has the same meaning as *oꞑpo*, but it is less formal than *oꞑpo*. Besides, it is used as a politeness particle as well (see 5.1.2).

- (48) taa-rə posakə-re **ṭikie** dāli pəṛ-i-gəl-a.
 he-GEN cloth-LOC a.little dal fall-CV-V2:go:PST-3s
 ‘A little dal fell on his clothes.’

ṭikie is used in negated sentences in the sense of ‘not even a bit’:

- (49) Pina niḷə kəṭha **ṭikie** bi cinta kəṛ-u-nə-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 *jəṭhestə* ‘enough’

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

- (50) cahida tuḷanə-re **jəṭhestə** mukta joganə nah-ī.
 demand comparison-LOC enough pearl supply be:NEG-3s
 ‘Compared to the demand there are not enough pearls that can be supplied.’
- (51) jəḍi prəṭyek-e ṭənka-ṭie di-ənt-e, **jəṭhestə** hu-ənt-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’
 ənekə ‘much, many’
 bəḥut / bəḥu ‘much, many’
 guṛie / guṛae ‘a lot of’

(i) *guṛie* / *guṛae* can be attached to *besi*, *bəḥut* and *ənekə*, i.e. *besi-guṛie*, *bəḥut-guṛie* and *ənekə-guṛie* ‘many’.

- (52) **ənekə-guṛie** hoṭel-rə kacə jhəṛəkə bhang-ith-il-a.
 many-many h.-GEN glass window break-PERF-PST-3s
 ‘Of many hotels the windows broke.’

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

- (53) seṭha-re **besi kichi** / **ənekə kichi** dekh-iba-ku miḷ-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*, *gurië*, and *bəhut* have more or less the same meaning:

- (54) jilla-rə **khub** / **besi** / **gurië** / **bəhu** lokə ethi-re səntustə
 district-GEN many many many many people this-LOC content
 nuh-ənti.
 be:NEG-3p
 ‘Many people of the district are not content with this.’

bəhut seems sometimes to have a more negative connotation.

- (55) stri-lokə-mane je **bəhut** kətha kuh-ənti, e kətha prətyekə
 woman-person-PL PTCL much matter say-3p:HAB this matter every
 bibahitə purusə jaṅ-e.
 married man know-3s:HAB
 ‘Every married man knows that women talk a lot.’

(iv) *ənekə* is used when there are many single items whereas *bəhut* is used for overall large quantities, e.g. *ənekə səməyəre* ‘often, many times’ vs. *bəhut səməyə* ‘much time’.

- (56) se prəbəntə-ru **ənekə** kətha jaṅ-i-he-l-a.
 that article-ABL many matter learn-CV-be-PST-3s
 ‘Many things were learnt from that article.’

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

- (57) **ənek-e** e kətha biswasə kər-ənti nahī.
 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): *ədhikə* ‘more’ (cf. *ekadhikə* ‘several’ from *ekə* ‘one’ + *ədhikə*) and *ədhikənsə* ‘most of’ (< *ədhikə* + *əngsə* ‘part’).

(About a group of students.)

- (58) seməns-əkə mədhyə-ru **ədhikənsə** Aphghənistən-rə.
 they-OBL middle-ABL most A.-GEN
 ‘Most of them are from Afghanistan.’
- (59) seməne dinc-rə **ədhikənsə** səməyə bəs-i-rəh-uch-ənti.
 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 **adhikō** pi-i-de-ich-ō.
 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:¹⁴

- sōbu 'all'
 sōmōstō 'all, everyone'
 prōti 'each (attributive)'
 prōtyeko 'each (nom. & attr.)' (< prōti + ekō 'one')
 lekhāē 'each'

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

(i) *sōbu* is used in the following expressions:

- (61) sōbu kichi 'everything'
 sōbu-ṭh-i 'everywhere' (< ṭha 'place')
 sōbu-aṛ-e 'everywhere' (< aṛō 'side')
 sōbu-thi-re 'in everything' (cf. ethire 'in this')
 sōbu-mōte 'in every way' (cf. kōuṇōsi mōte 'anyhow')
 sōbu-dinō, 'always' (< dinō 'day', beḷō 'time')
 sōbu-beḷe

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

- (62) biswō-rō **sōmōstō** / **sōbu** sastrō kuh-e je, ...
 world-GEN all all scripture say-3s:HAB PTCL
 'All scriptures of the world say that ...'

sōbu can be suffixed to nouns and pronouns (personal, demonstratives, interrogative and relative pronouns), e. g. *jahasōbu* 'which all' and *sesōbu* 'those all' and the following examples.

- (63) dudhō sōbu 'all the milk'
 baki sōbu 'all the rest'
 e suna sōbu 'all this gold'
 ehi-sōbu gāā 'all these villages'
 e-sōbu kiṇiba 'buy all this'
 tōme-sōbu 'you all'

¹⁴In addition, there are many Sanskrit-derived expressions, e. g. *sōmudayo* 'all', *sōmōgrō* 'whole', *sōrbōswō* 'everything', etc.

(About traditions that are in danger of disappearing.)

- (64) agami kali **se-səbu-rə** mulyə jəŋ-a-pəŋ-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 dhərmə bisəyə-re **jaha-səbu** pəcar-il-e, Rəmə
 he he-OBL:DAT religion matter-LOC what-all ask-PST-3p(HON) R.
 taa-rə ʈhik ʈhik uttəɾə de-l-e.
 it-GEN correct RDP answer give-PST-3p(HON)
 ‘Whatever he asked him about religion, Rāma answered (him) very correctly.’

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

- (66) rati-re Bəblu taa-rə istri kəɾ-a sarʈ, pyaŋʈ, jota, moja **səbu**
 night-LOC B. he-GEN iron do-PTCP s. p. shoe stockings all
 səjaŋ-i-rəkh-il-a.
 arrange-CV-keep-PST-3s
 ‘In the night Bablu arranged everything: his ironed shirt, pants, shoes, and stockings.’

(iii) Nominal use: when *səməstə* and *prətyekə* are used as nominals, the suffix *-e* is added, i.e. *səməste* ‘all’ and *prətyeke* ‘everybody’. When marked for case, they require the oblique suffix *-nku*, e.g. *səməstə-nku* (var. *səməsti-nki*), *prətyekə-nku* ‘to everybody’.

- (67) əmə pəribarə-rə **səməst-e** / ***səməstə** cəncəɭə uʈh-ənti.
 our family-GEN all-NOM all early get.up-3p:HAB
 ‘Everyone in our family gets up early.’
- (68) ta-nkə bhāi chəŋ-a mū ta-nkə pəribarə-rə **səməstə-nku** bhəɭə
 he-OBL brother leave-PTCP I he-OBL family-GEN all-OBL:DAT good
 pə-e.
 find-1s:HAB
 ‘I like everyone in his family except his brother.’

In nominal function *səməste* refers to human beings, whereas *səbu* mainly refers to non-human referents.

(About a special watch.)

- (69) **səməstə-nkə** hatə-re e ghəŋi 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) **sɔbu** tɔ jhɔɔ bɔrsɔ-re gɔl-a, kha-iba kɔɔɔɔ?
 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-rɔ **sɔbu** hɔr-a-i-bɔs-il-a.
 he he-GEN all be.lost-CAUS-CV-V2:sit-PST-3s
 'He lost everything he had.'

(iv) *prɔti* primarily occurs in attributive position, whereas *prɔtyekɔ* 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) **prɔtyek-e** niɔ-rɔ prɔsɔnsa suŋ-iba-ku bhɔɔ pa-nti.
 every-NOM REFL-GEN praise hear-INF-DAT good find-3p:HAB
 'Everyone likes to hear his own praise.'

(73) "Nɔndɔnɔ Kanɔnɔ" **prɔti** Ingraji masɔ-re prɔthɔmɔ sɔptahɔ-re
 N. K. every E. month-LOC first week-LOC
 prɔkasɔ pa-e.
 publication find-3s:HAB
 'Nandana Kānana is published every first week of the English month.'

(v) *lekhāē* 'each' is used in sentences with distributive meaning:

(74) prɔtyekɔ pila goṭi-e **lekhāē** biskuṭ 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 -*jakɔ*, -*sara* and -*tɔkɔ* (see 3.1.3.5). The suffixes -*jakɔ* and -*tɔkɔ* can be added to *sɔbu* 'all' to emphasise the notion of all-inclusiveness: *sɔbu-tɔkɔ* 'all', *sɔbu-jakɔ* 'all'.

(75) se **sɔbu-tɔkɔ** piṭha kha-i-de-ich-i. — kɔɔɔɔ sɔbu? — bilkul
 she all-all cake eat-CV-V2:give-PERF-3s INT all completely
 sɔbu.
 all
 'She has eaten all the cakes. — What, every one? — Every single one.'

(76) mū aji tɔmɔ-ku **sɔbu-jakɔ** ɔkhyɔɔ bɔta-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 pro-forms (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 *sɔbu* ‘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. *mū* ‘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 *-nku* in the dative or *-nko* elsewhere.

Variants

1s/2s DAT	<i>mɔte</i> / <i>tote</i>
1p	<i>ambhe</i>
1p / 2p POL	<i>amesɔbu</i> / <i>tumesɔbu</i> (<i>sɔbu</i> ‘all’)
2s POL	<i>tɔme</i> , <i>tumbhe</i> ; OBL <i>tɔmo</i>
3p	<i>emane</i> , <i>eguriko</i> , <i>seguriko</i> (see 3.3.2.2)

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

(ii) Note that the pronoun *tume* / *tɔme* can be used for plural referents as well,

Table 3.3: Personal pronouns

	Nominative	Oblique ^a	Dative
1s	mū	mo	mo-te
1p	ame	amo	amo-ku
2s FAM	tu	to	to-te
2s POL	tume	tumə	tumə-ku
2s HON	apəŋə ^b	apəŋə-nkə	apəŋə-nku
2p POL	tuməmane	tuməmanə-nkə	tuməmanə-nku
2p HON	apəŋəmane	apəŋəmanə-nkə	apəŋəmanə-nku
3s N-HON	se ^c	taa	ta-ku
3s HON	se	ta-nkə	ta-nku
3p	semane	semanə-nkə	semanə-nku
	Genitive	Ablative	Locative
1s	mo-rə	mo-ṭh-u / mo-ṭha-ru	mo-ṭh-i / mo-ṭha-re
1p	amo-rə	amo-ṭh-u	amo-ṭh-i
2s FAM	to-rə	to-ṭh-u	to-ṭh-i
2s POL	tumə-rə	tumə-ṭh-u	tumə-ṭh-i
2s HON	apəŋə-nkə-rə	apəŋə-nkə-ṭh-u	apəŋə-nkə-ṭh-i
2p POL	tuməmanə-nkə-rə	tuməmanə-nkə-ṭh-u	tuməmanə-nkə-ṭh-i
2p HON	apəŋəmanə-nkə-rə	apəŋəmanə-nkə-ṭh-u	apəŋəmanə-nkə-ṭh-i
3s N-HON	taa-rə	ta-ṭh-u	ta-ṭh-i
3s HON	ta-nkə-rə	ta-nkə-ṭh-u	ta-nkə-ṭh-i
3p	semanə-nkə-rə	semanə-nkə-ṭh-u	semanə-nkə-ṭh-i

^aNote that the oblique form is used as possessive pronoun (see 3.1.4.4).

^bNote the form *apəŋe* 'you', used as address in jocular speech.

^cThe 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

natural person	pronoun	verb form	grammatical person
2s FAM	tu	aŋ-u	2s 'you (sg) bring'
2s POL	tume	aŋ-ɔ	2p 'you (sg) bring'
2s HON	apɔŋɔ	aŋ-ɔnti	3p 'you (sg) bring'
2p POL	tumemane	aŋ-ɔ	2p 'you (pl) bring'
2p HON	apɔŋɔmane	aŋ-ɔnti	3p 'you (pl) bring'
3s N-HON	se	aŋ-e	3s 'he brings'
3s HON	semane	aŋ-ɔnti	3p 'he brings'
3p	semane	aŋ-ɔnti	3p 'they bring'

though normally plural is marked explicitly by *-mane* or *-sɔbu*.

(The judge to a group of young men.)

- (1) **tɔmɔ-ku** arest kɔr-i jel-re bhɔrtti kɔr-iba kɔtha.
 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-ʔa, ei kɔtha-re kɔŋɔ **kand-ɔnti**?
 my brother-ART this matter-LOC INT cry-3p:HAB
 'My brother, does one weep because of this?'
- (3) kɔtha-re **kuh-ɔnti** ...
 speech-LOC say-3p:HAB
 'There is a saying ... (lit. they say in speech ...).'

(v) Accompanying nouns and numerals follow personal pronouns, e.g. *amɔ Bharɔtiyɔmane* 'we Indian people', *tɔmɔ-jɔŋɔ-nku* 'to both of you'.¹⁵

- (4) **amɔ Ingrejɔ-mane** sɔmɔst-e gora ho-ith-iba beɭ-e **tumɔ**
 we:OBL E.-PL all-NOM fair be-PERF-INF time-LOC you(POL)
Bharɔtiyɔ-mane emitɪ bibhinɔ rɔŋgɔ-rɔ kipɔri ho-ich-ɔnti?
 Indian-PL like.this various colour-GEN how be-PERF-3p
 'How come we English people are all fair, whereas you Indian people are of such varied colours?'

¹⁵Note that *ame* and *tume* are possible as well.

3.3.1.1 Degrees of honorificity

(i) Among the pronouns for 2nd persons, *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 *tume*) when addressing God. On the other hand *tu* is used in speaking to someone of lower status. It appears in the vulgar speech of criminals:

- (5) *to* *pakhə-re kəɔɔɔ ɔch-i de!*
 you(FAM):OBL side-LOC what be-3s give:2s:IMP(=FAM)
 ‘Give what you have with you!’

The pronoun *apɔɔɔ* 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 *apɔɔɔ* for speaking to the teacher, as do servants to their employers.

In all other cases the pronoun *tume* is used: among colleagues and among known people of the same age. Husband and wife use *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 (*sri*, *srijuktə* ‘Sir’), suffixes to names (e. g. *-babu* as in *Ramə-babu* ‘Rāma’), particles (*tikiə* ‘please, a little’, *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. *miɭ-* ‘be available’ (7).

- (6) *ei-ʔa ni-a-ja-i-par-e ki?*
 this-ART take-PASS-go-CV-can-3s:HAB INT
 ‘Could I please have this? (lit. can this be taken?)’
- (7) *au khəɔɔd-e piʔha miɭ-ib-ɔ?*
 more CL-INDEF cake be.available-FUT-3s
 ‘Can I have another cake, please? (lit. Will there be available another cake?)’

(iii) Third person singular referents also differ in honorificity: respect is expressed by the case suffixes *-nkə* / *-nku* (see above), by the use of the pronoun *seməne* (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 *apɔɔɔ*, e. g. elder people, parents, kings, etc. Absence of honorific marking in these cases signals either intimacy or disrespect (as when addressing with *tu*). Consider the following examples from the same story:

while the king is referred to by the honorific form *rajanku* in (8), which expresses the normal respect, *rajaku* 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) **raja-nku** mōdhyō mōntri-rō acōrōnō bisōyō-re sōtōrko
 king-OBL:DAT also minister-GEN conduct matter-LOC warn
 kōr-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 **raja-ku** mar-i-de-i rāni-ku niyō-rō stri kōr-i-par-ib-ō.
 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 *surjyō* 'sun', *tara* 'star', *cōndrō* 'moon' and *akāsō* 'sky', are sometimes treated as honorific nouns. Consider for example *surjyō* 'sun': when the sun is seen as a deity, honorificity is marked (by the oblique marker *-nko* in (10)). When the word *surjyō* '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 sātō rōngō-rō setu **surjyō-nkō-ṭharu**
 she see-PST-3s CL-INDEF seven colour-GEN bridge sun-OBL-ABL
 pruthibi jae dhōnu pōri lōmb-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 meghō bhitor-u jhapsa **surjyō** 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
 se¹⁶ 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** kobaṭo. **sei-ṭi** jhōrōka.
 this-ART door that-ART window
 'This is a door. That is a window.'
- (13) se e pōṭo se pōṭo cah-īl-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) gōṭakali sōndhya-rō surjyo ṭhik **semiti** oḥ-ōnti. **sehi** pōbōno ... **sehi**
 yesterday evening-GEN sun just like.that be-3p that wind that
 suniḷo gōgōno.
 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 *eīṭhi* and *eṭhi*, 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 ghōro kēūṭhi? — ghōro? hū, ghōro pōra **eīṭhi!**
 your(POL) house where house yes house PTCL here
 'Where's your home? — Home? Yes, my home is here!'
- b. **eṭhi** aḍḍa kōr-ō-na, Ṭuṭu ...
 here problem do-2p-IMP-NEG T.
 'Don't make problems here, Ṭuṭu ...'

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’, *eiṭhare* ‘here’, *seiṭare* ‘to that side’, *seithipāi* ‘therefore’, *seimiti* ‘like that’.

(iii) The original sense of the second constituent cannot always be made out. Recognisable elements are:

Articles:	<i>-ṭi</i> , <i>-ṭa</i>	(referring to objects)
Plural suffixes:	<i>-mane</i> , <i>-guṛikɔ</i> , <i>-sobu</i>	(referring to groups)
Local nouns:	<i>ṭha</i> ‘place’, <i>aṛɔ</i> ‘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-ṭha-re* ‘there, at that place’, or the dative in *se-ṭha-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-rɔ* ‘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) *tume mo kukurɔ lanjɔ ṭaṇ-ile se kamuṛ-i-de-b-ɔ.*
 you(POL) my dog tail pull-CONDCV 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-ṭi-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 *-ṭi*, disrespect or pride in case of *-ṭa*, see 3.1.3.1). In (17) *seiṭi* expresses affection for the fish, whereas *taku* (*ta-* is the oblique form of *se*) has a derogatory meaning here.

- (17) *bapa goṭi-e bɔṛɔ machɔ aṇ-ich-ɔnti. maa sei-ṭi / 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

Singular		Proximal	Distal	Interrog.	Relative
	Function / Reference				
I	nominal / anim.	e, ie 'this'	se, sie 'that'	ke, kie 'who?'	je, jie 'who'
	oblique form	ia / ya 'of this'	taa, taha 'of that'	kaa, kaha 'of whom?'	jaa, jaha 'of whom'
II	nominal / ± anim.	eiṭa, eiṭi 'this'	seiṭa, seiṭi 'that'	kēūṭi 'which?'	jēūṭi 'which'
III	nominal / inanim.	eha 'it, this'	taha (taa) 'it, that'	kaha (kaa) 'what?'	jaha (jaa) 'what'
IV	attributive	e, ei 'this'	se, sei 'that'	kēū ^a 'which?'	jēū 'which'
V	attributive	ehi 'this'	sehi 'that'	(kehi) '(anyone)'	jehi 'whose'
Plural ^b					
	human	emane 'these'	semane 'those'	kēūmane 'who?'	jēūmane 'who'
	general	eguriko / egura(ko) 'these'	seguriko 'those'	kēūguriko 'which?'	jēūguriko 'which'
		esobu 'these all'	sesobu / tahasobu 'those all'	kēūsobu / kahasobu 'which all?'	jēūsobu / jahasobu 'which all'

^aNote the variants *kou* for *kēū* (e.g. *kou-mane* 'who (pl.)') and *jou* for *jēū* (e.g. *jou* 'which').

^bFor 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 kōhi* ‘having said this’, *eha suṇi* ‘when (he) heard this’.

- (18) **eha-ṭhu** ahuri bəɾɔ bəɾɔ kamo kər-ich-i.
 this-ABL more big RDP 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) jəŋ-e lokɔ taa-rɔ ghɔɾa-ku bik-ib-ɔ boli mo dərɔbarɔ-ku
 CL-INDEF man he-GEN horse-DAT sell-FUT-3s COMP my palace-DAT
 aŋ-ith-il-a. mū se ghɔɾa-rɔ cehera dekh-i kiŋ-iba-ku iccha
 bring-PERF-PST-3s I that horse-GEN appearance see-CV buy-INF-DAT wish
 kər-iba-ru məntri kəh-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) jəŋ-e byɔkti-nkɔ-rɔ puɔ sɔbubele michɔ kəh-uth-ile **sehi**
 CL-INDEF person-OBL-GEN son always lie say-IPFV-CONDCV that
 byɔkti din-e puɔ-ku kəh-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 *kətha* ‘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 *sɔbu* ‘all’. In (21) *sɔbu kətha* ‘everything’ refers to the speaker’s mistakes which she wants to hide before her brothers.

- (21) eha-ku dekh-i mo bhai-mane **sɔbu kətha** jaŋ-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 mistakes).’

¹⁷Note the other functions of *kətha*: 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’, *ankō* ‘these’, *anku* ‘these (DAT)’, *aṭhu* ‘from this one’.

(iii) *tōhī* is a pronoun for discourse referents, e.g. *tōhī-ru goṭie* ‘one among them’.

(About traditions.)

- (22) **tōhī-re** luc-i-roh-ich-i Oriya jati-ro pōricōyo.
 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

ṭha ‘place’ Adverbs containing *ṭha* ‘place’ and a case marker (*-re*, *-ku*, or *-ru*) have locative function. Table 3.6 illustrates various possibilities for locative adverbs.

Table 3.6: Deictic system of locative adverbs

	Proximal <i>e-</i>	Distal <i>se-</i>	Interrog. <i>ke-</i>	Relative <i>je-</i>
locative	eṭhare ‘here’	seṭhare ‘there’	kēūṭhare ‘where?’	jēūṭhare ‘where’
dative	eṭhaku ‘to this place’	seṭhaku ‘to that place’	kēūṭhaku ‘to which pl.?’	jēūṭhaku ‘to which pl.’
ablative	eṭharu ‘from here’	seṭharu ‘from there’	kēūṭharu ‘from where?’	jēūṭharu ‘from where’
short forms				
locative	eṭhi / eiṭhi ‘here’	seṭhi / seiṭhi ‘there’	kēūṭhi ‘where?’	jēūṭhi ‘where’
dative	eṭhiki ‘here’	seṭhiki ‘there’	kēūṭhiki ‘where?’	jēūṭhiki ‘where’
ablative	eṭhu ‘from here’	seṭhu ‘from there’	kēūṭhu ‘from where?’	jēūṭhu ‘from where’
oblique	eṭhika ‘of here’	seṭhika ‘of there’	kēūṭhika ‘of where?’	jēūṭhika ‘of where’

- (23) mū niḷo kamō-re **eṭha-ku** as-i-nah-ī, guru-nkō kamō-re
 I REFL work-LOC here-DAT come-PERF-NEG-1s teacher-OBL work-LOC
 as-ich-i.
 come-PERF-1s

‘I have not come for myself here, but for my guru.’

- (24) *jēūṭhi* *haṭo* *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: *eṭhēi* ‘here’, *seṭhōū* ‘from there’, *kuṭhāi* ‘where?’ and others.

(ii) The local noun *ṭha* ‘place’ is often shortened to *ṭh-*, dropping its *-a* before a suffix with initial vowel, e.g. *e + ṭha + i → eṭhi* ‘here’ (*-i* is a variant of the short form *-e* of the locative case *-re*) or *e + ṭha + u → eṭhu* ‘from here’ (*u* is the short form of the ablative case *-ru*).

- (25) *se eṭh-u* *ṇyo* *kuṛ-e* *j-iba-ku* *cah-ṅnti* *nahī*.
 he 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 *eṭhiki* can be interpreted as a variant of the dative case *-ku*, influenced by preceding *i* (see 3.1.4.1).

- (26) *mū* *tebe eṭhi-ki* *au* *as-ib-i* *nahī*.
 I 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 *kēūṭhi* (e.g. *tumō ghoro kēūṭhi?* ‘Where’s your home?’ in (15a)), whereas *kuṛe* (see below) is used for the question about the direction (“whereto?”).

- (27) *kuṛe* *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).¹⁸

- (28) *eṭhi-ka-ro* *lokō* *seṭhi-ka-ro* *lokō* *ṇpekhya* *besi* *dōyaḷu*.
 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) *eṭhi-ka* *ṇpekhya* *Suijṛlaṇḍ-re* *besi* *thoṇḍa*.
 here-OBL than S.-LOC much cool
 ‘It is much cooler in Switzerland than here.’

¹⁸The 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).

arɔ ‘side, direction’ Adverbs containing arɔ ‘side, direction’ with a case marker (-re, -ku, -rɔ or -ru):

Locative	eare / iare	seare / siare	kuare	juare
	‘to this side’	‘to that side’	‘where?’	‘where’
	eiare	seiare	kēūare	jēūare
	‘to this side’	‘to that side’	‘where?’	‘where’
Other cases:	Dative	Genitive	Ablative	
	earɔku	earɔrɔ	earɔru	
	‘to this side’	‘of this side’	‘from this side’	

Locative adverbs with arɔ are mainly used to express direction. This applies to those marked for locative case as well.

(Who is coming outside?)

- (30) ei tɔ draibhɔr kɔɔɔ buɣha-nku dhɔr-i ear-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

eɲe	teɲe	(keɲe)	(jeɲe)
‘here’	‘there’	‘where?’	‘where’
ethi-	sethi-	kēūthi-	jēūthi-
‘this’	‘that’	‘which?’	‘which’

(i) The eɲe-series does not occur frequently; in particular, the interrogative and relative items are no longer in use in modern Oriya.

- (31) lokɔ-mane eɲe teɲe douɣ-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: eɲe ‘so’, with ablative suffix eɲ-u ‘so’ and teɲ-u ‘then, therefore’ (see 7.1)). In (32) eɲe is combined with the dative case marker -ki, eɲiki ‘hereafter’.

- (32) eɲi-ki se ritimɔtɔ saɣhi 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-mɔdhyɔ-re ‘in the meantime’. They are used as discourse deictic demonstratives.

- (33) **ethi-re** ascorjɔ he-ba-rɔ kichi nah-ĩ.
 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’
etebeḷe	setebeḷe	ketebeḷe	jetebeḷe
‘this time’	‘that time’	‘which time?’	‘which time’

The series of *etebeḷe*, *setebeḷe*, ... is composed of *ete* ‘this much’ (respectively *sete*, ...), *beḷo* ‘time’ and the locative *-e*. The suffix *-e* of *ebe*, *tebe*, ... can be dropped, e.g. *ebɔ-rɔ lokɔ* ‘today’s people’, *kebɔ-ḥharu* ‘from some time on’.

(What shall we do when the storm comes?)

- (34) ame **setebeḷe** porbɔtɔ upɔrɔ-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 *ketebeḷe* or *kete-ḥa-beḷe* (with inserted article) is used for enquiries about more exact clock time.

- (35) rasta mɔramɔti he-b-ɔ **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 sighrɔ bahar-i-gɔle miḷ-i-j-ib-ɔ.
 then quickly go.out-CV-V2:go:CONDCV be.available-CV-V2:go:FUT-3s
kete-ḥa-beḷe, ... aḥɔ-ḥa ...
 how.much-ART-time-LOC eight-ART
 ‘Then if we go out quickly, there will be one. At what time? ... at eight ...’

Manner adverbs

emiti	semiti	kemiti	jemiti
'like this'	'like that'	'how?'	'how'
epəri	sepəri	kipəri	jepəri
'like this'	'like that'	'how?'	'how'
eməntə	teməntə	keməntə	jeməntə
'like this'	'like that'	'how?'	'how'

(i) There are some variants, such as *ehipəri* for *epəri* or *seimiti* for *semiti*. Note the conjunction *epəri-ki* 'so'.

(ii) The *emiti*-series is the most informal one, whereas *epəri*, *sepəri* ... belong to a slightly more formal style and *eməntə*, *teməntə*, ... appear in Sanskritised written style. Note that the element *pəri* appears elsewhere as postposition *pəri* 'like'.

- (37) *dinə-ku dinə səbu kichi bədbəl-i-gələ bi həstakhyərə-ṭa*
 day-DAT day all anything change-CV-V2:go:CONDCV even handwriting-ART
kemiti semiti rəh-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 thərə mə-te khyəma di-ə. e-pəri kebe khyəti kər-ib-i nahī.*
 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) **jeməntə** upayə guru kəh-il-e **teməntə** upayə sisəy
 how manner teacher say-PST-3p(IION) like.that manner disciple
 kər-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 karəpə-ru* 'for exactly the same reason', and to other nominals, such as *thərə* 'time'.

- (40) *tu jemiti kəh-ith-il-u, semiti-ka cithi khəṇḍi-e to*
 you(FAM) how say-PERF-PST-2s like.that-OBL letter CL-INDEF your(FAM)
bapa-nkə pakhə-ku bujh-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) goṭi-e kukurō borsō-ku tini thōrō rōktō de-i-par-ib-ō, **thōrō-ka**
 CL-INDEF dog year-DAT three time blood give-CV-can-FUT-3s time-OBL
 ɔdhō liṭōr hisabō-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'
eṛe	seṛe	keṛe	jeṛe
'so much'	'that much'	'how much?'	'as much'
etiki	setiki	ketiki	jetiki
'so much'	'that much'	'how much?'	'as much'
etōkō	setōkō	ketōkō	jetōkō
'this much'	'that much'	'how much?'	'as much'

(i) The quantity words are used with nouns and adjectives:

- (42) ete lokō 'so many people'
 ete uccōre 'so high'
 ete ratire 'so late in the night'
 ete sokāḷu 'so early in the morning'
 ete bōrō 'so big'

(About an uninvited visitor.)

- (43) se jie he-itha-ntu, ɔntōtō **jete** dino eṭhi ɔch-ɔnti, sōbu
 he who be-PERF-3p(HON):IMP at.least how.many day here be-3p(HON) all
 jōtnō tō ne-ba-ku he-b-ō.
 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 *eṛiki*) 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 *-ṭie*.

(Seeing a nice baby.)

- (44) **eṛiki-ṭie** pila! **keṛiki keṛiki** hatō!
 so.little-INDEF child how.small how.small hand
 'Such a small baby! How small its hands!'
 (45) **etiki** baṭō as-u asu tume thōk-i-pōṛ-uch-ō?
 so.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 *-ṭa* is used for emphasis, e. g. *ete-ṭa*.

- (46) eha **ete-ṭa** sohojo-sadhyo nuh-ē.
 this so-ART easy-straight be:NEG-3s
 'This is not SO easy.'

(iv) *-toko* 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-phulo* 'roses' in (47) is a count noun, whereas *duro* 'distance' in (48) is a measure noun without a classifier. Combined with the classifier *-ṭa* or *-ti*, *kete* can show the allomorph *keto-*. Note the variant *keteko* 'how many?'.

- (47) se jhio **keto-ti** golapo-phulo ne-l-a?
 that girl how.many-CL rose-flower take-PST-3s
 'How many roses did that girl take?'
- (48) tumo gāā eṭha-ru **kete** duro?
 your(POL) village here-ABL how.much distance
 'How far is your village from here?'
- (49) manso haṛo-ro **jetiki** pakho-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:

- kōṇo 'what, why'
 ki, ki ki 'what kind of, which'
 kahī 'where'
 kahiki 'why'

ki and *kōṇo* 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) tumo bōgica-re **kēū-mane** gocho 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. reḷ-gaṛi-ṭa **kemiti** cal-uch-i?
 rail-train-ART how run-PROG-3s
 ‘How is the train running?’
 b. reḷ-gaṛi-ṭa **druto goti-re** ja-e.
 r.-train-ART fast speed-LOC go-3s:HAB
 ‘The train runs fast.’

(iii) *kahī* ‘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	<i>kahī</i> / <i>kāī</i>	(1pi <i>kahē</i>)
		(1pe <i>kahū</i>)
2s	<i>kahī</i>	2p <i>kahō</i>
3s	<i>kahī</i>	3p <i>kahanti</i>

- (52) jēū loko e ciṭhi-ṭi aṇ-ith-il-a se **kah-ī?**
 which man this letter-ART bring-PERF-PST-3s he be.where-3s
 ‘Where is the man who brought this letter?’
 (53) apoṇo-nko soḥokormi dui-jōṇo **kah-anti?**
 you(HON)-OBL colleague two-CL be.where-3p
 ‘Where are your two colleagues?’

kahī can also take case suffixes:

- (54) tume **kahī-re** agraḥi?
 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).

- (55) **kaha kaha** pāi e luga as-ich-i?
 who RDP for this cloth come-PERF-3s
 ‘Whom have these clothes come for?’
- (56) ʔur-re ame **kuar-e kuar-e** 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 **kepe** murkħo!
 he how.much foolish
 ‘How foolish he is!’
- b. **kepe** oħħodrō mū!
 how.much impolite I
 ‘(As an excuse) how impolite I am!’
- (59) se **kemiti** biswasō kō-l-a!
 he how belief do-PST-3s
 ‘How could he believe it!’
- (60) ame **ki** bhul kōr-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: *kehi* ‘anyone’ with the oblique form *kaha*, *kichi* ‘some, any’ and *kouṇosi* ‘any’.

(i) *kehi* 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 *kehi* is used in negative sentences (61, 63) and conditional clauses (62).

- (61) deuḷo bhitōr-e **kie** oħ-i ki? — na, **kehi** nah-ī.
 temple inside-LOC someone be-3s INT no anyone be:NEG-3s
 ‘Is there someone in the temple? — No, there isn’t anyone.’

- (62) jōdi **kehi** sōndhya-re mo sōnge dekha kōr-iba-ku cah-ōnti,
 if anybody evening-LOC I:OBL with meeting do-INF-DAT want-3p(HON)
 7-ṭa-ru 8-ṭa bhitor-e as-iba-ku kōh-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-ōnti nahī.
 3s ever anyone-DAT anything give-3p(HON):HAB NEG
 'He never gives anything to anyone.'
- (64) ta-nkō bōndhu Bōmbe cal-i-gole se **kaha-rō** sahajyō
 he-OBL friend B. go-CV-V2:go:CONDCV he who-GEN help
 mag-ib-ō?
 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 *jōṇe*.

- (65) apōṇ-ō-nku **kie** jōṇ-e ḍak-uch-ōnti.
 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 (*tumō* 'you' in (66)), a proper noun (*Basōnti* in (67)), a noun (*jhiṭ-ṭie* 'a girl' in (68)) or an adjective (*ōnyō* 'other' in (69)):

- (66) tune sōmōst-e jōṇ-e jōṇe michua, **tumō kaha-ku**
 you(POL) all-NOM CL-INDEF RDP liar you(POL):OBL anybody-DAT
 chaṛ-i-di-a-j-ib-ō nahī.
 leave-CV-V2:give-PASS-go-FUT-3s NEG
 'You are all liars, everybody, none of you will be given pardon.'
- (67) kie ciṭhi de-ich-i? — **Basōnti kie** de-ich-i.
 who letter give-PERF-3s B. some give-PERF-3s
 'Who has written the letter? — One Bāsantī.'
- (68) e dui tini dinō bhitor-e jōdi **kehi jhiṭ-ṭie** as-e, ame
 this two three day inside-LOC if anybody girl-INDEF come-3s:HAB we
 ne-i taa-ri pakho-re pōhōnc-e-i-de-b-u.
 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 kōtha mū bujh-ib-i, bou, mo pāī **ōnyō kaha-rō**
 my matter I understand-FUT-1s mother I:OBL for other anybody-GEN
 muṇḍō kheḷ-a-iba loṛa he-b-ō nahī.
 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) soinyɔ-mane 1600 rauŋɔ guŋi-caɔna kɔr-ith-il-e ebɔŋg prɔti-ti
 soldier-PL 1600 r. gun-fire do-PERF-PST-3p and each-ART
 guŋi **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).'

(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 goɕaε bhul kɔriba* 'make any kind of mistake'), (73) its nominal use, together with a classifier.

- (71) e gujɔbɔ-re kɔɔŋɔ **kichi** sɔtyɔta ɔch-i?
 this rumour-LOC INT any truth be-3s
 'Is there any truth in these rumours?'
- (72) tumɔ pāi mo-ro **kichi** bhɔlɔ khɔbɔrɔ ɔch-i.
 you(POL):OBL for I-GEN some good news be-3s
 'I have got some good news for you.'
- (73) taa sejɔ tɔl-e **kichi goɕa-e** ɔch-i ki? — na, kichi
 his bed bottom-LOC anything CL-INDEF be-3s INT no anything
 nah-ĩ.
 be:NEG-3s
 'Is there anything under his bed? — No, there is nothing.'

The interrogative pronoun *kɔɔŋɔ* 'what' is found as an indefinite pronoun as well; (74) is an example of its use in combination with a classifier.

- (74) se gatɔ-ru **kɔɔŋɔ goɕa-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':

²⁰If used with human nouns, *kichi* is non-honorific (in contrast to *kie*), e.g. *kichi loko* 'some people'. In combination with the article *-ɕa*, *kichi* has adverbial function, e.g. *kichiɕa kɔhiba* 'speak a bit'.

- (75) e jəgətə-re **jaha kichi** jənmə he-uch-i, se-səbu kichi səməyə
 this universe-LOC what anything birth be-PROG-3s that-all some time
 eṭha-re rəh-i sesə-re mər-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. *bisesə kichi* ‘something special’, *nua kichi* ‘something new’ or with reversed word order:

- (76) ei **kichi nua** nuh-ē.
 this anything new be:NEG-3s
 ‘This is nothing new.’

(iii) *kəuṇəsi*: The indefinite pronoun *kəuṇəsi* can take case suffixes and the article, e.g. *kəuṇəsi-ṭhare* ‘anywhere’ (cf. the expression *kəuṇəsimate* ‘anyhow’).

- (77) mə-te ajikali **kəuṇəsi-ṭi** jaga bhələ lag-u-nah-ī.
 I-DAT nowadays any-ART place good feel-PROG-NEG-3s
 ‘I do not like any place these days.’

kəuṇəsi 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) mū **kəuṇəsi** likhitə adesə pa-i-nah-ī.
 I any written order find-PERF-NEG-1s
 ‘I haven’t received any written orders.’
- (79) **je kəuṇəsi** uttomə sikhyəkə ta-nkə bisəyə-ṭi bhələ rup-e
 any any good teacher he-OBL subject-ART good form-LOC
 pəṭh-ənti.
 read-3p(HON):HAB
 ‘Any good teacher studies his subject carefully.’
- (80) pruthibi-rə prayə ədha lokə **kəuṇəsi na kəuṇəsi** prəkə-rə swəlpə
 earth-GEN about half people any or any kind-GEN little
 nidranitə səməsyə-rə samna kər-uch-ənti.
 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:

- (81) *itihaso-rə keteko ghəṭṭəna mən-e rəkh-iba gurutwə-purṇṇə.*
 history-GEN some event mind-LOC keep-INF importance-full
 'It is important to remember some events in history.'
- (82) *mū emiti jhiḥ kēūṭhi 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) *sthəḷə-bisesə-re kehi kehi eha-ku 'kkh' uccarəṇə bi*
 place-individual-LOC someone RDP this-DAT pronunciation also
kər-ith-ant-i.
 do-PERF-HAB-3p
 'In certain places people may pronounce it (= the Oriya letter <kṣ>) as [kkh] as well.'

(About the king's warriors.)

- (84) *semāne kete kete juddhə-re praṇə-murccha ləṛhei kər-ich-ənti.*
 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) *prətyeko masə-re se eko byank-re kichi kichi ṭonka jəma kər-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

Reflexivity²¹ is expressed by the following items:

<i>nijə</i>	'self' (reflexive pronoun)
<i>ape</i> (oblique form: <i>apəṇa</i>)	'own'
<i>swəyəṃ</i>	'self'

Reflexive use of *nijə* is discussed in 3.3.4.1 and 3.3.4.2, its emphatic function in 3.3.4.4. *nijə* can be reduplicated, see 3.3.4.3. The other items will be treated at the end of this section (3.3.4.5).

²¹For a theoretical treatment of reflexives see Patnaik 1994.

3.3.4.1 Reflexive use of *nijɔ* in simple sentences

nijɔ 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. *nijɔ* 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) **nijɔ-ku** *bhɔɔ pa-e*.
I my REFL-DAT good find-1s:HAB
'I love myself.'
- (87) *se* (taa) **nijɔ** *upɔr-e rag-i-gɔl-a*.
he his REFL top-LOC get.angry-CV-V2:go:PST-3s
'He got angry at himself.'
- (88) *Sita* (taa-rɔ) **nijɔ(-rɔ)** *baɔ kɔŋɔ-il-a*.
S. he-GEN REFL-GEN hair comb-PST-3s
'Sītā combed her (own) hair.'

nijɔ can be replaced by personal pronouns:

- (89) *tɔme* **tɔmɔ-ku** / **nijɔ-ku** *ghruŋa kɔr-ɔ*.
you(POL) you(POL)-DAT REFL-DAT hate do-2p:HAB
'You hate yourself.'
- (90) *Ramɔ* **taa** / **nijɔ** *dukhɔ kaha-ku kuh-e-ni*.
R. his REFL sorrow anybody-DAT say-3s:HAB-NEG
'Rāma doesn't talk to anybody about his sorrow.'

nijɔ can refer to a following nominal (*taku* in (91)):

- (91) **nijɔ** *ghɔrɔ-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.'

nijɔ normally points to the same referent as the subject does. Consider (92) where *nijɔ* can refer only to the subject *Sītā* and not to the object *Susi* as well.

- (92) *Sita Susi* *la-ku* **nijɔ** *phyason so bisɔyɔ-re bɔrŋŋɔna kɔr-uth-il-a*.
S. S.-DAT REFL f. s. matter-LOC description do-IPFV-PST-3s
'Sītā_i was telling Susi_i about her_i fashion show.'

However, if there is no animate subject, any other prominent animate constituent will be the antecedent.

- Experiencer ("dative subjects"):

- (93) **Ramə-ku niǰə** prəti dəya as-il-a.
R.-DAT REFL towards mercy come-PST-3s
'Rāma felt mercy with himself.'

• Genitive marked agent:

- (94) **maa-rə puə-rə niǰə** ghərə-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 **Mənindrə-ku niǰə** ghərə-ku
mother by M.-DAT REFL house-DAT
pəṭha-gəl-a.
send:PASS-V2:go:PST-3s
'Manindra was sent by mother to his / her house.'
- (96) **Ləjyabəti-ku** taa **niǰə** stəṛirum-re hətya
L.-DAT her REFL s.-LOC murder
kə-r-i-di-a-gəl-a.
do-CV-V2:give-PASS-go:PST-3s
'Lajjyābatī was killed in her own studyroom.'

• Possessor:

- (97) **Ramə-rə** gərbo (taa) **niǰə-ku** dhwənsə kə-l-a.
R.-GEN pride his REFL-DAT destruction do-PST-3s
'Rāma's pride destroyed himself.'
- (98) **Ramə-rə puə niǰə** saikel ne-i-gəl-a.
R.-GEN son REFL bicycle take-CV-V2:go:PST-3s
'Rāma_i's son_j took his_j bicycle.'

Multiple occurrence of *niǰə* in the same clause is possible:

- (99) **Səndipə niǰə-ku niǰə** səhitə tuḷəna kə-l-a.
S. REFL-DAT REFL with comparison do-PST-3s
'Sandipa compared himself with himself.'

3.3.4.2 Reflexive use of *niǰə* in complex sentences

(i) Infinitives: *niǰə* can be used as underlying subject of the infinitive clause if it is coreferent with that of the matrix clause.

- (100) **Ramə niǰə-ku** sudhar-iba-ku cah-ūch-i.
R. REFL-DAT improve-INF-DAT want-PROG-3s
'Rāma wants to improve himself.'

When *nijə* 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.

- (101) stri-lokə-ṭi jhiə-ṭi-ku **nijə-rə** puə-ku bəre-iba-ku mənə
 woman-person-ART girl-ART-DAT REFL-GEN son-DAT beat-INF-DAT prevention
 kə-l-a.
 do-PST-3s
 ‘The woman_i prevented the girl_j from beating her_{i,j} 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 **nijə-rə** Oṛisi nacə nac-iba səmpərəkə-re mətəmətə
 S. G.-DAT REFL-GEN O. dance dance-INF connection-LOC opinion
 de-ba-ku kəh-il-a.
 give-INF-DAT say-PST-3s
 ‘Sītā_i told Gītā_j to give her opinion about her_{i,j} Orissi dancing.’

(ii) Converbs: *nijə* behaves the same way as in infinitive clauses.

- (103) puə-ṭi bapa-nku **nijə** upər-e rag-iba-rə dekh-i
 son-ART father-OBL:DAT REFL top-LOC get.angry-INF-GEN see-CV
 dər-i-gəl-a.
 get.afraid-CV-V2:go:PST-3s
 ‘The son_i got scared when he saw his father_j getting angry at himself_{i,j}.’

(iii) Complement clauses: *nije* (*nijə* + nominative marker *-e*) cannot be the subject of the complement clause in case of coreferentiality with the matrix subject:

- (104) *Ramə kəh-uth-il-a **nij-e** bəhut buddhiman.
 R. say-IPFV-PST-3s REFL-NOM very intelligent
 ‘Rāma was telling that he is very intelligent.’

nijə in complement clauses cannot refer to the matrix subject:

- (105) Sita bhab-uch-i Gita **nijə-rə** citrə dekh-il-a.
 S. think-PROG-3s G. REFL-GEN picture see-PST-3s
 ‘Sītā_i thinks Gītā_j saw her_{j,*i} own picture.’

nijə in recursively embedded complements can have more than one reading:

- (106) rajə məntri-nku kəh-il-e kərigərə-ku kəh-iba-ku
 king minister-OBL:DAT tell-PST-3p(HON) sculptor-DAT tell-INF-DAT
nijə-rə ekə prətimurtti gərḥ-i-de-ba-ku.
 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 *nijə* refers to the king.

3.3.4.3 Reduplication

nijə is reduplicated in two ways:

- (i) *nijə* + case marker / postposition + *nije*
- (ii) *nijə nijə* (+ case marker / postposition)

(i) The first type emphasises the reflexive component; the suffix *-e* is the nominative marker (see 3.1.4.1).

- (107) Rəbi **nijə-ku** **nij-e** gəli de-l-a.
 R. REFL-DAT REFL-NOM scolding give-PST-3s
 ‘Rabi scolded himself.’
- (108) Sita **nijə** upər-e **nij-e** həs-il-a.
 S. REFL top-LOC REFL-NOM laugh-PST-3s
 ‘Sītā laughed at herself.’

In complex sentences the addition of *nije* can disambiguate the reference of the reflexive elements. In (109) *nijəku nije* cannot refer to Rāma, but only to Hari. Without *nije* both possibilities exist.

- (109) Ramə Həri-ku **nijə-ku** (**nij-e**) dosə nə-de-ba-ku kəh-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) semane **nijə nijə** ghər-e ruh-ənti.
 they REFL RDP house-LOC live-3p:HAB
 ‘They live in their respective houses.’
- (111) pila-mane **nijə nijə** pāi jota kiṇ-il-e.
 child-PL REFL RDP for shoe buy-PST-3p
 ‘The boys bought shoes for themselves.’
- (112) semane **nijə nijə-ku** bipədə-re pəka-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 p̄osno p̄ocar-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-ṭi **nij-e** p̄or-i-gol-a.
 bicycle-ART REFL-NOM fall-CV-V2:fall:PST-3s
 ‘The bicycle fell on its own.’

3.3.4.5 *ape*, *ap̄ṇa*, *sw̄aȳṅ*

ape and *ap̄ṇa* are not as frequent as *nij*. *ap̄ṇa* 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 *ap̄ṇa* ‘you’, originally a reflexive pronoun as well.

- (116) sehi ka ka dh̄w̄ni-re semane **ap̄ṇa** m̄ṇo-r̄o dukh̄o, sok̄o, bh̄oȳo ba
 that IDEO sound-LOC they REFL mind-GEN grief sorrow fear or
 as̄nka j̄ṇ-a-uth-ib-e.
 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) Gop̄āḷo **ape** as-i p̄oh̄ṇc-il-a.
 G. REFL come-CV arrive-PST-3s
 ‘Gop̄āḷa came himself.’
- (118) j̄ṇtr̄o-ṭi **ape** **ape** cal-e.
 machine-ART REFL RDP run-3s:HAB
 ‘The machine runs by itself.’

The reflexive pronoun *sw̄aȳṅ* ‘self’ is used in Sanskritised Oriya only.

- (119) Ram̄o **sw̄aȳṅ** krut̄o k̄orm̄o j̄ogu cintit̄o oḥ-i.
 R. REFL done work because worried be-3s
 ‘Rāma is worried about his own doing.’

3.3.5 Reciprocals

Reciprocity is expressed by *pərəspərə* ‘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 *pərəspərə* ‘each other’

pərəspərə is invariable and can take any case markers and postpositions.

The following examples illustrate the use of *pərəspərə* in various argument positions: object (120), adverbial phrase (121) and possessor (122).

- (120) Rina o Mina **pərəspərə-ku** sahayə kər-ənti.
 R. and M. each.other-DAT help do-3p:HAB
 ‘Rinā and Minā help each other.’
- (121) dui bəndhu **pərəspərə** səhitə aste aste kəthabartta kər-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 għonisthə bəndhu — səbubele **pərəspərə-rə** tərttwo
 they close friend always each.other-GEN essence
 ni-ənti.
 take-3p:HAB
 ‘They are close friends; they always look after each other.’

pərəspərə 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 **pərəspərə** sathi-re pəricəyə
 they R. and M.-OBL:DAT each.other together-LOC acquaintance
 kər-i-de-l-e.
 do-CV-V2:give-PST-3p
 ‘They introduced Rinā and Minā to each other.’
- (124) Ramə o Syamə Mina o Rina-nku **pərəspərə** bisəyə-re
 R. and S. M. and R.-OBL:DAT each.other matter-LOC
 kəh-il-e.
 say-PST-3p
 ‘Rāma_i and Śyāma_i told Minā_j and Rinā_j about each other_{i,j}.’

In the example above *pərəspərə* can refer both to the subject *Ramə o Syamə* and to the object *Mina o Rinanku*.

- (125) Ramə o Sita-nku **pərəspərə** upər-e ragə as-il-a.
 R. and S.-OBL:DAT each.other top-LOC anger come-PST-3s
 ‘Rāma and Sītā got angry at each other.’

- (126) mo-rɔ̄ taa-rɔ̄ **pərəspərə-rɔ̄** kotha kəh-u.
 I-GEN he-GEN each.other-GEN matter say-1p:IIAB
 ‘I and he talk about each other.’

pərəspərə in non-subject function in subordinate clauses refers to the underlying subject of this clause.

- (127) sikhycə-mane chatrə-manə-nku **pərəspərə-rɔ̄** kamə kər-iba-ku
 teacher-PL student-PL-OBL:DAT each.other-GEN work do-INF-DAT
 kəh-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 **pərəspərə** kand-uth-iba-rɔ̄
 father-mother-PL think-PST-3p child-PL each.other weep-IPFV-INF-GEN
 dekh-ich-ənti.
 see-PERF-3p
 ‘The parents; thought the children; have seen each other;*, crying.’

pərəspərə can be reduplicated (emphasising effect).

- (129) Gita o Sita **pərəspərə pərəspərə-ku** prəsonsa kər-iba pəsondə
 G. and S. each.other RDP-DAT praise do-INF liking
 kər-ənti.
 do-3p:IIAB
 ‘Gītā and Sītā love praising each other.’

3.3.5.2 Reduplication

Reciprocity is expressed by reduplication of classifiers, such as *jəŋe jəŋəku* ‘each other’ or numerals, e. g. *duhē duhīnku* ‘each other’.

- (130) jəŋ-e jubəkə o jəŋ-e jubəti **jəŋ-e jəŋə-ku**
 CL-INDEF young.man and CL-INDEF young.woman CL-INDEF CL-DAT
 bhīṛ-i-dhər-il-e.
 pull-CV-hold-PST-3p
 ‘A young man and a young woman embraced each other.’
- (131) jibənc-ṭharu ədhikə bhələ pa-i-bəs-il-e **du-hē**
 life-ABL more good find-CV-V2:sit-PST-3p two-EMPH
du-hī-nku.
 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. *ṁṁo-stṁri* ‘sixty-nine’, literally ‘one subtracted from seventy (*sṁturi*)’. The remaining numerals 21–98 are formed by addition, whereby the digit component precedes the decade component, e.g. *sṁto-caliso* ‘forty-seven’, literally ‘seven-forty’. In higher numerals the order is reversed, i.e. the larger precedes the smaller, e.g. *sṁho koṛie* ‘hundred twenty’. Note that the root used for ‘twenty’, *koṛie*, is distinct from the component of which the numerals ‘19, 21, . . . , 28’ are composed.

0	<i>sunṁ, sunyṁ, sunu</i>	
1,000	<i>ḥṁjaro</i>	(formal: <i>sṁḥṁsrṁ</i>)
10,000	<i>dṁsṁ ḥṁjaro</i>	(formal: <i>ṁyutṁ</i>)
100,000	<i>sṁhe ḥṁjaro, lṁkhyṁ</i>	(cf. <i>lṁkhyadhikṁ</i> ‘more than one lakh’)
1,000,000	<i>dṁsṁ lṁkhyṁ</i>	(formal: <i>niyutṁ</i>)
10,000,000	<i>koṭi</i>	

101	<i>sṁhe eko</i>	1100	<i>egaro sṁho</i>
150	<i>deṛḥṁ sṁho</i>	1200	<i>barṁ sṁho</i>
200	<i>dui sṁho/sṁ</i>	1250	<i>saṛḥe barṁ sṁho</i>
250	<i>ṁṛhai sṁho</i>	1762	<i>sṁtṁro sṁho basṁṭhi</i>
300	<i>tini sṁho</i>	1991	<i>ṁṁeisṁ sṁho ekanṁbe</i>
341	<i>tini sṁho ekṁcaliso</i>	2000	<i>dui ḥṁjaro</i>
350	<i>saṛḥe tini sṁho</i>	6900	<i>chṁṁ ḥṁjaro nṁṁ sṁho</i>
400	<i>cari sṁho</i>		
450	<i>saṛḥe cari sṁho</i>		

Other expressions

<i>ṁdḥṁ</i>	‘half’	<i>deṛḥṁ</i>	‘one and a half’
<i>saṛḥe</i>	‘and a half’	<i>ubḥṁyṁ</i>	‘both’
<i>trutiyansṁ</i>	‘third’ ²²	<i>dwṁyṁ</i>	‘two, both’
<i>pa</i>	‘quarter’	<i>ṁṛhai</i>	‘two and a half’

Table 3.7: Cardinal numbers

1	eko ^a	11	egarɔ	21	ekoiso	31	ekotiriso
2	dui ^b	12	barɔ	22	baisɔ	32	bɔtiso
3	tini	13	terɔ	23	teisɔ	33	tetiso
4	cari	14	cɔudo	24	cɔbisɔ	34	cɔutiriso
5	panco	15	pɔndɔrɔ	25	pɔcisɔ	35	pɔitiriso
6	chɔɔ	16	soɔ	26	chɔbisɔ	36	chɔtiso
7	sato	17	sɔtɔrɔ	27	sɔteisɔ	37	sɔitiriso
8	athɔ	18	ɔthɔrɔ	28	ɔtheisɔ	38	ɔthotiriso
9	nɔɔ	19	uŋeisɔ	29	ɔŋotiriso	39	ɔŋocaliso
10	doɔ	20	koŋie	30	tiriso	40	caliso
41	ekocaliso	51	ekabɔnɔ	61	ekosɔthi		
42	bɔyaliso	52	daunɔ	62	basɔthi		
43	teyaliso	53	teponɔ	63	tesɔthi		
44	cɔuraliso	54	cɔubɔnɔ	64	cɔusɔthi		
45	pɔicaliso	55	pɔncabɔnɔ	65	pɔncosɔthi		
46	chɔyaliso	56	chɔponɔ	66	chɔsɔthi		
47	sɔtocaliso	57	sɔtabɔnɔ	67	sɔtsɔthi		
48	ɔŋocaliso	58	ɔthɔbɔnɔ	68	ɔŋsɔthi		
49	ɔŋɔpɔcasɔ	59	ɔŋsɔthi	69	ɔŋɔstori		
50	pɔcasɔ	60	saŋhie	70	sɔturi		
71	ekɔstori	81	ekaasi	91	ekanobe		
72	bastori	82	bɔyaasi	92	bɔyanobe		
73	testori	83	teyaasi	93	teyanobe		
74	cɔustori	84	cɔuraasi	94	cɔuranobe		
75	pɔncɔstori	85	pɔncaasi	95	pɔncanobe		
76	chɔstori	86	chɔyaasi	96	chɔyanobe		
77	sɔtɔstori	87	sɔtaasi	97	sɔtanobe		
78	ɔthɔstori	88	ɔthaasi	98	ɔthanobe		
79	ɔŋaasi	89	ɔŋanobe	99	ɔnesɔtɔ		
80	osi	90	nobe	100	sɔhɔ		

^aDetails for the use of the numeral “one” are given in 3.1.3.3.^bVariant *di*, e. g. *di bhai* ‘two brothers’, *di bɔrsɔ* ‘two years’, *pila diŋa* ‘the two boys’.

ubhōyo can occur with nominative suffix *-e* (see 3.1.4.2), consider *ubhōye* in (1) below.²³

- (1) Aruṇo Kumarō o ta-nko potni **ubhōye**-e cakiri kār-onti.
 A. K. and he-OBL wife both-NOM job do-3p(HON):HAB
 ‘Both Aruṇa Kumāra and his wife work.’

-dwōyo is suffixed to the determined noun:

- (2) ehi **sōhōro-dwōyo-re** aji kōṇosi oghōṭṭō ghoṭ-i-nah-ī.
 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 *-ṭa / -ṭi*.

- dui dio-ṭi piṭha ‘two cakes’
 tini tino-ṭi piṭha ‘three cakes’
 cari caro-ṭi piṭha ‘four cakes’
 kete keto-ṭi piṭha ‘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. *sōhe* ‘a hundred’ vs. *dui sōho* ‘two hundred’ (cf. *hōjare* ‘1000’, *lakhyeru oḍhiko 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. **sōhe-jōṇo-jako** stri-loko pōḷa-ich-onti.
 hundred-CL-all woman-person flee-PERF-3p
 ‘All hundred women have fled.’
 b. **sōhe-jōṇo** stri-loko pōḷa-ich-onti.
 hundred-CL woman-person flee-PERF-3p
 ‘Hundred women have fled.’

(iii) Multipliers are formed with the noun *guṇo* ‘quality’, e.g. *dui guṇo* ‘twice’.

- (4) supōrkōmpyūṭor sehi kōmpyūṭor-ṭharu **sōhe guṇo** oḍhiko sōktisaḷi
 s. that c.-ABL hundred times more powerful
 he-b-o.
 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 bhagoru bhage* ‘one part of three parts’.

²³Some of the numerals have a variant in *-e* as well, e.g. *tine*, *care*, *pance*, *sate*, *aṭhe*.

- (5) mū tōmō-ku eha-rō dōsō guṇō ṣdhika ṭonka 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 chōṣ hu-e.
 two four mix-CV six be-3s:HAB
 ‘Two and four make six.’

The numeral *ekō* ‘one’ never takes a classifier, instead *goṭie* is used. When two numerals are juxtaposed in a noun phrase, they indicate an approximate count.

- (7) Sombōḷopurō-re aṭhō dōsō dino rōh-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 kōr-i eṭha-ku aś-ṭ!
 two two do-CV here-DAT come-2p:IMP
 ‘Come here two by two!’
- (9) eka thōrō-k-e cari cari-jōṇō-nku hotya kōr-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 siḷa-lipi sōhō sōhō bōrsō hela eṭha-re rōh-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 *-tōmō*:

pōcasō	‘fifty’	pōcasō-tōmō	‘the fiftieth’
sōhō	‘hundred’	sōhe-tōmō	‘the hundredth’
hōjārō	‘thousand’	hōjare-tōmō	‘the thousandth’

Table 3.8: Ordinal numbers

1	prōthōmō	11	ekadōsō	21	ekōbinsō
2	dwitiyō	12	dwadōsō	22	dwabinsō
3	trūtiyō	13	trōyodōsō	23	trōyōbinsō
4	cōturthō	14	cōturddōsō	24	cōturbinsō
5	pōncēmō	15	pōncēdōsō	25	pōncōbinsō
6	sōsthō	16	sōrōsō/sōrōdōsō	26	sōthōbinsō
7	sōptēmō	17	sōptēdōsō	27	sōptōbinsō
8	ōstēmō	18	ōstadōsō	28	ōstōbinsō
9	nōbēmō	19	unōbinsō	29	nōbōbinsō
10	dōsēmō	20	binsō	30	trinsō

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) **prōthōmō-ṭi-rō** namō uddesyō o dwitiyō-ṭi-rō namō bidheyō.
 first-ART-GEN name subject and second-ART-GEN name predicate
 ‘The first (part) is called subject and the second predicate.’
- (12) kaha ghōrā dōurō-re **prōthōmō** purōskarō pa-il-a?
 whose horse race-LOC first prize find-PST-3s
 ‘Whose horse won first prize in the race?’
- (13) Nōresō pōrikhya-re **prōthōmō** he-l-a.
 N. examination first be-PST-3s
 ‘Nareśa came first in the examination.’

An ordinal number can be questioned by *kete-tōmō* ‘the how-manieth’.

- (14) tumō-rō ei-ṭi **kete-tōmō** pila?
 you(POL)-GEN this-ART how-ORDINAL child
 ‘This is the how-manieth child of yours?’

3.4.3 Classifiers

Oriya has four classifiers:

goṭa / -i	‘piece’ ²⁴	used rarely	2-goṭa bakyo	‘two sentences’
jōṇō	‘person’	(human nouns) ²⁵	2-jōṇō pila	‘two children’
khōṇḍō	‘piece’	(concrete objects) ²⁶	2-khōṇḍō ciṭhi	‘two letters’
ṭa / ṭi	ART	general (see 3.1.3.1)	2-ṭi 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 *-kə* (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 *jəpə*). They are used in a kind of referring function (see the use of *-ṭa / -ṭi* 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-ə, dui-ṭa səṇḍhə ləṭhei kər-uch-ənti.*
 look-2p:IMP two-CL bull fighting do-PROG-3p:HAB
 ‘Look, two bulls are fighting.’
- (16) *baksə dui-ṭa məjhi-re kəṇṇə əch-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) *paṭi: ei rupimə-ku udahəṛəṇṇə bhabə-re ni-a-ja-u.*
 mouth this morpheme-DAT example thought-LOC take-PASS-go-3s:IMP
ethi-re cari-goṭi dhwəni rəh-ich-i, jəṭha: p, a, ṭ, i .
 this-LOC four-CL sound stay-PERF-3s namely
 ‘As an example the morpheme *pāṭi* shall be taken. Four sounds are in it, namely: *p, ā, ṭ, i.*’ (Oriya school grammar)

²⁴The first item in the above list *goṭa* 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 *guṭ-i* ‘one piece, one whole, one round object’. According to Chatterji the classifier *goṭi* is not to be analysed as *go+ṭi*.

²⁵Very rarely with nouns referring to animals, e. g. *50-jəṇṇə kukuro* ‘50 dogs’ (in a newspaper).

²⁶E. g. *kuṛia* ‘hut’, *sigareṭ* ‘cigaret’, *churi* ‘knife’, *moti* ‘pearl’, *kaṭhə* ‘wood’, *kəna* ‘cloth’, *pəṭhəṛə* ‘stone’, *cakiri* ‘job’, etc.

- (18) tumo sreni-re **kete-jəno** bałoko o bałika ooh-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 *-jako* and case suffixes, e. g. genitive case in (19).

- (19) Oriya byakoroṇo-ro chatro pakhyo-re **dui-ti-jako-ro** niyomo ba sutro
 O. grammar-GEN student side-LOC two-CL-all-GEN law or rule
 jaṇ-iba dorkar.
 know-INF necessary
 ‘The student of Oriya grammar has to know the laws or rules of both (Sanskrit and Oriya).’
- (20) seu-guriko-ru pila-mano-nko-ro au **tini-ti** dorkar.
 apple-PL-ABL child-PL-OBL-GEN more three-CL want
 ‘The children want three more of the apples.’
- (21) tumo laibreri-re Bongoḷa bəhi ooh-i? — hō, **kete-khəṇḍo** ooh-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 [r], which can be substituted for each other without change in meaning.)

- (22) e **dui-ti-ku** swətoṇtro dhwəni bhabo-re bicaro
 these two-CL-DAT independent sound thought-LOC consider
 kor-a-ja-e nahī.
 do-PASS-go-3s:HAB NEG
 ‘These two (= [d] and [r]) 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 hajarə* ‘two thousand’, optional with *səho* ‘hundred’ and obligatory with *dəso* ‘ten’:

- (23) 1990 məsiha-re ei gramə-re **dui hajarə(*-ti)** loko (**səho(-ti)** loko
 1990 year-LOC this village-LOC two thousand people hundred-CL people
 / **dəso-ti** loko) baso kor-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-re **calisi-ti** suna mohoro ooh-i.
 my side-LOC forty-CL gold coin be-3s
 ‘I have forty gold coins.’

In colloquial speech the classifier *-ti* 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 pancə Ø kilomiṭər ‘about five kilometer’
 dui Ø thali bhato ‘two plates of rice’
 tini Ø balti paṇi ‘three buckets of water’
- (26) saptahə-re kete Ø **dinə** əch-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 hatə* ‘both hands’.

(Beginning of a story)

- (27) Mədəno o Sitakantə **dui sangə** ekə sreṇi-re pəṛh-ənti.
 M. and S. two friend one class-LOC learn-3p:HAB
 ‘The two friends Madana and Sitākānta learn in the same class.’
- (28) **dui hatə** agə-ku bəṛha-i se ta-nkə muhə-ku
 two hand front-DAT stretch-CV he she-OBL face-DAT
 cah-i-rəh-il-e.
 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 khyəma mag-il-e.
 three-EMPH king-OBL:DAT pardon ask-PST-3p
 ‘The three begged the king for pardon.’

(vi) Besides, *-ṭa* is used for expressing clock time: attached to a numeral, it can be followed by *beḷe* or *beḷoku* ‘at the time’.

- (30) kete səməyə ho-ich-i? — **nəṭṭa-ṭa** ho-ich-i.
 how.much time become-PERF-3s nine-CL become-PERF-3s
 ‘What is the time? — It is nine o’clock.’
- (31) **cari-ṭa beḷ-e** pila-mane skul-ru bahar-i-as-uth-il-e.
 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.’

3.4.3.2 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 *ekɔ* ‘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 *goṭa* / *goṭi* and *jəṇɔ* with the indefinite marker *-e* (*goṭae* / *goṭie* and *jəṇe*) generally precede the noun. The classifiers *-ṭa* / *-ṭi* with *-e* are suffixed to the noun, e. g. *jamaṭie* ‘a coat’ (35).²⁷

(The child tells his friends about the journey that will take place the next day.)

- (32) bujh-il-ɔ amɔ sar kəh-ich-ɔnti **goṭa-e** bɔɔɔ bɔs ṭhik
understand-PST-2p our S. say-PERF-3p(HON) CL-INDEF big bus certain
kɔr-a-ho-ich-i.
do-PASS-be-PERF-3s
‘Imagine, our teacher (lit. Sir) has said that a big bus has been arranged.’
- (33) **goṭi-e** gāã-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 sehi gramɔ-re **jəṇ-e** sadhu as-i pəhɔnc-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 ḍali cauḷɔ aṅ-ib-ɔ, taa sɔhitɔ puɔ pāi **jamaṭie** aṅ-ib-ɔ.
today dal rice bring-FUT-2p it with son for coat-INDEF bring-FUT-2p
‘When you bring rice and dal today, also bring a coat for (our) son.’

The classifier *khəṇḍe* (var. *khəṇḍie*) is often postposed.

- (36) ṭɔnka-ṭie matɔ di-ɔ, ṭiket **khəṇḍi-e** kiṅ-ɔ.
rupee-INDEF only give-2p:IMP ticket CL-INDEF buy-2p:IMP
‘Pay only one rupee and buy a ticket.’
- (37) dekh-ɔ mū goṭi-e hatɔ-re pəthɔɔ **khəṇḍ-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 jəṇe* and *kichi goṭae* (see 3.3.3.2).

- (38) Basra sǝhǝrǝ-ru as-uth-iba mukta-ku ne-i jǝdi harǝ **goṭi-e**
 B. town-ABL come-IPFV-INF pearl-DAT take-CV if necklace CL-INDEF
 tiari kǝr-a-ja-ith-ib-ǝ, taha-rǝ ehi dam.
 build 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.’
 (Newspaper)

There is a variant *-ṭe* (and *goṭe*), which signals indifference or disapproval.

- (39) mū **ḍaktǝr-ṭe** kǝuṭh-u aṇ-ib-i?
 I d.-INDEF where-ABL bring-FUT-1s
 ‘Where shall I get a doctor?’

(ii) The classifier + *-e* and the composed suffix *-ṭie* (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) *hatiṭie* ‘elephant’ is the central character for the whole story, hence it is marked by *-ṭie*, whereas *pokhǝriku* ‘to a pond’ is not marked as indefinite, since it is of minor importance.

(Beginning of a short story.)

- (40) din-e **hati-ṭie** khub sosila ho-i **pokhǝri-ku** paṇi
 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” (*ekǝ* ‘one’ is used in the same context).

- (41) keboḷǝ **goṭi-e** corǝ dhǝr-a-pǝr-il-a; ǝnyǝ sǝmǝst-e
 only CL-INDEF thief catch-PASS-fall-PST-3s other all-NOM
 khǝs-i-pǝḷa-il-e.
 escape-CV-flee-PST-3p
 ‘Only one of the thieves was caught; everyone else escaped.’
- (42) se **goṭi-e** thǝrǝ phunk-i sǝbu mǝhǝmǝ-bǝti
 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) **goṭa-e** kǝtha-ku kie cari thǝrǝ bǝs-i suṇ-ib-ǝ 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 ghōrō* ‘a new house’ in (44):

- (44) *tume eḥi nua ghōrō tiari kōr-ib-ō?*
 you(POL) here new house build do-FUT-2p
 ‘Are you going to build a new house here?’
- (45) *raja din-e swōpno dekh-il-e.*
 king day-INDEF dream see-PST-3p(HON)
 ‘One day, the king had a dream (lit. saw a dream).’
- (46) *tume puō-ku ebe ṭeligram kōr-ō.*
 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) *dino choṭō, matrō masō bōrō.*
 day short but month big
 ‘A day is short, but a month is long.’
- (48) *casī kōḥino pōrisrōmō kōr-e, sōinikō ahuri oḥikō pōrisrōmō*
 farmer hard labour do-3s:HAB soldier more more labour
kōr-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) *hatō dekh-a-iba goṭi-e sōnketō.*
 hand see-CAUS-INF CL-INDEF sign
 ‘Showing the hand is a sign.’
- (50) *apōṇō jōṇ-e sikhōyōkō.*
 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”. *goṭiku* in (51) stands for the preceding *bakyō* ‘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.)

- (51) ethi-pāi e bakyo dui-ti mōdhyo-ru **goṭi-ku** onyo-ti-ro au eko
 this-for this sentence two-CL middle-ABL CL-DAT other-ART-GEN more one
 rupō ba rupantōro kuh-a-ja-i-par-ib-o.
 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 piṭha-guriko bōṛhia. — tume **goṭi-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) apōṇo emitī obismōṇiyō chapō chaṛ-i-de-i-ja-ntu
 you(HON) like.this unforgettable impression leave-CV-V2:give-CV-V2:go-3p:IMP
 jaha phōḷo-re apōṇo-nko-ṭharu au thōr-e phon-re kōṭhabartta
 what result-LOC you(HON)-OBL-ABL more time-INDEF ph.-LOC conversation
 kōr-iba pāi **jōṇ-e** iccha kōr-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 converb *kōri* has distributive function, e. g. *goṭi goṭi* ‘one by one’ in (54).

- (54) goṭa-iba: tōḷ-u **goṭi goṭi** kōr-i uṭh-a-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) mū seu-ti-ku **khōṇḍo khōṇḍo** kōr-i kaṭ-il-i — khōṇḍo-guriko
 I apple-ART-DAT CL RDP do-CV cut-PST-1s piece-PL
 joṛ-i-de-l-i o seu-ti-ku puṇi goṭa kōr-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) prōtyeko-nku **jōṇo jōṇo** kōr-i sakhyatō kōr-i-gōl-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) Oṛia bhasa-rɔ prɔtyekɔ byanjɔnɔ-bɔrɔnɔ sɔhitɔ ‘ɔ’ swɔrɔ-dhwɔni-ṭi
 O. language-GEN every consonant-letter with ɔ vowel-sound-ART
 mis-i-rɔh-itha-e. prɔkrutɔ-re dekh-ile, egurikɔ **goti-e**
 mix-CV-V2:stay-PERF-3s:HAB reality-LOC see-CONDCV these CL-INDEF
gotie ɔkhyɔrɔ.
 RDP syllable

‘Every consonant letter in Oriya is combined with the vowel [ɔ]. If you look closer, each of them is a single syllable.’ (Oriya school grammar)

(When saying good-bye.)

- (58) Anu au Niru, ciṭhi **khɔṇḍi-e khɔṇḍie** de-uth-ib-ɔ, tɔmɔ-rɔ
 A. and N. letter CL-INDEF RDP give-IPFV-FUT-2p you(POL)-GEN
 su-khɔbɔrɔ jɔṇ-a-uth-ib-ɔ.
 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 **corɔ-ku** / **dustɔ-ku** / **semanɔ-nku** / **du-hi-nku** gɔchɔ-re
 he thief-DAT wicked-DAT they-OBL:DAT two-EMPH-OBL:DAT tree-LOC
 bandh-i-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	jhiɔ-ṭi	‘that girl’
		emiti-ka	jhiɔ-ṭi	‘such a girl’
Num	Numerals (+ CL)	tino-ṭi	jhiɔ	‘three girls’

Quant	Quantifiers	dɔɭ-e	jhiɔ	‘a group of girls’
Adj	Adjectives	sundɔrɔ	jhiɔ-tɨ	‘the beautiful girl’
Ptcp	Participles	nacuthiba	jhiɔ-tɨ	‘the dancing girl’
Poss	Possessor	mo-rɔ	jhiɔ-tɨ	‘my girl’
	Case marked noun	Kɔʈɔkɔ-ku	rasta	‘the road to Cuttack’
		kuɔ-ru	paɲi	‘water from the well’
	Postposit. noun	bujula sɔhito	jhiɔ-tɨ	‘the girl with the bundle’
		dɔridrɔnkɔ pãĩ	poisa	‘money for the poor’
Rel Cl	Relative clause	jie nacɔnti	jhiɔ	‘the girls who dance’

Following determiners:²⁸

Num	Numerals (+ Class.)	jhiɔ	tino-tɨ	‘the three girls’
Quant	Quantifiers	jhiɔ	dɔɭɔ-kɔ	‘the group of girls’
Rel Cl	Relative clause	jhiɔ	jie eʈhiki ase	‘the girl who comes here’

The unmarked order among the determiners is as follows:

Case marked N

Postposit. N

Relative clause

Participles

+ Poss + Dem + $\begin{matrix} \text{Num} \\ \text{Quant} \end{matrix}$ + Adj + Noun + $\begin{matrix} \text{Num} \\ \text{Quant} \end{matrix}$ + Rel Cl

Dem - Num - Adj - N	sei tino-tɨ sundɔrɔ jhiɔ	‘those 3 beautiful girls’
Dem - N - Num - Rel Cl	sei jhiɔ tino-tɨ jie asɔnti	‘those 3 girls who come’
Case m. N - Dem - N	gɔcho-ru sei pɔtrɔ	‘that leaf of a tree’
Poss - Dem - N	mo-rɔ sei jhiɔ-tɨ	‘that girl of mine’
Poss - Num - N	mo-rɔ jɔɲ-e sango	‘a friend of mine’
Postpos. N - Poss - N	bujula sɔhito mo jhiɔ-tɨ	‘my girl with a bundle’
Ptcp - Dem - N	nacuthiba sei jhiɔ	‘that girl who’s dancing’
Rel Cl - Poss - Dem - N	(see (2))	

- (2) [jɔu jhiɔ-tɨ nac-uch-i]_{Rel Cl} mo piisi-nkɔ-rɔ sei jhiɔ-tɨ
 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-rɔ byakɔrɔɲɔ upɔr-e bɔhi	‘my book on grammar’
Dem - Poss - N	sei mo jhiɔ-tɨ	‘that girl of mine’
Num - Postp. N - N	sɔhe khɔɲɔ pila-nkɔ pãĩ bɔhi	‘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.

Numerals, quantifiers and adjectives can be determined by the addition of some determiners as the following examples illustrate:

Adverb - Num - N	prayo dāso-ṭi jhiṃ	‘about ten girls’
Num - Num - N	prōthōmō cari-ṭa prōso	‘the first four questions’
Adverb - Quant - N	oḷḷo kichi jhiṃ	‘some few girls (lit. few some)’
Num - Quant - N	dui dōḷo jhiṃ	‘two groups of girls’
Adverb - Adj - N	oti daṛhua sephṭi pin	‘very sharp safety pins’

When the demonstrative precedes the possessor, it indicates pejorative meaning:

- (3) sei taa-rō jhiṃ ‘that girl of his (pejorative)’
 taa-rō sei jhiṃ ‘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 jhiṃ-ṭi-ku mū jaṇ-e.
 that c.-LOC dance-IPFV-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) *ṭebul upōr-e bōhi ‘the book on the table’
 ṭebul upōrō-rō bōhi ‘the book on the table’
 ṭebul upōr-e rōkh-a-ho-ith-iba ‘the book lying on the table (lit.
 bōhi being kept on the table)’
- (6) *gāā-ru jhiṃ-ṭi ‘the girl from the village’
 gāā-rō jhiṃ-ṭi ‘the girl from the village’
 gāā-ru as-uth-iba jhiṃ-ṭi ‘the girl coming from the village’

Titles and professions are normally preposed (7a,b), other hypernyms are postposed (7c,d).

- (7) a. oḍhyapōko Pōṭṭōnayoḷo ‘Professor Paṭṭanāyaka’
 b. raja Śarjyati ‘King Śarjjāti’
 c. Brōhmōputrō nōdi ‘the Brahmaputra river’
 d. Himaḷyoḷo pōrbōto ‘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 *srijukto* (for surnames) and *sriman* (for first names) is preposed. For female persons *-debi* is attached to the first name, and *srimoti* precedes the surname.

²⁹The suffix *-ji* borrowed from Hindi has a similar function, e.g. *Gandhi-ji* ‘Gāndhī’.

men	surname	Mohapatra-babu srijukto Mohapatra	'Mr Mahāpātra'
	first name	Bipuḷa-babu sriman Bipuḷa	'Mr Bipuḷa'
women	first name	Dipti-debi	'Ms Dīpti'
		srimoti Mohapatra	'Mrs Mahāpātra'

mohasaya 'Sir' and *mohasoya* '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. Derivational 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:

chũ-	'touch'	ga-	'sing'	nõ-	'bend'	so-	'sleep'
de-	'give'	he-	'be'	pa-	'find'	tha-	'be'
ḍē-	'jump'	ja-	'go'	pi-	'drink'	tho-	'put'
dhã-	'run'	kha-	'eat'	ro-	'sow'	ũ-	'rise (sun)'
dho-	'wash'	ne-	'take'				

- with final consonant:

aṅ-	'bring'	douṛ-	'run'	kaṭ-	'cut'	poṛh-	'read'
ank-	'draw'	ḍak-	'call'	khos-	'fall'	rokh-	'keep'
as-	'come'	ghoṭ-	'happen'	khoj-	'search'	sikh-	'learn'
cakh-	'taste'	jaṅ-	'know'	kiṅ-	'buy'	suṅ-	'listen'
cal-	'walk'	koh-	'speak'	mor-	'die'	ṭaṅ-	'pull'
chaṛ-	'leave'	kor-	'do'	nac-	'dance'	ṭhok-	'cheat'
dekh-	'see'	kand-	'weep'	poṛ-	'fall, lie'	uṭh-	'get up'
dhor-	'catch'	kas-	'cough'				

(ii) bisyllabic verb stems (selection; note that all of them end in a consonant):

bahar-	‘come out’	kamuṛ-	‘bite’	pōhōnc-	‘arrive’
bōdōḷ-	‘change’	kōcaṛ-	‘slip’	pōhōr-	‘swim’
cōmōk-	‘be startled’	ōṭōk-	‘stop’	upar-	‘uproot’
gōrōj-	‘roar’	pōcar-	‘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’, *swōpna-* ‘dream’, *ōpōsōr-* ‘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.

kōṭ-	‘(time) pass’	kaṭ-	‘spend’
mōr-	‘die’	mar-	‘kill’
pōṛ-	‘lie’	pōka-	‘put’
rōh-	‘stay’	rōkh-	‘keep’
sōr-	‘end (itr.)’	sar-	‘finish (tr.)’

- (1) a. pōisa sōr-i-j-ib-ō.
 money finish-CV-V2:go-FUT-3s
 ‘The money will be finished.’
- b. se silei kamō sar-i-de-b-ō.
 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).

¹The causative stem is homophonous with the *a*-form (see 4.3.1).

intransitive	transitive	transitive	ditransitive
cal- 'walk'	cɔl-a- 'drive'	ɖak- 'call'	ɖɔk-a- 'make call'
cɔɭ- 'run'	cɔɭ-a- 'make run'	dekh- 'see'	dekh-a- 'show'
libh- 'go out'	libh-a- 'put out'	jaɳ- 'know'	jɔɳ-a- 'inform'
ɔɖɔk- 'stop (itr.)'	ɔɖɔk-a- 'stop (tr.)'	poɾh- 'read'	poɾh-a- 'teach'
uɖh- 'get up'	uɖh-a- 'wake'	sikh- 'learn'	sikh-a- 'teach'

There is a group of verbs which look like causative forms, but have no corresponding simple form, e. g. *bɔta* 'instruct', *poɭa* 'flee', *gɔndha* 'smell', *poɖha* 'send', *ohla* 'come down, get down', *unca* 'raise', *pɔka* 'put'.

(ii) The causativization can be accompanied by some morphophonemic alternations (see 2.7):

- The root vowel *a* changes to *ɔ* by the addition of the causative suffix *-a*, e. g. *aɳ* 'bring' vs. *ɔɳa* 'make bring' or *kaɖ* 'cut' vs. *kɔɖa* '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. *ɔɳ-e-il-e* < *ɔɳ-a-il-e* 'they made bring', and to *-ɔ* before *-u*, e. g. *poɖh-ɔ-uch-i* < *poɖh-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 *dwara* 'by' (see 5.3.2). In the pair of sentences below *cakɔɔ* '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 *dwara*.

- (2) a. **cakɔɔ** ghɔɔɔ-ti-ku purapuri bhabɔ-re sɔpha kɔɔ-ich-i.
 servant house-ART-DAT complete thought-LOC clean do-PERF-3s
 'The servant cleaned the house completely.'
- b. gruhini **cakɔɔ** **dwara** ghɔɔɔ-ti-ku sɔpha kɔɔ-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 *lɔgei* (of the causative *lɔga*- of *lag*- 'feel') or *dei* 'via' (of *de*- 'give'), or by the dative case marker *-ku* (4).

- (3) mū mo jama dhoba-ku **lɔge-i** / dhoba **de-i** sɔpha
 I my clothes washerman-DAT apply-CV washerman give-CV clean
 kɔɔ-a-e.
 do-CAUS-1s:HAB
 'I have my clothes washed by the washerman.'

- (4) **dhoba-ku** mū jama sɔpha kɔr-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 jhiṅṅika-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 osodho-ṭa **su-e-i-par-il-a-ni**, kintu
 I-DAT this medicine-ART sleep-CAUS-CV-can-PST-3s-NEG but
 dino-ṭa-jako-ro kōṭhino pōrisōmo mo-te halia 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 kōṅṅosi khyetro-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 *poṛ-* ‘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. *aṅṭh-a-* + *i* → *aṅṭh-e-i-*, see above).

aṅṭhu	'knee'	aṅṭh-a-	'to kneel'
goṛo	'leg'	goṛ-a-	'to follow'
guṅḍo	'powder'	guṅḍ-a-	'to make powder'
muṅḍo	'head'	muṅḍ-a-	'to carry on the head'
pocho	'back'	poch-a-	'to shrink back'

Other verb stems are derived without any additional suffix:

kəṛoṭo	'saw'	kəṛoṭ-	'to saw'
kəṭuri	'scissors'	kəṭur-	'to cut with scissors'
kuheḷi	'mist'	kuhuḷ-	'to smother'
pheṇo	'foam'	pheṇ-	'to foam'

In addition there are some verbs derived from adjectives (with or without the suffix *-a*):

dhōḷa	'white'	dhōḷa-	'to whiten'
kōṣṣḷo	'soft'	kōṣṣḷ-a-	'to soften'
lengerā	'lame'	lengerā-	'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'
dhər-	'take'	dhər-a-dhər-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 converb marker *-i*. *converb!general* As can be seen in the last example with *lag-* 'touch', stem vowel /a/ changes to /ɔ/ (*lɔgalɔgi*, see 2.7). The whole verb form is a general converb, which can occur with the auxiliaries *he-* 'be' or *kər-* 'do', and is used to express reciprocity or distributivity.

(i) The construction conveys reciprocal meaning "each other".

- (9) semane hatə **dhər-a-dhər-i** ho-i ʈhia 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-ʈharu burha pərjəntə səməst-e niʃə niʃə bhitor-e rəngə
 child-ABL old until all-NOM REFL RDP inside-LOC colour
bol-a-bol-i hu-ənti.
 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) Aruṇə Kumārə **dəuṛ-a-dəuṛ-i** kər-i Bənaləta pāi sikhitə o
 A. K. run-PTCP-RDP-CV do-CV B. for educated and
 sundərə jubəkə-ʈie jogarə kər-ith-il-e.
 beautiful young.man-INDEF arrangement do-PERF-PST-3p
 ‘Aruṇa Kumāra had run here and there and had made an arrangement
 with an educated and beautiful young man for Banalatā.’
- (12) bəhu **bul-a-bul-i**, həsə-khusi, sinema **dekh-a-dekh-i**, əlpə
 much walk-PTCP-RDP-CV laughter-joy movie see-PTCP-RDP-CV few
chū-ā-chū-ī pər-e Sita Nərəḥəri-ku bibahə kər-iba-ku raji
 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) Jəli e thərə bhoji-re **rəndh-a-rəndh-i** kər-iba-ku cah-ūch-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 *ḍiāḍēi* ‘jumping around’, derived from *ḍē-* ‘jump’, in (14):

(Monkeys entered the school.)

- (14) mankorə-manə-nko **ḍi-ā-ḍē-ī** phəḷə-re bidyaḷəyo-rə əjbəstəs
 monkey-PL-OBL jump-PTCP-RDP-CV result-LOC school-GEN a.
 bhang-i-ja-ich-i.
 break-CV-V2: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	khu-a-i-pi-a-i	‘give to eat and drink’
	lekh-i-poꝣh-i	‘write and read’
	so-i-bɔs-i	‘sleep and sit’
	uꝥh-i-bɔs-i	‘get up and sit’
	luc-i-chɔp-i	‘hide (lit. hide – hide)’
	pɔc-i-sɔꝣh-i	‘rot (lit. rot – rot)’
a-forms	di-a-ni-a	‘give and take’
	ni-a-ɔŋ-a	‘fetch and bring’
	rɔndh-a-bɔꝣh-a	‘cook and serve’
	bujh-a-mɔŋ-a	‘mutual arrangement (lit. understand – underst.)’
	cɔl-a-bul-a	‘have a walk (lit. walk – walk)’
	jhink-a-oꝥɔr-a	‘drag and pull’
<i>iba</i> -forms	j-iba-as-iba	‘go and come’

- (15) semane suna-pɔkhi-ku **khu-a-i-pi-a-i** ebɔŋ nij-e
 they gold-bird-DAT eat-CAUS-CV-drink-CAUS-CV and REFL-NOM
 kha-i-sar-i bisramɔ ne-l-e.
 eat-CV-V2:finish-CV rest take-PST-3p
 ‘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) mū **su-a-bɔs-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.’
- (17) kuɔ-ku ja-i dwipɔ-re **cɔl-a-bul-a** kɔr-iba-ku taa-rɔ
 coast-DAT go-CV island-LOC walk-PTCP-walk-PTCP do-INF-DAT she-GEN
 bhai-mane mɔna kɔr-ith-il-e.
 brother-PL prohibition do-PERF-PST-3p
 ‘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 sabōdhanō-re luc-i luci **j-iba-as-iba** kōr-ib-i.
 I very careful-LOC hide-CV RDP go-INF-come-INF do-FUT-1s
 ‘I shall go and come very carefully and hidingly.’

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:

Simple	Ø
Perfect	-i- gloss: CV (general converb)
Imperfective	-u- gloss: ICV (imperfective converb)

Perfect and Imperfective aspect verb forms consist of the converb and the auxiliaries *tha-/och-* ‘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:

Habitual	HAB	Ø
Past	PST	-il-
Future	FUT	-ib-
Conditional	COND	-ōnt-
Imperative	IMP	Ø

Table 4.1: Auxiliaries *tha-* and *och-*

	Habitual	Past	Future	Conditional	Imperative	och-
1s	thae	thili	thibi	thanti	thaē	ochi
1p incl	thae	thile	thiba	thante	— ^a	ochē
1p excl	thau	thilu	thibu	thantu	thaũ	ochu
2s	thau	thilu	thibu	thantu	tha	ochu
2p	thao	thilo	thibo	thanto	thao	ocho
3s	thae	thila	thibo	thanta	thau	ochi
3p	thaõnti	thile	thibe	thante	thantu	ochõnti

^aThere are no Imperative forms for 1pi, instead the Future is used.

Table 4.2: Person / number suffixes

	Habitual	Past/ Conditional	Future	Imperative	Pres Perf/ Pres Prog
1s	-e	-i	-i	-ē ^a	-i
1p incl	-e	-e	-a	—	-e
1p excl	-u	-u	-u	-ũ	-u
2s	-u	-u	-u	∅	-u
2p	-o	-o	-o	-o	-o
3s	-e	-a	-o	-u	-i
3p	-õnti	-e	-e	-õntu	-õnti

^aThe nasalization is optional.

Table 4.3: Overview of the TAM system

	Simple	Perfect	Imperfective
Habitual	aṇe	aṇithae	aṇuthae
Past	aṇili	aṇithili	aṇuthili
Future	aṇibi	aṇithibi	aṇuthibi
Conditional	aṇõnti	aṇithanti	aṇuthanti
Imperative	aṇē	aṇithaē	aṇuthaē
Pres Perf/ Pres Prog		aṇiochi	aṇuochi
1. Negation		aṇinahī	aṇunahī
2. Negation		aṇini	aṇuni

Table 4.4: Simple tenses and moods

	Habitual	Past	Future	Conditional	Imperative
1s	aṇe	aṇili	aṇibi	aṇonti	aṇē
1p incl	aṇe	aṇile	aṇiba	aṇonte	—
1p excl	aṇu	aṇilu	aṇibu	aṇontu	aṇū
2s	aṇu	aṇilu	aṇibu	aṇontu	aṇ
2p	aṇo	aṇilo	aṇibo	aṇonto	aṇo
3s	aṇe	aṇila	aṇibo	aṇonta	aṇu
3p	aṇonti	aṇile	aṇibe	aṇonte	aṇontu

Structure: stem + tense/mood + person/number

Table 4.5: Perfect tenses and moods

	Habitual	Past	Future	Conditional	Imperative	Pres Perf
1s	aṇithae	aṇithili	aṇithibi	aṇithanti	aṇithaē	aṇiochi
1pi	aṇithae	aṇithile	aṇithiba	aṇithante	—	aṇioche
1pe	aṇithau	aṇithilu	aṇithibu	aṇithantu	aṇithaū	aṇiochu
2s	aṇithau	aṇithilu	aṇithibu	aṇithantu	aṇitha	aṇiochu
2p	aṇithao	aṇithilo	aṇithibo	aṇithanto	aṇithao	aṇiocho
3s	aṇithae	aṇithila	aṇithibo	aṇithanta	aṇithau	aṇiochi
3p	aṇithanti	aṇithile	aṇithibe	aṇithante	aṇithantu	aṇiochonti

Structure: stem + *i* + *tha/och* + tense/mood + person/number (stem + *i* occurs elsewhere as general converb: aṇ-i ‘having brought’)

Table 4.6: Imperfective tenses and moods

	Habitual	Past	Future	Conditional	Imperative	Pres Prog
1s	aṇuthae	aṇuthili	aṇuthibi	aṇuthanti	aṇuthaē	aṇuochi
1pi	aṇuthae	aṇuthile	aṇuthiba	aṇuthante	—	aṇuochē
1pi	aṇuthau	aṇuthilu	aṇuthibu	aṇuthantu	aṇuthaū	aṇuochu
2s	aṇuthau	aṇuthilu	aṇuthibu	aṇuthantu	aṇutha	aṇuochu
2p	aṇuthao	aṇuthilo	aṇuthibo	aṇuthanto	aṇuthao	aṇuochō
3s	aṇuthae	aṇuthila	aṇuthibo	aṇuthanta	aṇuthau	aṇuochi
3p	aṇuthanti	aṇuthile	aṇuthibe	aṇuthante	aṇuthantu	aṇuochonti

Structure: stem + *u* + *tha/och* + tense/mood + person/number (stem + *u* occurs elsewhere as imperfective converb: aṇ-u ‘bringing’)

There are two additional tenses, Present Progressive and Present Perfect³, formed by the stem + aspect (= converb) and the auxiliary *ɔch-* ‘be’ (see Table 4.1, for the use of the auxiliary *ɔch-* 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 *aŋ-* ‘bring’.

The linkage between the converbs *aŋi / aŋu* and the auxiliary *-tha-* is strong: only the negative *nɔ-* (see 6.4) and the particle *tɔ* can be inserted:

- (1) *mū e kɔtha sɔmpurŋɔ bhul-i-ja-i tɔ 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. *aŋ + i + tha + il + i* → *aŋ-i-th-il-i* ‘I had brought’.

(ii) The vowel *ɔ* of the auxiliary *ɔch-* is usually dropped, e. g. *aŋ + u + ɔch + i* → *aŋ-u-ch-i* ‘I am bringing’ (beside written *aŋuɔchi*). *-ch-* can be further reduced to *-c-*, e. g. *pɔke-i-c-ɔ* ‘you have put’.

(iii) *-ɔnti* becomes *-anti* after stems or affixes ending in *-a*. The resulting sequence of double *aa* can be shortened to a single *a*.

<i>pɔka + ɔnt + i</i>	→	<i>pɔka-nt-i</i>	‘they put’
<i>kheɭ + i + tha + ɔnt + i</i>	→	<i>kheɭ-i-tha-nt-i</i>	‘I might play’
<i>ɔŋa + ɔnt + u</i>	→	<i>ɔŋa-nt-u</i>	‘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

³This 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:

Habitual Simple	aṇe	‘I bring’
Past Simple	aṇili	‘I brought’
Future Simple	aṇibi	‘I will bring’
Conditional Simple	aṇonti	‘I would bring’
Imperative Simple	aṇe	‘let me bring’

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 sobu-dinṇ ophis-ru aṭhṇ-ṭa beḷ-e **pher-e**.
 he all-day o.-ABL eight-ART time-LOC return-3s:HAB
 ‘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) jetebeḷe jṇṇ-e lokṇ ophis-ru ***pher-il-a** / **pher-uth-il-a**, se
 when CL-INDEF person o.-ABL return-PST-3s return-IPFV-PST-3s he
 sontustṇ nṇ-th-il-a.
 satisfied NEG-be-PST-3s
 ‘When a person returned from the post office, he usually was not satisfied
 (because he had to wait and then he did not get what he wanted).’

When the sentence refers to a situation which happened only once, the Past Simple is used:

- (4) jetebeḷe mo bapa ophis-ru **pher-il-e**, se sontustṇ
 when my father o.-ABL return-PST-3p(HON) he satisfied
 nṇ-th-il-e.
 NEG-be-PST-3p(HON)

⁴We 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) *asəntakali satə-ʔa beɭ-e ɔphis-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 jetebeɭe cakiri pa-ib-ɔ, setebeɭe sɔbu-dinɔ aʔhɔ-ʔa beɭ-e*
 he when job find-FUT-3s then all-day eight-ART time-LOC
ɔphis-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) *təme kali səkəɭɔ nɔɔ-ʔa beɭ-e mo-te phon kər-iba*
 you(POL) tomorrow morning nine-ART time-LOC I-DAT ph. do-INF
beɭ-e mū 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 jɔdi kamɔ pər-e bɔjarɔ-ku ja-nt-a, nɔɔ-ʔa beɭ-e ɔphis-ru*
 he if work after-LOC market go-COND-3s nine-ART time-LOC o.-ABL
pʰer-ɔnt-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 jɔdi kamɔ kər-ɔnt-a, sɔbu-dinɔ aʔhɔ-ʔa beɭ-e ɔphis-ru*
 he if work do-COND-3s all-day eight-ART time-LOC o.-ABL
pʰer-ɔnt-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:

- (10) mū jōdi etebeḷe Suijōrland-re tha-nt-i, tebe bhojōno
 I if this.time S.-LOC be-COND-1s then lunch
kōr-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 ophis-ru satō-ṭa beḷ-e **pher-ō.**
 today o.-ABL seven-ART time-LOC return-2p:IMP
 ‘Return from the office today at seven.’

(Imperative Simple, habitual context)

- (12) sōbu-dinō ophis-ru aṭhō-ṭa beḷ-e **pher-ō.**
 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	aṇithae	‘I have brought’
Past Perfect	aṇithili	‘I had brought’
Future Perfect	aṇithibi	‘I will have brought’
Conditional Perfect	aṇithanti	‘I would have brought’
Imperative Perfect	aṇithae	‘let me bring’
Present Perfect	aṇichi	‘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 *aṇithili* ‘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 ophis-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 ɔphis-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, mū bhab-uch-i se ɔphis-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 ɔphis-ru **pher-itha-nt-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 ɔphis-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 sobu-dinɔ aṭhɔ-ṭa beḷ-e ɔphis-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 ghɔɔ-ku **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	ḁḁuthae	‘I am bringing’
Past Imperfective	ḁḁuthili	‘I was bringing’
Future Imperfective	ḁḁuthibi	‘I will be bringing’
Conditional Imperfective	ḁḁuthanti	‘I would be bringing’
Imperative Imperfective	ḁḁuthae	‘let me be bringing’
Present Progressive	ḁḁuchi	‘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. *ḁḁuthibi* ‘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 ḁḁhis-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 ḁḁhis-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 ḁḁhis-ru **pher-uth-ib-ḁ**.
 he o.-ABL return-IPFV-FUT-3s
 ‘He will be returning from the office.’

(Conditional Imperfective. Your friend is jobless. But if he had a job, where would he be right now?)

- (23) se ebe ḁḁhis-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 għorḁ-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.

bənc-	'survive; live' ⁵	jaŋ-	'get to know; know'
bos-	'sit down'	jhul-	'hang (itr)'
bahar-	'come out; be out (news)'	khusi he-	'become glad; be glad'
bhɔɔ pa-	'like'	lag-	'apply'
bujh-	'realise; understand'	luc-	'hide'
cah-	'look'	mis-	'mix with'
cal-	'go on'	pɔɔ-	'fall down; lie'
cihn-	'recognise'	pindh-	'put on; wear'
cup he-	'become quiet; be quiet'	rɔh-	'stay'
ɔɔr-	'fear'	rag-	'get angry; be angry'
gɔɔm he-	'become hot; be hot'	so-	'fall asleep; sleep'
he-	'become; be'	ɔhia 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-pɔɔ-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. *pɔɔhuthile* 'was reading'.

(Outside there is heavy storm.)

⁵The second meanings refers to the state which is expressed by a Perfect verb form.

- (27) se ɔcinta-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 *soichonti* in (28) refers to a situation at the present moment of speech:

(The speaker sees a man lying on the floor. He asks:)

- (28) apɔɔ kahiki eɸa-re **so-ich-ɔnti?**
 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, apɔɔ jetebeɸe **so-i-pɔɸ-uch-ɔnti** sehi sɔmɔɔ-re mũ
 father you(HON) when sleep-CV-V2:fall-PROG-3p that time-LOC I
 pɔɸh-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 mũ sɔbu-dinɔ dɔsɔ ghoŋɔ **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 ɔnidra ho-i dinɔ-re bes aramɔ-re **so-uth-ib-ɔ?**
 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-habitual 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-nkə pakho-re **so-uth-iba** lokə-nkə prəti ahuri khyotikorəko.
 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-habitual meaning (note that the form *southiba* with Imperfective aspect is wrong):

- (33) tume se **so-ith-iba** lokə-ku dekh-ich-ə?
 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	əne	'I bring'
Perfect	ənuthae	'I am (always) bringing'
Imperfective	ənithae	'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) əpəresən kər-iba səməyo-re daktər niyə çehera kahiki
 o. do-INF time-LOC d. REFL face why
dhank-i-ni-e?
 cover-CV-V2:take-3s:HAB
 'Why does the doctor cover his face while doing the operations?'

⁶Comrie (1976).

(ii) The Habitual Simple is used for attitudinal habits,⁷ i. e. situations which serve as description of a person or an object.

(About a knife the speaker has found.)

- (41) amō guru ethi-re pōriba kōt-a-kōt-i **kōr-ōnti.**
 our teacher this-LOC vegetable cut-PTCP-RDP-CV do-3p(HON):HAB
 ‘Our teacher cuts vegetables with it.’

- (42) jēū lokō sigareṭ ki mōdō **pi-e** nahī taa-rō obōstha kemiti
 which man c. or wine drink-3s:HAB NEG he-GEN condition how
 hu-e, mo stri-ku dekha-iba pāī 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 dinō purb-e mū gōnjai kha-uth-il-i ta-ku chaṛ-i ebe
 some day before-LOC I cannabis eat-IPFV-PST-1s it-DAT leave-CV now
 sigareṭ **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 kōḷa **dis-uch-i.**
 that girl-ART black look-PROG-3s
 ‘That girl looks dark (i. e. has a dark complexion, which is not appreciated).’

Consider the following group of examples with the verb *kōh-* ‘say’. The first one shows the generic use. In this example the Habitual Simple *kōhōnti* cannot be replaced by the Present Progressive *kōhuchōnti*:

- (45) kōtha-re **kōh-ōnti** — jor jaa-rō muḷōkō taa-rō.
 speech-LOC say-3p:HAB strength who-GEN ground he-GEN
 ‘People say, “Who is strong, he possesses the ground.”’

⁷Bertinetto (1994) draws a distinction between attitudinal habituals and “pure habituals”. Attitudinal 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) jəŋ-e pila **kəh-e** je, prəθəm-e jatri-maŋə-nkə pəkətmarə
 CL-INDEF child say-3s:HAB that first-LOC traveller-PL-OBL pickpocketing
 kə-la be|e se dhər-a-pər-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 *kəh-* ‘say’ are associated with a lower degree of certainty.

(About a person who was injured.)

- (47) daktər-mane **kəh-uch-ənti** je se cal-i-par-ib-ə.
 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) kaʰə paŋi-re **bhas-e**.
 wood water-LOC float-3s:HAB
 ‘Wood floats on water.’

(A teacher asks his pupils:)

- (49) pila-e, bərsə he-ba səmɔyə-re kahiki bijuli əgə **dekh-a-ja-e** o
 child-PL rain be-INF time-LOC why lightning first see-PASS-go-3s:HAB and
 ghəɔgħəɔi pər-e **suŋ-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 kamə pāi tə bou mo-te dui tənka **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, sɔtɔ kəh-uch-i mū beḷebeḷe 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) jəŋɔ-kə goṭi-e lekḥāē bəl kiŋ-i-nɔ-par-i goṭi-e bəl-re
 CL-DEF CL-INDEF each b. buy-CV-NEG-can-CV CL-INDEF b.-LOC
 22-jəŋɔ **khel-ɔnti**.
 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) mū eha-ku kha-ib-i kemiti? məniso kəŋɔ 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 miṭhai baŋṭ-ila beḷ-e Məŋṭu sɔhitɔ kemiti jhəgɔɔ
 you(FAM) sweets share-PST:INF time-LOC M. with how quarrel
kɔr-u!
 do-2s:HAB
 ‘How you quarrel with Məŋṭu when you share some sweets!’

Moral rules belong to the same type of situations (note that the Present Progressive *miḷuchi* in (55) would be wrong).

- (55) bipɔdɔ beḷ-e buddhi baharɔ kə-le sɔhɔj-e rəkhya
 danger time-LOC wits outside do-CONDCV easy-LOC salvation
miḷ-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?)

- (56) mū Brōhmōpurō yunibhōrsitī-ru em e **kōr-uch-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 *kōre* is not appropriate, since it would imply that he studies there since ages.

- (57) tu reḍio-re sobubeḷe bidesi stesōn **suṇ-uch-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 puō khali **kand-uch-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) kōnca ambō khoṭa **lag-e**.
 green mango sour taste-3s:HAB
 'Green mangoes taste sour.'
- (60) jhoḷo luṇi **lag-uch-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 *rōh-* 'stay, live':

- (61) mū Bhubāneswāro-re **rōh-uch-i** / **rōh-e**.
 I Bh.-LOC stay-PROG-1s stay-1s:HAB
 'I stay / live in Bhubaneswar.'

The Present Progressive *rōh-uch-i* implies that the stay is limited, the sentence might be uttered by a tourist, whereas the situation marked by the Habitual Simple *rōh-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) mū tāmō-ku bhōḷo **pa-uch-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: Kōbita bhōlo kōbita **lekh-e** au tume gōlpo ... — B:
 K. good poem write-3s:HAB and you(POL) story
 olōt-a-ho-i-gōl-a, sar! Kōbita gōlpo **lekh-uch-i**, au mū
 reverse-PASS-be-CV-go:PST-3s S. K. story write-PROG-3s and I
 kōbita ...
 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 sōbubele osōdhō kha-iba-ku mōna **kōr-e**.
 small child-INDEF always medicine eat-INF-DAT refuse do-3s:HAB
 thōr-e taa maa rōsōgola bhitor-e osōdhō rōkh-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 rasagolā 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 *kōhe* respectively.

- (65) jōṇ-e mōhila-nkō-rō aṭhō-ṭi pila th-il-e. jebe bi kōṇōsi pila
 CL-INDEF woman-OBL-GEN eight-CL child be-PST-3p when ever any child
 kōṇōsi karōṇō-ru **kand-e** se ta-ku cup kōr-a-i
 any reason-ABL weep-3s:HAB she he-DAT quiet make-CAUS-CV
kōh-ōnti ...
 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 tɔmɔ-ku kete kɔɔŋɔ sɔdh-a-sɔdh-i kɔ-le
 my mother you(POL)-DAT how.much what scold-PTCP-RDP-CV do-CONDCV
 bi, bapa kintu tɔmɔ-ku bhari bhɔɔ **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) Denmark jilla-rɔ Odens namɔ-re goʃi-e choʃia gãã. sehi
 D. district-GEN O. name-LOC CL-INDEF small village that
 gãã-re 1805 mɔsiha-re Aŋɔɔrsɔn Hans Khristiyan jɔnmɔgrɔhɔɔ
 village-LOC year-LOC 1805 A. H. Ch. birth
kɔr-ɔnti. ta-nkɔ-rɔ bapa th-il-e goribɔ moci-ʃie.
 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) Baleswɔɔ stesɔn-re Dilli j-iba pãi bohut lokɔ ɔpekhyā
 B. s.-LOC D. go-INF for many people waiting
 kɔr-ith-il-e. se dino dui sangɔ Mɔmɔta o Susɔma Dilli
 do-PERF-PST-3p that day two friend M. and S. D.
 j-iba-rɔ **tha-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 Suṣamā, 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 niĵo niĵo bhit̄or-e byak̄or̄oŋo p̄oc̄or-a-p̄oc̄or-i he-i
 child-PL REFL RDP inside-LOC grammar ask-PTCP-RDP-CV be-CV
 aloč̄na-re byoŋst̄o **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 k̄oh-i deb̄o-purus̄o odrus̄yo ho-i-ḡol-e. Bidyutpr̄obha
 this say-CV god-man invisible become-CV-V2:go:PST-3s B.
 muh̄o phera-i **dekh-e** chaya-purn̄ṇo ek̄o sund̄ro kun̄jo bhit̄or-e se
 face turn-CV see-3s shadow-full a beautiful grove inside-LOC she
 b̄os-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 ...’ (Fairy tale)

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 ĵodi taa p̄āi goṭi-e up̄ohar̄o aṇ-ᵛ, se au
 you(POL) if he:OBL for CL-INDEF present bring-2p:HAB he more
 rag-ib-ᵛ nahī.
 get.angry-FUT-3s NEG
 ‘If you bring him a present, he will not get angry anymore.’
- (72) tume ĵodi d̄so-ṭa beḷ-e as-ᵛ, ḍakt̄or tum̄o-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 *as̄o* can be replaced by the Future Simple *asib̄o* or the Past Simple *asib̄* without any difference of meaning (for *ĵodi*-clauses in general see 7.3).

(ii) The Habitual Simple is used in purposive clauses marked by *jepəri* or *jemiti* (for purposive clauses see 7.4.6).

- (73) ta-ku sətorkə kər-a-i-de-b-e, puə jemiti istri
 he-DAT careful do-CAUS-CV-V2:give-FUT-2p boy in.order iron
nə-chũ-ē.
 NEG-touch-3s:HAB
 ‘Warn her that the boy should not touch the iron.’

In the sentence above the Habitual Simple *chũē* can be replaced by the Imperative Simple *chũū* or the Future Simple *chũībə* without change in meaning.

- (74) maa mo-te dinə-ku korie tənka de-uch-ənti, tumə-ku
 mother I-DAT day-DAT twenty rupee give-PROG-3p(HON) you(POL)-DAT
 jəg-iba pāi, nua sahabani təmə-ku jemiti palə-re
 watch-INF for new lady.employee you(POL)-DAT in.order trap-LOC
nə-pəka-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) səbubele taa-rə sərɕ istri **ho-itha-e.**
 always he-GEN s. iron be-PERF-3s:HAB
 ‘His shirt is always ironed.’
- (76) kaɭ-e bijuli kaɕə he-b-ɔ sethi-pāi mū səbubele ghər-e məhəmo
 time-LOC power cut be-FUT-3s that-for I always house-LOC wax
 bəti **rəkh-itha-e.**
 candle put-PERF-1s:HAB
 ‘I always have candles ready in the house because there might be a power cut.’
- (77) mū prayə satə-ɕa jae **so-itha-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’, *bəs-* ‘sit down’ or *pəɾ-* ‘fall down’ (see 4.2.2.4).

(ii) Non-ingressive verbs can be used with the same function, consider (78):

- (78) mū niti sōndhō suddha mo kamō **kōr-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) prōti dinō bōhu bhōktō seṭha-ku Sibō-dōrsōnō pāi **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) sōbudinō jetebeḷe gōuṛō khirō **de-itha-e** / **di-e** mū
 always when milkman milk give-PERF-3s:HAB give-1s:HAB I
 baharō-ku ja-e.
 outside-DAT go-1s:HAB
 'I go out every day when the milkman brings milk.'

(Definition in a dictionary)

- (81) sōnsōptōkō: jēū sōinyō juddhō-bhumi-ru pōḷa-ib-ō nahī boli
 <special term> which soldier fight-ground-ABL flee-FUT-3s NEG COMP
 prōtigya **kōr-itha-e**.
 promise do-PERF-3s:HAB
 'Saṃśaptaka: 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) setebeḷe reḷbai pōrisōdō ekō bigyōpti jari **kōr-itha-nti** je
 then r. authority one announced introduction do-PERF-3p:HAB COMP
 Rajōdhani Ekspres tikeṭ-re agua sōngrōkhyōṇō-rō kōuṇōsi nirddistō
 R. E. t.-LOC future validity-GEN any definite
 sōmōyō-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 *kōrithanti* has perfect meaning, the Habitual Simple *kōronti* is not allowed (however, the Past Perfect *kōrithile* can be used instead).

It should be noted that this use also rather belongs to written style, as (83) from a biography show.

- (83) *kōla bikaso kendro-re patho porh-iba soho porha-utha-e bi.*
 art manifestation centre-LOC studies study-INF with teach-IPFV-1s:HAB also
maso-ku doromo panco tonka. Akasobani-ro drama adison pas
 month-DAT salary five rupee A.-GEN d. a. p.
kōr-itha-e, drama kōr-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 Ākāśabānī’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 *aṇithae* is judged wrong.

- (84) *mū semano-nko pāi goṭi-e upoharo *aṇ-itha-e /*
 I they-OBL for CL-INDEF present bring-PERF-1s:HAB
aṇ-ith-il-i. semane sei-ṭa khoḷ-uth-ila beḷ-e lain
 bring-PERF-PST-1s they that-ART open-IPFV-INF:PST time-LOC I.
kōṭ-i-gol-a.
 cut-CV-V2: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 sobubeḷe ghor-e bōs-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 *por-* ‘lie down’ is used in the Habitual Perfect *porithanti* ‘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 *oceto hoigole* ‘became unconscious’.

- (86) *thor-e raja Pruthwi-Rajo sotru soinyo-nko dwara ahoto ho-i*
 time-INDEF king P. enemy soldier-OBL by injured be-CV
juddho-bhūi-re por-itha-nti. ta-nko sōriro-ro
 battle-ground-LOC fall-PERF-3p(HON):HAB he-OBL body-GEN

khyəṭə-sṭhəṇə-məṇə-nkə-ru rəktə-dhəṛə chuṭ-utha-e. kichi
 injury-place-PL-OBL-ABL blood-flow come.out-IPFV-3s:HAB some
 səməyṭə pər-e se əcətə ho-i-gəl-e.
 time after-LOC he unconscious become-CV-V2:go:PST-3p(HON)

‘Once upon a time the king Prṭhvī-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 upəharə de-utha-e.
 he where-LOC go-3s:HAB present give-IPFV-3s:HAB
 ‘Wherever he goes, he brings a present.’

(88) mū jetebeḷe taa pakḥə-ku ja-e se taa-rə 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 səkəl-u Bipuḷə-ku gadho-i-di-e.
 she morning-ABL B.-DAT bathe-CV-V2:give-3s:HAB
 ‘In the morning she bathes Bipuḷa.’

By contrast, the Present Progressive is used to indicate that a situation is in progress only now.

(90) se Bipuḷə-ku gadho-i-de-uch-i.
 she B.-DAT bathe-CV-V2:give-PROG-3s
 ‘She is bathing Bipuḷa.’

However, there are contexts where the Present Progressive and the Habitual Imperfective have the same function, e. g. when an adverb like *səbubeḷe* ‘always’ creates a habitual situation:

(A man says to his neighbour:)

(91) mū təmṭə pətṇi-ku səbubeḷe rosei ghər-e dekh-uch-i /
 I 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 sɔbubeɓe taa pɔisa eθhi seθhi **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 sɔbubeɓe taa-rɔ ʦɔnka-ku **luc-e-i-(rɔkh-i)tha-e**.
 she always she-GEN money-DAT hide-CAUS-CV-(keep-CV-)AUX-3s:HAB
 ‘She always keeps her money hidden.’
- c. se sɔbu-dinɔ kichi pɔisa sejo ʦɔl-e **luc-a-e**.
 she all-day some money mattress under-LOC hide-CAUS-3s:HAB
 ‘She hides some money under the mattress every day.’

Another example, taken from a love-letter:

- (92) akhi bɔndɔ kɔ-le tumɔ-ku mũ pa-e
 eye close do-CONDCV you(POL)-DAT I find-1s:HAB
 khol-i-de-le akhi tumɔ-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) mũ maa-bapa-nkɔ pã goθi-e upoharɔ **aŋ-utha-e** (or:
 I mother-father-OBL for CL-INDEF present bring-IPFV-1s:HAB
 aŋ-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 aŋ-i asthanɔ jɔme-il-a dɔŋdɔpiŋdha-re.
 he his children-OBL:DAT bring-CV shelter gather-PST-3s veranda-LOC
 choʦɔ choʦɔ pila-guriko kand-iba arɔmbhɔ kɔr-i-de-l-e
 small RDP child-PL weep-INF start do-CV-V2:give-PST-3p
 bhokɔ-re. se niliptɔ. ɔuki-ku auj-i so-itha-e. taa stri
 hunger-LOC he indifferent chair-DAT lean-CV sleep-PERF-3s:HAB his wife
sɔmbhal-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 *sombhaḷuthae* can be replaced by the Past Imperfective *sombha-luthila* and by the Present Progressive *sombhaḷuchi* (judged slightly odd).

In (95) two situations are given as background: Nandalāla'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-pōri kōtha suṇ-i Nōndōlālō mōnō-dukho-re
 this-like matter hear-CV N. mind-sadness-LOC
pher-i-ja-utha-nti. ṭhik ehi sōmōyo-re Jōbaharō
 return-CV-V2:go-IPFV-3p(HON):HAB just this time-LOC J.
 jhōrōka-re rajō-pōthō-ku **cah-ītha-nti.** dekh-il-e sangō
 window-LOC king-road-DAT look-PERF-3p(HON):HAB see-PST-3p(HON) friend
 Nōndōlālō pher-i-ja-uch-i.
 N. return-CV-V2:go-PROG-3s

'When Nandalāla 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 Nandalāla 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) gōla bōrsō bahaghōrō bhoji-re mansō **kha-uth-il-i.** kha-u
 go:INF:PST year marriage feast-LOC meat eat-IPFV-PST-1s eat-ICV
 kha-u dantō sōndhi-re kichi mansō kōṇika 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 *bikuthanti*.

(Why do you sell meat?)

- (97) mō-rō purbōpurusō mansō **bik-uth-il-e.** eha amō bōnsō-rō
 I-GEN ancestor meat sell-IPFV-PST-3p this our family-GEN
 brutti. mū sehi kamō kōr-i peṭō 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	aṇili	‘I brought’
Perfect	aṇithili	‘I had brought’
Imperfective	aṇuthili	‘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 bəjarə-ru goṭi-e upəharə aṇ-il-i.
 I market-ABL 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 lokə-ṭi bəs pəchə-re dəuṛ-uch-i, matrə bəs-ku
 I see-PST-1s person-ART b. behind-LOC run-PROG-3s but b.-DAT
 dhər-i-par-u-n-i. teṇu mū amə kukurə-ṭi-ku
 catch-CV-can-PROG-NEG-3s so I our dog-ART-DAT
lɔga-i-de-l-i taa pəchə-re. kukurə ḍərə-re lokə-ṭi
 apply-CV-V2:give-PST-1s he:OBL behind-LOC dog fear-LOC person-ART
 jor-re **dəuṛ-il-a** o bəs **dhər-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) jəṇ-e məhiḷa niḷə kar cəḷa-i-ja-uth-il-e. hoṭhat
 CL-INDEF woman REFL c. drive-CV-V2:go-IPFV-PST-3p(HON) suddenly
 baṭə-re ta-nkə-rə startḷ bəndə **ho-i-gə-l-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 jetebeḷe Bharat̄o-re th-il-i s̄obu-dino k̄od̄oḷi **kiṇ-uth-il-i** /
 I when India-LOC be-PST-1s all-day banana buy-IPFV-1s
***kiṇ-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 th̄or̄o bāūs̄o kaṭ-iba-ku **ḡol-a**, p̄oti th̄or̄o buda
 he how.many time bamboo cut-INF-DAT go:PST-3s every time bush
 bh̄it̄or-u kh̄oṇḍ-e kh̄oṇḍe suna **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) s̄om̄rat̄o p̄her-i-j-iba p̄or-e Miyako-r̄o p̄oribar̄o 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 jēū s̄oh̄or̄o-ku **ḡol-e** seṭhi ta-nk̄o bh̄ai-ku
 he which town-DAT go:PST-3p(HON) there he-OBL brother-DAT
kh̄oj-il-e.
 search-PST-3p(HON)
 ‘He searched for his brother in whichever town he went to.’
- (105) Madhia-ku jete **k̄oh-il-i** se mo k̄oṭha j̄oma **sun-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.)

- (106) apɔɔɔ as-il-e!
 you(HON) come-PST-3p
 'You have come!'

(The film director to the hero after the shooting of a scene.)

- (107) mū kɔh-il-i kɔɔɔɔ, tɔme kɔ-l-ɔ kɔɔɔɔ? puɔi au thɔr-e
 I say-PST-1s what you(POL) do-PST-2p what again more time-INDEF
 ʔek ne-ba-ku pɔɔ-ib-ɔ.
 t. 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 *kɔhithili* and *kɔrithili* 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 ɔeri kahiki kɔ-l-ɔ?
 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 situations. 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) kɔndhei-ʔi khɔs-il-a.
 doll-ART fall-PST-3s
 'The doll is just falling down.'

Note that the Present Progressive *khɔsuchi* would refer to an iterative situation, where the doll is going up and down.

(Television report.)

- (110) Biswɔnathɔ Dinesɔ pakho-ku bɔl pas kɔ-l-e ... Dinesɔ gol
 B. D. side-DAT b. p. make-PST-3p(HON) D. g.
 kɔ-l-e!
 make-PST-3p(HON)
 'Biśvanātha passes the ball to Dīneśa ... Dīneśa scores!'

(The speaker sees a couple arriving.)

- (111) sangə **mər-i-gəl-i** — mo pətni au premika as-uch-ənti.
 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) dəkhiṇə Oṛisa-rə jēū-səbu sthano-ru rətnə-pəthərə miḷ-uch-i
 south O.-GEN which-all place-ABL gem-stone be.available-PROG-1s
 təhī-ru prəmukhə **he-l-a**: Kiragaphəna, Lanjigəṛə, ...
 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, Lānjigāṛa, ...’ (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) sighrə ja-i Nārədə-nku uṭh-a-i-dī-ə. nəcet mū
 quickly go-CV N.-OBL:DAT get.up-CAUS-CV-V2:give-2p:IMP otherwise I
gəl-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 *bajibə* and the Habitual Simple *baje* can replace *bajila*.

(The prisoner has to hit an apple with an arrow.)

- (114) jədi to kəpaḷə-ku tirə seu-re **baj-il-a**, tu čaṛə
 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) jədi philm-re dii poisa labhə **miḷ-i-gəl-a** tə, sei-ṭa
 if f.-LOC two money profit be.available-CV-V2:go:PST-3s PTCL that-ART
 he-l-a komeḍi; jədi khyəti **he-l-a**, sei-ṭa he-l-a ṭrajeḍi.
 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) kuṛia għorɔ bhitor-u kehi jɔŋ-e kɔh-il-e — “maa, mo-rɔ
hut house inside-ABL someone CL-IND say-PST-3p(HON) mother 1s-GEN
dɔrɔŋɔ-ɬa **an-il-u**.”
mirror-ART bring-PST-2s
‘From inside the hut somebody said, “Mother, please bring me the mirror!”’
- (117) pil-e, emitɪ goɬi-e phɔɬ-rɔ namɔ **kɔh-il-ɔ**, jaha grismo
child-PL like.this CL-INDEF fruit-GEN name say-PST-2p which summer
rutu-re phɔɬ-e.
season-LOC ripen-3s:HAB
‘Children, tell me the name of a fruit, that is ripe in summer season.’
- (118) apɔŋɔ prɔti dino sɔkaɭ-u ɬikie **bul-i-gɔl-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) mū apɔŋɔ-nkɔ pāi choɬɔ upɔharɔ **an-ith-il-i**, kintu
I you(HON)-OBL pāi choɬɔ upɔharɔ bring-PERF-PST-1s but
jatra-re hoɟ-i-gɔl-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) thɔr-e mū niɟɔ stri-rɔ gɔrbhabɔstha-re “dui bhɔuɪ” upɔnyasɔ
time-INDEF I REFL wife-GEN pregnancy-LOC two sister novel
pɔɬh-iba-ku **de-ith-il-i**. taa-rɔ dui-ɬi jāāɭa 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 pɔra se bɔnɔ-ku ja-ith-il-ɔ? kɔɔŋɔ
 father you(POL) PTCL that forest-DAT go-PERF-PST-2p what
 dekh-i-as-il-ɔ?
 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 jēũ baɬɔ bɔte-ith-il-a, sei baɬɔ-re gɔl-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 *boutouthila* 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 king who was inside the body of the parrot. The king, however, had already left it, and this is expressed by the Past Perfect *pɔs-i-ja-ith-il-e*.

- (123) se hoɬhat sua-ɬa-ku jhamp-i-ne-i taa beko
 he suddenly parrot-ART-DAT snatch-CV-V2:take-CV his neck
 moɣ-i-de-l-a. kintu taa purbɔ-ru tɔl-e pɔɣ-ith-iba
 twist-CV-V2:give-PST-3s but it before-ABL bottom-LOC lie-PERF-INF
 goɬa-e mɔ-la mɔhumachi deho-re raja
 CL-INDEF die-INF:PST bee body-LOC king
 pɔs-i-ja-ith-il-e. sua-ku dekh-i raŋi
 enter-CV-V2:go-PERF-PST-3p(HON) parrot-DAT see-CV queen
 rag-i-uth-i montri-ku kɔh-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

⁸Beside 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 *pəsigole* 'entered' and the adverbial phrase *purbəru* '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) Oṛisa-rə bəhu neta, kərmī mədhya ehi səngramə-re setebeḷe joga
 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 loka guḷi-maṛə-re mər-ich-ənti.
 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.⁹ 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) daktər-babu, mī **as-ith-il-i** goṭa-e kətha 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) apəṇə Gaḷpiko Biswəjit Nayəko-nku jaṇ-ith-ib-e? — o
 you(HON) G. B. N.-OBL:DAT know-PERF-FUT-3p INTERJ
 Biswəjit-nku kie nə-jaṇ-e, se goṭə bərsə kendrə ekaḍemi awaṛḍ
 B.-OBL:DAT who NEG-know-3s:HAB he last year central a. a.

⁹See 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 muktō ho-i 1945 mōsiha-re se Warddha 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
 paṭhō-pōṭh-a arōmbhō **kōr-ith-il-e** o 1951–52 mōsiha-rō
 lesson-learn-PTCP start do-PERF-PST-3p(HON) and 1951–52 year-GEN
 sadharōṇō nirbacōṇō-re Indira Gandhi-nkō sohitō se nirbacōṇō
 common election-LOC I. G.-OBL with she election
 prōcarō-re **ja-ith-il-e.**
 manifestation-LOC go-PERF-PST-3p(HON)

‘After being released from jail in 1945 she went to the Wārdhdhā 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:

- (129) Phōrasi rastro-biplōbō 1789 Khrist-abdō-re **ghoṭ-ith-il-a.**
 French kingdom-rebellion 1789 Christ-era-LOC happen-PERF-PST-3s
 ‘The French Revolution broke out in 1789 AD.’
- (130) se ghoṇṭa-e tōl-e eṭha-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-ōdhō-re oḍuro-re sōtru soinyō-nkō koḷahoḷō o
 suddenly night-middle-LOC nearness-LOC enemy soldier-OBL noise and
 phayoṛ-rō sōbdō suṇ-i dui-jōṇō soinikō bhōyō-re sibirō chaṛ-i
 f.-GEN noise hear-CV two-CL soldier fear-LOC tent leave-CV
 dhā-ī-pōḷa-il-e. mū eka **rōh-i-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-nkə pāi goṭi-e upoharə aṇ-uth-il-i, rasta-re*
 I mother-father-OBL for CL-INDEF present bring-IPFV-PST-1s road-LOC
durghoṭəṇə ghoṭ-il-a.
 accident happen-PST-3s
 ‘I was bringing a present for my parents, an accident happened on the road.’
- (133) *mū gaṛi cəḷa-uth-il-i, moṛə as-iba-ru gaṛi moṛ-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 jetebeḷe eṭha-ku as-ith-il-i, mū niḷə-ku proḍhano montri*
 I when here-DAT come-PERF-PST-1s I REFL-DAT principal minister
boli kəh-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 *kəhili* 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 apəŋə-nkə maa apəŋə-nkə bəyɔsə pəndərə bərsə
 but you(HON)-OBL mother you(HON)-OBL age fifteen year
kəh-uth-il-e.
 say-IPFV-PST-3p(HON)

‘But your mother was telling that your age is fifteen years.’

Here *kəhuthile* blurs the time when the situation took place (some time ago). By contrast, the Past Perfect *kəhithile* would imply a certain point in the past, the Past Simple *kəhile* 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 prəti pəncə miniŋ-re guḷi **mar-uth-il-a** kahiki?
 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 *dekhuthili* denotes that the speaker had a look at the book, but did not read it through. By contrast, the Past Simple *dekhili* would entail that the whole book has been read.

- (137) təmə bəhi niscəyə pəŋh-ib-i. prəthəmə bəhi-ŋə **dekh-uth-il-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 ŋəŋka-ŋie pāi ete **dəuŋ-uth-il-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) purbə-ru mū səbubeḷe upəharə **aŋ-uth-il-i,** ebe kintu aŋ-e
 before-ABL I always present bring-IPFV-PST-1s now but bring-1s:HAB
 nahī.
 NEG

‘Before, I used to bring presents, but now I do not so.’

- (140) oṭo taa-rō pakōsthōli-re paṇi jōm-a-i-rōkh-e boli
 camel it-GEN stomach-LOC water gather-CAUS-CV-keep-3s:HAB COMP
 ago-ru dharaṇa **kōr-a-ja-uth-il-a.**
 before-ABL belief do-PASS-go-IPFV-PST-3s
 ‘In former times it was believed that the camel kept water gathered in its stomach.’

(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) ghōṭa-kō pōr-e ghōr-e ta-nkō-rō ceta
 hour-one after-LOC house-LOC he-OBL-GEN consciousness
 pher-i-as-il-a kintu se lokō
 return-CV-come-PST-3s but he people
cihn-i-par-u-nō-th-il-e ki
 recognise-CV-can-IPFV-NEG-AUX-PST-3p(HON) or
uṭh-i-par-u-nō-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) matrō pōndōrō bōrsō-re se kōṛie bōrsō-rō ekō purṇṇaṅgō jubōti
 only fifteen year-LOC she twenty year-GEN one full-limbed young.woman
 bhōḷi **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 kōṅṅō **kōh-i-as-uth-il-e,** matrō hōṭhat
 he something say-CV-V2:come-IPFV-PST-3p(HON) but suddenly
 thōm-i-gōl-e.
 stop-CV-V2:go-PST-3p(HON)
 ‘He was about to say something, but suddenly he stopped.’
- (144) raja prōtham-e Bānōsobha-ku chaṛ-iba-ku rajī
 king first-LOC B.-DAT leave-INF-DAT agree
he-u-nō-th-il-e, kintu Agnisōrma jid
 be-IPFV-NEG-AUX-PST-3p(HON) but A. insistence
 dhōr-i-bōs-iba-ru ta-nku badhyō ho-i
 take-CV-V2:sit-INF-ABL he-OBL:DAT obliged be-CV
 pōṭha-i-de-l-e.
 send-CV-V2:give-PST-3p(HON)
 ‘First the king did not agree to leave Banasobhā, but when Agnisārmā 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 ghōṭṭṇa suṇ-i taa beko moṛ-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 kaṭhi khōṇḍi-e ne-i seguṛi-ku baharō kōr-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-gōl-a.
 go-PROG-1s suddenly I. 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) gōl-a beḷ-e mo-rō kichi jiniso mū bōndhabōndhi kōr-i
 go:PST-PTCP time-LOC I-GEN some thing I arrange do-CV
 tōmō ghōr-e rōkh-i-ja-i-par-e? kaḷ-e tumō-rō
 your(POL) house-LOC put-CV-V2:go-CV-can-1s:HAB time-LOC you(POL)-GEN
 kichi sūbidha ho-i-par-e, sethi-pāi **pōcar-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 apōṇō-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 cahē* 'I want to show' is used.

4.2.3.3 Future

The Future includes the following forms:

Simple	aṇibi	'I shall bring'
Perfect	aṇithibi	'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 apəŋə-nkə pāi goŋi-e upəharə aŋ-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 pothəɾə əbəsyo khub durə-ku gəl-a, kintu jēūṭhi
 your(POL) stone certainly much distance-DAT go:PST-3s but wherever
 he-le tələ-ku **khəs-i-pəŋ-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 bəksing cəmpiansip cəlito masə 18-ṭharu 20
 fourth national k. b. ch. current month 18-ABL 20
 tarikho pəɾjəntə Kəṭəkə-ɾə Jəbāharəlāl Neheru iṇḍor stadiyom-re
 date until C.-GEN J. N. i. s.-LOC
 ənusthitə **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 Jabāhāralāl 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) tume kəŋə ta-nku kəŋəsi-mote
 you(POL) INT he-OBL:DAT any-how
pher-a-i-aŋ-i-par-ib-ə nahī?
 return-CAUS-CV-bring-CV-can-FUT-2p NEG

‘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 prøthom-e amo-ku hotyakari-ro uddesyø kooño*
 now first-LOC we-DAT murderer-GEN intention what
jañ-iba-ku he-b-ø.
 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 lokø-nkø mønø-re asa th-il-a je, nua søhøsrøbdø*
 some people-OBL mind-LOC hope be-PST-3s COMP new millennium
as-ile tøkami cori au hotya kom-ib-ø.
 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) *asønta børsø mū goñi-e upøharø añ-uch-i.*
 coming year I 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) *asønta søptahø-re reļ-gari dhørmøghøtø he-uch-i — taapøre*
 coming week-LOC r.-car strike be-PROG-3s then
dekh-ib-a kie as-uch-ønti.
 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:)

- (157) keboḷo sato jonmo pāi mū tumo-ro stri **he-b-i** au ostomo
 only seven birth for I you(POL)-GEN wife be-FUT-1s and eighth
 jonmo pāi tume kaha-ku **bach-i-ne-uch-o** niscayo.
 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 apoṇo-nko pāi goṭi-e upoḥaro aṇ-ich-i, kintu
 I you(HON)-OBL for CL-INDEF present bring-PERF-1s but
 tōmo-ku bhōḷo **lag-ib-o** / **lag-uch-i** ki nahī mū
 you(POL)-DAT good feel-FUT-3s feel-PROG-3s or NEG I
 jaṇ-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 *lagibo* 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 **aṇ-ib-u** / **aṇ-ib-o** / **aṇ-ib-e**.
 tea bring-FUT-2s bring-FUT-2p bring-FUT-3p(HON)
 ‘Please bring tea.’

- (160) to pṛotigya niscayo **rōkh-ib-u**.
 your(FAM) promise surely keep-FUT-2s
 ‘Keep your promise no matter what.’

(The judge to a thief.)

- (161) au kebe pōro sompōtti bhogo-dōkhōḷo kōr-iba-ku cesta **kōr-ib-o-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 ambə-ru goṭi-e mōndiro-re
 take:2s:IMP these four-CL mango-ABL CL-INDEF temple-LOC
rəkh-i-de-b-u, goṭi-e puḷəkə brahməṇə-nku **de-b-u**,
 keep-CV-V2:give-FUT-2s CL-INDEF worship b.-OBL:DAT give-FUT-2s
 goṭi-e nōi paṇi-re **bhəs-a-i-de-b-u** ebəng goṭi-e
 CL-INDEF river water-LOC float-CAUS-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 agə goṭa-e kəp caa **pīi** — taapəre pətrə **kiṇ-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-gəl-ə-ṇi? tahele calə gəchə muḷ-e
 you(POL) tired become-CV-V2:go:PST-2p-MIR then HORT tree root-LOC
bəs-i-pəṛ-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) məngələbarə dino səndhya-re amə ghəro-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) bəṛəng mū **kəh-ib-i** ...
 rather I say-FUT-1s
 'I'd rather say ...'
- (167) jədi birəktə nə-he-b-e, goṭi-e kətha **kəh-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) jōdi birōktō nō-hu-ōnt-e, goṭi-e kōtha **kōh-ōnt-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 *piṅti* 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) jhiṅṭika-ṭa rati-sara phōṛ-phōṛ he-le kaha-ku nido
 grasshopper-ART night-all flutter be-CONDCV anybody-DAT sleep
lag-ib-ō?
 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 kōṅṅō hō-b-ō kie **kōh-ib-ō?**
 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 gōṛōmō ho-ich-i je **pi-i-he-b-ō** nah-ī.
 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).’

Permissive use is seen in (173):

- (173) amō-rō guru upōdesō de-ich-ōnti — “cori **kōr-ib-ō**, kintu
 we-GEN teacher advice give-PERF-3p(HON) theft do-FUT-2p but
 stri-lokō kimba sisu-nkō dehō-re hatō lōga-ib-ō nah-ī.”
 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.”’

¹⁰Ability is normally expressed by *par-* ‘can’ (see 4.6.4).

(vi) Future verb forms are used in deliberative questions (“shall I ...?”):

(174) *tumə byag-ṭi kēūṭhi rəkh-ib-i?*
 your(POL) b.-ART where put-FUT-1s
 ‘Where shall I put your bag?’

(175) *e gaṛi məṭər səbdə-re mū təmə kəṭha suṇ-ib-i kipəri?*
 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 kəṇə kər-ib-e? brusəbhə-həṭya məha-papə. sethi-ru*
 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 *kəṇə* ‘what’ and *kəhiki* ‘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-ə kəṇə, sange sange khəṇḍa-ṭi-ku dhər-i ghər-u*
 she weep-FUT-3s what immediately sword-ART-DAT take-CV house-ABL
bahar-i-pər-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) *səte na kəṇə? — to-te kəṇə mū miḥə kəh-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-rə bapa he-b-e kəhiki?*
 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 *kəṛibe* is replaced by the Conditional Simple *kəṛante*, the sentence describes an imaginary setting, e. g. “if you were king, what would you do?”:

- (180) tume kəpə **kər-ənt-ə?**
 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) meghə ete təp-ku as-il-a jemiti ghəro-rə chatə-ku
 cloud so bottom-DAT come-PST-3s as.if house-GEN roof-DAT
lag-i-j-ib-ə.
 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 tuṇḍə-re kətha nə-tha-e, e-pəri ki chunci-tie
 who:OBL-EMPH mouth-LOC matter NEG-be-3s this-like PTCL needle-INDEF
 pəṛ-ile bi **suṇ-a-j-ib-ə.**
 fall-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) tumə-manə-nkə-rə iccha jepəri purṇə he-b-ə, mū se kətha
 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) ketebeḷə phon kə-le kəm poisa **pəṛ-ib-ə!**
 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 *pəṛe* and the Present Progressive *pəṛuchi* can be used with the same meaning. In (185) the Habitual Simple *bindhe* is possible as well.

- (185) mo muṇḍə jebe **bindh-ib-ə**, tahele mo premika muṇḍə-ku
 my head when hurt-FUT-3s then my mistress head-DAT
 cum-i-de-b-ə au muṇḍə bindh-a t̪hik 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) jhɔɔ bɔtasɔ beɭ-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) “bɔɔ o machɔ” aɔ-re pila-maɔ-nkɔ mɔdhyɔ-ru jɔɔ-e
 paddy.bird and fish game-LOC child-PL-OBL middle-ABL CL-INDEF
 bɔɔ **he-b-ɔ** o jɔɔ-e machɔ jɔɔualɪ **bɔch-a-he-b-ɔ**.
 paddy.bird be-FUT-3s and CL-INDEF fish guard choose-PASS-be-FUT-3s
 ɔnyɔ sathi pila-mane machɔ **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 Ingraji ***pɔɔh-e-ib-e** / **pɔɔh-a-nti**.
 he English learn-CAUS-FUT-3p(HON) teach-CAUS-3p(HON):HAB
 ‘He teaches English (as a job).’
- (189) surjyɔ purbɔ digɔ-re udɔyɔ ***he-b-e** / **hu-ɔnti**.
 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).

- (190) tume klantɔ **ho-i-j-ib-ɔ** / **ho-i-ja-i-par-ɔ** /
 you(POL) tired be-CV-V2:go-FUT-2p be-CV-V2:go-CV-can-2p:HAB
ho-i-ja-i-tha-i-par-ɔ, au kamɔ kɔɔ-ɔ-ni.
 be-CV-V2:go-PERF-be-CV-can-2p:HAB more work do-2p:IMP-NEG
 ‘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:)

- (191) emanə-nkə bhitor-u chatrə-manə-nkə sənkhya kete **he-b-ə?** —
 these-OBL inside-ABL student-PL-OBL number how.much be-FUT-3s
 ekə həjarə-ru kəm nuh-ē.
 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 *niscəyo* ‘certainly’ and *huetə* ‘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 amə-manə-nkə-ṭharu bəṛə byəkti-mane niscəyo amə əpekhyā
 then we-PL-OBL-ABL big person-PL surely we:OBL than
 jor-re **dəur-ib-e.**
 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 subordinate 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-ē tumə-rə sei kənyā mo pakho-re rəh-i seba
 I want-1s you(POL)-GEN that daughter my side-LOC stay-CV service
kər-ib-ə.
 do-FUT-3s
 ‘I want that daughter of yours to be beside me and serve me.’

Note that the Conditional Simple *kərənta* and the Imperative Simple *kəru* is possible here too. The Future is the strongest form: the speaker knows that he will get what he wants. When the Imperative *kəru* is used, he is not sure whether he will get his wish fulfilled. The Conditional Simple *kərənta* implies that the wish has a hesitating character.

- (194) se uilə kər-i-de-ith-il-e je ta-nkə-rə səmstə
 he last.will do-CV-V2:give-PERF-PST-3p(HON) COMP he-OBL-GEN all
 sompotti onathə-nku danə **kər-i-di-a-j-ib-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) jəŋ-e raja ghosəŋa kə-l-e je tənti-mane emiti
 CL-INDEF king declaration do-PST-3p(HON) that weaver-PL like.this
 goŋi-e luga buŋ-ib-e jaha ki akhi-ku **dekh-a-nə-j-ib-ə**.
 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*, *jepəri* or *jemiti* (see 7.4.6).

- (196) jəŋ-e lokə taa-rə ghorə-ku **bik-ib-ə** boli mo ghə-rə-ku
 CL-INDEF man he-GEN horse-DAT sell-FUT-3s COMP my house-DAT
 aŋ-ith-il-a.
 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 ragə-re kaŋ-e **mar-ib-e** sehi bhəyo-re se
 people-PL anger-LOC time-LOC beat-FUT-3p that fear-LOC he
 pə]a-i-gə-l-a.
 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) asəntakali suddha upəharə **aŋ-ith-ib-i**.
 tomorrow by present bring-PERF-FUT-1s
 'I will have brought the present by tomorrow.'
- (199) byəstə hu-əntu nahī, purəskarə ghosəŋa he-la beŋ-e mo bəhi
 worried be-3p:IMP NEG prize declaration be-INF:PST time-LOC my book
 pres-ru **as-i-ja-ith-ib-ə**.
 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 *asibə* is used instead of *asithibə*, the book will appear after the prize declaration. When the Future Imperfective *asuthibə* 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) dui hatə-re amə lagi tə upəharə-səbu **dhər-ith-ib-ə**.
 two hand-LOC we:OBL for PTCL present-all hold-PERF-FUT-2p
 ‘(When you come, I hope) you will be holding all the presents for us in both hands.’
- (201) tume kəɲə sara rati emiti jhəɾəka pakhə-re bəs-i ɔndharə-ku
 you(POL) INT all night like.this window side-LOC sit-CV darkness-DAT
cah-ith-ib-ə?
 look-PERF-FUT-2p
 ‘Will you be sitting like this by the window and looking into the darkness the whole night?’

Modal use In Imperatives the Future Perfect is more polite than Future Simple.

(Instructions for the new guard.)

- (202) tu eithi randh-i kha-ib-u au dinə rati ghəɾə-ku
 you(FAM) here cook-CV eat-FUT-2s and day night house-DAT
jəg-ith-ib-u.
 watch-PERF-FUT-2s
 ‘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 (*asithibe* in (203) is more authoritative than *asibe*).

- (203) as-ila beɭ-e kəstə kəɾ-i apəɲə-nkə paspəɾt-ku
 come-INF:PST time-LOC care do-CV you(HON)-OBL p.-DAT
ne-i-as-ith-ib-e.
 take-CV-come-PERF-FUT-3p
 ‘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. *kəɲjus he-* ‘become miserly’ in (204):

- (204) mo-rə emiti goɬi-e cakəɾə dəɾkar jie kəɲjus **ho-ith-ib-ə**.
 I-GEN like.this CL-INDEF servant need who miserly become-PERF-FUT-3s
 ‘I need a servant who is miserly.’

(205) is an order with the ingressive verb *rəkh-* ‘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 hatɔ-re **rəkh-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 gətəkali upɔharɔ **aŋ-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 hoiraŋɔ **kər-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 bərsɔ-rɔ bəyɔsɔ-ku ɔbəsɔrɔ bəyɔsɔ dhər-ile ta-nkɔ-rɔ
 60 year-GEN age-DAT retirement age take-CONDCV he-OBL-GEN
 jɔnmɔ-bərsɔ ho-ith-ib-ɔ 1946 ɔtɔɛbɔ se 16 bərsɔ-re hī
 birth-year become-PERF-FUT-3s 1946 therefore he 16 year-LOC EMPH
 em.e. pas **kər-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) kaɭe lɔkɔ dui-ɬa dəkayɔtɔ **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) mũ jetebeḷe maa-bapa-nkɔ pãĩ upɔharɔ **aṅ-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 similiarly looking men. What should she do? The goddess Durgā helps her.)

- (212) bhɔɔ kɔr-i dekh ma. jaha-nkɔ akhi-re pɔɔkɔ **pɔr-uth-ib-ɔ**,
 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 *pɔrɪbɔ* is used instead of *pɔruthibɔ*, he will blink only once.

(ii) The Future Imperfective is used for future situations which are viewed as temporally extended (durative use):

- (213) se lengera he-le hĩ mũ jaṅ-e se
 he lame be-CONDCV EMPH I know-1s:HAB he
nac-i-par-uth-ib-ɔ.
 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) mɔr-i-gɔla pɔr-e mũ pãũsɔ hu-e, tɔthapi
 die-CV-V2:go:INF:PST after-LOC I ashes become-1s:HAB nevertheless
 gɔgɔn-e ur-i **kɔh-uth-ib-i** tumɔ-ku mũ bhɔɔ 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 *kəhuthae* can replace the verb form *kəhuthibi* in this context.

(iii) The Future Imperfective is used for habitual situations with future time reference:

- (215) mo baɬə dhəla ho-i-gəla pər-e bi tume mo-te
 my hair white become-CV-V2:go:INF:PST after-LOC even you(POL) I-DAT
 emitɪ bhələ **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 *paibə* is possible as well, but the Future Imperfective *pauthibə* expresses a stronger love than *paibə*.

(About a person who takes bribes again and again.)

- (216) se byəkti etəkə thər-e nuhē barəmarə **kər-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 badhyə nuh-ē je prətyəkə thərə goṭi-e hī jənmə
 this obliged be:NEG-3s COMP every time CL-INDEF EMPH birth
miḷ-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 pərjyontə **jhul-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) dərkar pər-ile semənə-nkə rogə cih-n-i osədhə-pətrə
 necessary fall-CONDCV they-OBL disease recognise-CV medicine-letter
de-uth-ib-u.
 give-IPFV-FUT-2s
 ‘If necessary, diagnose their diseases and give them medicine.’

(In an interview.)

- (220) aji-ṭhu tume mo əphis-re jəen kər-i-ja-ɔ. ebhəli məntəliṭi
 today-ABL you(POL) my o.-LOC j. do-CV-V2:go-2p:IMP such m.
 məntən **kər-uth-ib-ɔ**.
 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, *bəsithibe*) forms, which describe the songwriter’s situation:

(A: Why are you so successful? — B: I have an advantage that might be helping me.)

- (221) rekərḍing səmɔyɔ-re gita lekh-ila beḷ-e pɔcasɔ loko
 r. time-LOC song write-INF:PST time-LOC fifty people
 bəs-ith-ib-e. kəmənt **de-uth-ib-e** “ki gita ie! ...” taapɔre se
 sit-PERF-FUT-3p c. give-IPFV-FUT-3p what song this then that
 gita-ṭi **cir-a-he-uth-ib-ɔ**.
 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) təmɔ-ku tɔ niscɔyɔ **kaṭ-uth-ib-ɔ** se jetebeḷe pɔɣ-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 *kaṭithibɔ* which is used when the situation is narrated in retrospective (223).

- (223) təmɔ-ku niscɔyɔ **kaṭ-ith-ib-ɔ** tɔ?
 you(POL)-DAT surely cut-PERF-FUT-3s PTCL
 ‘He must have hurt you?’
- (224) pulis sɔbu gari ɔṭoka-uch-ɔnti. semane khəs-i-pəḷa-ith-iba
 p. all car stop-PROG-3p they escape-CV-flee-PERF-INF
 bəndi-ku **hoj-uth-ib-e**.
 prisoner-DAT search-IPFV-FUT-3p
 ‘The police are stopping all vehicles. They must be looking for the prisoner who escaped.’

‘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 jɔdi **porh-ib-ɔ**, mū taa pāi khoboro-kagojo **an-i-de-b-i**.
 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) kamɔ kɔ-le tɔmɔ bhatɔ kie **kha-nt-a**.
 work do-COND CV 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 *khanta* 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 tɔ mo-rɔ ontɔrɔngɔ bɔndhu. mo-rɔ bhɔlɔ-mɔndɔ-ku tɔ se
 he PTCL I-GEN closest friend I-GEN good-bad-DAT PTCL he
ɔɔla-i-ne-i-par-ɔnt-a.
 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) bicarɔ Bakilɔ ete kɔtha ta-nkɔ pāi ghɔɕ-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 asɔnta bɔrsɔ jɔdi goɕi-e uphara
 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 *kiṇuthanti* is possible as well).

- (234) *mū Suijorland-re th-ile, sobu-dinō chena kiṇ-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) *thōrō-ṭie 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) *thōrō-ṭie ta-ku dekh-ile tō!*
 time-INDEF he-DAT see-CONDCV PTCL
 'If only she would see him once again!'

(Bad wish.)

- (237) *bhōgōban kōr-ont-e ki to-te goṭa-e choṭō*
 god do-COND-3p(HON) PTCL you(FAM)-DAT CL-INDEF short
bōrō miḷ-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 *kōrōntu* would express his belief in what he wishes.

(ii) The Conditional Simple is used in very polite requests.

- (238) *keboḷō mō-rō goṭi-e prarthōna — pita-nku ṭikie 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 *dekhibi* 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.

- (239) kali țikie țhakuro-nko mōndiro-ku **ja-nt-e!**
 tomorrow please god-OBL temple-DAT go-COND-1pi
 ‘Please let us go to the temple of god tomorrow.’
- (240) to-te bōrhia chabi ank-i-as-e, mo pāi goți-e
 you(FAM)-DAT beautiful picture draw-CV-can-3s:HAB I:OBL for CL-INDEF
 chabi **ank-i-di-ont-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 goți-e gōpō **kōh-ont-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 *kōhibō*, he is more certain that the addressee will fulfill his wish, whereas by using the Imperative Simple *kōhō* the sentence equals an order.

- (242) semane cah-īl-e kōũțhi țikie bisramō **ni-ont-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 kōũțhi țikie bisramō **ne-ba-ku** cah-īl-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) mōntri bicar-il-a ekuția ja-i se jogi-țharu bidya-ța
 minister consider-PST-3s alone go-CV that y.-ABL knowledge-ART
sikh-i-as-ont-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 jōdi ṭikie ɔdhikɔ pɔrisrɔmɔ **kɔr-itha-nt-a**, pas
 he if a.little more labour do-PERF-COND-3s p.
kɔr-i-par-itha-nt-a.
 do-CV-can-PERF-COND-3s
 ‘He could have passed if he had worked a bit harder.’

Compare the Conditional Simple:

- (246) se jōdi ṭikie ɔdhikɔ pɔrisrɔmɔ **kɔr-ɔnt-a**, pas **kɔr-i-par-ɔnt-a**.
 he if a.little more labour do-COND-3s p. do-CV-can-COND-3s
 ‘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) ě, mū Bhubɔneswɔrɔ **ja-itha-nt-i**. se du-hē mo-te
 INTERJ I Bh. go-PERF-COND-1s those two-EMPH I-DAT
 gari-re bɔs-a-i-de-i ghɔrɔ-ku **pher-itha-nt-e**.
 train-LOC sit-CAUS-CV-V2:give-CV house-DAT return-PERF-COND-3p
 ‘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) sɔjɔr-a gari-ṭi-rɔ mulyɔ prayɔ derḥɔ lɔkhyɔ ṭɔnka
 arrange-PTCP car-ART-GEN value about one.and.half lakh rupee
ho-itha-nt-a.
 become-PERF-COND-3s
 ‘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 lokō-nkō samna-re kemiti galō-re kis **de-itha-nt-i!**
 I so.many people-OBL 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 ṭanka kuaṛ-u jogarō **kōr-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-rō dayitwō th-il-a ebong kie kēū kamō **kōr-itha-nt-a**
 who-GEN responsibility be-PST-3s and who which work do-PERF-COND-3s
 mō-rō se bisoyō-re jaṅ-iba-rō agrōhō nah-ī.
 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 have done which job.’

(iii) In combination with ingressive verbs the Conditional Perfect assumes imperfective aspect function. Consider (252) with the expression *ṣubidha 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-pōrjyōntō bijuḷi-rō udbhabōna ho-i-nō-th-ile kōṅṅō
 this-until electricity-GEN invention be-PERF-NEG-AUX-CONDCV what
 ṣubidha **ho-itha-nt-a?** — etiki ṣubidha **ho-itha-nt-a** je,
 problem be-PERF-COND-3s such problem be-PERF-COND-3s COMP
 prōti dino mōhōmō-bōti jōḷa-i amō-ku ṭelibhijōn dekh-iba-ku
 every day wax-candle burn-CV we-DAT television see-INF-DAT
 pōṛ-ōnt-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 **aṅ-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 pãĩ kichi poisa **aṅ-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-ṭa dharo 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) ṭikie 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) sɔmudro-re ete dheu uṭh-il-a je jahajɔ
 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.)

- (258) ta ho-ith-ile ethi-ru dibyɔ aloko **bahar-utha-nt-a.**
 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 dukhə bhog-ith-ile apəŋə bi amə pəri 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 *səbudinə* ‘always’ and *bərtəman* ‘now’ can be inserted.

Consider two examples with habitual reading:

- (260) tume jədi amə pakhə-re rəh-utha-nt-ə, ame səbu-dino
 you(POL) if our side-LOC stay-IPFV-COND-2p we all-day
 pəhər-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 nə-th-ile birəhə jəntərəŋə nə-tha-nt-a ki kehi
 mistress NEG-be-CONDCV separation pain NEG-be-COND-3s or anybody
 mədə pi-u-nə-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 pəisa aŋ-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 gəchə-re cərh-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	aŋē	‘let me bring’
Perfect	aŋithaē	‘let me bring’
Imperfective	aŋuthaē	‘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.

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 tōmō pāi caa aṅ-ē.*
 I you(POL):OBL for tea bring-1s:IMP
 'Let me (just) bring you some tea.'

In contrast to the Present Progressive *aṅuchi* the Imperative Simple *aṅē* expresses some determinedness, whereas a clause with Future Simple *caa aṅibi ki?* conveys an open question "Shall I bring you some tea?"

(To a child who wants to collect the tea cups.)

- (265) *mū aḡō caa pi-i-sar-ē!*
 I first tea drink-CV-V2:finish-1s:IMP
 'Let me first finish my tea!'

(At the doctor's.)

- (266) *mū taa naṛi dekh-ē.*
 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, jetebeḷe bipōdō-re pōṛ-i mo asrōyō cah-ūch-i,*
 what be-3s:IMP though when danger-LOC fall-CV my shelter want-PROG-3s
mū eha-ku koḷō bhitōr-e luca-i-dī-ē.
 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 *lucaidīē* 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 *lucaidīē*.

(ii) The Imperative with 2nd person is used for orders.

(Talking to a servant boy)

- (268) *are Kedarō, tu sighrō ḡaktōrkhana ja. bou pāi e*
 INTERJ K. you(FAM) quickly hospital go:2s:IMP mother for this
osōdhō sōbu 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 ghoro-ku **cal-o**.
 you(POL) my house-DAT go-2p:IMP
 ‘Come to my house.’

- (270) sar, kete dino he-l-a-ṇi bhokō-re oḥ-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. bhogoban tumo obhilaso purṇṇo **kor-ontu**.
 god your(POL) wish full do-3p:IMP
 ‘May God fulfil your wish.’
 b. bhogoban tumo obhilaso purṇṇo **kor-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-biro-boro moha-bolo bagho moharajo-nko-ro joyo **he-u!**
 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 bhōḷi jhio au to bhōḷi bohu sobu
 you(FAM):OBL like daughter and you(FAM):OBL like daughter-in-law all
 maa-nku au sobu sasu-nku **miḷ-u**.
 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) juboko-ṭi-ro nāā dhōr-a-ja-u Nōrōhori.
 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 jodi j-ib-e, jəngələ bahar-e rəh-əntu.*
 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 Candraprabhā. She sets up conditions for each of them.)

- (276) *jən-e rajo-putrə Bharətəborsə-ru Buddhə-debə-nkə bikhya-patrə-ti*
 CL-INDEF king-son India-ABL B.-god-OBL alms-plate-ART
an-əntu.
 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. *apənə-nkə mədyə-panə çar-ə.*
 you(HON)-OBL wine-drinking leave-3s:IMP
 ‘Give up drinking alcohol (lit. your drinking may leave)!’
 b. *apənə mədyə-panə çar-əntu.*
 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) *pəti jəma kər-uth-ib-e au baharə kəriba-rə ədhikarə*
 husband deposit do-IPFV-FUT-3p(HON) and outside do-INF-GEN right
kebələ pətəni-rə rəh-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 ənekə pəisa de ba kəm pəisa de əni-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 jhiɔ **he-u** ki Jisu-dada-nkɔ jhiɔ **he-u!**
 she B.-uncle-OBL daughter be-3s:IMP or J.-uncle-OBL daughter be-3s:IMP
 ‘No matter whether she is uncle Biśu’s daughter or uncle Jiśu’s daughter
 [it’s all the same to me]!’
- (281) se ghɔr-e **tha-u** ki **nɔ-tha-u** mū sɔbubeje taa jɔnmɔ-dinɔ-re
 she house-LOC be-3s:IMP or NEG-be-3s:IMP I always her birth-day-LOC
 khiri kɔr-itha-e.
 ks. do-PERF-1s:HAB
 ‘No matter whether she is at home or not, I always make kṣīrī (= 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 sadharɔɔ mɔɔisɔ-ṭie he-le bi, jete nɔgɔɔɔ
 how.much common man-INDEF be-COND CV ever how.much negligible
 praɔi-ṭie **he-u** poche semane sɔmɔstɔ-nku khatir
 animal-INDEF be-3s:IMP however they all-OBL:DAT attention
 kɔr-ich-ɔnti.
 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 pɔtrɔ poche **nɔ-mil-u** semane ɔncɔɔɔ-basi-nkɔ
 money paper however NEG-be.available-3s:IMP they place-inhabitant-OBL
 pāi kichi goṭa-e kɔr-iba-ku nispotti 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) hɔtyakari jie **he-u** na kahiki, ta-ku khoj-i baharɔ 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.

- (285) pṛophesṛ-nkṵ iccha th-il-a je ta-nku kōlej-rṵ pṛotyekṵ
 p.-OBL wish be-PST-3s COMP he-OBL:DAT c.-GEN every
 puṵ-jhiṵ nṵmṵskarṵ kṛ-ṵntu.
 boy-girl greeting do-3p:IMP
 ‘The professor wished that every student of the college should greet him.’

In the sentence above the Future *kṛibe* and the Conditional *kṛṵnte* can replace the Imperative form without change of meaning.

- (286) mū cah-ūch-i se nṵ-jaṇ-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) Aruṇṵ-ku phon-re kṵh-i-de sighrṵ as-u.
 A.-DAT ph.-LOC say-CV-V2:give:2s:IMP quickly come-3s:IMP
 ‘Make a phone call to Aruṇa and tell him that he should come quickly.’

The purposive clause can be marked by *jemiti* or *jepṛi* (cf. 7.4.6).

- (288) khṵbṵrṵdarṵ, bhul-re jemiti kaha-ri-ku nṵ-chū-ṵ.
 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 pṛṵsi-mane jepṛi nṵ-bhab-ṵntu je mū
 this-for PTCL neighbour-PL in.order NEG-think-3p:IMP COMP I
 tumṵ-ku ghṛṵ bhitor-e mṛ-a-piṭ-a kṛ-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.)

- (290) agyã, apɔɔ ʈhia **ho-itha-ntu**, mũ ja-uch-i
 INTERJ you(HON) standing be-PERF-3p:IMP(HON) I go-PROG-1s
 ʈopi-ʈa-ku 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 *huɔntu* 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) *diɔntu* is a stronger order than *deithantu*).

- (291) apɔɔ bɔhi babɔɔɔ-re kichi pɔisa **de-itha-ntu** / **di-ɔntu**.
 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) tɔme mo-te kichi pɔisa **di-ɔ** / **de-itha-ɔ**.
 you(POL) I-DAT some money give-2p:IMP give-PERF-2p:IMP
 ‘Give me some money.’

The Imperative Perfect *deithaɔ* implies that the speaker will give the money back after some time.

- (293) mũ pher-iba jae tume mo suʈkes-ku **jag-itha-ɔ**.
 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.

(Abināša, 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-ku ne-i Bɔreipani-rɔ jɔnhɔ dekh-ib-ɔ boli, emiti michɔ-rɔ
 she-DAT take-CV B.-GEN moon see-FUT-3s that like.this lie-GEN
 asrɔɔɔ **ne-itha-u** poche, hele deho taa-rɔ bhɔɔ tha-u.
 shelter take-PERF-3s:IMP however but body he-GEN good be-3s:IMP
 ‘It is okay that he (i. e. Abināša) 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.

(To a child.)

- (295) semiti **bəs-itha**. (296) mən-e **rəkh-itha-ɔ**, ...
 like.that sit-PERF:2s:IMP mind-LOC keep-PERF-2p:IMP
 ‘Remain seated like that.’ ‘Remember, ...’

(To a door-guard.)

- (297) e meɖəm-nku **cihn-i-rəkh-itha**.
 this m.-OBL:DAT recognise-CV-keep-PERF:2s:IMP
 ‘Take good notice of this madam!’ (She is always allowed to enter here.)

(About a doctor.)

- (298) rogi-ɬi dhoni **ho-itha-u** ki gəribə **ho-itha-u**, ɖakora
 patient-ART rich be-PERF-3s:IMP or poor be-PERF-3s:IMP call
 pa-ile se totkhyənat taa ghər-e pəhənc-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 **aṅ-utha-u** / **aṅ-itha-u** / **aṅ-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) ghəṅta baj-ib-a pəjyəntə **lekh-utha-ɔ**.
 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 thəɔ bəhʉt səməyɔ miɫ-ib-ɔ, Pəŋdʉrəŋgɔ-re məɔɔ bħɔr-i
 this time much time be.available-FUT-3s P.-LOC mind fill-CV
 rəŋgɔ **kɔr-utha-ɔ**.
 colour do-IPFV-2p:IMP
 ‘Now you have plenty of time, colour and fill your mind with Paŋdʉranga
 (i. e. Sakhu’s god).’

Note that the Imperative Imperfective cannot refer to a habitual order; instead, an Imperative Simple form is used.

- (302) səbu-dinɔ Səməyɔ ***aŋ-utha-ɔ** / **aŋ-ɔ**.
 all-day S. bring-IPFV-2p:IMP bring-2p:IMP
 ‘Bring the Samaya (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) səbu-dinɔ Səməyɔ aŋ-i-ki **de-utha-ɔ**.
 all-day S. bring-CV-CV give-IPFV-2p:IMP
 ‘Bring the Samaya 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 mə-rɔ kɔɔɔ ja-e-as-e.
 he search-IPFV-3p:IMP that-LOC I-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 Perfect¹¹ and the Present Progressive are formed with the auxiliary *ɔch-*.

Present Perfect aŋichi ‘I have brought’
 Present Progressive aŋuchi ‘I am bringing’

¹¹The 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).

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) mū aṛṇṇṇo-nko pāi choṭṇo upoharṇo **an-ich-i**.
 I you(HON)-OBL for small present bring-PERF-1s
 '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) taa goṛṇo **bhang-i-ja-ich-i**.
 his leg break-CV-V2:go-PERF-3s
 '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) għor-e corṇo **pṇs-ich-i**, mū jiniso-pṇtro ne-i-ja-uch-i,
 house-LOC thief enter-PERF-3s I thing-thing take-CV-V2:go-PROG-1s
 tume ta-ku dhṇr-ṇo.
 you(POL) he-DAT catch-2p:IMP
 'A thief has entered the house (→ he is in the house), I shall take the things, you catch him.'

(To a patient.)

- (308) caa-tṇko pi-i-di-ṇo. oṇdhṇo **pṇka-i-de-ich-i**.
 tea-all drink-CV-V2:give-2p:IMP medicine put-CV-V2:give-PERF-1s
 '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, Sureśa! — B:)

¹²Bybee et al. (1994, p. 61) mention current relevance, "hot news", experiential, anterior continuing, and resultative.

- (309) kintu mū prōtigya **kār-ich-i** je, se pōrjyōntō pōhōr-iba
 but I promise do-PERF-1s COMP that until swim-INF
 sikh-i-n-i, paṇi pakho-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) kōtha kōṇō ki? aji sōkaḷ-e ei kukura mo-rō 100 ṭōnk-ia
 matter what INT today morning-LOC this chicken I-GEN 100 rupee-ADJR
 noṭ-ṭi-ku **giḷ-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 ṣpōradho **kār-ich-ō**?
 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 *gōrhichu* can be replaced by the Past Simple *gōrhilu*, but then there is no strength in the statement.

- (312) bōhu kōstō kār-i ame se ḍaḷō-ṭi **gōrh-ich-u**. amō mōjuri
 much difficult do-CV we that branch-ART make-PERF-1pe our salary
 di-ōntu.
 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 kōh-il-ō, tōme Rōnju-ku mōdhyō emitī bhōlo pa-ō
 now say-PST-2p you(POL) R.-DAT also like.this good find-2p:HAB
 boli **kōh-ich-ō** na nahī?
 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 *pōṭhailōnahī* is polite, whereas the Present Perfect *pōṭhainahō* would be rather rude.

(Banasobhā married recently. Her stepmother asks her father:)

- (314) Bṁṁsobha pakḥo-ku e-pṁrjyṁnto kichi goṭa-e jiniṁṁ **pṁṭha-il-o**
 B. side-DAT this-until some CL-INDEF thing send-PST-2p
 nahī?
 NEG

‘Did you not send anything to Banasobhā 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) meḍṁm, mū apṁṁo-nku gaṁi-rṁ laisens **mag-il-i**. apṁṁo mo
 m. I you(HON)-OBL:DAT car-GEN l. ask-PST-1s you(HON) my
 haṭo-ku laibreri kaṁḍ-ṭae boṁha-i-de-ich-ṁnti je?
 hand-DAT l. c.-INDEF give-CV-V2: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) tumṁ-rṁ 2-ṭa dantṁ **upaṁ-il-i**, di-ṁ cari ṁḥṁ ṭṁnka.
 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-nkṁ ghṁr-e jṁdi kichi kha-iba-ku di-ṁnti, tebe kṁḥ-ib-u
 they-OBL house-LOC if something eat-INF-DAT give-3p:HAB then say-FUT-2s
 — “mū ghṁr-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 ṁ ghṁr-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 *bṁs-* ‘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 **bəs-ich-i.** cf. se **bəs-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 tɔ au jubəkɔ **ho-i-nah-ṽ,** bur̥ha
 you(POL) PTCL more young.man become-PERF-NEG-2p old
 ho-i-gɔl-ɔ-ŋi.
 become-CV-V2:go:PST-2p-MIR
 ‘But you are not young anymore, you have become old.’

(322) khəbərə-kəgəjɔ-re **bahar-ich-i** nisa-drəbyɔ sebɔɔ kɔ-le
 news-paper-LOC go.out-PERF-3s drug-substance consumption do-CONCV
 kidni khorap 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) ɔja, tumɔ-rɔ muŋɔ-rɔ baɭɔ **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) mū niti chɔɔ ghɔŋɔ **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 Kōṭōko **ja-ich-i**.
 this road C. go-PERF-3s
 'This road goes to Cuttack.'
- (326) Gōnga nōdi Himāḷyō-ru **bahar-ich-i** o Bōngopōsagōrō-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, kōh-il-ō dekh-i pruthibi o cōndrō mōdhyō-re ki
 child-PL say-PST-2p see-CV earth and moon between-LOC which
 sōmpōrko **rōh-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 scolded him. He answers that he would be ashamed if he had to tell it before gentlemen. The attorney replies:)

- (328) tebe mū bahar-e ṭhia **ho-ich-i**. tume jōj-saheb-nku se
 then I outside-LOC standing be-PERF-1s you(POL) j.-s.-OBL:DAT those
 gaḷi-guṛako suṇ-e-i-di-ō. taapōre mo-te ḍak-ib-ō.
 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 amō pāi goṭi-e upōharō kebe **aṇ-ich-ō?**
 you(POL) we:OBL for CL-INDEF present ever bring-PERF-2p
 'Have you ever brought us a present?'
- (330) tume Kōṭōko **ja-ich-ō?** — hā, mū seṭha-ku dui thōrō **ja-ich-i**.
 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.'

- (331) mū onekō dino hela hrōdō-kuḷō-ku **bul-i-ja-i-nah-ī**.
 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-ontu, 25 borsō tōl-e jēū ghoṭṭṇa **ghoṭ-i-ja-ich-i**,
 see-3p:IMP 25 year ago-LOC which event happen-CV-V2:go-PERF-3s
 sethi-pāi aji au kaha-ku dosō de-ba-ku cah-ū-n-i
 that-for today more anybody-DAT guilt give-INF-DAT want-PROG-NEG-1s
 mū.
 I

'Look, I do not want to blame anybody for an event that has happened 25 years ago.'

- (333) mū jaha **kār-ich-i** ta-ku ne-i mo-rō kouṇosi obososo nah-ī. mū
 I what do-PERF-1s it-DAT take-CV I-GEN any regret be:NEG-3s I
 jaha bi **kār-ich-i** mo-rō iccha sokti-re hī **kār-ich-i**. seithi-pāi
 what ever do-PERF-1s I-GEN wish power-LOC EMPH do-PERF-1s that-for
 jaha mū **cah-īch-i**, taha mū **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 *eporjyōntō* / *ejae* 'up to now' + negation with the meaning 'not yet'.

- (334) mū e-porjyōntō upoharō **de-i-nah-ī**.
 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-il-ō bhai, mū dii thōrō sina baha **he-l-i** hele
 understand-PST-2p brother I two time PTCL marriage be-PST-1s but
 dui-jōṇō-jakō stri mo-te keboḷō dukhō hī **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 beṇi-ru gilō kōṇṭa karḥ-u karḥu se kōsto-re
 I her plait.of.hair-ABL fruit pin draw-ICV RDP she difficult-LOC
nō-ī-pōṛ-ich-i. mū oṭhō **kamuṛ-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
 nōi tuṭhō-re. mū ta-ku **pa-ich-i** jōnhō 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 dinō sōkaḷ-u sōkaḷu atōnka aṇ-i-gōḷ-a. kōtha kōṇṇō
 that day morning-ABL RDP fear bring-CV-V2:go:PST-3s matter what
 na ekō aṇḍira mōṣi **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) khunṭō-re **bōndh-a-ho-ich-i** Sōkhu. dekh-il-a jōṇ-e nari
 post-LOC bind-PASS-be-PERF-3s S. see-PST-3s CL-INDEF woman
 murti taa agō-re ubha ho-i taa-rō bōndhōṇō
 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) tōme cari masō he-b-ō emitī **kōh-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) mū maa-bapa-nkə pāi goṭi-e upharə aṅ-uch-i.
I mother-father-OBL for CL-INDEF present bring-PROG-1s
'I am bringing a present to my parents.'

(341) tume kəṅṅə kər-uch-ə? — mū ciṭhi-tie 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. — B: de-uch-i.
eat-INF-DAT give:2s:IMP give-PROG-1s
'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 apəṅə klinik-ku ṭikie cal-əntu, mū 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, mankorə-tie e pət-e as-iba-rə dekh-uch-ənti ki?
INTERJ monkey-INDEF this side-LOC come-INF-GEN see-PROG-3p(HON) INT

¹³According 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)?’

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 keboḷo bil **mag-uch-i** ebong
 when ever this-DAT get.up-CAUS-CONDCV he only b. ask-PROG-3s and
 pementṭ kər-i puṇi **so-i-pəṭ-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 sokaḷ-e tɔ mo sano jhiɔ alarm ghoṇṭa-rɔ kamo
 all-day morning-LOC PTCL my little daughter a. clock-GEN job
kər-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) jhoḷo luṇi **lag-uch-i**.
 soup salty taste-PROG-3s

‘The soup tastes salty.’

- (349) tume du-hē noi boṛhi-rɔ jēū roṁɔna 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-rɔ udjapɔno ghosṇa **kər-uch-i**.
 I meeting-GEN closure declaration do-PROG-1s

‘I declare the meeting closed.’

- (351) mū khyṵma **mag-uch-i**.
 I pardon ask-PROG-1s
 'I apologise.'

(Why did you call me?)

- (352) to raṅṅ **kha-uch-i**, mū to-te jṵma 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 reḷ-gari citrṵ kṵr-utha-ṵ, mū pancṵ miniṭ
 you(POL) all r.-train picture make-IPFV-2p:IMP I five m.
 pṵr-e **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 sighrṵ khṵṇḍ-e jṵmi **kiṅ-uch-i**. sethi-pāi kichi dharṵ kṵr-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) se diṅṵ se ṵphis-ru ghṵrṵ-ku **pher-uch-ṵnti**. baṭṵ-re jṵṅ-e
 that day he o.-ABL house-DAT return-PROG-3p(HON) way-LOC CL-INDEF
 sundṵr-i mohila-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-diṅṵ pṵr-e dekh-a-gol-a Cṵndrṵpṵrbha mṵṅṵ-re
 but some-day after-LOC see-PASS-go:PST-3s C. mind-LOC
 sukṵṵ nah-i. se sobubeḷe kṵṅṵṅṵ **bhab-uch-i** ebṵṅṵ beḷebeḷe
 happiness be:NEG-3s he always something think-PROG-3s and sometimes
 ekuṭṵa bṵs-i **kand-uch-i**.
 alone sit-CV weep-PROG-3s

'But after a few days Candraprabhā seemed to be unhappy. She was always thinking about something and sometimes she sat alone and wept.'

4.2.3.7 The verbal suffix *-ni*

The invariable suffix *-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 *-ni* cannot be negated.

Use with Past (i) In combination with the Past tense the verb form with *-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 *-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 upoharō aṅ-il-i-ni.*
 I CL-INDEF present bring-PST-1s-MIR
 ‘I’ve (already) brought a present.’

(358) *tumō-ku au hatō-re luga sōpha kōr-iba-ku pōṛ-ib-ō nahī.*
 you(POL)-DAT still hand-LOC clothes clean do-INF-DAT must-FUT-3s NEG
luga-dhu-a jōntrō bahar-il-a-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) *hoiho, tōmō cuṭi ete pac-i-gol-a-ni, mo-rō*
 INTERJ your(POL) hair so.much grow.grey-CV-V2:go:PST-3s-MIR I-GEN
jōmaru nōjōrō nō-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 *pacigolaṅi* lacks the element of surprise. In (359), *-ni* is used for a situation which involves a slow change, and suddenly the speaker notices the change.

¹⁴Cf. the suffix *-nu* ‘hardly’, described in (4.3.5.4).

- (360) *ajikali bigyanə lekha lekhi-iba pāi lekhəkə-nkə mōdhyə-re utsəhə*
 nowadays knowledge writing write-INF for writer-OBL middle-LOC interest
bərh-iba-re lag-il-a-ŋi / 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 *lagilaŋi* implies that the speaker heard this fact recently.

In (361) the speaker makes his reproach more immediate by using the suffix *-ŋi*.

(The judge to the defendant who used the word *saḷā* ‘brother-in-law; rascal’ in its first sense. But the judge feels insulted.)

- (361) *dekh-ə bərttəman təme mo-te səḷa kəh-il-ə-ŋi!*
 see-2p:IMP now you(POL) I-DAT brother-in-law say-PST-2p-MIR
 ‘Look, now you called me *saḷā* (abusive name).’

The fact that (362) is accepted shows that the suffix *-ŋi* cannot be considered as a resultative marker, since there is no lasting result:

- (362) *se bəlu barə as-il-a-ŋi au gəl-a-ŋi.*
 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 *-ŋi*; consider the following examples:

(While reading a book, the speaker has reached the last page without noticing it.)

- (363) *bəhi-ŋi sər-i-gəl-a!*
 book-ART finish-CV-V2:go:PST-3s
 ‘Oh, I’ve finished the book!’

(About a baby.)

- (364) *se jəldi so-il-a tə!*
 he quickly fall.asleep-PST-3s PTCL
 ‘How quickly he’s fallen asleep!’

(iii) Verb forms with *-ŋi* are used in utterances expressing anger.

(To a servant.)

- (365) *mū tini thərə kəling bel bəj-e-i-sar-il-i-ŋi, ətəhə*
 I three time c. b. ring-CAUS-CV-V2:finish-PST-1s-MIR nevertheless
tu leḍi steno pakhə-re bəs-i premə gəpə kər-uch-u na?
 you(FAM) I. 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 tō 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) kōṇṇō gōṇḍ-e kha-iba-ku di-ṇ. peṭṇ-re musa kuda
 something mouthful-INDEF eat-INF-DAT give-2p:IMP stomach-LOC mouse jump
mar-il-e-ni.
 beat-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) heiṭi ghōṇṭa **baj-il-a-ni!** (369) lipṭ kamō **kār-il-a-ni**.
 there bell ring-PST-3s-MIR l. work do-PST-3s-MIR
 'There goes the bell.' 'The lift works again.'

(The phone is ringing. While rising from the seat and going to the phone the speaker says:)

- (370) dekh-ē puṇi kie sokaḷ-u phon **kō-l-a-ni**.
 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. *kōruchi* 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 jugṇ-re bina pōisa-re kōū kamō **he-l-a-ni!**
 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 *jaichō* in (373).

(Mother warns her son to be careful on the road. He says:)

(372) tu byōstō hō-ō-na maa. kichi hō-b-ō-ni.
 you(FAM) worried be-2p:IMP-NEG mother anything happen-FUT-3s-NEG
 kete thōrō tō mo upōr-e urajaha jō **gōl-a-ni**, kichi
 how.many time PTCL I:OBL top-LOC airplane go:PST-3s-MIR anything
 hō-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) tōme kete thōrō jel **gōl-ō-ni**? — agyā, barō thōrō.
 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.

(374) apōnō kete bōrsō hela ghōr-e sapō **rōkh-il-e-ni**? — mū
 you(HON) how.many year for house-LOC snake keep-PST-3p-MIR I
 pila-dinō-ru sapō-manō-nku ghōr-e **rōkh-il-i-ni**.
 child-day-ABL snake-PL-OBL:DAT house-LOC keep-PST-1s-MIR
 ‘How many years have you been keeping snakes at home? — I have been keeping the snakes at home since my childhood.’

(375) mo ōphis ghōrō cabi-ṭa ṭikie aṇ-il-ō, ōphis j-iba beḷō ḍeri
 my o. house key-ART please bring-PST-2p o. go-INF time late
 hō-i-gōl-a-ni. — tōme kōnō **pōla-il-ō-ni** ki?
 be-CV-V2:go:PST-3s-MIR you(POL) INT go.away-PST-2p-MIR INT
 ‘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.)

- (376) kete-guræ böyəsə **he-b-ɔ-ŋi** ta-nku, nuh-ē?
 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 dəsə ghəŋʔa hela kamə kər-uch-ɔ. klantə
 you(POL) ten hour for work do-PROG-2p tired
ho-i-j-ib-ɔ-ŋi.
 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 thərə tume ɔnumanə **kər-i-sar-ib-ɔ-ŋi** mū 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 Susānta has not come yet.)

- (379) mū sina bhab-ith-il-i, Susantə ghər-e
 I PTCL think-PERF-PST-1s S. house-LOC
as-i-pəhənc-i-j-ib-e-ŋi.
 come-CV-arrive-CV-V2:go-FUT-3p(HON)-MIR
 'Actually I had thought that Susānta would have arrived home.'

(ii) The use of the suffix *-ŋi* in combination with the Conditional is very rare. In these cases *-ŋi* indicates Perfect meaning, and therefore the verb form corresponds more or less to the Conditional Perfect. Again, some surprise is implicit.

- (380) mū dohi **an-ɔnt-i-ŋi**, kintu khəra jogū mū
 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 *anəntiŋi* can be replaced by the Conditional Perfect *anithanti*.

(Why don't you marry?)

- (381) bujh-il-u, Debi ɔpa, mo bahaghərə
 understand-PST-2s D. elder.sister my marriage
ho-i-sar-ɔnt-a-ŋi. mənə mutabəkə bərə
 be-CV-V2:finish-COND-3s-MIR mind according bridegroom
 nə-miḷ-iba-ru e-jae rəh-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 porī to muṇḍo up̄r-e j̄ḍi boj̄h̄o tha-nt-a, tu
 I:OBL like your(FAM) head top-LOC if load be-COND-3s you(FAM)
 koū din-u babaji ho-i-ja-nt-u-ṇi.
 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 x 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):

	Imperative	Future	Past
2 FAM	aṇ	aṇ-ib-u	aṇ-il-u
2 POL	aṇ-ḥ	aṇ-ib-ḥ	aṇ-il-ḥ
2 HON	aṇ-ḥntu	aṇ-ib-e	aṇ-il-e

Future and Imperative have aspectual variants (perfect and imperfective), e. g. *aṇuthaḥ* ‘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*, *tōme* and *apəṇə*, 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. *aṇibə* ‘please bring’ vs. *aṇə* ‘bring’.
- Imperatives with Past forms either add a nuance of intimacy, e.g. *aṇilə* ‘why don’t you bring’ vs. *aṇə* ‘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 Jəgənnathə məndirə-ku ne-i-cal-il-u!*
 1s-DAT J. temple-DAT take-CV-walk-PST-2s
 ‘Take me to the Jagannātha temple!’

(iii) Some text examples with variants illustrate this threefold distinction:

- The text is about the founder of the Sikh religion, Guru Nānāka. Once Bābara (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) *cha-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 *jibə* ‘(lit.) you will go’ instead of *jaɔ*¹⁵ would imply a stricter order. But he cannot say *jibə*, because he has no power upon Bābara. If the Past *gəɔ* ‘(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 *gəɔ* signals less respect.

- A beggar asks a passer-by:

- (385) *babu, caa kha-iba-ku dui ṭənka di-ɔntu!*
 HON tea eat-INF-DAT two rupee give-3p:IMP
 ‘Sir, give me two rupees to drink tea!’

¹⁵The verb *ja-* has the forms *gəli* ‘I went’ and *jibi* ‘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-nkə-rə ɔsusthə-tə-rə karəŋə he-l-a nakə-rə
 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 du-hē se bəsta dui-ti-ku beko-ru
 you(POL) two-EMPH those bag two-ART-DAT neck-ABL
 jhul-a-i ghə-rə-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) hə-l-e jota aponə-nkə gə-lə-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 *tə*:

(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) aponə mo-te kichi kha-iba pāi poisa de-b-e tə **di-ontu**,
 you(HON) I-DAT something eat-INF for money give-FUT-3p PTCL give-3p:IMP
 nəhele mū cal-il-i.
 otherwise I go-PST-1s

are stressed, when used for signalling politeness; when they indicate negation, the main verb is stressed.

- 2 FAM aŋ-u-nahū / aŋ-u-nu 'bring!'
 2 POL aŋ-u-nahõ / aŋ-u-nõ
 2 HON aŋ-u-nahanti

- (395) A: kichi nɔ-bhab-ile, pɔcar-ɔnt-i. — B: pɔcar-u-nah-anti!
 anything NEG-think-CONDCV ask-COND-1s ask-IPFV-NEG-3p
 pɔcar-ɔntu, pɔcar-ɔntu!
 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, Gauri mo pakhɔ-ku aa. aŋ, aŋ-u-n-u
 INTERJ G. I:OBL side-DAT come:2s:IMP bring:2s:IMP bring-IPFV-NEG-2s
 tasɔ!
 card
 'Hey, Gaurī, 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 huŋɔ-i, lɔŋŋɔnɔ-ʈa sangɔ-re ne-i-ki gɔl-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 *calɔ* (lit. 2p HAB of *cal*- 'walk').

- (398) a. calɔ randh-ib-a!
 EXHORT cook-FUT-1pi
 'Let's cook!'
 b. calɔ aji au randh-ib-a-ni!
 EXHORT today more cook-FUT-1pi-NEG
 'Let's not cook today!'
- (399) e ambɔ-gurikɔ to!-ib-a nahī; egurikɔ ahuri pac-i-nah-ī.
 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 bəhut kətha kəh-il-e-ŋi; as-ɔ kamə arəmbhə **kə-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) calə ghəɔ-ku **j-iba!**
 EXHORT house-DAT go-FUT-1pi
 'Let's go home!'
- (402) ame ʔikie 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-ʔa ʔikie thənda **ho-i-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) bhəgəban! ame besi dino **bənc-u!**
 god we many day live-1p:IMP
 'God! May we live many days!'
- (405) təmə sətru-mane dhwənsə **ho-i-ja-ntu!**
 your(POL) enemy-PL destruction be-CV-V2:go-3p:IMP
 'May your enemies be destroyed!'
- (406) dui-ʔa 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 *nə-* (see 6.4.1.2).

- (407) e gəchə-re kebe phələ **nə-hə-u!**
 this tree-LOC ever fruit NEG-be-3s:IMP
 'May this tree never bring fruit again!'
- (408) təmə prəti kichi durghəʔəna **nə-hə-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 tɔmɔ pila-ku ʔikie **dhɔr-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 tɔmɔ pila-ku ʔikie **dhɔr-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 tɔmɔ pila-ku ʔikie **dhɔr-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 tɔmɔ pila-ku ʔikie **dhɔr-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 tɔmɔ pila-ku ʔikie **dhɔr-il-i**?
 I your(POL) child-DAT please hold-PST-1s
 'May I hold your baby please?'

(vi) Imperative: strong request

- (414) mū tɔmɔ pila-ku ʔikie **dhɔr-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.

- (415) mū ṭikie paṇi **pi-i-par-ib-i** / **pi-i-par-e** / **pi-ib-i** /
 I please water drink-CV-can-FUT-1s drink-CV-can-1s:HAB drink-FUT-1s
pi-e?
 drink-1s:HAB
 ‘May I have some water please?’
- (416) mū ṭikie paṇi **pi-uch-i** / **pi-il-i?**
 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):

- (417) A: mū **ja-uch-i** / **as-uch-i?** — B: həu.
 I 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 təmɔ-ku sahaɟɔ **kɔr-i-par-ib-i** / **kɔr-i-par-e** /
 I you(POL)-DAT help do-CV-can-FUT-1s do-CV-can-1s:HAB
kɔr-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 *ɔnumɔti miḷ-* ‘permission is available to’.

- (420) mo-te aɔɔɔ-nkɔ-ṭhu ghɔɔɔ-ku j-iba-ku **ɔnumɔti**
 I-DAT you(HON)-OBL-ABL house-DAT go-INF-DAT permission
miḷ-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 nahī*, or the conditional converb + *bhɔɔ* (*huɔnta*), which is more polite.

- (421) tɔme ebe j-ib-ɔ ki nahī!
 you(POL) now go-FUT-2p or NEG
 ‘You should better go now!’ (lit. You’ll go now, or else ...)
- (422) tɔme e paɲi nɔ-ne-le bhɔɔ (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*^z ‘want’ or by the conditional converb + *bhɔɔ* (*huɔnta*). The variants go from least to most polite.

- (423) a. mū ɲikie caa pi-ib-i.
 I please tea drink-FUT-1s
- b. mū ɲikie caa pi-iba-ku cah-ūch-i / cah-ūth-il-i.
 I please tea drink-INF-DAT want-PROG-1s want-IPFV-PST-1s
- c. mū ɲikie caa pi-ile bhɔɔ 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.

construction	meaning	experiencer case
verb + <i>iba-ku</i>	<i>he-</i>	‘must; be, become’ dative
	<i>pɔɾ-</i>	‘must; fall, lie’ dative
verb + <i>iba</i>	<i>ucit</i>	‘should’ nominative
	<i>dɔrkar</i>	‘need’ genitive / dative
	<i>kɔtha</i> ¹⁶	‘should’ nominative
verb + <i>iba-rɔ</i>	<i>ɔch-</i>	‘should, be to’ genitive

(i) Obligation expressed by *he-* or *pɔɾ-* is stronger than that expressed by *ucit* or *dɔrkar*.

- (424) tɔmɔ-ku bapa-maa-nku man-iba-ku pɔɾ-ib-ɔ /
 you(POL)-DAT father-mother-OBL:DAT obey-INF-DAT must-FUT-3s
 hɔ-b-ɔ.
 be-FUT-3s

¹⁶Cf. the noun *kɔtha* ‘matter, speech’.

'You must obey your parents.'

- (425) tōme tōmō bapa-maa-nku man-iba **ucit** / **dərkar**.
 you(POL) your(POL) father-mother-OBL:DAT obey-INF should need
 'You should obey your parents.'

(ii) When *dərkar* and *ucit* denote situations with other than present time reference, they are combined with *he-* 'be' or *pəŋ-* 'fall'. Consider situations with future time reference or with irrealis interpretation:

- (426) ehi ripərŋ-ku sadharəŋə-re prəkəsə kər-iba **ucit he-b-ə** nahī.
 this r.-DAT public-LOC publish do-INF should be-FUT-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) jədi sənəŋə-re stri-lokə nə-tha-nt-e, purusə-məŋə-nku botamə
 if world-LOC woman-person NEG-be-COND-3p man-PL-OBL:DAT button
 ləgə-iba **dərkar pəŋ-i-nə-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) *kətha* '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-rə e rəcəna-ŋi nimənte mū bhab-u-n-i je, mū sunə
 S. I-GEN this essay-ART for I think-PROG-NEG-1s COMP I zero
 pa-iba **kətha**.
 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 jaŋ-iba **kətha**. mo-te kəŋə pəcar-uch-u?
 you(FAM) PTCL know-INF should I-DAT INT ask-PROG-2s
 'You should know it. Why do you ask me?'
- (430) hatə-bəri-ŋi tumə-rə sejo upər-e nə-rəh-i ghərə kəŋə-re
 hand-stick-ART you(POL)-GEN bed top-LOC NEG-stay-CV room corner-LOC
 rəh-iba **kətha**.
 stay-INF should
 'The walking-stick should be in the corner of the room, not on your bed.'

(iv) The copula *ɔch-* / *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-rɔ apɔɔ-nku goʈi-e jinisɔ mag-ib-a-rɔ **ɔch-i**.
I-GEN you(HON)-OBL:DAT CL-INDEF thing ask-INF-GEN be-3s
‘I should ask you something.’
- (432) mū tɔ kichi suŋ-i-par-u-n-i, apɔɔ-nkɔ jaha
I PTCL anything hear-CV-can-PROG-NEG-1s you(HON)-OBL what
kɔh-iba-rɔ **ɔch-i** lekh-i-di-ɔntu.
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 pɔtni-nkɔ-rɔ pilapili he-ba-rɔ **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 *nɔ-*, the obligation remains (“must not, should not”).

- (434) tɔme tɔmɔ bapa-maa-nku **nɔ-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) tɔme tɔmɔ bapa-maa-nku man-iba **ɔn-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) bimanɔ jatri-manɔ-nku ɔdhikɔ sɔmɔyɔ ɔpekhyā kɔr-iba-ku
airplane passenger-PL-OBL:DAT more time waiting do-INF-DAT
pɔr-ib-ɔ nahī.
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-bhɔʈi ghotɔna-ku rajyɔ sɔrɔkarɔ-nkɔ-rɔ 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.’

- (438) *rasta upor-e phuṭbəl kheḷ-iba-ku he-b-ɔ nahī.*
 road top-LOC f. play-INF-DAT be-FUT-3s NEG
 ‘You must not play football on the road.’

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 converbs. 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 *-anta*, which is not productive anymore.¹⁷

Table 4.7: Nonfinite forms

	Simple	Perfect	Imperfective
<i>a</i> -form	ɔṅ-a		
<i>iba</i> -form	aṅ-iba	aṅ-i-th-ib-a	aṅ-u-th-ib-a
<i>ila</i> -form	aṅ-il-a	aṅ-i-th-il-a	aṅ-u-th-il-a
Aspectual converb		aṅ-i	aṅ-u
Conditional converb	aṅ-il-e	aṅ-i-th-il-e	aṅ-u-th-il-e
-i	perfective aspect	-tha	auxiliary ‘be’
-u	imperfective aspect	-a	participial ending
-ib	(elsewhere future tense)	-e	ending for conditional converbs
-il	(elsewhere past tense)		

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.¹⁸

¹⁷Only 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:

-ant-a	= 3s Conditional
-il-a	= 3s Past
-ib-a	= 1p incl Future
-il-e	= 3p Past

¹⁸Note 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. **kheḷ-a-a* ‘making play’).

stem	kheḷ-	‘play’	aṅ-	‘bring’
stem+PTCP	kheḷ-a	‘played’	ɔṅ-a-	‘broken’
stem+CAUS	kheḷ-a-	‘make play’	ɔṅ-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.¹⁹

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 /ɔ/.²⁰

cir-	‘tear’	cir-a	‘torn’
kund-	‘carve’	kund-a	‘carved’
randh-	‘cook’	rɔndh-a	‘cooked’
sojar-	‘arrange’	sojɔr-a	‘arranged’

Besides the attributive use, which is described below, the *a*-form occurs as verbal noun (see 7.5 for gerundial clauses).

- (1) *semanɔ-nko kothabartta beḷ-e għorɔ toḷ-a bɔndo*
 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. *aṅṭhu* ‘knee’, but *aṅṭh-a-* ‘kneel’ instead of **ɔṅṭh-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 jiniso 'a given thing'
 koṭ-a poriba 'cut vegetables'
 libh-a aluo 'a lamp which is not on (lit. switched-off)'
- (4) a. couki-ṭa **bhṅg-a**.
 chair-ART break-PTCP
 'The chair is broken.'
- b. e ghṛ-e kete-ṭa **bhṅg-a** couki oḥ-i
 this house-LOC some-CL break-PTCP chair be-3s
 'There are some broken chairs in this house.'
- (5) reḷ-steson eṭha-ru 10 minit-rṃ **col-a** baṭṭo.
 r.-s. here-ABL 10 m.-GEN walk-PTCP way
 'The railway station is a ten minutes' walk away from here.'
- (6) se goriḃo loko-mano-nku **coṛh-a** sudho dṛo-re ruṇṇo
 he poor people-PL-OBL: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 kukuro 'barking dog'
 bul-a bikali 'hawker (lit. walking vendor)'
 buṛ-a jahajo 'submarine (lit. sunken ship)'
 cokh-a loko 'taster (lit. tasting person)'
 kamuṛ-a kukuro 'biting dog'
- (8) **ḍok-a** jaga
 call-PTCP place
 'a place to which one is called'

In some restricted cases determiners can be added:

- (9) haṛo bhong-a khoṭoni 'bone breaking labour'
 luhō buh-a akhi 'tearful eye (lit. tear-flowing)'
 pōti hōr-a mōhila 'widow (lit. husband-lost woman)'
 oḍha jōḷ-a sigareṭ 'half-burnt cigarette'
 machō koṭ-a churi 'fish-cutting knife (special knife)'
 ṭikeṭ lōg-a lōphapha 'stamped envelope (lit. stamp-applied)'
 musa mōr-a oṣoḍho 'rat-poison (lit. mice killing medicine)'
 khōḍōṛō 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 **bhonga** 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 *o-*, which is the negative marker for adjectives.

- (11) o-bhong-a cōuki 'an intact (lit. unbroken) chair'
 o-dekh-a kōtha 'invisible thing'
 o-dhu-a muhō '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. *citritō kanthō* 'painted wall') are preferred.

- (12) **sōr-i-ja-ith-iba** kamō
 finish-CV-V2:go-PERF-INF work
 'finished work'

4.3.2 The *anta*-form

There are only very few *anta*-forms that currently occur in the common language, all having a separate entry in a dictionary, e.g. *ji-anta* 'living', cf. *ji* 'live'; *pher-anta* 'returning', cf. *pher* 'return'. They indicate an ongoing process. Cf. the expressions *as-anta kalī* 'tomorrow (lit. coming time)' and *jōḷ-anta mōhōmō-bōti* 'a burning wax candle'.

- (13) loko-ṭi **cōḷ-anta** gaṛi-ru dē-ī-pōṛ-il-a.
 person-ART move-PTCP train-ABL jump-CV-V2:fall-PST-3s
 'The man jumped from the moving train.'

- (14) **ur-ɔnta** cəɸhei-ku sɔrɔ mar-iba sɔhɔjɔ 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 *ɔnta*-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	aɸiba	‘bringing’
Perfect	aɸithiba	‘having brought’
Imperfective	aɸuthiba	‘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	aɸ-iba	‘bringing’	verbal noun in subject function
dative	aɸ-iba-ku	‘to bring’	purposive
genitive	aɸ-iba-rɔ	‘of bringing’	adnominal, complement of perception verbs
ablative	aɸ-iba-ru	‘because of br.’	cause
locative	aɸ-iba-re	‘in bringing’	specification
postposition	aɸ-iba pɔre	‘after bringing’	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 *purbɔru* ‘before’, *pɔre* ‘after’, and others.

- (15) mū pancɔ bɔrsɔ-rɔ he-la pɔr-e **gɔɸ-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) mū kɔɸɔ tumɔ-ku kebe bhɔɔ **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 **bul-iba** au deri-re ghoro-ku
 you(POL)-DAT all night outside-LOC walk-INF and late-LOC house-DAT
as-iba kooṇo loja 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) eṭha-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 Gītā’s coming here!’

The Simple form can be interpreted in both ways: either Gītā has come (in this case the Perfect form *asithiba* can be used) or Gītā 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** beḷ-e Sita as-i-ki
 I all-day c.-DAT go-PERF-INF time-LOC S. come-CV-CV
 pōhōnc-e.
 arrive-1s:HAB
 ‘Every day when I have gone to college Sītā arrives.’

Note that the Simple form *jiba* in (19) indicates that the speaker’s going to college and Sītā’s arrival happen to occur at the same moment (“every day when I go to college Sītā arrives”).

In combination with ingressive verbs the Perfect *iba*-form assumes the function of Imperfective aspect, e. g. *soithiba beḷe* means ‘while sleeping’ or *poṛithiba beḷe* ‘while lying’.

- (20) mū ta-ku ahotō obostha-re rosei ghoro cōṭaṇo-re
 I he-DAT injured condition-LOC cooking room floor-LOC
poṛ-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.

- (21) mū 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) Mōhajonō kamō-ru **pher-uth-iba** beļ-e taa-rō puṭuļi rasta-re
 M. work-ABL return-IPFV-INF time-LOC he-GEN purse road-LOC
 khōs-i-pōr-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*, Mahajan has lost his purse before he arrived home. With the Simple form *pheriba* the sentence has the same meaning as with *pheruthiba*.

- (23) mū jōn-e lokō kōbaṭō-re tala **khol-uth-iba-rō** 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 lokō jōma **he-uth-iba-rō** karōṇō pōcar-il-e.
 road-LOC people gather be-IPFV-INF-GEN reason ask-PST-3p
 'He asked why the people were gathering on the road.'

When the Perfect form *hoithibarō* or the Simple form *hebarō* 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) kōlej-ku **as-iba** beļ-e ciṭhi pōka-ō.
 c.-DAT come-INF time-LOC letter put-2p:IMP
 'When you arrive at the college, post a letter.'

Past time reference:

- (26) mū kōlej-ku **as-iba** beļ-e ciṭhi pōke-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) mū kōlej-ku **as-iba** beļ-e ciṭhi pōka-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 hoṭel-re rōh-i bul-iba lokō.*
 I h.-LOC stay-CV walk-INF person
 'I am a man who stays in hotels when travelling.'
- (29) *nōmōskārō nō-kōr-iba chatrō-manō-nku prōphesōr sōnskruti upōr-e*
 greeting NEG-do-INF student-PL-OBL:DAT p. culture top-LOC
bhasōṇō 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 ghōrō 'sleeping room'
kōh-iba lokō '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) *hōs-ith-iba pila-mane ghōrō-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 peṅṅ pindh-ith-iba jhiō-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) *ame sōbu-dinō saṛhi 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) $\text{ɔŋda-cɔp, mansɔ-cɔp bhɔj-uth-iba dokani-t̃ie}$
 egg-ch. meat-ch. fry-IPFV-INF vendor-INDEF
 ‘a vendor who is frying / fries egg-chops and meat-chops’

The Imperfective form *bhɔjuthiba* with habitual meaning can be replaced by the Simple form *bhɔjiba*. The Perfect form *bhɔjithiba* refers to a vendor who has fried.

Habitual use of Imperfective *iba*-form is seen in (35):

- (35) $\text{ta-nkɔ-t̃haru ɔdhikɔ niraɔɔmwɔɔ jibɔnɔ japɔnɔ kɔr-uth-iba}$
 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) $\text{mukhyɔ-mɔntri Baleswɔɔ-re helikɔptɔɔ joge pɔhɔnc-iba matre}$
 prime-minister B.-LOC h. by arrive-INF as.soon.as
 $\text{dui-jɔnɔ bijepi sɔmɔrthitɔ jubɔkɔ hɔʃhat kɔɭa potaka prɔɔɔrsɔnɔ}$
 two-CL BJP supporting young.man suddenly black flag exhibition
 $\text{kɔr-iba-ru seʃha-re upɔsthitɔ th-iba mukhyɔ-mɔntri-nkɔ}$
 do-INF-ABL there-LOC present be-INF prime-minister-OBL
 $\text{sɔmɔrthokɔ-mane ukto dui-jɔnɔ jubɔkɔ-nku nistukɔ mɔɔ}$
 supporter-PL mentioned two-CL young.man-OBL:DAT excessive beating
 $\text{mar-iba-ru semane ahotɔ ho-i cikitsitɔ he-uth-iba}$
 beat-INF-ABL they injured be-CV treated be-IPFV-INF
 jɔŋ-a-pɔɔ-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	aṇila	‘bringing’
Perfect	aṇithila	‘having brought’
Imperfective	aṇuthila	‘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) Kumārō ṁphis-ru bahārō-ku **as-ila** beḷō-ku jṁṇ-e bhikari
 K. o.-ABL outside-DAT come-INF:PST time-DAT CL-INDEF beggar
 as-i pōisa 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) Kumārō kar-re **cṛḥ-ila** beḷō-ku jṁṇ-e bhikari as-i pōisa
 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 *cṛhithila* 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 *jḷuthiba* and the *ila*-form *jḷuthila* have the same meaning, i. e. they indicate an ongoing process.

- (39) bōti **jḷ-uth-iba** / **jḷ-uth-ila** beḷ-e mū so-i-pṛ-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 *jḷuthiba* + *beḷe* by ‘while’ and the *ila*-form *jḷuthila* + *beḷe* 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:

- (40) pulis-mane marcc **kār-uth-ila** beḷ-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-ila kukurō	‘hungry dog’
bṛḥ-	‘grow’		bṛḥ-ila jhio	‘grown-up girl’
jhṛ-	‘flow’		jhṛ-ila akhi-re	‘with runny eyes’
pac-	‘ripen’		pac-ila ambō	‘ripe mango’
sukh-	‘become dry’		sukh-ila bhūi	‘dry ground’
tat-	‘become hot’		tat-ila niā	‘hot fire’
thṛ-	‘tremble’		thṛ-ila gḷa	‘trembling voice’

Examples of attributive use in a sentence:

- (41) **bhuk-ila** kukurō kamur-e nahī.
 bark-INF:PST dog bite-3s:HAB NEG
 ‘A barking dog seldom bites.’
- (42) **gṛōj-ila** meghō bṛōs-e nah-ī.
 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) ? mū poisa **de-ith-ila** 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) mū **de-ba** dhano vs. mū **de-la** ṭonka
 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:

- (45) se **kand-iba** pila nuh-ē. kand-ib-ɔ 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 lokɔ* ‘wandering man (i.e. man who is supposed to wander)’ vs. *bul-ila lokɔ* ‘wandering man (i.e. man who has wandered till now and is expected to wander tomorrow as well)’.

- (47) a. **j-iba** kɔtha gɔl-a-ŋi.
 go-INF matter go:PST-3s-MIR
 ‘What is supposed to be gone, is gone.’
 b. **gɔl-a** kɔtha gɔl-a-ŋi.
 go:INF:PST matter go:PST-3s-MIR
 ‘What is gone, has gone.’

Another comparative example is shown in (48), where the *ɔnta*-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) jɔl-ɔnta / jɔl-il-a / jɔl-iba prɔdipɔ
 burn-PTCP burn-INF:PST burn-INF lamp
 ‘a burning lamp’

Two remarks are in order. First, the form *jɔlɔnta* belongs to a higher speech style. Secondly, contrasted with the *ila*-form *jɔlila* the *iba*-form *jɔliba* includes an additional nuance of ‘being able to burn’. This is seen again in (49):

- (49) mū **nɔ-dekh-iba** phɔɔ jie aŋ-ib-ɔ se eko sɔtɔ swɔrŋɔ-mudra
 I NEG-see-INF fruit who bring-FUT-3s he one hundred gold-coin
 pa-ib-ɔ.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) *mū kōm 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 *och-* (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 converbs 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) *bharṇ-samyṇ rōkh-i-nṇ-par-i Babuli kuḷṇ-ru noi bhitṇṇ-ku*
 weight-equality keep-CV-NEG-can-CV B. bank-ABL river inside-DAT
pṇṇ-i-gṇl-a.
 fall-CV-V2:go:PST-3s
 ‘Bābuli could not keep his balance and fell from the bank into the river.’

The subject of the converb *rōkhinṇpari*, 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. *aṇ-i* ‘having brought’;
- Negated simple form: substitution, negative concomitance, e. g. *nṇ-aṇ-i* ‘instead of / without bringing’;
- Converb + *tha-*: Perfect tenses (see 4.2.2.2), e. g. *aṇ-i th-il-i* ‘I had brought’;

²¹Note that *dekhiba* does not change when the situation is put into the past (‘Somebody who brought a fruit that I could not see ...’).

- Converb + *och-*: Present Perfect (see 4.2.3.6), e.g. *aṅ-i och-i* ‘I have brought’;
- Reduplicated converb: manner, e.g. *aṅ-i aṅi* ‘bringing’;
- Converb + *kər-i*: manner, e.g. *aṅ-i kər-i* ‘having brought, bringing’;
- Converb + light verb (V2): compound verb (see 4.6.2), e.g. *aṅ-i ja-ich-i* ‘I have brought’;
- Converb + motion verb: purpose, e.g. *aṅ-i ja-uch-i* ‘I’m going to bring’;
- Converb + *par-*: complement of *par-* (4.6.4), e.g. *aṅ-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:

<i>aṅ-i</i>	‘having brought’	informal; most frequent in texts
<i>aṅ-i-ki</i>	(< <i>kər-i</i> do- <i>CV</i>)	more formal; often used in spoken language
<i>aṅ-i-kər-i</i>		most formal (marked) ²²

In combination with *kər-* ‘do’ the converb in *-kəri* is avoided (**kərikəri*); instead *kəriki* or *kəri* are used. Compare also the adverbial use of adjectives with *-kəri* / *-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).

<i>məno de-i</i>	‘attentively’	(<i>məno</i> ‘mind’, <i>de-</i> ‘give’)
<i>suṅ-i jaṅ-i</i>	‘knowingly’	(<i>suṅ-</i> ‘hear’, <i>jaṅ-</i> ‘know’)
<i>bhab-i</i> (bərə)	‘future (husband)’	(<i>bhab-</i> ‘think’)
<i>dhər-i</i>	‘with’	(<i>dhər-</i> ‘take’)
<i>lag-i</i>	‘for’	(<i>lag-</i> ‘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

²²In Hindi this converb in *-kari* is the unmarked sequential converb.

²³See e.g. Masica 1976.

- (53) ame-səbu bojarə **ja-i** / **ja-i-ki** / **ja-i-kər-i** jinisə **kiŋ-i** /
 we-all market go-CV go-CV-CV go-CV-do-CV thing buy-CV
kiŋ-i-ki / **kiŋ-i-kər-i** aiskrim **kha-i** / **kha-i-ki** / **kha-i-kər-i**
 buy-CV-CV buy-CV-do-CV i. eat-CV eat-CV-CV eat-CV-do-CV
 ghəɔ-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-səbu bojarə gəl-u, jinisə kiŋ-il-u, aiskrim kha-il-u, taapəre
 we-all market go:PST-1pi thing buy-PST-1pi i. eat-PST-1pi then
 ghəɔ-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 səməyə-re au goŋi-e kua kēūŋh-u **as-i** təl-e məɔ-i
 this time-LOC other CL-INDEF crow where-ABL come-CV bottom-LOC die-CV
 pəɔ-ith-iba kua-ku **dekh-i** ka ka rabə kə-l-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 converbs in *-i* when they form a converb clause on their own; either suffixation of *-ki* or *-kəri*, or the combination with a light verb (e.g. *sar-* ‘finish’), or the addition of an overt object, is preferred.

- (56) pila-mane ***pəɔh-i** / **pəɔh-i-ki** / **pəɔh-i-kər-i** / **pəɔh-i-sar-i** /
 child-PL read-CV read-CV-CV read-CV-do-CV read-CV-V2:finish-CV
 bəhi **pəɔh-i** kheɭ-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 ***pəhɔr-i** / **pəhɔr-i-ki** / **pəhɔr-i-kər-i** kheɭ-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 *nə-* is added to the general converb, it can occur in isolated form:

- (58) pila-mane **no-kheḷ-i** so-il-e.
 child-PL NEG-play-CV sleep-PST-3p
 ‘Instead of playing the children slept.’

Simultaneity All three converbs (*-i*, *-ki* and *-kəri*) can be used with simultaneous meaning as well, specifying the manner in which the action is done. In (59) the converbs with *luc-* ‘hide’ specify the act of going away from home. The general converb in *-i* in this function is often reduplicated, but not necessarily (see (70) below).

- (59) ehi-pəri bicar-i din-e se **luc-i-kər-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**) għər-u bahar-i-gəl-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 səmɔɔ-re **pəhōr-i kər-i** e noi parɔ
 you(POL) how.much time-LOC swim-CV do-CV this river across
 ho-i-par-ib-ɔ?
 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) segurako **pəh-i kər-i** grahoko-mano-nko-rɔ baɔ θia
 those read-CV do-CV customer-PL-OBL-GEN hair standing
 ho-i-ja-e, taapɔre mo-te baɔ kaɔ-iba pāi sɔhoɔ
 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 converbs:

- (62) cali cali jiba ‘go by feet’
 hosi hosi kəhiba ‘speak laughingly’
 khai khai moɔa heba ‘become fat by eating’
- (63) Kouɔiko Mithiḷa-re pəhənc-i lokɔ-mano-nku **pəcar-i pəcari**
 K. M.-LOC arrive-CV person-PL-OBL:DAT ask-CV RDP
 Dhərməbyadhə-nko nikəɔ-ku gəl-e.
 D.-OBL near-DAT go:PST-3p(HON)
 ‘Kouṣika reached Mithiḷā, and asking people he went to Dharmabyādhā.’

pɔcari pɔcari signals the manner how he found Dharmabyadhā: by asking several people here and there. The same sentence with the non-reduplicated converb *pɔcari* would mean that he asked the people once and then he went to Dharmabyādhā. In contrast, the reduplicated imperfective converb *pɔcaru pɔcaru* 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 (*kɔhila*) while he was asking her (*pɔcaru pɔcaru*).

- (64) mū ta-ku kɔɔŋɔ sɔbu **pɔcar-u pɔcaru** Lina mo-te kotha
 I she-DAT what all ask-ICV RDP L. I-DAT matter
 kuh-e-i-nɔ-de-i kɔh-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) tɔmɔ-ku ɔpekhyā **kɔr-i kɔri** sesɔ-re tumɔ bhɔuŋi-ku ne-i
 you(POL)-DAT waiting do-CV RDP end-LOC your(POL) sister-DAT take-CV
 sinema ɡɔl-i.
 c. go:PST-1s
 ‘After waiting a long time for you I finally went to the cinema with your sister.’

4.3.5.2 Negation

All three converbs (*-i*, *-ki* and *-kɔri*) can be negated by preposing *nɔ-* (see 6.4.3). Note that the position of *nɔ-* in front of the stem of the main verb (*nɔ-de-i-kɔr-i*, instead of treating *kɔri* as a verb **de-i-nɔ-kɔr-i*) shows the high degree of the grammaticalization of *kɔri* as a converb marker. *kɔri*, however, is again marked for formalness, and it is even regarded as slightly odd.

(i) Negated general converbs express negative concomitance “without”:

- (66) se mo mūhɔ-ku **nɔ-ɔne-i** / **nɔ-ɔne-i-ki** / ?**nɔ-ɔne-i-kɔr-i** mo
 he my face-DAT NEG-look-CV NEG-look-CV-CV NEG-look-CV-do-CV my
 sangɔ kothabartta kɔ-l-a.
 friend conversation do-PST-3s
 ‘My friend talked to me without looking at me.’
- (67) oŋɔ paŋi **nɔ-pi-i** pɔndɔrɔ dɪnɔ pɔrjɔntɔ
 camel water NEG-drink-CV fifteen day until
 rɔh-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 converbs express substitution “instead of”:

- (68) mū puo-ku gaḷi **no-de-i** / **no-de-i-ki** / ?**no-de-i-kor-i**
 I son-DAT scolding NEG-give-CV NEG-give-CV-CV NEG-give-CV-do-CV
 ta-ku kuṇḍhe-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 inspektor ta-nku opekhya **no-kor-i** niḷo kamō-re
 p. i. 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 converb

The general converb in *-i* covers a wide range of uses. According to the specifics of the context, the converb may express other shades of meanings than anteriority alone; consider the following examples, where the converb occurs in various contexts such as simultaneous (modifying), instrumental, concessive, conditional, and causal.

(i) Simultaneous (modifying):

- (70) tərōbōro **ho-i** se bhikhya-ḍala dhōr-i sōnnyasi-nko pakho-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 bōrttōman kōh-i-par-ib-i nahī; pōr-e **lekh-i**
 I all matter now say-CV-can-FUT-1s NEG after-LOC write-CV
 jōṇ-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’, *mōdhyō* ‘also’ or *suddha* ‘even’):

- (72) se cesta **kōr-i suddha** Kōṭōko-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 ʃoka-ʃa kouʃhi məniso ho-i-ja-i kuʃ-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 jəyo kə-l-i — mū ɔdhikari nə-ho-i au kie hu-ɔnt-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 byəbəharə-re sɔntustə ho-i se ta-ku kəh-il-e, ...*
 her behaviour-LOC glad be-CV he 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 converb shows a particular use, *ne-* 'take' and *ja-* 'go'. The general converb *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-səbu ghoʃəna-ku ne-i kuhelika bhitor-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) *Esia mohadesə-re bharottoʃəno-re prətidwəndwita-rə manə bruddhi*
 A. continent-LOC weight-lifting-LOC competition-GEN standard increase
pa-ith-ila beʃe emano-nku swərrəno-pəðəko jɪn-iba ne-i
 find-PERF-INF:PST when they-OBL:DAT gold-medal win-INF take-CV
kəʃhinə pərisrəmə kər-iba-ku pəʃ-ib-ə.
 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 converb *jai* is used to signal purpose 'in order to'.

- (78) srimōti Pəṭṭəṇayək goṭi-e udaharəṇə de-ba-ku **ja-i**
 Mrs P. CL-INDEF example give-INF-DAT go-CV
 kəh-il-e ...
 say-PST-3p(HON)
 ‘Mrs Paṭṭanāyaka said to give an example, ...’

4.3.5.4 Imperfective converb

(i) The imperfective converb with the suffix *-u* (glossed by ICV) implies simultaneity between the action of the main verb and that of the converb. More exactly, the converb provides the background for the action referred to by the main clause, i. e. the action of the imperfective converb has started before and continues beyond the duration of where the action of the main verb happens. The imperfective converb is always reduplicated.

- (79) mū ṭibhi **dekh-u dekhu** so-i-pəṛ-il-i.
 I television see-ICV RDP fall.asleep-CV-V2:fall-PST-1s
 ‘I fell asleep while I was watching TV.’
- (80) mū **chobə-u chobəu** goṭi-e goṭi kamuṛ-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 converb is used, both actions have the same temporal extension, and the situation expressed by the converb 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) cəṇa paṇi-re rati-re bətura-i sokaḷ-e taha **cobe-i cobei**
 chick-pea water-LOC night-LOC soak-CV morning-LOC that chew-CV RDP
 kha-ile deḥə-re bəḷə as-itha-e.
 eat-CONDCV 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 converb and the general converb (both reduplicated) have the same function.

- (82) se **kand-u kandu** / **kand-i kandi** kəh-il-e, ...
 he weep-ICV RDP weep-CV RDP say-PST-3p(HON)
 ‘He said with tears in his eyes (lit. weepingly) ...’

(ii) The reduplicated imperfective converb can have the meaning of “as soon as”.²⁴

- (83) *mū pəcar-u pəcaru pɔsno-rə uttərə pa-i-gəl-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 *baharu-no-baharu-nu* in (84).²⁵ 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) *mū tə kuaɾə-ku bahar-u-no-baharu-nu tu ete paɕi*
 I PTCL where-DAT go.out-ICV-NEG-RDP-hardly you(FAM) so.much mouth
kəɾ-uch-i.
 do-PROG-1s
 ‘Before I even start to go out anywhere, you are shouting so much.’

The suffix *-nu* can occur without reduplication of the converb:

(King Hariścandra had to sell his wife. He gave his agreement to a brahman.)

- (85) *Həriścandrə-nkə-rə muhō-ru kətha no-səɾ-u-nu brahməɔ*
 H.-OBL-GEN face-ABL matter NEG-finish-ICV-hardly b.
Səibyā-nkə-rə hatə dhəɾ-i ɕaŋ-i-ne-i j-iba-ku
 S.-OBL-GEN hand take-CV draw-CV-V2:take-CV go-INF-DAT
bəs-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 Saibyā’s hand and draw her away.’

- (86) *ənyə kehi kichi nə-kəh-u-nu niɟə-ku niɟ-e buɕhi*
 other anybody anything NEG-say-ICV-hardly REFL-DAT REFL-NOM old.woman
boli mən-e kə-l-u-ni na kəɔɔ?
 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 *rəh-* ‘stay’, e.g. *ɕibhi cal-u-rəh-ich-i* ‘the TV is still on’.

²⁵Cf. the suffix *-ni*, which, however, is attached to finite verb forms (see 4.2.3.7).

4.3.5.5 **Conditional converbs**

The conditional converb in Oriya has three aspectual forms:

Simple	añile	'if I / you ... bring'
Perfect	añithile	'if I / you ... have brought'
Imperfective	añuthile	'if I / you ... are bringing'

(i) The conditional converbs 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. *kāṛante* in (87) below. Any other tense marker indicates a real condition, e.g. Habitual Simple *kāṛanti* in (88).

- (87) tōme sōṭo **kāh-ile** lok-e biswasō kār-ānt-e.
 you(POL) truth say-CONDCV people-PL believe do-COND-3p
 'If you would tell the truth, people would believe you.'
- (88) tōme sōṭo **kāh-ile** lok-e biswasō kār-ānti.
 you(POL) truth say-CONDCV people-PL believe do-3p:HAB
 'If you tell the truth, people believe you.'

(ii) The conditional converb can have a strong temporal component that displaces the conditional meaning.

- (89) sōbha sesō **ho-i-gole** pila-mane goṭi-e nāṭko
 meeting end be-CV-V2:go:CONDCV 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) apōṇo **as-ile** mū kha-ib-i.
 you(HON) come-CONDCV I eat-FUT-1s
 'I will eat only when you come.'

(iii) Concessive clauses are expressed by a conditional converb and the postposed particle *mōdhyō* 'also', *bi* 'also' or *suddha* 'even'.

- (91) ei kamō kōṭhino **he-le** **mōdhyō** mo-te bhōḷo lag-uch-i.
 this work hard be-CONDCV also I-DAT good feel-PROG-3s
 'Although this work is hard, I enjoy it.'
- (92) park-ṭi choṭo **he-le** **bi** bhari sundrō.
 park-ART small be-CONDCV 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** bhob lakho-bindhafi **he-le** **bi** e-pori obostha-re taa hato
 how good aim-bowman be-CONDCV even this-like state-LOC his hand
 kooṇo thik roh-i-par-ib-o?
 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 sōndhya beḷ-e t̃ibhi **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 sōndhya beḷ-e t̃ibhi **dekh-ile** mo-te nido he-b-o
 I all evening time-LOC TV see-CONDCV I-DAT sleep be-FUT-3s
 nahī.
 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 doṇḍo
 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 puṇi dhormoghoto seso **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 converb

The perfect conditional converb indicates that the situation is viewed as completed. The condition is always counterfactual, except in the case of ingressive verbs (see below).

- (99) *semane corō-ku dhōr-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 converb; it then has hypothetical meaning:

- (100) *semane corō-ku dhōr-ile pulis jima di-ōnt-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 converb 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 porjyōntō kamō kōr-ith-ile dui sōho ṭōnka*
 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 porjyōntō kamō kōr-ith-ile dui sōho ṭōnka*
 he tomorrow until work do-PERF-CONDCV two hundred rupee
pa-ib-ō.
 get-FUT-3s
 ‘If he will have done the job till tomorrow, he will get two hundred rupees.’

Another example:

- (102) *mū sōndhya beḷ-e ṭibhi dekh-ith-ile rati-re*
 I evening time-LOC TV see-PERF-CONDCV night-LOC
so-i-nō-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 converb indicates that the situation is seen as completed and its result lasts at reference time.

- (103) *se so-ith-ile ta-nku distōrb kōr-ō-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** birari 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** mu kotha he-b-i nahī.
 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 bhabo-re bondo o **khol-u-no-th-ile**
 window good way-LOC close and open-IPFV-NEG-AUX-CONDCV
 maha-mo-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 ghungur-i **mar-uth-ile** swami prati sohyo.
 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-ūth-ile** sehi-bholi lekha
 this he-GEN need-DAT touch-IPFV-CONDCV that-like writing
 odhiko-ru odhiko parh-iba pai pathoko mano 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 surjyo caripakhe **ghur-u-no-th-ile** kono
 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 *-to*.

ᅇnkito	‘drawn’ (cf. <i>ank-</i> ‘draw’)	nirmito	‘built’
bibahito	‘married’	paᅇito	‘obeyed’
byᅇbᅇhruto	‘used’	poᅇicito	‘known’
likhito	‘written’ (cf. <i>lekh-</i> ‘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 *-ᅇ*.

bibahit-ᅇ bhai	‘married brother’	bibahit-a striloko	‘married woman’
sikhit-ᅇ 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 baᅇikaᅇi* ‘that girl’ in (110), are marked by the postposition *dwara* ‘by’.

- (110) *se baᅇika-ᅇi dwara likhito golpo-ᅇi prothomo puroskarᅇ 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 sohitᅇ ‘i’ swᅇro-dhwᅇni-ᅇi th-ile eha ‘kh’ bhab-e uccarito*
 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”: *ᅇch-*, *tha-* and *he-*.²⁶ There is an additional copula *ᅇᅇ-*, 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), *ᅇch-* / *ᅇᅇ-* and *tha-* belong to one paradigm. They show a defective distribution: *ᅇch-* and *ᅇᅇ-* 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

	Progressive	Habitual	Past	Future	Conditional
1s	<i>ochi</i> <i>oṭe</i>	<i>thae</i>	<i>thili</i>	<i>thibi</i>	<i>thanti</i>
1p incl	<i>ochē</i> <i>oṭē</i>	<i>thae</i>	<i>thile</i>	<i>thiba</i>	<i>thante</i>
1p excl	<i>ochu</i> <i>oṭu</i>	<i>thau</i>	<i>thilu</i>	<i>thibu</i>	<i>thantu</i>
2s	<i>ochu</i> <i>oṭu</i>	<i>thau</i>	<i>thilu</i>	<i>thibu</i>	<i>thantu</i>
2p	<i>ochō</i> <i>oṭō</i>	<i>thao</i>	<i>thilō</i>	<i>thibō</i>	<i>thantō</i>
3s	<i>ochi</i> <i>oṭe</i>	<i>thae</i>	<i>thila</i>	<i>thibō</i>	<i>thanta</i>
3p	<i>ochonti</i> <i>oṭonti</i>	<i>thaonti</i>	<i>thile</i>	<i>thibe</i>	<i>thante</i>

Converbs

Perfective	<i>thai</i>
Imperfective	<i>thau</i>
Conditional	<i>thaile</i>

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):

	Simple tenses	Perfect / Imperfective
	Progressive	others
locative, existential, possessive	<i>och-</i>	<i>tha-</i> <i>he-</i>
descriptive, equational	Ø / <i>oṭ-</i>	<i>tha-</i> <i>he-</i>

(i) Locative sentences

- (1) *mū eithi och-i. mo maa seithi och-onti.*
I here be-1s my mother there be-3p(HON)
'I am here. My mother is there.'
- (2) *ame se dino sokaḷ-e bojaro-re th-il-u.*
we that day morning-LOC market-LOC be-PST-1pe

‘We were at the market that morning.’

- (3) mū ɔnumanɔ kɔr-uch-i se seṭha-re **th-ib-ɔ**.
 I guess do-PROG-1s he there-LOC be-FUT-3s
 ‘I guess he will be there.’

(ii) Existential sentences

- (4) kheḷ-ɔpɔria-re pila-gurie **ɔch-ɔnti**.
 play-field-LOC child-PL be-3p
 ‘There are children in the playground.’
- (5) sɔhɔrɔ ɔpekhyā gramɔ-manɔ-nkɔ-re kɔm kojahɔḷɔ **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) jɔdi tumɔ-rɔ kichi kamɔ **nɔ-tha-e** ame byaḍmiṅṭɔn
 if you(POL)-GEN any work NEG-be-3s:HAB we b.
 kheḷ-ile hu-ɔnt-a.
 play-C:ONDCV be-COND-3s
 ‘If you have no work to do, we could play badminton (lit. how would it be if we played badminton).’
- (7) matrɔ dui hɔjarɔ ṭɔnka muḷɔ betɔnɔ pa-uth-iba ɔdhyapɔkɔ cakiri
 only two thousand rupee value salary get-IPFV-INF professor job
 amɔ desɔ-re kēūṭhi **tha-i-par-e** mū bhab-i-par-u-nah-ī.
 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) amɔ-rɔ ghɔra-ṭie **ɔch-i**.
 we-GEN horse-INDEF be-3s
 ‘We have got a horse.’
- (9) mrutyu pɔrjyɔntɔ mɔṅisɔ-rɔ asa **tha-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 *ɔṭ-* is found (12).

- (10) cətaŋə-*ti* səpha.
 floor-ART clean
 'The floor is clean.'
- (11) e taa-rə maa.
 this she-GEN mother
 'This is her mother.'
- (12) ebe 36 bərsə bəyəsə-re pədarpəŋə kər-ith-ile mədhyo se
 now 36 year age-LOC setting.one's.foot do-PERF-CONDCV even she
 Həliud-rə ənyətəmə byəstə əbhinetri **ət-ənti**.
 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)

əch- is used only in combination with a group of nouns with adjectival meaning (e.g. *khali* 'empty', *bəndə* 'closed'; see 3.2.3).

- (13) mo ghərə-*ti* khali **əch-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 Senapəti skul-re tumə-rə sikhyəkə **th-il-e?** — hō,
 Mr S. school-LOC you(POL)-GEN teacher be-PST-3p(HON) yes
th-il-e.
 be-PST-3p(HON)
 'Was Mr Senāpati 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 bərsə bəyəsə-re se jəŋ-e se bika **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 pəred pəria-ku ja-uch-u. — pəred pəria-re kəŋə
 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?'

²⁷*he-* is an ingressive verb (see 4.2.2.4); to express the state 'be' Perfect aspect verb forms are used.

- (17) purb-e Kōlikōta Bharōṭō-rō rajōdhani **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) mōn-e rōkh-iba-ku **he-b-ō** je Oriā **he-uch-i** goṭi-e nobyō
 mind-LOC put-INF-DAT be-FUT-3s COMP Oriya be-PROG-3s CL-INDEF new
 Bharōṭiyō-arjyō bhāsa.
 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) kōbaṭō-re goṭi-e ṭhōk ṭhōk sōbdō **he-l-a**.
 door-LOC CL-INDEF IDEO noise be-PST-3s
 'There was a knock at the door.'

he- replaces *ōch-*, *tha-* and the zero copula in the Perfect and Imperfective tenses. In (20) *he-* replaces the existential copula *ōch-*.

(Beginning of a short story.)

- (20) sahitō alocōna **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 (*gō-l-*).

	Habitual	Past	Futur	Infinitive	Conditional	converb
<i>ja-</i> 'go'	<i>jae</i>	<i>gōli</i>	<i>jibi</i>	<i>jiba</i>	<i>gole</i>	

Note the Imperative form 2p *jaa* 'go!' besides the regular *ja-ō*. Cf. the Imperative form 2s of *as-* 'come': *aa* 'come!'.

(ii) Some verb stems ending in *-ɔr-* have an abridged Past stem (e.g. *kɔr-* 'do' has *kɔ-I-*).²⁸

	Habitual	Past	Conditional	converb
<i>kɔr-</i>	'do'	<i>kɔre</i>	<i>kɔli</i>	<i>kɔle</i>
<i>mɔr-</i>	'die'	<i>mɔre</i>	<i>mɔli</i>	<i>mɔle</i>

(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 *ɔ* 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 *ḍē-*).

	de- 'give'	he- 'be'	ne- 'take'	ḍē- 'jump'
HAB 1s	<i>die</i>	<i>hue</i>	<i>nie</i>	<i>ḍiē</i>
1pi	<i>die</i>	<i>hue</i>	<i>nie</i>	<i>ḍiē</i>
1pe	<i>dɔu</i>	<i>hɔu</i>	<i>nɔu</i>	<i>ḍēū</i>
2s	<i>dɔu</i>	<i>hɔu</i>	<i>nɔu</i>	<i>ḍēū</i>
2p	<i>diɔ</i>	<i>huɔ</i>	<i>niɔ</i>	<i>ḍiō</i>
3s	<i>die</i>	<i>hue</i>	<i>nie</i>	<i>ḍiē</i>
3p	<i>diɔnti</i>	<i>huɔnti</i>	<i>niɔnti</i>	<i>ḍiōnti</i>

Past	<i>deli</i>	<i>heli</i>	<i>neli</i>	<i>ḍēli</i>
Future ²⁹	<i>debo / dɔbo</i>	<i>hebo / hɔbo</i>	<i>nebo / nɔbo</i>	<i>ḍēbo</i>
Progressive	<i>deuchi / douchi</i>	<i>heuchi / houchi</i>	<i>neuchi / nouchi</i>	<i>ḍēuchi</i>
Ipfv. tenses	<i>deu- / douthili</i>	<i>heu- / houthili</i>	<i>neu- / nouthili</i>	<i>ḍēuthili</i>
Perfect	<i>deichi</i>	<i>heichi / hoichi</i>	<i>neichi</i>	<i>ḍēichi</i>
Pf. tenses	<i>deithili</i>	<i>hei- / hoithili</i>	<i>neithili</i>	<i>ḍēithili</i>
a-form	<i>dia</i>		<i>nia</i>	<i>ḍiā</i>
iba-form	<i>deba / dɔba</i>	<i>heba / hɔba</i>	<i>neba / nɔba</i>	<i>ḍēiba</i>
General conv.	<i>dei</i>	<i>hoi</i>	<i>nei</i>	<i>ḍēi</i>
CONDCV	<i>dele</i>	<i>hele</i>	<i>nele</i>	<i>ḍēile</i>

(iv) Some verb stems ending in *-o* or *-ɔh* change their stem vowel to *u* before suffixes with initial *-a*, *-e*, or *-ɔ*.

²⁸Other verbs have similar variants, but they belong to rural speech: e.g. *pɔr-* / *pɔila* 'it fell', *sɔr-* / *sɔila* 'it finished', *kɔh-* / *kɔili* 'I said', *dhɔr-* / *dhɔili* 'I caught', *as-* / *aili* or *ɔili* 'I came'.

²⁹The stem vowel alternates only in forms with the suffixes *-ɔ* and *-u*.

		dho- 'wash'	koh- 'say'
Habitual	1s	dhue	kuhe
	1pi	dhue	kuhe
	1pe	dhou	kohu
	2s	dhou	kohu
	2p	dhuo	kuho
	3s	dhue	kuhe
	3p	dhuonti	kuhonti
Gerund		dhua	kuha
Past, etc. (regular)		dhoili	kohili

Other verbs with the same vowel alternations are *rōh-* 'stay' (the *a*-form, however, is *rōha*), *so-* 'sleep' and *tho-* 'put'.

The stem vowel change to /u/ occurs in the *a*-form³⁰ of the following verbs:

bah- 'row'	buha	pa- 'find'	pua
boh- 'flow'	buha	sōh- 'suffer'	suha
kha- 'eat'	khua ³¹	tho- 'put'	thua

(v) The stem vowel /a/ of otherwise regular verbs changes to /ɔ/ in the *a*-form.

ank- 'draw'	ɔnk-a	'drawn'
kaɽ- 'cut'	koɽ-a	'cut'
pɔcar- 'ask'	pɔcɔr-a	'asked'
ɽaŋ- 'pull'	ɽɔŋ-a	'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).

³⁰The suffix *-a* is either a participial ending (see 4.3.1), a passive marker (4.6.3) or a causative suffix (4.1.1).

³¹Cf. the causative *kho-* 'feed'.

³²For 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 kār* ‘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, *kār* ‘do’ and *he-* ‘be, become’, and in a few cases *de-* ‘give’ (e.g. *jogō de-* ‘join’) and *pa-* ‘find’ (e.g. *bruddhi pa-* ‘increase (itr.)’).

Conjunct verbs with <i>kār</i> ‘do’		Conjunct verbs with <i>he-</i> ‘be’	
<i>byōbhāro kār-</i>	‘use’	<i>baha he-</i>	‘marry’
<i>jonmōgrōhōṇō kār-</i>	‘be born’	<i>bhōḷō he-</i>	‘get better’
<i>khyōma kār-</i>	‘excuse’	<i>khusi he-</i>	‘be happy’
<i>māne kār-</i>	‘imagine’	<i>kōthabartta he-</i>	‘speak with’
<i>ōnsōgrōhōṇō kār-</i>	‘participate’	<i>mōnō he-</i>	‘feel like’
<i>ōpekhyā kār-</i>	‘wait’	<i>parō he-</i>	‘cross (the street)’
<i>pas kār-</i>	‘pass’	<i>raji he-</i>	‘agree’
<i>prōbesō kār-</i>	‘enter’	<i>sosō he-</i>	‘be thirsty’
<i>sahajyō kār-</i>	‘help’	<i>ṭhia he-</i>	‘stand’
<i>sōtārko kār-</i>	‘warn’	<i>tōrōtōrō he-</i>	‘hurry’

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 *kār* denoting the transitive counterpart.

Intransitive meaning		Transitive meaning	
<i>arōmbhō he-</i>	‘start (itr.)’	<i>arōmbhō kār-</i>	‘start to do s.th.’
<i>bikri he-</i>	‘be sold, cost’	<i>bikri kār-</i>	‘sell’
<i>bōndō he-</i>	‘stop / close (itr.)’	<i>bōndō kār-</i>	‘stop / close (tr.)’
<i>nōstō he-</i>	‘fail, spoil’	<i>nōstō kār-</i>	‘waste’
<i>pōsōndō he-</i>	‘like s.th.’	<i>pōsōndō kār-</i>	‘prefer to do’
<i>sesō he-</i>	‘finish (itr.)’	<i>sesō kār-</i>	‘finish (tr.)’
<i>tiari he-</i>	‘be built’	<i>tiari kār-</i>	‘build’
<i>dhwānsō pa-</i>	‘be destroyed’	<i>dhwānsō kār-</i>	‘destroy’
<i>prōkasō pa-</i>	‘become public’	<i>prōkasō kār-</i>	‘make known’
<i>puja pa-</i>	‘be worshiped’	<i>puja kār-</i>	‘worship’
<i>rōkhya pa-</i>	‘escape’	<i>rōkhya kār-</i>	‘save’
<i>uddhārō pa-</i>	‘be released’	<i>uddhārō kār-</i>	‘release’

Examples (1a, 2a, 3a) show the intransitive construction, whereas (1b, 2b, 3b) illustrate the corresponding transitive construction.

- (1) a. *naṭōkō ehi khyōṇi arōmbhō he-l-a.*
 play this moment start be-PST-3s

‘The play just started.’

- b. putrə-ku koḷə-re cap-i dhər-i bikəḷə-re kand-iba-ku
 son-DAT lap-LOC press-CV take-CV overwhelmed-LOC weep-INF-DAT
arəmbhə kə-l-e.
 start do-PST-3p(HON)

‘She pressed the son in her lap and began to weep overwhelmed.’

- (2) a. cauḷə kilo satə ṭanka-re **bikri he-uch-i.**
 rice kilo seven rupee-LOC sell be-PROG-3s

‘Rice sells at seven rupees a kilo.’

- b. se kəṇḍhei **bikri kər-i** peṭə pos-uth-il-e.
 she toys sell do-CV stomach earn-IPFV-PST-3p(HON)

‘She earned her living by selling toys.’

- (3) a. ahuri besi ənistə ghəṭ-ib-ə, ebəng Hawai dwipə **dhwənsə**
 more much damage happen-FUT-3s and H. island destruction
pa-i-j-ib-ə.
 find-CV-V2:go-FUT-3s

‘Much more damage will occur, and the island of Hawaii will be destroyed.’

- b. Asvatthama Paṇḍabə-bənsə **dhwənsə kər-iba-ku** əstrə prəjogə
 A. P.-family destruction do-INF-DAT weapon use
 kə-l-e.
 do-PST-3p(HON)

‘Aśvatthāmā used weapons to destroy the Pāṇḍaba family.’

A verbal part of a conjunct verb can govern up to three objects: the noun which makes up the conjunct verb (e.g. *prədano* ‘gift’ in (4)), the patient (*se sakti* ‘that power’) and the recipient (*duhīnku* ‘to both of them’).

- (4) jogi du-hī-nku se sakti **prədano kə-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-nə-th-ile kəṭhabartta **arəmbhə**
 he understand-CV-can-IPFV-NEG-AUX-CONDCV conversation start
 kemiti **kər-ib-ə?**
 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

	meaning as full verb	function as light verb
as-	'come'	Emphasis (motion towards speaker)
bos-	'sit'	Emphasis
cal-	'walk'	Continuity
de-	'give'	Emphasis (tr. verbs)
ja-	'go'	Emphasis (itr. verbs, motion away from speaker)
ne-	'take'	Emphasis (self-benefactive)
pōka-	'put'	Emphasis (spontaneity)
pōṛ-	'fall'	Emphasis (suddenness)
rōh-	'stay'	Continuity
sar-	'finish'	Teliciser
uṭh-	'get up'	Emphasis

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-*, *pōṛ-*,

³³The 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 *uṭh-* 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 *sər-* ‘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 chota tɔ mo-ṭhu goṭi-e sango
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-*, *bɔs-*, *de-*, *ja-* and *poka-*:

- (7) mū goṭi-e bəhut bɔɔ bəhul kɔr-i-as- / 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) *bɔs-* “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) *poka-* “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 converb form. Its variants *-ki* or *-kɔri* do not occur.

- (8) puɔ-rɔ bibahɔ bɔyɔsɔ 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'	<i>bapa taku boṛhaiaṇithila</i>	'the father brought her up'
dhōr-	'catch'	<i>se mo hatōku ṭaṇidhōrila</i>	'he pulled and hold my arm'
pōhōnc-	'arrive'	<i>bapa asipōhōncigōla</i>	'father arrived'
pōla-	'flee'	<i>kōedi khōsipōlaichi</i>	'the prisoner has escaped'
rōkh-	'keep'	<i>se ciṭhi lucairōkhila</i>	'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 *phericaḥ-* 'look back'. Nevertheless *pa-* 'get' and *caḥ-* '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-ṭi pōṛ-i-gōl-a.* vs. *bilei-ṭi pōṛ-i(-ki) (PAUSE) gōl-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 *nō*:

- (10) *kōbōmō pōṛ-i-nō-gōl-a* tō *kōṇō 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 *kahiki* 'why':

- (11) *tōme ta-ku sōmpurnṇō sōtyō kōtha-ṭi kōh-i kahiki*
 you(POL) he-DAT whole truth matter-ART say-CV why
de-l-ō-ni?
 V2:give-PST-2p-NEG
 'Why didn't you tell him the whole truth?'

(iii) the modal items *tō*, *bi* and *mōdhyō*:

- (12) *pōrikhya pāi mū kali dino-jakō pōṛh-i tō 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 *tō* signals that the speaker has studied through, but he does not know how much he will remember.)

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. *cərhijao* 'get on' is more polite than *cərho*).

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', *maɾ-* '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** arəmbhə kəriba '(about a baby) to start to walk'
 pɰyan **cal-u-ni** 'the fan is not working (but it is okay)'
 nidə-re **cal-iba** bəmarə '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, apəŋə pəncə miniɕ leɕ-re as-ile, tɰnu gəri pləɕpɰrm
 S. you(HON) five m. l.-LOC come-PST-3p so train p.
 çəɾ-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.)

- (22) *taapōre e-pōri-ki eko, dui ṭōnk-ia noṭ cal-i-gōl-a-ṇi.*
 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) *mū paṭhō-pōṛh-a-re ete mōgnō ho-i-ja-ith-il-i je*
 I study-read-PTCP-LOC so absorbed become-CV-V2:go-PERF-PST-1s that
mū jaṇ-i-par-il-i nahī ketebeḷe bijuḷi cal-i-gōl-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) *Ramō-babu apōṇō-nku opekhyā kōr-ich-ōnti, sabsidha*
 R.-HON you(HON)-OBL:DAT waiting do-PERF-3p straight
bhitōrō-ku cal-i-ja-ntu.
 inside-DAT go-CV-V2:go-3p:IMP
 ‘Rāma 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) *dhōrmōghōṭō he-b-ō jaṇ-i ame sōmōst-e purbō-ru*
 strike be-FUT-3s know-CV we all-NOM before-ABL
cal-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 kahīki as-ich-ō? mō jhio tō 18 bōrsō hebō baha*
 you(POL) why come-PERF-2p my daughter PTCL 18 year for marriage
ho-i-gōl-a-ṇi.
 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) jɔdi kaha-rɔ kukurɔ mo dokano-ru mansɔ **kha-i-ja-e**,
 if somebody-GEN dog my shop-ABL meat eat-CV-V2:go-3s:HAB
 tebe mū ta-ku ain ɔnusare kɔɔɔ kɔr-i-par-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 kɔp kɔuθ-u **mil-il-a?** — dɔurɔ prɔtjogita-re prɔθɔmɔ
 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) tume tɔ kɔh-uth-il-ɔ ehi byuθi-klinik-re tumɔ-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 *miligɔle*. 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. kɔɔ-siθ **mil-i-gɔle** bɔhut bɔɔ 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 jɔdi kɔɔ-rɔ siθ **nɔ-mil-e?**
 and if c.-GEN s. NEG-be.available -3s:HAB
 ‘And if there is no seat in the corner?’

Some other verbs which frequently occur with the light verb *ja-* with emphasising function are:

bhāng-	/	bhāngija-	‘break’	pōḷa-	/	pōḷaija-	‘flee’
bhul-	/	bhulija-	‘forget’	pōṛ-	/	pōṛija-	‘fall’
khōs-	/	khōsija-	‘escape, fall’	rag-	/	ragija-	‘be angry’
mār-	/	mārija-	‘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) apōṇō-nkō ghōṛō-ṭi bhōḷō, kintu bhōṛa-ṭa 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 *jōḷ-* ‘burn’. Without a light verb it denotes an activity:

- (32) mōhōmō-bōṭi **jōḷ-ich-i**, au ebe bi **jōḷ-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, *jōḷija-* means ‘burn down’. In this case the sentence pattern “has V-ed and is still V-ing” is not possible:

- (33) * mōhōmō-bōṭi **jōḷ-i-ja-ich-i**, au ebe bi **jōḷ-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:

bōṛh-	‘grow’	bōṛhija-	‘grow out’
sukh-	‘dry’	sukhija-	‘dry out’
tōṛḷ-	‘melt’	tōṛḷija-	‘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, macho dam **de-i-ja-ɔ!**
 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) amɔ-rɔ ehi bohi-sɔbu ni-ontu, kali as-i skul-ru bhɔɾa
 we-GEN this book-all take-3p:IMP tomorrow come-CV s.-ABL fare
ne-i-j-ib-e ebɔŋ amɔ bohi-sɔbu **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 *kɔm-* 'diminish' is intransitive, hence *ja-* is used, whereas the causative form of *kɔm-* in (36b), *kɔma-*, is a transitive verb, hence *de-* is used.

- (36) a. ta-nkɔ kɔtha suŋ-iba pāi lokɔ-nkɔ-rɔ agrɔhɔ krɔme
 he-OBL matter hear-INF for people-OBL-GEN interest gradually
kɔm-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 muŋɔ-ɔbotha **kɔm-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.

- (37) a. *taa goɾə bhang-i-ja-ich-i.*
his leg break-CV-V2:go-PERF-3s
'He has broken his leg. (lit. His leg has broken.)'
- b. *Rebat̄i mo dərɔnɔ-ʔa bhang-i-de-ich-i.*
R. my mirror-ART break-CV-V2:give-PERF-3s
'Rebat̄i has broken my mirror.'
- (38) a. *au prayə pəndərə miniʔ bhitər-e bərsa çar-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 ghərə-ʔa çar-i-de-l-u-ŋi.*
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. *pəkaidei*, *baɾhidele* and *bincidele*.

- (39) *ta-nku bhokə kər-uth-iba-rə jan-i asənə pəka-i-de-i*
he-OBL:DAT hunger do-IPFV-INF-GEN know-CV seat put-CV-V2:give-CV
ta-nku aɣə kha-i-ba-ku baɾh-i-de-l-e ebəng kichi
he-OBL:DAT first eat-INF-DAT serve-CV-V2:give-PST-3p(HON) and some
səmɔyɔ ta-nkə pakhə-re ʔhia ho-i pənkha-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:

- | | | | | |
|---------------|---------|-----|------------------|----------------|
| <i>bik-</i> | 'sell' | vs. | <i>bikide-</i> | 'sell (off)' |
| <i>pəka-</i> | 'put' | vs. | <i>pəkeide-</i> | 'put (away)' |
| <i>phing-</i> | 'throw' | vs. | <i>phingide-</i> | '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) *ehi mudrə-ʔi-ku mū urddwə-ku phing-ib-i. ame dekh-ib-a kēū*
this coin-ART-DAT I upwards-DAT throw-FUT-1s we see-FUT-1pi which
pəkhɔ-ʔi upərə-ku pər-i-rəh-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) *rəʒogola kha-il-u?* — *hō, rəʒogola kha-il-i je taa mənji*
 <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 *rasagolā*? — 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-ṭa tō mū puruṇa khəbərə-kəgəjə səhitə bik-i-de-l-i!*
 that-ART PTCL I old news-paper 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:

<i>bəṛha-</i> / <i>bəṛhaide-</i>	'hand over'	<i>lekh-</i> / <i>lekhide-</i>	'write'
<i>de-</i> / <i>deide-</i>	'give'	<i>poṭha-</i> / <i>poṭhaide-</i>	'send'
<i>dekha-</i> / <i>dekhaide-</i>	'show'	<i>rəkh-</i> / <i>rəkhide-</i>	'put'
<i>kəh-</i> / <i>kəhide-</i>	'say'		

Consider some examples with *poṭha-* 'send'. Without a light verb the act of sending is not in focus.

(An author asks a publisher about his writings.)

- (43) *mū kichi lekha ebəng kahaṇi apəṇə-nkə pakho-ku poṭha-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 *poṭhai* 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 *poṭhaidebə* takes the light verb.

- (44) ehi lokɔ-rɔ phoʔo prɔtyekɔ thana ɔphisɔr-nkɔ pakhɔ-ku pɔʔha-i
 this person-GEN f. every station o.-OBL side-DAT send-CV
 adesɔ de-l-e je ehi lokɔ-ku pa-ile ta-ku girɔph
 order give-PST-3p(HON) that this person-DAT find-CONDCV he-DAT arrest
 kɔr-i Sɔdɔrɔ thana-ku pɔʔha-i-de-b-ɔ.
 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 *kɔh-* ‘say, speak’. In most cases it occurs without the light verb, e.g. *se kɔhila*, ... ‘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) mū tɔmɔ bou-nku kɔh-i-de-b-i je, tɔme sigarɛʔ
 I your(POL) mother-OBL:DAT say-CV-V2:give-FUT-1s that you(POL) c.
 pi-uch-ɔ?
 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) mū jɔubɔnɔ-re kɔɔŋɔ kɔɔŋɔ kɔr-ith-il-i birodhi dɔʔɔ lokɔ-nku
 I youth-LOC what RDP do-PERF-PST-1s opposing party people-OBL:DAT
 kɔh-i-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. *kholɔ* ‘open’ is less polite than *kholidiɔ* ‘open’. Consider (47) where the light verb *de-* adds more politeness.

- (47) e kagɔʔɔ-ti rɔkh-iba dɔrkar nah-ī, ta-ku
 this paper-ART keep-INF need be:NEG-3s it-DAT
 phing-i-(de-i)par-ɔ.
 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.

- (48) sar kete din he-l-a-ṇi bhokə-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) mū bhab-i-par-u-n-i je mo swami-nkə jənmə-dinə-re ki
 I think-CV-can-PROG-NEG-1s that my husband-OBL birth-day-LOC what
 upəharə de-b-i. — ta-nku goṭi-e nua sarṭ
 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) relinquitative
- (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 caliasəntu*, ‘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 *pherigəle*³⁶; then the royal family comes back to the kingdom, hence *pheriasile* in the second part.

(The gods had come down from heaven and had appeared to king Hariscandra, his wife and his son.)

- (50) debəta-mane raja, raṇi o Rohitaswə-ku asirbadə kəri swərgə-ku
 god-PL king queen and R.-DAT blessings do-CV heaven-DAT
pher-i-gəl-e. Hərisəndrə stri o putrə-ku songə-re ghen-i
 return-CV-V2:go:PST-3p H. wife and son-DAT together-LOC hold-CV

³⁶*gəl-* is the Past stem of the verb *ja-* ‘go’.

nijə rajyə-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) Kōngres prōthamə-ru ei bhul **kər-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) Nərcħəri au Rita prayə dui bərsə hela pərcəspərcə-ku bhələ

N. and R. almost two year for each.other-DAT good

pa-i-as-uch-ənti.

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** rati he-l-a-ni 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) kuaṛ-e? **pəcar-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, basəno **maj-i-as-e**

she-DAT cook-CV-V2:come-3s:HAB NEG utensil polish-CV-V2:come-3s:HAB

nahī, sejo **pəka-i-as-e** nahī, kichi kamə 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 *kamə* 'work' in (55) above).

- (56) e-pərjyಂತೆ mo-te lekh-a-pəṛh-a **as-u-nə-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 *bəs-* ‘sit’

The light verb *bəs-* ‘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. *jəgibəs-* ‘sit and watch’, *khaibəs-* ‘sit and eat’ or *ghuncibəs-* ‘move aside (sitting)’, as in (57).

(In the bus.)

- (57) ṭikie **ghunc-i-bəs-ib-e** ki?
 please move-CV-V2:sit-FUT-3p INT
 ‘Would you please move a bit?’

In other contexts the light verb *bəs-* has lost the meaning ‘sit’.

(The subject referent has fallen into the river.)

- (58) se kuḷə-ku uṭh-i-as-iba khyoṇi Madhəbə ta-ku
 he side-DAT get.up-CV-V2:come-INF moment M. he-DAT
maṛ-i-bəs-i təl-e pəka-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, Mādhaba pushed him and threw him down.’

(About a boy.)

- (59) se jid **dhər-i-bəs-ich-i** gədhə upər-e cəṛh-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 *bəs-* the boy is described as less obstinate.

- (60) sərəkəro səbu kətha-re **cap-i-pəka-i-bəs-ile** kəḷa-rə
 government all matter-LOC press-CV-V2:put-CV-V2:sit-CONDCV art-GEN
 bikaso ho-i-par-ib-ə 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 bohī lekhicalila* ‘he continued to read a book’.

- (61) se dinɔ-jakɔ **kha-i-cal-ich-i**.
 he day-all eat-CV-V2:walk-PERF-3s
 'He is eating all the day.'
- (62) choʔɔ choʔɔ kɔtha-re swami stri-nkɔ bhitɔr-e jhɔgɔɾa
 small RDP matter-LOC husband wife-OBL inside-LOC dispute
bɔh-i-cal-il-a.
 flow-CV-V2:walk-PST-3s
 'In little matters the quarrelling between husband and wife kept going.'
- (63) bɔrsɔ pɔr-e bɔrsɔ **gɔɾ-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 seʔɔ-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) muɳi bhitɔr-e suna-mohɔrɔ **bɔɾh-i-bɔɾhi-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'
 ʔak- / ʔakine- 'call, invite'
 jaɳ- / jaɳine- 'learn for oneself'
 kiɳ- / kiɳine- 'buy for oneself'
 khoj- / khojine- 'search for oneself'
 rɔkh- / rɔkhine- 'keep for oneself'

The light verb emphasises that the agent profits from the action.

(About a greedy rich man.)

- (66) lokɔ-mane ruɳɔ sujh-i-nɔ-par-ile semanɔ-nkɔ-rɔ ghɔrɔbɔɾi
 people-PL loan clear-CV-NEG-can-CONDCV they-OBL-GEN homestead
nilamɔ kɔr-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 ኢጋጎ ኢጋጎ ጎ-ታ ስቴል ጠጠጠ-ጠኪ ጎጃር-ገ
 then together what RDP take-INF hostel cook-OBL:DAT ask-CV
lekh-e-i-ne-itha-ጋ.
 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) **dhor-i-ni-ጋ,** tume ጠ-ስ-ገ-ገ-ታ ነገራ-ገ-ገ ስገጥ ጠጠጠ
 hold-CV-V2:take-2p:IMP you(POL) stay-PERF-INF building-LOC suddenly fire
 ለገ-ገ-ገ-ገ-ገ.
 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) ጠጠጠ ህጋግ ነገራ-ገ-ገ ስገ-ገ-ገ ጠጠጠ-ገ, ጠጠጠ ጠጠጠ-ገ-ገ
 your(POL) sister c.-ABL return-INF:PST time-LOC I you(POL):DAT k.
 ገ-ገ-ገ-ገ-ገ **dekh-i-ne-l-a,** ነገራ ጠጠጠ ስገ-ገ-ገ-ገ ጠጠጠ
 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) ጠጠጠ ጠጠጠ ጠጠጠ-ገ-ገ-ገ-ገ **dekh-i-ni-ጠጠጠ!**
 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, however, 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 tō ei tikeṭ-ru sara Bharatō **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 pōka- 'put'

The light verb *pōka-* 'put' indicates that the action happens suddenly, abruptly or spontaneously. Some frequent combinations are:

dhər- / dhəripōka-	'catch, hold'
hōs- / hōsipōka-	'break out in laughter'
kand- / kandipōka-	'cry suddenly'
kaṭ- / kaṭipōka-	'cut'
kōh- / kōhipōka-	'say suddenly'
kuṇḍha- / kuṇḍhaipōka-	'embrace'

Most of the verbs which are used with the light verb *pōka-* are transitive; with intransitive verbs *pōr-* is used (see 4.6.2.9). In (73) the light verb *pōka-* 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 sōmāyō-re Subratō ta-nku **dekh-i-pōka-i** kōh-il-a ...
 this time-LOC S. she-OBL:DAT see-CV-V2:put-CV say-PST-3s
 'At this moment, Subrata saw her and said to her ...'
- (74) mū goṭi-e birāṭi-ku **maṛ-i-pōka-il-i**.
 I CL-INDEF cat-DAT run.over-CV-V2:put-PST-1s
 'I ran over a cat this morning.'

(In a club for unmarried men, one person asks:)

- (75) jōn-e sōdōsyō jōdi apōṇō-nkō klob-rō sōbhyaṭh-iba beḷ-e
 CL-INDEF member if you(HON)-OBL c.-GEN member be-INF time-LOC
 bibahō **kōr-i-pōka-e**, tebe apōṇō ta-nku ki sasti
 marriage do-CV-V2:put-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.

- (76) mū beḷebeḷe micho kōtha **kōh-i-pōka-e**.
 I sometimes lie matter say-CV-V2:put-1s:HAB
 ‘I sometimes tell lies.’

The light verb *pōka-* often implies that the action happens quickly. Consider the following order:

- (77) e thia ho-i-rōh-ich-u kōṇṇo? ja sarhi-ṭa
 INTERJ standing be-CV-V2:stay-PERF-2s INT go:2s:IMP s.-ART
bōdōḷ-i-pōka!
 change-CV-V2:put:2s:IMP
 ‘Hey, what are you standing there? Go and quickly change your saree.’

In requests the light verb *pōka-* 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-pōka-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 kōṇṇo kōr-uch-o pagōḷo-nko pōri? kaco-ro gilaso-gurako
 INTERJ what do-PROG-2p mad-OBL like glass-GEN g.-PL
 emiti **bhang-i-pōka-uch-o** kahiki?
 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 *pōka-* 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-pōka-il-a**.
 he whole cake-ART eat-CV-V2:put-PST-3s
 ‘He ate the whole cake.’
- (81) mōntri-nko onupōstithi-re pi. e. bōṛo bhul **kōr-i-pōka-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.’

In some cases there is no difference between the light verbs *ja-* and *pəʔ-*:³⁷

- (86) *semane halia ho-i bəro-gəcho muʃ-re so-i-pəʔ-il-e /*
 they tired become-CV Banyan-tree root-LOC fall.asleep-CV-V2:fall-PST-3p
so-i-gəl-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 *pəʔ-* 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 honking for five minutes, and you do not move on!”)

- (87) *eha suŋ-i məhiʃa jəŋə-kə cəʃapəʃə kar-ru ohla-i-pəʔ-i*
 this hear-CV woman CL-DEF quickly c.-ABL come.down-CV-V2:fall-CV
kəh-il-e ...
 say-PST-3p(HON)
 ‘Hearing this, the woman got out of the car and said ...’

In orders and requests the light verb *pəʔ-* can convey the meaning of “just”. Consider (88):

(At a river. A asks B, “How will the water be?” — B:)

- (88) *nəi bhitəwə-ku də-i-pəʔ-ə, tume dekh-ib-ə.*
 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 *rəh-* ‘stay’

The verb *rəh-* 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. *rəh-* is frequently combined with ingressive verbs. Consider the following list with some of the combinations:

<i>bənc-</i> / <i>bəncirəh-</i>	‘keep living’
<i>cah-</i> / <i>cahirəh-</i>	‘keep looking’
<i>cup he-</i> / <i>cup hoirəh-</i>	‘keep quiet’
<i>jəg-</i> / <i>jəgirəh-</i>	‘keep watching’
<i>pəʔ-</i> / <i>pəʔirəh-</i>	‘keep lying’
<i>ʃia he-</i> / <i>ʃia hoirəh-</i>	‘keep standing’

³⁷Note the different uses of the light verbs with *bhang-* ‘break’: *bhangipəʔ-* is used for mental states, whereas *bhangija-* is used for breaking of objects.

In many of these combinations *rəh-* is not a light verb in the strict sense, since the converb marker *-ki* can be inserted.

- (89) se muko pəri seṭha-re ṭhia **ho-i(-ki)-rəh-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 *rəh-* cannot be understood in its literal sense “stay”, *ki*-insertion is not possible.

- (90) mo-te aji jae thənda **lag-i(*-ki)-rəh-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 *rəh-* is restricted to verbs, which are used intransitively; transitive verbs take the verb *rəkh-* ‘keep’ to express the same meaning. Consider some other examples:

(About an old man who had wanted to die.)

- (91) se puṇi məniso bhitə-e sneho məmota-rə ḍorə bandh-i
 he again man inside-LOC affection love-GEN rope bind-CV
bənc-i-rəh-iba-ku iccha kər-ənti.
 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 ərddhə-uloḡnə əbəstha-re sə mudrə-beḷa-re
 they half-naked state-LOC sea-shore-LOC
pəṛ-i(-ki)-rəh-ich-ənti.
 fall-CV-CV-V2:stay-PERF-3p
 ‘They are lying half naked on the beach.’

The light verb *rəh-* 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) cakərə o ənyanyə bhədrələkə əbak ho-i ta-nkə aṛə-ku
 servant and other gentleman stunned be-CV he:OBL side-DAT
cah-i-rəh-il-e.
 look-CV-V2:stay-PST-3p
 ‘The servant and the other gentleman were stunned and looked in his direction.’

When the expression *tankə aṛku cahirəhile* is replaced by *tanku dekh-*, which is a transitive construction, the light verb *rəkh-* is used instead of *rəh-* (*tanku dekhirəkhile*).

- (94) p̄rophesɔr sɔbubele niɔ bhabɔnɔ-re **bur-i-rɔh-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) goɕa-e ruɕi **kha-i-sar-ila** pɔr-e to peɕɔ au
 CL-INDEF chapati eat-CV-V2:finish-INF:PST after-LOC your(FAM) belly more
 kɔɔɔɔ 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) mū aɔɔɔ-nku jiniɔ **dekh-i-sar-ich-i**. kintu mū
 I you(HON)-OBL:DAT thing see-CV-V2:finish-PERF-1s but I
 ja-uch-i, ɔnyɔ kɔɔɔsi dokanɔ-ru kiɔ-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) bou, tume to goɕi-e pɔtrika-rɔ sɔmpadiko
 mother you(POL) PTCL CL-INDEF magazine-GEN editor
rɔh-i-sar-ich-ɔ, kɔɔɔ tume kɔh-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) agə Bəbly-ku **khu-a-i-sar-i** su-a-i-pəka.
 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.

- (101) tume e gəpə-bəhi-ṭi pəṭh-ib-ə? — mū **pəṭh-i-sar-ich-i**.
 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 *uṭh-* ‘get up’

The light verb *uṭh-* ‘get up’ indicates that the action takes place suddenly. It occurs mainly with intransitive verbs; very few transitive verbs are attested, e. g. *kəh-* ‘speak’. Some of the combinations are:

<i>ciṛ-</i> / <i>ciṛiṭh-</i>	‘get angry’	<i>jəl-</i> / <i>jəliṭh-</i>	‘burn’
<i>ciṭkarə kər-</i> / <i>kəriṭh-</i>	‘shout’	<i>kəh-</i> / <i>kəhiṭh-</i>	‘speak out’
<i>gəmbhīrə hē-</i> / <i>hoiṭh-</i>	‘become serious’	<i>thər-</i> / <i>thəriṭh-</i>	‘tremble’
<i>həs-</i> / <i>həsiṭh-</i>	‘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 *gəmbhīrə hoiṭh-* ‘become suddenly serious’ and other examples show.

There are two verbs, *kəh-* ‘speak’ and *həs-* ‘laugh’, which occur both with *pəka-* and *uṭh-*. In both cases the act of speaking / laughing occurs abruptly. However, *kəhiṭh-* 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) həṭṭhat Kəbita **kəh-i-uṭh-il-a** — “mə pakhə-ku semiti
 suddenly K. say-CV-V2:get.up-PST-3s I:OBL side-DAT like.that
goṭi-e dui-ṭa ciṭhi as-ith-il-a, inspeṭṭor.”
 CL-INDEF two-CL letter come-PERF-PST-3s i.
 ‘Suddenly Kabitā said, “I got one or two such letters, inspector.”’

By contrast, *kəhipəka-* rather signals that the persons in the situation are surprised about the act of speaking.

- (103) Sudhira-babu ophis bhitoro-ku pos-u posu ta-nko-ro sohokormi
 S.-HON o. inside-LOC enter-ICV RDP he-OBL-GEN colleague
 ta-nku dekh-i khusi-re **koh-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 Sudhira 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** koh-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 sposto **ho-i-uth-e** je, Oriya bhasa-re bohu
 this-ABL clear become-CV-V2:get.up-3s:HAB that O. language-LOC many
 Parsi-Arobi sobdo prabeso kor-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 **has-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 Rajibo-ro sukhila muhō-ti.
 school-DAT go-IPFV-INF R.-GEN pale face-ART
 ‘(About Rajiba’s father.) Before his eyes was Rajiba’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.³⁸ To this, the auxiliaries *ja*- or *he*- are added.

³⁸There is no passive of *as*- ‘come’, *dhā*- ‘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 lokɔ khoj-il-a.*
 child-PL-OBL:DAT that man search-PST-3s
 'That man looked for the children.'
- b. *pila-manɔ-nku se lokɔ dwara khoj-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-mane se lokɔ dwara khoj-a-gɔl-e.*
 child-PL that man by search-PASS-go:PST-3p
 'The children were looked for by that man.'

Other examples:

- (108) *mũ ɔsusthɔ th-iba-ru prɔti dinɔ mo-te ɔaktɔrkhana-ku*
 I ill be-INF-ABL every day I-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-ti-ku goti-e 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'.

- (110) e bōhi-ṭi-ku tini-ṭi bhasa-re onubado **kōr-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. *tō*) and interrogative words (e. g. *kāhiki* 'why') can be inserted.

- (111) ta-ku dōṇḍo **di-a** kāhiki **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 sōbu-dino khirō kiṇ-ōnti.
 my father all-day milk buy-3p:HAB
 'My father buys milk every day.'
 b. mo bapa-nkō dwara sōbu-dino **khirō** kiṇ-a-ja-e.
 my father-OBL by all-day milk buy-PASS-go-3s:HAB
 'Milk is bought by my father every day.'
- (113) Bharōtō-rō sōbu oncōḷō-re **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 **baksō-ṭi** jōṇ-e lokō dwara ṭek-a-ho-i-par-ib-ō?
 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) **sōbu gōribō lokō-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 converbs, but they are seldom used in colloquial Oriya.

- (116) nisa de-la sōmōyō-re rogi-ṭi hoṭhat hrud-rogo-re
 sedative give-INF:PST time-LOC patient-ART suddenly heart-illness-LOC
 punōscō akrantō ho-i-pōṛ-ith-il-e, jēūthi pāi hrud-rogo
 again attacked be-CV-V2:fall-PERF-PST-3p(HON) which for heart-illness
 bibhago bisēsōgyō-nku **ḍōk-a-ja-i** niscetōkō bibhago-ru
 department specialist-OBL:DAT call-PASS-V2:go-CV anaesthesia department-ABL

diphōrileṭor kardīak monīṭor ityadi abōsyōkō jōntropati turōntō
 d. c. m. etc. necessary instruments immediate
ṁṅ-a-ja-i cikitsa obyahōṭō rōkh-ith-ile mōdhyō
 bring-PASS-go-CV medicine incessant keep-PERF-CONDCV although
 rogi-ku mrutyu mukhō-ru bōnc-a-ja-i-par-i-nō-th-il-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 de-
 partment and the cardiac monitor were brought immediately and the
 medicine was applied incessantly, although the patient couldn't be saved
 from death.' (Newspaper)

Imperfective converbs with a passive verb form are possible, but even more unusual. Consider (117):

- (117) Ramō dwara **mṁr-a-ja-u** **jau** baghō-ṭi bōnc-i-gōl-a.
 R. by beat-PASS-go-ICV RDP tiger-ART live-CV-V2:go:PST-3s
 'Being beaten by Rāma, the tiger survived.'

Instead of a converb with passive morphology, the active form can appear (*kṛi* instead of *kṛajai* in (118)):

- (118) ekō debōdaru gōchō-re jōnōikō jubōkō-ku hōtya **kṛ-i**
 one d. tree-LOC one young.man-DAT murder do-CV
 jhul-a-i-di-a-ja-ith-il-a.
 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 **pṁrōs-a-jai-dela* (main verb + passive + *ja* + light verb) would be ungrammatical.

- (119) tiṅṅō, ṁṅḍa o kōlija bhōja **pṁrōs-i-di-a-gōl-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) sōmōstō-nku seṭhi-ki **dṁur-a-gōl-a**.
 all-OBL:DAT there-DAT run-PASS-go:PST-3s
 'Everybody ran there.'

In contrast to the active version of the sentence (*sōmōste dṁurigōle* 'everybody ran') the use of passive implies some force applied on the agent (*sōmōstōnku*).

(ii) *ja-* and *he-* passives often are semantically identical.³⁹ In negated sentences, however, the *he-* passive in addition has capabilitative meaning,⁴⁰ consider (121):

- (121) *semano-nko* *dwara e* *kamo* ***kor-a-ho-b-o-ni*** /
 they-OBL by this work do-PASS-be-FUT-3s-NEG
kor-a-j-ib-o-ni.
 do-PASS-go-FUT-3s-NEG
 '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. *mū bandhiheb-i* 'I'll be bound'. Its meaning often has an additional modal nuance.

- (122) *rasta upor-e* *phutbol* ***khel-i-ho-b-o*** *nahi*.
 road top-LOC f. play-CV-be-FUT-3s NEG
 'Football cannot be played on the road.'

- (123) *mukta-haro* *gola-re* *pindh-ith-iba* *mohila* *je* *kete* *kete* *lokhyo*
 pearl-chain neck-LOC wear-PERF-INF woman PTCL how.many RDP 100,000
ṭanka-ro *haro* *pindh-ich-onti*, *taha* *otokolo* ***kor-i-hu-e*** *nahi*.
 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) *ete boro* *je* *maa-nku* *no-pocar-i* *baharo-ku* ***ja-i-ho-b-o***.
 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 (*bujh-* 'understand', *cinh-* 'recognise', *dekh-* 'see', *dhor-* 'catch', *jan-* 'know-') appear with the passive *-a* and agree with the underlying object, which is in the nominative case.

- (125) a. *e* *khoboro* *mo* *dwara* *somosto-nku* ***jan-a-por-il-a***.
 this news I:OBL by all-OBL:DAT know-PASS-fall-PST-3s
 'This news was made known by me to everybody.'

³⁹Klaiman (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).

⁴⁰Mukherjee (1985) ascribes this meaning to the Bengali "go-passive".

b. bhōdrō-lokō-mane mo dwara sōmōstō-nku **jōṅ-a-pōṛ-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) karōṅō kōṅō, taha **bujh-a-pōṛ-u-nah-ī**.
reason what that understand-PASS-fall-PROG-NEG-3s
'It cannot be understood what the reason is.'

The difference between the two auxiliaries *pōṛ-* and *ja-* lies in the dimension of intention: *pōṛ-* indicates that the action happens unintentionally (yet not always, see (125a)), *ja-* implies intention. Compare the two sentences:

- (127) semane **jōṅ-a-ja-nti**. vs. semane **jōṅ-a-pōṛ-ōnti**.
they know-PASS-go-3p:HAB 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', *pōṛ-* '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 *nō*, *bi* 'also', the particle *tō*). However, *par-* can occur on its own with the same modal function:

(Father to a son about the son's escapade with *Sīmā*.)

- (128) tu hueto kōh-ib-u "bapa, mū Sima sōhito sōbu sōmporkō
you(FAM) maybe say-FUT-2s father I S. with all relationship
tuta-i-de-b-i," kintu Tōṛōṅō, **par-ib-u nahī**.
settle-CV-V2:give-FUT-1s but T. can-FUT-2s NEG
'Maybe you will say, "Father I'll stop every relationship with *Sīmā*", but Tapana, 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 **pōṛh-i-par-ib-ō?**
you(POL) H. read-CV-can-FUT-2p
'Can you read Hindi?'

- (130) citabaghō pōsu-manō-nkō mōdhyō-re sōbu-ṭharū jor-re
 leopard animal-PL-OBL middle-LOC all-ABL strength-LOC
dōur-i-par-ōnti.
 run-CV-can-3p
 'Leopards can run the fastest of all animals.'

Ability can be expressed by the Habitual as well:

- (131) se Bōngōla kōh-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-i-par-uch-u?
 CL-INDEF l. 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-bhagyo, guḷi-ṭi lōkhyō-bhedō kōr-i-par-il-a nahī.
 ill-luck bullet-ART aim-reaching do-CV-can-PST-3s NEG
 'Unfortunately, the bullet couldn't reach the aim.'
- (134) ṣubidha ṣōmōyo-re niyōmō man-i cōḷ-iba ṣōmbhōbō
 difficulty time-LOC order obey-CV run-INF possible
ho-i-nō-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 *miḷ-* 'be available':

- (135) dui prōkarō badōḷō dekh-iba-ku miḷ-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 *jaṇ-* 'know', *bujh-* 'understand', *cihn-* 'recognise', *dekh-* 'see' and *suṇ-* '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 *jaṇ-*, which means 'know, learn' without the modal verb *par-*:

- (136) apəŋə tə **jaŋ-ənti** swami-rə seba stri-rə pəɾəmə
 you(HON) PTCL know-3p:HAB husband-GEN service wife-GEN best
 kərtəbɔyə.
 duty
 'You surely know that the wife's first duty is the husband's service.'
- (137) mə-rə se bisəyə-re ədhikə **jaŋ-iba-rə** 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 **jaŋ-i-par-il-e** nahī.
 he know-CV-can-PST-3p(HON) NEG
 'He did not notice it.'

(The speaker is blind.)

- (139) basəna **jaŋ-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 tə həl-re **dekh-i-par-il-i-ni**.
 I 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 ciṭhi-ṭi 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 (*nə-kha-i* 'without eating') construction is used.

- (142) mū tini dinə kichi **kha-i-par-i-nə-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 dino kichi **nə-kha-i rəh-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 bərttoman sinema dekh-i **ja-i-par-e.**
 he now cinema see-CV go-CV-can-3s:HAB
 'He may go to see the film now.'
- (145) pila beḷ-e mū sinema dekh-iba-ku **ja-i-par-u-nə-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 chatrə-rə namə **jaṅ-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 besi səməyo **bənc-i-nə-par-ə.**
 you(POL) maybe much time live-CV-NEG-can-2p:HAB
 'You may not live for a long time.'
- (148) aji tumə-manə-nkə-rə aḡə-re jaha ekə biratə prəsno, se prəsno
 today you(POL)-PL-OBL-GEN before-LOC what one big question he question
 hueto taa aḡə-re kichi **nə-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) Urmīḷa Debi ebe ḡə-r-e th-ib-e? — **tha-i-par-ənti,**
 U. D. now house-LOC be-FUT-3p(HON) be-CV-can-3p(HON):HAB
nə-tha-i bi par-ənti.
 NEG-be-CV also can-3p(HON):HAB
 'Could Ūrmīḷa Debī 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 expressed. The main verb takes perfect (150, 151) or imperfective aspect (152, 153).

- (150) *se ta-nkə pakho-ku gətəkali as-i-tha-i-par-onti.*
 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 Haoḍa-re khoj-ɔ, setha-re kēūṭhi*
 you(POL) go-CV H.-LOC search-2p:IMP there-LOC somewhere
pər-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 tɔmɔ pəkət-ru tɔnka 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-bhəli ɔnyɔ kəuṇəsi prəḍəkt mədhyə aṇəṇə-nkə səhərə-rɔ*
 this-like other any p. also you(HON)-OBL town-GEN
dokanɔ-re miḷ-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-ṭi sasu ghṛ-e prayṁ kṛthabartta kṛ-l-a nahī.
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) tōme bodhe eṭhi pṛṭi dino khṇṇṇṇ-kagojṇ di-ṇ?
you(POL) apparently here every day news-paper give-2p:HAB
'Apparently you supply the newspapers here every day?'

There is one formal means to derive adverbs from adjectives, namely the suffix *-ṭṇ*, which is borrowed from Sanskrit, e.g. *sadhṛṇṇṇ* 'usual' vs. *sadhṛṇṇṇṭṇ* 'usually' (see 3.2.5).

Other adverbs are denominal or deverbal forms, e.g. *bodhe* 'apparently' (lit. *bodhṇ* '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

aji	'today'	ago	'first'
kali	'tomorrow, yesterday' ²	deri	'late'
pohorodino	'day before yesterday, day after tomorrow'	eina	'now'
barambaro	'again and again'	odhuna	'right now'
phere, puni	'again'	sobubele	'always'
		sobudino	'always'
		turonto	'immediately'

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 *goto* 'last' to mean 'tomorrow' respectively 'yesterday'.

- (3) mo-ro mon-e he-uch-i se **kali** ghorō-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 baro th-il-a? — **kali** sonibarō th-il-a.
yesterday INT day be-PST-3s yesterday Saturday be-PST-3s
'Which day was yesterday? — Yesterday was Saturday.'
- (5) daktor asonta **kali-ṭharu** onuposthito 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 khoborokagjo* 'today's newspaper'.

5.1.2 Modal adverbs

(i) There are four modal adverbs, which belong to the domain of epistemic modality:

bodhe, bodhohue	'apparently' < <i>bodh-e</i> 'perception-LOC' + <i>hu-e</i> 'be-3s:HAB'
hueto	'perhaps' < <i>hu-e</i> 'be-3s:HAB' + <i>to</i> PTCL
nisce, niscoyo	'certainly'
obosyo	'certainly, definitely'

¹Note the more formal variants *bortoman* 'now', *prayto* 'often', *punorbaro* 'again', *somproti* 'now', *sarboda* 'always' and *tot khyonat* 'immediately'.

²Cf. *aji-kali* 'nowadays'.

(An old man goes to listen the reading of the Puranas every day. Somebody says to him:)

- (6) tōme **bodhohue** Puraṇo suṇ-iba-ku khub bhōlo pa-ṅ.
 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) jṅ-e tō **niscōyo** pōṛh-e.
 CL-INDEF PTCL certainly read-3s:HAB
 'At least one person reads them.'

(About an unknown person.)

- (8) **ṅbōsyō** se Puna-ru je as-ich-ṅnti sethi-re sōndehō
 definitely he P.-ABL PTCL come-PERF-3p(HON) that-LOC doubt
 nah-ī.
 be:NEG-3s
 'There is no doubt that he has come from Poona.'

(ii) Other modal adverbs are:

pōra relevance particle
 sina <on the one hand>
 sōte 'really' < sōt-e 'truth-LOC'
 ṭikie, ṭike 'please' cf. ṭiki 'little'

- (9) oja, **sōte** mo pāi mṅṅor kiṅ-i-de-b-ṅ?
 grandfather really I:OBL for m. buy-CV-V2:give-FUT-2p
 'Grandfather, will you really buy a car for me?'

pōra. In declarative sentences the modal adverb *pōra* 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) tumō-ku bhokō he-u-ṅ-th-ib-ṅ. tume **pōra** ebe
 you(POL)-DAT hunger be-IPFV-NEG-AUX-FUT-3s you(POL) PTCL now
 goṭa-e sōktō mōdhyanhō bhojṅō kōr-ich-ṅ.
 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 *pōra* 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.)

- (11) A: apəno ete kotha ba jaṅ-il-e kipəri? B: mū pəra Oṛisa
 you(HON) so.much matter PTCL know-PST-3p how I PTCL O.
 pərbəpərbəni upər-e goṭa-e pərbəndhə lekḥ-uch-i.
 festival top-LOC CL-INDEF 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 *pəra* is used to suggest an affirmative answer.

- (12) Oṛisa-rə pərdhanə bhasa Oṛia pəra? — h̄s.
 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) təme **sina** chuṭi pa-ib-ə. mo-rə chuṭi kah-ī? puə kəəno amə-ku
 you(POL) PTCL leave find-FUT-2p I-GEN leave where-3s son INT we-DAT
 randh-i-baṅh-i kha-iba-ku de-b-ə?
 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-i-par-il-ə nahī, mū ṭikie cesta kər-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*, *ṭi* ‘much’, see 3.2.6), *bəṛə* ‘big’ is an adjective.

ahuri	‘more’	ahuri bəṛə bəṛə kamə	‘bigger things’
bes(i)	‘very; much’	səhəṛəṭharu besi durə	‘far away from the town’
bhari	‘very’	bhari bhəlo paiba	‘to like much’

³*sina* in this function corresponds to German *zwar* or Ancient Greek *men*.

bəɾə	'very; big'	bəɾə	<i>muskil</i>	'very difficult'
khub	'very; much'	khub	<i>sətkaɾə kəɾiba</i>	'to welcome much'
əti	'very, too'	<i>ɟəne əti sərəɔlə lokə</i>		'a very honest man'
prəyɔ	'hardly, almost' ⁴	<i>prəyɔ kəɾie bəɾsə pəre</i>		'after almost 20 years'

- (15) *ta-nkə bapa kemiti ɔch-ɔnti?* — se **bəɾə** ɔsusthə.
 he-OBL father how be-3p(HON) he very ill
 'How is his father? — He's very ill.'
- (16) *təme mo-te nə-pa-i khub hətəsə 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-harə dam ahuri ɔdhikə pəɾ-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 *ɟəma* 'ever, only' or *moɟe* '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'
	kebɔɔ	'only'
	khali	'only', elsewhere 'empty'
	ɬhik	'just, precisely', elsewhere 'correct'
postposed:	bi	'also, even'
	məðhyə	'also, even', elsewhere 'middle'
	matrə	(also preposed) 'only', elsewhere 'but' ⁵
	suddha	'even', elsewhere 'by'

(i) The focus particles *bi*⁶ and *məðhyə* 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, *məðhyə* more to the formal style.

- (18) *mū bi tumə ghəɾə-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 *prəyɔ* is used as determiner with the meaning 'about', e.g. *prəyɔ 60 həjar dərsəkə* 'about 60,000 spectators'.

⁵It is used as adjective as well, e.g. *torə ekə-matrə səntəɔ* 'your only child'.

⁶*bi* 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.

- (19) semane **mōdhyō** amō bhōḷi choṭo pila.
 they also we:OBL like small child
 ‘Even they are kids like us.’
- (20) mo bhōṇi Hindi kuh-e. se Hindi poṛh-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 debōta-mano-nku **bi** jiṇ-i-ja-ich-ō.
 you(POL) god-PL-OBL:DAT even win-CV-V2:go-PERF-2p
 ‘You even have outdone the gods.’
- (22) se niḷo kōtha ṭikie **bi** cinta kōr-u-nō-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) pōcho-ku thōr-e **suddha** pher-i-cah-il-a nahī.
 behind-DAT time-INDEF even return-CV-look-PST-3s NEG
 ‘She didn’t look back even once.’

(ii) *khali*, *matrō* and *kebōḷo* have restrictive function: They signal that the proposition can be applied exclusively to the focused constituent (“only”).

- (24) oṭo-rō kubjo-re **khali** cōrbo bhōrtti ho-i-rōh-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) mū thōr-e **matrō** Puri ja-ich-i.
 I time-INDEF only P. go-PERF-1s
 ‘I have been to Puri only once.’
- (26) se **kebōḷo** goṭa-e swōpno 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) bōrtōman, **thik** ghōr-u bahar-iba aḷo-ru.
 now just house-ABL go.out-INF before-ABL
 ‘Now, just before leaving from home.’

(What was Mantu's relationship to Śruti?)

- (28) **ṭhik** goṭa-e bondhu bhōli ...
 just CL-INDEF friend like
 'Just like a friend ...'

(The doctor to the patient:)

- (29) **ṭhik** kēūṭhi koṣṭo 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** ṭikie somoyo di-ontu.
 I-DAT more a.little time give-3p:IMP
 'Give me some more time.'
- (31) mū **au** koh-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-ṭhu Ṭulṭu **au** saikel-re skul-ku j-ib-ᵛ-ni.
 tomorrow-ABL T. more c.-LOC s.-DAT go-FUT-3s-NEG
 'From tomorrow on Ṭulṭu won't go to school by cycle anymore.'

The particle *au* can have modal function in questions:

- (33) mū **au** kōṅṅo 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 kōṅṅosi byōkti-ku sōndehōjōṅkō sthiti-re dekh-ile
 people-PL any person-DAT doubtful circumstance-LOC see-CONDCV
 ta-ku bhab-uch-onti e sehi gyang-rō 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.

bege	‘quickly’	ekuṭia	‘alone’
bhor	‘early’	həṭhat	‘suddenly’
bilkul	‘completely’	jhəṭə	‘quickly’
cəncəḷə	‘fast’	jəldi	‘quickly’
ekəṭhi	‘together’	pura(puri)	‘completely’
ekəḍəm	‘totally’	sighrə	‘early, quickly’

Some adverbs have the formal property of being reduplicated forms:

aste aste	‘slowly’	krəme krəme	‘gradually’
beḷe beḷe	‘sometimes’	məjhire məjhire	‘now and then’
beḷəku beḷə	‘more and more’	pəre pəre	‘gradually’
dhire dhire	‘slowly, softly’	sange sange	‘immediately’
ghəno ghəno	‘continuously’	sathe sathe	‘quickly’
jor jor	‘speedily’		

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 (*bi* ‘also’, see 5.1.4, *hī* 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 *hī*

(i) The emphatic particle *hī* (with variants *ī*, *hē*) focuses on the constituent to which it is attached. The emphasised element can be a word, a phrase or a clause.

- (1) praṇi-manə-nkə mədhyə-re keboḷə mənusyə **hī** bhasa byəboharə
 living.being-PL-OBL middle-LOC only man EMPH language use
 kər-e.
 do-3s:HAB
 ‘Among the living beings, only man uses language.’
- (2) ebe jaṇ-uch-i **mū-ī** bodhəhue səbu ənrthə-rə muḷə.
 now learn-PROG-1s I-EMPH perhaps all disturbance-GEN root
 ‘Now I learn that maybe it is me who is the cause of all disturbances.’

- (3) “purṇṇocchedo” ba “.” cihṇo sahito ame poricito. eha bibruti ba
 full.stop or sign with we acquainted this statement or
 mōntobyō-rō sesō-ku hī sucito kōr-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) atmō-prōsōnsa-re nij-e nijō-ku bhul-i-j-iba hī
 self-praise-LOC REFL-NOM REFL-DAT forget-CV-V2:go-INF EMPH
 kukuṛa-ṭi-rō mrutyu-rō karōṇo ho-ith-il-a.
 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) ośodho kōṇṇo? mo bil dekh-ile tō tume dōṛ-ib-ō hī
 medicine what my b. see-CONDCV PTCL you(POL) run-FUT-2p EMPH
 dōṛibō.
 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*:

- (7) tu kəɔŋə kha-ib-u ki lo?
 you(FAM) what eat-FUT-2s INT PTCL
 'What will you eat?'
- (8) Sita, eiṭhi-ki aa lo?
 S. here-DAT come:2s:IMP PTCL
 'Sītā, come here!'
- (9) din-e paṇḍa paṇḍia-ṇi-ku kəh-il-a — "paṇḍia-ṇi lo, piṭha
 day-INDEF p. p.-F-DAT say-PST-3s p.-F PTCL cake
 kə-l-u nahī?"
 do-PST-2s NEG
 'One day the paṇḍā (= class of brahmans) said to his wife, "Paṇḍiāṇi, didn't you make a cake?"' (Oriya folktale)

(ii) Example with *re*:

(Two young men are talking to each other.)

- (10) are bhail tu dui-ḍi-ṭa stri-ku ne-i kemiti cə|-uch-ə
 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 kamə kər-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) "kəɔŋə dekh-i-as-il-ə?" — "kichi nāī ma, tu ja."
 what see-CV-V2:come-PST-2p anything NEG PTCL you(FAM) go:2s:IMP
 etiki kəh-i raja dirghə-swasə chaṛ-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 *ʈi* is used for emphasis.

- (13) *mū j-ib-i bo.*
 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 *ʈi*, the speaker wants to be assured whether he should go or not.

- (14) *mū j-ib-i ʈi? nɔ-j-ib-i jɔdi, kɔh-i-di-ɔ.*
 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 ruʈi kɔr-ib-u ʈi?*
 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
- mɔ* pejorative particle
- na* insistence particle
- tɔ* 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 aɔɔɔ-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-pəri sundər-i o guṇoboti kōnya-ku bibha he-ba pāĩ kaha-rō
 this-like beautiful-F and good bride-DAT marriage be-INF for anybody-GEN
ba iccha nō-he-b-ō?
 PTCL desire NEG-be-FUT-2s

‘Who would not like to marry such a beautiful and good girl?’

- (18) ta-nkō pāĩ eha-ṭharu bhōḷi oḍhikō khusi-rō khōbōrō au **ba** kōṇṇō
 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 ascərjyo! ei **je** mo-rō prōkrutō raṇi Bōnōsobha puō-ku
 what surprise this PTCL I-GEN true queen B. son-DAT
 dhər-i gelō kər-uch-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 kōṇṇō dərkar **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 pāĩ iccha oḥ-i **je**, hele joṇ-e buddhimōti jhio
 marriage be-INF for wish be-3s PTCL but CL-INDEF intelligent girl
 khoj-uch-i.
 search-PROG-1s

‘It is true, I’d like to get married, but I am looking for an intelligent girl.’

(iii) The particle *mō* expresses the speaker’s anger.

- (22) sei-ṭa kie mɔ?
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 kɔɔɔ he-uch-ɔ mɔ?
INTERJ like.this what be-PROG-2p PTCL

‘Hey, what are you doing?’

The particle *mɔ* is used to push the hearer to an action.

(The speaker is advertising a car.)

- (24) Leksɔs el. es. 400 cɔrh-ɔntu mɔ!
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-rɔ puɔ 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. gɔtɔ thɔrɔ dɔndɔ de-la
you(FAM) again come-PST-2s-MIR last time punishment give-INF:PST
beɛ-e mū to-te kɔh-uth-il-i na je cori kɔr-i mɔ
time-LOC I you(FAM)-DAT say-IPFV-PST-1s PTCL that theft do-CV my
pakho-re as-i tu eniki muhɔ dekh-a-ib-u nahĩ.
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! aporo kipori jaŋ-il-e doya kər-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 hoiraŋo ho-i-gəl-i **na!**
 I problem be-CV-V2:go:PST-1s PTCL
 ‘(You see,) I got really into problems!’

(v) The postposed particle *tə* 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 *tə*. The pragmatic function of the statement containing *tə* is to recall a fact the addressee should know.

- (30) A: təme ciŋhi-ŋa post kər-iba-ku bhul-i-gəl-ɔ? — B: are na,
 you(POL) letter-ART p. do-INF-DAT forget-CV-V2:go-2p oh no
 mū bhul-i-n-i. aji **tə** robibaro, ɖakə-ghoro bəndo.
 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. *tə* expresses that this expectation is not fulfilled.

- (31) A: mū bahar-ila beŋ-e čota-ŋa mo pakho-re th-il-a,
 I go.out-INF:PST time-LOC umbrella-ART I:OBL side-LOC be-PST-3s
 ebe **tə** nahī. — B: tume bəs-re čar-i-de-ith-ib-ɔ.
 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 *tə* expresses the expectation that the answer will be affirmative (as was noted for *pəra* above). Consider (32) and (33):

(Talking about a birthday party.)

- (32) səməst-e bhari məja kər-ith-ib-ɔ. nuh-ē? to-rɔ tɔ nua
 all-NOM very fun do-PERF-FUT-2p be:NEG-3s you(FAM)-GEN PTCL new
 jama ho-ith-ib-ɔ? — hɔ̃, 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 tɔ risərɔc kər-uth-ib-ɔ? — hɔ̃, se risərɔc kər-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 Sunitā 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) kyamera kiŋ-ib-e tɔ! ʃhik ɔch-i. bər̃hia mədɛl-ʃie bach-ɔntu.
 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.’

tɔ can be used as coordinating conjunction, e. g. in (35) *tɔ* can be replaced by *au* ‘and’.

- (35) ketebele pəri kɔtha tɔ, ketebele bhutɔ kɔtha kɔh-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 *tɔ* 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 tɔ, pura jhiɔ-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) sɔbu tɔ jhərɔ-bɔrsa-re gɔl-a, kha-ib-ɔ kɔɔɔɔ?
 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-nkō* in (1).

- (1) se sōbubeḷe ta-nkō **stri-nkō** 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’	pōri	‘like, as if’
dwarā	‘by’	pōrjyōntō	‘until’
pāī	‘for’	sōhō, sōhito	‘with’

These postpositions are illustrated in 5.3.2. Others are:

nimōnte ‘for’. It is used for purposive clauses as well (see 7.4.6, p. 379).

- (2) as-ōnta biswō kik bōksing campīōnsip **nimōnte** Bharōtiyō dōḷō-rō
 come-PTCP world k. b. ch. for Indian team-GEN
 mōnōnōyōntō kōr-a-j-ib-ō.
 selection do-PASS-go-FUT-3s
 ‘The selection of the Indian group for the coming universal kick boxing
 championship will be made.’ (Newspaper)

ōnusare ‘according to’

- (3) ain ōnusare dōḅḅō paiba ‘be punished according to the law’
 tankō mōtō ōnusare ‘according to his opinion’
 hisābō ōnusare 37 jōḅō ... ‘according to the counting 37 people ...’

ōpekhyā ‘than’. This postposition marks the standard of comparison, see 3.2.4.

prōti ‘towards’ (elsewhere ‘each’)

- (4) posākō prōti nōjōrō deba ‘care about dress’
 sōngitō prōti agrōhi ‘interested in music’
 swami prōti strirō kōrttōbyō ‘the wife’s duty towards the husband’

- (5) se pəʀosi-manə-nkə pɾəti rukhyə byəbəhərə kər-e.
 she neighbour-PL-OBL towards rude behaviour do-3s:HAB
 'She is rude to her neighbours.'

suddha 'by' (elsewhere 'even')

- (6) e masə sesə **suddha** tumə bəhi sesə he-b-ɔ?
 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, *bhəʃi* 'like, so that' (< *bhəʃ-i* be mistaken-CV 'mistaken'), *jāē / jae* 'until' (< *jā-ē* go-1s:IMP 'may I go'). Both items are illustrated in 5.3.2. Other lexicalised postpositions are:

chəʀa 'besides' (< *chəʀ-a* leave-NOM 'left')

- (7) Oɾia **chəʀa** tume ki ki bhasa jaŋ-ɔ?
 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) Kəlikəta dei Oɾisaku asiba 'come to Orissa via Calcutta'
 dəura dei məriba 'die by the rope'
 jhəɾəka dei baharəku əneiba 'look out by the window'

gheni 'for, with' (< *ghen-i* grant-CV 'having granted')

- (9) raja sigrə lokə-manə-nkə gheni rajədhani-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-ɔ* be-FUT-3s 'it will be'), which, in contrast to Past Simple form, adds some vagueness to the statement.

- (10) semane ghəŋta-e **hela** eʃha-re əpekhyə kər-ich-ənti.
 they hour-INDEF for here-LOC waiting do-PERF-3p
 'They have been waiting here for an hour.'
- (11) gətə kichi dino **hebo** barəmbarə bərsa jogū casə-re khyəti
 past some day for again rain because farming-LOC loss
 pəriləkhitə 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 bōndo* ‘closed because of holidays’
goṭie durghoṭṭṇa jogū oṭṭakiba ‘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) *apōṇo-nko lagi mū boṛo cintito th-il-i, moṇima.*
 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 *-nko* confirms the postpositional status of the items listed above, e.g. *bandhōbi-mano-nko choṛa* ‘except the girl-friends’, *Mōhapatrō-nko bhōli* ‘like Mahāpātra’. If the item still functions as verb, the preceding noun has object function and cannot take *-nko*, but the dative case marker *-nku*.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) *bakso-ti-ro upōro-ta sagua o tolo-ta kōla.*
 box-ART-GEN top-ART green and bottom-ART black
 ‘The top of the box is green and the bottom is black.’
- (15) *semane pahaco-re tolo-ku ohla-il-e.*
 they steps-LOC bottom-DAT come.down-PST-3p
 ‘They walked down the steps.’
- (16) *mū dukho-ku khub pakho-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) *steson baharoku calijiba* ‘go outside of the station’
jongolo bahare rohiba ‘stay outside of the forest’
ghoro baharu oḷia karhiba ‘take out the dirt from the house’
- (18) *se seso-re ekō kuria ghoro nikotō-re pōhōnc-il-e.*
 he end-LOC one hut house near-LOC reach-PST-3p
 ‘Finally, he arrived near a hut.’

⁷There is a very frequent converb form, functioning like a postposition, *dhōri* (< *dhōr-* ‘take’), which however takes complements marked for dative case, e.g. *se panco-jōṇo jhio-nku dhōri pheriasila* ‘He returned with the five girls’.

⁸Variant loaned from Sanskrit *mōdhyō*.

Table 5.1: Relational nouns

Noun	dative (direction)	ablative (source)	locative (location)
agɔ 'front'	agɔ-ku 'before'	agɔ-ru 'before'	agɔ-re 'before'
aɾɔ 'side'	aɾɔ-ku 'at'	aɾ-u 'from'	aɾ-e 'at'
baharɔ 'exterior'	baharɔ-ku 'out'	bahar-u 'out of'	bahar-e 'outside'
beɭɔ 'time'	beɭɔ-ku 'at' (temporal)	beɭ-u 'since'	beɭ-e 'at' (temporal)
bhitɔɾɔ 'inside'	bhitɔɾɔ-ku 'into'	bhitɔɾ-u 'from inside'	bhitɔɾ-e 'inside'
mɔjhi ⁸ 'middle'	mɔjhi-ku 'into the middle'	mɔjhi-ru 'from the middle'	mɔjhi-re 'in the middle'
nikɔtɔ 'near'	nikɔtɔ-ku 'near to'	nikɔtɔ-ru 'near from'	nikɔtɔ-re 'near'
pakhɔ 'side'	pakhɔ-ku 'towards'	pakhɔ-ru 'from'	pakhɔ-re 'near'
pɔchɔ 'back'	pɔchɔ-ku 'behind'	pɔchɔ-ru 'from behind'	pɔchɔ-re 'behind'
pɔɾɔ 'next'	pɔɾɔ-ku 'after'	pɔɾɔ-ɬharu 'from'	pɔɾ-e 'after'
pɔtɔ 'side'	pɔtɔ-ku 'towards'	pɔtɔ-ru 'from'	pɔt-e 'at'
purbɔ 'east'		purbɔ-ru 'before'	purb-e 'ago'
samna 'front'	samna-ku 'to the front'	samna-ru 'from the front'	samna-re 'in front'
sɔmmukhɔ 'front'	sɔmmukhɔ-ku 'to the front'	sɔmmukhɔ-ru 'from the front'	sɔmmukhɔ-re 'in front'
tɔɭɔ 'bottom'	tɔɭɔ-ku 'downwards'	tɔɭ-u 'from under'	tɔɭ-e 'under, ago'
upɔɾɔ 'top'	upɔɾɔ-ku 'upwards'	upɔɾ-u 'from above'	upɔɾ-e 'on'

- (19) goṭi-e kukurō ta-nkō pōchō-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 ghōrō khol-a-gōl-a.
R.-OBL front-LOC room open-PASS-go:PST-3s
'In front of Rājeśa (i. e. in his presence) the room was opened.'
- (21) draibhār brij-rō ṭhik sōmmukhō-re bōs-ṭi-ku oṭōk-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:

bate 'by way of' (< baṭō 'way')

(What happens when you tell him something?)

- (22) tebe se ta-ku taa di kanō-re suṇ-ib-ō au songe songe taa muhō
then he it-DAT his two ear-LOC listen-FUT-3s and immediately his mouth
bate baharō 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.'

bhabe 'as' (< bhabō 'manner')

- (23) mōṇisō-rō sōbu-ṭhu besi biswōstō prāṇi **bhabe** kukurō
man-GEN all-ABL much faithful animal as dog
jōṇ-a-suṇ-a.
know-PTCP-hear-PTCP
'The dog is known as the animal most faithful to man.'

byōtītō 'except' (< byōtītō 'passed away')

- (24) Hōri-nkō **byōtītō** au kie rōkhya kōr-ib-ō?
H.-OBL except more who salvation do-FUT-3s
'Who else than Hari will bring salvation?'

hetu 'because' (< hetu 'reason')

- (25) oṣusthōta **hetu** deri-re uṭh-uchi.
ill.health because late-LOC get.up-PROG-1s
'I am getting up late because of my ill health.'

joge 'by' (< jōgō 'joining')

- (26) dako joge 'by mail'
kar joge buliba 'travel by car'
- (27) nilamo inṭorneṭ joge cal-ib-ɔ.
auction i. by go-FUT-3s
'The auction will take place via internet.'

kɔtha 'about' (< *kɔtha* 'matter, speech')

- (28) maa ebe mo **kɔtha** bhab-uth-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 kiṅ-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.'

sangore 'with' (< *sangɔ* 'friend') and **songe** 'with' (< *songɔ* 'association'); for examples see p. 326.

sottwe 'in spite of' (< *sottwɔ* 'soul')

- (30) dɔkhiṅɔ-purbɔ Esia-rɔ orthonoitiko obonitɔ **sottwe** mukta cijo-ṭi
south-east A.-GEN economical depression in.spite.of pearl thing-ART
e-pori adɔrɔniyo je, taha-rɔ karɔbarɔ kɔdapi kɔm-ib-ɔ nahī.
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).

ago 'front': **agore** / **agoru** 'before'. The relational noun *ago* 'front' is used to express spatial as well as temporal relations (cf. *ago siṭ* 'front seat' and the use as adverb *ago* 'first'). *agore* denotes anterior location, *agoku* direction and *agoru* source or temporal priority. In addition, *agoru* expresses the interclausal relation of posteriority (see p. 378).

- (31) *nijo akhi agore* 'before one's own eyes'
agoku caliba 'move on'
agoru asiba 'approach (lit. come from in front of)'
ajithu agoru 'before today (lit. before from today)'
- (32) *Bharotə ɔpohəɔɔkari-nkə agə-re* *muŋdɔ nūā-iba 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) *agə-ku* *grismə-rutu as-uch-i.*
 before-DAT summer-season come-PROG-3s
 'The summer season is approaching.'
- (34) *se mo agə-ru* *skul-re pəhənc-il-a.*
 he I:OBL before-ABL s.-LOC arrive-PST-3s
 'He arrived at school earlier than me.'

arə 'side': **arəku** 'towards', **arə** 'from', **arə** 'at'. The relational noun *arə* '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 arə* 'everywhere' (< *cari* 'four')
Səptəmbor sesə arəku 'till the end of September'
noiro tələ arəku jiba 'go down the river (lit. to the bottom of)'
- (36) *mū taa arə-ku* *cah-ūch-i.*
 I he:OBL side-DAT look-PROG-1s
 'I am looking at him (lit. to his side).'
- (37) *baghə-ɕie jəŋgələ ar-u* *as-il-a.*
 tiger-INDEF j. side-ABL come-PST-3s
 'A tiger came out of the jungle.'
- (38) *pulis bahini bimanəbəndəɔ ar-e* *age-il-e.*
 p. army airport side-LOC come-PST-3p
 'The police unit arrived at the airport.'

belə 'time': **bele** / **beləku** 'at' (temporal), **beļu** 'since'. The relational noun *belə* 'time' indicates temporal relations. *bele* (with locative case) and *beləku* (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 dipohəɔ belə-e* *taa dokanə bəndə kə-l-a.*
 he noon time-LOC his shop closed do-PST-3s
 'He closed his shop at noon.'

- (40) e borsə sesə **beļə-ku** tumə-rə səbu ruņə
 this year end time-DAT you(POL):OBL-GEN all loan
 sujh-i-j-ib-ə?
 clear-CV-V2:go-FUT-2p
 ‘Can you clear all your loans by the end of this year?’

bhitərə ‘inside’: **bhitərəku** ‘into’, **bhitəru** ‘from’, **bhitərə** ‘in’. The relational noun *bhitərə* ‘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-pəri gəhəļi **bhitərə-e** je kəuņəsi lokə hōj-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) paņi pi-iba pāi hati sunḁhə-ṭi-ku paņi **bhitərə-ku**
 water drink-INF for elephant trunk-ART-DAT water inside-DAT
 bəṛh-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 **bhitərə-u** buṛha coukidarə-ṭi 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) *bhitərə* is used in a temporal sense denoting a period of time “in, within”, e. g. *amə jibənə kaļə bhitərə* ‘during our lifetime’.

- (44) e gəchə-ṭa əlpə kete dinə **bhitərə-e** mər-i-j-ib-ə.
 this tree-ART few some day inside-LOC die-CV-V2:go-FUT-3s
 ‘This tree will die in a few days.’

(ii) *bhitəru* is used to express the notion of partitiveness “among”, e. g. *semankə bhitəru 21-ṭi səntanə* ‘21 children among them’.

- (45) e seu-gurikə **bhitərə-u** ədhikansə miṭha.
 these apple-PL inside-ABL most sweet
 ‘Most of these apples are sweet.’

bhəļi ‘like, as if, so that’. The general converb of the verb *bhəļ-* ‘be mistaken’ is used for comparison. In addition, it is used in result and comparison clauses (see p. 379 and p. 381).

jae ‘until’. The postposition *jae* or *jāē* ‘until’¹⁰ is a lexicalised form of the verb *ja-* ‘go’ (*jae* 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 jae* ‘up to late in the evening’
ete dino jae ‘up to this day’
surjyōnkōṭharu pruthibi jae ‘from the sun to the earth’
1803-ru 1947 jae ‘from 1803 to 1947’
- (54) *kete jāē paṭhō pōṛh-ich-ᵛ?*
 how.much until study learn-PERF-2p
 ‘Until when have you gone to school?’
- (55) *asrōmō jae as-iba-ku ta-nkō-rō bōḷō pa-il-a nahī.*
 a. until come-INF-DAT he-OBL-GEN strength find-PST-3s NEG
 ‘He did not have the power to reach the ashram.’

mōjhi / mōdhyō ‘middle’: **mōjhire / mōdhyōre** ‘among, between’.
 The postposition *mōjhire* and its variant *mōdhyōre* (recent loan from Sanskrit) express medial location: ‘among, between, in the middle of’.

- (56) *ehi byag mōdhyōre* ‘in this bag’
bōrsōkō mōdhyōre ‘within a year’
ethi-/iti-mōdhyōre ‘in the meantime’
ōndharō mōdhyōre ‘in the darkness’
- (57) *pahaṛō dui-ti mōjhi-re rasta-tie ᵛch-i.*
 hill two-CL middle-LOC road-INDEF be-3s
 ‘There is a road between the hills.’
- (58) *chatrō-manō-nkō mōdhyō-re ekō hōstōkōḷa prōtījogita tōṭha*
 student-PL-OBL middle-LOC one handicraft competition similarly
prōḍōrsōni he-b-ᵛ.
 exhibition be-FUT-3s
 ‘There will be a handicraft competition as well as an exhibition among the students.’

mōjhi can be combined with other case suffixes as well, e. g. with the dative.

(The boy had eaten a banana.)

- (59) *se jaṇ-i-suṇ-i copa-ti-ku rasta mōjhi-ku phing-i-de-l-a.*
 he 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.’

¹⁰There is a variant with the same meaning, *jake* (e. g. *sesō 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. *masəkə pāi* 'for one month'. Other expressions are *prəthəmə thərə pāi* 'for the first time' and *pərikhya pāi prəstutə* 'ready for the exam'. In addition it is used for purposive clauses (see p. 379).

- (60) e kəmijə-ti kēū dərəji tumə pāi tiari kər-ich-i?
 this shirt-ART which tailor you(POL):OBL for making do-PERF-3s
 'Which tailor has made this shirt for you?'
 (61) apəŋə eha-ku səbu beļə pāi mən-e rəkh-əntu.
 you(HON) this-DAT all time for mind-LOC keep-3p:IMP
 'Remember this for always.'

pakhə 'side'. The relational noun *pakhə* 'vicinity, side' with the locative *-re* (or the short form *pakhe*) expresses proximate location.

- (62) choŋə pila-ti taa maa pakhə-re ʈhia ho-ith-il-a.
 little child-ART his mother side-LOC standing be-PERF-PST-3s
 'The little child stood beside his mother.'
 (63) lokə-nkə pakhə-re kha-iba-ku nah-ī.
 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 surjyə 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) ʈebul pakhə-ku tumə cəuki-ti ʈəŋ-i-aŋ-ə.
 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) səmudrə məndirə pakhə-ru tini kilomiŋər durə.
 sea temple side-ABL three k. distance
 'The sea is three kilometers from the temple.'
 (67) tume ethi-pāi kand-uch-ə, je-hetu tume niŋə pəti
 you(POL) this-for weep-PROG-2p which-because you(POL) REFL husband
 pakhə-ru ələga he-uch-ə?
 side-ABL separate be-PROG-2p
 'Are you crying because you are separated from your husband?'

The relational noun *pakhə* ‘side’ has been called a “bridge morpheme”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 *arə* ‘side’, *nikətə* ‘near’, *pətə* ‘side’ (for examples see the respective sections).

***pəri* ‘like, as if’.** The postposition *pəri* is used to mark a comparison. In addition, it is used for clauses of comparison (see 7.4.6, p. 381).

- (68) *Sərəswəti pəri rupəbəti* ‘beautiful like Sarəswəti’
səbudinə pəri ‘like every day’
pagəbənəkə pəri citkarə kəriba ‘shout like mad’
hindumanənəkə pəri luga pindhiba ‘wear clothes like Hindus’
- (69) *se jən-e bisesəgyə pəri kətha kəh-uch-i.*
 he CL-INDEF expert like matter say-PROG-3s
 ‘He talks like an expert.’

***pəryəntə* ‘until’.** The postposition *pəryəntə* ‘until’ denotes a temporal, spatial or abstract limit that is reached.

- (70) *aji pəryəntə* ‘up to today’
asəntə pəndərə dinə pəryəntə ‘for the next fifteen days’
epəryəntə ‘up to now, still’
sepəryəntə ‘in the meantime’
- (71) *ame nəi bəndhə-re surjəstə pəryəntə bəs-il-u.*
 we river bank-LOC sunset until sit-PST-1pe
 ‘We sat on the bank of the river till sunset.’
- (72) *se niyə ghərc-rə kanthə-re pəfisa ghərc-rə draingrum pəryəntə*
 he REFL house-GEN wall-LOC neighbour house-GEN d. until
kəna kər-i-de-l-a.
 hole do-CV-V2:give-PST-3s
 ‘He made a hole in the wall of his house up to the drawing-room of his neighbour’s house.’
- (73) *kəkei guhalə səpha-tharu arəmbhə kər-i bəjarə suda pəryəntə*
 uncle cow-shed cleaning-ABL start do-CV market shopping to
səbu kamə kər-ənti.
 all work do-3p:HAB
 ‘The uncle does every work from cow-shed-cleaning to market shopping.’

¹¹A 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.

բորո ‘next’: **բօրե** ‘after’, **բորօղհարս** ‘since’. The postposition **բօրե** ‘after’ consisting of **բորո** ‘next’ and the locative **-e** expresses posteriority.

- (74) *sitədinə ɸɔr-e bəʁəntə as-e.*
 winter after-LOC spring come-3s:HAB
 ‘Spring comes after winter.’

Note the expression *ehi ghoʁəna-rə kichi dinə ɸɔre* ‘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) *swadhinətə ɸɔrə-ɰharu desə-re ɔnekə ɸəribərttəntə*
 independence next-ABL country-LOC many change
ho-i-gol-a-ɲi.
 happen-CV-V2:go:PST-3s-MIR
 ‘Many changes have taken place in the country since independence.’

բօժ ‘side’: **բօժեկս** ‘towards’, **բօժրս** ‘from’, **բօժե** ‘at’. The relational noun **բօժ** ‘side’ is used only in a local sense. It indicates

(i) directionality with the dative case:

- (76) *mo stri mo ɸɔʁə-ku piθi kəri-ɲi ɰhə ɲo-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 beɰ-e ekə dutəgami jip samna ɸɔʁə-ru dhəkkə*
 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-nkə ɸəɰə ɸɔʁə-e guɲi baj-il-a.*
 he-OBL back side-LOC bullet hit-PST-3s
 ‘The bullet hit in his back.’

Compare the expression *caripəte* ‘around’ (cf. *cari* ‘four’), *surjə caripəte 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 surjyodɔyɔ **purbo-ru** uth-ɔ?
 you(POL) sunrise before-ABL get.up-2p:HAB
 ‘Do you get up before sunrise?’
- (80) lok-e koh-ɔnti eṭha-re bohu kaɔ **purb-e** goṭi-e bɔɔ 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.’

sangore, **songe**, **sɔho**, **sɔhito** ‘with’. The four postpositions **sangore** (< **sangɔ** ‘friend’), **songe** (< **songɔ** ‘association’), **sɔho**, **sɔhito** all denote a concomitant relation “with”.

- (81) sangosathi-mano-nko **sɔhito** kolɔho tyago kɔr-ɔ.
 friend-PL-OBL with quarrel giving.up do-2p:IMP
 ‘Give up quarrelling with your friends.’
- (82) apɔɔ emano-nko **sangɔ-re** au kebe e-pori byɔboharɔ kɔr-ib-e
 you(HON) they-OBL with-LOC more ever this-like behaviour do-FUT-3p
 nahī.
 NEG
 ‘You shall not treat them like this ever again.’

tɔɔ ‘bottom’: **tɔɔku** ‘down’, **tɔɔu** ‘from under’, **tɔɔe** ‘under, ago’. The relational noun **tɔɔ** ‘bottom’ can be used both for spatial and temporal relations. In the first use **tɔɔe** (with the locative **-e**) expresses inferior location “under”, e. g.

- (83) polithin tɔɔe rɔhiba ‘live under a polythene roof’.
 gocho tɔɔe soiba ‘sleep under a tree.’

The dative **-ku** adds the notion of directionality :

- (84) se siɔi **tɔɔku** 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 maṭi tɔɔ-u prayɔ 4 phuṭ ucco-re jhul-uth-il-a.
 corpse-ART ground bottom-ABL about 4 f. height-LOC hang-IPFV-PST-3s
 ‘The corpse was hanging about 4 feet from the ground.’

təle is used as temporal postposition as well, expressing a period back in time ('ago').

- (86) *səhe bərsə təle-e e ghəro-ṭi 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.'

***upəro* 'top': *upəroku* 'upwards', *upəru* 'from above', *upəre* 'on, about'.**

(i) The relational noun *upəro* 'top' with the locative *-e* is primarily used to express superior location 'on top of, above', e.g. *hati upəre bəsiba* 'sit on an elephant'.

- (87) *tumə tēbul upər-e səbubele əbhidhanə-ṭie rəh-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-ṭa gəcho upəro-ku cəh-il-a.*
 cat-ART tree top-DAT climb-PST-3s
 'The cat climbed up the tree.'
- (89) *tapə-matra 33 upəro-ku gəl-a.*
 heat-measure 33 top-DAT go-PST-3s
 'The temperature rose to 33 degrees.'

The ablative *-u* denotes the source:

- (90) *ṭopa ṭopa jəṭə mətha upər-u təṭə-ku khəs-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 *upəre* is extended to denote complements of some expressions like the following ones:

- (91) *kahankə upəre akərəməṅə kəriba* 'make an attack on somebody'
kahankə upəre besi khusi 'very happy about somebody'
kahankə upəre nirbhəro kəriba 'rely on somebody'
e pəḍəbi upəre asa 'the hope for this post'
- (92) *ənəkə səməyo-re ta-nkə stri ta-nkə upər-e rag-ənti.*
 many time-LOC he-OBL wife he-OBL top-LOC get.angry-3p:HAB
 'His wife often gets angry at him.'

- (93) bi. e. he-ba p̄rjȳnt̄o se ta-nk̄o mamu-nk̄o sahaꞑȳo **up̄r-e** nirbh̄r̄o
 B. A. be-INF until he he-OBL uncle-OBL help top-LOC dependance
 k̄r-uth-il-e.
 do-IPFV-PST-3p
 ‘He depended on his uncle’s help till he was a B. A.’

(iii) *up̄re* can be used to express immediate future ‘be about to’ (the copula can be omitted):

- (94) gaꞑi chaꞑ-iba **up̄r-e**.
 train leave-INF top-LOC
 ‘The train is about to leave.’
- (95) ḍakt̄r k̄h-uch-̄nti roꞑi-ṭi m̄r-i-j-iba **up̄r-e**.
 d. say-PROG-3p(HON) patient-ART die-CV-V2:go-INF top-LOC
 ‘The doctor says the patient is about to die.’

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) ̄ndh̄o o choṭa lok̄o-man̄o-nku up̄has̄o k̄r-̄o nah̄i.
 blind and lame person-PL-OBL:DAT laughing do-2p:IMP NEG
 ‘You mustn’t laugh at blind and lame people.’
- (2) Bhub̄nesw̄r̄o s̄h̄r̄o bh̄it̄r-e au s̄h̄r̄o cari pak̄h̄o-re ̄nek̄o
 Bh. town inside-LOC and town four side-LOC many
 dekh-iba jaga ̄ch-i.
 see-INF place be-3s
 ‘There are many places to visit inside the town of Bhubaneswar as well as around it.’
- (3) pur̄b̄o-kaḹ-re pr̄ja-mane raja-nku mudra ba dr̄b̄ȳo ak̄ar̄o-re
 before-time-LOC people-PL king-OBL:DAT coin or materials form-LOC
 k̄r̄o 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) Sotisō **kimba** taa sangō e jhōrōka-ti bhang-ich-i.
S. or his friend this window-ART break-PERF-3s
'Either Satisōa or his friend has broken this window.'
- (5) kōṅṅō kha-ib-ō? caa **na** kōphi?
what eat-FUT-2p tea or coffee
'What will you take? Tea or coffee?'
- (6) reḷ-gaṛi **ki** bōs paṇi-re cal-e nahī.
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 *ubhōyō* 'both'.

- (7) mo bapa **ubhōyō** Hindi **o** Bōngḷa jaṅ-ōnti.
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. *bhatō tōrkari* in (8) is understood as one dish (cf. *piṭha au bhatō* 'cake and rice' = two dishes):

- (8) bhatō tōrkari khaiba 'eat rice and curry'
swami stri 'husband and wife'
maa puō 'mother and son'¹²
ḍaktōr rogi bhitorē gōpō 'conversation between doctor and patient'
muhō hatō dhoiba 'wash the hands and the face'

These coordinated nominals can be interpreted as nominal compounds, see 3.1.1.2.

(ii) Adjectives

- (9) mū goṭi-e **lōmba ebōng sundōrō** gōpō pōṛh-il-i.
I CL-INDEF long and beautiful story read-PST-1s
'I read a long and beautiful story.'

(iii) Participles:

- (10) mo maa **pōṭha-iba au** ame **kha-ith-iba** piṭha bōhut bhōḷō.
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 ebōng mo sangō* 'mother and my friend'.

(iv) Adverbials:

- (11) se soṭhik bhabo-re ebong nirbhul bhabo-re uttoro de-l-a.
 he correct way-LOC and correct way-LOC answer give-PST-3s
 'He answered totally correctly.'

(v) Verbs:

- (12) semano-nko manso bik-e o kha-e.
 they-OBL meat sell-1s:HAB and eat-1s:HAB
 'I sell and eat their meat.'
- (13) mū gotokali ambo-ṭi-ko toḷ-il-i chor-il-i kaṭ-il-i kha-il-i.
 I yesterday mango-ART-all pluck-PST-1s peel-PST-1s cut-PST-1s eat-PST-1s
 'Yesterday I plucked the mangoes, peeled, cut and ate them.'

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' (honorific use)
Negative:	na, nā(ī), 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, ṭikie baharo-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 beḷ-e kahiki surjyo 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) hōu, mū di cari dinō bhitōr-e khōbōrō pōthe-ib-i. **accha**, mū e
 okay I two four day inside-LOC news send-FUT-1s well I this
 thōrō uṭh-e. tōme ja-ō, khi-a-pi-a kōr-ib-ō.
 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 kōh-iba dōrkar nahī! mū sōbu
 okay okay more anything say-INF need NEG I all
 jāṇ-i-gōl-i.
 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:)

- (6) mū kōṅṅō kōr-ib-i **agyā**, prōsnō-pōtrō-re tō lekh-a
 I INT do-FUT-1s INTERJ question-paper-LOC PTCL write-PTCP
 hō-ich-i "pōchō-re dekh-ō."
 be-PERF-3s back-LOC see-2p:IMP
 'What shall I do, Sir? It's written on the question sheet, "Look back
 (or: Look on the back side)!"'

(ii) Greetings may be classified by degrees of formality.

Formal: nōmōskarō, nōmōste (for both meeting and parting)

Informal: juhārō (rural speech)

(A visitor arrives with his daughter Anu and greets the host.)

- (7) **nəmɔskarɔ**, mausi! are Anu, nəmɔskarɔ kər-ɔ 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*, *hɔio*, *hɔire*, *go*, *ago*.

- (8) **alo**, kemiti ɔch-u?
 INTERJ how be-2s
 'How are you?'

(Father to his son after seeing his school report.)

- (9) **are** Məŋtu, to-rɔ tɔ gəŋitɔ-re ete kəm nɔmbɔr
 INTERJ M. you(FAM)-GEN PTCL mathematics-LOC so low n.
 rɔh-uch-i.
 stay-PROG-3s
 'Hey Məŋtu, your marks in mathematics are so low.'

- (10) **he** pila, mɔ kɔtha suŋ-ɔ!
 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, uhū, thu
- Sadness: o, ha, hayɔ

- (11) **ho ho**, ame jɪŋ-i-gɔl-u!
 INTERJ we win-CV-V2:go:PST-1pe
 'Hurrah, we've won!'

(The teacher to a child.)

- (12) **ba!** tu tɪk kɔh-ich-u!
 INTERJ you(FAM) correct say-PERF-2s
 'Bravo! You have answered correctly.'

- (13) **aha**, mo caa-tokɔ dhaɭ-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 mɔɪɪa!
 INTERJ how.much dirty
 'Ugh, how dirty!'

(There are misfortunes that nobody can be blamed for.)

- (15) kebɔɭɔ hayɔ hayɔ kər-i bhagyɔ-ku nind-iba byotitɔ mɔnɪsɔ nikɔɔ-re
 only alas RDP do-CV destiny-DAT blame-INF except man near-LOC
 bikɔɭpɔ rɔh-e nahī.
 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 *sunichā*, which is marked for 2p.

- (1) *kali rati-re mū ghōrō-ku as-ib-a-rō sōbdō sun-ich-ā?* —
yesterday night-LOC I house-DAT come-INF-GEN noise hear-PERF-2p
na, mū so-i-pōṛ-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. *khamōkhialia* ‘whimsical’. Again the subject *se* ‘he’ is missing.

(Beginning of a story)

- (2) *jōṅ-e raja th-il-e. bhari khamōkhialia.*
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 *chōṭāṭā* ‘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 tumō ghōr-e mo chōṭa-ṭā*
I-DAT feel-PROG-3s your(POL) house-LOC my umbrella-ART
chār-i-de-ich-i. tume Ø dekh-ich-ā? — *na, tebe mū Ø*
leave-CV-V2:give-PERF-1s you(POL) see-PERF-2p no then I
khoj-ib-i. jōḍi Ø pā-e, tumō-ku Ø 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 Ramo Sita-ku bul-e-i-nə-b-ɔ.
 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-ɔ? — **ta-ku**.
 who-DAT see-PST-2p he-DAT
 'Who did you see? — Him.'
- (7) kaha-rɔ puɔ 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-ṭa beḷ-e se jiniso-ṭa tumo-ku ghor-e
 I tomorrow three-CL time-LOC that thing-ART you(POL)-DAT house-LOC
 de-i-de-b-i.
 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 *machō* 'fish'. The second question (3b) has been asked to find out whether it was fish that the addressee has given to the cat; therefore *machō* follows the recipient *bileiku*.

- (3) a. tume machō bilei-ku de-l-ᵛ ki? — na, kukurō-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 machō de-l-ᵛ 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 tumō pakho-ku pōṭha-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 duijᵛᵛō* 'only two persons' follows the predicate.

(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.)

- (5) kintu rōh-i-gᵛl-e moṭe dui-jᵛᵛō.
 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).'

(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) *kəŋə kəh-i gaʎi de-ith-il-a se tumə-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) *kaɦiki 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 kheʎ-uch-ənti.*
 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 jədi cori kəɾ-e, ain ənusare dəŋdə pa-ib-ə.*
 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 pəcar-u-nah-anti.*
 now he-OBL:DAT anybody ask-PROG-NEG-3p
 'No one cares about him now.'

¹For 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) *tōme mū ekathi 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 tōme kebe sinema j-ib-ṭ-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 bhatṭ au Mīna tōrkari kha-il-a.*
I rice and M. curry eat-PST-3s
'I ate rice and Mīnā ate curry.'
- b. *Mīna bhatṭ au mū tōrkari kha-il-i.*
M. rice and I curry eat-PST-1s
'Mīnā 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. *helṭṭi* 'you got' in (9):

- (9) *tōmṭ bhitṭ-u sōmōst-e baha he-l-e-ṇi / he-l-ṭ-ṇi.*
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-ṭ / kōh-uch-u / kōh-uch-ṭnti?*
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: *nɔ*, *nā*, *namɔ* 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)

<i>na</i> , <i>nā(ī)</i> , <i>namɔ</i>	negative answer to a question ('no', (1))
<i>nahī</i> , <i>nāī</i> , <i>na</i> , <i>ni</i>	negation of finite verbs (6.4.1.1)
<i>nah-</i> + PN	neg. copula (6.4.2); neg. of Progressive & Perfect (6.4.1.3)
<i>nɔ</i>	negation of nonfinite and of complex verb forms (6.4.1.2 and 6.4.3); modal use with other verb forms
<i>nuh-</i> + PN	negative copula (6.4.2)
<i>ɔ-</i>	derivative negative prefix for adjectives and participles (see 3.2.2)

na is used as negative answer to a question.

- (1) tu Koṇarkɔ dekh-i-n-u? — **na**, mū dekh-i-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 kōmīṭi-rɔ sōbhyaɔ he-ba-ku raji **ki na** ta-nku pɔcar-ɔ.
 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 kousɔɔ phɔɔ-prɔdɔ he-b-ɔ **ki nahī** mo-rɔ ghorɔ sōndehɔ.
 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) *nɔ* + finite verb, or verb + *nɔ* + 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

²There is another homophonous *na*, which is used as conjunction 'or' (5.4).

³It might be related to the emphatic particle *hī* (5.2.1).

Other verb forms can be negated by *nɔ-* 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) Hɔɔɔdhɔɔ bɔɔɔ krupɔɔɔ. eha kie **nɔ-jan-e**?
 H. big miser this who NEG-know-3s:HAB
 ‘Haɔadhara is a big miser. Who does not know this?’
- (12) kintu bɔrttɔman se **nɔ-j-ib-ɔ** kahiki?
 but now she NEG-go-FUT-3s why
 ‘But why shouldn’t she go now? (being offered such an attractive offer)’
- (13) ʔhɔkɔ bhɔɔni-manɔ-nkɔ kɔtha-re pɔɔ-i se ki ɔnyayɔ
 cheat sister-PL-OBL speech-LOC fall-CV he what injustice
nɔ-kɔr-ich-ɔnti!
 NEG-do-PERF-3p(HON)
 ‘What injustice hasn’t he done, having followed the deceitful sisters’ words!’

Other contexts where negation is marked by *nɔ-* :

(i) imperatives and clauses with similar meaning (purposives, modally marked relative clauses):

- (14) mɔ rajyɔ-rɔ kɔɔɔɔsi lokɔ jepɔri e du-hi-nku
 my kingdom-GEN any person however this two-EMPH-OBL:DAT
 jinisɔ-pɔtrɔ bikri **nɔ-kɔr-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-nkɔ daɔhi jepɔri kaha-rɔ khyɔti **nɔ-ghɔɔa-e** sethi-prɔti
 he-OBL beard in.order anybody-GEN harm NEG-cause-3s:HAB that-towards
 jɔtnɔban he-ba-ku kɔɔɔ nirddesɔ de-ich-ɔnti.
 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 Mɔngɔɔa-nkɔ osa **nɔ-kɔr-ib-ɔ**, taa-rɔ bɔɔɔ puɔ
 who M.-OBL fast NEG-do-FUT-3s he-GEN old son
 mɔr-i-j-ib-ɔ.
 die-CV-V2:go-FUT-3s
 ‘Who does not observe the fast for Mangalā, his eldest son will die.’

(ii) conditionals:

- (17) mū jədi sɔɔɔ ghər-e nɔ-pɔhɔnc-e, bapa
 I if early house-LOC NEG-arrive-1s:HAB father
 rag-i-par-ɔnti.
 get.angry-CV-can-3p(HON):HAB
 'If I don't return home early, father might get angry.'

(iii) "until"-clauses:

- (18) je pərjyɔntɔ grajuɛt nɔ-ho-ich-i, se-pərjyɔntɔ kebehele bibahɔ
 as until g. NEG-become-PERF-1s that-until ever marriage
 kɔr-ib-i nahī.
 do-FUT-1s NEG
 'I will not marry as long as I am not graduated.'

In all these contexts *nɔ* 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 *nɔhoithile* instead of *hoinɔthile* in (19) or *nɔjaiparile* instead of *jainɔparile* in (20).

- (19) ta nɔ-ho-ith-ile bəgɔ-rɔ mrutyu kɔtha
 it NEG-be-PERF-CONDCV paddy.bird-GEN death matter
 jaŋ-ɔnt-e kipɔri?
 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 nɔ-ja-i-par-ile kɔɔɔ 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 korinahī* 'we have not done'.

- (21) mū kichi kɔr-u-n-i / kɔr-u-nah-ī.
 I anything do-PROG-NEG-1s do-PROG-NEG-1s
 'I am doing nothing.'
- (22) bhasa-kendrɔ borttɔman 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

	Progressive		Perfect	
	full form	short form	full form	short form
1s	kheḷunahī	kheḷuni	kheḷinahī	kheḷini
1p incl	kheḷunahē	kheḷune	kheḷinahē	kheḷine
1p excl	kheḷunahū	kheḷunu	kheḷinahū	kheḷinu
2s	kheḷunahū	kheḷunu	kheḷinahū	kheḷinu
2p	kheḷunahō	kheḷuno	kheḷinahō	kheḷino
3s	kheḷunahī	kheḷuni	kheḷinahī	kheḷini
3p	kheḷunahānti	kheḷunahānti	kheḷinahānti	kheḷinahānti

6.4.2 Negation of the copula

The copula has two paradigms; *nah-* is the negation for the locative ‘be’ (*och-* in affirmative clauses), *nuh-* for the equational copula (*tha-* or \emptyset) 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.

	affirmative		negative	
	present	non-present	present	non-present
locative, existential, possessive	<i>och-</i>	<i>tha-</i>	<i>nah-</i>	<i>no-tha-</i>
descriptive, equational	\emptyset	<i>tha-</i>	<i>nuh-</i>	<i>no-tha-</i>
	locative, existential, possessive	equational, descriptive	variants	
1s	<i>nahī</i>	<i>nuhē</i>	<i>nuhō</i> (more frequent in spoken form)	
1p incl	<i>nahē</i>	<i>nuhē</i>		
1p excl	<i>nahū</i>	<i>nuhō</i>	<i>nohū</i>	
2s	<i>nahū</i>	<i>nuhē</i>	<i>nuhō</i> (more frequent in spoken form)	
2p	<i>nahō</i>	<i>nuhō</i>		
3s	<i>nahī</i>	<i>nuhē</i>	<i>nuhō</i> (more frequent in spoken form)	
3p	<i>nahānti</i>	<i>nuhōnti</i>		

Examples for negation with *nah-*:

- (23) *mo ghoro-ti khali och-i. sethi-re kehi nah-anti.*
 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) tɔmɔ-rɔ kɔɔŋɔ kɔnca Lonka **nah-ī** ki?
 you(POL)-GEN INT green L. be:NEG-3s INT
 ‘Don’t you have green chilli (lit. green Lankā)?’

Examples for negation with *nuh-*:

- (25) mū sikhyaɔkɔ **nuh-ē**.
 I teacher be:NEG-1s
 ‘I am not a teacher.’
- (26) mo bhai buṛha **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 *nɔ*. In Imperfective and Perfect aspect verb forms it is placed before the auxiliary *tha-*, see 6.4.1.2 above.

<i>iba</i> -forms	<i>nɔ-kheɭ-iba</i>	‘not to play’
	<i>kheɭ-i-nɔ-th-iba</i>	‘not to have played’
Converbs	<i>nɔ-kheɭ-i</i>	‘not having played’
	<i>nɔ-kheɭ-u-ŋu</i>	‘before playing’
Conditional converbs	<i>nɔ-kheɭ-ile</i>	‘if not playing’
	<i>kheɭ-i-nɔ-th-ile</i>	‘if not having played’

- (27) mɔkɔɔɔma **nɔ-kɔr-iba-ku** mū tumɔ-ku pɔramɔrsɔ 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 converb in *-i* shows a twofold occurrence of the negative marker *nɔ*, whereas the imperfective converb is negated by inserting *nɔ* between the two converbs.

General converb	<i>nɔ-kheɭ-i nɔ-kheɭ-i</i>	‘without playing’
Imperfective converbs	<i>kheɭ-u nɔ-kheɭ-u</i>	‘while not playing’
	<i>kheɭ-u nɔ-kheɭ-u-ŋu</i>	‘before playing’

- (28) se **nɔ-gadhe-i nɔgadhei** ɔsɔna ne-i-gɔl-a-ŋi.
 he NEG-wash-CV RDP dirty take-CV-V2:go-3s-MIR
 ‘Because he didn’t wash himself, he became dirty.’
- (29) mū (kheɭ-u)-**nɔ-kheɭ-u-ŋu** 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 Kəʔəkə j-ib-i-ni, pəɾə dɪnə 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** Kəʔəkə j-ib-i-ni, Rəsanəndə j-ib-ə.
tomorrow I C. go-FUT-1s-NEG R. go-FUT-3s
'I won't go to Cuttack tomorrow, Rasānanda will go.'
- c. kali mū **Kəʔəkə** 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 Kəʔəkə **j-ib-i-ni**, Kəʔəkə-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 gəl-a.
I be:NEG-1s she go:PST-3s
'She went, not I.' (or with inversed order: *se gəl-a, mū nuh-ē*.)
- (32) bəjarə-ku **nuh-ē**, mū stesən gəl-i.
market-DAT be:NEG-3s I s. go:PST-1s
'I went to the station, not to the market.'
- (33) mū mo pəʕisa ghəɾə-rə **nuh-ē**, mo sangə-rə jhiə-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) khəŋḍa nuh-ē, Oṛisa-rə kimbədanti-re mukhə-sthanə grəhəŋḍə
sword be:NEG-3s O.-GEN folktale-LOC first-place accept
kəɾ-ich-i dhərmə.
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 nuhē* 'it is not the case that', forming a complement clause to *ta nuhē*.

- (35) so-i-rōh-uth-iba loko je sōbu kichi
 sleep-CV-V2:stay-IPFV-INF person PTCL all something
 hōr-a-uch-i **ta nuh-ē**, bōrōng ɔnekō matra-re se
 be.lost-CAUS-PROG-3s it be:NEG-3s moreover much measure-LOC he
 swasthyō drusti-ru bōhut 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: *adōu* 'at all', *jōma* / *jōmaru* 'ever, only', *kōdapi* 'ever', *moṭe* 'ever, only'.

- (36) e kamō pāi se **adōu** upōjuktō nuh-ē.
 this work for he at.all suitable be:NEG-3s
 'He is not fit for this work at all.'
- (37) e-sōbu ago-ru jaṅ-ith-ile, **jōma**
 this-all before-ABL know-PERF-CONDCV at.all
 as-i-nō-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 **kōdapi** michō kōh-e nahī.
 I ever lie say-1s:HAB NEG
 'I never tell a lie.'
- (39) tume jua kheḷ-uch-ɔ? — **moṭe** nuh-ē, raṅō kha-i
 you(POL) gambling play-PROG-2p at.all be:NEG-3s oath eat-CV
 kōh-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-nkō niṅō pāi **kichi** kōr-ōnti nahī.
 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 *nahī* precedes a negated conditional clause. Double negation is used for emphasis and never for neutralization of the negation.

- (41) **nahī** jōdi to tirō seu-re **nō-baj-ib-ō** kimba puō deho-re
 NEG if your(FAM) arrow apple-LOC NEG-hit-FUT-3s or son body-LOC
 baj-ib-ō, tebe eiṭhi sange sange to-rō muṇḍō-kaṭō he-b-ō.
 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 converb can or cannot fall under the scope of the negated matrix verb:

- (42) Kōsukō nirjōnō bōṇō-ku **ja-i** tōpōsya arōmbhō kō-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 converb (*nō-kheḷ-i-ki* in (43)) the matrix verb is negated, but semantically the converb clause is in the negative, e. g. the second meaning of (43). The sentence is ambiguous.

- (43) *kheḷ-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) *mū kha-i-ki as-i-n-i* / *as-ib-i-ni* / *j-ib-i-ni*.
 I 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 *kōṇō* (elsewhere ‘what’).

- (1) e bakyo-ti thik th-ila pari **subh-uch-i-i**?
 this sentence-ART right be-INF:PST like sound-PROG-3s-INT
 'Does 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) tōme eṭha-ku nua as-ich-ō **ki**? — hō, mū eṭha-rō 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) tōme ete ciṭhi **kaha** pakho-ku lekh-ib-ō **ki**?
 you(POL) so.many letter whose side-DAT write-FUT-2p INT
 'Who do you write so many letters to?'

kāṅṅō can be inserted anywhere between the constituents of the interrogative sentence:

- (4) (**kāṅṅō**) tōme (**kāṅṅō**) sōtō-re (**kāṅṅō**) mo (**kāṅṅō**) ciṭhi
 INT you(POL) INT truth-LOC INT my INT letter
 (**kāṅṅō**) bhul-i-ja-ith-il-ō (**kāṅṅō**)?
 INT forget-CV-V2:go-PERF-PST-2p INT
 'Have you really forgotten my letter?'
- (5) dōrō-dam **kāṅṅō** sighrō kḥōs-ib-ō?
 rate-price INT soon fall-FUT-3s
 'Will prices come down soon?'

kāṅṅō often expresses the speaker's disbelief ("do you really ...?").

- (6) kintu sadhu mōhasōyō, sōnnyasi-nkō pōkhyō-re e-pōri ragō kōr-iba
 but honest Sir ascetic-OBL side-LOC this-like anger do-INF
kāṅṅō ucit?
 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 *tō* is used (7a) (see 5.2.3); when expecting a negative answer, *tō* does not occur (7b).

(A: He has now eaten. — B:)

- (7) a. ta-ku **tō** au bhokō hō-b-ō-ni?
 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 tɔpɔsya-re kehi badha de-i-nah-ĩ 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 nahĩ* or the particle *tɔ* is added:

- (9) se kali niscɔyɔ as-ib-ɔ, as-ib-ɔ-ni / as-ib-ɔ ki nahĩ
 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 kɔh-ib-ɔ-ni, kɔh-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) (kahĩki) tɔme (kahĩki) ta-ku (kahĩki) sɔmpurnɔ sɔtyɔ
 why you(POL) why he-DAT why whole truth
 kɔtha-ti (kahĩki) kɔh-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) Tultu, thik kēũthi kɔstɔ he-uch-i?
 T. exactly where difficult be-PROG-3s
 ‘Tultu, 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 ghər-e **kie rəh-e?** vs. e ghər-e **kie (kie) rəh-ənti?**
 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** səndehə kər-uch-i?
 p. who-DAT suspicion do-PROG-3s
 'Whom do the police suspect?'

(iii) Possessor:

- (15) ta-nkə bəndhu Bəmbə cal-i-gələ se **kaha-rə** sahajyo
 he-OBL friend B. move-CV-V2:go:CONDCV he who-GEN help
 mag-ib-ə?
 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):

- (16) tume Aruṇə-babu-nkə-rə **kəṇṇə** hu-ə? — kichi nuh-ē.
 you:POL A.-HON-OBL-GEN what be-2p:HAB something be:NEG-1s
 ta-nkə pətṇi Anupəma-debi-nkə səmpərkiyo.
 he-OBL wife A.-HON-OBL relative
 'How are you related to Aruṇa (lit. You are Aruṇa's what)? — Not in any way. I am a relative of his wife Anupamā.'
- (17) taa-rə **kəuṭhi** mū ta-ku dekh-a kər-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 **kəṇṇə** kə-l-ə məntri?
 this what do-PST-2p minister
 'What is this that you did, minister?'

(v) Attribute:

- (19) **kəu** saṛhi-ṭi tumə-ku səbu-ṭhu besi bhələ 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) **ကဘဲနဲ** sar-iba-ku tōme Dilli gəl-ဝဲ?
 what finish-INF-DAT you(POL) D. go:PST-2p
 ‘You went to Delhi to finish what?’

(vii) Element in a converb clause:

- (21) **ကဘဲနဲ** 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 **ကဘဲနဲ** kər-u kər-u so-i-pə-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) tume **ကဘဲနဲ** kər-iba purbə-ru as-ich-ဝဲ?
 you(POL) what do-INF before-ABL come-PERF-2p
 ‘Before doing what have you come?’

(ix) Element in a relative clause:

- (24) se jhiə-ṭa tumə sangə, jie **ကဘဲနဲ** 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) **ကဘဲနဲ** pindh-ith-iba jhiə-ṭa tumə sangə?
 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) **ကဘဲနဲ** kə-le adəu pəisa khərcə he-b-ဝဲ nahī?
 what do-COND CV 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-ဝဲ boli Rāmə bhab-uch-i?
 who tomorrow come-FUT-3s COMP R. think-PROG-3s
 ‘Whom does Rāma think will come tomorrow?’

Question words of postposed complement clauses marked by *je* can appear in the main clause (e.g. *ကဘဲနဲ* ‘what’ in (28)); most of the cases, however, are judged slightly odd.

- (28) ?**ကဝံ့ဝံ့** Ramə bhab-uch-i je Priyambada kər-ib-ə?
 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** sange 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)
 borɔŋ 'moreover'
 ebɔŋ 'and'
 o 'and'

- (1) se sinema j-ib-ɔ **au / o / ebɔŋ** 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) apoṇo khali phon-re kothabartta he-u-nah-ānti, bōrong samna
you(HON) only ph.-LOC conversation be-PROG-NEG-3p moreover before
samni kōtha he-uch-onti.

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'

noçet 'otherwise'

nōhele / nohile 'otherwise' < nō-he-le (NEG-be-CONDCV) 'if it is not'

oṭhōba 'otherwise'

- (3) na puo kha-ib-o 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 ghoro Keroḷo-re nuh-ē ki / na / ba Tamilnaḍu-re nuh-ē,

my house K.-LOC be:NEG-3s or or or T.-LOC be:NEG-3s

mo ghoro Bihar-re.

my house B.-LOC

'My home is neither in Kerala nor in Tamilnadu, my home is in Bihar.'

- (5) e osodho-ṭi ni-o kimba ḍaktorkhana-ku ja-o.

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 khoḷ-iba-ku he-b-o, nōhele mo galica-ṭa moḷa

you(POL)-DAT shoe open-INF-DAT be-FUT-3s otherwise my carpet-ART dirty

ho-i-j-ib-o.

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-i mū ṭhik kōr-i-par-il-i nahī.

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'
matrə	'but; only'
ətəətə	'but'
tətəpə	'yet'

Adversative conjunctions can appear in second position in the sentence (9).

- (8) Indira cal-i-gəl-e, **kintu** Sənjəyɔ
 I. go-CV-V2:go:PST-3p(HON) but S.
 rəh-i-gəl-e.
 stay-CV-V2:go:PST-3p(HON)
 'Indirā went away, but Saṃjāyā stayed.'

(I have come here for many times.)

- (9) Anu-rə **kintu** eṭhi-ki as-iba ei prəthəmə.
 A.-GEN but here-DAT come-INF this first
 'But for Anu it's the first (time) to come here.'
- (10) mū jaṇ-uch-i tume əbhəbə-re əch-ə, **matrə** mū tumə-ku
 I know-PROG-1s you(POL) need-LOC be-2p but I you(POL)-DAT
 sahəjəyɔ kər-i-par-ib-i nahī.
 help do-CV-can-FUT-1s NEG
 'I know you are in need, but I can't help you.'
- (11) tumə-ku dəndə di-a he-uch-i, **tətəpə** tume
 you(POL)-DAT punishment give-PASS be-PROG-3s yet you(POL)
 həs-uch-ə?
 laugh-PROG-2p
 'You are being punished, yet you are laughing?'

(iv) explanatory: *karəṇə* 'for' < *karəṇə* 'reason'

- (12) eṭha-re kehi gadhu-ənti nahī, **karəṇə** eṭha-re bəhut kumbhiro
 here-LOC anybody bathe-3p:HAB NEG for here-LOC many crocodile
 əch-ənti.
 be-3p
 'Nobody takes a bath here, for there are many crocodiles here.'

- (v) conclusive
- | | |
|------------|---|
| eṇu | 'so' < eṇ-u (here-ABL) 'from here' |
| eṇriki | 'so' < e-ṇri-ki (this-like-PTCL) 'like this' |
| sethipāī | 'therefore' < sethi-pāī (that-for) 'for that' |
| ta(ha)hele | 'then' < ta(ha) he-le (it be-CONDCV) 'if it is' |
| teṇu | 'so' < teṇ-u (there-ABL) 'from there' |

- (13) tu jodi goṭi-e muhurtto bi cinta nṓ-kṓr-i michṓ
 you(FAM) if CL-INDEF moment also concern NEG-do-CV lie
 kṓh-i-par-ib-u, tahele mū to-te paṅcṓ ṭṅka de-b-i.
 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-rṓ poisa nṓ-th-il-a, teṅu mū bṓjaro-ku gṓl-i nahī.
 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 *taapṓre* ‘then’ < *taa-pṓre* (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) **taapṓre** pṓcar-il-e — “rṓsṓgola kha-il-u?”
 then ask-PST-3p(HON) <sp. sweet> eat-PST-2s
 ‘Then she asked, “Did you eat the rasagolā?”’

The above examples all contain finite coordinated clauses. Nonfinite clauses can be coordinated as well; consider (16) where the three occurrences of the conditional converb *nṓthile* ‘if it is not’ are coordinated.

- (16) kṓṅṓsi karjṓ kie kṓr-uch-i a) jṓṅ-a nṓ-th-ile, b)
 any action who do-PROG-3s know-PTCP NEG-be-CONDCV
 jaṅ-iba-rṓ upayṓ nṓ-th-ile ba c) jaṅ-ib-a abṓsyṓkṓ
 know-INF-GEN means NEG-be-CONDCV or know-INF necessary
 nṓ-th-ile ame Passive Voice byṓbṓharṓ kṓr-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 complement 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 relative *je*-pronoun series

boli for preposed complement clauses: general converb 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 gochō-ṭa oḷṭo kete dino bhitōr-e*
 I think-PROG-1s this tree-ART few some day inside-LOC
mōr-i-j-ib-o.
 die-CV-V2:go-FUT-3s
 'I think this tree will die in a few days.'
- (2) *se niscito Ø taa suṭkes-ṭi gaṛi-re chaṛ-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) *Kōngres pōkhyō-ru kuh-a-ja-ich-i je, puja prarthana keboḷo*
 C. side-ABL say-PASS-go-PERF-3s PTCL worship prayer only
Sōskrutō-re 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. *kōtha* 'matter, speech', *khōbōrō* 'news', *michō* 'lie', *sōmbhabōna* 'possibility', etc.

- (4) *mū je j-ib-i e kōtha mū jaṇ-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) Ramō (je) Sita-ku (je) baha (je) hō-b-o (*je) e*
 PTCL R. PTCL S.-DAT PTCL marriage PTCL be-FUT-3s PTCL this
kōtha mū jaṇ-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** [Ramə Sita-ku baha hə-b-ə] e kətha jaŋ-e.
 I PTCL R. S.-DAT marriage be-FUT-3s this matter know-1s:HAB
 'I know that Rāma will marry Sītā.'

The complement clause can be detached from the noun and be postposed:

- (7) e kətha mū jaŋ-e **je** Ramə Sita-ku baha hə-b-ə.
 this matter I know-1s:HAB 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 gruhiṇi **je** ta-nku eṭha-ku pəṭha-ich-ənti, e kətha se
 that house-wife PTCL he-DAT here-DAT send-PERF-3p(HON) this matter he
 ba jaŋ-il-e kipəri?
 PTCL know-PST-3p(HON) how
 b. se gruhiṇi **je** ta-nku eṭha-ku pəṭha-ith-iba kətha se ba
 that house-wife PTCL he-DAT here-DAT send-PERF-INF matter he PTCL
 jaŋ-il-e kipəri?
 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-ṭa ete denga **je** corh-i-he-b-ə nahī.
 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) nīā-ṭa ete cəncəḷə cəhəṭ-i-gol-a **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 nahī.
 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-ṭa cori kār-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 soṭyo ho-ith-ib-o **boli** mū asa kār-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) mū [Ramo Sita-ku baha ho-b-o] **boli** jaṇ-e.
 I R. S.-DAT marriage be-FUT-3s COMP know-1s:HAB
 'I know that Rāma will marry Sītā.'

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) mū keboḷo [ei kamo-ṭi kār-ib-i] **boli** ete baṭo 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-o-uth-il-u **boli** besi kichi
 we two-EMPH bicycle slowly run-CAUS-IPFV-PST-1pe COMP much something
 he-l-a-ni.
 be-PST-3s-NEG
 'Nothing much happened because we were both cycling slowly.'

(iii) Appositional marker:

- (16) mo-ro Ramo **boli** goṭi-e sangō och-i.
 I-GEN R. COMP CL-INDEF friend be-3s
 'I have a friend called Rāma.'
- (17) mū Sunonda **boli** mo jhi-o-ku ḍak-ib-i.
 I S. COMP my daughter-DAT call-FUT-1s
 'I shall call my daughter Sunandā.'
- (18) mū Ramo-ku to buddhia **boli** bhab-e.
 I R.-DAT PTCL intelligent COMP think-1s:HAB
 'I think Rāma is intelligent.'

²For the theoretical details about *boli* refer to Patnaik 1998.

- (19) ubhəyɔ debəta-nku se ekə o əbhinnə **boli** gyanə
 both god-OBL:DAT she one and same COMP knowledge
 kər-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 niʒə-ku bicarəpəti Rao **boli** cinh-a-i 15 həjərə tənka
 he REFL-DAT judge R. COMP recognise-CAUS-CV 15 thousand rupee
 sahajyə 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-nkə-rə goṭi-e **boli** puə.
 they-OBL-GEN CL-INDEF COMP son
 'They had only one son.'

(v) Immediate future in combination with *he-*:

- (22) se as-ib-ə asibə **boli** hə-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 jəldi randh **boli** Ramə paṭi kə-l-a.
 S. quickly cook:2s:IMP COMP R. mouth do-PST-3s
 '“Sītā, cook quickly!” Rāma shouted.'
- (24) Ramə kəṇṇə? **boli** pəcar-il-a.
 R. what COMP ask-PST-3s
 'Rāma asked, "What?"'

Following direct speech is unmarked:

- (25) Rəma kəh-il-a — "mū Ingraji lekh-ib-i."
 R. say-PST-3s I English write-FUT-1s
 'Rāmā 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) tōme skul j-ib-ɔ kōh-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 kōh-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 Rōma kōh-uth-il-a **je**, se as-ib-ɔ.
 yesterday R. say-IPFV-PST-3s PTCL she come-FUT-3s
 'Yesterday Ramā_i was saying that she_{i,j} 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 Ingraji lekh-ib-ɔ **boli** Rōma kōh-il-a.
 she English write-FUT-3s COMP R. say-PST-3s
 'Ramā_i said that she_{*i,j} 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 *kōribe* 'he would do' in the indirect speech of (29):

- (29) se sthirɔ kɔ-l-e bɔŋɔ-ku ja-i kichi dino tɔpɔsya
 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 aɔ-ku uŋ-i-ja-ũ-jaũ dekh-il-a mɔŋiso
 H. flute sound side-DAT get.up-CV-V2:go-ICV-RDP see-PST-3s man
 ruɔɔ pɔri kɔɔŋɔ goŋa-e paŋi 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 barəmbarə Kruṣṇə-nku prarthəna kər-uth-il-e —
 he again.and.again K.-OBL:DAT prayer do-IPFV-PST-3p(HON)
 ‘he Kruṣṇə! mo-te aṛəṇa-rə kər-i-ni-ɔ.
 INTERJ K. I-DAT own-GEN do-CV-V2:take-2p:IMP
 ‘He was praying again and again to Krishna, “He Krishna! Make me your own.”’
- b. se barəmbarə Kruṣṇə-nku prarthəna kər-uth-il-e je,
 he again.and.again K.-OBL:DAT prayer do-IPFV-PST-3p(HON) PTCL
 Kruṣṇə ta-nku aṛəṇa-rə kər-i-ni-ɔntu.
 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 pəcar-uth-il-i (je) Rəmə kaha-ku upəharə də-b-ɔ.
 I ask-IPFV-PST-1s COMP R. anyone-DAT present give-FUT-3s
 ‘I was asking whom Rāma will give a present.’

Indirect questions can depend upon a noun, e.g. *kəṭha* ‘matter’.

- (33) Rəmə kie (je) Kəməḷa-ku baha he-l-a e kəṭha pəcar-uth-il-a.
 R. who PTCL K.-DAT marriage be-PST-3s this matter ask-IPFV-PST-3s
 ‘Rāma was asking who married Kamalā.’

Indirect yes/no questions are marked by a negative element and the particles *na*, *ki* or *tə*. 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 pəcar-il-i ta-ku bhokə hə-uch-i na nahī / hə-uch-i
 I he-DAT ask-PST-1s he-DAT hunger be-PROG-3s or NEG be-PROG-3s
 ki nahī / hə-u-nah-ī tə.
 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 kəṭha mū jaṇ-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 *jōdi* 'if' (with the concessive variants *jōdio*, *jōdiōpi* 'even though') or *kale* 'in case' (< *kaḷō* 'time' + locative -e),³ or they are nonfinite clauses with the conditional converb *-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 *jōdi* 'if' is often placed in initial position or in second position of the conditional clause, which in turn always precedes the main clause.

- (1) *pagō jōdi khōrap hu-e, semane as-ib-e nahī.*
 weather if bad be-3s:HAB they come-FUT-3p NEG
 'If the weather is bad, they won't come.'
- (2) *jōdi to-rō kebe kichi osubidha hu-e, mo-te*
 if you(FAM)-GEN ever any problem be-3s:HAB I-DAT
jōṅ-a-ib-u.
 know-CAUS-FUT-2s
 'If you ever have any problems, let me know.'
- (3) *tume jōdi niyōmitō bhabō-re pōisa di-ō, mū tumō-ku*
 you(POL) if regular thought-LOC money give-2p:HAB I you(POL)-DAT
ghōrō-ṭi bhōṛa 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) *jōdi kebe bipōdō-re mo-te ḍak-ib-u, mū to-te sahayō*
 if ever danger-LOC I-DAT call-FUT-2s I you(FAM)-DAT help
kōr-ib-i.
 do-FUT-1s
 'If you ever call me in danger, I will help you.'
- (5) *tume jōdi ciṭhi lekh-i-sar-ich-ō, mū ḍakō-re*
 you(POL) if letter write-CV-V2:finish-PERF-2p I post-LOC
pōka-i-de-b-i.
 put-CV-V2:give-FUT-1s
 'If you have finished writing the letter, I'll post it.'
- (6) *tume jōdi prōdhanō-sikhyōkō-nku khoj-uch-ō, ta-nku*
 you(POL) if chief-teacher-OBL:DAT search-PROG-2p he-OBL:DAT
ōphis-re pa-ib-ō.
 o.-LOC find-FUT-2p

³The particle *tō* 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 **jōdi** kōuōsi jubōkō sōhitō sōmpōrkō rōkh-itha-nt-a, tebe
 S. if any young.man with relation keep-PERF-COND-3s then
 taha amō-ku ōgōcōrō nō-tha-nt-a.
 it we-DAT unknown NEG-AUX-COND-3s

'If Śruti 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 *nō*.

- (8) tume jōdi tōrōtōrō **nō-hu-ō**, bōs pa-ib-ō nahī.
 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 *kaḷe* with the meaning 'in case':

- (9) tume **kaḷe** amō ghōrō-ṭa nō-pa-ib-ō, sethi-pāi mū nōkōsa-ṭie
 you(POL) in.case our house-ART NEG-find-FUT-2p that-for I map-INDEF
 kōr-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) **kaḷe** mū ta-nku au thōr-e nō-dekh-ib-i ethi-pāi bidayo
 in.case I he-OBL:DAT more time-INDEF NEG-see-FUT-1s this-for farewell
 jōṅ-a-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) saikel-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', *bhəli* 'like', *matre* 'as soon as', *pəri* 'like' and *pərjyəntə* '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) *goṭi-e maa pāi [taa chua-ku bhəlo⁴ pa-iba-ṭa] ɔti sadhəɔɔɔ*
 CL-INDEF mother for her child-DAT good find-INF-ART very natural
kəṭha.
 matter

'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) **Ramə-rə** (*Syamə-ku) *gaḷi 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.'

Infinitival clauses have some nominal characteristics: When the *iba*-form is not marked for case, the article *-ṭa* and demonstrative elements (very rarely) can be added (this is not possible with *ila*-forms). Adjectives, however, are ungrammatical.

- (3) **e j-iba-ṭa** *səmbhəbə he-b-ɔ.*
 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 *-rə* can be omitted,⁵ e.g. *gruhini-nkə jaṇiba pāi* '(things) for the housewife to know' or *təməmanənkə* 'you (pl.)' in (4):

(Teacher to his pupils.)

⁴*bhəlo* in (1) has not the function of an adjective; *bhəlo 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).

- (4) **təmō-maṅ-nkō** nō-sikh-iba pāi ame kintu dayi
 you(POL)-PL-OBL NEG-learn-INF for we but responsible
 ho-i-nō-par-u.
 become-CV-NEG-can-1pe
 'But we are not responsible if you do not learn the language (lit. we are not responsible for your not-learning).'

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.

- (5) **se / ?ta-ku / ?taa-rō** nac-iba bhōṛia mōt-e lag-e-ni.
 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 hoṭel-re **rōh-iba** amō-rō ebe trutiyo thōrō 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 bhōlo.
 take-INF than give-INF good
 'Giving is better than taking.'
- (8) pila-ṭa ete thōrō Ramulu ghōrō-ku **ja-uth-iba** mo-te bhōlo
 child-ART so.many time R. house-DAT go-IPFV-INF I-DAT good
 lag-u-nah-ī.
 feel-PROG-NEG-3s
 'I don't like the boy visiting Rāmulu's house so often.'

(ii) The modal expressions *ucit* 'should' and *dorkar* 'need' take a nominative infinitival clause.⁶

- (9) eyar hostes namō lekh-a-iba-ku he-le prarthi-ni dwadōso
 a. h. name write-CAUS-INF-DAT be-CONDCV candidate-F twelfth
 sreṇi uttirṇṇō **ho-ith-iba 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) jetebeḷe khub jor-re nido lag-uth-ib-ɔ, sei sɔmɔyɔ-re
 when very strength-LOC sleep feel-IPFV-FUT-3s that time-LOC
 bichɔna-ku **j-iba dɔrkar**.
 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 bisɔyɔ-re aloɔna-re mɔnɔ **de-ba-ɕa** tha-e sɔte
 c.-LOC that matter-LOC discussion-LOC mind give-INF-ART be-3s:HAB really
 je-pɔri-ki ruɕin.
 what-like-PTCL r.
 ‘Concentrating on the discussion about that in the class is really like a routine.’
- (12) jɔdi sɔbu kichi sesɔ **ho-i-j-iba-ɕa** sɔtɔ, tebe e dhɔrmɔ
 if all anything end be-CV-V2:go-INF-ART true then this faith
 ɔdhɔrmɔ-rɔ mane kɔɔɔ?
 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.

- (13) **semane / semanɔ-nku / ?semanɔ-nkɔ-rɔ** j-iba-ku mū
 they they-OBL:DAT they-OBL-GEN go-INF-DAT I
 cah-ūch-i.
 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 **kiṅ-iba-ku** mo-rə jəthestə pəisa nahī.
 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 bənc-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:

desiderative:		pəramərsə de-	'advise'
bhələ lag-	'like'	ənurodhə kər-	'request'
bhələ pa-	'love'	obligation:	
cah-	'want' (17)	badhyə he-	'be obliged'
cesta kər-	'try'	he-	'should'
iccha əch-	'desire'	jəruri he-	'be urgent'
khərapə lag-	'hate'	pəṭ-	'must'
mī-	'manage to'	others:	
mənə he-	'feel like'	arəmbhə kər-	'begin'
narajə	'unwilling'	bəḷə pa-	'find time to' (20)
nispətti kər-	'decide'	bhəyə he-	'fear'
pəśəndə kər-	'prefer'	bhul-	'forget'
prətisruti kər-	'promise'	bəs-	'be about, begin' (21)
sukhə pa-	'enjoy'	char-	'give up'
ṭhik kər-	'decide'	dər-	'fear'
manipulative:		ja-	'be about'
adesə de-	'order'	lag-	'begin'
de-	'give, let' (18)	[time expr.] lag-	'take' (22)
kəh-	'tell sb. to' (19)		

- (17) mū ta-ku rəkhya **kər-iba-ku** cesta kər-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** țikie paņi di-ɔ!
I-DAT drink-INF-DAT a.little water give-2p:IMP
'Give me a little water to drink!'
- (19) aji mo-te dekh-a **kər-iba-ku** ta-nku kuh-a-ho-i-nɔ-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) bəndhu-manɔ-nkɔ pakho-ku cițhi **lekh-iba-ku** mū beļo
friend-PL-OBL side-DAT letter write-INF-DAT I time
pa-u-nah-ī.
find-PROG-NEG-3s
'I don't find time to write to my friends.'
- (21) raja jemiti **kha-iba-ku** bɔs-ich-ɔnti, sɔbu suna
king however eat-INF-DAT sit-PERF-3p(HON) all gold
palɔt-i-gɔl-a.
turn-CV-V2:go:PST-3s
'Everything the king was about to eat turned into gold.'
- (22) sɔrɔkɔ rasta-re Pune **j-iba-ku** bəhut sɔmɔyɔ 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 ghɔrɔ-ku as-ib-e, pila-mane
father when house-DAT come-FUT-3p(HON) child-PL
kha-i-sar-ith-iba-ku mū cah-ē.
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) bɔņua hati-ku posa **mɔn-a-iba(-ku)** bəhut sɔmɔyɔ 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.'

However, *-ku* is required if the complement is emphasised. Consider (25), where the suffix *-ku* of *jibaku* cannot be dropped.

- (25) mū Puri **j-iba-ku** cah-ē, Konarko **j-iba-ku** nuh-ē.
 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-e rajō-putrō-mane sikarō **kor-i** 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 converb with sequential meaning, or it can be understood as a reduced *iba*-form. Consider (27), where the first translation reflects the converb 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 *dekhi*.

(vi) In some contexts the infinitival clause functions as object clause without having purposive function. It then can be marked by the article.

- (28) oneko bōhi-re klob **j-iba-ṭa-ku** mōdyōpanō bhōḷi ekō bōd-ōbyasō
 many book-LOC c. go-INF-ART-DAT wine-drinking like one bad-habit
 sōhō sōmanō stōrō-re rōkh-a-ja-ich-i.
 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 jaṅ-ich-i semane **j-iba-ṭa**.
 I know-PERF-1s they go-INF-ART
 'I know about their going.'
- (30) ete deri-re to-rō kolej-ru **pher-iba** mū au sōh-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) mū se / ta-ku / taa(-rɔ) nac-iba-rɔ dekh-il-i.
 I he he-DAT he-GEN dance-INF-GEN see-PST-1s
 'I saw him dancing.'

Dropping of the genitive *-rɔ* is frequent. In emphasised speech, however, it cannot be dropped:

- (32) sei-ṭa mo-rɔ dekh-ith-iba-rɔ (*dekh-ith-iba-Ø) kɔtha 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.

agrɔhɔ	'interest'	mulyɔ	'value'
bisɔyɔ	'matter'	niyɔmɔ	'rule'
karɔnɔ	'reason'	ɔrthɔ	'meaning'
khɔbɔrɔ	'news'	phɔɔ	'result'
kɔtha	'matter'	sɔmbhabɔna	'probability'
lɔkhyɔ	'aim'	sɔmpɔrkɔ	'behalf'

- (33) ḍakɔ-tiket: ciṭhi pɔṭha-iba-rɔ mulyɔ swɔrupɔ ciṭhi-re
 postage-t. letter send-INF-GEN value form letter-LOC
 lɔg-a-ja-ith-iba sɔrɔkari t̄iket.
 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 kɔh-iba-rɔ ɔrthɔ kɔnɔ?
 you(POL) say-INF-GEN meaning what
 'What do you mean? (lit. What is the meaning of your speaking?)'
- (35) aji upɔrɔɔli bɔrsa he-ba-rɔ sɔmbhabɔna ɔchi.
 today afternoon rain be-INF-GEN probability be-3s
 'There is the probability of rain this afternoon.'

kɔtha, *khɔbɔrɔ* and *bisɔyɔ* are used very frequently and fulfill the function of complementisers (see complement clauses, 7.2).

- (36) mū gɔbesɔna kɔr-uth-iba kɔtha tɔmɔ-ku kie kɔh-uth-il-a?
 I research do-IPFV-INF matter you(POL)-DAT who say-IPFV-PST-3s
 'Who had told you about my research?'

- (37) Rəmesə səməstə-nkə **as-iba** khəbərə Raju-ku de-l-a.
 R. all-OBL come-INF news R.-DAT give-PST-3s
 'Rameśa told Rāju 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 *baṭə* 'way', and (39) where it is used as attributive adjective of *rasta* 'road'.

- (38) jēū bhul kər-ich-i, ta-ku **sojər-iba-rə** baṭə th-ile mo-te
 which wrong do-PERF-1s it-DAT arrange-INF-GEN way be-CONDCV I-DAT
 kəh-ə.
 say-2p:IMP
 'If there is a way to make up what I did wrong, tell me.'
- (39) mū **as-ith-iba** rasta **as-iba** rasta nuh-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. *dekh-* 'see', *suṇ-* 'hear', *jaṇ-* 'learn'.

- (40) deuḷə ghəṇṭa **baj-uth-iba-rə** suṇ-i-par-uch-ə?
 temple bell ring-IPFV-INF-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. *dəsə bərsə heləni* 'it has been ten years since ...'.

- (41) amə-ku Dilli **as-iba-rə** dəsə bərsə he-l-a-ṇi.
 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-rə** mo-te bare-iba-ṭharu mū ta-ku bare-iba-ṭa
 he he-DAT he-GEN I-DAT beat-INF-ABL I he-DAT beat-INF-ART
 bhəb hə-b-ə.
 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 *-ṭha*⁷ is usually inserted. Only the *iba*-form occurs.

⁷See 3.1.4.1.

- (43) Premo Kōṭoko **as-iba-ṭharu** 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 morpheme *-ṭha* does not occur; in this case the *ila*-form is used as well, without meaning difference.

- (44) bapa-nko sōhokari osustho **th-iba-ru** se nij-e ta-nko ciṭhi-guriko
 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 osubidha he-l-a.
 I come-PST:INF-ABL so.much problem happen-PST-3s
 'All the problems happened because I came.'
- (46) Subhōdra-ku **pōcar-iba-ru** se eṇu teṇu phand-i micho 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 subordinate *-ru*-clause:

- (47) mōntri e bisōyo Bidyutprōbha-ku **jōṇ-a-iba-ru** se muhō
 minister this matter B.-DAT know-CAUS-INF-ABL she face
 tōḷo-ku pot-i kōh-il-a, "mō bapa-nko sōnge e bisōyo-re
 bottom-DAT bow-CV say-PST-3s my father-OBL with this matter-LOC
 kōthabartta 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) mō-te se / ***ta-ku** / **taa-rō** nac-iba-re ascōrjyo 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:

byōsto	'busy'	obhyōsto	'learned'
biļombhō kār-	'be slow'	rag-	'be angry at'
dōkhyō	'able'	sahajyō kār-	'help'
lag-	'keep'	sōhōjogō kār-	'cooperate'

- (49) se sarhi-tie **buñ-iba-re** byōsto ooh-i.
 he saree-INDEF weave-INF-LOC busy be-3s
 'He is busy weaving a saree.'
- (50) tume mo-te bibahō **kār-iba-re** ete biļombhō kār-uch-ō 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 dōrōdam **bōrh-iba-re** lag-ich-i.
 day-DAT day price rise-INF-LOC keep-PERF-3s
 'Prices keep rising from day to day.'
- (52) othō, jibhō, dantō adi ōnyō kamō pāñ uddistō ōngōprōtyōngō-hī kōtha
 lip tongue tooth main other work for referred.to all.limbs-EMPH matter
kōh-iba-re sahajyō kār-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-rō karōñō **pōcar-iba-re** ophis kōrmōcari kōh-il-e, ...
 it-GEN reason ask-INF-LOC o. employee say-PST-3p(HON)
 'When they asked for its reason, the office employee said, ...' (News-
 paper)

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;
- converbs: general converb (CV), imperfective converb (ICV) and conditional converb (CONDCV).

(i) Time

Concepts	English	Oriya
Simultaneity:		
overlap	'when'	PP <i>beḷe</i> ; ABL <i>-ru</i>
duration	'while'	PP <i>beḷe</i> , reduplicated ICV (see 7.6.2)
co-extensiveness	'as long as'	PP <i>jae</i>
Anteriority	'before'	PP <i>agaru</i> , <i>purbaru</i>
Immediate anteriority	'as soon as'	CONJ <i>matre</i> , <i>jemiti</i>
Terminus a quo	'since'	ABL <i>-tharu</i> , PP <i>porotharu</i>
Posteriority	'after'	PP <i>pore</i> ; general CV (see 7.6.1)
Terminus ad quem	'until'	PP <i>porjyanta</i> , <i>jae</i>
Contingency	'whenever'	CORREL <i>jetebeḷe</i> ... <i>setebeḷe</i> (see 7.8)

(ii) Causal, conditional, concessive

Cause	'because'	COMP <i>boli</i> , PP <i>hetu</i> , <i>jogu</i> , ABL <i>-ru</i>
Condition	'if'	CONJ <i>jodi</i> , CONDCV (see 7.3, 7.6.3)
Concession	'although'	CONDCV + <i>mādhyā</i> , <i>bi</i> (see 4.3.5.5)
Contrast	'whereas'	PP <i>beḷe</i>
Result	'that, so that'	PP <i>bhōḷi</i> ; CONJ <i>je</i> , <i>jepōri</i>
Purpose	'in order to'	PP <i>lagi</i> , <i>pāi</i> , <i>nimante</i> ; DAT <i>-ku</i> ; CONJ <i>jemiti</i> , <i>jepōri</i>

(iii) Modal

Manner	(doing)	PP <i>dwara</i> , <i>sōho</i> ; general converb (see 7.6.1)
Similarity, proportion	'as; the ... the'	CORREL e.g. <i>jete</i> ... <i>sete</i> , <i>jetiki</i> ... <i>setiki</i> (see 7.8)
Comparison	'as if'	PP <i>bhōḷi</i> , <i>pōri</i> , CONJ <i>jemiti</i>

(iv) Others

Substitution	'instead of'	negated general converb (see 7.6)
Negative concomitance	'without'	negated general converb (see 7.6)
Concomitance	'while'	PP <i>songe songe, soho, sohito</i>

The subject of the infinitival clause with postposition is in the nominative or genitive.

- (54) *mū se / *ta-ku / taa-ro nac-iba pã dayi nuh-ẽ.*
 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 *beḷo* 'time' with locative case (*beḷe*) or dative case (*beḷoku*) 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 boro jõi as-ila beḷo-ku sano jõi bi*
 day-INDEF big son-in-law come-INF:PST time-DAT little son-in-law also
as-i pohnonc-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 gã-re th-ila beḷ-e bibaho 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 beḷ-e kothabartta kor-u-nah-ĩ.*
 eat-IPFV-INF:PST time-LOC conversation do-PROG-NEG-3s
 'Don't speak while you are eating.'

(ii) The use of *beḷe* has been extended to express the concept of contrast, which results in the temporal meaning being lost.

(Talking about Oriya short letters for vowels.)

- (64) se **jemiti** bimanə-bəndərə lauj-ru bahar-ich-ənti, ta-nku
 he as.soon.as airplane-port l.-ABL come.out-PERF-3p(HON) he-OBL:DAT
 turəntə pulis gher-i-gəl-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 *pərətharu* or with the
 ablative case *-tharu* (see 7.4.4) indicates since when the situation described by
 the main clause has been going on.

- (65) rajyə ərthə-seba-re jəgə **de-la** **pərə-tharu** ədiṭ-re kebehele
 state money-service-LOC join give-INF:PST after-ABL a.-LOC ever
 se nə-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 *pərə* ‘after’. Both
ila- and *iba-*forms occur.

- (66) taa gəṛə **bhang-i-j-iba** **pərə-e** se au kebe phutbəl kheḷ-il-a
 his leg break-CV-V2:go-INF after-LOC he more ever f. play-PST-3s
 nahī.
 NEG
 ‘After he broke his leg, he never played football again.’
- (67) səməst-e **cal-i-gəla** **pərə-e** Bənəḷəta 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 *pəryəntə* both mean
 ‘until’. In addition *jae* expresses co-extensiveness (“as long as”). Both *ila-* and
*iba-*forms occur.

- (68) Hindu o Musəḷəmanə-mane kəḷəhə bəndə **kə-iba** **pəryəntə**
 H. and M.-PL quarrel stop do-INF until
 Gandhi-ji ta-nkə ənəṣənə tyəgə kə-l-e nahī.
 G.-HON he-OBL fast giving.up do-PST-3p(HON) NEG
 ‘Gāndhī didn’t give up his fast until the Hindus and Muslims stopped
 quarrelling.’
- (69) ambə **pac-ila** **pəryəntə** təl-ə nahī.
 mango ripen-INF:PST until pick-2p:IMP NEG
 ‘Don’t pick the mangoes until they are ripe.’

(Subhadrā wanted to become queen.)

- (70) raṇi **bānc-uth-iba jae** ta kōṇṇō sōmbhōḃō?
 queen live-IPFV-INF until it INT possible
 ‘Was that possible as long as the queen lived?’

Cause The postpositions *hetu* and *jogū* introduce causal clauses (besides the ablative suffix *-ru* (see 7.4.4) and the conjunction *boli* (see 7.2.2)).

- (71) sikhyōkō ta-ku pōṛha **kār-i-nō-th-iba** **hetu** kaṇō dhār-i dōsō
 teacher he-DAT study do-PERF-NEG-AUX-INF because ear take-CV ten
 thōrō uṭh-a-bōs-a kār-iba dōṇḃō de-ith-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 ṭyōṇtō ṇōosaria **th-iba jogū** ekōtrō dui-goṭi mōṭor gaṛi pas
 road too narrow be-INF because together two-CL m. car p.
 kār-iba sōmbhōḃō.
 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 purposive meaning.

- (73) Sitakantō pōrikhya pāi prōstutō **he-ba** **pāi** taa-rō bōhi khol-il-a.
 S. exam for ready become-INF for he-GEN book open-PST-3s
 ‘Sitākānta 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 sōbha-re jogōdanō **kār-iba nimōnte** sōmmiḃōni-rō sōhō
 this meeting-LOC participation do-INF for society-GEN with
 sōmpadōkō Sri Lingōrajō Rōthō, sisu sahiyikō o sisu
 secretary S. L. R. child author and child
 sahiyō-premi-nku ṇnurodhō jōṇ-a-ich-ōnti.
 literature-lover-OBL:DAT request know-CAUS-PERF-3p(HON)

‘The secretary Śri Lingarāja Ratha together with the society has made known the request to authors and lovers of children literature to participate 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).

- (75) ta-nku **bheṭ-iba pāī** Babōrō-nkō-rō iccha he-l-a.
 he-OBL:DAT meet-INF for B.-OBL-GEN wish be-PST-3s
 'Bābara wished to meet him.'
- (76) e ḍōba sahebō-nkō **bōs-iba pāī**.
 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 *pāī*.

- (77) mū ta-nku kōh-uth-il-i aji **as-iba pāī**.
 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 koṭī sisu-nkō polio roḡō-ru mukṭō **kōr-iba lagi** ehi
 13 10,000,000 child-OBL p. disease-ABL free make-INF for this
 ṭikadano karjyōkrōmō ayojitō 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, *bhōḷi* signals a purpose or result clause as well.

- (79) bakso-ṭi ete gurāe jiniso **dhōr-i-par-iba bhōḷi** bōṛō 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 **lōge-ila bhōḷi** goṭi-e osōdhō oḥ-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 *jepōri* 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 pāī kichi khadyō puṛia kōr-i-de-ich-i, **jepōri** se
 I he-OBL for some food packet do-CV-V2:give-PERF-1s in.order he
 baṭō-re kha-i-par-ib-ō.
 way-LOC eat-CV-can-FUT-3s
 'I've packed him a little food so that he can eat it on the way.'

- (82) mū cīṭhi-ṭi sabodhano-re luc-a-i rakh-il-i **jepori** kehi
 I letter-ART careful-LOC hide-CAUS-CV keep-PST-1s in.order anyone
 cīṭhi-ṭi-ku dekh-i-nō-par-ṁti.
 letter-ART-DAT see-CV-NEG-can-3p:HAB
 'I hid the letter carefully so that no one could see it.'
- (83) chōp-i chōpi-ka gōl-a gai-rō pōch-e pōche, **jemiti** ki gai
 hide-CV RDP-CV go:PST-3s cow-GEN back-LOC RDP in.order PTCL cow
 kimba ṁnyō kehi jaṅ-i-nō-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 *dwara* 'by'.

- (84) ehi pōrbōpōrbani-guṛi-ku paḷṁṁō **kōr-iba** *dwara* mōṁṁō anōṁṁō
 these festival-PL-DAT celebration do-INF by mind joy
 rōh-e.
 stay-3s:HAB
 'There is much joy by celebrating these festivals.'

Comparison (i) Subordinate clauses of comparison are signalled by the postpositions *bhōḷi* and *pōri* 'like, as if'. Here, the *ila*-form is more frequent than the *iba*-form.

- (85) Srutiraṇi taa stoṛi ṭebul upōr-e muhō maṛ-i **so-ila** **bhōḷi**
 S. her s. t. top-LOC face put-CV sleep-INF:PST as.if
 pōṛ-ith-il-a.
 lie-PERF-PST-3s
 'Śrutirāṇī lay there with the face on her story table as if she was sleeping.'
- (86) mo padō-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 jōṅ-e nua lokō **ho-ith-ila** **pōri** se mo sōhito
 I CL-IND new person become-PERF-INF:PST like she I:OBL with
 byōbōharō kō-l-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-il!
 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 *songe songe* (< *songe* 'with'), *sōhō* and *sōhō* 'with' signal the relation of concomitance: the situation of the subordinate clause accompanies that of the main clause.

- (89) taa-rō bōyōsō **bōrh-iba songe songe** oḥhikō dayitwō taa upōr-e
 she-GEN age grow-INF with RDP more duty she:OBL top-LOC
 pōr-il-a.
 fall-PST-3s
 'With growing age more and more duties fell on her.'

(About a uproar in a school.)

- (90) jōnoikō pōrikhyarthi pōrikhyōkō-nkō-ṭharu sōmōstō khata
 one examinee examiner-OBL-ABL all book
chōr-a-i-ne-ba sōhō oṇyanyō pōrikhyarthi-mane uttyōktō
 leave-CAUS-CV-V2:take-INF with other examinee-PL excited
 hō-i ṭebul cōuki adi asōbabō-pōtrō bhōngaruja kōr-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 bōrs-iyō raja pōnjuri mōdhyō-ru dui-ṭi kōpōtō-nku akaso-ku
 71 year-ADJR king cage middle-ABL two-CL dove-OBL:DAT sky-DAT
ur-a-iba sōhō ehi pōtījogita-ku udghaṭōnō kōr-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) Rāmō-rō mōdō **pi-a** sōr-il-a-ṇi tō?
 R.-GEN liquor drink-PTCP finish-PST-3s-MIR PTCL
 'Has Rāma stopped drinking (lit. has Rāma's drinking liquor stopped)?'

Dative (with object function):

- (2) Ramə-rə mədə **pi-a-ku** sabədhano.
 R.-GEN liquor drink-PTCP-DAT careful
 'Be aware of Rāma's drinking.'

Genitive (with possessor function):

- (3) Ramə-rə mədə **pi-a-rə** onto nah-ī.
 R.-GEN liquor drink-PTCP-GEN end be:NEG-3s
 'There is no end to Rāma's drinking.'

Locative (with oblique object function):

- (4) Ramə-rə mədə **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) Ramə-rə mədə **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 *Syaməku* in (6) is not allowed. Objects are unmarked and incorporated into a fixed noun-verb complex, e.g. *mədə pia* 'drinking', *gaḷi dia* 'scolding'.

- (6) Ramə-rə (*Syamə-ku) gaḷi **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. **nə-pia* 'not drinking'.

(iv) No adverb can be inserted between the agent and the *a*-form, e.g. *bəhut* 'much' is ungrammatical in (7):

- (7) Ramə-rə (*bəhut) gaḷi **di-a** khərap subh-il-a.
 R.-GEN much scolding give-PTCP bad sound-PST-3s
 'Rāma's scolding (much) sounds bad.'

(v) The article *-ṭa* can be added to the gerund:

- (8) Ramə-rə mədə **pi-a-ṭa** kəm-i kəmi as-il-a-ṇi.
 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) Ramo-ro mōdo **pi-iba** pāi kie dayi?
 R.-GEN liquor drink-INF for who responsible
 'Who is responsible for Rāma's drinking?'

Some further examples:

- (10) apəno **pəhōr-a** jaŋ-ich-ənti?
 you(HON) swim-PTCP know-PERF-3p
 'Can you swim?'

(A carpenter said he would come on Thursday.)

- (11) gurubarə gəl-a, sukrobarə gəl-a, tothapi bəŋhei-ro
 Thursday go:PST-3s Friday go:PST-3s nevertheless carpenter-GEN
dekh-a nah-ī.
 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** sər-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 *pəŋ-* '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 verb* with the ending *-u* and the *conditional verb* with the ending *-ile*.

7.6.1 General verb

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 converb is never overt. The matrix subject can, however, appear in front of the converb clause, e.g. *jəŋ-e pulis əphisɔr* 'a police officer' in (1). Note that a pause is possible rather after *əphisɔr* than after the converb *ətəkai*, confirming that the *əphisɔr*-NP has to be detached from and is not part of the converb clause.

- (1) *jəŋ-e pulis əphisɔr* [*jəŋ-e məhila-nku kar ətək-a-i*]
 CL-INDEF p. o. CL-INDEF woman-OBL:DAT c. stop-CAUS-CV
laisens mag-il-e.
 I. ask-PST-3p(HON)
 'A police officer stopped a woman's car and asked for her licence.'

Example (2) confirms this analysis: the converb clause *khaiki* 'having eaten' is inserted into the main clause:

- (2) *mū tɔ ghər-u* [*kha-i-ki*] *as-il-i.*
 I PTCL house-ABL eat-CV-CV come-PST-1s
 'I came from home having eaten.'

The converb clause 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) **Kuļəmənī kha-i-ki* *Sita so-i-gəl-a.*
 K. eat-CV-CV S. sleep-CV-V2:go:PST-3s
 'Kuļamañi ate, and Sītā slept.'

Roles in the matrix clause The subject of the converb can appear in various other roles than subject in the matrix clause:

(i) Experiencer:

- (4) *Nəḷini-rɔ ciṭhi pəh-i* *Rəbindrɔ-ku* *ragɔ as-il-a.*
 N.-GEN letter read-CV R.-DAT anger come-PST-3s
 'Rabindra got angry after reading Nəḷini's letter.'
- (5) *apəŋə-nkɔ-rɔ* *bahaghərɔ kɔtha suŋ-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-rɔ dui-ṭi* *pila Amerika-re* *he-l-e.* *Bharɔtɔ as-i-ki*
 S.-GEN two-CL child A.-LOC be-PST-3p India come-CV-CV
ta-nkɔ-rɔ *ahuri dui-ṭa* *pila 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.'

(iii) Possessor (used as attribute):

- (7) *tren-re jatra kār-i-ki mo jama oṣṇa ho-i-gol-a.*
 t.-LOC journey do-CV-CV my clothes dirty become-CV-V2:go:PST-3s
 'Having travelled by train, my clothes got dirty.'
- (8) *Oṛisa-re ete kām dinō rōh-i-ki bi taa Oṛia gyaṇō mo-te cākito*
 O.-LOC so few day stay-CV-CV even his O. knowledge I-DAT surprise
 gol-a.
 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 converb *rōhiki bi*; the argument *taa* 'his', which connects the converb clause with the main clause, must be adjacent to the converb.

(iv) Certain postpositional noun phrases (especially with *bhitōre* 'inside'):

- (9) *sōkaḷ-u logatōrō kāmō kār-i-ki bi mulia-manō-nkō bhitōr-e*
 morning-ABL continuous work do-CV-CV even worker-PL-OBL inside-LOC
 ebe bi kāmō kār-iba-rō sōkti oḥ-i.
 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. *pāi* 'for') are ungrammatical:

- (10) **Oṛia nō-sikh-i-ki mo pāi tumō-ku bujh-iba kōstō.*
 O. 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 converb (11). Without an overt object, the linkage of a converb with a passive in the main clause is possible (12).

- (11) **Oṛia nō-sikh-i-ki mo-te ṭhōk-a-gol-a.*
 O. NEG-learn-CV-CV I-DAT cheat-PASS-go:PST-3s
 'Having never learnt Oriya, I was cheated.'
- (12) *Sita dwara ekāṭhi bōs-i-kār-i kichi kāmō*
 S. by together sit-CV-do-CV any work
 kār-a-ja-i-par-ib-ō-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 converb, the sentence is ungrammatical; consider (13), where the main clause *borsa hela* does not refer to the person who has arrived in Bhubaneswar.

- (13) *Bhubāneswarō-re p̄h̄ñc-i-ja-i borsa he-l-a.
 Bh.-LOC arrive-CV-V2:go-CV rain be-PST-3s
 'Having arrived in Bhubaneswar, it rained.'

Roles in the converb clause (i) Instead of the subject, there are some other roles in the converb clause that can link the two clauses; these elements (e.g. *taarō* in (14)) can be put explicitly in the converb clause (unlike underlying subjects).

- Possessor:

- (14) (**taa-rō**) tini-ṭa pila ho-i-ki bi Prāsādō khusi
 he-GEN three-CL child be-CV-CV even P. joy
 rōh-u-n-i.
 stay-PROG-NEG-3s
 'Prasāda is not happy, although he has three children.'

- Experiencer in the genitive:

- (15) (**ta-nkō-rō**) toṭa chai-re kichi sōmōyō bisramō kōr-iba-ku
 he-OBL-GEN grove shadow-LOC some time rest do-INF-DAT
 iccha kōr-i se ghoṛa-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 Cōitōkō bhago-ku
 he:OBL inside-LOC so.much brave be-CV-CV C. tiger-DAT
 dekh-i-ki pōḷa-i-gōl-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)>(*semanō-nku) bhokō 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 converbs can be different from matrix subjects.

- (18) *bōhut bōrsa he-i phōsōb khōrap ho-i-gōl-a.*
 much rain be-CV crop bad become-CV-V2:go:PST-3s
 ‘The crops got spoiled due to heavy rainfall.’
- (19) *ghōrō pōr-i bōhut lokō mōr-i-gōl-e.*
 house fall-CV many people die-CV-V2:go:PST-3p
 ‘A lot of people died when the house collapsed.’
- (20) *taa-rō muhō rasta-re piṭ-i-ho-i-j-iba-ru dantō bhang-i*
 he-GEN face road-LOC hit-CV-be-CV-V2:go-INF-ABL tooth break-CV
muhō-ru rōktō bahar-il-a o se bōhut kōstō 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 *bhang-i* is *dantō*, whereas *rōktō* is the subject of the main verb *baharila*.

Objects Within a sentence with converbs each of the subclauses can have its own objects. Consider (21):

- (21) *swami-nku dekh-i se bhikhya-ḍala tho-i-de-i*
 husband-OBL:DAT see-CV she alm-tray put-CV-V2:give-CV
swami-nkō-rō padō 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 converb and that of the main clause is the same, it occurs only once and does not have to be resumed as pronoun:

- (22) *kebōḷ pōthi-gurīe pōṛh-i (ta-ku) mukhōsthō kō-le gyano*
 only book-PL read-CV it-DAT memorise do-CONDCV knowledge
labhō hu-e nahī.
 use be-3s:HAB NEG
 ‘The knowledge is of no use if you only read and memorise books.’
- (23) *kukurō-chua-tīe aṇ-i taa sejo-re rōkh-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.’

Time reference The time reference of the converb 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 converb *rōhi* in (25) is under the scope of the Conditional mood of *gauthanti*. In (26) the Imperative mood of *rōkhō* applies to the converb *lōgai* as well.

- (24) thako-re mo cōsōma-ṭa oḥ-i. — mū **ja-i** tumō pāi **ne-i**
 shelf-LOC my glasses-ART be-3s I go-CV you(POL) for take-CV
 as-ib-i.
 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 bhāi, mū jōdi tumō jaga-re tha-nt-i o mo pōri
 fox brother I if you(POL) place-LOC be-COND-1s and I:OBL like
 goṭa-e sundōrō kukura ne-i-ja-utha-nt-i, tebe tumō
 CL-INDEF beautiful cock take-CV-go-IPFV-COND-1s then you(POL):OBL
 bhōli cupō **no-rōh-i** mū anōndō-re gitō 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) pōthōrō khōṇḍ-e **lōga-i** kōbāṭō-ṭa mela rōkh-ō.
 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 converb.

- (27) mū chuṭi-re Kōlikōṭa **ja-i** mo pila-manō-nku aṇ-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) tōme Nōndōnō Kānōnō **ja-i** pōsu-manō-nku dekh-ich-ō?
 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 converb

The imperfective converb with the suffix *-u* signals simultaneity (for semantic details see 4.3.5.4). The clause formed by the imperfective converb is inserted

into the main clause; consider (29) where the reduplicated imperfective converb clause *baṭore jau jau* 'going on the way' is embedded:

- (29) mo-te [baṭo-re **ja-u jau**] 100 ṭonk-ia noṭ-ṭie miḷ-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 doḷi-re jhul-o-u jhulou **pila-ṭi**
 mother her child-DAT cradle-LOC swing-CAUS-ICV RDP child-ART
 so-i-pōṛ-il-a.
 fall.asleep-CV-V2:fall-PST-3s
 'The child fell asleep while the mother was rocking it in the cradle.'

Imperfective converbs in yes/no questions can be under the scope of interrogation or not.

- (31) gaṛi **coḷa-u coḷau** se tumo songe koṭhabartta 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 converbs

The conditional converb with the ending *-ile* is used

- for real and unreal conditions;
- for concessive clauses (*mōdhyo* '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 upōjuktō kōnya-patrō dekh-i taa-rō bibaho
 he come-CONDCV CL-INDEF suitable bride-person see-CV he-GEN marriage
 kōr-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 marriage.'

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) *ḡakṵ-bala ciṡhi aṅ-iba-rṵ nirddistṵ sṵmṵyṵ kṵh-iba ṵ suṅ-iba*
 post-N.AG letter bring-INF-GEN definite time say-INF and hear-INF
lokṵ ubhṵy-e jaṅ-ṵnti.
 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) *kacṵ: stri-lokṵ-mane hatṵ-re pindh-iba ṵṅnkarcṵ.*
 bangle woman-person-PL hand-LOC wear-INF ornament

‘Bangle: an ornament which women wear at the hand.’

- (3) *sikhṵyṵkṵ pṵcar-ith-iba pṵrcsnṵ-gurṵkṵ kṵṡhincṵ 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):

- (4) *Mṵhesṵ ciṡhi lekṵh-ith-iba lokṵ-ṡi-rṵ stri mṵr-i-gṵl-a.*
 M. letter write-PERF-INF person-ART-GEN wife die-CV-V2:go:PST-3s

‘The wife of the man whom Maheśa had written a letter died.’

(iv) Relativised experiencer function:

- (5) *mṵ sei jṵrṵ ho-ith-iba lokṵ-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 cari-ṡa puṵ th-iba bapa-ku bṵhut kṵstṵ sṵh-iba-ku*
 that four-CL son be-INF father-DAT very difficult suffer-INF-DAT
pṵṡ-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).

- (7) Sita paṇi **aṇ-uth-iba** kuṭ-ṭi bōhut ṣṣṇa ho-ich-i.
S. water bring-IPFV-INF well-ART very dirty be-PERF-3s
'The well where Sītā gets water is very dirty.'
- (8) mō-te se rasta **dekh-e-iba** bōti
I-DAT he road see-CAUS-INF candle
'the candle with which he showed me the way'
- (9) Ramō **kha-uth-iba** ṭebul upor-e bilei bōs-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** bōndu
I s. go-IPFV-INF friend
'the friend with whom I go to school' (cf. *mō 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 rōhuthiba lokṭi*), the sentence is correct.

- (12) ***rōh-uth-iba** gāā-re **lokṭ-ṭi** 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) mō-te Kōṭkō-ru tiari kōr-e-i **aṇ-ith-iba** saṛhi **de-ith-iba**
I-DAT C.-ABL make do-CAUS-CV bring-PERF-INF s. give-PERF-INF
lokṭ-ṭi-rō ghōrō kouṭhi?
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** lokṭ 'a man who does not eat'
nō-kand-uth-iba pila 'a child that is not weeping'

- (15) **nɔ-ga-ith-iba** gito / **ga-i-nɔ-th-iba** gito
 NEG-sing-PERF-INF song sing-PERF-NEG-AUX-INF song
 'a song which has not been sung'

The *iba*-forms in the examples given so far are all restrictive relative clauses. However, *iba*-forms are used for non-restrictive relative clauses as well, but more rarely.

(In a competition.)

- (16) “ɔsusthɔ pɔribesɔ”-rɔ nɔmuna tiari **kɔr-ith-iba** Atul sresthɔ
 unhealthy environment-GEN model build do-PERF-INF A. best
 sthanɔ pa-ich-i.
 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 *je*-series in the preceding subordinate clause and the correlative *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.

Relative pro-forms	Correlative pro-forms
<i>je, jie</i> 'who'	<i>se, sie</i> 'that'
<i>jēũ</i> 'which'	<i>se</i> 'that'
<i>jēũmane</i> 'who' (pl)	<i>semane</i> 'those'
<i>jaharɔ</i> 'whose'	<i>taharɔ</i> 'of that'
<i>jepɔri</i> 'how'	<i>sepɔri</i> 'as'
<i>jete</i> 'how much'	<i>sete</i> 'that much'

The pronouns *jēũ* and *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. *jēũ lokɔmane* 'the people' in (1). It is either resumed in the main clause by

the correlative pronoun (*semanɔnku* in (1)) or repeated in full form in the main clause, e. g. *jēũ bhasa* ‘which language’ and *sehi bhasa* ‘that language’ in (2).

- (1) **jēũ lokɔ-mane** e ghɔr-e rɔh-ɔnti, mũ **semanɔ-nku**
 which person-PL this house-LOC live-3p:HAB I they-OBL:DAT
 jaŋ-e nahĩ.
 know-1s:HAB NEG
 ‘I don’t know the people who live in this house.’
- (2) tumɔ purbɔ purusɔ-mane hɔjarɔ hɔjarɔ bɔrsɔ purb-e **jēũ**
 you(POL):OBL before man-PL thousand RDP year before-LOC which
bhasa kɔh-uth-il-e, tume bɔrttɔman **se bhasa** suŋ-ile
 language say-IPFV-PST-3p you(POL) now that language hear-CONDCV
 adɔu bujh-i-par-ɔnt-ɔ nahĩ.
 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) **jēũ kagɔjɔ-ti** hɔj-i-ja-ith-il-a, mũ pa-ich-i.
 which paper-ART be.lost-CV-V2:go-PERF-PST-3s I 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 **jēũ burha** bɔs-ich-i, se ei dhaba-rɔ malikɔ.
 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) **jēũ lokɔ-ti-ku** tume cah-ũch-ɔ, se ehi khyɔni
 which person-ART-DAT you(POL) want-PROG-2p he this moment
 bahar-i-gɔl-a.
 go.out-CV-V2:go:PST-3s
 ‘The man you want has just left.’

• possessor:

- (6) **jaha-rɔ** pɔribarɔ choɔɔ, 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 sōmɔyɔre* 'at which time' is an adverbial phrase in a complement clause within the relative clause.

(8) kōuṇsi ghoṭṭṇa **jēū sōmɔyɔ-re** ghoṭ-ib-ɔ boli asa
 any event which time-LOC happen-FUT-3s COMP expect
 kōr-a-ja-utha-e, taha ago-ru ghoṭ-i-ja-ich-i
 do-PASS-go-IPFV-3s:HAB that before-ABL happen-CV-V2:go-PERF-3s
 boli bujh-a-ile "already" byṁbōhrutɔ hu-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 praṇi, **jaha-rɔ** deho-ṭi boṛɔ, kintu akhi dui-ṭi
 elephant CL-INDEF animal who-GEN body-ART big but eye two-CL
 choṭɔ.
 small

'The elephant is an animal whose body is large, but both its eyes are small.'

(10) Haidrabad puruṇa sōhōrɔ-re karigōrɔ ɔch-onti, **jēū-mane** mukta-ku
 H. old town-LOC artisan be-3p who-PL pearl-DAT
 ghōs-i-maj-i palis kōr-onti, harɔ gunth-i-di-onti.
 rub-CV-polish-CV polish do-3p:HAB chain connect-CV-V2:give-3p:HAB

'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** setebeḷe cōudɔ bōrsɔ ho-ith-il-a,] bilɔ-baṛi-re
 N. who-DAT then fourteen year be-PERF-PST-3s field-field-LOC
 mul-ia kamɔ kōr-i maa-ku sahaṃyɔ kōl-a.
 salary-ADJR work do-CV mother-DAT help do-PST-3s

'Nidhiā, who was fourteen years old then, helped his mother by working in the field for salary.'

- (12) inspektor Candə, [**jaha-nko** pura namə Prəbiṇə Kumārə Candə,]
 i. C. who-OBL full name P. K. C.
 kəh-il-e, ...
 say-PST-3p(HON)
 'Inspector Cānda, whose full name was Prabina Kumāra Cānda, said ...'

Postposed relative clauses can be non-restrictive as well. Consider (13) where the relative pronoun *jēūthi pāi* serves as causal clause linker 'for which reason'.

- (13) rogi-ti hoṭhat hrud-rogo-re punəscə akrantə
 patient-ART suddenly heart-illness-LOC again attacked
 ho-i-pəṛ-ith-il-e, **jēūthi pāi** hrud-rogo bibhago
 be-CV-V2:fall-PERF-PST-3p(HON) which for heart-illness department
 bisesəgyə-nku ḍək-a-ja-ith-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 lokə, **je** mo ghoṇṭa cori kəṛ-ith-il-a.
 this that person who my watch theft do-PERF-PST-3s
 'This is the man who stole my watch.'
- (15) apəṇə ekə-matrə byəkṭi, **je** ki⁸ mo-rə kəbita-ku mənə de-i
 you(HON) one-only person who PTCL I-GEN poem-DAT mind give-CV
 suṇ-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 muṇḍə-re **jaha** pəs-e, se taha kəh-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 pōcho-re goṛa-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 *jetebeḷe* ... (*setebeḷe*) 'whenever' (19).

- (19) **jetebeḷe** iccha, tume mo songe dekh-a kār-ṓ.
 whenever want you(POL) I:OBL with see-PTCP do-2p:IMP
 'See me whenever you like.'
- (20) bapa **jetebeḷe** bōjaro kār-ṓnti, **setebeḷe** byag-re hōl-e-i
 father when market do-3p(HON):HAB then b.-LOC shake-CAUS-CV
 hōlei pōriba pura-nti ṓdhikō dhōr-iba pāñ.
 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 kahīki*, literally 'or why', can be added to clauses with free-choice quantifiers:

- (21) apṓṓ **jaha** kuh-ṓntu **na kahīki**, se nisce bhōḷo pōṛh-uth-ib-ṓ.
 you(HON) what say-3p:IMP or why he surely good study-IPFV-FUT-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-naṭyṓ jete bhōḷo lag-e jatra sete bhōḷo
 I-DAT but song-play how.much good feel-3s:HAB y. so.much good
 lag-e-ni. — hō, **jaha-ku** jemiti bhōḷo 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 concludes:)

- (23) **jaha-rṓ jepōri** ruci.
 who-GEN how love
 'Everybody his taste.'

(vi) Reduplication of relative pro-forms conveys a distributive meaning. Consider 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), *jēū jēū* in the preceding relative clause refers to each of the eight composed nouns. Note that the predicate of the relative clause is nominal (*gōṭhito* 'built') and that the correlative pronoun in the main clause is *tahaku*.

- (24) *eguriko jēū jēū ek-adhiko pōḍo dwara gōṭhito, taha-ku nimno-re*
 these which RDP one-more word by built those-DAT below-LOC
jōthakrome (9)-ru (16) udahoroṇo mōdhyo-re
 respectively-ABL (9)-ABL (16) example middle-LOC
dekh-a-i-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-ro jaha jaha dorakar, se-sobu mū*
 you(FAM)-GEN what RDP need that-all I
sojar-i-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 nirmoḷo, Koṭoko sete nirmoḷo nuh-ē.*
 R. how.much clean C. so.much clean be:NEG-3s
 'Cuttack 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: *jetebeḷe / setebeḷe* and *jēū / sei*.

- (28) *jetebeḷe jēū porbo por-e, setebeḷe sei porbo-ku lok-e*
 whenever which festival fall-3s:HAB then that festival-DAT people-PL
paḷono kor-onti.
 observance do-3p:HAB

'Whenever the festivals come, whatever they may be, people observe them.'

- (29) **jēū** bhasa **jete** ahōrōṅo-silō, taha sete jibontō.
 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. *jetebeḷe* 'when' in (30).

- (30) **mū jetebeḷe** ta-nku phon kō-l-i, uttōrō miḷ-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: *jepōri* signals result and purpose, and *jemiti* signals purpose, immediate anteriority and comparison (see 7.4).

Appendix A

Texts

A.1 Pearls

gəla-re ləmb-ich-i mukta-harə
throat-LOC be.long-PERF-3s pearl-chain

‘A long pearl-chain is around the throat’¹

- (1) maha-nəgəri-mano-nkə-re khub bittəsaļi pəribarə-rə mōhila-mane
big-city-PL-OBL-LOC very rich family-GEN woman-PL
mōni-mukta-rə harə gəla-re pindh-uch-ənti.
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) standərd saij mukta gunth-a-ho-ith-iba goṭi-e mukta-harə
s. s. pearl knit-PASS-be-PERF-INF CL-INDEF pearl-chain
mulyə he-uch-i 1 ləkhya-ru 7 ləkhya ṭənka.
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 desə Basra səhərə-ru as-uth-iba mukta-ku ne-i jədi
I. country B. town-ABL come-IPFV-INF pearl-DAT take-CV if
harə goṭi-e tiari kər-a-ja-ith-ib-ə, taha-rə 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-harə dam ahuri ədhiko pəṛ-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 goṭi-e goṭie mukta-rə dam pəndərə həjarə
J. supply-IPFV-INF CL-INDEF RDP pearl-GEN price fifteen thousand

¹The text is taken from the newspaper *Samaya* 7/12/1998 (p.5).

ṭonka.

rupee

'The price for pearls delivered from Japan is 15,000 rupees each.'

- (6) teṇu mukta-maḷo goṭi-kō-rō dam sei-ṇusare besi cōṛh-a dam.
so pearl-string CL-DEF-GEN price that-according much climb-PTCP price
'Accordingly the price of one pearl-chain is much higher.'
- (1) mukta prakrutikō ho-i-par-e, krutrimō ho-i-par-e, eha-ku
pearl natural be-CV-can-3s:HAB artificial be-CV-can-3s:HAB this-DAT
"natural pearls" kuh-a-ja-uch-i ebōng "cultured pearls"
n. say-PASS-go-PROG-3s and c.
kuh-a-ja-uch-i.
say-PASS-go-PROG-3s
'Pearls can be natural and they can be artificial, they are called "natural
pearls" and "cultured pearls" (respectively).'
- (2) ajikali ṭi nōkōli plastik mukta bi bōjaro-re pōbeso
nowadays very imitating p. pearl also market-LOC entry
kō-l-a-ṇi.
do-PST-3s-MIR
'Nowadays very good plastic imitations of pearls have entered the mar-
ket as well.'
- (3) ag-e sōmudrō-gōrbhō-ku lok-e buṛ-i buṛi sōmudrō-ru pearl
front-LOC sea-womb-DAT people-PL dive-CV RDP sea-ABL p.
bearing oysters khoj-i-aṇ-uth-il-e ebōng sei samudr-ikō praṇi
b. o. search-CV-bring-IPFV-PST-3p and that sea-ADJR animal
sōriro-ru mukta songrōhō kōr-a-ja-uth-il-a.
body-ABL pearl collect do-PASS-go-IPFV-PST-3s
'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.'
- (4) ehi lokō-maṇō-nkō-rō bisēsō dokhyōṭa th-il-a ebōng emānō-nku
this people-PL-OBL-GEN special skill be-PST-3s and they-OBL:DAT
pearl divers orthat mukta khoj-i-aṇ-i-par-uth-iba bisēsōgyō
p. d. that.is pearl search-CV-bring-CV-can-IPFV-INF expert
gōṇyō kōr-a-ja-uth-il-e.
fit.to do-PASS-go-IPFV-PST-3p
'These people had the special skill, and they were made "pearl divers",
that is, experts who could search and bring pearls.'
- (5) Japan, Astrelia, Cin, Jōrmani desō-rō sōmudrō upōkuḷ-re ajikali
J. A. C. G. country-GEN sea shore-LOC nowadays
'cestōr pharm" mukta songrōhō karjyō cal-ich-i.
o. f. 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 songrōhō kār-a-ja-e.
here-ABL c. p. collect do-PASS-go-3s:HAB
'From here the cultured pearls are collected.'
- (7) Japan-ru utpaditō ehi dhōrōṇō-rō mukta dam-re ṁdhikō aṭ-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 ṁṅṅkarō dokanō-re karigōṇō-mane ehi Japan-i mukta dwara
S. jewelry shop-LOC artisan-PL this J.-ADJR pearl by
mukta-maḷō prōstutō kār-uch-ōnti.
pearl-string ready do-PROG-3p
'The artisans in jewelry shops in Singapur make necklaces of these Japanese pearls.'
- (9) mukta e-pōri goṭi-e mōharghyō pōdarthō, jaha-rō dam
pearl this-like CL-INDEF precious article which-GEN price
kaḷō-krōme ṁdhikō-ru ṁdhikō 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 ṁṅṅkarō silpō-re gōtō goṭi-e bōrsō-re
S.-LOC be-INF pearl jewelry art-LOC past CL-INDEF year-LOC
mulyō 15-ru 20 prōtisōtō bruddhi lōbh-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 jōthestō pōrimaṇō-re utpaditō ho-i-par-u-nah-ī.
J.-ADJR pearl enough measure-LOC produced be-CV-can-PROG-NEG-3s
'Japanese pearls cannot be produced in sufficient amount.'
- (12) cahida tuḷanō-re jōthestō mukta jogaṇō nah-ī.
demand comparison-LOC enough pearl supply NEG-3s
'Compared to the demand there are not enough pearls that can be supplied.'
- (13) teṇu mukta o mukta-harō dam bruddhi ho-ich-i drutō begō-re.
so pearl and pearl-necklace price increase be-PERF-3s rapid speed-LOC
'Therefore the price of pearls and pearl-necklaces rises rapidly.'
- (14) ṁṅṅkarō karigōṇō-mane sōrbōda Singapur bōjarō-re mukta-rō
jewelry artisan-PL always S. market-LOC pearl-GEN
'dimand' 'sōplai' pōristhiti upōr-e tikhmōdrusti rōkh-ich-ōnti.
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) ketekō Bharōṭiyō Singapur-re mukta beparō kār-uch-ōnti.
 some Indian S.-LOC pearl trade do-PROG-3p
 'Some Indians trade with pearls in Singapur.'
- (16) Solani Juēlōrs goṭi-e Bharōṭiyō prōtisthānō.
 S. J. CL-INDEF Indian institution
 'The Solani Jewellers are an Indian firm.'
- (17) eha-rō malikō kōh-ōnti --- <citation in English>
 this-GEN owner say-3p:IIAB
 'Its owner says, "Quantity of pearls floating in the market is closely checked to ensure that there is never an over-supply."'
- (18) ehi karōṇō-ru ōntōrjatiyō bōjar-e mukta mulyō sadharōṇōṭō huētō
 this reason-ABL international market-LOC pearl value usually maybe
 sthīrō rōh-e kimba bōṛh-i bōṛhi cal-e.
 stable stay-3s:HAB or rise-CV RDP go-3s:IIAB
 'Therefore the price for pearls on the international market usually may remain stable or it continually rises.'
- (19) kōsminkālē, kōdapi mukta mulyō hrasō pa-e nahī.
 to.date yet pearl value lessening find-3s:IIAB NEG
 'Yet to date pearls do not go down in value.'
- (20) mukta sōsta-re bikrōyō hu-e nahī.
 pearl cheap-LOC sale be-3s:HAB NEG
 'Pearls are not sold cheap.'
- (21) jaha-ku natural pearls ba ṣōli mukta kōh-ōnti, ōntōrjatiyō
 which-DAT n. p. or pure pearl say-3p:HAB international
 bōjarō-re taha-rō jogaṇō khub simitō ṭ-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-pōri goṭi-e mukta-rō dam ajikali he-uch-i Amerika mudra-re
 that-like CL-INDEF pearl-GEN price nowadays be-PROG-3s A. coin-LOC
 ṭi kōm-re 10 hōjarō ḍōlar.
 very few-LOC 10 thousand d.
 'The price of such a pearl is nowadays at least 10,000 dollar in American currency.'
- (23) dōsō hōjarō ḍōlar-ru arōmbhō kār-i ṣōli mukta goṭi-kō-rō dam
 ten thousand d.-ABL start do-CV pure pearl CL-DEF-GEN price
 ek-adhikō niyutō ḍōlar ho-itha-e.
 one-more million dollar be-PERF-3s:IIAB

'The price of one pure pearl is between 10,000 dollar and more than a million dollar.'

- (24) eha-hī mukta bojarə-re dərə-dam poristhiti.
this-EMPH pearl market-LOC price-price circumstances
'This is the price situation of the pearl market.'
- (25) milion dōlar he-uch-i niti-din-ia bojarə dərə.
m. d. be-PROG-3s usual-day-ADJR market price
'One million dollar is a usual market price.'
- (26) Astrelia nikoṭə-bərtti jēū ɔncəḷə-ku South Sea kuh-a-ja-e,
A. near-ADJR which area-DAT S. S. say-PASS-go-3s:HAB
setha-ru miḷ-uth-iba goṭi-e mukta jaha-rə akarə 8-ru
there-ABL be.available-IPFV-INF CL-INDEF pearl which-GEN shape 8-ABL
17 milimiṭər, sei-ti 3 hojarə dōlar-ru 1 ləkhə 20 hojarə dōlar-re
17 m. that-ART 3 thousand d.-ABL 1 lakh 20 thousand d.-LOC
bikrəyə 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-re mukta jodi ṭikie bəṛə akruti-rə
S. department-LOC pearl if a.little big shape-GEN
ho-itha-e (9-ru 18 milimiṭər), tebe sei goṭi-ko-rə dam 11
be-PERF-3s:HAB 9-ABL 18 m. then that CL-DEF-GEN price 11
hojarə dōlar porjyāntə cəṛh-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 goṭi-e deṣə he-uch-i Tahiti.
more CL-INDEF country be-PROG-3s T.
'Another country is Tahiti.'
- (29) se deṣə-ru upojatə mukta goṭi-ku ɔti kəm-re 200 dōlar-ru 7,000
that country-ABL native pearl CL-DAT very few-LOC 200 d.-ABL 7,000
dōlar 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) Bharətə-rə ɔḷonkarə byəbəsayi jēū mukta-maḷa utpadəntə kər-ənti,
India-GEN jewelry trader who pearl-string production do-3p:HAB
sadhārəntə semane Cin deṣə sōmudrə tətə-bərtti ɔncəḷə-re ɔmḷə
usually they C. country sea shore-ADJR area-LOC spotless
kər-a-ja-uth-iba mukta amōdani kər-i tōddwara harə tiari
do-PASS-go-IPFV-INF pearl import do-CV by.that necklace production

kār-ənti.

do-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) Carminarə nikəʔə-re Haidrabad puruṇa səhərə-re karigərə əch-ənti,
 C. near-LOC II. old town-LOC artisan be-3p
 jēū-mane mukta-ku ghəs-i-maj-i palis kār-ənti, harə
 who-PL pearl-DAT rub-CV-polish-CV p. do-3p:HAB chain
 gunth-i-di-ənti.
 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 desə-ru as-uth-iba mukta ənekə bərsə dhər-i byəbəhrutə
 C. country-ABL come-IPFV-INF pearl many year hold-CV used
 he-le sei mukta-maʔ kaʔ-krome taha-rə cakəkəkə hər-a-e.
 be-CONDCV 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 Ingraji-re "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 əṅkarə prətisthanə Basra Strand mukta aṅ-i taha gunth-i
 D. jewelry institution B. S. pearl bring-CV it knit-CV
 maʔa tiari kār-uch-ənti.
 string production do-PROG-3p
 'The jewelry firm Basra Strand in Delhi brings pearls, joins them and makes necklaces of them.'
- (35) Basra mukta əpeksakrutə ədhikə dam pə-e ebəng ənekə bərsə
 B. pearl comparatively more price fall-3s:HAB and many year
 pəryəntə taha cəkəməkə 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-harə khub mulyəban ho-ith-iba-ru eha-rə malikə
 B. pearl-necklace very expensive be-PERF-INF-ABL this-GEN owner
 jədi kəuṇəsi karəṇə-ru harə-ʔi-ku bikri kār-i-de-ba-ku
 if any reason-ABL necklace-ART-DAT sale do-CV-V2:give-INF-DAT
 cah-ē səhəjə-re grahəkə miṭ-ənti nahī.
 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 poristhiti.
this D. circumstances
'This is the situation in Delhi.'
- (38) Basra mukta-harə gəla-re pindh-ith-iba mohila je kete kete
B. pearl-chain neck-LOC wear-PERF-INF woman PTCL how.many RDP
lakhya tənka-rə harə pindh-ich-anti, taha ətəkələ kər-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-harə 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) harə tiari nimitto mukta ki-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) Bharətə-re mukta ələnkarə cahida simitə ət-e.
India-LOC pearl jewelry demand limited be-3s
'In India the demand for pearl jewelry is limited.'
- (44) kintu dəkhiṇə purbə Esia-rə bibhinno desə-re mukta samagri
but south east A.-GEN various country-LOC pearl materials
banijyo 1999 salə-re 20 sətansə əbhibruddhi kər-i-cal-ib-ə
trade 1999 year-LOC 20 per.cent increase do-CV-V2:walk-FUT-3s
boli ətəkələ kər-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) Singapur-re barsikə əbhibruddhi 15-ru 20 prətisəto
S.-LOC annual increase 15-ABL 20 per.cent

ho-i-as-ich-i.

be-CV-V2:come-PERF-3s

'In Singapur the annual rate of growth is between 15 and 20 per cent.'

- (46) dōkhiṇṇo-purbo Ēsia-rō orthonaitikō obōnito sōttwe mukta cijo-ṭi
 south-east A.-GEN economical degradation in spite of pearl thing-ART
 e-pōri adōrōṇiyo je taha-rō karōbarō kōdapi kōm-ib-ō nahī.
 this-like appreciated that it-GEN trade ever diminish-FUT-3s NEG
 'In spite of the economical depression in Southeast Asia the products
 with pearls are so popular that its trade will never lessen.'

- (47) Okinawa dwipō, Phiiji desō, Tahiti desō mukta utpadōṇo-re bōhu
 O. island F. country T. country pearl production-LOC much
 kaḷo-ru khyati orjōṇō kōr-ich-ōnti.
 time-ABL praise earning do-PERF-3p
 'The island of Okinawa, the countries Fiji and Tahiti have been com-
 mended for their pearl production for a long time.'

- (48) 1930 salo-ru aji pōrjyōntō Amerika juktō-rastrō
 1930 year-ABL today until A. joined-state
 ho-i-as-ich-i mukta amōdani kōr-uth-iba prōdhāṇō desō.
 be-CV-V2:come-PERF-3s pearl import do-PERF-INF main country
 'Since 1930 until today the United States of America is the main country
 which imports pearls.'

- (49) bōrsō-ku 7 lōksyō 40 hōjārō ḍōlar mulyō-rō cultured pearls
 year-DAT 7 lakh 40 thousand d. value-GEN c. p.
 juktō-rastrō amōdani kōr-e.
 united-state import do-3s:HAB
 'The United States import cultured pearls for 740,000 dollars a year.'

- (50) goṭi-e ḍōlar bōrttōman 42 ṭōnka-ru oḍhikō.
 CL-INDEF d. now 42 rupee-ABL more
 'One dollar is now more than 42 rupees.'

- (51) hisabō kōr-ōntu: Amerika prōti bōrsō ketekō sōhōsrō kōṭi ṭōnka
 calculation do-3p:IMP A. every year some thousand crore rupee
 mulyō-rō mukta amōdani kōr-uch-i. — Ḍōktōr Surjyōkōntō Dasō
 value-GEN pearl import do-PROG-3s
 'Calculate: America imports pearls for tens of millions of rupees every
 year. — Dr Sūrjjakānta Dāsa'

A.2 Letter from a reader

- (1) Mōhasōyō
 Sir

'Sir,'²

- (2) "jatri-mano-nko 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-ro kotha semano-nko-ro samanyo
supply-CV-V2:give-INF PTCL distance-GEN matter they-OBL-GEN common
osubidha prati madhyo koropato 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.'

- (3) e-bholi eko dukhodo ghotona-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.'

- (4) mu jon-e Oriya kolakar.
I CL-INDEF O. artist

'I am an Oriya artist.'

- (5) Bangalor-re obosthano kor-uch-i.
B.-LOC residence do-PROG-1s

'I live in Bangalore.'

- (6) goto batya o bonya-re biponno ho-ith-iba. mo
last cyclone and flood-LOC distressed be-PERF-INF my
gaa-loko-mano-nku bonono kor-iba sokase mu Bangalor-ru prayo
village-people-PL-OBL:DAT division do-INF for I B.-ABL about

3-ti kombolo kroyo kor-i okha-byag-re bhortti kor-i
3-CL blanket purchase do-CV sackcloth-b.-LOC fill do-CV

Bangalor-Cennai mel-re 11/12/99 tarikh-re rel-dako-seba joge
B.-Ch. m.-LOC 11/12/99 date-LOC r.-mail-service by

Bhubaneswaro-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 because of the last cyclone and of the flood, I had bought some three blankets 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.'

- (7) parsol rosid n.-377 398.
p. receipt n.-377 398

'The parcel receipt number is 377 398.'

²The text is taken from the newspaper *Dharitri* 9/1/2000 (p. 4).

- (8) matrə ɔdyabəðhi ehi parsəl mū pa-i-par-i-nah-ĩ.
but up.to.now this p. I get-CV-can-PERF-NEG-1s
'But I have not received this parcel up to now.'
- (9) barəmbarə Bhuboneswərə reḷ-steson-ku ja-i noyantə he-ba
again.and.again Bh. r.-s.-DAT go-CV very.tired be-INF
pər-e o steson-mastər totha swətəntə ɔdhikari-nkə-ṭharu mithya
after-LOC and s.-m. and independent official-OBL-ABL lie
prətisruti pa-iba pər-e mū Khərd̄dha-sthitə reḷ-bibhagə-rə
promise get-INF after-LOC I Kh.-located r.-department-GEN
ketekə bəristhə ɔdhikari-nku bheṭ-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 digə-re səhayəta kər-iba durə-rə kətha
they I-DAT this direction-LOC help do-INF distance-GEN matter
samanyə-təmə soujənyə ba səhanəbhuti dekh-a-il-e nahī.
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) bəɾəŋg kəh-il-e, tume ja-i Haoda-re khoj-ə, seṭha-re
moreover say-PST-3p you(POL) go-CV H.-LOC search-2p:IMP there-LOC
kēũṭhi pər-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 səmpərəkə-re mū uccə kərttrupəkhyə-nku ɔbəgətə
this connection-LOC I high authority-OBL:DAT known
kər-a-ib-i ki boli kəh-iba-ru seṭha-re mo-te nana
make-CAUS-FUT-1s INT COMP say-INF-ABL there-LOC I-DAT various
gali-guləjə suṇ-iba-ku pər-il-a.
scolding 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 dər-i-n-u" boli mo-te mədhyə dhəməkə
we anybody-DAT fear-PERF-NEG-1pe COMP I-DAT also threat
di-a-gəl-a.
give-PASS-go:PST-3s
'I was even threatened, "We do not fear anybody.'"
- (14) mū e səmpərəkə-re reḷbai məntri Məməta Banarji-nku ciṭhi lekhi
I this connection-LOC r. minister M. B.-OBL:DAT letter write-CV

jəŋ-a-ich-i.

— Gyaneśarəŋjəŋə Misrə, Bhubəneswərə

know-CAUS-PERF-1s

'I have informed the railway minister Mamatā Bānārjī about this by letter. — Jñāneśaraŋjana Mīśra, Bhubaneswar'

A.3 Body change (fairy tale)

dehə bədbə

body change

'Body change'³

- (1) Himaḷəyə pərbətə-rə pədbə deśə-re jəŋ-e rusi basə
H. mountains-GEN foot country-LOC CL-INDEF saint living

kər-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-nkə asrəmə bəgicə-ru phulə təl-uth-ibə beḷ-e
day-INDEF he he-OBL hermitage garden-ABL flower pluck-IPFV-INF time-LOC
dekh-il-e kehi jəŋ-e təkərə ɔlpə durə-re goṭi-e
see-PST-3p(HON) someone CL-INDEF thief few distance-LOC CL-INDEF

jhic-kə pəkə-i-de-i pəḷə-i-gəl-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 dər-i-ja-i jhich-ti-kə təl-u uth-a-i taa dehə
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 səməyə-re ghorə dər-a-i jəŋ-e tejəswi purusə
just that time-LOC horse run-CAUS-CV CL-INDEF powerful man
seṭhə-re upəsthitə he-l-e.

there-LOC present become-PST-3p(HON)

'Just at that moment a powerful man appeared there, riding a horse.'

- (5) rusi-nkə dhənyəbadə jəŋ-a-i se kəh-il-e, "mū
saint-OBL:DAT thank.you know-CAUS-CV he say-PST-3p(HON) I
Gəndhərbə-mənə-nkə-rə rājə ebəŋ e mō-rə kənyə '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.'

³The story has been taken from a story book for children (Banda 1991).

- (6) mo-rə jəŋ-e prəja bəʃpurbəkə ta-ku dhər-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 pəchə-ru dekh-i ta-ku etha-re pəka-i-de-i
I-DAT back-ABL see-CV she-DAT here-LOC put-CV-V2:give-CV
pəla-i-ja-ich-i.
flee-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 dhər-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 apəŋə dəya kər-i Nibrutti-ku rəkh-itha-ntu.
return-INF until you(HON) kindness do-CV N.-DAT keep-PERF-3p:IMP
'Please keep Nibrutti until I return.'
- (10) mo as-iba-rə jədi besi biʃombə hu-e, upəjuktə patrə
my come-INF-GEN if very long be-3s:HAB suitable bridegroom
səŋə-re taa-rə bibahə kər-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 bride-
groom.'
- (11) kintu goṭi-e kətha mən-e rəkh-ib-e, mə-la jibə deho-re
but CL-INDEF matter mind-LOC keep-FUT-3p die-INF:PST animal body-LOC
pəś-iba-rə səkti jaha-rə th-ib-ə, sei he-b-ə taa-rə
enter-INF-GEN power who-GEN be-FUT-3s that become-FUT-3s she-GEN
swami."
husband
'But keep one thing in mind: He who has the power to enter dead animal
bodies shall become her husband.'
- (12) eha kəh-i Gəndhərbə-rajə ghoṛə jhəpəṭ-a-i cal-i-gəl-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 ənekə diŋə əpekhyə kə-l-e, kintu Nibrutti-rə pita au
saint many day wait do-PST-3p(HON) but N.-GEN father more
pher-il-e nahī.
return-PST-3p(HON) NEG
'The saint waited many days, but Nibrutti's father did not return.'
- (14) diŋ-e homə pāi bəŋə-ru kəthə səŋgrəhə kər-u kəru jəŋ-e
day-INDEF sacrifice for forest-ABL wood collect do-ICV RDP CL-INDEF
rupəbən jubəkə səŋge ta-nkə-rə bheṭə he-l-a.
handsome young.man with he-OBL-GEN meeting be-PST-3s

'One day, while he was collecting wood in the forest for an offering, he met a handsome young man.'

- (15) rusi p̄car-il-e, "e nirj̄n̄o sth̄n̄o-re ap̄n̄o kie?"
 saint ask-PST-3p(HON) this lonely place-LOC you(HON) who
 'The saint asked, "Who are you in this lonely place?"'

- (16) jub̄ok̄o k̄h-il-e, "m̄ū Pruthwi Bhus̄n̄o des̄o-r̄o raja
 young.man say-PST-3p(HON) I earth Bh. country-GEN king
 Sukl̄op̄khȳo."
 S.

'The young man replied, "I am king Śuklapakṣa of the country of Pṛthvī Bhūṣaṇa.'"

- (17) rusi p̄s̄n̄o k̄-l-e, "ap̄n̄o eṭha-re ekuṭia kah̄iki?"
 saint question do-PST-3p(HON) you(HON) here-LOC alone why
 'The saint asked, "Why are you here alone?"'

- (18) raja k̄h-il-e, "se ek̄o durj̄oḡo.
 king say-PST-3p(HON) that one bad.luck
 'The king said, "That was bad luck.'

- (19) j̄n̄-e lok̄o taa-r̄o ghoṛa-ku bik-ib̄o boli mo d̄or̄bar̄o-ku
 CL-INDEF man he-GEN horse-DAT sell-FUT-3s COMP my palace-DAT
 aṅ-ith-il-a.
 bring-PERF-PST-3s

'A man came to my palace to sell his horse.'

- (20) m̄ū se ghoṛa-r̄o cehera dekh-i kiṅ-iba-ku iccha k̄r-iba-ru
 I that horse-GEN appearance see-CV buy-INF-DAT wish do-INF-ABL
 m̄ontri k̄h-il-e, "nua ghoṛa-ku p̄rikhya n̄o-k̄r-i kiṅ-iba
 minister say-PST-3p(HON) new horse-DAT exam NEG-do-CV buy-INF
 ṭhik nuh-ē."
 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-nk̄o k̄tha mo m̄n̄o-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) m̄ū ghoṛa up̄r̄o-ku kud-i-p̄r̄-il-i.
 I horse top-DAT jump-CV-V2:fall-PST-1s

'I mounted the horse.'

- (23) taa l̄gam̄o dh̄r-iba matre se p̄b̄n̄o beḡo-re chuṭ-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) ɔnekɔ durɔ as-i ei bɔŋɔ pakho-re hoʃthat ʃhia
 much distance come-CV this forest side-LOC suddenly standing
 ho-i-gɔl-a ebɔŋg au aɔɔ-ku nɔ-bɔrh-i thɔr-i thɔri
 be-CV-V2:go:PST-3s and more front-DAT NEG-move-CV tremble-CV RDP
 ʃɔl-i-pɔr-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 kipɔri rajɔdhani-ku pher-ib-i cinta kɔr-i kɔri bul-uth-il-i,
 I how capital-DAT return-FUT-1s concern do-CV RDP walk-IPFV-PST-1s
 ei ɔbɔstha-re apɔŋɔ-nkɔ sɔŋge 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 kɔh-il-e, “cinta kɔr-ɔntu nahī, raja.
 saint say-PST-3p(HON) concern do-3p:IMP NEG king
 ‘The saint said, “Don’t worry, king.’
- (27) as-ɔntu, mo asrɔmɔ-re ajikɔ rɔh-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) eha kɔh-i se raja-nku ta-nkɔ asrɔmɔ-ku
 this say-CV he king-OBL:DAT he-OBL hermitage-DAT
 ɖak-i-ne-l-e.
 call-CV-V2:take-PST-3p(HON)
 ‘Having said this, he invited the king to his hermitage.’
- (29) Nibrutti-ku seʃha-re dekh-i raja pɔcar-il-e, “e juboti-ʃi
 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-rɔ sɔmɔstɔ itihaso raja-nkɔ aɔɔ-re bɔrŋŋɔna
 saint he-GEN all history king-OBL front-LOC description
 kɔ-l-e ebɔŋg sesɔ-re kɔh-il-e “taa-rɔ pita sehi
 do-PST-3p(HON) and end-LOC say-PST-3p(HON) she-GEN father that
 dinɔ-ʃharu pher-i-nah-anti, teŋu se mo pakho-re ɔch-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-rɔ goʃi-e prɔdhanɔ cinta je se e-pɔrjɔntɔ bibaho
 but I-GEN CL-INDEF main concern PTCL she this-until marriage
 kɔr-i-nah-i.
 do-PERF-NEG-3s

'But my main concern is that she is not married yet.'

- (32) taa-rə pita se dayitwə mo upər-e
she-GEN father that duty I: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-rə iccha jən-a-iba-ru rusi
king N.-DAT marriage be-INF-GEN wish know-CAUS-INF-ABL saint
kəh-il-e, "ət̪i ut̪təm̪ə kəth̪a.
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 mət̪ə-re apənə jən-e upəjuktə patrə, kintu taa
my opinion-LOC you(HON) CL-INDEF suitable bridegroom but her
pita-nkə-rə goṭi-e sər̪ttə th-il-a — mə-la jibə
father-OBL-GEN CL-INDEF condition be-PST-3s die-INF:PST animal
dehə-re pəs-iba-rə sək̪ti jaha-rə th-ib-ə, se he-b-ə taa-rə
body-LOC enter-INF-GEN power who-GEN be-FUT-3s he be-FUT-3s she-GEN
swami."
husband

'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 tə bəṛə kəṭh̪inə sər̪ttə; təthapi m̪ū se sək̪ti labhə kər-iba-ku
this PTCL very hard condition yet I that power receipt do-INF-DAT
cesta kər-ib-i."
try do-FUT-1s

'"This is a very hard condition; nevertheless I shall try to get that power."

- (36) raja e-pəri kəh-iba-ru rusi kəh-il-e, "tebe apənə
king this-like say-INF-ABL saint say-PST-3p(HON) then you(HON)
Nibrutti-ku bibha ho-i eṭha-ru ne-i-ja-i-par-onti,
N.-DAT marriage be-CV here-ABL take-CV-V2:go-CV-can-3p(HON):HAB
mat̪ə ta-ku n̪əṛə bhitorə-ku ne-b-e nah̪i.
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 sək̪ti pa-ila pər-e ta-ku pakhə-re rəkh-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-nkə kəth̪a-re raji he-ba-ru Nibrutti sən̪ge ta-nkə-rə
king saint-OBL matter-LOC agree be-INF-ABL N. with he-OBL-GEN

- bibaho sei asromo-re somponno he-l-a.
marriage that hermitage-LOC performed be-PST-3s
'As the king agreed with what the saint said, his marriage with Nibrutti was performed in that hermitage.'
- (39) thik sehi somayo-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-pohonc-il-e.
there-LOC come-CV-arrive-PST-3p
'Just at that time, the king's people arrived there, in search of him.'
- (40) tenu raja rusi-nku bidayo mag-i Nibrutti-ku songo-re ghen-i
so king saint-OBL:DAT farewell ask-CV N.-DAT with-LOC keep-CV
rajodhani-ku pher-i-gol-e.
capital-DAT return-CV-V2:go:PST-3p(HON)
'So the king took leave of the saint and returned to the capital together with Nibrutti.'
- (41) raja Suklapokhyo montri-nko nãã Krunapokhyo.
king S. minister-OBL name K.
'King Śuklapakṣa's minister was called Kṛṣṇapakṣa.'
- (42) boro bicitro kotha je du-hi-nko namo songe du-hi-nko
very odd matter PTCL two-EMPH-OBL name with two-EMPH-OBL
prokruti modhyo thik khapo kha-uth-il-a.
character also exactly agreement eat-IPFV-PST-3s
'It 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-biswasi th-il-e, montri th-il-a semiti
king as simple-faithful be-PST-3p(HON) minister be-PST-3s like.that
kopti.
deceitful
'As simple and faithful the king was, so deceitful was the minister.'
- (44) raja-nku bipodo-re poka-iba paã jañ-i-suñ-i se gota-e
king-OBL:DAT danger-LOC put-INF for know-CV-hear-CV he CL-INDEF
dusto omõña ghoṛa õñ-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 ghoṛa-ru pof-i mor-i-gol-e se
think-PERF-PST-3s king horse-ABL fall-CV die-CV-V2:go:PST-3p(HON) he
gadi mañ-i-bos-ib-o, 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 tō nirapōdō-re p̄her-il-e, puṇi sangōre aṅ-il-e
king PTCL safety-LOC return-CONDCV again with bring-PST-3p(HON)
pōrōma-sundri Nibrutti-ku.
best-beautiful N.-DAT

'The king returned safely and he even brought the very beautiful Nibrutti along with him.'

- (47) eha dekh-i mōntri-rō muṇḍō bigiṛ-i-gōl-a.
this see-CV minister-GEN head go.wrong-CV-V2:go:PST-3s

'When the minister saw this, he went crazy.'

- (48) kintu mōnō-rō bhabō-ku luc-a-i-rōkh-i se raja-nku
but mind-GEN thought-DAT hide-CAUS-CV-keep-CV he king-OBL:DAT
kōh-il-a, "apōṇō-nkō lagi mū bōṛō cintitō th-il-i, mōṇima.
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) sukḥō-rō kōtha, apōṇō nirapōdō-re p̄her-ich-ōnti."
joy-GEN matter you(HON) safety-LOC return-PERF-3p(HON)

'I'm glad to hear that you have returned safely.'

- (50) raja taapōre Nibrutti-ku dekh-a-i mōntri-nku kōh-il-e,
king then N.-DAT see-CAUS-CV minister-OBL:DAT say-PST-3p(HON)
"nua raṇi-nku mū bibahō kōr-ich-i.
new queen-OBL:DAT I marriage do-PERF-1s

'Then the king showed Nibrutti and said to the minister, "I have married a new queen.'

- (51) kintu bōrttōman pāi e nōṛō-ku nō-ja-i bōgica bhitor-e
but now for this palace-DAT NEG-go-CV garden inside-LOC
goṭi-e oḷoga ghōr-e rōh-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 byōbōstha kōr-i-di-ō."
that arrangement do-CV-V2:give-2p:IMP

'Make that arrangement.'

- (53) mōntri-ku dekh-u dekhū cōturi Nibrutti jaṅ-i-par-il-e se
minister-DAT see-ICV RDP clever N. know-CV-can-PST-3p(HON) he
bhōḷō lokō nuh-ē.
good person be:NEG-3s

'While she looked at the minister, the clever Nibrutti realised that he was not a good man.'

- (54) raja-nku mōdhyō mōntri-rō acōrōṇo bisōyo-re sōtōrkō
king-OBL:DAT also minister-GEN conduct matter-LOC warn
kōr-i-de-l-e, matrō raja-nkō purbō dharōṇa bōdōḷ-il-a
do-CV-V2:give-PST-3p(HON) but king-OBL before belief change-PST-3s
nahī.
NEG
'She also warned the king of the minister's behaviour, but the king's
opinion didn't change.'
- (55) se bhab-uth-il-e mōntri ta-nkō-rō 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) oti bhōkti je cōrō-rō lōkhyōṇo e kōtha se
much devotion PTCL thief-GEN nature this matter he
jaṇ-i-par-il-e nahī.
know-CV-can-PST-3p(HON) NEG
'He was so devoted that he didn't notice that the minister was a thief.'
- (57) teṇu rusi-nkō sōrttō bisōyo-re se ta-nkō sōṅge pōramōrō
so saint-OBL condition matter-LOC he he-OBL with advice
kō-l-e.
do-PST-3p(HON)
'So he consulted with him about the saint's condition.'
- (58) mō-la dehō-re pōs-iba sutrō kie bōte-i-par-ib-ō taha
die-INF:PST body-LOC enter-INF clue who instruct-CV-can-FUT-3s that
bujh-iba pāī se ta-nku ṇurodhō kō-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) khōḷō-buddhi mōntri mōn-e kō-l-a se swōrgō-rō candō hatō-re
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) sutrō-ṭi pa-i-gōle se raja-ku mar-i-de-i Nibrutti-ku
clue-ART find-CV-V2:go:CONDCV he king-DAT kill-CV-V2:give-CV N.-DAT
niḷō-rō stri kōr-i-par-ib-ō.
REFL-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 kōh-il-a, "gōṭi-e dhōrmō-saḷa
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-CONDCV many pious.man come-FUT-3p
'After thinking it over he said to the king, "If you open a pilgrims' home,
many pious men will come.'
- (62) semano-nku e bidya jṇ-a th-ib-ṇ."
they-OBL:DAT this knowledge know-PTCP be-FUT-3s
'They will have this knowledge.'
- (63) raja-nko mṇo-ku kṇha-ta besi pa-il-a.
king-OBL mind-DAT matter-ART well find-PST-3s
'The king liked the proposal much.'
- (64) dhormo-saḷa 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 pilgrims' home was opened, many pious men came.'
- (65) kintu kehi se sutro bṇe-i-par-il-e nahī.
but nobody that clue instruct-CV-can-PST-3p(HON) NEG
'But nobody could show that clue.'
- (66) teṇu raja mṇtri-ku kṇh-il-e, "ṇyo aṇ-u khṇoro
so king minister-DAT say-PST-3p(HON) other side-ABL news
ni-ṇ."
take-2p:IMP
'So the king said to the minister, "Find it out from other sources.'
- (67) mṇtri cari aṇ-e khoj-a-khoj-i kṇr-u kṇru din-e
minister four side-LOC search-PTCP-search-CV do-ICV RDP day-INDEF
jṇ-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) kaḷ-e ta-ku kichi jṇ-a th-ib-ṇ bhab-i pṇcar-il-a,
time-INDEF he-DAT something know-PTCP be-FUT-3s think-CV ask-PST-3s
"tume tṇ oneko nua nua jaga-ku ja-uth-ib-ṇ.
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) mo-la deho-re pṇs-i-par-iba sṇkti kaha-ro ṇch-i jṇ-ṇ
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 kṇh-il-a, "jṇ-e agya.
trader say-PST-3s know-1s:HAB Sir
'The dealer said, "I know, Sir.'

- (71) jəŋ-e jogi-nku e bidya jəŋ-a ɔch-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 bəɔɔ kəstəkəɔ.
but he-OBL side-DAT go-INF very difficult
'But it is very difficult to reach him.'
- (73) məntri mən-e mone khusi ho-i pəcar-il-a, "kahiki?"
minister mind-LOC RDP happy be-CV ask-PST-3s why
'The minister was happy to himself and asked, "Why?"'
- (74) galica-bala koh-il-a, "amə səhəɔ-ɰharu prayə səhe mail
carpet-N.AG. say-PST-3s our town-ABL about hundred m.
duɔ-re rasta dui pakho-re dui-ti talə-gochə ɔch-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) goɰi-e gəchə-re kua ebong ɔnyə-ɰi-re goɰi-e honsə
CL-INDEF tree-LOC crow and other-ART-LOC CL-INDEF duck
bəs-itha-e.
sit-PERF-3s:HAB
'There is a crow sitting on one tree and a duck sitting on the other tree.'
- (76) sei rasta-re gələ ekə ghəncə jəŋgələ pəɣ-e.
that road-LOC go:CONDCV one dense forest lie-3s:HAB
'When you go that road, you will come to a dense forest.'
- (77) taa bhitor-e goɰi-e pəɔbətə upəɣ-e jogi Sədanəndə təpəsyə
it inside-LOC CL-INDEF hill top-LOC y. S. penance
kəɣ-ənti.
do-3p(HON):HAB
'In it the yogi Sadānanda does penance on a hill.'
- (78) ta-nku e bidya jəŋ-a ɔch-i."
he-OBL:DAT this knowledge know-PTCP be-3s
'He has this knowledge.'
- (79) məntri pəcar-il-a, "tumo səhəɔ-ɰa kēūɰhi?"
minister ask-PST-3s your(POL) town-ART where
'The minister asked, "Where is your town?"'
- (80) bepari koh-il-a, "e rajyə-rə sima ɰəp-i barə-ɰa gāā, nəɔ-ɰa
trader say-PST-3s this kingdom-GEN end surpass-CV twelve-CL village nine-CL
nəgəɔ ebong pancə-ɰa səhəɔɣə pari ho-i-gələ amə səhəɔ
city and five-CL town cross be-CV-V2:go:CONDCV our town
pəɣ-ib-ə."
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) mōntri bicar-il-a ekuṭia ja-i se jogi-ṭharu bidya-ṭa
 minister consider-PST-3s alone go-CV that y.-ABL knowledge-ART
 sikh-i-as-ont-a, kintu kaḷ-e jogi ta-ku
 learn-CV-V2:come-COND-3s but time-LOC y. he-DAT
 nō-kōh-ib-e eha bhab-i raja-nku sōmōstō bisōyo
 NEG-say-FUT-3p(HON) this think-CV king-OBL:DAT every matter
 jōṇ-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) suṇ-ila matre raja dhā-ī-gōl-e Nibrutti-nku
 hear-INF:PST as.soon.as king run-CV-V2:go:PST-3p(HON) N.-OBL:DAT
 kōh-iba-ku matrō cōturi Nibrutti sōbu suṇ-i-sar-i
 say-INF-DAT but clever N. all hear-CV-V2:finish-CV
 kōh-il-e, "swami, e khōbōrō-ṭa jetiki bhōlo, setiki mōndō.
 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) mōntri-nku sangōre ne-le bipōdō ghōṭ-i-par-e.
 minister-OBL:DAT with take-CONDCV danger happen-CV-can-3s:HAB
 'If you take the minister with you, some dangerous accident may happen.'
- (84) aponō ekuṭia ja-ntu.
 you(HON) alone go-3p:IMP
 'Go alone.'
- (85) mōntri-nku kōh-ontu se eṭha-re rōh-i rajyō
 minister-OBL:DAT say-3p:IMP he here-LOC stay-CV kingdom
 bujh-a-bujh-i kōr-ib-e."
 look.after-PTCP-RDP-CV do-FUT-3p(HON)
 'Tell the minister to stay here and govern the kingdom.'
- (86) matrō mōntri ki sethi-re bhul-iba lokō!
 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-nkō kōtha suṇ-i se kōh-il-a, "hōjuro, aponō-nku ekuṭia
 king-OBL matter hear-CV he say-PST-3s majesty you(HON)-OBL:DAT alone

- chaṛ-i-de-i mū niscintō rōh-ib-i kipōri?
 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) rajyō kōtha bujh-iba-ku ɔnyō lokō ɔch-ɔnti."
 kingdom matter look.after-INF-DAT other people be-3p
 'There are other people to govern the kingdom.'"
- (89) teṇu raja badhyō ho-i mōntri-ku sangōre ne-i jogi-nkō pakhō-ku
 so king obliged be-CV minister-DAT with take-CV y.-OBL side-DAT
 gōl-e.
 go:PST-3p(HON)
 'So the king was obliged to go to the yogi together with the minister.'
- (90) galica-bala jēū baṭō bōte-ith-il-a, sei baṭō-re ja-i semane
 carpet-N.AG. which way instruct-PERF-PST-3s that way-LOC go-CV they
 jogi-nkō pakhō-re pōhōnc-il-e.
 y.-OBL side-LOC arrive-PST-3p
 'They took the way the carpet dealer had described and arrived at the
 yogi.'
- (91) jogi setebeḷe dhyānō-re bōs-itha-nti.
 y. then meditation-LOC sit-PERF-3p(HON):HAB
 'At that time the yogi was sitting in meditation.'
- (92) raja o mōntri ghoṛa-ru ohla-i cup ho-i bōs-i-rōh-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.'
- (93) ɔneko sōmāyō pōr-e jogi akhi khol-i raja-nkō aṛō-ku cah-ī
 much time after-LOC y. eye open-CV king-OBL side-DAT look-CV
 kōh-il-e, "mū tumō upōr-e sōntustō ho-i-ɔch-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.'
- (94) ki bōrō mag-uch-ō mag-ō."
 what wish ask-PROG-2p ask-2p:IMP
 'Ask for whatever you wish.'"
- (95) raja hatō joṛ-i kōh-il-e, "he mōh-atma, mō-la jibo
 king hand join-CV say-PST-3p(HON) INTERJ great-soul die-INF:PST animal
 dehō-re pōs-iba-rō sōkti mō-te di-ɔntu."
 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.'"
- (96) etikibeḷe mōntri bi age-i-ja-i sehi bōrō mag-i-bōs-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-nkō arō-ku cah-ī kōh-il-e, "mū kebōḷo tumō-ku
y. king-OBL side-DAT look-CV say-PST-3p(HON) I only you(POL):DAT
se sōkti 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) tumō sōngi-ku de-b-i nahī.
your(POL) friend-DAT give-FUT-1s NEG
'I won't give it to your friend.'
- (99) se ethi-pāi upōjuktō nuh-ē.
he this-for suitable be:NEG-3s
'He is not qualified for this.'
- (100) taa choṛa e bidya bōḷo-re se tumō-rō onistō
it beside this knowledge power-LOC he you(POL)-GEN harm
kōr-i-par-e."
do-CV-can-3s:HAB
'Beside he can harm you with the power of this knowledge.'
- (101) kintu sōrōḷo-mōna raja ta-nkō kōtha-ku biswasō nō-kōr-i mōntri
but simple-minded king he-OBL matter-DAT belief NEG-do-CV minister
pāi oḷi kōr-iba-ru jogi badhyō ho-i du-hī-nku se sōkti
for insistence do-INF-ABL y. obliged be-CV two-EMPH-OBL:DAT that power
prōdanō kō-l-e.
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-nkō-ṭharu bidayō mag-i raja o mōntri ghōrō-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) baṭo-re goṭa-e mō-la hati pōṛ-ith-iba-rō dekh-i raja
way-LOC CL-INDEF die-INF:PST elephant lie-PERF-INF-GEN see-CV king
kōh-il-e, "mōntri, jogi jēū sōkti de-ich-ōnti, taha
say-PST-3p(HON) minister yogi which power give-PERF-3p(HON) that
pōrikhya kōr-iba pāi e ekō sujōḷo.
test do-INF for this one opportunity
'On the way the king saw a dead elephant lying there and said, "Minis-
ter, this is an opportunity to test the power the yogi has given.'
- (104) mū ja-uch-i hati deho-re pōs-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 tume mo nirjibō piṇḍo-ṭa-ku jḡg-itha-ṡ.”
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 kōh-ū kōhū hati-ṭa jī-ī uṭh-i bōṇo-ku
king this say-ICV RDP elephant-ART revive-CV get.up-CV forest-DAT
cal-i-gōl-a ebōng ta-nkō nirjibō deho-ṭa setha-re
go-CV-V2:go:PST-3s and he-OBL lifeless body-ART there-LOC
pōṛ-i-rōh-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) hōṭhat mōntri muṇḍo-re ekō khōḷō 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 sōbō bhitor-e pōs-i rajōdhani-ku cal-i-j-ib-ṡ
he think-PST-3s corpse inside-LOC enter-CV capital-DAT go-CV-V2:go-FUT-3s
ebōng Nibrutti-ku bibha ho-i rajo-gadi dōkhōḷō kōr-ib-ṡ.
and N.-DAT marriage be-CV king-throne occupation do-FUT-3s
‘He thought he would enter the corpse, go the capital, marry Nibrutti and occupy the royal throne.’
- (109) sōngē sōngē se taha-hī kō-l-a ebōng niḷō sōbō-ṭa-ku nīā-re
immediately he that-EMPH do-PST-3s and REFL corpse-ART-DAT fire-LOC
pōṛ-i-de-i ghoṛa-re bōs-i rajōdhani-ku chut-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 sōmōyō pōr-e hati-deho-dhari raja purbō sthanō-ku
some time after-LOC elephant-body-holding king before place-DAT
as-i dekh-il-e ta-nkō sōbō-ṭa nah-ī ki mōntri
come-CV see-PST-3p(HON) he-OBL corpse-ART be:NEG-3s nor minister
nah-anti.
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) nikōṭo-re nīā gōḍa dekh-i se sōbu 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) “mōntri niscōyō mo sōbō-re pōs-i pōḷa-i-ja-ich-i.
minister surely my corpse-LOC enter-CV flee-CV-V2:go-PERF-3s
‘“The minister has surely entered my corpse and fled.’”

- (113) Nibrutti o jogi Sōdanōndo ʃhik kōh-ith-il-e.
N. and y. S. correct say-PERF-PST-3p
'Nibrutti and the yogi Sadānanda were right.'
- (114) mū ta-nkō kōtha-ku biswasō nō-kōr-i bipōdō-re pōr-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-pōri onutapō kōr-i se hati rupō-re rajōdhani arō-ku
this-like repentance do-CV he elephant shape-LOC capital side-DAT
muhā-il-e.
head.for-PST-3p(HON)
'He repented in this way and headed for the capital in the shape of an elephant.'
- (116) eṇe raja-dehō-dhari mōntri rajōdhani-re pōhōnc-i sōmōstō-nku
now king-body-holding minister capital-LOC arrive-CV all-OBL:DAT
kōh-i-de-itha-e, "bōṇua hati-ṭa-e sōhōrō-ku
say-CV-V2:give-CV-3s:HAB wild elephant-ART-INDEF town-DAT
pōs-iba-rō dekh-ile sōmōst-e mis-i ta-ku mar-i-pōka-ib-ō."
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) taapōre Nibrutti pakhō-ku ja-i se kōh-il-a, "mū jogi-nkō-ṭharu sōkti
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) mō sōnge nōrō-ku as-ō."
I:OBL with palace-DAT come-2p:IMP
'Come into the palace with me.'
- (119) rāni-nkō mōnō-re ke-jāṇi kahiki sōndehō 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 kōh-il-e, "sōkti aṇ-ich-ō suṇ-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 mō-rō goṭa-e brōtō oḍha oḥ-i.
but I-GEN CL-INDEF vow half be-3s
'But there is another half of a vow of mine.'
- (122) taha purṇṇō he-le mū j-ib-i."
that full become-CONDCV I go-FUT-1s

‘When that is fulfilled, I’ll go.’

- (123) “həu tebe, sigrə brətə purṇə kər-i mo-te khəbrə de-b-ə.”
 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 kəh-i se dustə məntri nəbrə-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) baṭə-re suṇ-il-a goṭa-e danta hati səhrə aṇə-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 dhənu-sərə dhər-i dəḷəbəḷə səhə hati-ku
 immediately he bow-arrow take-CV troop with elephant-DAT
 mar-iba-ku dhā-īl-a.
 kill-INF-DAT run-PST-3s
 ‘He took bow and arrow immediately and ran with the troop to kill the elephant.’
- (127) hati-dehə-dhari raja ete-gurəe ləkə-nku dekh-i bəṇə-ku
 elephant-body-holding king so-many person-OBL:DAT see-CV forest-DAT
 pəḷa-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) baṭə-re goṭa-e mə-la hərəṇə pər-ith-iba-rə dekh-i se
 way-LOC CL-INDEF die-INF:PST deer lie-PERF-INF-GEN see-CV he
 bhab-il-e, “mū ei hərəṇə dehə-re pəs-i-gəle
 think-PST-3p(HON) I this deer body-LOC enter-CV-V2:go:CONDCV
 emanə-nkə hatə-ru rəkhyə pə-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-ṭa mər-i pər-i-gəl-a ebəṅg hərəṇə-ṭa
 immediately elephant-ART die-CV fall-CV-V2:go:PST-3s and deer-ART
 jī-ī uṭh-i mar-il-a dī-ā.
 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) məntri səməstə rəhəsyə bujh-i-par-i ləkə-nku kəh-il-a,
 minister all secret understand-CV-can-CV person-OBL:DAT say-PST-3s
 “sigrə se hərəṇə-ku ləkhyə kər-i tirə mar-ə.”
 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) matrɔ hɔrɪŋɔ deɦɔ-re tɪrɔ baj-iba purbɔ-ru raja seɦa-re
 but deer body-LOC shoot hit-INF before-ABL king there-LOC
 pɔr-ith-iba ekɔ mɔ-la sua deɦɔ-re pɔs-i ur-i
 fall-PERF-INF one die-INF:PST parrot body-LOC enter-CV fly-CV
 cal-i-gɔl-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) mɔntri taha lɔkhyɔ kɔr-i-par-il-a nahɪ.
 minister that sight do-CV-can-PST-3s NEG
 ‘The minister couldn’t see that.’
- (133) mɔ-la hɔrɪŋɔ-ku dekh-i bhab-il-a, “raja ei thɔrɔ seso
 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) ene sua-deɦɔ-dhari raja Nibrutti-ku sɔbu jɔŋ-a-i-de-ba
 now parrot-body-holding king N.-DAT all know-CAUS-CV-V2:give-INF
 pāi taa jhɔrɔka pakɦɔ-ku ur-i-ja-ū jaū byadhɔ-rɔ jalɔ-re
 for her window side-DAT fly-CV-V2:go-ICV RDP hunter-GEN net-LOC
 pɔr-i-gɔl-e.
 fall-CV-V2:go:PST-3p(HON)
 ‘Now, while the king in the body of the parrot was flying to Nibrutti’s window to let her know everything, he got in a hunter’s net.’
- (135) byadhɔ ta-nku dhɔr-iba-ku as-iba-ru se kɔɦ-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 mɔnɪsɔ pɔri spɔstɔ kɔɦa kɔɦ-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 bɔɦut ʈɔnka pa-ib-ɔ.”
 I-DAT sell-CONDCV you(POL) much money find-FUT-2p
 ‘If you sell me, you will get much money.’”
- (138) byadhɔ bhab-il-a, “ɦhik kɔɦa.
 hunter think-PST-3s correct matter
 ‘The hunter thought, “That’s correct.

- (139) mū eha-ku bik-i-de-b-i.”
I this-DAT sell-CV-V2:give-FUT-1s
‘I will sell this (bird).’
- (140) taa kōtha kuh-a sua-ku dekh-iba pāi bōjaro-re onekō loko
his matter say-PTCP parrot-DAT see-INF for market-LOC many people
ruṇḍo he-l-e.
gathering be-PST-3p
‘Many people gathered on the market to see his speaking parrot.’
- (141) Nibrutti-nko-rō jōṇ-e dasi mōdhyō seṭha-ku ja-ith-il-a.
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 pōcar-il-a, “raṇi-nko khōboro kōṇḍo?”
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 ascōrjyo ho-i byadhō-ku kōh-il-a, “e sua kōṇḍo mo-te kōtha
servant surprised be-CV hunter-DAT say-PST-3s this parrot INT I-DAT matter
kōh-uch-i!”
say-PROG-3s
‘The servant was surprised and said to the hunter, “This parrot is really speaking to me.”’
- (144) byadhō kōh-il-a, “se kōṇḍo sadharōṇḍo sua?
hunter say-PST-3s it INT usual parrot
‘The hunter said, “(Did you think) it is a normal parrot?”’
- (145) taa mulyō pōra lōkhy-e ṭonka.”
its value PTCL lakh-INDEF rupee
‘Its value is 100,000 rupees.’
- (146) dasi-ṭharu sua kōtha suṇ-i Nibrutti kōh-il-e, “ja,
servant-ABL parrot matter hear-CV N. say-PST-3p(HON) go:2s:IMP
raja-nku ṭonka mag-ib-u, sua-ṭi-ku kiṇ-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 ṭonka de-i sua-ṭae kiṇ-iba-ku raja-dehō-dhari
but so.much money give-CV parrot-INDEF buy-INF-DAT king-body-holding
mōntri raji he-l-a nahī.
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) teṇu niṇḍo hatō-ru ṭonka de-i Nibrutti sua-ṭi-ku
so REFL hand-ABL money give-CV N. parrot-ART-DAT

kiṅ-i-aṅ-iba-ku dasi-ku poṭha-i-de-l-e.
buy-CV-bring-INF-DAT servant-DAT send-CV-V2:give-PST-3p

'So Nibrṭti gave of her own money and sent the servant to buy the parrot.'

- (149) mōntri mōnō-re nana sōndehō he-l-a.
minister mind-LOC various doubt be-PST-3s
'The minister had various doubts in his mind.'
- (150) kōtha-re oḥ-i, "corō mōnō gōṅṅhi-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) lōkhy-e ṭōnka de-i Nibrṭti sua-tae kiṅ-uch-i kahiki?
lakh-INDEF rupee give-CV N. parrot-INDEF buy-PROG-3s why
'Why does Nibrṭti buy a parrot for 100 000 rupees?'
- (152) se dhā-īl-a rāṇi-nkō pakho-ku.
he run-PST-3s queen-OBL side-DAT
'He ran to the queen.'
- (153) dekh-il-a dasi sua-ṭi-ku dhōr-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 hoṭhat taa hatō-ru sua-ṭa-ku jhamp-i-ne-i taa beko
he suddenly her hand-ABL parrot-ART-DAT snatch-CV-V2:take-CV his neck
moṛ-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 purbō-ru tōl-e pōṛ-ith-iba goṭa-e mō-la
but it before-ABL bottom-LOC lie-PERF-INF CL-INDEF die-INF:PST
mōhumachi deho-re rāja pōs-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 rāṇi rag-i-uth-i mōntri-ku
parrot-DAT see-CV queen get.angry-CV-V2:get.up-CV minister-DAT
kōh-il-e, "mō ṭōnka-re mū ta-ku kiṅ-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) tumō-rō ki oḍhikarō 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, nɔile mū jibɔnɔ hɔr-a-i-de-b-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) mɔntri bɔrɔ ɔrua-re pɔr-il-a.
 minister big mess-LOC fall-PST-3s
 ‘The minister got into big trouble.’
- (160) ʔikie bhab-i mɔ-la sua-ku pakho ghɔrɔ-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 pɔs-i-gɔl-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 Nibrutti.’
- (161) taa sɔbɔ-ʔa seʔha-re pɔr-itha-e.
 his corpse-ART there-LOC lie-PERF-3s:HAB
 ‘His corpse was lying there.’
- (162) ehi sujogɔ-re raja mohumachi deho chaɔ-i taa bhitor-e
 this opportunity-LOC king bee body leave-CV it inside-LOC
 pɔs-i-gɔl-e ebong niɔ rupɔ-re Nibrutti ago-re
 enter-CV-V2:go:PST-3p(HON) and REFL shape-LOC N. before-LOC
 ʔhia 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 Nibrutti.’
- (163) prɔkrutɔ raja o rani-nkɔ-rɔ miɔnɔ dekh-i sua
 true king and queen-OBL-GEN finding see-CV parrot
 khɔs-i-j-iba-ku bɔs-ith-il-a, matrɔ dasi ta-ku
 escape-CV-V2:go-INF-DAT sit-PERF-PST-3s but servant he-DAT
 dhɔr-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-nkɔ songe dekh-a he-ba pɔrɔ-ʔharu jaha ghɔt-ith-il-a, raja
 y.-OBL with see-PTCP be-INF after-ABL what happen-PERF-PST-3s king
 goʔi goʔi kɔr-i Nibrutti-nkɔ ago-re bɔrɔnɔna kɔ-l-e.
 CL RDP do-CV N.-OBL before-LOC description do-PST-3p(HON)
 ‘One after the other the king described to Nibrutti what had happened since he had met the yogi.’
- (165) “jēū sɔkti bɔlɔ-re mɔntri mo-te mar-i-de-i tɔmɔ-ku
 which power power-LOC minister I-DAT kill-CV-V2:give-CV you(POL)-DAT

raṇi kōr-itha-nt-a boli bhab-ith-il-a, sei sōkti he-l-a
 queen do-PERF-COND-3s COMP think-PERF-PST-3s that power do-PST-3s
 taa-rō kaḷo.
 he-GEN death

‘That power with which the minister thought he could kill me and make you his queen was his death.’

- (166) bōrttōman dekh-ō, sua deho-re rōh-i se dustō kipōri
 now look-2p:IMP parrot body-LOC stay-CV that wicked how
 khōs-i-j-iba-ku cah-ū-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 sōbu ghōṭṭaṇa suṇ-i taa bekō moṛ-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 kōh-il-e, “tha-u raṇi, ta-ku chū-īle
 obstruction give-CV say-PST-3p(HON) be-3s:IMP queen it-DAT touch-CONDCV
 papō he-b-ō.
 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 luha pinjōra-re ta-ku rōkh-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) tahahēle obiswasi-rō ki dosa hu-e, lokō-mane sōbu-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 person.’”

A.4 Discovery

abiskaro

discovery

‘Discovery’⁴

- (1) Tōpōṇo: Sobha, caa he-l-a?
 T. S. tea be-PST-IND

⁴The text is taken from a theatre piece by Manoranjana (Satapathy 1992, pp. 1-10).

‘Tapana: Śobhā, is there some tea?’

- (2) Sobha: nō-uch-i.
S. take-PROG-1s
‘Śobhā: I’ll bring some (lit. I’am bringing).’
- (3) (Taruṇa-nko stri Sobha bhitoro-ku pos-i-as-il-e —
T.-OBL wife S. inside-DAT enter-CV-V2:come-PST-3p(HON)
pōripaṭi oti soroḷo. sukh-ila deho-re ekō manōsiko klanti o
style very simple get.dry-INF:PST body-LOC one human tiredness and
obōsado phuṭ-i bahar-utha-e.)
grief bloom-CV go.out-IPFV-3s:HAB
(‘Taruṇa’s (another name for Tapana) wife Śobhā 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. (kagojō-ṭa dekh-a-i) dekh-il-o, Oṛisa-re khub boṛhi 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) Brahmaṇi, Boitaroṇi, Mōhanōdi, Kharosrota sobu mis-i ekakaro —
B. B. M. Kh. all mix-CV alike
a goḷ-a rajyo-ṭa!
INTERJ go:PST-3s kingdom-ART
‘Brahmani, Baitarani, Mahanadi, Kharasrota, all the same — my dear, the country is gone!’
- (6) Ś. tomo 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 khinikhōrapo ho-i-ja-ith-ib-o, tebe Sironasti
village perhaps spoil be-CV-V2:go-PERF-FUT-3s then S.
Śiropīra kahīki?
S. why
‘The village might have been spoilt, why should we bother (lit. then why Śironāsti, why Śiropīrā = idiomatic expression)?’
- (8) niyo-ro ghorōdwaro to nah-i — se bisoyō-re cinta
REFL-GEN household PTCL be:NEG-3s that matter-LOC concern
kōr-i labho kōṇo?
do-CV profit what
‘I have no own household there — what’s the use of worrying about that?’
- (9) goṭa-e digō-ru bapa bhōḷo kōr-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.'

- (10) keboḷo ghoro-dihō-ṭa — au Kōṭōko koṭha chaṛ-i sobu sompōtti se
 only house-site-ART and C. building leave-CV all property he
 bikri kār-i bou hatō-re gōchitō paṅṭhi
 sale do-CV mother hand-LOC deposited capital
 rōkh-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.'

- (11) goṭa-e digō-ru bhōḷo nuh-ē tō au kōṅṅo — oṅeko
 CL-INDEF direction-ABL good be:NEG-3s PTCL and what many
 jhinjhiṭ sōmōsya tō ontōtō kōm-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.'

- (12) Ś. hō, tōme sina ghōrōdwarō gāā-gōṅḍa chaṛ-i bahar-e
 yes you(POL) PTCL household village-compound leave-CV outside-LOC
 bul-uch-ō boli emitī kōh-il-ō.
 walk-PROG-2p COMP like.this say-PST-2p

'Yes, you said that you left the household and the village compound and live outside.'

- (13) jēū-mano-nkō-rō se gāā chaṛ-iba-rō upayō nah-ī, semane
 who-PL-OBL-GEN that village leave-INF-GEN means be:NEG-3s they
 emitī muhō maṛ-i-nō-pōr-i au kōṅṅo kār-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)?'

- (14) T. taa choṛa gāā chaṛ-i sōmōst-e cal-i-as-ile sōmadhano
 it besides village leave-CV all-NOM go-CV-V2:come-CONDCV settlement
 hō-i-j-ib-ō nahī.
 be-CV-V2:go-FUT-3s NEG

'Besides that, when all have left the village and gone away, the problem won't be solved.'

- (15) au ame je gāā-ru bōhu durō-re rōh-ich-u boli
 more we PTCL village-ABL much distance-LOC live-PERF-1pe because
 sobu dur-ghōṭōṅa-ru mukṭō, se kōṭha tō nuh-ē.
 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.'

- (16) dhōr-ō, ebe jōdi Jōmuna-rō bōndhō-ṭa phaṭ-i-j-ib-ō!
 take-2p now if Y.-GEN dam-ART crack-CV-V2:go-FUT-3s

- 'Imagine, if now the dam of the Yamuna burst!'
- (17) (məɟər gyarej-ru bahar-iba səbdə)
car g.-ABL go.out-INF noise
(‘Noise from the garage.’)
- (18) Ś. ete səkaɭ-u gaɾi kəɟəɟə bahar-il-a-ɳi?
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) Ś. are sətə tə, təme bi tə posakə-potrə pindh-i tiarə.
INTERJ true PTCL you(POL) also PTCL clothes-thing wear-CV ready
(‘Hey, indeed, you too are ready with clothes on.’)
- (21) ete səkaɭ-u kuaɾ-e?
so.much morning-ABL where-LOC
(‘Where (are you going) so early in the morning?’)
- (22) T. rogi dekh-iba pāi jie cəusəθhi tənka phis ni-e, taa pāi
patient see-INF for who sixty-four rupee f. take-3s:HAB he:OBL for
səkaɭə sənɟə bicarə kəɟəɟə?
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) Ś. rogi dekh-i?
patient see-CV
(‘To see a patient?’)
- (24) T. au kəɟəɟə taahəle?
else what then
(‘What else then?’)
- (25) Ś. kie jaɳ-e təmə kəθha lo ma!
who know-3s:HAB your(POL) matter PTCL PTCL
(‘Who knows what you mean (lit. your words), my dear!’)
- (26) T. Sobha, tume eɳiki mo-te prətyəkə kəθha-re əbiswasə
S. you(POL) now I-DAT each matter-LOC unbelief
kə-l-ɔ-ɳi.
do-PST-2p-MIR
(‘Sobhā, you have now (started to) distrust everything I say.’)
- (27) Ś. rag-il-ɔ?
get.angry-PST-2p
(‘Are you angry (lit. did you get angry)?’)

- (28) (həs-i-pəka-i)
laugh-CV-V2:put-CV
'(She broke out in laughter.)'
- (29) mū təmō-ku ciṙe-iba pāi semiti kəh-i-de-l-i na!
I 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-rō koiphiyət-re se sōbu
INTERJ as.if S.-GEN explanation-LOC he all
bhul-i-gəl-e)
forget-CV-V2:go:PST-3p(HON)
'Oh (as if he had forgotten Śobhā's whole explanation)'
- (31) buṙha uṭh-il-e-ṇi?
old.man get.up-PST-3p(HON)-MIR
'Did the old man get up?'
- (32) Ś. khali uṭh-il-e-ṇi?
only get.up-PST-3p(HON)-MIR
'He only got up?'
- (33) səkəḷ-ṙō kamō sar-i reḍio suṇ-uch-ənti.
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 bhōla pa-il-ṙ ta-nkō-rō pəricəyō!
something certainly find-PST-2p he-OBL-GEN identity
'You surely found out his identity!'
- (35) Ś. na.
no
'No.'
- (36) T. na mane?
no meaning
'"No" means?'
- (37) pəcar-i-na na kəḷḷō?
ask-PERF-NEG or what
'You did not ask or what?'
- (38) Ś. cesta kəṙ-ich-i ənekō thōrō; kintu sōbubeḷe sei goṭi-e uttəṙō.
try do-PERF-1s many time but always that CL-INDEF answer
'I have tried many times; but always that same answer.'
- (39) T. kəḷḷō? "mō-rō kichi pəricəyō nah-ī."
what my-GEN some identity be:NEG-3s
'What? "I have no identity".'

- (40) Ś. kali rati-re au thər-e pəcar-ith-il-i —
yesterday night-LOC more time-INDEF ask-PERF-PST-1s
'Last night I asked once again —'
- (41) kōh-il-i — "kaha pakhō-ku khōbōrō de-ba-ku he-b-ō?"
say-PST-1s who:OBL side-DAT message give-INF-DAT be-FUT-3s
'I asked, who is to be informed?'
- (42) T. kōṅṅō kōh-il-e?
what say-PST-3p(HON)
'What did he say?'
- (43) Ś. kōh-il-e — "mō-rō kehi nah-ī."
say-PST-3p(HON) I-GEN anybody be:NEG-3s
'He said, "I have nobody."'
- (44) T. ṅōsōyō se Puna-ru je as-ich-ōnti sethi-re sōndehō
certainly he P.-ABL PTCL come-PERF-3p(HON) that-LOC doubt
nah-ī.
be:NEG-3s
'There is certainly no doubt that he has come from Poona.'
- (45) Ś. kemiti jaṅ-il-ō?
how know-PST-2p
'How did you find out?'
- (46) T. kar Puna-re rejistri kār-a-ja-ich-i.
c. P.-LOC r. do-PASS-go-PERF-3s
'The car has been registered in Poona.'
- (47) Ś. mū Puna kōtha pōcar-ith-il-i.
I P. matter ask-PERF-PST-1s
'I had asked about Poona.'
- (48) T. mū bi pōcar-ith-il-i —
I also ask-PERF-PST-1s
'I too had asked him —'
- (49) Ś. dirghō-niswasō pōka-i kōh-il-e — "Bharōtō-rō barō-ṭa
long-breath put-CV say-PST-3p(HON) India-GEN twelve-CL
sōhōrō-re mō-rō ghōrō ṅōch-i ...
town-LOC I-GEN house be-3s
'He took a long breath and said, "I have houses in twelve towns of India ...'
- (50) mōṅisō nah-anti ...
man be:NEG-3p
'I have no person ...'

- (51) e ghər-e mo-te ɔlpə kete dino asrəyo de-ba-ku raji
 this house-LOC I-DAT few some day shelter give-INF-DAT agree
 nuh-ē tōme?"
 be:NEG-3s you(POL)
 'Would you mind (lit. don't you agree) giving me lodging in this house
 for a few days?'"
- (52) mū au kichi pəcar-i-par-il-i nahī.
 I more something ask-CV-can-PST-1s NEG
 'I couldn't ask more.'
- (53) T. bhəb kər-ich-ɔ.
 good do-PERF-2p
 'You have done well.'
- (54) Ś. tume thər-e pəcar-u-na?
 you(POL) time-INDEF ask-PROG-NEG
 'Aren't you asking (him) once?'
- (55) T. jañ-e-na kahiki pəcar-i pəcar-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-nkə-rə sei kimbhīrə peṭə-rə moṭa oṭhəɔ cikokəṇə cəmoḍa-rə
 he-OBL-GEN that crocodile belly-GEN fat yet smooth skin-GEN
 muhō, sei thər-ila thərila oṭhə, sei
 face that shiver-PST:INF RDP lip that
 dekh-i-par-u-nə-th-iba bhitər-e tibrə drusti-re cah-ība-rə
 see-CV-can-IPFV-NEG-AUX-INF inside-LOC sharp look-LOC look-INF-GEN
 bhəngi, e-səbu bhitər-e sote, sote muhō khol-u-n-i
 mode this-all inside-LOC as.if RDP face open-PROG-NEG-3s
 ta-nku kichi pəcar-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) muṇḍə-phəṭ-a haṛə-bhəng-a ba aksidəṭ-re ɔnyə jəkhəmo
 head-crack-PTCP bone-break-PTCP or a-LOC other injury
 ho-ith-iba rogi-ku daktər hisabə-re mū hatə-re goṛimaṭi
 be-PERF-INF patient-DAT d. account-LOC I hand-LOC stone-ground
 cəkəṭ-ila pəri ghaṇṭ-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 kəṇə ba aksidəṭ ne-i se as-ith-il-e
 but what PTCL a. take-CV he come-PERF-PST-3p(HON)

- daktorkhana-ku ... ?
hospital-DAT
'But how had he come to the hospital with such an accident?'
- (59) kar-ṭa prayō cuna ho-i-ja-ith-il-a; kintu muhō
car-ART almost powder become-CV-V2:go-PERF-PST-3s but face
hatō-re samanyō aghatō ...
hand-LOC little injured
'The car had almost become powder; but he was only little injured
in the face and hands ...'
- (60) stiyōring-ṭa piṭ-i-ho-i-ja-ith-il-a nako au akhi upōr-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 pōṭō-rō mōsōl-gurakō cip-i-ho-i rōktō
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) (kichi sōmōyō cup rōh-i)
some time quiet stay-CV
(‘After staying quiet for some time.’)
- (63) byaṇḍej khol-a-nō-j-iba jake kichi kōh-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 nahī.
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) Ś. tōme bhōḷō kōr-i dekh-ith-il-ō ṭi?
you(POL) good do-CV see-PERF-PST-2p PTCL
'Had you had a close look?'
- (65) T. na, tebe Aruṇō kōh-uch-i ...
no then A. say-PROG-3s
'No, then Aruṇa is saying ...'
- (66) Ś. tōme dekh-u-na — sōbu-dine Aruṇō as-i kōṇō ṭikie
you(POL) see-PROG-NEG all-day A. come-CV INT a.little
dekh-i-ja-uch-ōnti.
see-CV-V2:go-PROG-3p(HON)
'You are not looking — Aruṇa always comes and has a look.'
- (67) T. Aruṇō baje daktōr nuh-ē, Sobha!
A. foolish d. be:NEG-3s S.
'Aruṇa is not a foolish doctor, Śobhā!'

- (68) Ś. se kōtha tō kōh-u-n-i, tebe tume niḡe nō-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 niḡe 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 dino-rō kōtha aji bi spōstō mōn-e oḡh-i.
that day-GEN matter today also clear mind-LOC be-3s
'What happened that day is clear in (my) mind even today.'
- (71) opōresōn ṭebul-ku ne-ba agō-ru hōḡhat kahīki ja-i sei
o. t.-DAT take-INF before-ABL suddenly why go-CV that
chec-a checa kōpaḷō upōr-e hatō 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 ...'
- (72) luha-rō sikulī-re chōnd-i-de-la pōri ta-nkō-rō dui
iron-GEN chain-LOC join-CV-V2:give-INF:PST like he-OBL-GEN two
hatō-re baha-ku mō-rō cap-i-dhōr-i kōh-il-e, "ḡaktōr,
hand-LOC arm-DAT I-GEN press-CV-hold-CV say-PST-3p(HON) d.
mō-te e ḡaktōrkhana-re rōkh-ō-na."
I-DAT this hospital-LOC keep-2p:IMP-NEG
'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) jaḡ-ō Sobha, kōḡḡō he-l-a mō-rō?
know-2p S. what happen-PST-3s I-GEN
'Do you know, Śobhā, what happened to me?'
- (74) hōḡhat muḡḡō-ṭa bhōūri kha-i bul-i-gōl-a, oḡḡō
suddenly head-ART whirling eat-CV walk-CV-V2:go:PST-3s helpless
ōnubhōḡō kōl-i, taapōre Aruḡō-ku ḡak-i e kes-ṭa de-i
feeling do:PST-1s then A.-DAT call-CV this case-ART give-CV
pher-i-as-il-i cembōr-ku.
return-CV-V2:come-PST-1s ch.-DAT
'Suddenly my head was going like a whirlpool, I felt helpless, then I
called Aruḡa, gave him this case and returned to my room.'
- (75) seḡhi bi bōs-i-par-il-i nahī ...
there also sit-CV-can-PST-1s NEG
'I couldn't sit there either ...'
- (76) opōresōn ṭebul-ru beḡ-ku ni-a-ja-uth-il-a, baḡō-ru
o. t.-ABL b.-DAT take-PASS-go-IPFV-PST-3s way-ABL
chōr-a-i aḡ-ila pōri niḡō kar-re aḡ-i-rōkh-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) baṭṭ-re ceta he-ba pər-e mo-te kəh-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) ghərw-ku ne-i-ja-uch-ə daktər?
house-DAT take-CV-V2:go-PROG-2p d.
'Are you taking (me) home, doctor?'
- (79) gaři pher-a-i daktərkhana-ku ne-i cal-ə.
car return-CAUS-CV hospital-DAT take-CV go-2p:IMP
'Turn the car and return to the hospital.'
- (80) tume seṭimental ho-i-ja-uch-ə daktər!
you(POL) s. become-CV-V2:go-PROG-2p d.
'You are becoming sentimental, doctor!'
- (81) Ś. bhəlw kər-ich-ə daktərkhana-re nə-chaři-i.
good do-PERF-2p hospital-LOC NEG-leave-CV
'You have well done, not leaving him in the hospital.'
- (82) agə se bhəlw he-i-ja-ntu ... taapore ...
before he good be-CV-V2:go-3p:IMP then
'May he first get well ... then ...'
- (83) burha: (duru-ru) Sobha, kagəwə as-il-a-ni?
old.man distance-ABL S. paper come-PST-3s-MIR
'Old man: (from far) Śobhā, has the newspaper arrived?'
- (84) T. ei se uṭh-i-as-uch-ənti na kəwə?
this he get.up-CV-V2:come-PROG-3p(HON) or what
'Is he getting up or what?'
- (85) Ś. ghərw-gurakə cih-n-i-gəl-e-ni.
room-PL recognise-CV-V2:go:PST-3p(HON)-MIR
'He has recognised the rooms.'
- (86) hatə mar-i-mar-i ṭhik 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) Ś. Aruṇo kōh-ich-onti samanyo e ghoro se ghoro he-le
 A. say-PERF-3p(HON) a.little this room that room be-COND CV
 kichi khyoti nah-ī.
 any harm be:NEG-3s
 'Aruṇa has said if it's a bit from this room to that room, there is no harm.'
- (89) ontoto mōno-ṭa ...
 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) (burha pōs-i-as-il-e —
 old.man enter-CV-V2:come-PST-3p(HON)
 ('The old man entered —')
- (93) sōriro-ro goṭhōno boyōso-ro ingito-ku pōrihaso kor-uch-i,
 body-GEN constitution age-GEN signal-DAT ridicule do-PROG-3s
 kōthabartta-re drurhota-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) Ś. as-il-a-ṇi.
 come-PST-3s-MIR
 'It has arrived.'
- (95) (se goṭa-e kauca-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, Simḷa-re bōrōpho pōṛ-iba kōtha kichi bahar-ich-i?
 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) Ś. dekh-il-o Simḷa-re ...
 see-PST-2p S.-LOC
 'Look for Simla ...'
- (98) (kagojo-ṭa ṭebul upōr-u Tōpōno-nku bōṛha-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. ũ — Simᵒᵗa-re ...
 INTERJ S-LOC
 ‘Hm — in Simla ...’
- (100) (prustha leuᵗ-a-iba-re byᵒᵗᵒ)
 page turn-CAUS-INF-LOC busy
 (‘Busy turning the pages.’)
- (101) b. kie, ᵗaktᵒr na ... (paᵗi kᵒr-i) kie?
 who d. or mouth do-CV who
 ‘Who, is it the doctor ... (shouting) who?’
- (102) T. mū ᵗᵒᵗᵒᵗᵒ ...
 I T.
 ‘It’s me, Tapana ...’
- (103) b. Simᵒᵗa bᵒᵗᵒᵗᵒ kᵒᵗᵒa kichi ᵒch-i?
 S. snow matter something be-3s
 ‘Is there something about snow in Simla?’
- (104) T. na ᵗᵒ.
 no PTCL
 ‘No.’
- (105) Ś. aᵗᵒᵗᵒ-ᵗᵒ caa-ᵗa eiᵗᵒi-ki?
 you(HON)-OBL tea-ART here-DAT
 (‘Do you want me to bring) your tea here?’
- (106) b. ᵗulᵗu kᵒa-i-a-ᵗi?
 T. eat-PST-3s-MIR
 ‘ᵗulᵗu has already drunk (lit. eaten)?’
- (107) Ś. se ...?
 he
 ‘He ...?’
- (108) aᵗᵒᵗᵒ kᵒa-i-ᵗi-ᵗᵒᵗᵒ, 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-gᵒᵗ-e.)
 she go.out-CV-V2:go:PST-3p(HON)
 (‘She went out.’)
- (110) b. na na, ᵗulᵗu mo songe caa kᵒa-ib-ᵒ.
 no no T. I:OBL with tea eat-FUT-3s
 ‘No no, ᵗulᵗu will drink tea with me.’
- (111) ᵗulᵗu ... ᵗulᵗu!
 T. T.
 ‘ᵗulᵗu ... ᵗulᵗu!’

- (112) (Ṭulṭu pəs-i-as-il-a.)
 T. enter-CV-V2:come-PST-3s
 ('Ṭulṭu entered.')
- (113) (egarə barə bərsə-rə swasthyəban pila — kothabartta byəbəharə
 eleven twelve year-GEN healthy child conversation use
 səbuthi-re cəncəḷəta.)
 all-LOC speed
 ('A healthy boy of eleven, twelve years, speed in conversation, behaviour,
 in everything.')
- (114) Ṭu. tume caa kha-i-na, əja?
 you(POL) tea eat-PERF-NEG grandfather
 'Have you not drunk tea, grandfather?'
- (115) b. na, to-te əpekhyə kər-ich-i.
 no you(FAM)-DAT wait do-PERF-1s
 'No, I have been waiting for you.'
- (116) (caa ṭre dhər-i pəs-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. basəna jaṇ-i-par-uch-i, caa as-i-gəl-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 choṭə kəp-ṭa dhər, Ṭulṭu — əpəṇə dhər-əntu
 you(FAM) this small c.-ART take:2s:IMP T. you(HON) take-3p:IMP
 piala-ṭa, mū dhaḷ-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 əja-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.'

Bibliography

- Aristar, A. R. (1997). Marking and hierarchy types and the grammaticalization of case markers. *Studies in Language*, 21:313–68.
- Bal, B. K. (1990). *COMP and Complementizers in Oriya and English*. PhD thesis, CIEFL, Hyderabad.
- Banda, R. (1991). *Chaati gacha cabiśa phula (Six trees, twenty-four fruits)*. Śiśusāthī pustakamālā 5 (Children's book collection). Soudamini Prakashan, Cuttack.
- Bayer, J. (1996). *Directionality and logical form. On the scope of focussing particles and Wh-in-situ*. Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht.
- Bertinetto, P. M. (1994). Statives, progressives, and habituales: analogies and differences. *Linguistics*, 32(3):391–423.
- Bhattacharya, K. (1993). *Bengali – Oriya verb morphology. A contrastive study*. Das Gupta & Co, Calcutta.
- Bisang, W. (1996). Areal typology and grammaticalization: Processes of grammaticalization based on nouns and verbs in East and Mainland South East Asian languages. *Studies in Language*, 20:519–97.
- Bresnan, J. and Mchombo, S. A. (1987). Topic, pronoun, and agreement in chichewa. *Language*, 63(4):741–82.
- Burrow, T. (1973). *The Sanskrit language*. Faber and Faber, London.
- Butt, M. (1995). *The structure of complex predicates in Urdu*. CSLI, Stanford, CA.
- Bybee, J., Perkins, R., and Pagliuca, W. (1994). *The evolution of grammar*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Chatterjee, R. (1988). *Aspect and meaning in Slavic and Indic*. Benjamins, Amsterdam.

- Chatterji, S. K. (1926). *The origin and development of the Bengali language*. Allen & Unwin, Calcutta (Repr. London).
- Comrie, B. (1976). *Aspect*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Comrie, B. (1977). In defense of spontaneous demotion: the impersonal passive. In Cole, P. and Sadock, J. M., editors, *Syntax and semantics 8. Grammatical relations*, pages 47–58. Academic Press, New York.
- Das, S. (1996). *Naba abhidhāna (New Dictionary). Oriya – Oriya – English dictionary*. Granthamandir, Cuttack.
- Das Gupta, B. B. (1980). *Oriya, self-taught*. Das Gupta Prakashan, Calcutta.
- Dasgupta, D. and Bhattacharya, S. (1975). The Desiya of Koraput. *Indian Journal of Linguistics*, 2:1–24.
- Dash, G. N. (1982). *Descriptive morphology of Oriya*. Visva-Bharati Research Publications Committee, Santiniketan, West-Bengal.
- Ferguson, C. (1972). Verbs of 'being' in Bengali, with a note on Amharic. In Verhaar, J. W. M., editor, *The verb 'be' and its synonyms. Part V*, pages 74–114. D. Reidel Publishing Company, Dordrecht.
- Fleischman, S. (1989). Temporal distance: a linguistic metaphor. *Studies in Language*, 13(1):1–51.
- Friedrich, E. (2002). *Einführung in die indischen Schriften: Gujarati, Gurmukhi, Bengali, Oriya [Teil II]*. Buske, Hamburg.
- Gustafsson, U. (1973a). Clause patterns in Kotia Oriya. In Trail, R. L., editor, *Patterns in clause, sentence, and discourse in selected languages of India and Nepal. Part II, Clause*, pages 191–256. Tribhuvan University Press, Kathmandu.
- Gustafsson, U. (1973b). Kotia Oriya texts. In Trail, R. L., editor, *Patterns in clause, sentence, and discourse in selected languages of India and Nepal. Part III, Texts*, pages 109–212. Tribhuvan University Press, Kathmandu.
- Gustafsson, U. (1989). *An Adiwasi Oriya – Telugu – English Dictionary*. Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore.
- Hardenberg, R. and Panda, S. K. (1999). *Oriya – German – English basic vocabulary*. Mahanadi Beiträge zur Südasiensforschung. Institut für Ethnologie der Freien Universität Berlin, Berlin.

- Haspelmath, M. (1995). The converb as a cross-linguistically valid category. In Haspelmath, M. and König, E., editors, *Converbs in cross-linguistic perspective*, pages 1–55. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.
- Hook, P. E. (1974). *The compound verb in Hindi*. Center for South and South-east Asian Studies, University of Michigan.
- Jespersen, O. (1954). *A modern English grammar on historical principles*. George Allen & Unwin, London.
- Karpushkin, B. M. (1964). *Iazyk oriya*. Nauka, Moscow.
- Klaiman, M. H. (1981). *Volitionality and subject in Bengali*. Indiana University Linguistics Club, Bloomington.
- Kortmann, B. (1997). *Adverbial subordination*. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.
- König, E. (1986). Conditionals, concessive conditionals and concessives: areas of contrast, overlap and neutralization. In Traugott, E. C., ter Meulen, A., Reilly, J. S., and Ferguson, C. A., editors, *On conditionals*, pages 229–46. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Lambrecht, K. (1994). *Information structure and sentence form*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Laury, R. (1997). *Demonstratives in interaction. The emergence of a definite article in Finnish*. Benjamins, Amsterdam.
- Mahapatra, K. (1985). *Desia. A tribal Oriya dialect of Koraput Orissa*. ADIBASI 25 (Nos. 1–4). Tribal & Harijan Research-cum-Training Institute, Bhubaneswar.
- Majumdar, P. C. (1970). *A historical phonology of Oriya*. Sanskrit College, Calcutta.
- Maltby, T. J. (1874 [1986]). *A practical handbook of the Uriya or Odiya language*. Asian Educational Services, New Delhi.
- Masica, C. (1976). *Defining a linguistic area: South Asia*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Masica, C. P. (1991). *The Indo-Aryan languages*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Matson, D. M. (1971). *Introduction to Oriya and the Oriya writing system*. Michigan State University Asian Studies Center, East Lansing.

- Misra, H. (1975). *Historical Oriya morphology*. Bharata Manisha, Varanasi.
- Mohanty, B. (1989). *An intensive course in Oriya*. Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore.
- Mohanty, P. (1987). Where did /o/ go in the northern dialect of Oriya? *Indian Linguistics*, 48:76-86.
- Mukherjee, S. (1985). *Kasus und Diathese im Bengalischen*. Julius Groos Verlag, Heidelberg.
- Nayak, R. (1987). *Nonfinite clauses in Oriya*. PhD thesis, CIEFL, Hyderabad.
- Palmer, F. (1986). *Mood and modality*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Patnaik, B. N. (1976). *Complementation in Oriya and English*. PhD thesis, CIEFL, Hyderabad.
- Patnaik, M. (1994). Lexical anaphors in Oriya: a thematic approach. Master's thesis, University of Delhi.
- Patnaik, M. (1998). Quotatives revisited. *South Asian Language Review*, 8(2):79-96.
- Pattanayak, D. P. (1966). *A controlled historical reconstruction of Oriya, Assamese, Bengali and Hindi*. Mouton, The Hague.
- Pattanayak, D. P. and Das, G. N. (1972). *Conversational Oriya*. Smt. Sulakshana Pattanayak, Mysore.
- Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G., and Svartvik, J. (1985). *A comprehensive grammar of the English language*. Longman, London.
- Sahoo, K. (1996). The DP-analysis of English and Oriya noun phrases. Master's thesis, CIEFL, Hyderabad.
- Satapathy, B. K., editor (1992). *Manoranjananka śreṣṭha ekāṅkī (Manoranjan's chief one-act plays)*. Sahadev Pradhan, Friends' Publishers, Cuttack.
- Squartini, M. (1999). On the semantics of the pluperfect: evidence from Germanic and Romance. *Linguistic Typology*, 3(1):51-89.
- Stassen, L. (1985). *Comparison and universal grammar*. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Tripathi, K. B. (1957). Western Oriya dialect. *Indian Linguistics*, 18(1-2):76-85.

Tripathi, K. B. (1962). *The evolution of Oriya language and script*. Utkal University Press, Cuttack.

Wetzer, H. (1992). Nouny and verby adjectivals: a typology of predicative adjectival constructions. In Kefer, M. and van der Auwera, J., editors, *Meaning and grammar. Cross-linguistic perspectives*, pages 223-262. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.

Index

- a
 - causative, 129, 231
 - participle, 11, 18, 70, 124, 132, 230, 231, 232, 288, 382, 391
 - passive, 288
 - verbaliser, 132
- babu* honorific, 86, 126
- debi* honorific, 126
- e, 22
 - honorific, 50
 - indefinite, 25, 34, 42, 65, 117, 120, 124
 - locative, 47
 - nominative, 49, 81, 89, 108, 109, 114
 - plural, 38, 39
 - vocative, 40
- goṭa* classifier, 44, 116
- goṭi* classifier, 116
- gurae* plural, 38, 42, 78
- guraḱo* plural, 38
- guriē* plural, 38, 42, 78
- guriḱo* plural, 38
- hī* emphatic, 119, 305
- i, *see* Perfect
 - converb, *see* converb, general
 - emphatic, 88
 - female, 67
- iba* infinitive, 18, 28, 106, 146, 172, 191, 227, 230, 234, 344, 350, 364, 391
- ila* infinitive, 230, 238, 364, 391
- ile*, *see* converb, conditional
- jako* 'all', 41, 44, 45, 82, 118, 322
- ji* honorific, 126
- joṅo* classifier, 43, 101, 116
- ka* oblique, 93, 96, 299
- khəṅdo* classifier, 43, 116
- ki* dative, 47
- ko*
 - 'one', 37
 - all-inclusive, 42, 44
- ku*, *see* dative
- mane* plural, 38, 83
- mano* plural, 38
- nki* dative, 47
- nko* oblique, 41, 56, 81, 83
- nku* oblique dative, 41, 46
- ni* mirative, 214
- nu* 'hardly', 250
- onta* participle, 233
- re*, *see* locative
- ri* emphatic, 48
- ro*, *see* genitive
- ru*, *see* ablative
- sara* 'all', 45
- to* adverbialiser, 75
- toḱo* 'all', 45, 82, 97
- toṃo*
 - ordinal numeral, 115
 - superlative, 74
- toro* comparative, 74
- ṭa*, *see* article
- ṭha* bridge morpheme, 46, 62, 63, 73, 89, 92, 93, 372
- ṭhi* locative, 47
- ṭhu* ablative, 47
- ṭie* indefinite, 36, 72, 97, 121
- ṭi*, *see* article
- u*, *see* Imperfective, *see* converb, im-

- perfective
ablative, 47
- ability, 277, 293
- ablative, 46, 47, 61, 73, 74, 239, 372
- accusative, 50
- address, 86, 126
- adjective, 17, 19, 66, 97, 100, 101, 103, 116, 124, 240
- adverbial use, 75
- attributive use, 70
- composition, 70
- derivation, 68
- forms, 66, 67
- nominal use, 72
- predicative, 257
- predicative use, 71
- adjectiviser, *see* adjective, formation
- admonitive, 226
- adverb, 75, 298
- focus, 302
- intensifier, 301
- locative, 92, 94
- manner, 304
- modal, 299
- quantity, 97
- reflexive, 105, 110
- temporal, 94, 95, 299
- agreement
- adjective, 67, 70
- predicative adjective, 71
- verb, 39, 49, 53, 59, 60, 82, 85, 138, 255, 289, 337
- aktionsart, 144
- ingressive, *see* verb
- telic, 264, 271, 286
- anaphora, zero, 334
- animateness, 38, 39, 51, 52, 60, 105, 338, 385
- antonym, 69
- Apabhraṃśa, 1
- aposition, 72, 85, 359
- article, 23, 42, 44, 46, 51, 57, 72, 89, 95, 98, 102, 103
- aspect, 135, 138, 234, 237, 239, 252
- Assamese, 1, 49, 52
- auxiliary, 131, 132, 135, 262, 289
- Bengali, 1, 24, 26, 52, 117, 255, 264, 292, 356
- Eastern, 49
- Bhojpuri, 1
- Brahmi, 11
- bridge morpheme, 46, 55, 62, 63, 324
- capability, 173, 292
- case, 46, 72, 89, 92, 94, 103, 118, 124, 126, 234, 315, 364
- forms, 46
- use, 49
- variants, 47
- causative, 11, 129
- classification (genetic), 1
- classifier, 34, 35, 37, 42, 43, 45, 70, 98, 101, 102, 116
- clause, 353
- adverbial, 374
- causal, 379
- complement, 107, 181, 351, 356, 371
- concessive, 247, 251
- conditional, 100, 154, 164, 188, 192, 248, 251, 341, 363
- converbial, 384
- correlative, 393
- infinitival, 364
- participial, 391
- purposive, 182, 199, 248, 341, 359, 367, 379
- relative, 124, 237, 351, 391, 393
- result, 177, 358, 379
- subordinate, 154, 181, 191, 194, 374
- temporal, 251, 376–378
- clitic, 302, 305

- clock time, 119
 commissive, 179
 comparative, 73
 comparison, 62, 73, 79, 179
 complementiser, 356
 conative, 171
 Conditional, 178, 181, 188, 197, 200, 218
 Imperfective, 194
 Perfect, 192
 Simple, 177, 188
 conjunction, 328
 consonant, 4
 cluster, 9
 converb, 242, 351
 conditional, 190, 199, 226, 230, 251, 390
 general, 107, 123, 135, 230, 242, 249, 264, 290
 imperfective, 135, 230, 246, 249, 389
 negation, 344, 347
 coordination, 328, 353
 clauses, 73
 compound verb, 267
 nominal, 38, 48, 60, 328
 verb, 330
 copula, 256, 343
 countable, *see* noun, count
 counterassertive, 311
 counterfactual, 192, 193, 253

 dative, 50, 58, 130, 172, 191, 227, 289, 367
 subject, 52, 105, 110, 277, 335
 Deśaja, 3
 definiteness, 24, 25, 39, 42, 51, 117, 125
 deixis, 87
 deliberative, 178, 226
 derivation
 adjective → verb, 132
 noun → noun, 15
 noun → verb, 132
 verb → noun, 17
 determination, 56, 124
 Devanagari, 11
 dialect, 2
 diminutive, 15
 diphthong, 7, 93
 discourse
 deixis, 91, 92
 referent, 94
 relevance, 25, 28, 51, 121
 distal, 88
 distributivity, 65, 82, 104, 108, 115, 123, 124, 132, 398
 Dravidian, 46
 durative, 169, 185

 echo words, 20
 emphasis, 98, 305
 negation, 345
 numeral, 115
 Perfect aspect, 142
 pronoun, 48, 88, 89
 reciprocal, 111
 reflexive, 108, 109
 verb, 264
 English, 9
 exclamation, 100, 332, 341
 exhortative, 176, 223
 experiential, 208, 217

 feminine, 21
 finiteness, 135
 focus, 302, 305, 335
 Future, 173, 189–191, 196, 200, 217, 219, 223
 immediate, 164, 328, 360
 Imperfective, 185
 Perfect, 182
 Simple, 173

 gender, 21

- generic
 noun, 42, 122
 pronoun, 85, 123
 sentence, 149
- genitive, 53, 56, 106, 227, 229, 257, 371
 subject, 110
- gerund, 382
- Habitual, 146, 294, 363
 Imperfective, 158, 186, 213
 Perfect, 155
 Simple, 179
- habituality, 139, 146, 170, 179
- Hindi, 9, 243, 264, 357
- history of Oriya, 1
- Hmong, 120
- honorificity, 27, 46, 56, 86, 87, 126, 219
- hypernym, 126
- hyponym, 19
- hypothetical, 188, 190, 251, 254
- Imperative, 175, 181, 190, 191, 195, 219
 Imperfective, 202
 Perfect, 200
 Simple, 196
- imperative, *see* order
- Imperfective, 142, 234, 238, 254, 340
- inanimateness, 24, 36, 38, 39, 44, 45, 51, 59, 60, 388
- inclusive / exclusive, 83, 138, 224, 338
- indefiniteness, 36, 39, 42, 51, 72, 120, 125, 395
- infinitive, *see* *iba*-form
- intensifier particle, 66
- intention, 176
- interjection, 330
- interrogative, 93, 95, 98, 116
 position, 99
- intonation, 347
- iterative, 162, 212
- lexicalization, 240, 243, 314
- loanword, 3, 4, 9, 20
- locative, 37, 46, 47, 63, 75, 298, 373
- Magahi, 1
- Maithili, 1
- masculine, 21
- mirativity, 214
- modality
 deontic, 190, 196, 219
 epistemic, 180, 184, 187, 217, 296, 299
 modal verb, 293
- mood, 135
- morphophonology, 10, 130, 138, 261
- name, 126
- narrative, 139, 152, 156, 159, 161, 209, 213
- nasalization, 4, 5, 93, 136
- negation, 35, 339
 adjective, 69
 causative, 131
 converb, 246
 copula, 343
 indefinite pronoun, 100, 103
 modal verb, 295
 order, 222
 scope, 345
- nominal phrase, 48, 124
- nominative, 49, 54, 60, 366
- nonfiniteness, 230
- noun, 14, 66, 68, 70, 80, 97, 100, 101, 124
 abstract, 16, 17, 38
 collective, 34, 42, 124
 composition, 19, 56
 count, 98, 117, 119
 derivation, 15
 formation, 14
 human, 38, 39, 46, 49, 55, 62, 63, 102, 116

- mass, 38, 45
 measure, 35, 37, 42, 98, 119, 124
 predicative, 257
 proper, 20, 24, 101, 126
 relational, 315
 verbal, 382
 number, 22, 138
 numeral, 45, 70, 112, 124
 cardinal, 112
 classifier, 117
 fraction, 112
 multiplier, 114
 ordinal, 115
 object, 50, 105, 110, 289, 334, 365,
 383, 388
 obligation, 173, 193, 227
 oblique base, 46, 83, 89, 93, 100, 313
 OIA, 1, 3, 21, 24
 Old Indo-Aryan, *see* OIA
 onomatopoeic word, 9
 optative, 224
 order, 165, 175, 186, 196, 198, 202,
 219, 268
 Pali, 1
 part-of-speech, 14, 66, 298
 participle, *see* a-form
 conjunctive, 243
 particle, 290, 305
 je, 309, 357, 360
 ki, 98, 190, 347, 360
 to, 221, 311, 348
 ki, 396
 emphatic, 305
 intensifier, 346
 modal, 306
 passive, 86, 106, 197, 288
 Past, 161, 204, 205, 209, 214, 219
 Imperfective, 160, 169, 213
 Perfect, 165
 past, remote, 168
 pejorative, 20, 24, 26, 28, 38, 39, 89,
 121, 126
 Perfect, 141, 234, 237, 253, 340
 perfective, 139, 161
 performative, 212
 permissive, 86, 131, 177, 296
 Persian, 9, 17
 person, 83, 138
 phonology, 4
 phonotactics, 8
 plural, 22, 38, 42, 56, 83, 85, 89, 104,
 115
 excessive, 65
 politeness, 86, 126, 172, 183, 189, 190,
 198, 200, 205, 219, 223, 225,
 268, 301, 331, 348
 possession, 56
 postposition, 124, 234, 239, 313, 364,
 374
 Prakrit, 1
 predicate, 334
 Present Perfect, 204, 214, 342
 Present Progressive, 147, 158, 163,
 172, 174, 179, 196, 210, 216,
 342
 probability, 180
 prohibitive, 222
 pronoun, 83, 124
 demonstrative, 80, 88, 89, 126
 indefinite, 25, 77, 91, 100, 102
 interrogative, 48, 80, 178, 336, 349
 personal, 38, 48, 80, 83, 101, 105
 reciprocal, 110
 reflexive, 104
 relative, 80, 103
 proximal, 88
 quantifier, 48, 74, 76, 301
 distributive, 82
 free-choice, 103, 251, 396
 suffixes, 42
 universal, 80

- question, 98, 347
 echo, 347
 rhetorical, 178, 341
 tag, 349
 yes/no, 301, 330, 347
- reciprocity, 110, 132
- reduplication, 9, 20, 35
 adjective, 70, 71
 adverb, 305
 classifier, 111, 123
 compound verb, 267
 converb, 344
 general converb, 245
 imperfective converb, 249
 indefinite pronoun, 104
 interrogative word, 99
 noun, 65
 numeral, 111, 115
 reciprocal, 111
 reflexive, 108, 109
 relative pro-form, 398
 verb, 132, 279, 306
- reference, 89
 reciprocal, 110
 reflexive, 105
- referentialization, 120
- reflexivity, 60, 104
- request, 172, 177, 189, 190, 196, 222,
 225, 301
- resultative, 155, 206
- Sambalpuri, 2
- Sanskrit, 9, 67
- Sanskritised Oriya, *see* Tatsama
- script, 11
- semantic role
 agent, 49, 59, 130, 255, 334, 383
 benefactive, 323
 cause, 62, 64
 causee, 130
 destination, 54
 experiencer, 52, 58
 extent, 63
 instrument, 64
 location, 63
 manner, 64
 material, 64
 measure, 55
 patient, 51
 possessor, 57, 105, 110, 125, 257,
 383
 proportion, 55
 recipient, 50, 290, 336
 separation, 62
- sentence
 complex, 353
 equational, 164, 257
 existential, 257, 259
 interrogative, 347
 locative, 256
 possessive, 257
 simple, 334
- sequentiality, 243
- simultaneity, 245, 247, 249, 376
- singular, 22, 24
- sociolinguistics, 2
- source, 61
- specificity, 25, 51, 89, 120, 122
- speech, indirect (reported), 360
- standard of comparison, 73
- state, 151, 162, 171, 207
- stress, 9
- subject, 49, 289, 334, 365, 385
- subordination, 353
- superlative, 74
- syllable structure, 7, 128
- Tadbhava, 3
- Tatsama, 2, 4, 15, 17, 21, 69, 74, 75,
 80, 109, 115, 129
- tense, 135
- Thai, 117
- title, 126
- topic, 335

- uniqueness, 24
 Urdu, 264
 valency, 129
 verb, 18, 68, 128
 composition, 134
 compound, 264
 conjunct, 131, 262
 derivation, 132
 directive, 181, 199, 368
 ditransitive, 50, 129
 dynamic, 211
 formation, 128
 impersonal, 86, 270
 ingressive, 144, 155, 157, 168, 183,
 193, 201, 206, 235, 237, 253,
 284
 intransitive, 49, 59, 129, 268, 272,
 281, 283, 285
 irregular, 259
 light, 244, 264, 291
 modal, 293
 morphology, 135
 motion, 62, 268, 370
 nonfinite form, 230
 perception, 294, 372
 stative, 151
 transitive, 49, 50, 129, 272, 281,
 283, 285
 Vietnamese, 120
 vocabulary, 2
 vocative, 40
 volitive, 227
 vowel, 5
 harmony, 47
 long, 7
 nasalised, 7
 wish, 176, 190, 193, 195, 197, 224
 word class, 14, 66, 298
 word order, 335
 noun phrase, 124
 suffixes, 14

ASAS –

ARBEITEN DES SEMINARS FÜR ALLGEMEINE SPRACHWISSENSCHAFT

Zu bestellen bei / order from / commander chez: Seminar für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft
Universität Zürich
Plattenstrasse 54
CH-8032 Zürich
e-mail: babel@spw.unizh.ch

ASAS 1 - 6, 9 - 11 vergriffen / out of print / épuisés

7. Gretler, Sarah (1987)
Die verbale Kategorie Evidenz im Albanischen und Türkischen. 105 pp. 20 sfr.
ISBN 3-9521010-0-1
8. Bisang, Walter (1988)
Hmong-Texte. Eine Auswahl mit Interlinearübersetzung aus Jean Motin,
Contes et légendes hmong blanc (Bangkok: Don Bosco 1980). 128 pp. 20 sfr.
ISBN 3-9521010-1-X
12. Ebert, Karen H. [ed.] (1993)
Studies in Clause Linkage. Papers from the First Köln-Zürich Workshop.
238 pp. 30 sfr.
ISBN 3-9521010-4-4
13. Ebert, Karen H. (1994)
The Structure of Kiranti Languages. Comparative Grammar and Texts.
284 pp. 30 sfr.
ISBN 3-9521010-5-2
14. Neukom, Lukas (1995)
Description grammaticale du nateni (Bénin). Système verbale,
classification nominale, phrases complexes. 250 pp. 30 sfr.
ISBN 3-9521010-6-0
15. Bickel, Balthasar (1996)
Aspect, mood, and time in Belhare. Studies in the semantics-pragmatics
interface of a Himalayan language. 284 pp. 30 sfr.
ISBN 3-9521010-7-9
16. Ebert, Karen H. & Fernando Zúñiga [eds.] (2001)
Aktionsart and aspectotemporality in non-European languages.
Proceedings from a Workshop held at the University of Zurich,
June 23-25, 2000. 217 pp. 30 sfr.
ISBN 3-9521010-8-7

ASAS 12: Karen H. EBERT [ed.] 1993. *Studies in Clause Linkage*. Papers from the First Köln-Zürich Workshop.

Contributions: Thomas BEARTH, δ -Operationen im Toura: Frustrativ, Anti-Frustrativ und Anti-Adjazenz. • Balthasar BICKEL, Belhare subordination and the theory of topic. • Walter BISANG, Der Konverb-Typ und der Verbserialisierungstyp: Skizze zu einer Arealtypologie der Satzverbindung in den Sprachen Asiens. • Karen H. EBERT, Kiranti subordination in the South Asian areal context. • Bernd HEINE, On expectation norms: An example from German *and*-conjuncts. • Yoshiko ONO, Does Japanese have coordination? • Hans-Jürgen SASSE, Clause combining in Cayuga. • Hansjakob SEILER, Satzverbindung im Konditionalgefüge - besonders im Altgriechischen. • Fritz SERZISKO, Prädikationskomplex und Paragraph am Beispiel des Ik. • Daniel WEISS, Aus zwei mach eins: Polyprädikative Strukturen zum Ausdruck eines einzigen Sachverhalts im modernen Russischen.

ASAS 13: Karen H. EBERT, 1994. *The structure of Kiranti languages*. Comparative grammar and texts.

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.), grammaticalization 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.

ASAS 14: Lukas NEUKOM, 1995. *Description grammaticale du naténi (Bénin)*. Système verbale, classification nominale, phrases complexes.

Cette thèse porte sur le naténi, langue Gur parlée au Bénin. Elle suit le modèle théorique de Bonvini (1988) "Prédication et énonciation en kasim" et est composée de quatre chapitres: "La prédication" sert à introduire les unités fondamentales sur lesquelles est basée l'analyse. "Le verbal" constitue la partie principale du travail, à savoir la description du système verbal. "Le nominal" traite du comportement du verbal au contact du nominal et "L'énoncé et ses variations" est consacré à l'intégration du verbal à un niveau supérieur, à savoir dans le discours.

ASAS 15: Balthasar BICKEL, 1996. *Aspect, mood, and time in Belhare*. Studies in the semantics-pragmatics interface of a Himalayan language.

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 within a 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 with the representational format used in Role and Reference Grammar.

ASAS 16: Karen H. EBERT & Fernando ZÚÑIGA [eds.] 2001. *Aktionsart & Aspectotemporalität in Non-European Languages*. Proceedings from a Workshop held at the University of Zurich, June 23-25, 2000

Contributions: Thomas BEARTH, Tense-aspect markers as viewpoint operators in Swahili discourse. • Éva 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 ZÚÑIGA, A selection theory of Mapudungun aspect.