Syllabic structure

The following syllables can occur in isolation
-\( V \) /i/ ‘this’
-\( VC \) /og/ ‘top of a tree’
-\( VCC \) /eND/ ‘male genital’
-\( CV \) /ku/ ‘well’
-\( CVC \) /peT/ ‘belly’
-\( CVCC \) /kaND/ ‘quill’

Morphology

Noun

Number

The plural formative suffixes in Bhuyan are the following.

Human -\(-he/-\)mane Example
/desO-he/ ‘the tribes’ /\(1O\)-mane/ ‘people’

Non-human (and pejorative) -\(-La\) Example
/ghOr-La/ ‘the houses’ /T\(O\)ki-La/ ‘the(bad) girls’

Gender

The gender distinction in Bhuyan is restricted to noun and adjective only. The feminine suffixes which distinguish a masculine noun from the feminine one are -\(-Ni/-i\). Example

/phemia/ ‘pretender’ /phimiaNi/ ‘a female pretender’

/chOTA/ ‘lame’ /choTi/ ‘lame (female)’ etc.

Cases and postpositions

A number of postpositions used in different cases which can be added to the oblique bases of the pronouns and to the non-dichotomous noun bases are given below:

Possessive- only after the pronominal bases -\( hOr\), example
/mO-hOr/ ‘mine’ /tO-hOr/ ‘your’
only after a closed syllable -\( Or\), example
/hat-Or/ ‘of the hand’
and elsewhere -\( r\), example
/rati-r/ ‘of the night’

Accusative/
Directional- only after the i-final bases -\( ki\), example
/rati-ki/ ‘at night’
and elsewhere -\( kOi\), example
/m\(O\)-kOi/ ‘to me’

Ablative- only after r-final bases and after a few other particular words -\( u\), example
/ghOr-u/ ‘from the house’ and
/than-u/ ‘from the place’
and elsewhere -\( ru\), example
/g\(O\)ch-ru/ ‘from the tree’
Locative/Instrumental- only after r-final bases and a few other particular words -e, example /ghOr-e/ ‘in the house’ /tOL-e/ ‘on the floor’ and elsewhere -re, example /mO-re/ ‘by me’ /goc'h-re/ ‘at the tree’

**Pronoun**

The pronouns are grouped under four main headings. These are: demonstrative, relative, interrogative and personal. The data are arranged in a manner which would show the morpheme-breaks in these forms.

**Demonstrative**

**Proximate**

**Human**

Direct *ie*
Oblique *ta-
Non-human *i*

**Remote or Correlative**

**Human**

Direct *sie*
Oblique *ta-
Non-human *hi-/si/taha*

**Relative**

**Human**

Direct *jie*
Oblique *ja-/jaha*
Non-human *jê*

**Interrogative**

**Human**

Direct *kie*
Oblique *ka-/kaha*
Non-human *kê*

The pronouns of quantity, place, size and manner are formed upon the corresponding pronouns by the process of addition. The forms are listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstrative</th>
<th>Remote</th>
<th>Relative</th>
<th>Interrogative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quantity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proximate</td>
<td>ete/etki</td>
<td>setki/hetki</td>
<td>jete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place</td>
<td>eThi</td>
<td>siThi</td>
<td>jêThi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size</td>
<td>eDDe</td>
<td>heDDe</td>
<td>jeDDe keDDe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manner</td>
<td>emti/imti</td>
<td>simiti/hemOnt jimiti/ kimiti/ jemOnt kemOnt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct</td>
<td><em>mui</em></td>
<td><em>tui</em></td>
<td><em>tie</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td><em>mô-</em></td>
<td>* tô*</td>
<td>Oblique <em>ta-</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Adjective
The adjective in Bhuyan is generally formed by adding suffix -ia with the noun. Example

\( /\text{jal} / \) ‘peacock’s feather’ \( /\text{jal-ia} / \) ‘a fowl with feathers’

\( /\text{ma}s / \) ‘flesh’ \( /\text{ma}s-ia / \) ‘fleshy’

\( /\text{gar}g\text{ar} / \) ‘stripe’ \( /\text{gar}g\text{ar}t\text{ar}a / \) ‘striped’ etc.

To form the words of measure (single unit only), the morpheme -e is suffixed to a selected number of nouns as the qualifier. Example

\( /\text{hat} / \) ‘hand’ \( /\text{ha}t\text{e}l / \) ‘one-hand’

\( /\text{m\text{u}}\text{tha} / \) ‘fist’ \( /\text{m\text{u}}\text{tha}-e / \) ‘one fist-full’

\( /\text{ph}a\text{l} / \) ‘half’ \( /\text{ph}a\text{l}-e / \) ‘one half’ etc.

Definite articles
Human (mostly with kinship terms) ko; example

\( /\text{bau-ko} / \) ‘the father’

Non-human (and pejorative) Ta; example

\( /\text{g}o\text{ch-Ta} / \) ‘the tree’ \( /\text{Toki-Ta} / \) ‘the (bad) girl’

Verb
The verbs are broadly divided into two main categories, finites and nonfinites. The finites, by definition, terminate either overtly or covertly with a person marker and the nonfinites do not.

Finites

Members of the morpheme classes:

Root
Any morpheme which can occur as the second person singular (familiar) simple imperative form. Example

\( /ja/ \) ‘you go’

Causative
Morpheme -a-. Example

\( /\text{ko}r-\text{a-l}i / \) ‘I got it done’

Aspect
Perfect -i-. Example

\( /\text{ko}r-\text{i}-\text{ch}o\text{i} / \) ‘I have done’

Continuous -O- which freely varies with \( \phi \) in quick speech. Example

\( /\text{ko}r-O-h\text{oi} / \) or \( /\text{ko}r-\phi-ch\text{oi} / \) ‘I am doing’
Auxiliary

-\textit{ch}. Example
\[ /\textit{kOrO-\textit{chO}t/ \]
‘I am doing’

-\textit{th}. Example
\[ /\textit{kOrO-\textit{thai/} \]
‘I used to be doing’

Tense

Present- unmarked. Example
\[ /\textit{kOr-Oi/ \]
‘I do’

Past -\textit{il}. Example
\[ /\textit{kOr-il-i/ \]
‘I did’. A variant -\textit{in}. occurs only in first person plural exclusive form.
‘we did’

Example
\[ /\textit{kOr-in-ul/ \]
Future -\textit{ib}. Example
\[ /\textit{kOr-ib-i/ \]
‘I shall do’.

It has a free variant -\textit{j} which occurs anywhere other than the first person singular and the first person plural exclusive forms. Example
\[ /\textit{kOr-ib-e/} \text{ or } /\textit{kOr-i-e/} \]
‘you will do’
\[ /\textit{kOr-id-ak}/ \text{ or } /\textit{kOr-i-ak/} \]
‘he will do’. A conditioned variant -\textit{im-}
occurs only in the first person plural exclusive form. Example
\[ /\textit{kOr-im-\textit{d}/ \]
‘we (exclusive) shall do’

Conditional -\textit{il}. Example
\[ /\textit{kOr-it-i/ \]
‘if I do’

Person

First person singular -\textit{i}.
\[ /\textit{kOr-il-i/ \]
‘I did’

A variant -\textit{Oi} occurs only in the present tense forms. Example
\[ /\textit{kOr-Oi/ \]
‘I do’

Second person singular -\textit{e}. Example
\[ /\textit{kOr-ib-e/} \text{ or } /\textit{kOr-i-e/} \]
‘you will do’

A variant -\textit{Osi} occurs only in the present tense forms. Example
\[ /\textit{kOr-Osi/ \]
‘you do’

Third person singular -\textit{ak}. Example
\[ /\textit{kOr-it-ak/ \]
‘if he does’

A variant -\textit{Oi} occurs only in the present tense forms. Example
\[ /\textit{kOr-Oi/ \]
‘he does’

First person plural exclusive -\textit{\textit{\textdagger}}. Example
\[ /\textit{kOr-\textit{\textdagger}/ \]
‘we (exclusive) do’

First person plural inclusive -\textit{ai}. Example
\[ /\textit{kOr-il-ai/ \]
‘we (inclusive) did’

A variant -\textit{a} occurs only in future tense forms. Example
\[ /\textit{kOr-ib-a/} \text{ or } /\textit{kOr-i-a/} \]
‘we (inclusive) shall do’

Second person plural -\textit{O}. Example
\[ /\textit{kOr-Oi/ \]
‘you (plural) do’

Third person plural -\textit{ai}. Example
\[ /\textit{kOr-il-ai/ \]
‘they did’
A variant -Onti occurs only in the present tense forms. Example
/kOr-Onti/ ‘they do’

The members of a class, by definition, are mutually exclusive.

i. Root-person  kOir-Osi/Oi/âi/O/Onti  ‘I/you do’ etc.
ii. Root-tense-person  kOr-il/ib/it-O  ‘you did/will do’ etc.
iii. Root-aspect-auxiliary-person  kOr-i/O-ch/tha-O/  ‘you have done/are doing’ and ‘you usually have done/used be doing’
iv. Root-aspect-auxiliary-tense-person  kOr-i/O-th-il/ib/iit-O  ‘you had done/were doing’ and ‘you would have done/will be doing’ etc.
v. Root-causative-person  /kOr-a-O/  ‘you get it done’
vi. Root-causative-tense-person  /kOr-a-il-O/  ‘you got it done’
vii. Root-causative-aspect-auxiliary-person  /kOr-a-i-ch-O/  ‘you have it done’
viii. Root-causative-aspect-auxiliary-tense-person  /kOr-a-i-th-il-O/  ‘you had it done’

For the simplicity of description the defective imperative paradigms have not been derived from the given scheme. However, the imperative forms fall into two structural types and these are
i. Base-person
   /kOr/  ‘you do’ (second singular)
   /kOr-u/  ‘let him do’ (third singular)
   /kOr-Onti/  ‘let them do’ (third plural)

ii. Base-aspect-auxiliary-person
   a. /kOr-O-tha/-u/Onti/  ‘let you/he/they be doing’
   b. /kOr-i-tha/-u-Onti/  ‘may you/he/they do’

The base could be either a root or a root-causative.

An alternative arrangement of the Bhuyan verb paradigms is also possible taking the distinctive allomorphic distribution of the person markers in the verb forms into consideration. The verbs may be divided into two major types, that is, unmarked tense types and marked tense types. The unmarked forms are those which do not consist of a segmentable tense element and these are the present and the imperative forms. The marked forms are those which consist of a segmentable tense element and these are the past, the future and the conditional forms. These two types, in a majority of cases show a set of person markers quite distinct from the set employed by the other.

Unmarked tenses  Marked tenses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Past, Future and conditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-Oir</td>
<td>first singular</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Osi</td>
<td>second singular</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-oi</td>
<td>third singular</td>
<td>-ak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-û</td>
<td>first plural exclusive</td>
<td>-û</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-âi</td>
<td>first plural inclusive</td>
<td>-âi (but -a in future only)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-O</td>
<td>second plural</td>
<td>-O</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Onti</td>
<td>third plural</td>
<td>-ai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The negative morpheme -nâi is usually suffixed to the verb-word in all cases, but it may also be prefixed as a stylistic variant. For example
/kOr -Oir -nai/  ‘I do not do’  /kOr-il-a-nâi/  ‘he did not do’ etc.
The variants are
/naï-kOr-Oir/  ‘I do not do’  /nâi-kO-il-i/  ‘I did not do’ etc.
Extended verb forms

By modifying slightly the given verb-scheme, a new set of extended verb paradigms can also be derived from it. The extended verb forms are an indispensable part of the Bhuyan verb morphology.

i. Root-stem forming morpheme-secondary auxiliary-tense-person
   /mar-i-de-l-a/ ‘he killed’ (deliberate and completed action)
   /kha-i-gO-l-a/ ‘he ate’ (undesirable action) etc.

ii. Root-causative-stem forming morpheme-secondary auxiliary-tense-person
    /luk-a-i-de-l-a/ ‘he did’ (deliberate and completed action)
    /cOl-a-i-de-l-a/ ‘he got it moved’ (deliberate and completed action)

iii. Root-stem forming morpheme-secondary auxiliary-aspect- auxiliary-person
     /kOr-i-di-ch-O- i/ ‘I have done’ (deliberate and completed action)
     /mar-i-de-o-ch-of/ ‘I am killing’ (deliberate and completed action) etc.

    /luk-a-i-d-i-ch-Oif/ ‘I have hidden (deliberate and completed action)
    /cOl-a-i-de-O-ch-Oif/ ‘I am getting it moved’ (deliberate and completed action) etc.

The infinitives could be either of a simple or a reduplicated structure.

Infinitives

Non-conditional infinitive

Structure: base-infinitive marker. Example
   /kha-i/ ‘having eaten’ /kOr-i/ ‘having done’
   /kOr-a-i/ ‘having got it done’ etc.

Conditional infinitive

Structure: base-conditional infinitive marker. Example
   /he-ne/ ‘had it happened’ /gO-ne/ ‘had it gone’
   /kOr-a-ne/ ‘if this could get done’ etc.

Reduplicated infinitives

Non-reciprocal

Structure: base-infinitive marker-reduplicated base-infinitive marker.

Example
   /kOr-i-kOr-i/ ‘having done it repeatedly’
   /bul-a-i-bul-a-i/ ‘moving it repeatedly’

Reciprocal

Structure: root-causative-reduplicated root-infinitive marker. Example
   /dhu-a-dhu-i/ ‘washing and other related works’
   /mOr-a-mOr-i/ ‘having exchanged blows’ etc.
Participles

Present participle
Structure: root-participle marker. Example
/lekh-a/ 'written' /mud-a/ 'sealed'

Past participle
Structure: root-past tense-participle marker. Example
/suk-il-a/ 'dried' /pak-il-a/ 'ripened'

Future-participle or verbal noun
Structure: root-future tense-participle marker. Example
/ja-i-a/ or /ja-b-a/ 'going, to go'
/kha-i-a/ or /kha-b-a/ 'eating', 'to eat' etc.

Agentative formation apparently is not a productive process. However, a number of words with identical structure do occur.
Structure-present participle-agentative suffix. Example
/bula-haril/ 'wander' /bOna-haril/ 'marker' etc.

Syntax

The following syntactic sketch is based upon a very limited number of sentences. A simple sentence in Bhyun consists of two parts, that is, subject and predicate. The subject consists of a noun phrase. The noun phrase could be a simple noun. Example
a. Pronouns- /mu/ 'I' /tu/ 'you'
/kie/ 'who' /tahanke/ 'they' etc.
b. Nouns /Lok/ 'man' /gai/ 'cow'
/meg/ 'rain' /TokiLa/ 'girls'
/dhuLa/ 'tobacco leaves' etc.

The predicate consists of a verb phrase. The verb phrase could be a modified verb. The final element or the person marker of a modified verb is automatically modified in accordance with the subject. Example
(/mu) jachOri / (tahanke) khaOntu/ 'I am going' /ame) jachu/ 'we are going'
Subject + predicate sentences
/mu/ jachOri / (tahanke) gaOn/ 'let them eat'
/tepa achi/ 'god exists' /meg/ hechil/ 'it rains (the cloud rains')
/huL polOch/ 'hail-stones are falling'

The noun phrase may consist of some optional elements like demonstratives, numerals and articles. The plural markers and the article are mutually exclusive. Example
/Lok - Ta jachi/ 'the man is going'
/bua-kO caO chi/ 'the father is walking' /Lok-Ta jachi/ 'this man is going'
An endocentrically expanded noun is adjective + noun and when it is exocentric it is Noun¹, Noun². Example

/iwug TOkLa asiChOnTi/ 'the juang boys have come'

/iwuDhi gaI-Ta mOla/ 'the old cow died'

/iwankan geI maI/gkhaOChOnTi/ 'they are eating beef (cow-meet)'

and, /sIal/kumbhir nOdi-ki gOle/ 'the jackal and the crocodile went to the river'

/oIjapuO mOntripuO paTh pODhOnTi/ 'the king’s son and the minister’s son read'

/iwankan siLOD bOhi lukuaidOnTi/ 'they hide the slate and the books'

The verb phrase which has been described already as a modified verb could be either an intransitive or a transitive. An intransitive verb by definition, does not take an object and the transitive may take optionally one or more than one object. The object is structurally the same as the noun phrase. When the noun is animate, it takes the object marker and when it is a pronoun the oblique form takes the object marker. Elsewhere, the object marker is optional. Example

/muI jibil/ 'I shall go'

/sie kOhila/ 'he said' /sie mO-kOi kOhila/ 'he said to me'

/babu-Ta tOmo kOi DakiOchil/ 'the gentleman is calling you'

/ame moI khachu/ 'we drink wine'

/tuI mOj kOi baDi-Ta deI/ 'you give me the stick'
There are a number of phrases which can be incorporated into a sentence optionally. These are listed below:

Postpositional phrases
Structure: Noun phrase + postposition
The post-position are -re, -ru, -r and -ki. Example

i. /ghOr-e nià lOgOchí/  ‘fire is burning inside the house’
   1 2 3 4 3 4 2 1
/i din-re kendi pacOchí/  ‘plums ripe in this season’
   1 2 3 4 5 4 5 3 1 2

/i kaTh-re khuNT heechí/  ‘posts are made with this log’
   1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4 5
/cOPO ti-re tuìtuìde/  ‘you serve curry in the leaf-cup’
   1 2 3 4 3 5 4 2 1
/kati –Ta-re kaTide/  ‘cut it with the knife’
   1 2 3 4 4 3 2 1

ii. /gODh-u bOsgadi asOchí/  ‘the bus is coming from the city’
   1 2 3 4 3 4 2 1
/b ON-u ame kaTh aNOCůhú/  ‘we get wood from the forest’
   1 2 3 4 5 3 5 4 2 1
/upur-u TangO-Ta gODaide/  ‘get the stone moved from the top’
   1 2 3 4 5 5 4 3 5 2 1

iii. /ya-i bap-KO mÕd rO khichi/  ‘this man’s father has kept wine’
   2 3 4 5 6 1-2 3-4 6 5
/kë gá-r TO kiLa asichontú/  ‘girls of which village have come’
   1 2 3 4 5 4 3 1 2 5
/amO-r gá-r Tokîla naciai/  ‘the girls of our village will dance’
   1 2 3 4 5 6 5 4 1-2 3 6
/sie bua- rOngi –Ta aNichi/  ‘he has brought father’s shirt’
   1 2 3 4 5 6 1 6 2-3 4-5

iv /muuí gă-kOî jachOî/  ‘I am going to the village’
   1 2 3 4 1 4 3 2
/kë TokîTa siThi-ki jaithila/  ‘which girl did go there’
   1 2 3 4 5 1 2 5 3-4

Adverbial phrase
The adverbial phrase may have an adverb with certain members of this class, and adverbial marker. Example
Incorporated sentences

A sentence as described above can be incorporated into another by several conjunctive processes. An incorporated sentence consists of a verb phrase, where the verb phrase is verb-conjunctive. The verb-conjunctive is verb + infinite or verb + infinite + /KOri/. Example

/muǐbhat khai jibi/ ‘I shall go after eating rice’
1 2 3 4
/mahanke muNdm-an-e siriaguNDi kO ri pherOnti/ ‘they return after smearing chalk-dust on their fore-heads’
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
/di bhai baʃmaLI-e siLOD boHi-ki lukaidi kOri khelOnti/ ‘the two brothers play, hiding the slate and the books in a bamboo-groove’
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

An incorporated sentence may consist of a verb phrase where the verb phrase is verb + conjunctive -ne. Example

/beL hene tahanke pherOnti/ ‘when the sun sets they return’
1 2 3 4
/mēgh hene phul phuTiak/ ‘if it rains the flower will bloom’
1 2 3 4
/muǐ khaine jibi / ‘as soon as I finish eating I go’
1 2 3

Any two sentences can be joined by the conjunctive je. Example

/khelOnti je khelOnti/ ‘they play and play’
1 2 3
/tahanke jaOnti je beL hene pherOnti/ ‘they go and return when the sun sets’
1 2 3 7

ISOGLOSS STUDY
S. P. Datta

The state of Orissa is surrounded by Madhya Pradesh (in the west), Andhra Pradesh (in the south), West Bengal (in the north) and Bihar (in the north-west) and to its east lays the Bay of Bengal. The entire state is divided into thirteen districts, namely, Baleswar, Mayurbhanj, Kendujhar, Sundargarh, Sambalpur, Kalahandi, Bolangir, Phulbani, Ganjam, Koraput, Puri, Cuttack and Dhenkanal [of course, lately the districts have been reorganised and redivided into altogether thirty revenue districts instead of thirteen. The districts are situated as under:

To the north - Baleswar, Mayurbhanj and Kendujhar
To the south - Ganjam and Koraput
To the west - Sundargarh, Sambalpur, Bolangir, Kalahandi and Phulbani
To the east - Puri, Cuttack and Dhenkanal

As a result of intense acculturation the spoken form of Oriya in the bordering districts got converged with Telugu in the south, with Hindi (Chhattisgarhi) in the west and with Bengali in the north and the representative features of Standard Oriya merged into the dialect breaking points except in the domain of education where the Standard Oriya is used as a superposed variety. Although altogether six dialects have been identified under Oriya the basic regional dialects are two, namely, Standard Oriya and Sambalpuri those sharply contrast from one another. Accordingly, some of the distinctive features of the dialects have been mapped in the subsequent pages.

The study of the dialects of Oriya reveals a number of isoglosses of which four have been identified to most significant. There isoglosses run through dividing the region into two major dialect areas. These isoglosses are:

I) Presence/Absence of metathetic vowel change.
II) Presence/Absence of word final $O$.
III) Presence/Absence of front vowel/six vowel system.
IV) Presence/Absence of retroflex lateral (N) alveolar lateral (l) and alveolar nasal (n).

The rationale for choosing these four phonological isoglosses is that these are the basic features sharply dividing the region into two distinct dialect areas i.e. Standard Oriya and Sambalpuri.

1. Isogloss No. I Showing of Presence/Absence of metathetic vowel change $/cvci/ \rightarrow cvic/ vci /vici/-.

a. Area of Presence of metathetic vowel change are the districts of Kalahandi, Balangir, Sambalpur, Sundargarh. (map No. - 3).
b. Area of Absence of metathetic vowel change are the districts of Koraput, Ganjam, Phulbani, Puri, Cuttack, Dhenkanal, Baleswar, Kendujhar and Mayurbhanj. (map No. - 3).

Examples of Presence/Absence of metathetic vowel change are:

Example $cvci \rightarrow cvic$

$maTi \rightarrow maiT$ 'clay' $duhLi \rightarrow dhuil$ 'dust'
$agi \rightarrow a\text{g}$ 'fire' $bOnya/bORhi \rightarrow bOin/bOiD$ 'flood'
$nOdi \rightarrow nOid$ 'river' $gOnThi \rightarrow go\text{OTh}$ 'ankle'
$a\text{khi} \rightarrow a\text{ikh}$ 'eye' $laThi \rightarrow laiTh$ 'stick'
$ra\text{ti} \rightarrow ra\text{it}$ 'night' $a\text{j}i \rightarrow a\text{j}$ 'today'

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kali → kail 'tomorrow' cari → cair 'four'
paNi → pain 'water' uThi → mulTh 'fist'
kOliJa → kOilja 'heart' hOlia → thOlia 'bag'
culi → cuil 'oven' ari → bair 'fence'
uli → ul 'onion' hadyO → khait 'food'
grOhiTa → ghOita 'husband' jaLi → jail 'net'
rajiO → raij 'kingdom' aNighOra → painghOra 'pool of water'
hanDi → haiD 'pot' Oji jiba → Hojij jiba(r) 'lost'
galideba → gail deba 'scold'

2. Isogloss No. II showing presence/Absence of word final -O.

a. Area of Presence of the word final /-O/ are the districts of Koraput, Ganjam, Phulbani, Puri, Dhenkanal, Cuttack, Baleswar, Mayurbhanj, and Kendujhar. (map No. - 4).

b. Area of Absence of the word final /-O/ are the districts of Kalahandi, Balangir, Sambalpur, and Sundargarh. (map No. - 4).

Example /-O/ - /φ/

pOboNo → pOboN 'air' meghO → megh 'cloud'
bONO → bOn 'forest' gOchO → gOch 'tree'
dudhO → dudh 'milk' jhOdO → jhOd 'storm'
rogO → rog 'disease' hatO → hat 'hand'
naLO → nail 'mucus' kharO → khar 'ashes'
pagO → pag 'weather' jOnghO → jOngh 'thigh'
pOnoso → pOnOs 'jackfruit' bOnhdO → bOnd 'pond'
lenO → lenj 'tail' bOrO → bOr 'husband'
bhatO → bhat 'rice' laLO → laL 'saliva'
kanO → kan 'ear' khrO → khr 'milk'
jibhO → jibh 'tongue' sOsO → sOs 'cereal'
mnuO → nun 'salt' ghasO → ghas 'grass'
cauLO → caul 'rice' sokaLO → sOkhal 'morning'
boLOO → hooO 'good' gatO → gat 'hole'
boLOO → hooO 'bull'

3. Showing the presence/Absence of five vowel/six vowel system.

a. Area showing the five vowel system are the districts of Kalahandi, Balangir, Sambalpur, and Sundargarh (map No. - 5).

b. Area showing the Presence of 6-vowel System are the districts of Ganjam, Puri, Dhenkanal and Baleswar. (map No. - 5).

c. Area of 5-vowel/6-vowel System (mixed) are the districts of Koraput and Phulabani. (map No. - 5).

Examples of Presence/Absence/Absence of 5-vowel/6-vowel System are:

Example /Ol/ → /ul/
srotO → srutO 'current' goDi → guDi 'pebble'
ghoDa → ghuDa 'horse' goDO → guDO 'leg'
pokO → pukO 'insect' oda → uDa 'wet'
osO → usO 'medicine' choTa → chuTa 'cripple'

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lokO → lukO ‘people’
gor Os → gur Os ‘milk’
coraiba → cureiba ‘to steal’
/or → /Ol
bhounO → bhOumO ‘mars’ (Baleswar)
bhu → bOhu ‘daughter-in-law’
joi → jOi ‘son-in-law’ (Koraput and Kendujhar)
dhoi → dhOi ‘asthma’ (Baleswar and Kendujhar)
morO → mOr ‘mine’ (Phulbani and Dhenkanal)
torO → tOr ‘your’ (Phulbani and Dhenkanal)
rosei ghOrO → rOseighOrO ‘kitchen’ (Koraput, Phulbani and Kendujhar)
dobOraiba → dOhOribO ‘repeat’ (Phulbani and Koraput)

4. Isogloss No. iv Area Presence/Absence of retroflex lateral /L/ and retroflex nasal /N/ alveolar /l/ and alveolar /n/ (map No. -6).

a. Area of Presence of alveolar lateral /l/ and alveolar nasal /n/ are the districts of Kalahandi, Balangir, Sambalpur and Sundargarh. (map No. -6).

b. Area of Presence of Retroflex lateral (L) and retroflex nasal (N) are the districts of Ganjam, Puri, Phulbani, Dhenkanal, Cuttack, Kendujhar, Baleswar and Mayurbhanj. (map No. -6).

Example L → l, r
badOLO → badOl ‘cloud’
sOLa → sOla ‘brother-in-law’
kOpaLO → kOpal ‘forehead’
jhaLO → jhal ‘sweet’
phOLO → phol ‘fruit’
thaLi → thali ‘plate’
pijuLi → pijuli ‘guava’
galO → gal ‘cheek’
neuLO → neur ‘mongoose’

Example N → n
pheNO → phen ‘foam’
pONOSO → pOnOs ‘jack fruit’
baigONO → baigOn ‘brinjal’
rOkhOni → rOkhni ‘mistress’
bbOuNi → bbOunibbOhen ‘sister’
seNu → henu ‘then’
puNi → puni ‘fullmoon night’

sihuLi → siuli ‘moss’
kOpar → kOpar (Kendujhar and Mayurbhanj)
kOdOLi → kOdel ‘plantain’
phOLO (Phulbani) phOrO (Kendujhar, Mayurbhanj)

thari (Kendujhar) ‘soup’
jholO → jhol (Phulbani) ‘throat’
gOLa → gOla ‘lacye’
alTa → arta

lohuNi → lOhuni ‘butter’
CONa → cOna ‘pea’
natuNi → naten ‘grand daughter’
dhONu → dhun ‘bow’
aniba → anbar ‘to bring’

jONe → jOne ‘one person’

Besides the phonological isoglosses referred to above, study of morphological and lexical isoglosses is also possible in Oriya language. Some morphological features which have been identified are (1) use of second person honorific formation and third person plural formation in tenses (2) use of conditional tense marker, etc. but these are not included in this volume.
KELA – A COMMUNITY DIALECT

The people belonging to the KeLa speech community are professionally the snake charmers who are reported to have migrated from Bangladesh (erstwhile East Pakistan) around 1930 to the Padamkesaripur village of Patiakela Sadar subdivision of Puri district of Orissa. With their long settlement in the particular pocket of Puri district, the people have abandoned their mother tongue Bengali and have nurtured a convergent dialect by way of structural adaptation of significant features from Oriya language. Below is presented a brief linguistic note on their speech.

Phonology
Phonemic inventory
Segmental phonemes

Vowel phoneme: 6-vowel system

\begin{align*}
i & \quad u \\
e & \quad o \\
o & \quad /V/ \\
A &
\end{align*}

Supra-segmental phoneme
Nasalization of vowel is phonemic

Consonant phonemes: 32-consonant system

\begin{align*}
p & \quad b & \quad t & \quad d \\
ph & \quad bh & \quad th & \quad dh \\
T & \quad D & \quad k & \quad g \\
Th & \quad Dh & \quad kh & \quad gh \\
c & \quad j & \quad ch & \quad jh \\
L & \quad R & \quad N & \quad M \\
\end{align*}

Kela dialect possesses the same set of vowel and consonant phonemes as that of Standard Oriya, besides the two significant features of Standard Oriya viz, (1) retention of -o- phoneme and (2) retention of word-final -O. Below are cited the examples

1. Retention of standard Oriya -o- phoneme
   
   \begin{align*}
   /bhor&<\text{Std.O} \quad bhorO/ \quad \text{‘dawn’} \\
   /kotili& \quad /\text{kecho}/ \quad \text{‘cuckoo’} \\
   /pok&<\text{Std.O} \quad pokO/ \quad \text{‘insect’} \\
   /rog&<\text{Std.O} \quad rogO/ \quad \text{‘disease’} \\
   /jhoL&<\text{Std.O} \quad jhoLO/ \quad \text{‘broth’} \\
   /ohOL&<\text{Std.O} \quad ohOLO/ \quad \text{‘hanging root of banyan tree’} \\
   /posbo&<\text{Std.O} \quad posiba/ \quad \text{‘tender’} \\
   /cokh&<\text{Std.O} \quad cokhO meLiba/ \quad \text{‘open (eyes)’} \\
   /khodbo&<\text{Std.O} \quad khodiba/ \quad \text{‘dig(up)’}
   \end{align*}

2. Retention of standard Oriya -O phoneme in the word-final position

\begin{align*}
/bhuikompO/ \quad \text{‘earthquake’} \\
/choTO noi/ \quad \text{‘stream’} \\
/bODO/ \quad \text{‘big’}
\end{align*}