

**A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF OLLARI GADABA: AN ENDANGERED
DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGE**

**A Thesis Submitted to the University of Hyderabad in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Award of the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Applied Linguistics**

by

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DECLARATION

I, Mendem Bapuji, hereby declare that I have carried out the research embodied in the present thesis entitled “**A Descriptive Grammar of Ollari Gadaba: An Endangered Dravidian Language**” for the full period prescribed under the Ph.D. ordinances of University of Hyderabad. I also declare to the best of my knowledge that no part of this thesis was earlier submitted for the award of any research degree to any other university or institution.

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled “**A Descriptive Grammar of Ollari Gadaba: An Endangered Dravidian Language**” submitted by Mendem Bapuji, with Regd. No. 10HAPH03, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Applied Linguistics, School of Humanities, is a bonafide work carried out by him under my supervision and guidance.

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Parts of the thesis have been published in the following publications:

1. Ollari Gadaba: An Endangered Dravidian Language. *Language and Linguistics*, Vol. 18.6: 104-111. ISSN-1930-2949.
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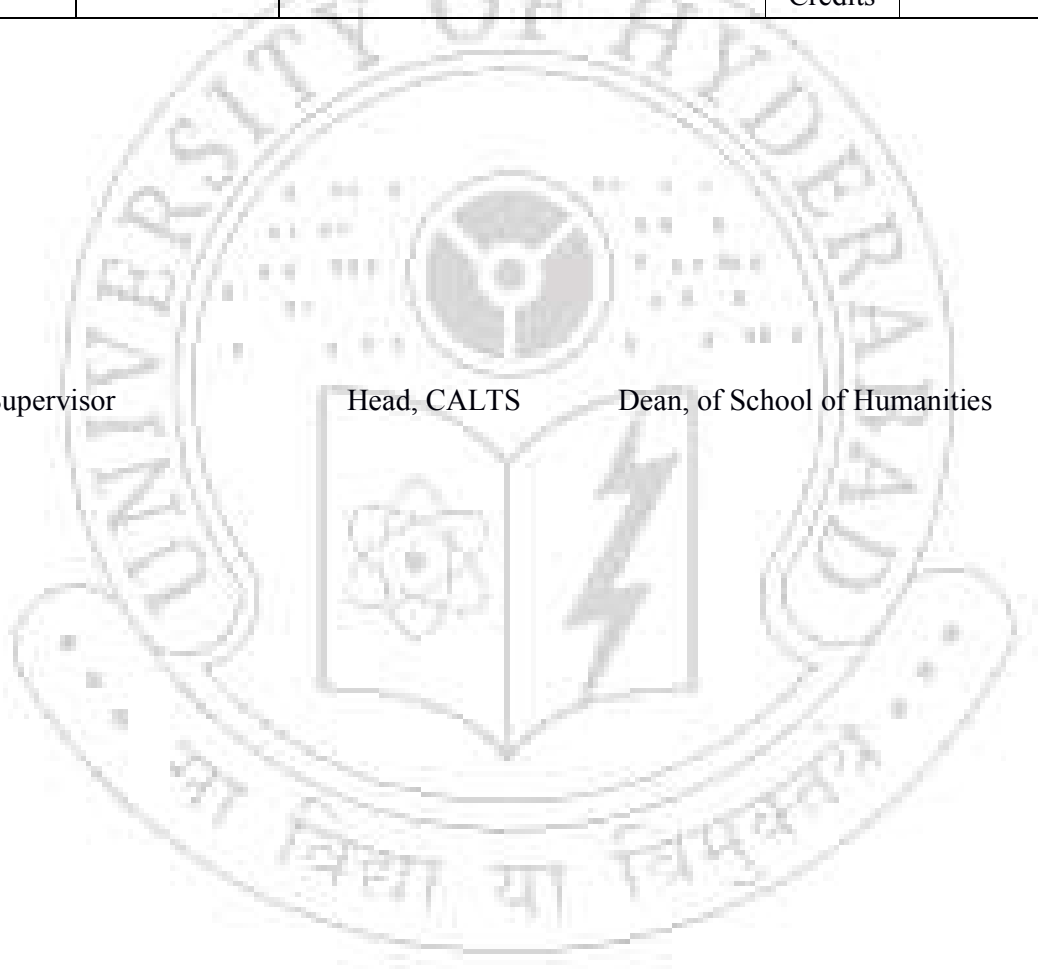
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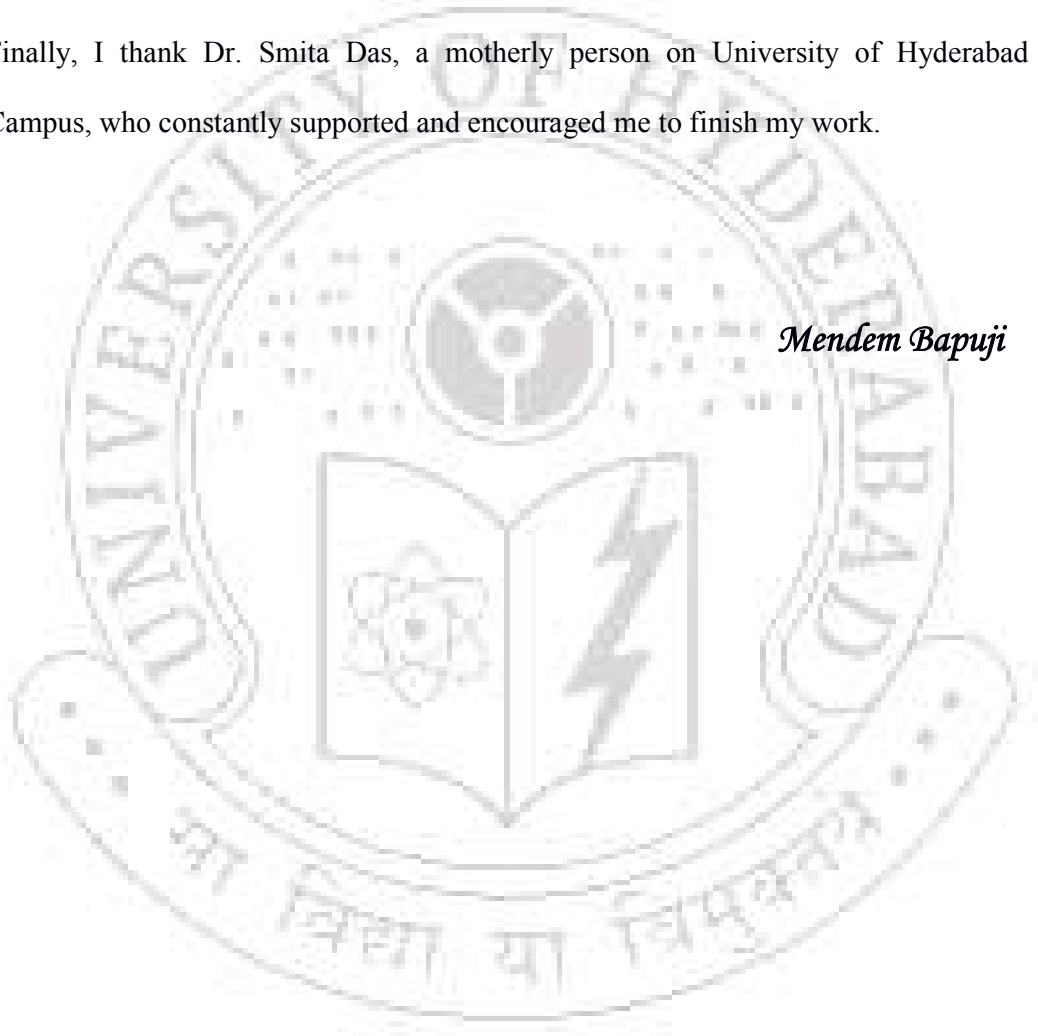
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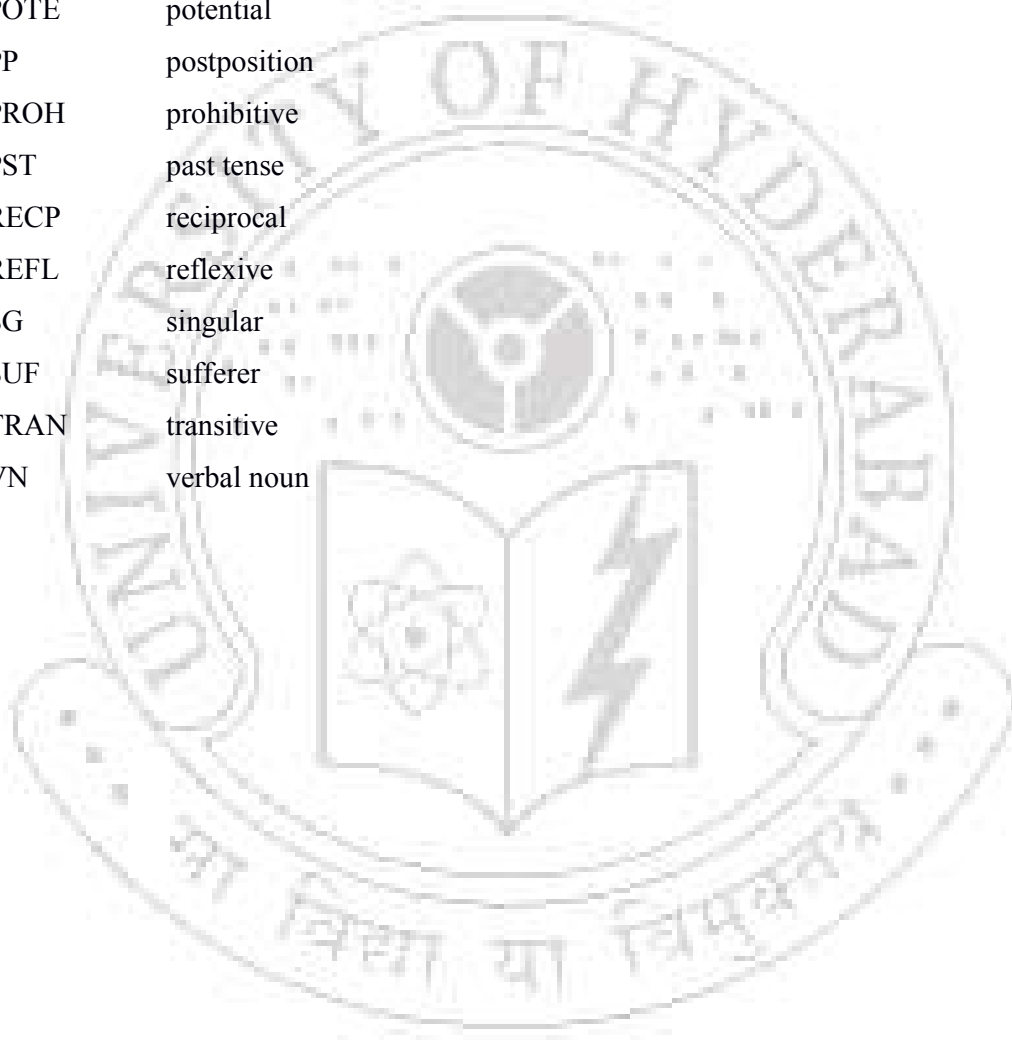
ABBREVIATIONS



1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjective
ADJP	adjectival participle
AG	agent
AGR	agreement
ASS	associative
AV	adverb
BE	auxiliary
CL	clitic
CM	comparative marker
COMP	compound
CN	common noun
COND	conditional
CONJ	conjunction
CONS	concessive
CP	conjunctive participle
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative
DUB	dubitative
EMP	emphatic
EPV	epenthetic vowel
EXCL	exclusive
F	female
FIN	finite
FUT	future

GEN	genitive
HAB	habitual
HORT	hortative
IM	interrogative marker
IMP	imperative
IMPFV	imperfective past
INCL	inclusive
INF	infinite
INS	instrumental
INTRAN	intransitive
IPFV	imperfective
M	male
M1	member one
M2	member two
N	non
NEG	negative
NEGA	negative adjective
NEGP	negative participle
NH	non-human
NOM	nominative
NP	noun phrase
NPPFV	non past perfective
NPST	non past
OBJ	objective
OBL	oblique
OBLI	obligative
PNG	person, number and gender
PA	perfective aspect
PERM	permissive
PFV	perfective

PH	past habitual
PL	plural
PN	proper noun
POSS	possessive
POTE	potential
PP	postposition
PROH	prohibitive
PST	past tense
RECP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
SG	singular
SUF	sufferer
TRAN	transitive
VN	verbal noun



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ABBREVIATIONS

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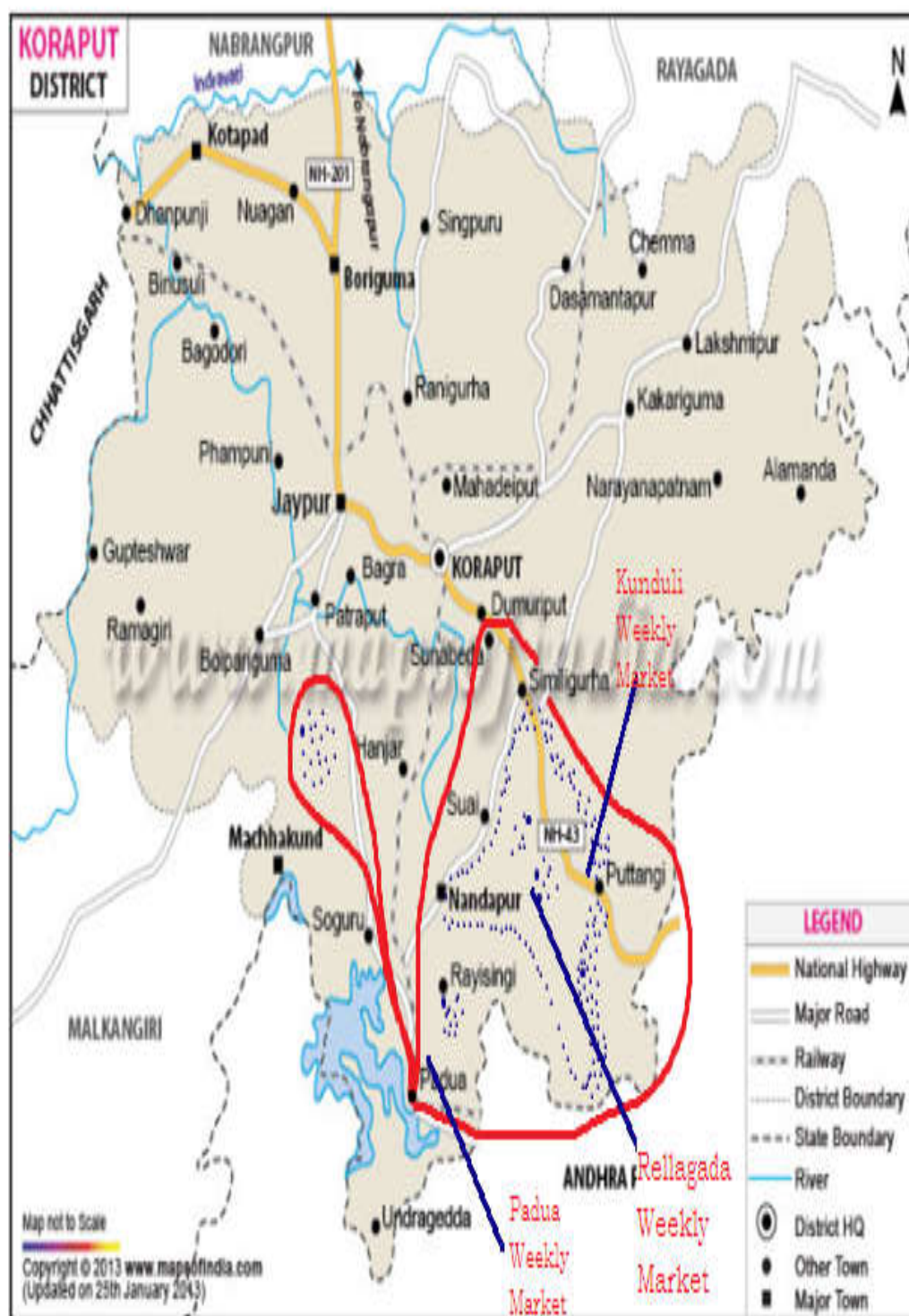
India Map with Highlighted Odisha State



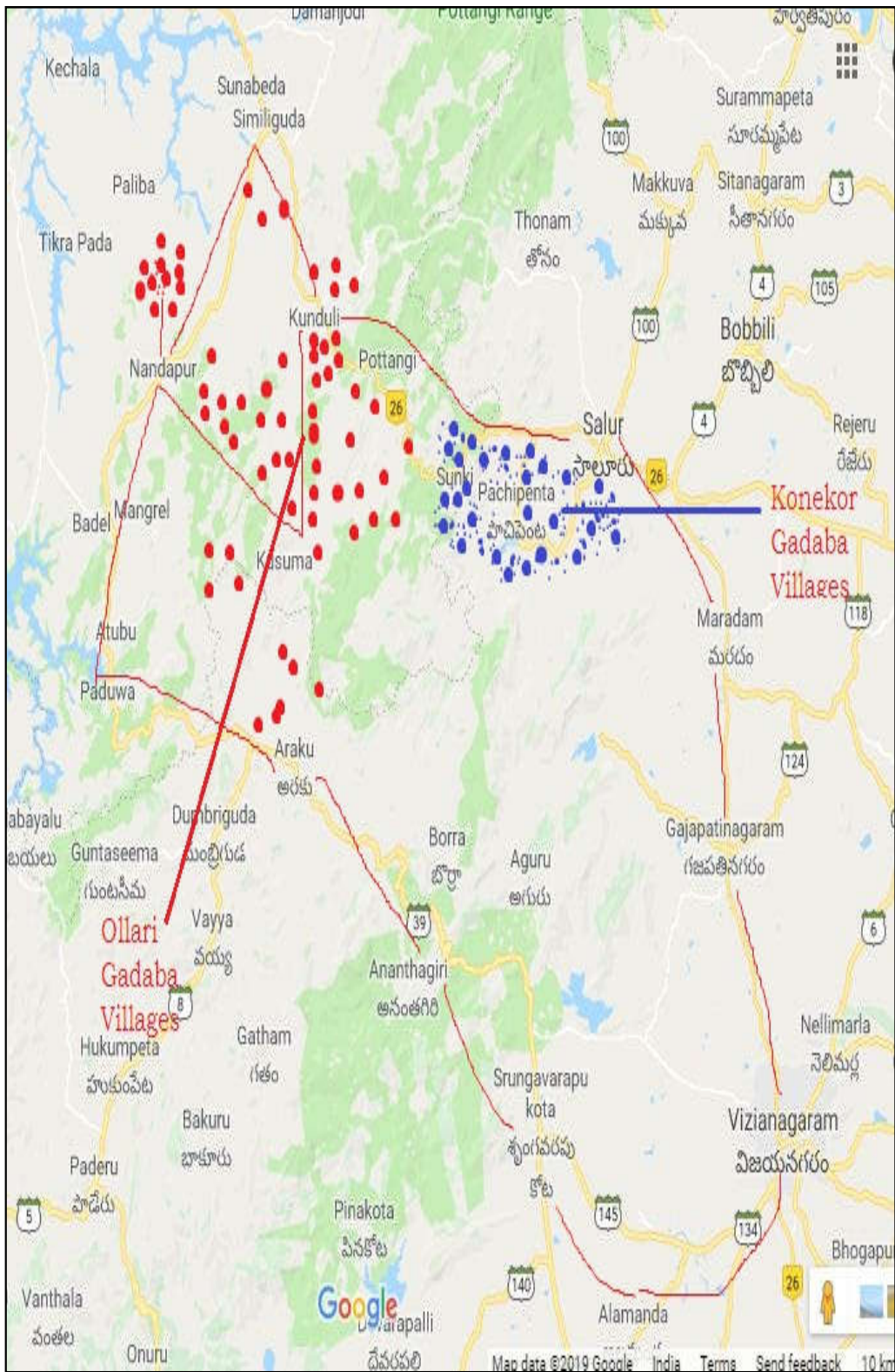
Odisha State Map with Highlighted Koraput District



Koraput District Map with Highlighted Market Places



Aerial Survey of Ollari Gadaba and Konekor Gadaba Villages



CHAPTER-I

1. Introduction

As per the Constitution of India (Orissa) Scheduled Tribes Order, amendment 1976, Orissa has a large concentration of indigenous population in the country next to Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. There are 62 tribes in the state of Odisha, out of the total number of 427 in the country. The range varies from small to larger groups. Ethnolinguistically these tribes are classified into three categories, viz. Austro-Asiatic (Mundari), Dravidian and Indo-Aryan. Indigenous communities belonging to the Austro-Asiatic family of languages inhabit North Orissa except Bodo Gadaba, Didayi, Bonda, Parenga and Saora who inhabit South Orissa. Indigenous communities belonging to the Dravidian group of family of languages can be seen in the south of Orissa except for Oraon and Malto who inhabit North Orissa. Indigenous communities belonging to Indo-Aryan are scattered all over the Odisha. Out of 26 Dravidian languages, nine are spoken in south Orissa, viz. Konda, Koya, Kui, Kuvi, Manda, Ollari, Parji, Pengo and Oraon. Ollari people who are known as Ollari Gadaba seem to be a small community. The outward appearance of these people is similar to another Mundari speaking Gadabas who are known as Gutob Gadabas. The main occupation of Ollari Gadabas is shifting-cultivation in addition to hunting, cattle rearing and food gathering from the forest. However, in the present days, they are practicing settled-agriculture. In general, they raise a few crops during monsoon and winter seasons, and in the rest of the time they supplement their income by subsidiary activities such as seasonal migration to other places for wage-earning.

1.1. The Ollari Language

Ollari Gadaba has different names viz. Gadaba, San Gadaba, Sano Gadaba, Pottangi Ollar Gadaba, Ollaro, Hallari, Allar, and Hollar Gadabas. The language is spoken in and around Pottangi, Nandapur, Lamptaput, Semiliguda, and in few parts of Boipariguda blocks of Koraput District, Odisha and in Vijayanagaram District, Andhra Pradesh, India. A few scholars like Thurston and Rangachari (1909), Ramdass (1931), Furer-Haimendorf (1943), and Bell (1945) have touched the name of the language. However, the seminal work was done by Bhattacharya (1957) through the

monograph titled, *Polari: A Dravidian Speech*. This is the only full-length study available and that gives a comprehensive account of Ollari Gadaba. According to Sanganna (1964), the tribal people are divided into ‘A’, ‘B’, and ‘C’ categories. The ‘A’ category yet appears to be unaffected by modern civilization. Moreover, they are found to be sustaining in their ‘own worlds’ – in hills and jungles following their primitive culture and customs. The ‘B’ category has been identified to have undergone slight changes through contacts with the outer world, yet retaining their language and cultural activities. The ‘C’ category has shown the signs of acculturation in varying degrees. At present, Ollari Gadabas fall under the ‘A’ and ‘B’ categories.

1.2. The Origin of the Ollari Tribe

There is no precise narrative on the origin of the tribe as there are different stories about the origin of the Ollari Gadaba tribe. According to the people of Ollari Gadaba, their origin is traced back to the times of *The Ramayana*. It is believed that their original dwelling was near to the Godavari river, at present located in Andhra Pradesh from which they had derived their name Gadaba. According to Ramdass (1931:160-173), they owe their name to the term ‘Geda’ in Telugu and ‘Gada’ in Odia which means brook. According to Gopinath Satapaty (2011), Ollari Gadabas are early settlers of the country and their ancestors emigrated from the banks of the river Godavari and settled in Nandapur, the former capital of the king of Jeypore – the present Koraput District of Odisha. According to anthropologists, Kidarnath and Jha, (1972:1-4) they have migrated from the banks of the river Godavari of Andhra Pradesh and have settled in the adjacent areas of Andhra Pradesh and Southern areas of Odisha, such as, Sunki and Pottangi areas. According to Bhattacharya (1956:2) the origin and subsequent changes of these people and their speech are unknown. Nevertheless, he gives an explanation based on the knowledge of the local Ollari people that the term ‘Ollar’ is derived from the Gutob Gadaba word ‘Ola’ which means leaf. The critique further relates it to the linguistic phenomenon called ‘folk etymology’ associated with the belief that Ollari women previously used to put on leaves instead of clothes. Subsequently, he mentions of an old tribe called Oliyar Nāga mentioned in the ancient Tamil texts (cf. V. Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, 1904, ch. III)*. He states that present-day Ollar of Koraput may be related to Nāga tribe referred to in those texts. Mohanty (2018) gives a linguistic

explanation that Ollar means (enemy). He mentions that the Ollar Gadabas might have migrated from the banks of the Godavari to the present day Koraput where they had established permanent settlements in the areas of Gutob Gadaba people. Additionally, the critique mentions that these settlers (Ollar Gadabas) were treated as enemies by the then settled community (Gutob Gadaba). Hence, they were named Ollar or Ollari Gadabas in the area, which means the enemy.

1.3. Location

According to the Integrate Tribal Development Authority (ITDA) of Koraput, Ollari Gadabas are distributed in the five Blocks of the Koraput District of Odisha, viz. Pottangi, Nandapur, Lamtaput, Semiliguda, and Boipariguda. In Pottangi Block they are distributed in Ataguda, Padaguda, Podaguda, Mandi, Hataguda, Giliguda, Bilaiguda, Pandirguda, Pipilguda, Guntaguda, Urdiguda, and Alagidusuna. In Nandapur Block they are distributed in Khemundiguda, Gugaguda, Rukba, Sisaguda, Hemundpud, and Girliguda. In Lamtaput Block they are distributed in Litiput, Nakulapadar, Kappuguda, Murja, Mundagada, Kotri, Charaguda, Chupa and Chandua. In Boipariguda Block they are distributed in Tokkal, Leuja, Maddi, Pami, Tentilipoda, Khaliagada and kadalipadar. In Semiliguda they are distributed in few villages.

1.4. Classification of the Gadaba Tribe

Though Gadaba people seem to be a single indigenous community, other tribes also are included under the generic name Gadaba for the census purpose. The reason for this inclusion seems to be the outward appearances and similar customs and culture of the other communities. Many scholars have classified this tribe into five sub-divisions, viz. the Bodo Gadaba, the Sano Gadaba, the Perenga Gadaba, the Ollar Gadaba, and Kapu Gadaba. Among the subgroups, Bodo Gadaba occupies a superior position in the area.

Thurston and Rangachari (1909:242-252) divided the Gadaba community into five subgroups, viz. Bodo or Gutob Gadaba, Perenga, Ollar, Kathithiri or Kathathara, Kapu. Ramdass (1931:160-173) had divided the Gadaba community into four sections. They are Bodo or Gutob Gadaba, Perenga, Ollar Gadaba and Kapu. However, Ramdass has omitted the Kathithiri or Kathathara from his list. Perhaps, by

then, they are no longer associated themselves with the Gadaba community. Furer-Haimendorf (1943:149) has divided Gadab into three distinct groups, viz. Bodo or Gutob Gadaba, Dedeng Gadaba and Ollar Gadaba. He has excluded Kathithiri or Kathathara and Kapu, and also Perenga from being counted as Gadaba and included the Dedenga Gadaba of the hills surrounding Salur of Andhra Pradesh in the list. In a similar manner, Bell (1945) who wrote the first edition of *Orissa District Gazetteer* noted three sub-divisions of the Gadaba in the district of Koraput, viz. The Bodo Gadaba, Sana Gadaba and Ollar Gadaba.

The Ollar Gadaba was described by him to be a small community and they look in outward appearances similar to other Mundari speaking Gadabas. Kidarnath and Jha (1972:4) have enumerated another group called Gurram Gadaba in the category of the Gadaba community. Rao (1992:7) states about the different classification of Gadaba viz. the Khattri Gadaba and Gutob Gadaba who live near Bobbili of Andhra Pradesh adjacent to Koraput District of Orissa. Though the division of the Gadaba community varies from person to person, on the basis of language they are clearly divided into two sections: the Ollar Gadaba (the Dravidian speaking people) and Gutob Gadaba (the Mundari speaking people).

1.5. Population and Distribution

The exact numbers of Ollari speakers are difficult to ascertain. As a matter of fact the Census of India does not survey the Ollari Gadaba people individually. It surveys them under the generic name called Gadaba. Based on the data from the Census, it is estimated that less than ten thousand people live in Pottangi, Nandapur, Lamtaput, Semiliguda and Boipariguda Blocks of Koraput District of Odisha. No separate Census are available for the Ollari community but as quoted in Bhattacharya (1956:2) the 1931 Census of Madras (before Koraput being separated from Madras and constituted as a separate district of Odisha) recorded 797 Gadabas, speaking Hallari (that is, Ollari). No separate figures are available for them in the respective census of 1941. From then onwards under the generic name of Gadaba, they included Bodo Gadaba (Gutob), Sano Gadaba, Perenga and Ollari Gadaba, etc. In the 1951 Census, they excluded Perenga from the generic name Gadaba and gave a separate Census where there were 824 Perenga people and 40,454 Gadaba people were recorded. It

may be observed that the population is under the generic name of Gadaba are as follows: (from the undivided Koraput).

1951	-----	54,454
1961	-----	40,194
1971	-----	46,594
1981	-----	56,913
1991	-----	67,138
2001	-----	72,982

The above-mentioned figures show that the individual number of Ollari people is not given separately. They were mentioned under the generic name called Gadaba as a whole, including other communities. The reason for including the Ollari Gadabas with other communities is due to the Census criterion of the population, i.e. any community that has less than ten thousand are not included in the community.

1.6. Linguistic Situation and Bilingualism

It has been noted that Odisha is the first linguistic state in the country – before India becoming independent. It has further been stated by Mohanty that it is a “sublinguistic area” (2008:3) and acts as a “transitional zone between Indo-Aryan and Dravidian” (2011:201), as a ‘convergence corridor’ (2016:xiii) and as “a mini linguistic area” (Reddy, 2016:1). A large number of Dravidian and Munda languages are spoken in Odisha than any other state in the country. The same thing can be seen in the undivided and divided Koraput District too because, the district is the conglomeration of different ethnic, cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Reddy (2016:1) mentions that it is the place where many linguistic traits have migrated from one language family to another due to contact and convergence. The contact paved the way for bilingualism and multilingualism among the tribal groups. Most of the tribal people in the Koraput District are bilinguals. Ollari Gadaba’s are also one of them. The Ollari Gadabas in Odisha are conversant in Odia and Desia and they are fluent in Telugu in Andhra Pradesh along with their mother tongue. Ramaiah and Reddy (2005:424) state that the aspect of bilingualism among Gadabas is very common and in some places, they are trilingual too. Further Pandit (1971) observes that bilingualism in India is stable and is not replacive. The direction of the bilingualism varies from one language family to another language family. In many a case,

bilingualism among Ollari Gadabas is unidirectional. The reason for this bilingual situation is socio-political dominance, economic control, education, recent technological developments, development of media and job opportunities in the dominant language, i.e. Odia.

1.7. Koraput as a Cultural Area

The district constitutes distinct cultural and linguistic groups. Until 19th century, the district is relatively inaccessible to many of the linguists and anthropologists. The inhabitants of the district are isolated from the people of surrounding areas except on a few occasions like weekly markets, trade and festivals. The isolation ended in the 1950s by the establishment of government companies like HAL (Hindustan Aeronautics Limited), NALCO (National Aluminum Company Limited), BILT (Ballarpur Industries Limited) and some small towns leading to an influx of immigrants from the mainland. Based on the fieldwork experience, the district should be studied according to Block-wise. In the same way, Ollari Gadaba region also should be studied Block-wise (Lamptaput, Nandapur, Semiliguda, and Pottangi). During the 5th five-year plan, Government of India had constituted a committee under the chairmanship of Dhebar to see the development among the tribal groups of India. By looking at the development of tribal groups, Dhebar Commission (1960-1961) has classified them into two groups, i.e. primitive tribal groups (PTG's) and non-primitive tribal groups (NPTG's). The district was occupied by many primitive tribal groups (PTG's) and non-primitive tribal groups (NPTG's) belonging to different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. In 2006, again the government of India renamed the PTG's as particularly vulnerable tribal groups (PVTG's). Ollari Gadaba falls under the PVTG's category. Though there are many indigenous groups, they culturally look similar in their dress and customs. Most of the linguistic works dealt with Ollari Gadaba are from the Lamptaput and Nandapur Blocks. Not much attention has been paid to Semiliguda and Pottangi Blocks – except one anthropological study by Kidarnath and Jha (1972). Primitive tribal groups and non-primitive tribal groups of Koraput together comprise of sixty-two indigenous communities.

1.8. The Sociolinguistic Situation

The sociolinguistic situation in the Koraput District of Odisha is very unique wherein social groups belonging to different ethnic, cultural and linguistic backgrounds live together in peace and harmony. Reddy (2016:1-2) observes that due to prolonged contact amongst the internal different linguistic groups, illiterate bilingualism has developed. It is very difficult to identify who is monolingual and who is bilingual. Though the Ollari Gadaba people do not have proper literacy through education, most of them are bilinguals in the area. While collecting the data, it was noticed that some of the children of Pottangi Block near Hataguda and Gugaguda are speaking Ollari Gadaba fluently. Children in the Nandapur Block are less fluent compared to Pottangi Block children. However, children in the Lamtaput and Semiliguda Blocks are not speaking the Ollari language. Instead, they are found very fluent in Odia and Desia. Many parents do not encourage their children to go to schools. Few of them encourage their children to focus on learning Odia. The perception is that Ollari language would not be beneficial to their children when they reach adulthood to find employment. Most of the villages in the above-mentioned Blocks have schools but the teachers will not come regularly due to the inaccessibility of the area and most of the villages do not have proper school buildings. Another point one has to notice is that children who belong to hamlets have to go to schools which are constructed for two or three villages under a Gram Panchayat (GP) or a cluster of villages. This is also one of the drawbacks for the children to go to the schools.

1.9. Contexts of Use and Language Choice

Many people in these four Blocks live in the hamlets by looking after their ancestral property like lands, livestock, etc. They use Ollari Gadaba very frequently at home. For example, if an Ollari person lives in Gugaguda village, where most Ollari Gadabas live, the person is most likely to speak Ollari at home and in the village too. But if an Ollari person lives in Balda or Bari, where Munda languages are spoken around, then Desia or Odia is most likely the primary language for communicative purposes. In the open markets or weekly markets, with non-Ollar people, they tend to speak either in Desia, Odia or whichever language is appropriate. When Ollari

speakers initiate the conversation in Ollari with other speakers of Gadaba or if the Ollari speaker is not comfortable with the other tongues, he will shift to Desia.

1.10. Viability

As mentioned in the previous sections, many children in the villages of the Pottangi and a few villages in the Nandapur Blocks are fluent in the Ollari Gadaba language. In Lamptaput, Semiliguda and Boipariguda Blocks, children are comfortable in Desia and the adults use Ollari as a code language. Youngsters are encouraged to excel in Odia, which is perceived as a prestigious language. Children are expected to embrace Odia for employment purposes. If the current trend of the younger generation continues to speak Odia, the number of Ollari speakers will certainly decrease. Considering the economic and social status associated with language use, the viability of Ollari must be considered marginal. Ollari-Gadabas use their mother tongue exclusively at home and kin domains. The language is more prevalent among the aged males and middle-aged females. Middle-aged males and the youngsters resort to Desia which they use even in the locality, in the communication network of the tribals and the non-tribals. A few of them who have received an education are exposed to standard Odia, the official language of the state. In addition to Odia, they also know Hindi due to the influence of mass media.

1.11. Habitat of Ollari Gadaba

Ollari Gadaba villages are situated in the chain of hills and flat-topped valleys of all shapes and sizes. These hills vary in their heights and shapes. The highest peaks in the hills are called *parbats*. *Damuk parbat* is near the roadside of Pottangi and *Dusura parbat* near Kundili are the highest peaks in the area. The rivers and hill streams last for almost all three seasons. The source for the streams and brooks in the area are the Kolab, Machkund and Indravati rivers. Most of the places are covered with forests consisting of teak, kusum, bamboo and different types of spices like *marsupium*, *gmelina* and *lanceolaria*, etc. Wild animals like *druka* ‘tiger’, *ilij* ‘black bear’, *pand* ‘wild boars’ and *sitol* ‘deer’ are commonly found in the areas. Most of the lands in the Ollari Gadaba villages are of red soil and in some places; china clay and limestone are also found. The places of Ollari Gadaba villages receive 60% of the rainfall in the monsoon season every year and it lasts up to October.

1.12. The Village of Pipalguda

Pipalguda is a small village in the Pottangi Block. It is situated on the slope of the hill. It is surrounded by cultivated and uncultivated lands. The village, Pipalguda has been selected to collect data for the present study for the reason that, all the three generations, viz. older, middle-aged and youngsters are conversing at home in their own language. Another reason is that most of the Ollari Gadaba villages identified first-time by the researcher are situated in the same route and all of them meet weekly at the Kundil weekly market. In this village majority of the people are Ollari Gadabas and a small number of potter families are also found who speak Desiya Odia, a link language. It is nine kilometers away from Kunduli and which is on the main road to Vijayanagaram, via, Sunki, Salur and Rama Badrapuram. Tar roads are laid to all these villages in the Kunduli belt of Ollari Villages. Hatguda is the nearest village to Pipalguda. Mukunda Chapadi is the head of the village and acts as a local doctor. *Sadar* ‘the meeting place’ is situated in the middle of the village. One hardly finds an Ollari Gadaba village which does not have a *Sadar*. The *Sadar* is used for settling the quarrels among the villagers. It is used as a place to solve common problems, as a dancing ground on festivals, as a place for jugglers from outside the village to entertain the villagers and it is also a place for the officials who visit the village. The picture below represents one of the Ollari Gadaba village:



Figure -1. 1: Children sitting at the /sadar/ and eating their lunch in Guga Guda.

1.13. Places of Worship

The *guṛil* ‘temples’ are situated on the outskirts of the villages. In most of the temples, either peepal tree or banyan tree is planted. The temples in each village are unattended and they are located in an open, unoccupied piece of land. In the middle of the temple, stones are made in the form of a nest, covered with boulders and surrounded by thick bushes and trees. The exact spot where the holy and sacred things are kept remains unkempt and neglected until the *parub* ‘festival’ or *jatara* ‘festival of sacrifice’ occasion. The sacred offerings are kept in the hole on a flat stone. It will be blocked by another stone in such a way that, to show the appearance of natural rock formation. In some villages, *putkal* ‘anthills’ also are seen as sacred places of worship.



Figure -1.2: Temples of Ollari Gadaba people in different villages

1.14. Housing System

The housing system of Ollari Gadaba people is very simple. Each person in the village owns an *ulle* ‘principal dwelling house’. In most of the cases, the principal house *ulle* is attached to *konde sale* ‘cattle shed’ with an open leveled space in front the house. Open spaces between the houses are used as streets. All the Ollari Gadaba villages are having homogeneous housing system in most of the cases. The principal house consists of a *pinde* ‘veranda’ and two inner rooms. The big room is called *toned* and the small room is called *gondeli*. These two are separated by an earthen wall which has a small entrance named *toned* ‘the big room’. The big room consists of a *kichmol* ‘fireplace’ and *gondeli* ‘a small room’ consists of *atu* ‘a raised platform’

made of bamboo sticks or wood and earthen storage bins to preserve paddy and other grains. The thatched houses are built with the *munde* ‘central post’ and *mul munde* ‘corner posts’ and with cross beams like *muruk*, *musa* and *sugul*. No rituals are performed while selecting a piece of land for building or constructing the house. However, the *Dissari* is consulted for the auspicious time for performing the house warming ceremony. Consequently, the implementation of housing system in the present times has altered rapidly among the Ollari Gadaba people. As seen in the below picture one can understand how the housing system has transformed – from olden days to the present-day system.



Figure-1.3: Housing system of Ollari Gadaba people

1.15. Economic Life

The main source of livelihood of the Ollari Gadaba people is cultivation. Since cultivation supplies food and works to the members of their family, these people believe it as more reliable and dependable than any other occupation. When monsoon fails, they earn their livelihood by working as seasonal labour for the roadside works, by trading in oilseeds, selling salt and kerosene. Ollari Gadaba people have two types of main occupations, viz. agricultural and non-agricultural which includes cattle rearing and collection of forest products, etc. The cultivated lands are divided into two types: one is *kəpel* ‘lands found on the hills and hill slopes’. In these places, pulses and oilseeds are cultivated because these lands are filled with stones and pebbles. They are not toil friendly and difficult to plough. The second type is *vindil* ‘lands used

for cultivation of paddy, millets, maize and different types of vegetables'. These lands are toil friendly and easy to plough by yoked oxen or buffaloes. The locals themselves make the agricultural tools in most of the cases. Only the essential iron parts are bought from the local markets and are hafted by them. The main instruments they use in agriculture are *naṇal* 'plough', *kōdki* 'a type of spade', *gunc^{hi}* 'a type of garden spade', *sabal* 'a type of iron bar', *ṭañia* 'a type of axe', *gagrō* 'a type of sickle and *aṇṇori* 'a big bamboo pole with sickle. Some of the agricultural tools can be seen in the pictures below.



Figure-1. 4: Different tools used for agriculture and hunting

1.16. Crops

Varsi:l 'paddy', *ragi* 'mandia', *jṇel* 'millets', *bũṛ senal* 'groundnuts', *ṽlsi* 'oil seeds', *buta* and *bal senbi* 'one type of pulses' *dairēl* 'castor seeds', *ada* 'ginger', *ulukul* 'banana', *kandul* 'red gram', and *biri* 'black gram' are the main commodities produced in the fields. Besides these, the other crops that are cultivated are, viz. *kakalin* 'brinjal', *muḷa kuse* 'radish', *alu* 'potato', *ulli* 'onion', *bōnda kobi* 'cabbage', *p^hul kobi* 'cauliflower', *beja* 'tomato', *kakṛi* 'cucumber', *rajbetalin* 'watermelon', *ṛorṛka* 'snake guard', *betalin* 'pumpkin', *sersendal* 'bottle guard' and *karla* 'bitter guard'. For selling the main commodities and vegetables, weekly markets play a vital role in the tribal economy. Social integration also can be seen in the markets because people belonging to different tribal communities gather in a single place and sell their

agricultural products in peaceful harmony. In Pottangi Block, Kunduli and Rellagada are the main weekly market places. In Nandapur Block, Nandapur and Paduva are the main weekly market places, and in Lamptaput Block, Lamptaput is the main weekly market place. It has been observed that any researcher who goes on fieldwork to these areas – anthropologically or linguistically – will not find the informants on Mondays and Fridays in the villages, as the villagers go to the markets either for selling the agricultural products or to purchase domestic essentials. The markets located in each Block follow a different weekday timeframe for selling and buying. The villagers representing different castes and tribes, viz. Poraja, Kutia, Gutob Gadaba, Ollari Gadaba, Domba, Khond, Telga Kapu, Korkal, etc. gather in these weekly market places. The following pictures illustrate the weekly market places at Kunduli and Rellagada.



Figure1.5: Market places of Kunduli and Rellagada

1.17. Animal Rearing

It has been asserted by Kidarnath and Jha (1972:20) that the Ollar Gadaba people are not professional cattle breeders. Since cultivation is their main profession, they nurture the cows for oxen, she buffaloes for the he buffaloes that are useful for plowing and tilling the land. Besides, cows, oxen, and buffaloes the indigenous people rear goats, sheep, hens and cocks. In most of the festivals, hens, goats and sheep are sacrificed to the local deities.

1.18. Food Habits

Since Ollari Gadabas are dependants on agriculture, all their food habits reflect what they produce. Each house has a pounding stone and each village has a common pounding place for pounding paddy. Their food is very simple and suits to their

economic conditions. Early in the morning, they take *pe:ɟ* ‘a kind of gruel’ as a breakfast prepared from *mandia*. The aspect of lunch is a mixture of *pe:ɟ* and *kuse* ‘vegetables’ in which green chili and onions become essential. For dinner, the same menu is repeated akin to that of lunch. However, due to the modernization and contact with the mainland people, their food habits are changing. Ollari people do not drink milk. They do not milk their cows. In most of the houses, milk is left out for the calves. Along with this simple food, a variety of seasonal fruits, leaves, and roots from the local forest are collected and added as part of their diet, viz. mango, *jamun* ‘black berries’, *bel* ‘bel fruit’, *gular*, *kurut kuse* and *betal kuse*, etc.

1.19. Dress

Ollari Gadabas living in the interior areas, wear *lɔŋɔti* ‘a kind of cloth on the waist which covers the front and back’. Moreover, they tie *lungi* ‘a type of cloth tied around the waist’. However, people who have contact with the mainland do wear trousers, T-shirts, Jeans and other modern attire. Nevertheless, whenever there is a festival they are found wearing their traditional attire. The use of chappals is very rare in the interior Gadaba villages. But, the wearing of chappals is very common in the roadside villages that are near to towns. During the rainy season, they always keep *taɕigɔɾugu* ‘a type of umbrella’ made of palm tree leaves and *tule* ‘a type of raincoat’ made of gunnysacks. The women are found wearing *keriŋ* ‘a long strip of cloth’ around the waist and shoulders’. It is commonly known as *keriŋ*. On the right shoulder, a big knot is made so that the *keriŋ* will not fall off while working. The *keriŋ* reaches up to knees and appears to be comfortable even to work and sit. Women usually wear ornaments like *gajul* or *sinul* ‘bangles’, *kʰandil* ‘necklace’, *vɔɖkil* ‘finger ring’, *kamil* ‘nose ring’, *naɲul* ‘ear ring’ and *godɽpaɕi* ‘anklets’ daily. However, nowadays, most of the women aged between 12-30 are wearing ‘nighties’ even during the day time.

1.20. Social Life

Ollari Gadaba community seems to be a patriarchic community. It is reported by the informants of Peepalguda and Gugaguda that their social life is not only restricted to their group but also has relations with other groups. Based on language, they themselves separate from other tribes, who belong to the Mundari group such as Boro or Gutob and Perena groups. It is the language that separates them from other groups.

On the basis of their language, they call themselves San Gadaba. This reveals that they have a lower status in the social arena of the area. Inter-dining is allowed between the Mundari Gadaba and Dravidian Gadaba tribes. Edible things are exchanged among the tribes of the area. Ollari Gadaba people have close relations and social life sharing with Gutob Gadaba, Perenga Gadaba, Poraja, Khond, Mali, Brahmin and Karan people. All these ethnic tribes treat themselves as equals in the social hierarchy. Though they call themselves San Gadaba, they also maintain social distance with the Dombo, who are not allowed to enter Ollari Gadaba houses. However, they accept the things from Mali's and Brahmins. Exogamy is not entertained in the community. The main reason for this is linguistic constraints. However, in the present-day, Ollari people are not very much rigid about exogamy because they can easily converse with other groups in Desia, the link language among the tribes. The children borne out of intermarriages are found predominantly speaking, Ollari Gadaba in Pottangi, Gutob Gadaba in the Lamptaput areas – along with Desia.

1.21. Clan System

Ollari Gadaba people are found to have sectioned themselves into five clans named after their totem, viz. *druka* 'tiger' *iliy* 'bear' *ɔntal* 'cobra' *mi:n* 'fish' and *kisvale* 'vulture'. It has been observed in the field study that no precise tale or myth was narrated by the informants declaring themselves attached to a specific totem or clan. Most of the people within the clans do not get married. If they do get married, they get married to someone from other than their clan within the Ollari community. This shows that they are fully endogamous in their social context and marriage system. They also have titles like *Guga*, *Pomiya*, *Sisa*, *Chapadi*, *Manji*, *Mundagadia*, *Tokli*, *Sakiya*, *Sengkor* and *Konya*. The elders in the clan teach the daily duties to their children and young siblings. The men are taught to apprentice the father in agriculture and the females are taught to assist in the domestic and household chores, like washing, cleaning, pounding paddy, grinding the *mandia* (finger millet) and sweeping, etc. However, the present-day system has changed due to the establishment of schools in the villages. Most of the parents are found preferring their children to go to the schools, to get a good education, which subsequently leads in getting job opportunities.

1.22. Political Organization

The political organization in the Ollari Gadaba community is very simple. It does not have any centralized system. Each village has its own type of political system which is similar to the other villages of the area. Each village has a head called: *bɔdɔ na:jak* or *Dora*. In most of the cases, the elder son of the village-head gets the power and becomes the successor. Along with the *bɔdɔ na:jak*, there will be five elders (council members) who will take part in the village activities and settle the disputes and problems of the village. The main criterion to become a council member is age and clan. Both play an important role to become a member of the village council. The aspect of ostracism is a big punishment in the community. If any individual of the community commits a misdeed or goes against the rules of the community, he/she is ostracized. Moreover, neither food nor water is accepted from the accused until he/she rejoins the community. Cases like divorce, eloping, cheating and stealing, necromancy, black art, sorcery and other types of crimes like homicide are discussed in the village council. If a person dies – accused of black magic, he/she is punished through the acts of tonsure and extraction of teeth is undertaken. However, in present times, such acts are no more practiced. At present, most of the Ward Members of gram Panchayat are acting as village-heads. During the field study, the researcher has noticed that an illiterate person named, Dhannu Guga, was elected as a Ward Member acting as the village-head. The Gram Panchayat Officers (GPO) play a vital role in the village activities like procuring drinking water, taking care of sanitation works, disbursing pensions to old people, widows and the unemployed. Along with the above responsibilities, they also take part in solving disputes like divorce, eloping, settling differences – between clans – within the community.

1.23. Marriage System

Marriage is a sanctified act for the Ollari Gadaba people. Most of marriages are celebrated in the months of January and February. Long-term discussions take place before the marriage is settled. The marriage system is called *ɔdur* in the locality. In most of the cases, the parents along with the village-head and the council members arrange the wedding. However, in a few cases, the bride and bridegroom are invited to express their opinions on each other as well as the families. It is the bridegroom's

father who initiates and goes to the bride's house along with the village-head and certain council members for a discussion about the alliance. It is the head of the bride's village who plays a crucial part in the discussion. As soon as the marriage discussions are completed, the bride's father will have a discussion with the village-head and some of the council members regarding the arrangement of marriage. Both parties consult the Dissari (priest as well as a local doctor) to fix an auspicious day for the wedding.

On the day of marriage, the bridegroom, his parents, village-head, council members and villagers – all go to the bride's place. The womenfolk will see them off at the outskirts of the village by singing the marriage songs. The bridegroom is locally called *ɔdur ilend*. He wears a *dothi* and a half-shirt called *soka* or *ɔɳɳla* on the wedding day. Turmeric water is offered to the bridegroom for taking bath before marriage. He also puts a *tual* 'towel' on his shoulders. Some people wear *talsute* 'turbans made of cloth and leaves'. Along with the bridegroom *jata ilend* 'an unmarried boy' and *jata iled* 'an unmarried woman' accompany to assist the bridegroom at the event of marriage. This is similar to the customs followed in the Telugu community, where, the accompaniers are called, *jata ilend* (*todi pelli koduku* – 'co-bridegroom') and *jata iled* (*todi pelli ku:turu* – 'co-bride'). As part of marriage celebrations, the village-head and the council members carry *ɔndam* 'the bride-price'. The bride-price, at most of times, consist of paddy, goats, cow, calves, oxen, sheep, saris and different types of wine and locally available fruits. The rice given as a bride-price will be cooked and given to the villagers. The animals, mainly, goats and sheep are given in sacrifice to the local deities. The meat is later cooked and served to the villagers. When the groom reaches the bride's place, the village-head's wife receives them by applying *bɔtu* 'vermillion made of rice powder and turmeric' on the forehead of the groom. All the villagers are allowed to participate in the marriage unconditionally including widows and widowers. On the day of marriage, a locally made wine is offered to all the villagers and accompanied persons. Different types of wines made locally are offered to the villagers, viz. *arrack* 'desija tonic', *pendum* 'local wine made of rice and tablets', *tadmāl* 'one type of toddy', *sagirmāl* 'desija sara', *mandia* 'local wine made of finger millet' and *lanɳa* 'a type of wine made of rice'. As the event of marriage comes to an end, a few rituals are performed to send the newly wedded couple to the groom's house. At this juncture, the *Dissari* 'the local priest' performs an offering to the ancestors. Among the offerings, cock heads, goat

heads, coconut pieces, and eggs are seen at the altar. Once the offering is completed, he fixes the first-night to the newly married couple. On the same day, the groom's family also offers a feast to all the villagers. Both parties from the bride's side and the groom's side crack many jokes on each other. However, in the present-day scenario, the dowry is being paid in the form of money, that ranges from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 20,000. There are three types of marriages that prevail in the Ollari Gadaba belt, viz. Pottangi, Nandapur, Semiliguda, and Lamptaput. One is bride-price marriages, where money, goats, cows, and fowls are offered by the groom to the bride's family. Second, service-oriented marriages (the groom will have to serve) at the father-in-law's house instead of the brides-price. The service may last up to three years. The third being cross-cousin marriages. These marriages occur from both the sides of matrilineal and patrilineal lineages.

1.24. Pre-marital and Extra-marital Relations

Sexual promiscuity is strictly prohibited. It is a punishable crime in the area. Pre-marital and extra-marital relations are uncommon in the Ollari Gadaba community. If the relation is incestuous, it is overlooked. In most situations, pre-marital relation marriages are done without any rituals. However, in the case of an abortion, locally called *pa:p marik* is uncommon in the community. The aspect of orientation is one of the key factors in extra-marital relations. In most of the cases, it is the male, who is penalized. As the wife engages in an extra-marital relation, the husband is ordered to pay some money or give up domestic animals to the wife's father or the second-husband.

1.25. Pregnancy

Rituals and ceremonies are part of every culture. One can see them throughout history and all over the world. The most inspiring - ritual events are birth and death in most of the civilized and indigenous communities. These rituals vary from community to community in terms of culture, mysticism, religion and local customs. In most of the cases of Ollari Gadaba community, the women gain information about menstruation and sexual life from grandmothers, elder sisters, and neighboring women. The concept of birth has its own importance. The attitude towards pregnancy is one of joy and pride in the family. The pregnant woman is called *ber potta*. As the

pregnancy is confirmed, she is given special attendance by her mother-in-law or any other elderly woman in the family. Ollari Gadaba women do not take any kind of rest or holidays during the pregnancy time. They work until the last day of delivery. Nevertheless, they are not allowed to carry loads of firewood. At the time of pregnancy, the wife stays with her husband until she approaches eight month. The pregnant *ber potta* is strictly restricted to visit any ceremonies in connection to death or mourning. Further, she is also not allowed to go out during cyclone, lightning, and thundering. Each village has its own midwife or one midwife for two or three villages. As the day approaches, the midwife is informed and brought to the house for delivery purpose. Only midwife and a few elderly women are allowed during the process of delivery. However, the custom nowadays appears to have changed and most of them are admitted in the local government hospitals.

1.26. Birth Ceremony

Birth ceremony is locally known as *handi dharini*. It is observed for seven days after the child's birth. Prayers and sacrifices are offered to the local deities. In this ceremony, the umbilical cord plays a vital role, as they do not cut it for seven days. They keep it until it dries up and falls down from the newborn baby's navel. As it falls down – the elders of the family are found collecting it and tying it to a stick that is placed in the agricultural fields. The belief is that – if it is placed in the middle of the field – they will get an abundant crop devoid of pests and difficulties. All these seven days, they offer incense smoke to the child, so that the child will not be affected by any type of bacteria or virus.

1.27. Naming Ceremony

As the birth ritual and its formalities are over, the naming ceremony will be followed after two weeks. The *Dissari* will be invited as a special guest to confer the name to the newborn. All the relatives – elders and kith and kin – of the family are invited to attend the naming ceremony. A feast is arranged on the occasion by sacrificing the goats or country fowls to the local deities. The grandparents of the child will offer new clothes to the newborn and to the midwife who helped in the process of delivery. As children are born on a particular day (weekdays), they are named after those particular days. For example, Mangla Guga (male) Mangli Guga

(female) born on *Mangilwar* (Tuesday), Sukra Chapadi (male) Sukri Chapadi (female) born on *Sukrar* (Friday), Soma Sisa (male) Sombari Sisa (female) born on *Sombari* (Monday). The invitees bless the child and offer some money with which, an ornament – made of gold or silver is bought for the child.

1.28. Death Ceremony

Death has special importance in the Ollari Gadaba community. Some of the rituals performed by the Ollari Gadaba community have some similarity with the Gutob Gadaba people, who belong to the Mund group of languages. Whenever a person dies, he/she will be given a proper bath with boiled water mixed with turmeric powder and neem leaves. Usually, an elder brother or cousin of the deceased family pours the water on the body. After giving a bath, the body is wrapped up in a cloth called *nirtum* and later some of the family members are sent for the bier called *j^han j^hora* made of bamboo sticks. Subsequently, as the bier is brought to the deceased home, a palm mat is put on the bier and then the body is laid on it. It was informed to the researcher by Mukundh Chapadi that the family members of the clan would carry the bier up to the cremation ground. Coins mixed with rice are thrown around the bier while carrying it to the crematorium. Before the body departs the house of the deceased, the *Dissari* of the village chants a few *mantras* in the native tongue, saying that he/she is free from all the burdens of this life, debts, and sins and ought to be born again in the same house. All the villagers take part in the procession of the bier and all male/female march up to the cremation ground. On the outskirts of the village, the bier is put down – an utterance of the dead body's name is done for three times. It is informed that if he/she is not entering the *swarg* 'heaven' he will come back to this earth again. As the bier reaches to *saiñil* 'the cremation ground', the pyre is set up with wood, viz. mango, babool, sarkar babool and some other wood brought from the forest. In most of the cases, it is the brother of the deceased, who lights the pyre and in absence of the family members, the eldest of the village performs the ritual duty. After the dead body – turning into ashes, they return from the cremation ground before which money is offered in the name of the dead. The offered money is utilized for arranging a drinking party comprised of a local wine called *pendum*. The reputation and prestige of the dead person is reflected in accordance to the offered amount.

After the cremation rituals, the family follows the ‘pollution period’ called *sutak*. The period continues from three days to a fortnight. During this period, the family is not allowed to eat non-vegetarian food. Moreover, they are not allowed to participate in any festival or ceremonies. During the *sutak* period, a principle ceremony termed, *suddha* is observed. Though it is mandatory in observation, there is a feasibility of performing it on the third, the fourteenth day or after a year. On the *suddha* ceremony day, either *kor* ‘fowl’ or *kondel* ‘cow’ will be sacrificed. The liver and blood of the *kor* ‘fowl’ or *kondel* ‘cow’ are cooked. Later it is mixed with raw rice and is brought to the cremation ground – as an offering to the spirit of the dead person. Sometimes the rituals of the deceased vary in respect to gender, age, pregnancy, new mother, disease, and demise caused due to an attack by the wild animal.

1.29. Ancestor Worship

Koraput District of Odisha is different from the other districts in the state. Many indigenous people live together side by side in peace and harmony. The co-existence of different people belonging to different language families for ages made them be similar in many aspects, viz. way of dressing and lifestyle. Though many of the tribes in the area belong to different linguistic backgrounds, they are similar while following certain cultural aspects. In this context, Berger (2001:36) is identified to have noted that Koraput is a cultural area. Ollari Gadaba people and Gutob Gadaba people have some similarities in feeding the dead. To appease their ancestors, the locals offer various animals, viz. *fowl, oxen, buffalos, millet’s bread, rice, pulses, and pendum* etc. in the sacrificial ceremonies. They have separate festivals like *pus parub, magh nelin* and *dijali parub* to offer prayers to the ancestors at the cremation ground. They offer the sacrifices as a token of gratitude and thanks to their ancestors as well as spirits *dumal* of the locality. Along with these offerings, Ollari people also perform a ceremony called, *Gatar* in the remembrance of the dead-father of the family. In this regard, Padhi (2011:70) has mentioned that “this ceremony is originally native to Gutob Gadaba people”. The main belief behind the *Gatar* festival is to appease, pray for the solace of the departed souls of the ancestors. These festivals can be mentioned are symbols of social unification. Furthermore, it was informed to the researcher that while observing *Gatar* – weeping and lamentation for the dead-father is seen very commonly. However, in recent time, these types of ceremonies, which consist of

animal sacrifices, are banned by the government. On the other hand, the aspect of poverty also plays a major role in discontinuing the sacrificial performances of the kind. Modernity is one another force in transfusing the mode of life and rituals.

1.30. Religious Beliefs

Ollari Gadaba people do not have a proper kind of religious system. Their religious system can be observed through rituals. Most of the time their religious system centres around natural objects like the moon, the sun, trees, supernatural elements like the devil, spirits *dumal*, some local deities and agriculture. The female deities are very commonly seen in the area. Some supernatural elements are malevolent and some of them are benevolent to them. The priests (*Dissaris*) who perform religious activities are very simple in their manner. These *Dissaris* are mediators between the community and the deities. They also prepare medicine *mardil* to cure seasonal illnesses. Souls and supernatural elements are the very important and the main themes of their religion. The Ollari Gadabas believe in hell and heaven. They also believe in souls that are locally called *jive*. Once the *jive* departs from the person, it goes and stays in the *poita:n deṣh* ‘heaven’ where the supreme god *great vendit* resides. Ollari people are very much afraid of *Shani*, whom they think is the main agent in causing the pests, diseases, and deaths. In order to appease him, a *pooja* is performed on his name. However, the present-day system is different from the earlier. Since most of them are being converted to Christianity, the converted are taught to treat these rituals as sin, in the name of Jesus Christ. Hence, except for specific rituals, the performances of other related rituals are diminishing.

1.31. Summary

To conclude, Ollari Gadaba people lead a very simple life with simple food in the lap of nature. Though they are indigenous, who once upon a time used to depend upon the forest products – shifted themselves to agriculture. They have opted for permanent settlements. Most of them are practicing shifting-cultivation and settled-cultivation by relying on the crops they cultivate.

Chapter-II

Review of Literature

2. The Name Dravida

Though there are many explanations for the origin of the word Dravida, a few seem to be suitable for the present context. In literature, it has been stated by Caldwell (1956:4) that the word, Dravida was first used as a language by Kuma:rilabhaTTa in his Sanskrit book titled *tantrava:rttika* in 7th century. However, in literature, it has also been observed that the word **Dravida** was used in one of the Ashokan inscriptions in and around 248 BC., but the exact reference of the usage was unknown. Rao (2017) describes linguistically that the word ‘**Dravida**’ might have been derived from the Tamil word ‘tamida’. Speakers of Telugu might have changed it from ‘tamida’ to ‘dravida’ through hypercorrection i.e., **tamira** > **damida** > **davida** > **dravida** where **t** and **r** changed to **d** and **ḍ** respectively, and **m** changed to **v** followed by the insertion of **r** to the initial consonant which became a consonant cluster due to the hypercorrection. These four types of sound changes are very common in old Telugu. He has also noted that **damida** and **davida** in Prakrits and Pali, **dravida** and **dra:vida** in Sanskrit are prevalent. It may be assumed that these words might have been borrowed into Prakrit, Pali, and Sanskrit through the Telugu Language. Though many explanations were prevalent, it was Robert Caldwell (1875: 3-6) who first used the term ‘Dravidian’ as a generic name exclusively for languages spoken in Southern India, next to Indo-Aryan in the Indian subcontinent.

2.1. The Concept of the Language Family

Francis Whyte Ellis, an English civil servant, in his *Dissertation on the Telugu Language* (1816) (Published as a ‘Note to the Introduction’ of A. D. Campbell’s *A Grammar of Teloogoo Language Commonly Called as Gentoo*) asserted that Tamil, Telugu and Kannada ‘form a distinct family of languages’ which are independent of Sanskrit. Further he has stated that Sanskrit intermixed with them in later times, but has no genetic connection at all. Later Robert Caldwell (1875) was the first to propose Dravidian as a separate family of languages spoken in Southern India. In the first edition of his book titled *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages*, he enumerated twelve Dravidian languages. He succeeded in

showing family likeness among the Dravidian languages in phonology and morphology by disproving the Sanskrit origin of Dravidian languages, which was strongly advocated by many Oriental and Western scholars (a myth called all languages are originated from Sanskrit). Caldwell (1875:61–2) also cited that Rasmus Rask ‘was the first to suggest that the Dravidian languages were probably “Scythian” (Eastern Iranian group of languages), broadly representing “barbarous tribes that inhabited the northern parts of Asia and Europe”. Later several minor Dravidian languages were discovered (Grierson 1928 few indigenous languages, Bhattacharya 1956, Ollari and Parji, Ramakrishna Reddy 1970, Indi-Awe to mention a few) based on grammatical sketches and vocabularies in the latter half of the 19th century.

Though many tribal and indigenous languages discovered in the latter half of the 19th century, the Ollari Gadaba did not get its identity in many surveys and studies such as the highly acclaimed *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages* by Robert Caldwell (1875) and *Linguistic Survey of India* (LSI) by George Abraham Grierson (1928) are no exceptions. However, in the 20th century, Ollari Gadaba found its place in the Dravidian family of languages. Sudhibhushan Bhattacharya (1957) was the first to discover and work on Ollari Gadaba in his monograph titled *Ollari: A Dravidian Speech*. In addition to this, most of the subsequent studies (*Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, *A Comparative Grammar of Dravidian and The Dravidian Languages*) on Ollari Gadaba have highly and solely dependent on Bhattacharya’s monograph. As a result, neither documentation nor research based on the primary data had been carried out. This calls for an intensive research in the direction of Ollari documentation and grammar writing.

2.2. Absence of Ollari Gadaba in the Linguistic Survey of India

The Linguistic Survey of India, which is often abbreviated as the LSI, is a complete linguistic survey of British India, indicating 364 languages and dialects. It was a project conducted between 1894 and 1928, under the direction of George A. Grierson, a member of the Indian Civil Service. The entire survey is divided into eleven volumes. The seventh chapter of Volume 1, and part two of the fourth Volume discusses about Dravidian languages.

“The Dravidian race is spread widely over India, but all the members of it do not speak Dravidian languages. In the North, many of them have become Aryanized, and have adopted the Aryan languages of their conquerors while they have restricted their ethnic characteristics. Besides these, many millions of people inhabiting central and southern India possessing the physical type classed by ethnologists as ‘Dravidian’ are almost the only speakers of two other important families of speech Muṇḍā and Dravidian proper. Owing to the fact that these languages are nearly all spoken by persons possessing the same physical type, many scholars have suggested a connection between two families of the speech, but a detailed inquiry carried out by the Linguistic Survey of India shows that there is no foundation for a such a theory”.

(LSI 1927, Vol-1, p-81)

The chapter seven, in Volume I, focuses on the following three aspects: the geographical distribution of Dravidian languages in India, how they became Aryanized in the North and how they are restricted to their cultural characteristics. Besides discussing the geographical distribution of Dravidian languages – it was highlighted and established – a proper theory with a proper linguistic inquiry that there is no linguistic connection between the Muṇḍā and Dravidian family of languages was earlier discussed by ethnologists.

“The name Dravidian is a conventional one. It is derived from the Sanskrit *Draviḍa*, a word which is again probably derived from an older *Dramiḷa*, *Damila*, and is identical with the name of Tamil. The name Dravidian is, accordingly, identical with the name of Tamulian, which name has formerly been used by European writers as a common designation of the languages in question. The word *Draviḍa* forms part of the denomination *Āndhra- Drāviḍa- Bhāshā*, the language of Āndhras (i.e., Telugu) and *Draviḍas* (i.e., Tamilians) which KumarilaBhaṭṭa (probably 7th century A.D.) employed to denote the Dravidian family”.

(LSI 1904, Vol-IV, p-277)

Part two of the fourth Volume of LSI discusses how the name *Draviḍa* has come into existence and how it evolved as an umbrella term for the southern group of languages and people. Under this generic name of *Draviḍa*, *Marāṭi* and *Gujarāt* languages are added which have no genetic or typological relations with it. Another highlighted

point that was discussed on Dravidian languages is Burnell's classification of Dravidian languages, published as *Indian Antiquary* for August 1872 (Bombay).

“If Burnell was correct in his quotation, a Sanskrit writer of the 7th century who claimed familiarity with the languages of southern India divided them into two groups, that of the Andhra and that of the Draviḍa country. The former corresponds to the modern Telugu and the latter the modern Tamil and its relatives, and division well corresponds with the present division of the existing vernaculars. The language of Andhra was the parent of Telugu. Kurukh, Malto, Kui, Kōlāmi, and Gōṇḍī are intermediate languages, and, except Brāhūī and a couple of Hybrids, all the rest are descended from Draviḍa”.

(LSI 1927, Vol-1, p-83).

The relationship between the various Dravidian languages is therefore illustrated in the following table:-

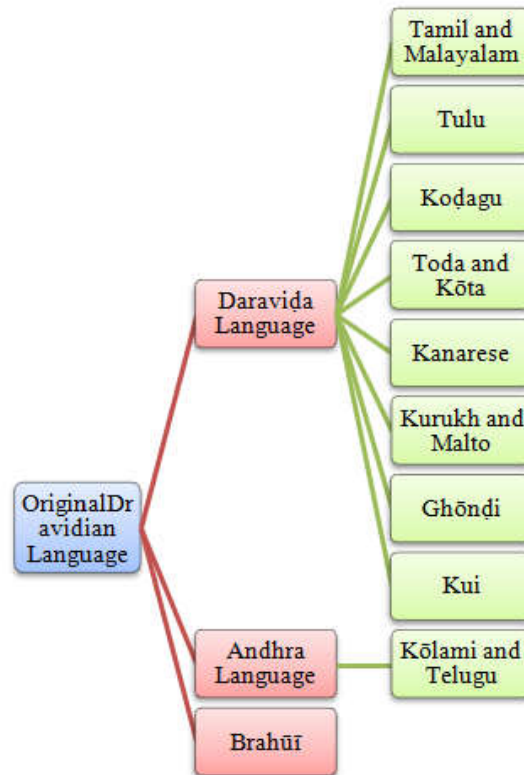


Figure- 2.1: Language Hierarchy (LSI 1927, Vol-1, p-83).

Either in the Linguistic Survey of India or in the KumārilaBhaṭṭa's classification quoted in Burnell's *Indian Antiquary* Ollari was neither mentioned nor discussed. The

reason for the absence of its mention or discussion may be that it was inaccessible to the research community because the Ollari speaking people live in remote areas and the enumerators could not reach the speakers at the time of the Survey. Nevertheless, there is a mention of a Dravidian nomadic tribe called Golār or Golkars (LSI 1904, Vol-IV, p. 385) whose profession is herdsman ship in the Central Provinces of British India. Their dialect is called Golarī or Hōliyā which is closely related to Kanarees. Though the name seems to be in appropriation with Ollari, it is different in its lexical, phonological and grammatical structure.

2.3. Absence of Ollari Gadaba in the Caldwell's Works

A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages, which appeared in the year 1875, is the second major work after Francis Whyte Ellis' work for the linguists who work on the Dravidian family of languages. Scholars in the 19th century, prior to Caldwell falsely considered Tamil and other South Indian languages to be rooted in Sanskrit and affiliated them to the Indo-European family of languages. Francis Whyte Ellis' texts and Caldwell's grammar are the foremost works on Dravidian that uprooted the false notions like, South Indian languages are born from the Sanskrit language. The main object of the Caldwell (1875) book is to "examine and compare the grammatical principles and forms of the various Dravidian languages in the hope of contributing to through knowledge of their primitive structure and distinctive character". It is Caldwell who had arrived in India as an archbishop to Tirunelveli of Tamilnadu and worked extensively on South Indian languages. Having 36 years of acquaintance with Tamil and other languages of South India, he was able to say that the South Indian languages constitute a distinct family of languages. He is the first to use the generic appellation or the generic name 'Dravidian' from the Draviḍa for South Indian people and their languages, excluding Odisha and Deccan in which Gujarati and Marāṭhi were part. By accepting 'Dravidian', the word TAMILIAN was left out.

For the first time, Caldwell who had close acquaintance with the Dravidian people and languages enumerated twelve languages. After the enumeration of twelve Dravidian languages, he had divided them into two categories, viz. cultivated languages and uncultivated languages. The following tree diagram shows Caldwell's enumeration of these twelve languages.

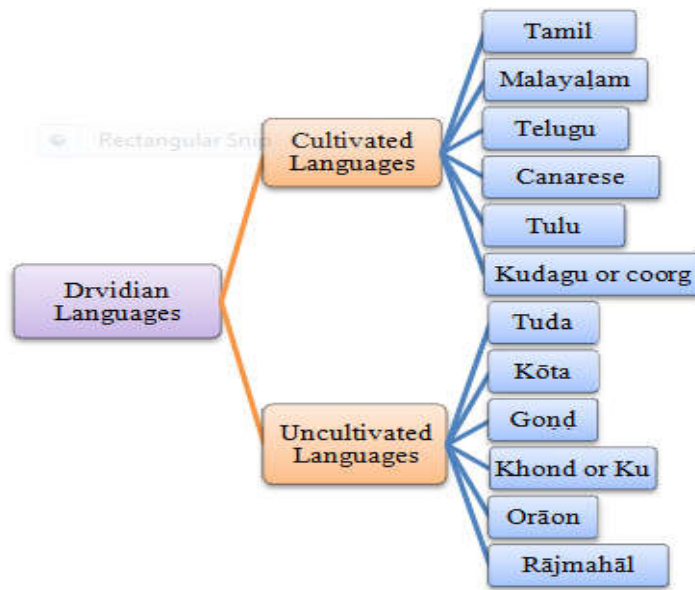


Figure-2.2: Caldwell's list of Dravidian Languages' Hierarchy

In the enumeration of Dravidian languages various wandering, predatory and forest tribes were not included because he thought that they were corrupted languages of the neighboring plains. Not only this, since he did not consider the languages spoken in the Odisha region belonging to the Dravidian family of languages many tribal languages did not get the opportunity to be listed in Caldwell's list. Among the unlisted Dravidian tribal languages, Ollari Gadaba is one. Most of the indigenous tribes of Central India (Odisha) have not been listed under the Dravidian languages. The reason for this non-inclusion is that he might have thought that they were corrupted dialects. For this reason, the Ollari Gadaba language could not get procure its place in the list.

2.4. Ollari Gadaba in the Studies on Dravidian

Bhattacharya's (1957) monograph *Ollari: A Dravidian Speech* is a seminal work in the field of Dravidian linguistics. By the time he was working on the Central Indian languages, the full history of Dravidian languages like the origin, history, whether they have moved from the north to south or south to north and what was the exact nature of the Proto-Dravidian was obscure. In search of some of the above questions, the author seems to have attempted to search for more Dravidian tongues. In this

effort, while working on a Kolarian speech known as Bor̥ Gadaba he found Ollari Gadaba people in the wilds of undivided Koraput District of Odisha. As a part of work on the language, he collected 600 words belonging to different semantic domains from the Lamptaput Block of undivided Koraput. With the 600 words and sentences, he drafted his monograph on familiar lines which do not include the texts. This monograph contains much valuable information regarding the Central Dravidian languages. This also has helped many linguists like Krishnamurti (2003), Subrahmanyam (2004) and Burrow and Emeneau (1984) to bring out different books and dictionaries on Dravidian languages as a whole.

This monograph broadly discusses on different aspects of the language, viz., introduction, phonology, morphology, and comparative vocabulary. In the introduction, the author describes the situations that lead to the study of language and ethnolinguistic information of the community. In the phonology part, he discusses the inventory of phonemes and a few sound changes that had occurred in the language. In the morphology section, he mainly concentrates on nouns and verbs which are studied at surface level. The last chapter of the book deals with the comparative vocabulary where he gives a list of 600 words from Ollari Gadaba language and cognates from Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam, Tulu, Parji, Kolami, Naiki, Konda, Koya, Poya, Gondi, Malto, and Kurux. However, his work on Ollari Gadaba is not a comprehensive work, the methodology employed in the work and the data discussed are valuable resources for studying the language in particular and Dravidian languages in general.

Emeneau (1969) highlights the discussion on non-literary languages discovered during the time of the late half of the 18th and early 19th century. He endorses with certainty that twenty-one Dravidian languages can be enumerated under the Dravidian family of languages based on the availability of the material on these languages. The order follows roughly from south to north of the Indian peninsula, viz., Tamil, Malayalam, Toda, Kota, Kannada, Kodagu (Coorg), Telugu, Tulu, Kolami (with a dialect Naikiri), Naiki of Chand, Parji, Gadaba, Gondi, Konda, Pengo, Manda, Kui, Kuwi, Kurukh (Oraon), Malto, and Brahui. Except Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu, and Kannada, all are non-literary languages. The materials available on these languages range from a small to a large quantity. The essay also highlights how the nonliterary materials were produced during the first three decades of the 20th century.

Further, the essay discusses about how LSI (ed. G. A. Grierson) could not cover many of the Southern political provinces, viz., Malabar state, Madras presidency, Coorg, Mysore state and Asaf Jahi state like Hyderabad of British India. These areas are rich territorial places for Dravidian non-literary languages. It also highlights how LSI could not cover the valuable information of Dravidian languages in Central India like Konda, Pengo, Manda and Gadaba in two locations of Odisha as well as in Andhra Pradesh. The essay further discusses the L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar's and M. B. Emeneau's extensive works on the non-literary Dravidian languages. The outcome of those extensive works and their aims lead to the compilation of *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* and its supplement by T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau.

Subsequently, the work outlines the lists of villages and mother tongues in Central India which was an upshot of the 1951 census of India. In a successive field trips to those villages – Emeneau, Burrow, and Bhattacharya helped in discovering the unidentifiable languages like Pengo and Manda and solve the residue like language, dialect and village. In one of the successive field trips to Koraput in 1951 by Bhattacharya, where he had been working on a Munda language called Gutob Gadaba seems to have helped him to discover the Ollari, a dialect of Gadaba language which is previously unknown.

Furthermore, the essay continues to discuss the discovery of other non-literary languages like Kui, Naiki of Chanda, Gondi, Pengo, Manda, Kurukh, Toda, Kota, Koḍagu and Brahui, the collection of materials on those languages, the compilation of *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* and its supplement with the newly discovered languages and Compilation of bilingual dictionaries. Finally, the essay suggests the need to work in the areas of the Nilgiris on Badaga to rule out the problem of dialects, sub-caste, and for the determination and classification of Badaga as a dialect of Kannaḍa language or as an independent Dravidian language. In recent times, the legacy of discovering new Dravidian languages is continuing even to date. As part of a field study, Ramakrishna Reddy identified Indi-Awe language while working on Manda language in 1993 and Panchanan Mohanty identified Mallar (spoken in Odisha and Maharashtra) and Walmiki (spoken in Odisha and Andhra Pradesh) in 2016.

Kidarnath and Jha's (1972) '*Ollar Gadaba of Koraput*' is a monumental anthropological work done after the discovery of the language by Sudibushan Bhattacharya in 1956. Bhattacharya (1957) states that the Ollari Gadabas live only in

the Lamtaput Block of Koraput District of Odisha. Nevertheless, through the work of Kidarnath and Jha, the researcher had come to know that they also live in Nandapur and Semiliguda Blocks. This clue gave the researcher to find out more villages even in the Pottangi Block of Koraput District. The work is purely based on the anthropological study. The book is written in five chapters. It consists of the geographical, socio-economic, religious and cultural aspects. As a part of field linguistics and the field study, one should always look even at the anthropological side as it helps enormously to the researchers in finding out the location of the people. The information also leads to knowing the pros and cons of the community when one meets them. It also will help in establishing the rapport with the community which ultimately leads to a successful fieldwork in the selected area.

Andronov's (1977) is a path breaking work on 'Dravidian languages'. The book mainly deals with the phonological, morphological, syntactic aspects of Dravidian languages and their genetic affiliations with the other families of the languages in the world. The book is also quite helpful in giving a quick grammatical description of the Dravidian languages for descriptive studies. Nineteen languages belonging to the Dravidian family of languages are discussed in the book including the four literary languages, viz., Tamil, Kannada, Telugu, and Malayalam. Among the nineteen languages, Ollari Gadaba is one of them. Materials collected by Bhattacharya's (1957) work is also employed for the comparison of different aspects of the Dravidian languages. Along with the comparison, he also gives a comprehensive comparative analysis of nineteen Dravidian languages by providing grammatical information.

Burrow and Emeneau (1984) brought out a seminal work titled, *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* in connection to the history of Dravidian languages. This historical work brought 24 languages of the family under one umbrella. The primary aim of the book was to make available all the etymologies pertaining to most of the Dravidian languages that will help in the comparative lexicon of Dravidian languages, which ultimately leads to the reconstruction of the Proto-Dravidian language. The first edition of the DEDR had come up in the year 1961 and its supplement in 1968 with the newly discovered Dravidian languages from various parts of India. The dictionary is divided into three parts, viz. Introduction, Dictionary and the Indexes. The dictionary does not contain the Proto-Dravidian (PDr) reconstruction. In the first part of the dictionary, the compilers describe the conditions that lead to compile the

dictionary, sources of each language that helped in compiling the dictionary, arrangement of the dictionary according to the Proto-Dravidian phonemes with the order of Tamil alphabet. The dictionary contains five thousand five hundred and fifty-seven words from twenty-eight languages that are geographically situated from South to North. Five hundred Ollari Gadaba words also are included in the dictionary, collected from the work of Bhattacharya (1957). In the third part, the Indexes are given for three families of languages, viz. Dravidian, Indo-Aryan, Munda and few other languages like Nahali, Baluchi, Pashto, Persian, Arabic and Greek. Along with the Indexes for three families of languages, they also have provided Indexes for frequent English words that come in Dravidian languages and the Index for Latin Flora words.

Zvelebil's book (1990) titled *Dravidian Linguistics: An Introduction* discusses comprehensively on Dravidian phonology, grammatical structure, and sub-grouping. Subsequently, the author has critically examined and tried to relate the Dravidian family of languages with other families of languages like Harappan, Uralataic, Elamite, and Japanese. As he was discussing Dravidian languages in the introduction part, he lists down 24 Dravidian languages comprising four sub-groups, viz. eight South Dravidian, eight South-Central Dravidian, five Central Dravidian, and three North Dravidian. Among these 24 Dravidian languages, Ollari Gadaba too has its place under the Central Dravidian languages. The book does not focus on any specific language but discusses all the Dravidian languages in general.

Subbarao and Radha Krishna Patnaik's (1992) book on *Gadaba: The Language and People* discusses on issues, viz., language analysis and socio economic study of the community. Through this work, one can know that Gadaba people belonging to the Munda group of languages are even available in the Vijayanagaram District of Andhra Pradesh. Though the title suggests the generic name Gadaba, the book is more about the Munda Gadaba but not about the Dravidian Gadaba. Only in the first few pages of the book, they discuss several issues in connection to Gadaba language available in Bodda Valasa of Salur and Srikakulam District of Andhra Pradesh. The work does not focus on the linguistic aspects rather focuses on their own way of explaining the language. The book throws light on the *Vijayanagaram District Gazetteer* (1869) in which there is a discussion about the categorization of Gadabas into six subdivisions, viz., Bodo Gadaba, Ollari Gadaba, Parengi Gadaba, Kollayi Gadabas (palanquin bearers), Kapu Gadaba and Kattiri Gadaba in Andhra Pradesh. In

the language analysis part, Subbarao tried to describe some of the aspects of the language like phonology, morphology and some syntactic aspects like case. Subsequently, in one of the sections, Radhakrishna discusses the socio-economic conditions of the community and gives an ethnolinguistic description.

In his seminal work, Stanford Steever (1998) discusses profoundly on the area of Dravidian languages. The work mainly focuses on the background of the Dravidian languages, classification of Dravidian languages – according to their structure, diachronic dimension of Dravidian languages and reconstruction of Proto Dravidian languages and their external affiliation of Dravidian languages with other families of languages. In the essay, he primarily discusses about the geographical distribution of Dravidian languages in India as well as outside India, number of speakers, culture and philosophy, co-existence of Dravidian languages with other three families of languages – since prehistoric times, the mutual linguistic influence of Dravidian on Indo-Aryan languages and how Dravidian languages have spread commerce and colonization beyond their territorial spheres. Furthermore, he discusses the sub-grouping of the languages as South Dravidian, South-Central Dravidian, Central Dravidian, and North Dravidian. In each sub-group, he highlights the characteristic features of each sub-group and how they are branched off from the Proto Dravidian language. While discussing the characteristic features of the Central Dravidian languages, he mentions about three varieties of Gadaba language, viz., Ollari, Konekor and Poya spoken in the Koraput District of Odisha and in the Srikakulam District of Andhra Pradesh. On the other hand, Andronov's observation on these three varieties seems to imply that the structural differences between these three varieties were not yet sorted out until 2003. Conversely, in the aftermath these three varieties are identified with different names under a generic name called Gadaba language. Following this, a further discussion on the reconstruction of Proto-Dravidian language by applying the comparative method, glottochronology and lexico-statistics to see how Proto-Dravidian linguistic unity started to disintegrate as different branches and individual languages, how fragmentary the reconstruction of Proto-Dravidian language, how Kondh languages like Kui, Kuvi, Pengo, and Manda have innovated the object-verb agreement, development of phonemic distinction between aspirated and non-aspirated stops in Malayalam, and branching of the subgroups one by one from Proto-Dravidian are discussed. In addition, the essay gives a broad explanation of how attempts were made to link the Dravidian language with other families of

languages like Elamo-Dravidian hypothesis – proposed by McAlpin, the Dravidian-Fino-Urgic hypothesis and the hypothesis of Indus Valley civilization being Dravidian. Finally, he expresses his comments on these hypotheses that they are neither systematic nor rule-based. Moreover, due to the unavailability of the adequate descriptive studies, these are ad-hoc in nature and cumbersome.

Stanford Steever (1998) discusses serial verb forms in Central Dravidian languages where he speaks about the Ollari Gadaba language. The book mainly focuses on serial verbs in all the four Dravidian sub-groups, viz. South Dravidian, South-Central Dravidian, Central Dravidian, and North Dravidian. The fifth chapter of the book mainly concentrates on Central Dravidian language, especially, Parji, Kolami, and Ollari. In the discussion, the author mentions that Konekor Gadaba is the other name for Ollari Gadaba language. Since the published material is scanty on the Central Dravidian languages, he has briefed the discussion on serial verb formation. He states that Burrow and Bhattacharya's (1953) texts reveal that there are two types of serial verb forms in Central Dravidian languages. One is in connection to co-ordinating verbs construction and the second being related to compound verbs. He also states that the above-mentioned verbs occur in these languages infrequently. Further, he discusses that Ollari possesses two serial verb forms quoted by Subrahmanyam (1971) and Bhattacharya (1957). Both the serial verb forms have auxiliary compound verbs and they signal negation. They both structurally resemble the negative conjugations. The critique asserts that in Ollari Gadaba, the past progressive negative is conveyed by a compound verb that consists of the non-past negative of the main verb and the fast affirmative of the progressive auxiliary verb *man* 'be', with both inflected for congruent personal endings. Further, he discusses that these two verbs are separated by a union vowel *-i-* which never constitutes a genuine serial verb form.

While discussing the serial verb forms in Central Dravidian languages, Steever mentions some of the lexical items of Ollari Gadaba language.

Stanford data on Ollari	Present data on Ollari	Gloss
enḍrika	irid	'crab'
muden	munde	'rabbit'
nette	nete	'dog'
veḍ	veṭ	'run'

This data is partially different from the data the researcher has collected. It has been affirmed by Bhaskararao (1980) that Steever might have taken the data from the adjacent people of Salur who identify themselves as Koṇekor Gadabas or Mundli. The lexical proximity of the two varieties made the linguists be in dilemma until 2003, whether these two are dialects of the same language or two different languages. It is Krishnamurti (2003) who disorients it and keeps them as separate languages based on their structures under Central Dravidian languages.

Bhaskararao's (1998) essay on 'Gadaba' is a descriptive paper on Gadaba language. Though the title seems to be the generic name of different groups like Ollari Gadaba, Koṇekor Gadaba, Poya Gadaba, and Gutob Gadaba, the work mainly explains the description of the Koṇekor Gadaba or Mundli situated in Srikakulam and Vijayanagaram Districts of Andhra Pradesh. The essay discusses mainly on issues, viz., background, phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon and dialectal differences. As it was discussed by Bhattacharya (1957-3) and Steever (1998-9), the Dravidian Gadaba has three varieties: Ollari Gadaba, Koṇekor Gadaba, and Poya Gadaba. Bhaskararao mentions that "Poya is the earliest name of the Koṇekor Gadaba in the earlier literature and they have avoided the name in the present days". He also mentions that Burrow and Emeneau (1962-3) explain in a note on Gadaba supplement that Ollari and Koṇekor Gadaba are two local varieties of the same language. Since both the languages have only a few thousand speakers they were not mentioned in the Census of India as separate languages, instead have been stated along with Gutob Gadaba language – in spite of their linguistic differences. In phonology, he mentions that the language has nineteen consonants and ten vowels where nasalization is phonemic in the language, for instance, mūde 'cow' and mũde 'rabbit'. Apart from the phonemic inventory, he also discusses phonotactic permutations, consonant clusters and syllable structures of the language. In the morphology section, he discusses the primary categories like a noun, adjective, verb and adjectives along with the tense, person, number, gender, and other morphological features. In syntax, the basic word orders and sentence patterns are depicted. In the lexicon part, he discusses the native and borrowed lexical items and observes that Telugu language appears to be the major source of borrowings for Kondekor and in contrast, Odia is the source for the Ollari Gadaba language. Apart from this, the essay also highlights the suffixes that are added to the borrowed word and concise review is undertaken on the iterative and echo compounds. Finally, the essay argues about the dialectal differences between the

Kondekor or Mundli of Srikakulam District of Andhra Pradesh and the Ollari Gadaba of Koraput District of Odisha.

Suresh's (2001) exclusive work, which is close to Bhattacharya's work, titled Gadaba (Ollari) is the second work that presents the various linguistic aspects of the language. This work has been written for the Census of India, Linguistic Survey of Odisha in 2001 from pg. 575-589. This work was drafted based on the 250 words and a few sentences. The work starts with family affiliation, where the author relates the language with the Dravidian group of languages, the location of the people and with the earlier works on Ollari Gadaba language. As part of the study, he describes a few aspects of phonology, viz. inventory of phonemes, suprasegmentals, diphthongs, consonant clusters, and phonemic distribution. For the first time, he describes the presence of diphthongs that are not mentioned by the earlier researchers. The inventory of consonants is a little problematic to understand where the author gives capital letters even for the palatals and velars in the consonant chart. A few aspects of the morphology like nouns, number, case, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, tense and sentence patterns in a nutshell are described. The work is also beneficial in terms of giving the geographical distribution of the speakers in the area. In brief, the work provides new insights about the linguistic properties of the language.

Krishnamurti's (2003) *The Dravidian Languages* is a landmark in the history of Dravidian studies. The study explains various aspects of Dravidian languages starting from the first contact of the Western scholars with the Dravidian languages way back from 1520. The book gives many insights into the Dravidian culture, religion, social organization, political organization, flora and fauna and economy of the people who spoke that language and how to reconstruct a proto-language. The study illustrates on how the concept of the generic name Dravida has come into existence. The author for the first time classifies Dravidian languages into four sub-groups based on their structure and their branching off from the Proto-Dravidian language. At this point, he mentions about Ollari Gadaba language, as a separate language under the Central Dravidian languages. Though Burrow and Emeneau treat Ollari and Kondekor Gadaba as dialects of the same language, yet he has kept them apart as languages based on the Bhattacharya's monograph (where there was no mention of Kondekor Gadaba). Further, the book discusses about the phonological systems of all the twenty-six Dravidian languages and their phonemic inventories. Subsequently, the study refers about the writing system of the literary languages, their

origins, historical and comparative method of reconstruction, word formation, nominals, verb, adjectives, adverbs, clitics, and syntax in Dravidian languages.

Ramakrishna Reddy's (2013) *The Tribal Languages of Odisha* is well informative study for those who are working in Central India and especially, on the Southern Districts of Odisha like Koraput, Nabarangpur, Gajapati, Malkangiri, Kalahandi, Ganjam, Rayagada, and Kandamal. The essay mainly refers and focuses on the pluralistic nature of India in spite of all the superficial differences among cultures and languages: how linguistic tolerance leads to the bidirectional impact leading to mutual sharing of linguistic traits and the exchange of traits under the areal influence. Later he highlights the variance in the number of spoken languages in India by different enumerators as opposed to the information given by the field linguists. He elaborates the present condition of the Dravidian literary and non-literary languages and how they are spread beyond the political borders, where he mentions Gadaba language in the list of non-literary languages mostly spoken in Odisha. On the other hand, the essay concentrates on the differences between tribe, language and the community in which he gives a dichotomous classification of languages from the sociolinguistic perspectives. Later the author discusses the impact of language contact, tribal cultural heritage of Odisha, linguistic heritage, ethnicity and the language structure, Tribal lore of Odisha, the case of Kondhs, endangerment of tribal languages, their literature, and some remedial suggestions for the revival of those endangered languages.

Ramakrishna Reddy's (2016) *Odisha as a Mini Linguistic Area* is a thought-provoking study. It deals with the Central Indian situation where the exchange of linguistic traits from one language family to other language families, especially, Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic. The study primarily refers to issues like, linguistic profile of Odisha, methodology, impact and influence on each other among three language families namely Munda, Indo-Aryan, and Dravidian. In the first section of the essay, the critique primarily discusses Odisha as a homeland for many linguistic families namely Munda (Austro-Asiatic), Dravidian and Indo-Aryan (Indo-European): how they were sustaining together for centuries by exchanging the cultural and linguistic traits from one language family to another language family. They have influenced each other at lexical, phonological and grammatical levels under the areal pressure. Further, he mentions about how a Dravidian tribal language has guided the present author to identify several resemblances among Dravidian and Munda in spite

of their linguistic differences in Southern Odisha. He also highlights how illiterate active bilingualism carries the features of one language family to the other in the area and how the official languages of the areas occupy the higher layer and the indigenous languages lower layer in the social strata as a donor and recipient languages.

Subsequently, the essay briefs mainly about the 62 indigenous communities that are prevalent in the area and states that there is no one to one correspondence between the number of the languages enumerated and enlisted by different agencies like *The Scheduled Tribes Atlas* and *The Tribal Atlas*. Finally he gives the latest demographic distribution of the communities and the languages of Odisha, where he mentions about the number of speakers of Ollari Gadaba being around 15,126. He further elaborates by taking Manda as an example of how these three linguistic families have influenced each other under the areal pressure. As one looks at the Ollari Gadaba language, it has the features of Munda as well as Indo-Aryan languages under the areal pressure. The vigesimal number system of the Munda family of languages i.e. **kuṛi** (20) is also seen in the Ollari Gadaba counting system. Indo-Aryan features like nasalization and aspiration can often be seen in the language but these features have not become phonemic in the language. This shows that the language is undergoing some change due to the areal pressure, globalization, and the development of media.

2.5. Theoretical Foundations

Himmelman (2009) discusses the evolution of descriptive linguistics in the 19th century. Along with the discussion of descriptive linguistics, he also concentrates on the documentation of endangered languages and consequently calls for descriptive work on these languages. When scholars or linguists record a language, it involves two sets of activities having collection, transcription, and translation of primary data in set one and descriptive analysis of the data in set two. These two activities are interrelated for various methodological and practical reasons. Due to various reasons the first activity, i.e. documentation is neglected and the second task, i.e. describing a language is given more importance. He argues against the widespread belief and demands for a clear separation of both the activities. The basic argument for keeping the two activities separate is that the methods employed in each activity differ considerably. Further, he argues that each activity comprises of separate linguistic inquiry and research in its own right. He gives more importance to the first activity,

i.e., language documentation, which is affiliated to the field of documentary linguistics (grammar writing, dictionary compilation, and corpus building) and gives less importance to the second activity, which is the product of first activity. The former is well established in the field of descriptive linguistics. Looking at the different methods employed in both the activities, he projects the documentary activity as a distinct field of linguistic inquiry and independent research. It should not be linked to the larger field of descriptive linguistics. The practice prevalent before the publication of this article observes, documentation as an ancillary to the descriptive activity. However, now he does not want the documentary activity to continue in the status of ancillary activity.

Himmelman's idea is worth considering, because the present work sets out to write a descriptive grammar for this critically endangered language. Concerning Ollari, the primary objective is to prepare a reusable document. That itself would lead to a description of it. In the absence of a documented material of a language, one cannot do the descriptive analysis of a language. Though India is a multilingual country, accommodating numerous languages that exist side by side, their documentation has received alarmingly little importance. Consequently, it resulted in lack of experts in the field of language documentation and documentary linguistics. Due to the lack of experts in the field of language documentation in India, several tribal languages remain undocumented. These languages are storehouses of traditional knowledge and worldviews. Most of these languages are vulnerable; they are either critically endangered or on the verge of extinction. Therefore, the views of Himmelman, who champions documentary linguistics as separate field and research in its own right, are valid and justifiable. The present research expects that the same would happen in the Indian context too.

He also concentrates on language description, documentary linguistics and various issues relevant to documentation. According to him the main aim of the documentation is to record the unrecorded and unwritten languages. This involves collecting the primary data and preservation of it as a central goal, not as an ancillary procedure within another research paradigm. Language documentation as a separate field of linguistic research, proceeds based on the assumptions that the practices and traditions and culture of the given speech community are to be considered worthy of documentation, which consequently leads to offer a comprehensive record of linguistic, cultural and traditional practices of that speech community. Further, the

author argues that no single work of documentation provides the major guidelines for the data collection in this framework. One of the major theoretical challenges for documentary linguistics is that of synthesizing a coherent framework for language documentation. Later, he recommends that the primary data should be amenable for further analysis and uses. The data collection should target the documentation of location, posture of the communicating parties, gestures, meta-linguistic knowledge (native speaker's interpretations of communicative events) and artifacts. This method of documentation differs from the traditional method of text collection that concentrates on narratives and procedural texts. However, there are some areas which one cannot account for in a single communicative event. They should be obtained from morphological paradigms, expressions for number and measurement, folk taxonomies, plants, animals, musical instruments, styles, and other artifacts. He states that these things should be elicited with the cooperation of native experts and the elicitation procedure should be as natural as possible. Finally, he discusses that language documentation is not an easy task, as it was perceived earlier. The field has changed radically as one sees it today. The compiler in documentation should be acquainted with the linguistic practices of the community for a certain amount of time and only then certain demands are met by the researcher. Hence, he suggests that the compiling quality work in language documentation requires interdisciplinary cooperation and the cooperation from the members of the speech community is necessary.

Language endangerment is a relative phenomenon, in which a living language loses vitality and faces extinction. Usually, scholars have regarded a language that is not being transferred to the younger generation or not acquired as a mother tongue due to various reasons is considered as a potentially endangered language. Himmelmann (2009) exemplifies an approach to study such issues and assess language endangerment using two basic language endangerment scenarios found in the Tomini–Tolitoli languages community. In addition, he also illustrates the possible outcomes by assessing the viability of each Tomini–Tolitoli languages and major dialects. This work also draws attention to those aspects in work on language-shift and language-death that are relevant to the majority of groups in developing countries such as Indonesia. The remarkable point about this work is that it does not interpret the issue in terms of different criteria such as the number of speakers, age of speakers and homogeneity of speech community. These are termed keeping in view the

outcome of an endangerment scenario, i.e. specific and complex patterns of various factors that may be conducive to language shift and others to language maintenance. The scholars working in the field of language endangerment have identified several causes and reasons which lead to language endangerment. These reasons can be divided into two types, viz., directly observable and non-observable reasons. The first scenario of language endangerment is affirmed by Crystal (2000) through children from a community, who do not acquire the language as their mother tongue is signaled as a major important factor that contributes to language-death. Another scenario for language endangerment or language-death is a complete physical elimination of speech communities through violence, natural disaster or disease. This scenario differs radically from the language shift which is different from the physical elimination scenario proposed by Himmelmann (2009). Concerning the Ollari language, it is both the scenarios that are leading to language endangerment, i.e. children not learning the language as a mother tongue and the other factor being migration. Some of the Ollari people, who migrated into the Munda speaking areas either shifted to one of the Munda languages, prevalent in the area or Desia language which is a link language among the speakers of Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic family of languages of Central Odisha.

Naomi and Campbell (2011) discuss the structural aspects of language endangerment in the following ways: (a) contribution of language endangerment to the studies of typology and linguistic theory (b) structural consequences of language endangerment, viz. phonological, morphological and syntactical changes in the endangered languages. They mention that the main goal of linguistics is to understand the possible and impossible structures in natural languages. The understanding of these possibilities and impossibilities in languages reveal the limitations of human cognition as expressed through the language. They discuss that the study of endangered and minor languages is very important because they will contribute a lot to linguistic typology and theory by giving patterned and peculiar data on languages. If they are lost without documentation or attestation, one is bound to lose valuable information about human languages and cognition including their structures, patterns, and usages. To illustrate this information, a few following examples from North America, India, and South America are employed. For the first, by examining the Red Indian-American languages which are considered as minor and endangered languages, the following word orders, viz. VOS, OSV, and OVS were found. For the second, in

India by studying Central Indian languages, Ramakrishna Reddy (2003) discovered the object agreement in Dravidian languages which is attributed to Munda languages. By default, the Dravidian languages exhibit the subject agreement but not the object agreement. Due to extensive contact with the Austro-Asiatic languages, Kui, Kuvi, Pengo, Manda, known as *Kondh* languages acquired the features of Munda languages: object agreement with speech act participant markers like ta/da pa/ba, ka/ga and sa/ja.

Until the year 1962, the linguists around the world mostly concentrated on the structure of the language and language change at various levels. However, in the year 1962, there was a partisan between linguists, whose new formalism led them to study the language as a universal object of the study and anthropologists in the study of the politics of postcolonial representation. As a result, new models in linguistics propelled linguists to concentrate on cognitive and neuroscience and anthropologists on language like systems abandoning the notion of ‘culture’. With the publication of a number of articles in 1992 on endangered languages in *language* (Hale et al. 1992) (as quoted in Errington, 2003), the problem of language endangerment came into limelight in the United States. Steven Pinker (1994:339) a prominent cognitive neuroscientist and social Darwinist states that “every time a language dies, we lose thousands of unique insights, metaphors and other acts of genius”. He also states that along with the death of a language the right to claim their linguistic rights is also lost permanently. As globalization strengthened, hundreds of languages were marginalized; they became endangered and started dying around the world. This progressive degeneration propelled the linguists from 1992 to introspect and think about the dying languages. From then on, linguists working in the area of endangered languages have tried to describe the languages that would automatically lead to reclaiming of linguistic rights.

One of the strategies Errington (2003) discusses is ‘place-making strategy’ which refers to the role of language in constituting a place, is a very important strategy in studying language endangerment. Arguably, languages are constitutive components of culture and belong to definable geographical spaces. Therefore, the study of a language should situate it in a particular place. Only then, it would be possible to discuss the indigenusness of the community that speaks that language, the place, its culture, the shared worldviews and the ways of life. Without associating a place with a language, it is difficult to understand language endangerment and loss in its full magnitude. At the same time, language is a mark of local identity and it is the internal

makeup of lexicon that shapes up as an intimate experience and as a lived relation among the speakers' communities. As the knowledge of language refers to a sense of place, those particulars of language structure are readily circulated as the strongest evidence of existence in society. In the case of the Ollari Gadaba language, it is not an obstacle to discuss the indigenesness of the community, language endangerment, and language loss because it is situated in a particular geographical locale, where the language endangerment scenario can be studied with high accuracy.

Working for many years, on the data collected from various continents on threatened languages (languages that are at risk of falling out of use as its speakers die out or shift to other languages). Fishman (2001) tried to develop a theory, which is constructive to assess the threatened languages. He wanted to assist threatened and extinct languages through a single elaborate set of interrelated priorities that are useful for understanding and assessing the status and condition. Discussing it further, he questions whether really there are any dead languages. He emphasizes:

“as long as people remember the unspoken language, value it, yearn for it, weep for it and/or seek to undertake steps in order to re-utilize it, then the language is not dead” (2001:160).

In order to re-utilize the threatened and dead languages, there should be a living feel, affection; responsibility and motivation towards those languages. Though there are dead languages and totally forgotten languages, if an attempt is made to locate them it would be the beginning for their revival. After working on languages that have socio-cultural functions among the shrinking size of the communities, he extends his research to classical languages that lack the status of mother tongues or daily vernaculars of the speech communities. In some cases, they are religious and in others, they are robust *lingua francas*. Though they are alive, they are not fully alive, because in certain areas and functions of speech they are reduced. It is a great task to question ourselves in spite of functional reduction how they are intergenerationally transmitted from generation to generation. Furthermore, he opines that the

“fully living (languages that are spoken in the contemporary period and day-to-day communication), partly living (languages that are functionally frozen for centuries) and barely living (languages that are almost dead) categories” (2001:162).

Subsequently, the author found suggesting the dynamics of fostering the vulnerable and threatened languages and poses question as to where exactly the

revival of a dead language should start. For saving, vulnerable and threatened languages he suggests that:

“for what societal functions the language should be used, via which societal institution the language is fostered and what rewards does the institution control” (2001:162).

Since these threatened languages are minor languages they should always compete with the dominant languages of the area. The dominant language always provides certain benefits to its users. If similar benefits are promised, the threatened languages can be saved. If not all the benefits, a few benefits can be promised so that these languages can be transmitted to next generations. The domains should be strongholds like religion and school. To revive a dead language, the precondition is that the community should have young adult members, with a socio-cultural, functional, and demographic base. For these members, the language should be taught at the school level and this teaching should go beyond it. Only then, it would be possible to revive a language even if it were dead.

According to “Ethnologue” (2018) Ollari is a critically endangered language as the youngest speakers are grandparents who speak the language partially and infrequently. Therefore, there is a need for using language in everyday societal functions. One of the measurements for preserving this language is that its speakers need to be encouraged and given various incentives and rewards for using their language in important domains. To its advantage, the Ollari Gadaba community has a generation comprising of young adults. The classification available for endangered languages treated languages as a composite whole and has mostly ignored some salient aspects of them. Accordingly, Fishman (2001) proposal treats language as a single or holistic object. However, it would be grossly misleading to always treat a language as a holistic object. Since, language use is domain-specific, endangerment or the threat starts with one of such domains and slowly spreads to the others, unless there is a radical or sudden death to it.

Language is a constitutive part of the culture. Therefore, its loss manifests the loss of very unique aspects of culture. With every dying language, the human beings lose a highly distinct heritage that has socio-cultural as well as socio-cognitive manifestations. Despite the vital and constitutive role of language in building a society, a culture and moreover a nation, it is sad to note that languages die out due to both natural causes as well as coercive nature human behaviour. Language loss is not

restricted to any specific geo-cultural space; rather it has emerged as a world phenomenon. The situation is alarming and calls for a concerted effort from various governmental and non-governmental organizations. An organized effort aimed at rescuing a language from decaying and bringing it back day-to-day use is called language revitalization.

According to Huss (2008:69)

“Language loss refers to a societal or individual loss in use or in the ability to use a language, implying that another language is replacing it. On the other hand revitalization refers to an effort which tries to bring back and strengthen small and threatened languages under various circumstances”.

He explains the causes and effects of language loss and demonstrates how to revitalize minor and threatened languages. Concerning language loss, an argument that is not sustainable is ‘language contact is leading to language loss.’ This argument is weak because it implies that contact between languages is responsible for language loss and if that were absent, languages would flourish. Language contact is one of the reasons, probably an important one; however, it is not fully responsible for language loss. Contact is indispensable, as the human beings cannot live in isolation. In addition, if the speakers intend to conserve their language – it becomes possible for the language to flourish. Often, when languages are in contact, there is a clear-cut absence of power equilibrium among the speakers of the languages in contact. This leads to economic imbalance and the speakers of the minor language start considering the option of abandoning their language. On the other hand, when they decide the other way round, they would maintain loyalty for their language while getting involved in social and economic developments.

Ramakrishna Reddy (2013) observes that *Kondh* languages borrowed numerical terms from Munda and Indo-Aryan languages. It is interesting to note that the vigesimal system that is not native to Dravidian languages is present in the Central Dravidian languages. This could be possible through contact and borrowing. The higher numeral phenomenon which is vigesimal system was adopted by the Dravidian languages and Indo-Aryan languages. Manda a Dravidian language shows the Dravidian numeral only up to two or three and the rest of the numeral words are borrowed from Desia a local variety of Odia (ruṇḍi/ro ‘one’ ri ‘two’ ti:ni ‘three’). If we observe the Manda numeral system, it is evident that it has acquired the Munda

numeral system. These findings have contributed a lot to tribal language studies. It was discussed by many scholars that the major languages influence the minor languages. Nevertheless, by studying the minor languages in Central India belonging to different families of languages, it is evident that minor, tribal and small endangered languages too influence the major languages like Odia and other Dravidian languages. These findings will contribute to the language typology, i.e., classification of languages according to the linguistic features and structural changes across the languages.

While studying the endangered languages one can come across many entirely new features such as word orders, etc. As discussed by Noami and Campbell (2011:101) the discovery of a new language features by linguists is equivalent to the discovery of a new species by biologists. It is true in the case of Nivacle (Chupali), an endangered Matacoan language with 250 speakers in Argentina and 8500 speakers in Paraguay. This language has a speech sound, which is not there in any other language in the world. This speech sound is a complex sound that is composed of voiceless velar stop /**kl**/. The discovery of a new speech sound was a contribution to the International Phonetic Alphabet as well as Linguistics and Anthropology because the discovery of the new sound has a considerable typological significance, which will have implications for the general claims about the concerned languages.

Carmel O' Shannessy in "Language Contact and Change" (2011:83) opines that though there are many ways in which languages become extinct, language shift plays a major role in it. Speakers of a language become fewer and fewer and use the language in fewer domains and finally no one is there to speak the language in any context. This process sometimes is called Language Obsolescence. The obsolescence process sometimes may have impact on the structure of the endangered languages especially change and variation in speech. The change may take place at phonological, morphological, and syntactic levels. Along with the above changes there are other problems such as the concept of 'semi-speaker'. The concept is discussed by Colette Grinevald and Michel Bert (2011:50) that in most of the endangered language situations, gradual decline of speakers and fluency is one of the features. As the speakers shift to a dominant language from a minor language, the children learn the minority language imperfectly resulting in semi-speakers. This is true in the case of Ollari language. There are three Blocks, viz. Pottangi, Nandapur and Lamptaput in Koraput District of Odisha, where Ollari speakers are concentrated.

In Lamptaput Block, Ollari speakers are found to have shifted to the local dominant variety of Odia language. As they have shifted to Desia variety and Odia language, they have developed the concept of **linguicism** referred by Skutnabb Kangas (2015:1). As a result, the young generation is unable to speak the Ollari language and they have become semi-speakers in the Tokkal village.



Figure-2.3: Young generation from the Tokkal village of Lamptaput Block who have become semi-speakers

The classic *Languages in Contact* by Uriel Weinreich (1953) emphasizes that language shift is motivated by language external factors rather than by language internal ones. He also recommended that language shift should be studied in relation to its functions in the society. He also for the first time had discussed the “language loyalty” in counteracting language shift. Huss (2008:70) affirms through the discussion on the language shift and loss among the Norwegian speakers in the USA, Haugen is found mentioning the “typical process of language shift as series of stages all the way from monolingualism in a language (language A) through three bilingual stages to monolingualism in another language (language B) that is the majority language. Consider the following descriptor.

$$A > Ab > AB > aB > B$$

Bilingualism during this process is characterized as a gradual shift from minority language dominance (Ab) through equal competence in both the languages (AB) to majority language dominance (aB) leading finally to the loss of the minority language and monolingualism in the dominant language (B)”. According to Haugen’s

(1953) description of language shift is worth consideration. Concerning Ollari, the speakers in Lamptaput Block were initially monolinguals who speak only Ollari (A). Slowly, they came into contact with the local link language, Desia (Ab). Gradually, they became bilinguals in both the languages (AB) and then their own language started losing prominence (aB). The process stopped in some areas, as they have become monolinguals in the dominant language (B) in the rest. The scholars are yet to ascertain the exact reason leading to this situation. However, the following description looks plausible at the moment:

$$A > Ab > AB > aB > B$$

It is also possible that other extra-linguistic factors contributed to the situation. Susan Gal (1979) emphasis that industrialization and urbanization contributed to language laws and shift among the Hungarian-speakers in Oberwart, Austria.

It has been noted by Van (2007:304) that “not only the ideas and memes go extinct but also the entire conceptualizations of reality are wiped off the map when languages go extinct”. This stands true for Hebrew, a West Semitic language of the Israeli population. Hebrew speaking people had stopped using it in everyday interactions for the period, 200-400 BCE. When this language was on the verge of extinction, its identity and presence was wiped off in the world map of languages. It survived as the liturgical language in the medieval period. In the 19th century the speakers consciousness and determination revived it as a living language and mother tongue. In addition, it emerged to be one of the official languages of the Israeli people. There are many political and religious reasons involved in the revitalization of this language. The case of Hebrew is significant because it can inspire the speakers of minority and endangered languages, in particular the speakers of those languages of South Asia that are facing extinction. South Asia is an area of great linguistic diversity; however, many languages in this linguistic area are fast becoming extinct. In the documented and undocumented history of this region, some languages such as Pyu, with its rich epigraphic tradition in Burma, and Rangkas in the western Himalayas have become extinct. Many languages have gone the way of Pyu and Rangkas. The author further discusses the language extinction in the context of South Asia, viz. Endangered languages of the Indian subcontinent, endangered Austro Asiatic languages of the Indian subcontinent, endangered Dravidian languages of the Indian subcontinent, endangered languages of Bhutan and Sikkim, endangered languages of the Brahmaputran plain and associated hill tracts, endangered Tibeto-

Burman and Daic languages of the Indo-Burmese border lands, endangered languages of Nepal, endangered Tibeto-Burman languages of the western Indian and Pakistan Himalayas and endangered Indo-European languages of South Asia.

Language endangerment situation in Dravidian speaking areas is high. Barring the major Dravidian languages like Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu, most of the tribal languages of the areas are endangered and facing extinction. The threat of language endangerment among the minor languages of South Dravidian, Central Dravidian and North Dravidian has increased and the linguistic status of those communities is vulnerable. Among the South Dravidian languages: Irula, Toda, Kota, Badaga, Tulu, Kurumba, Koraga (Korava, Yerukala, and Kaikudi) spoken in Kerala, Tamilnadu, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. Central Dravidian languages Gondi, Konda, Manda, Pengo, Kuvi, Kui, Kolami, Naikiri, Naiki, Parji and Gadaba spoken in Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Odisha and North Andhra Pradesh and North Dravidian languages Brahui, Malto and Kurukh spoken in Pakistan, Nepal, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Odisha and West Bengal are the languages which are vulnerable.

Chapter-III

Methodology

3. Introduction

According to the existing knowledge, human languages have evolved roughly about 65,000 years ago. The evolution of man is considered with the evolution of language. The human language, since then diverged both in time and space to a number of migrations to different regions. The diversification of these further has resulted in a number of languages and the then families that exist today. Most of these languages that exist in the form of families on the earth – at present – started their journey as minor or indigenous languages. In the course of time, some languages have evolved as in the forms administration, power, liturgical, courts, and *lingua franca*. Some languages are restricted to home domains and some of them have become extinct due to different socio, political and economic and natural reasons. Based on the status of a language, one should never malign or denigrate a language or a language speaker that their languages are inferior, impure, ungrammatical and uncultured. Each language is important and worth for research. Each community that bears a language has a separate way of perceiving the world and codifying the culture in that language. It is the job of the language scientist to preserve and document the language and its culture.

3.1. Purpose and Need for the Study

It has been observed by Sapir (1921:7) that “Language is a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions, and desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols”. It is not only the system of communication, but it is the carrier of knowledge to the future generations. If the language is endangered, the knowledge system involved in it will be lost forever. Therefore, there is a need for the study of these minor and unattested languages. As we are discussing every alternative day about the eco-diversity or biodiversity, we also need to discuss about linguistic diversity. Simultaneously, Mohanty (2015) mentions that the “Eco-diversity or Biodiversity is possible in India only when linguistic diversity is maintained”.

The reason for the coordination of these two enterprises is reciprocal. The communities who live in the lap of nature know about the ecosystem which is codified in the language. For example, Panchanan Mohanty, a Professor of linguistics at Centre for Applied Linguistics and Translation Studies at University of Hyderabad, conducted a small survey on the ecosystem of the campus at the School of Humanities, University of Hyderabad with 20 students in the year 2013. Many of the students responded in the survey that they do not know the names of the various plants and their uses. Hence, they said that they would cut them and construct a lawn in that place. Therefore, the survey strongly supports that maintaining linguistic diversity is a must in order to maintain the eco-diversity. Along with the ecosystem, their culture, their traditions, perception of the world is expressed through language which is related to ecology. If an attempt is made to study these minor languages one can stop the loss of ecology, knowledge system involved in it, traditions, culture and ultimately the language.

3.2. Aim of the Study

Different types of classifications are available on the levels of language endangerment in India and abroad. The classifications are as follows:-

3.2.1. UNESCO's Classification of Endangered Languages (UNESCO's Language Vitality and Endangerment Frame Work, 2011):

1. Safe – Language is spoken by all generations; intergenerational transmission is uninterrupted.
2. Vulnerable – Most children speak the language, but it may be restricted to certain domains.
3. Definitely endangered – Children no longer learn the language as mother tongue in the home.
4. Severely endangered – language is spoken by grandparents – older generations; while the parent generation may understand it, but they do not speak it to the children or among themselves.
5. Critically endangered – The youngest speakers are grandparents and they speak the language partially and infrequently.
6. Extinct – There are no speakers left.

3.2.2. Classification of Endangered Languages in accordance to (Sasse, 1992:18):

1. A – Abandoned language (a language which is dying out).
2. T – Target language (a language which is continued).
3. Primary language (a language with higher degree of lexical grammatical and pragmatic competence)
4. Secondary language – (a language with lower degree of lexical, grammatical and pragmatic competence).

3.2.3. Christopher Moseley's Classification of Endangered Languages. According to (Moseley, 2007: xii) endangered languages are classified into five types:

1. Potentially endangered – Language which usually implies a lack of prestige in the home country, economic deprivation, pressure from the larger languages in the public sphere and socially fragmented in the private sphere, to the extent that language is not being systematically passed on in the educational system.
2. Endangered – Where the youngest fluent speakers tend to be young adults, and there is a disjunction in passing on the languages to the children, especially in the school and even in the home environment.
3. Seriously/Severely endangered – The youngest fluent speakers being among the older generation aged fifty and above implying a loss of prestige and social value over a generation age.
4. Moribund – Only a tiny proportion of the ethnic group speaking the language, mostly – the very aged.
5. Extinct – Where no speakers remain. This last category means that a language whose existence is remembered by living people in the community merits inclusion because there is at least the faint or theoretical possibility of revival.

Following UNESCO's classification of language vitality and language endangerment framework, "Ethnologue", languages of the world, listed Ollari Gadaba under the critically endangered category. Based on the criticality of the language endangerment, the present study proposes to write a descriptive grammar of the language spoken in the Koraput District of Odisha, the first linguistic state in India

before independence. The methodology used for studying the language belongs to the field of descriptive linguistics.

3.3. Scope of the Study

The present study is a modest attempt to attest the descriptive grammar of the Ollari Gadaba language and look at the language endangerment scenario of the present situation. It is limited to write the descriptive grammar of the language but not to the study of the dialects of the language. According to Steever (1998:9) three languages are available in the area, viz., Ollari Gadaba is spoken in Odisha, (Koṇḍēkōr) Gadaba is spoken in Andhra Pradesh and Poya spoken in Odisha and Andhra Pradesh. Earlier scholars like Bhattacharya and Bhaskararao (1980) reported that these three varieties, as dialects of the same language called Gadaba but Krishnamurti (2003:19) separates Ollari Gadaba and (Koṇḍēkōr) Gadaba as separate languages and does not mention anything about Poya. Since there are language and dialect controversies, the study does not include studying the dialectal variations of the language.

3.4. Area and Method of Data Collection

For the present study, four areas are selected, viz., Lamtaput, Nandapur, Semiliguda and Pottangi Blocks of Koraput District of Odisha. Tokkal from Lamtaput, Pandriguda and Gugaguda from Nandapur and Hatguda and Peepalguda are from Pottangi are selected for collecting the data. A total of five months of duration was spent for collecting the data. The first field study covered most of the villages of the Lamtaput Block conducted from October to November, 2014. The second fieldwork lasted for one month covering most of the villages in the Nandapur Block in February 2015. The third field study was conducted between January and February of 2016. The third fieldwork was very fruitful in collecting the data and identifying new villages of Ollari Gadaba people. A well-prepared questionnaire and data elicitation method were used for collecting the data. Along with the data elicitation method, participant observation method and bilingual methods were used in eliciting the data. The data were recorded with the permission of the community for the transcription and cross-checking purposes. The collected data is transcribed into narrow transcription using the International Phonetic Alphabet.

3.5. Number of Informants

As it was mentioned in the earlier literature most of the indigenous people in the Koraput District of Odisha are bilinguals and some of them are trilinguals too. Many an informant was selected ranging between three generations aged between 15-25, 25-45 and 45 -60 for the purpose to see the level of fluency in their mother tongue. The data were not collected in isolation with a single informant but involved the family members who were between and above the ages mentioned. In Lamptaput, Dimai Sisa family, In Gugaguda, Dhannu Guga family and in Peepalguda, Mukund Chapdi and Mnikanta Chapadi family, and Raju Oyal family from Tolaiguda have provided the data. Most of the informants met in the field are from agricultural background. To work in the area, one has to realize that, informants will not be available during the weekly market days which are the main source of income to support their families.

3.6. Questionnaire:

The questionnaire used in the study is taken from the Central Institute of Indian Languages. It is specially designed for the **Scheme for the Protection and Preservation of Endangered Languages** and for the documentation of all the mother tongues in India spoken by less than 10000 speakers. The questionnaire is designed with utmost care for the Indian language situation. This questionnaire is very simple and different from other questionnaires like Lingua descriptive questionnaire and Morrish Swadesh word list. The questionnaire aims to collect the ethnolinguistic information, lexical and grammatical information.

Under the ethnolinguistics and lexical category, forty-three semantic domains of the language are aimed to be collected. The words are given in English according to the category in a tabular form. All these forty-three semantic fields at the best cover the whole language. If anything comes spontaneously in the field one has to insert them along with a given word list under the particular category. The words include human body parts, kinship terms and reference terms, time, seasons, weather, directions, color terms, housing and related, food and related, drinks and beverages, transport and related, number, gender and classifier, health, ailments and remedies, occupation and related, fire and related, air and related, earth and related, water and related, celestial bodies and related, measurements (distance, quality, liquid, volume

and powder), shapes and sizes, cardinal numbers, ordinal numbers, birds and related, domestic animals and related, wild animals and related, reptiles, rodents and related, flies and insects, animal body parts, fish and its types, herbs grasses and weeds, climbers and creepers, trees and its types, fruits and seeds, flowers and related, vegetables, sports, games and entertainments, musical instruments, religious and ritual terms, festivals and related, adornments and customs, artifacts and daily used items, education and related, metals and related, reduplicatives, interrogatives, pronouns, qualitative adjectives, adverbs, function words, motion verbs and stative verbs. Under the sentence category, the following sentences are collected from the different categories of sentences. Conditional and coordination, exclamatory/emphasis/focus, interrogatives, causatives/double causatives, passives/inabilitatives, converbs, case, tense/aspect/mood, negatives & prohibitives, reduplication, inclusive/exclusive, adverbs, quantifiers and intensifiers, numbering, reflexives and reciprocals, adjectival clause: relativization, participial construction, classifiers, pronouns, verb paradigm, pronouns and demonstratives, gerundial construction/nominalized verb forms/verbal nouns, complex predicates, comparatives and superlatives, ad-positions and inter clausal relations. All the information gathered from three areas, viz., ethnolinguistic information, lexical words from different domains of language and sentences from different categories of the language are used for writing the descriptive grammar of the language.

3.7. Organization of the Thesis:

The organization of the thesis will be followed as mentioned below:

Chapter 1: Introduction

It gives the description of the Ollari community, their literacy, locality, demographic picture of the population, cultural features, way of living, livelihood, etc.

Chapter 2: Review of Literature

It deals with the Dravidian languages with special reference to Ollari as an endangered language and earlier works on Ollari Gadaba.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter discusses in detail about the informants and the way data were collected.

Chapter 4: Phonology

It deals with the various aspects of phonology in terms of inventory, distribution and the processes involved.

Chapter 5: Morphology

It discusses the morphological processes of the language involving inflection and derivation.

Chapter 6: Syntax

This will discuss the basic sentence types and their functions.

Chapter 7: Convergence

The chapter deals with the non-Dravidian element that entered into the language into various aspects besides convergence features and language endangerment.

CHAPTER-IV PHONOLOGY

4. Introduction

This chapter presents the sound system of Ollari Gadaba language. It includes inventory of phonemes, consonant clusters, syllable structures and suprasegmental features such as vowel length and nasalization.

As quoted by Bhattacharya (1957:10) and Krishnamurti (2003:57), Ollari Gadaba has 34 phonemes. In the present study the inventory of 22 consonants and 5 short vowels and 5 long vowels are presented in the table below along with the low-mid short vowel.

Ollari Gadaba has eleven vowels.

4.1. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i i:		u u:
Mid	e e:		o o:
Low mid			ɔ
Low		a a:	

Table-4.1: Vowel Phonemes in Ollari Gadaba

Like the other Dravidian languages, Ollari Gadaba has both short and long vowels. The common five-vowel system can be seen in it. Length is phonemic in the language. As the length has restriction in occurrence, it occurs in the initial and medial positions.

Word initial	word medial	word final
a :m 'we'	ki:s 'fire'	_____

In a note on Ollari Gadaba, submitted to the Census of India by Suresh (2001:576) reports that length occurs even in the final position. For example, /muMga:/ 'nose'. The short vowels are /i/, /e/, /u/, /o/, /a/; of which /i/, and /e/ are front vowels and /u/, and /o/ are back vowels. Only one central vowel is available, i.e. /a/ and it is very frequent. Along with these five short and five long vowels, another back low mid vowel /ɔ/used in Odia is also found in the language as a phoneme. This

vowel is found in the description of earlier linguists who worked on the language but it is not phonemic. Bhattacharya (1957:9) also reported that “middle (ɔ) has been recorded in a few loan-words like /ɔləken/ 'a little' and /bəl/ 'good'.

4.1.1. Description of Vowels

/i/	high	front	unrounded short vowel
/e/	high mid	front	unrounded short vowel
/u/	high	back	rounded short vowel
/o/	high mid	back	rounded short vowel
/ɔ/	back	low mid	rounded short vowel
/a/	central	low	unrounded short vowel

4.1.2. Allophonic Variation and Distribution of Vowels

The vowels do not have any specific allophonic variation but sometimes have restrictions on their distribution.

/i/ occurs in the following environments.

word initial	word medial	word final
irid 'crab'	kəcim 'tortoise'	ulli 'onion'

/e/ occurs in the following environments.

word initial	word medial	word final
elub 'white ant'	sepul 'meet'	pandake 'frog'

/u/ occurs in the following environments.

word initial	word medial	word final
ukur 'one man'	bulul 'berries'	toru 'rope'

/o/ occurs in the following environments.

word initial	word medial	word final
odur 'marriage'	kobi 'cabbage'	kako 'elder sister'

/a/ occurs in the following environments.

word initial	word medial	word final
asmal 'woman'	lator 'lantern'	muta 'old'

/ɔ/ occurs in the following environments.

word initial	word medial	word final
ɔmrut 'papaya'	pɔdɔm 'palm'	pɔdmɔ 'lotus'

4.1.3. Vowel Chart

Vowels	Word initial	Word medial	Word final
/i/	✓	✓	✓
/e/	✓	✓	✓
/a/	✓	✓	✓
/u/	✓	✓	✓
/o/	✓	✓	✓
/ɔ/	✓	✓	✓
/ɪ/	✓	✓	✗

Table -4.2: Vowel Occurrence Chart

4.1.4. Vowel Contrasts

The series of vowels in Ollari has three places of articulation, which includes front, central and back.

a. Higher: Lower

/i/ : /e/

din 'day' pita 'bitter' meki 'to wander'

des 'earth' peta 'next' mege 'goat'

/e/ : /a/

eɣen 'how' ver 'root' munde 'rabbit'

aɣe 'to slap' var 'to come' manda 'a group of animals'

/i/ : /a/

guli 'blind woman' sin 'to give'

gula 'blind man' san 'to die'

u/ : /o/

ul 'wool' buɣi 'sister'

ol 'to dry' boɣi 'navel'

/o/ : /a/

ol 'to dry' cori 'to steal'

al 'there' cari 'four'

b. Back: Back

/u/	:	/ɔ/		
dɔluŋ		'fat'	gaʝul	'bangles'
dɔlɔŋ		'thick'	gaʝɔr	'carrot'
/o/	:	/ɔ/		
cator		'umbrella'		
cadɔr		'shawl'		

c. Short: Long

/i/	:	/i:/		
pir		'spinach'	tin	'to eat'
pi:r		'grass'	ti:n	'honey'
/e/	:	/e:/		
ber		'big'		
be:r		'elder'		
/o/	:	/o:/		
kor		'hen'	goɾa	'horse'
ko:r		'horn'	go:ɖi	'pebble'
/u/	:	/u:/		
guɖi		'temple'		
gu:ɖe		'nest'		
/a/	:	/a:/		
pal		'tooth'	am	'we'
pa:l		'milk'	a:m	'to yawn'

Length contrast was not found for the open mid back vowel /ɔ/.

4.2. Diphthongs

Bhattacharya (1957:9) and Suresh (2007:576) reported that diphthongs are found in the borrowed words like /peTia/ 'belly' and /dumriandar/ 'fog'. Both of them did not mention which diphthongs are present in the language. In the present data, diphthongs are found in monosyllabic and disyllabic words along with the borrowed words. Some of the words can be seen below.

beria	‘mother’s elder sister’	məŋja	‘middle’
paɪŋil	‘winter’	bəɪgəni	‘purple’
dəi	‘curd’	bəira	‘deaf’
tailor	‘tailor’	məɪŋil	‘peacock’
moinə tite	‘parrot’	məisi	‘buffalo’
cəuki	‘chair’	pandəi	‘shoe’
bəŋəi	‘lock’	augul	‘those’
səi	‘die’	təi	‘faint’
pauc	‘staircase’		

Krishnamurti (1969:212) states that in some of the Dravidian languages like Konda have vowel sequences rather than the diphthongs. He states that most of the vowel sequences occur in compound words. In the present data, vowel sequences are seen in some of the non-compound words.

nilua	‘blue’	piana	‘peon’
wa:in	‘rain’	kuida	‘call’
paun	‘over’	pujan	‘know’

4.3. Consonants

The table of consonants follow the conventional form of presentation in which the places of articulation are mentioned on the horizontal axis and the manners of articulation are on the vertical axis. Aspirated sounds are found in the language, but speakers have been found using them with or without aspiration.

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	palatal	Velar
Stop	p b	t d		ʈ ɖ		k g
Affricate					ʧ ʣ	
Nasal	m		n	ɳ		ŋ
Trill			r			
Flap				ɽ		
Lateral			l	ɭ		
Sibilants			s z			
Semi consonants	w				j	

Table-4.3: Consonant Phonemes in Ollari Gadaba

Bhattacharya (1957:10) and Krishnamurti (2003:57) mention that Ollari Gadaba has four pairs of stops /p b t d ʈ dʱ/ and /k g/, one pair of palatals /c ɟ/, four nasals /m n ŋ ɳ/, one trill /r/, two lateral /l ɭ/ one flap /ɽ/, two sibilants /s z/ and two semi consonants /y v/. The affricates /ts dz/ are said to have a marginal status, occurring mainly in loanwords. The pair of affricates is not found in the present data collected in the three Blocks of Koraput District of Odisha. For the description of phonology, Krishnamurti (1969) adopted a framework, which is used for the representation of Konda language.

4.3.1. Description of Consonants

Stops

The description of stops in Ollari Gadaba as follows.

/p/	stop	bilabial	voiceless
/b/	stop	bilabial	voiced
/t/	stop	dental	voiceless
/d/	stop	dental	voiced
/ʈ/	stop	retroflex	voiceless
/dʱ/	stop	retroflex	voiced
/k/	stop	velar	voiceless
/g/	stop	velar	voiced

Affricates

/c/	affricate	palatal	voiceless
/ɟ/	affricate	palatal	voiced

Nasals

/m/	nasal	bilabial	voiced
/n/	nasal	dental	voiced
/ŋ/	nasal	retroflex	voiced
/ɳ/	nasal	velar	voiced

Trill

/r/	trill	alveolar	voiced
-----	-------	----------	--------

Flap

/ɾ/	flap	retroflex	voiced
-----	------	-----------	--------

Laterals

Two laterals are available in the language. One is alveolar and the second one is retroflex.

/l/	lateral	alveolar	voiced
/ɭ/	lateral	retroflex	voiced

Sibilants

These two sounds are produced more like apico-alveolar than the apico-domal in the language. These vary with the affricates.

/s/	sibilant	alveolar	voiceless
/z/	sibilant	alveolar	voiced

Semi-Consonants

Ollari /v/ is bilabial than the labiodentals. This sound is similar to Telugu /w/ in /nawwu/ ‘laugh’. The other sound is palatal one.

/w/	Semi-consonant	bilabial	voiced
/j/	Semi-consonant	palatal	voiced

4.3.2. Allophonic Variation and Distribution of Consonants

Ollari is vowel as well as consonant ending language. The environments given below include all the three positions, viz. initial, medial and final positions. Allophonic variation is very rare and is given wherever it occurs.

/p/ has the allophone [p] and [p^h] and occurs in the following environments.

- i) initially before vowels
pɔg ‘smoke’
- ii) medially between vowels
sepul ‘flesh’
- iii) finally before vowels
sup ‘salt’
- iv) medially after homorganic nasal
b^humikɔmpɔn ‘earth quake’
- v) medially in clusters
kopre-ki ‘forearm’

- vi) initially with aspiration
p^hunkul 'bones'

/b/ has the allophone [b] and [b^h]

It occurs in the following environments.

- i) initially before vowels
bɔi 'book'
- ii) medially in the cluster
debri 'left'
- iii) word final position
amb 'arrow'
- iv) medially in gemination
rɔbbɔr 'eraser'
- v) medially after homorganic nasal
ɟɔmbilɔ 'kingfisher'
- vii) Aspiration in the beginning
b^humikɔmpɔn 'earth quake'

/t/ occurs in the following environments.

- i) initially before vowels
tite 'bird'
- ii) Medially in clusters
murtɪl 'sculpture'
- iii) final position
ɔmrut 'papaya'
- iv) medially in gemination
muttak 'old man'
- v) medially after homorganic nasal
g^hɔnta 'hour'

/d/ occurs in the following environments.

- i) initially before vowels
darpun 'mirror'
- ii) medially between the vowels
ada 'ginger'
- iii) in the word final position

- p^hɔnd 'mouth'
- iv) medially in gemination
sidd^ha 'short cut'
- v) medially after the homorganic nasal
kendal 'branch'
- vi) medially in the cluster
nirdin 'last year'

/t/ occurs in the environments given below.

- i) initially before vowels
tɔpi 'cap'
- ii) medially between the vowels
waɬonɾi 'dry'
- iii) in the word final position
sikaɬ 'dark'
- iv) medially after the homorganic nasal
gonɬɔ 'period bell'
- v) medially in the cluster
pakɬal 'day'

/d/ occurs in the following environments.

- i) initially before vowels
ɖapu 'drum'
- ii) medially between the vowels
kuɖup 'well'
- iii) in the word final position
magindɭ 'husband'
- iv) medially after the homorganic nasal
undup 'to transplant'
- v) medially in the cluster
gaɖli 'neck'

/k/ occurs in the following environments.

- i) initially before vowels
kor 'hen'

- ii) medially between the vowels
almukun 'fox'
- iii) in the word final position
poluk 'village'
- iv) medially after the homorganic nasal
kɔranke 'prawn'
- v) medially in the cluster
isku:l 'school'
- i) in initial clusters
klɔs 'class'

/g/ occurs in the following environments.

- i) initially before vowels
guŋuni 'wasp'
- ii) medially between the vowels
maigin 'mango'
- iii) in the word final position
enig 'elephant'
- iv) medially after the homorganic nasal
enger 'how many'
- v) medially in the cluster
ɔrgun 'yesterday'

/c/ occurs in the following environments.

- i) initially before vowels
cima 'ant'
- ii) medially between the vowels
kɔcim 'tortoise'
- iii) in the word final position
panc 'five'
- iv) medially in the gemination
kɔcco 'owl'
- v) medially in the cluster
murca 'epilepsy'

/j/ occurring in the following environments.

- i) initially before vowels
jodek 'two'
- ii) Medially between the vowels
beja 'tomoto'
- iii) in the word final position
iliɟ 'bear'
- iv) medially after the homorganic nasal
banja 'sister's son'
- v) medially in the cluster
birɟi 'bridge'

/m/ occurs in the following environments.

- i) initially before vowels
mɔli 'yasmine'
- ii) medially between the vowels
ɟitkimela 'lightning'
- iii) in the word final position
narkam 'night'
- iv) medially before the homorganic nasal
kumbir 'crocodile'
- v) medially in the cluster
asmal 'woman'

/n/ occurs in the following environments.

- i) initially before vowels
nitren 'daily'
- ii) medially between the vowels
kanar 'thief'
- iii) in the word final position
man 'sand'
- iv) medially in gemination
ennet 'so much'

/ŋ/ occurs in the following environments.

- i) medially between the vowels
natuŋi 'great great grand daughter'
- ii) in the word final position
kaŋ 'eye'

/ŋ/ occurs in the following environments.

- i) medially in clusters
wɔŋul 'knee'
- ii) in the word final position
tonɕunuŋ 'tomorrow'

/r/ occurs in the following environments.

- ii) initially before vowels
reka 'petal'
- iii) medially between the vowels
kɔranke 'prawn'
- iv) in the word final position
netir 'blood'
- v) medially in gemination
errmen 'whoever'
- vi) medially before the homorganic nasal
karla 'bitter gourd'
- vii) medially in the clusters
katra 'scissors'

/l/ occurs in the following environments.

- i) initially before vowels
lasɔni 'garlic'
- ii) medially between the vowels
selal 'mother's sister's daughter'
- iii) in the word final position
sitɔl 'deer'
- iv) medially in gemination
kollu 'comb'

- v) medially after the homorganic nasal
karla 'bitter gourd'

/ʎ/ occurs medially between vowels.

- i) medially between the vowels
muʎa 'radish'

/ɽ/ occurs in the following environments.

- i) medially between the vowels
koɽal 'son's wife'
- ii) in the word final position
kanɽ 'stone'
- iii) medially in the cluster
makɽi 'monkey'

/w/ occurs in the following environments.

- i) initially before vowels
wele 'sun'
- ii) medially between the vowels
cʰɔndɔwa 'tent'
- iii) medially in the clusters
kadwil 'broom'

/j/ occurs in the following environments.

- i) medially between the vowels
kijub 'knife'
- ii) in the word final position
muj 'to cover'
- iii) medially in the clusters
kolja 'jackal'

/s/ occurs in the following environments.

- i) initially before vowels
sepul 'flesh'
- ii) in the word final position
panis 'jack fruit'

- iii) medially in the clusters
laskuṛi 'touch me not'

/z/ occurs in the following environments.

- i) in the word final position
urz 'to perspire'
- ii) medially in the clusters
banzi 'barren'

4.3.3. Consonant Chart

Consonants	Word initial	Word medial	Word final
/p/	✓	✓	✓
/b/	✓	✓	✓
/t/	✓	✓	✓
/d/	✓	✓	✓
/t̪/	✓	✓	✓
/d̪/	✓	✓	✓
/k/	✓	✓	✓
/g/	✓	✓	✓
/c/	✓	✓	✓
/ɟ/	✓	✓	✓
/m/	✓	✓	✓
/n/	✓	✓	✓
/ɳ/	✗	✓	✓
/ŋ/	✗	✓	✓
/r/	✓	✓	✓
/l/	✓	✓	✓
/v/	✓	✓	✗
/j/	✗	✓	✓
/s/	✓	✓	✓
/z/	✗	✓	✓
/ʃ/	✗	✓	✗

Table-4.4: Consonant Occurrence Chart

4.3.4. Consonant Contrasts

Stops

/p/ : /b/

pəl	'fruit'	par	'to fall'	karup	'sunshine'	sepul	'flesh'
bəl	'good'	ber	'big'	karab	'bad'	dabul	'money'

/t/ : /d/

tin	'to eat'	tiren	'sweet'	lator	'lantern'	wət	'diamond'
din	'day'	diren	'slowly'	cadər	'shawl'	wəd	'ring'

/tʃ/ : /dʃ/

kaʃli	'bed'	kiʃe	'waist'	kaʃ	'to build'		
gaʃli	'neck'	kuʃe	'straw roof'	kaʃa	'stick for game'		

/k/ : /g/

pok	'to answer'	kal	'leg'	kollu	'comb'	lok	'man'
pog	'smoke'	gal	'rhinoceros'	golla	'penis'	rog	'disiese'

Palatals

/c/ : /j/

panc	'five'	accar	'pickle'
banja	'sister's son'	gajər	'carrot'

Nasals

/m/ : /n/

mal	'daughter'	kamar	'black smth'	b'am	'snake'
nal	'kennel'	kanar	'thief'	man	'sand'

/n:/ : /ŋ/

kanɕ	'stone'	kanar	'thief'
kaŋa	'whole'	kaŋa	'blind man'

/n/ : /ŋ/

muna	'bag'	tipen	'fore skin'
muŋa	'pollen'	tapeŋa	'a type of ant'

Laterals

/l/ : /r/

kumal	'potter'	nu:r	'to wear'	nil	'to stand'	wal	'sun'
kamar	'black smith'	nu:l	'thread'	nir	'water'	war	'come'

$$\mathbb{N} \quad : \quad \mathbb{N}!$$

4.3.6. Overview of Consonant Sequences

It has been noted by Krishnamurti (2003:107) that the word initial clusters are not native to the Dravidian languages and Proto Dravidian does not have initial consonant clusters. Further, Krishnamurti (56) asserts that none of the Central Dravidian languages shows either apical consonants or consonant clusters word-initially in the native vocabulary. Additionally, he states that this characteristic feature distinguishes the other South Dravidian II languages from Central Dravidian languages. South Dravidian II languages (Kui, Kuvi, Pengo and Manda) have word initial clusters. Based on this, Steever (1998:6-13) states that this characteristic feature helped the linguists to classify the Dravidian languages into four subgroups in which the first group that was branched off was North Dravidian followed by Central Dravidian. Bhaskararao (1980:25) states that in Saluru Gadaba the “consonant clusters never occur word initial positions”. He also states that there are no initial clusters in the data that he had collected in Salur Gadaba language. In the data shown below three examples are found while transcribing and analyzing the data. Consonant clusters made of voiced and voiceless consonants (C1C2).

4.3.7. List of Medial Consonant Sequences

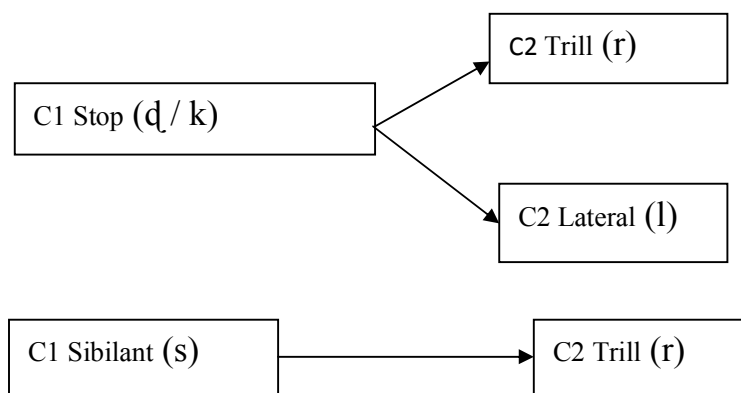
/p/	pɽ	tipɽa	‘drop’
	pn	dupni	‘incense stick’
	pr	kopre-ki	‘forearm’
/b/	bb	rɔbbɔr	‘eraser’
	bl	tɔble	‘table’
	br	debri-ki,	‘left hand’
/t/	tɸ	geɸbal	‘boat man’
	tɸk	kiɸki	‘window’
	tɽ	bɔɽra cenal	‘bengal gram’
/c/	cc	accar	‘pickle’
/d/	dd	k ^h adda	‘stick’
	dk	padkal	‘feet’
	dg	pudgul	‘lungs’
	dl	bɔdli	‘elder wife’
	dm	enadmen	‘anything’

	dr	sadram	‘flat’
	dw	kadwil	‘broom’
	dj	udjan	‘east’
/t/	rg	soɾgul	‘lands for cultivation’
	ɾd	muɾde	‘boil’
	ɾk	ɾoɾka	‘snake gourd’
	ɾp	goɾpaɾi	‘anklet’
	ɾs	kaɾse	‘cooked rice’
	ɾt	ɔɾtɔl	‘morning’
	ɾs	kaɾsid	‘wood’
/d/	qɾ	qɾuka	‘tiger’
	qɾ	kodɾoŋ	‘throat’
	qɿ	gaqɿli	‘neck’
/g/	gd	dagdɔr	‘doctor’
	gt	laigt	‘torch’
	gl	agle	‘pot’
	gn,	agni	‘fire’
/ŋ/	ŋg	paŋgi	‘rotten’
/k/	kg	nɔkgul	‘claws’
	kɾ	makɾi	‘monkey’
	kl	klɔs	‘class’
	kj	lɔkja	‘lakh’
	kt	paktal	‘afternoon’
	ks	sɔks	‘socks’
/l/	lɾ	balɾi	‘kettle’
	lb	elbul	‘white ants’
	ld	ɔldi	‘yellow’
	lj	kolja	‘jackal’
	lk	ulka	‘wave’
	ll	ulle	‘house’
	lm	almukun	‘fox’
	lp	ɔlpuɾa	‘yatara’ celebrated with all the villagers
	lr	kɔɟalromal	‘great grand-daughter’
	ls	pulsɔra	‘garland’

	lt	kuigultun	‘leg pits’
/m/	mb	ambuɽi	‘mother’s sister’s son’
	md	sɔmdi	‘son’s father-in-law’
	mɽ	kamɽi	‘snake charmer’
	mg	imgul	‘you’ (plural)
	ml	kɔmla	‘orange’
	mp	b ^h umikɔmpɔn	‘earthquake’
	mr	ɔmrut	‘papaya’
/n/	nc ^h	benc ^h	‘bench’
	nd	c ^h andana	‘sandalwood’
	nɽ	gɔnɽɔ	‘period bell’
	ndɭ	undɭp	‘to transplant’
	nɽ	bursunɽi	‘mosquito’
	nɽ	banɽa	‘sister’s son,
	nk	kɔranke	‘prawn’
	nl	sɔnli	‘husband younger wife’
	nn	enner	‘so many’
	ns	ɔnseɽi	‘to fast’
	nt	bonta	‘mat’
	nw	banwa	‘hunter’
	nj	gunja	‘priest’
/ŋ/	ŋk	kegiŋkɔm	‘to chant’
	ŋl	aiŋlil	‘cold’
/r/	rb	asirbad	‘blessing’
	rc	murca	‘epilepsy’
	rd	nirdin	‘last’
	rg	kɔrgil	‘bamboo shoots’
	rj	mirja	‘pepper’
	rk	narkam	‘night’
	rl	karla	‘bitter gourd’
	rm	sagirma	‘desiya tonic’
	rn	erne	‘whose’
	rp	darpun	‘mirror’
	rr	arrak	‘arrack’

	rs	børsek	‘year’
	rt	kurtum	‘leech’
	rz	urz	‘to perspire’
/s/	sk	isku:l	‘school’,
	sl	maslò	‘spice’
	sm	asmal	‘woman’
	sn	besni	‘pouch’
	sr	sriŋaɫ	‘black’
	st	misturi	‘carpenter’
	sj	basja	‘lunatic’
/t/	tk	jitkimela	‘lightning’
	tn	pitneniŋ	‘day after tomorrow’
	tp	ketpak	‘widower’
	tt	nettraɫ	‘red’
	tr	katra	‘scissor’

4.3.8. Description of Initial Consonant Sequences



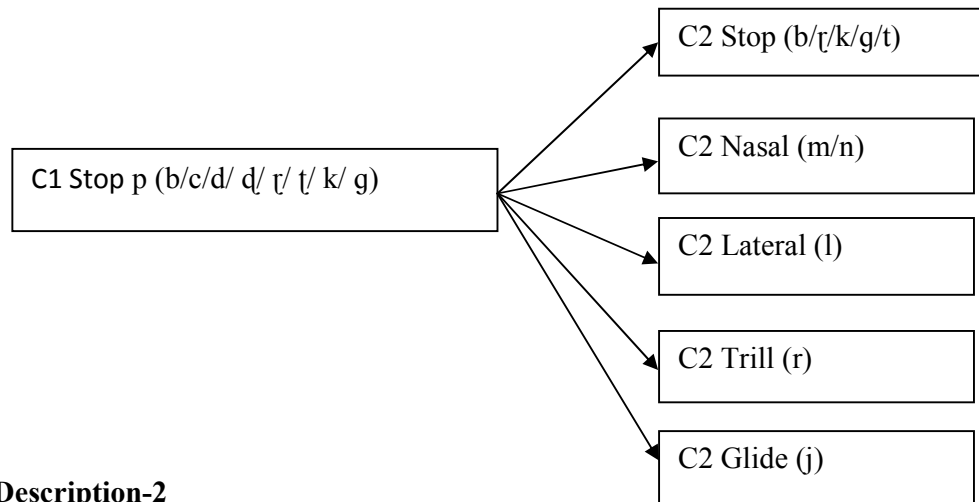
The phonotactic constraint in word initial consonant clusters is that if C1 is a stop then the C2 is none other than a liquid or a trill. If the C1 is a fricative then C2 must be a trill. Obstruent and sonorant pattern is available in the word initial consonant sequences.

4.3.9. Description of Word Medial Consonant Sequences

a. Description-1

If C1 is stop (p/b/t/d/ɖ/ʈ/k/g)

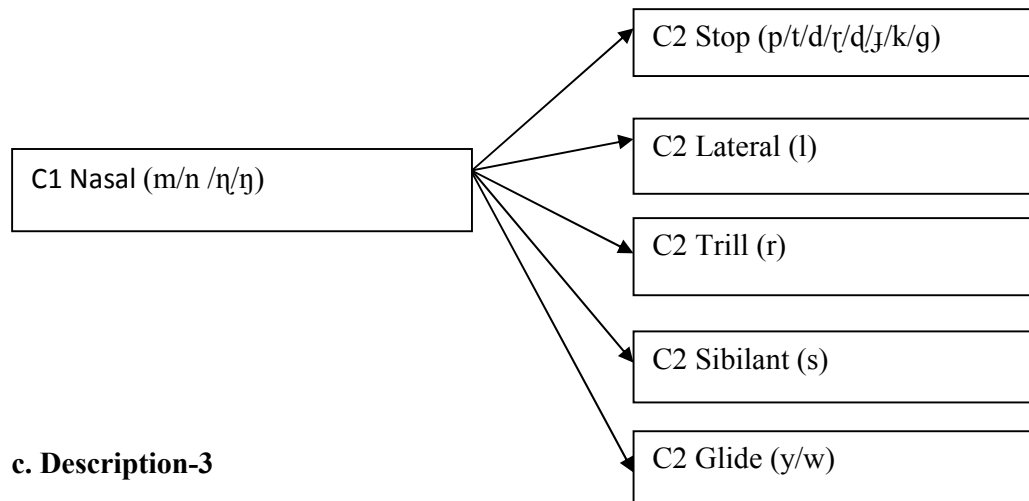
C2 will be stop (b/ʈ/k/g/t)/ nasal (m/n)/ lateral (l)/ trill (r)/ glide (j)



b. Description-2

If C1 is nasal (m/n /ŋ/ɳ)

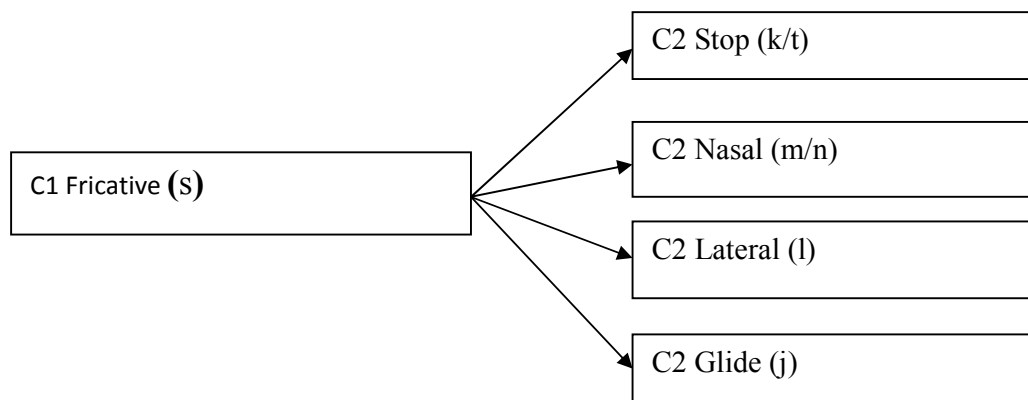
C2 will be stop (p/t/d/ ɾ/ d/ ʝ/k/g) /lateral (l) /trill (r)/ sibilant (s)/ glide (j/w)



c. Description-3

If C1 is sibilant (s)

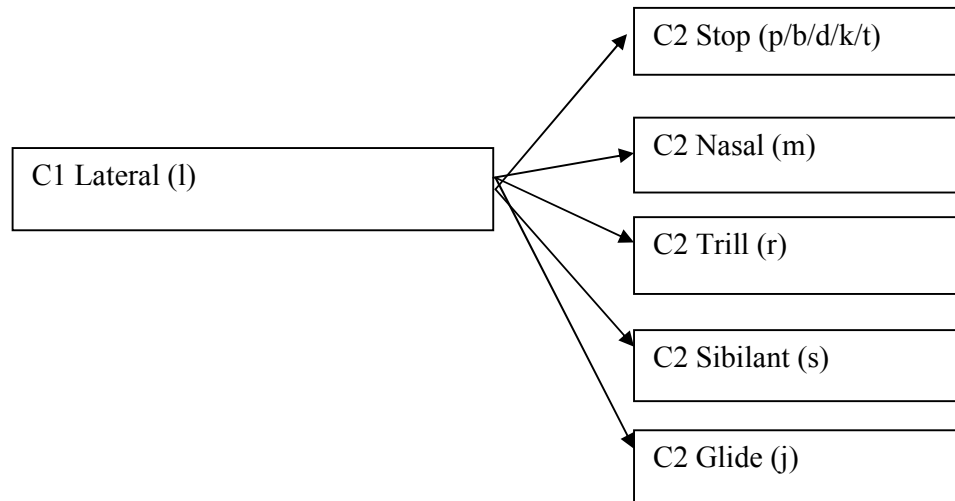
C2 will be either stop (k/t) / nasal (m/n) /lateral (l) /glide (j)



d. Description-4

If C1 is lateral (l)

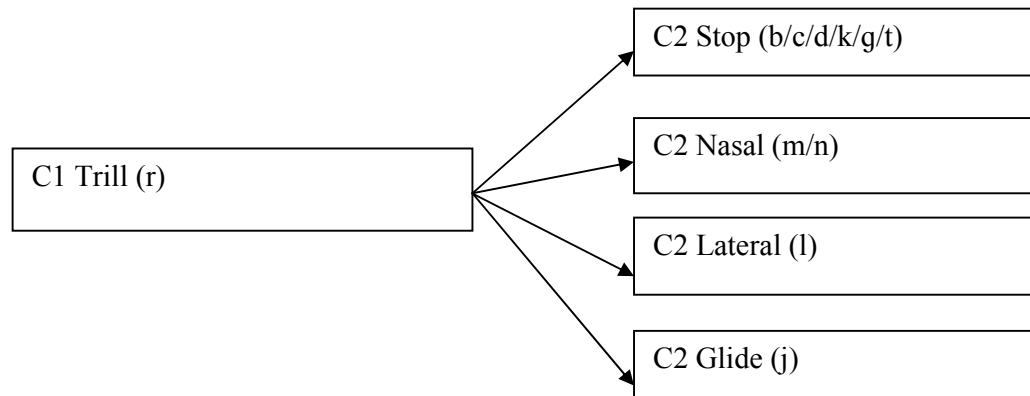
C2 will be either stop (p/b/d/k/t) / nasal (m) /trill (r) fricative (s) /glide (j)



e. Description-5

If C1 is trill (r)

C2 will be either stop (b, c, d, k, g, t) / nasal (m, n) /lateral (l) /glide (j)



4.3.10. Word Final Consonant Sequences

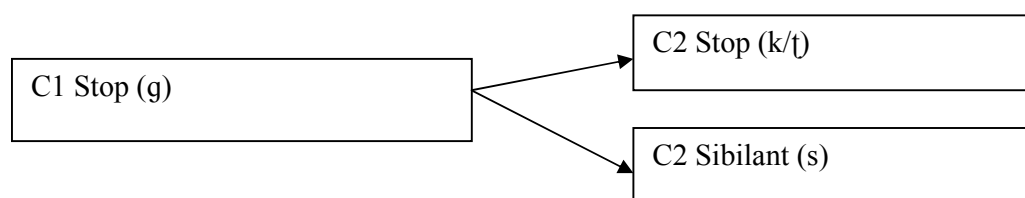
Word final consonant clusters are also found in the Ollari Gadaba language. Suresh (2001:576) in the Census of India data on language reported that Ollari Gadaba did not have word final consonant clusters. Bhattacharya (1957:11) had reported that Ollari Gadaba has only one word final cluster, i.e. -nd̪. Further, he reports that this is found mostly at the end of a verbal base and a nominal and mostly seen when it is added by a suffix to it. In the present data, a good number of word

final clusters are found. The following descriptions will illustrate the word final consonant sequences

a. Description 1

If C1 is stop (g)

C2 will be either stop (k/t) / fricative (s)



b. Description 2

If C1 is nasal (m/n)

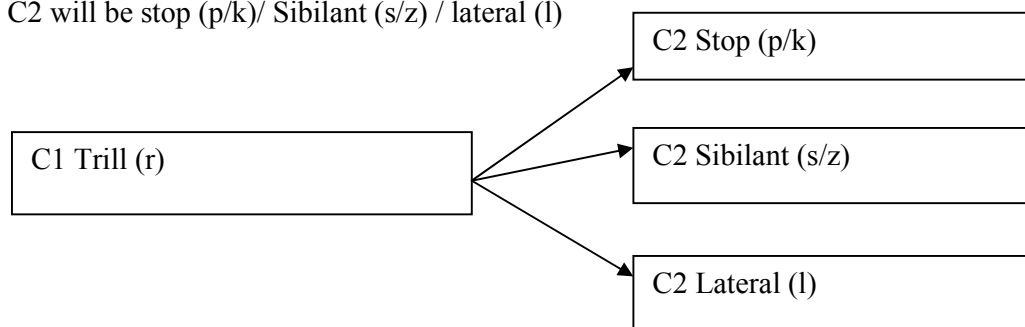
C2 will be stop (b/t/d/ʈ/k)



c. Description 3

If C1 is trill(r)

C2 will be stop (p/k)/ Sibilant (s/z) / lateral (l)



On the basis of the above analysis of the identical and non identical consonant clusters, one can conclude that, all the clusters in the language can fall under the following four categories viz.

4.3.11. Consonant Patterns and Pattern Charts

(a) Obstruent + Obstruent

(b) Sonorant + Sonorant

(c) Obstruent + Sonorant

(d) Sonorant + Obstruent

a. Obstruent + Obstruent

	C2	P	b	t	d	t̪	d̪	ɾ	k	g	ʃ	s	z
C1													
p		—	—	—	—	—	—	pɾ	—	—	—	—	—
b		—	bb	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
t		tp	—	tt	—	—	—	—	tk	—	—	—	—
d		—	—	—	dd	—	—	—	dk	dg	—	—	—
t̪		—	t̪b	—	—	—	—	—	t̪k	—	—	—	—
d̪		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	ɾg	—	—	—
ɾ		ɾp	—	ɾt	ɾd	—	—	—	ɾk	—	—	ɾs	—
k		—	—	kt	—	—	—	kɾ	—	kg	—	ks	—
g		—	—	gt	gd	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ʃ		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
s		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	sk	—	—	—	—
z		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table - 4.5: Consonant Cluster Combinations of Obstruent + Obstruent

It may be noted that, generally, two voiceless or two voiced obstruents can occur but not a voiceless and a voiced one in any order. Two consonant clusters of voiceless obstruents are more numerous than those of the voiced ones. However, the data contains a few voiceless and voiced obstruent combinations.

b. Sonorant + Sonorant

	C2	m	n	ɳ	ŋ	r	l	w	j	ɭ
C1										
m		—	—	—	—	mr	ml	—	—	—
n		—	nn	—	—	—	nl	nw	nj	—
ɳ		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ŋ		—	—	—	—	—	ɳl	—	—	—
r		rm	rn	—	—	rr	rl	—	rj	—
l		lm	—	—	—	lr	ll	—	lj	—
w		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
j		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ɭ		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table - 4.6: Consonant Cluster Combinations of Sonorant + Sonorant

/m n ɳ r l/ do occur as first members of clusters and /l r j/ as second members; and /j/ never occur as the first member of a cluster.

c. Obstruent + Sonorant

	C2	m	n	ŋ	ɳ	r	l	w	j	ʎ
C1										
p		—	pn	—	—	pr	—	—	—	—
b		—	—	—	—	br	bl	—	—	—
t		—	tn	—	—	tr	—	—	—	—
d		dm	—	—	—	dr	dl	dv	dj	—
ʈ		—	—	—	—	ʈr	—	—	—	—
ɖ		—	—	—	—	ɖr	ɖl	—	—	—
ɽ		ɽm	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
k		—	—	—	—	kr	kl	—	kj	—
g		—	gn	—	—	—	gl	—	—	—
s		sm	sn	—	—	—	sl	—	sj	—
z		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table - 4.7: Consonant Cluster Combinations of Obstruent + Sonorant

/ŋ ɳ ʎ/ do not combine with any obstruent as second members. Either voiced or voiceless obstruents occur as first members in the clusters. Most of the obstruents have equal distribution as first members of the clusters. /m n r l/ have wider distribution as second members than the other sonorants like /ŋ w j ʎ/.

d. Sonorant + Obstruent

	C2	p	b	t	d	ʈ	ɖ	ɽ	k	g	c	ɟ	s	z
C1														
m		mp	mb	—	md	—	—	mɽ	—	mg	—	—	—	—
n		—	—	nt	nd	nʈ	nɖ	nɽ	nk	—	—	ɳj	ns	—
ŋ		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ɳ		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	ɳk	ɳg	—	—	—	—
r		rp	rb	rt	rd	—	—	—	rk	rg	rc	—	rs	rz
l		—	lb	lt	ld	lʈ	—	—	lk	—	—	—	ls	—
w		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
j		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ʎ		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table - 4.8: Consonant Cluster Combinations of Sonorant + Obstruent

Both the voiced and voiceless obstruents occur after sonorants as second members of the clusters but /ŋ w j l/ never occur as a first member of the clusters. /m n r l/ are more numerous as first members comparing to other sonorants like /ŋ w j l/. Among the obstruents /z/ occurs in less number of clusters and /d k g/ occurs frequently.

A study of the above charts would enable us to make certain generalizations about the distribution of the consonant classes as well as of individual consonants.

Out of the 22 consonantal phonemes of Ollari Gadaba, 13 are obstruents and 9 are sonorants. If every consonant in the system is combined with every other consonants, there would be a total number of $(22 \times 22) = 484$ consonant-clusters in Ollari Gadaba. A comparison of actual clusters with the possible clusters for each of the four classes of combinations of consonants will be followed as (O = Obstruent, S = Sonorant).

S. No	Type	Possible Clusters	Actual Clusters
a	Obstruent + Obstruent	$13 \times 13 = 169$	24
b	Sonorant + Sonorant	$09 \times 09 = 81$	16
c	Obstruent + Sonorant	$13 \times 09 = 117$	24
d	Sonorant + Obstruent	$09 \times 13 = 117$	30
		Total = 484	94

Table-4.9: Possible and Actual Clusters

This shows that the consonant clusters of classes (d) and (a) are more numerous than (b) and (c) type of clusters. The favorite type is sonorant + obstruent with a low factor of redundancy.

The combinatorial freedom of each consonant can be measured in terms of the number of other consonants that it combines with, either as a first member or as a second member. Each consonant can occur in a maximum of 42 different clusters; actually, it occurs only in some. The following chart will serve as an index of the relative freedom of or restriction on the occurrence of privileges of individual phonemes in two consonant clusters.

4.3.12. Total Number of Combinations of Consonant Sequences

Phoneme	Number of Combinations	Total
	As C1 + As C2	
/p/	04 + 08	12
/b/	03 + 04	07
/t/	04+04	08
/d/	07 + 05	12
/t̪/	03 + 05	08
/d̪/	03 + 01	04
/t̥/	10 + 05	15
/k/	05 + 09	14
/g/	04 + 08	12
/c/	02 + 03	05
/j/	00 + 01	01
/m/	07 + 05	12
/n/	16 + 05	21
/ɲ/	02 + 00	02
/ŋ/	04 + 00	04
/r/	18 + 13	31
/l/	11 + 12	23
/w/	00 + 02	02
/j̥/	00 + 06	06
/s/	07 + 07	14
/z/	00 + 01	01
/ʃ/	00 + 00	00

Table-4.10: Combinations of Consonant Sequences

It is obvious from the above chart that /r/ has the highest freedom index (18 + 13) and /ʃ/ has lowest (00 + 00). As typological classes, sonorants have greater combinational freedom than obstruents.

4.3.13. List of Three Consonant Sequences

nds	mɔ̃ndsi	‘to answer’
ndr	sendra	‘sari’
nɾk	bɔ̃nɾki	‘midwife’
str	mɔ̃strɔ̃ni	‘female teacher’
gdr	ɔ̃gdrɔ̃	‘goat’

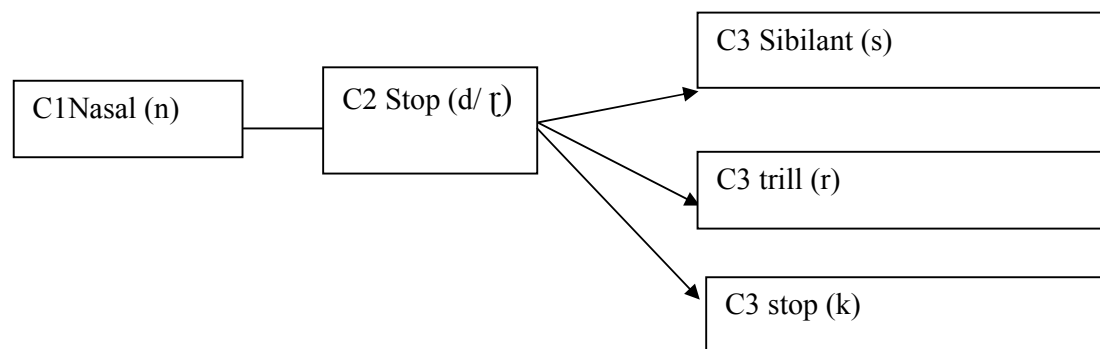
Ollari is not rich in three-consonant sequences but mostly they occur intervocalically. From the above examples, one can observe that certain consonants are restricted to certain positions in the three-consonant-sequences. Sonorants and obstruents occur as C1 but only obstruent’s occur as C2. In the C3 position obstruents as well as sonorants occur.

a. Description-1

If C1 is nasal (n)

C2 is stop (d/ ɾ)

and C3 must be fricative (s) or trill (r) or stop (k)

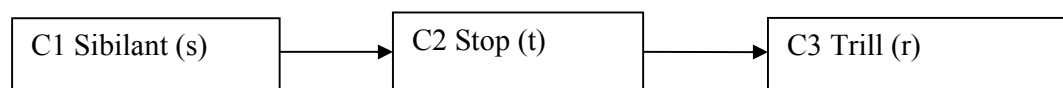


b. Description-2

If C1 is fricative

C2 is stop (t)

and C3 is trill(r)

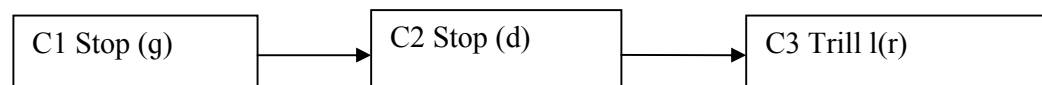


c. Description-3

If C1 is stop (g)

C2 is stop (d)

and C3 is trill (r)



4.3.14. Identical Consonant Sequences

Identical clusters are very frequent in the language. These are seen more frequently with the consonants, i.e. (bilabial and dentals), nasals, laterals and liquids. They are not frequent with other sounds of manner of articulation. Most of the identical consonant sequences occur inter vocally.

4.4. Nasalization: /~/

According to Krishnamurti (2003:72-74) nasalization occurs in Dravidian languages like Alu Kurumba, Pengo, Ollari Gadaba and Kurux languages. In the comprehensive grammar on Ollari Gadaba, Bhattacharya (1957:10) reports that some nasalized vowels are found in Ollari Gadaba language. On a note on Ollari Gadaba, Suresh (2001:576) also reports in the Census of Indian language data of Odisha that, nasalization is found on vowels. The data collected from the three Blocks of Koraput District shows and endorses that nasalization is seen on vowels. In the present data, nasalization is found to occur on vowels in the medial and final positions. In most of the cases, it is occurring on high vowels like high, front, unrounded short vowel /i/, high, back, rounded short vowel /u/ and central low unrounded vowel /a/. Some of the examples are seen below.

kɔũl	'soft'	neĩ	'fuel'
bũĩ pɔnɔs	'pineapple'	ɟwaĩ	'sister's husband'
bũĩsenal	'groundnuts'	niã	'good'
kɔãse	'spider'	niãmanɽ	'health'

4.5. Aspiration

Aspiration is not the characteristic feature of Dravidian languages. Due to the influence of Indo-Aryan languages, aspiration is found in many of the Dravidian languages. It is not phonemic in Dravidian languages except Malayalam, Telugu and Kannada. According to Bhattacharya (1957:11) aspiration is absent in Ollari Gadaba language, but he reports that in some of the loan words aspiration was found. In the present data, aspiration is found in the borrowed word as well as native words but it is not phonemic. The speakers have the flexibility to use it.

4.6. Syllable

A syllable is considered as a minimal unit in the phonological structure of the word. In general, a syllable consists of onset and rhyme. Rhyme is again divided into nucleus and coda. The first segment of the syllable is called onset, which typically consists of all consonants preceding the vowel. On the other hand, the unit other than onset is known as rhyme. As illustrated in the below figure the syllable *pal* 'tooth' consists of onset 'p' followed by a nucleus 'a' and coda 'l'

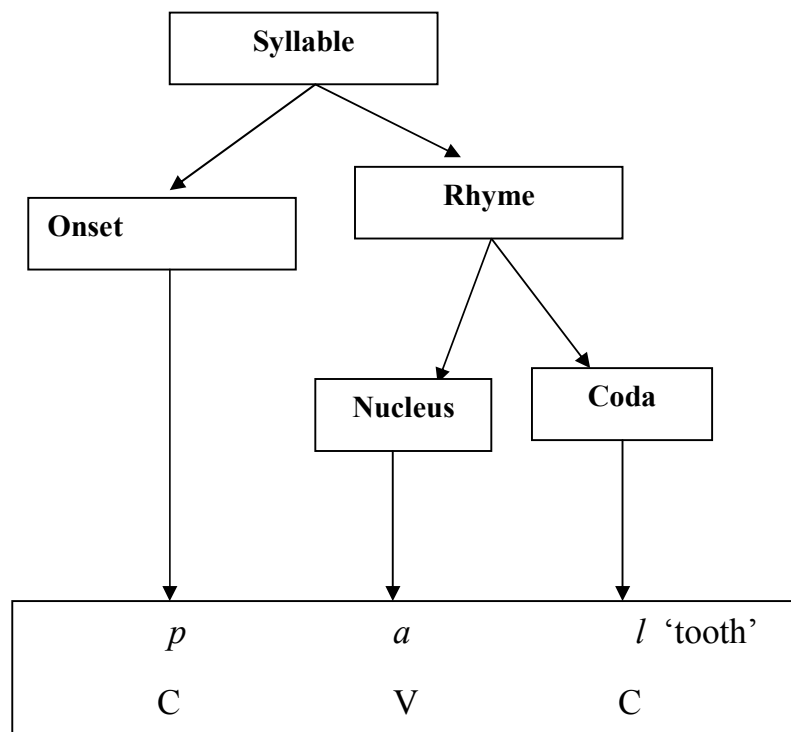


Figure-4.11: Hierarchy of Syllable Structure in Ollari Gadaba

However, there is no consensus on the notion of syllable. In the literature, various definitions have been proposed. To cite a few: Hockett, Daniel Yones and Pike. Hockett (1955:51) calls it as the smallest unit in structure of an utterance. Yones (1972:55) said it as “the sound which consists of a peak of prominence is said to be syllabic”. Crystal (2008:467) defines it “a unit of pronunciation typically larger than a single sound and smaller than a word”. Pike (1967:411) also proposes and makes the distinction between phonetic and phonological syllables. In addition to this, there are also variations on what constitutes a syllable. According to Hockett (1955:52) a syllable consists of onset, peak and coda. Pulgram (1970:47-51) opined that typical syllable consists of maximal open syllabicity, minimal coda, maximal onset, and irregular coda. Onset and coda typically are consonants and the peak is a vowel or a syllabic consonant. However, it may be noted that the three components of a syllable (onset, nucleus and coda) may not have to be present all the time. The only obligatory component is nucleus and the rest are optional (in Telugu a ‘that’). The syllable represented in figure (8) is that of CVC structure as it consists of all the three components, viz., onset, nucleus and coda. The syllable structure could also be that of VC (nucleus and coda) or V (nucleus). Of these CVC and VC are closed syllables and CV and V are open syllables.

4.6.1. Syllable Structure

Like many other Dravidian languages, Ollari Gadaba too has both closed and open syllables which range from monosyllable to polysyllable. Mono, di and tri-syllabic forms are more frequent than other types of forms such as tetra and penta syllable forms. The following subsections illustrate the syllabic structure in Ollari Gadaba.

4.6.2. Monosyllabic Forms

CV	ki	‘hand’
VC	ad	‘she’
V:C	a:m	‘we’
CV:C	ki:s	‘fire’
CVC	din	‘day’
VCC	err	‘who’
CVCC	kamb	‘pole’
CCVC	klɔs	‘class’

The monosyllabic words will follow the following pattern including open and closed syllables in Ollari Gadaba language. The structure is (C)CV(:)C(C).

4.6.3. Disyllabic Forms

CVCV	gula	‘blind’
VCCV	ulle	‘house’
CCVCV	ḍruka	‘tiger’
CVCCCV	gundri	‘circle’
CVCCV	sendi	‘hair’
VCCVC	accar	‘pickle’
VCVC	augul	‘these’
CVCVC	digal	‘side’
CCVCVC	sriṇat	‘black’
VCCVC	ṁmrut	‘papaya’
CV:CCVC	ki:smul	‘oven’
CVCVCC	matṁṇ	‘native’
CVCCVC	k ^h andil	‘necklace’

The disyllabic words in Ollari Gadaba form the following pattern (C)CV(:)C(C)(C)V(C) (C).

4.6.4. Trisyllabic Forms:

CVCVCV	lasṁni	‘garlic’
VCCVCV	ṁnseti	‘to fast’
CVCCVCV	pṁṇjṁra	‘skeleton’
CVCVCCV	beranke	‘duck’
VCCVCV	anḍseti	‘fasting’
CVCCVCV	mṁstrani	‘teacher’
CVCCVCCV	sagranke	‘a type of fish’
CVCVCVC	sukural	‘dry fish’
VCVCCVC	asirbad	‘blessing’
VCCVCVC	ṁljanṁn	‘indigestion’
CVCVCCVC	munṁngil	‘noses’
CVCCVCVC	pitneniṇ	‘day after tomorrow’

CVCVCVCC	walidand	‘yumping’
VCCCVCVC	endkiṇar	‘playing’
CVCCVCVCC	bərseṭənd	‘yearly’
CVCVCCVCC	maseṭənd	‘monthly’
VCCVCCVCC	aṭdintənd	‘weekly’

The trisyllabic forms constitute the following structure in Ollari Gadaba CVC(C)(C)VC(C)VC(C).

4.6.5. Tetrasyllabic Forms

CVCVCVCV	dapəkəɾə	‘ladder’
CVCCVCVCV	jitkimela	‘lightning’
CVCVCVCCV	polisinde	‘to dissolve’
CVCCVCVCCV	sindigatra	‘mongoose’
CVCCVCVCCV	taldətundi	‘pillow’
CVCCCVCVCV	kanṭsapake	‘a black colored flat head fish’
CVCVCCVCVC	kədalromal	‘great grand-daughter’
CVCCVCVCVC	raḡbetalin	‘watermelon’
CVCVCVCCVC	b ^h umikəmpən	‘earthquake’
CVCCVCVCCVC	nenṭigaptun	‘midnight’

The tetrasyllabic forms are represented in the following structure in Ollari Gadaba CVC(C)(C)VC(C)VC(C)VC.

4.6.6. Pentasyllabic Forms

CVCVCVCVCV	pəɾuserido	‘bull fight’
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The pentasyllabic forms are summarized in the following pattern in Ollari Gadaba language CVCVCVCVCV.

4.6.7. Total Patterns in Syllable Structure

(C)CV(:)C(C)
 (C)CV(:)C(C)(C)V(C)(C)
 CVC(C)(C)VC(C)VC(C)
 CVC(C)(C)VC(C)VC(C)VC
 CVCVCVCVCV

4.7. Conclusion

To sum up, Ollari Gadaba has the common Dravidian ten vowel phonemes including five short vowels and five long vowels. Additionally, the back low mid vowel is also found as a phoneme. Suprasegmental features like nasalization and aspiration are also found in the language that is not phonemic. Previous literature on Ollari Gadaba says that it has 24 consonant phonemes in which two are affricates, which are not found in the present data. The language has consonant sequences ranging from two to three in which two consonant sequences are more frequent. Among, the two consonant clusters sonorant+obstruent pattern is more frequent than the other patterns. Syllables in Ollari Gadaba ranges from mono to pentasyllable. The syllabic structure seems to suggest that Ollari Gadaba is a consonant ending language. The typical syllabic pattern seems to be CV followed by CVC, CVCC.

CHAPTER-V

MORPHOLOGY

5. Nouns

Nouns are one of the major categories of the word classes. They are distinguished for three morphological categories viz. person, number, gender and the case. The occurrence of grammatical and lexical categories in a noun can be stem + person, number, gender or + case. The stems may be simple as well as complex and sometimes compounds too.

5.1. Gender

There is a two-way gender system in Ollari Gadaba as in Kondekor Gadaba. This can be divided into masculine and non-masculine. There is no separate or overt marker to convey the gender but the gender is generally determined by its meaning. All persons denoting male persons, belong to masculine gender; both in singular and plural. All others denoting female persons and non human-persons viz. birds, animals, plants and objects belong to non-masculine gender.

Masculine

sg. o:nɖ ‘he, that man’
pl. o:r ‘they, those men’

Non-Masculine

a:d ‘it, that one (other than the man)’
a:w ‘they, those ones (other than the men)’

Masculine plural class includes even human females too. Syntactically derived pronominals carry overt marker of gender that contrasts when they are predicatively used. Thus they reflect the gender and number of the subject noun in Ollari Gadaba.

Example:

Adjective Gloss

1. nijã ‘good’
2. rɔtta ‘red’
3. sriɲa:t̚ ‘black’

Derived pronominals Gloss

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------|
| nijãtɔnɖ | ‘good man’ |
| nijãtɔr/ niãtɛlək | ‘good men’ |
| rɔttaɔnɖ | ‘red man’ |
| rɔttaɔr/ rɔtta:t̚ɛlək | ‘red men’ |
| sriɲa:t̚ɔnɖ | ‘black man’ |

		sriṇa:ṭor/ sriṇa:ṭelok	‘black men’
4. berṭe	‘elder/big’	berṭonḍ	‘elder man’
		berṭor	‘elder men’
5. nini	‘small’	niniṭonḍ	‘small man’
		niniṭor	‘small men’

Along with the two-way of distinction of gender i.e. masculine and non-masculine there is another way of indicating the sex through separate words (andra and koili), (puḍra and baga:r), (ganja and peṭi) and (gaḍra and tanded).

Example:

1. andra nete	‘male dog’	koili nete	‘female dog’
2. puḍra sir	‘male buffalo’	bagar sir	‘female buffalo’
3. andra pa:p	‘male child’	koili pa:p	‘female child’
4. andra kor	‘cock’	koili kor	‘hen’
5. ganja kor	‘cock ready for fight’	peṭikor	‘hen for laying eggs’
6. gaḍra mege	‘male goat’	tanded mege	‘female goat’
7. gaḍra menda	‘male sheep’	tanded menda	‘female sheep’

5.2. Number

There are two numbers available in Ollari Gadaba language i.e. singular (denoting one) and plural (denoting more than one). Plurals in Ollari Gadaba are mainly added to the nouns. The singular is unmarked and plural is marked by different markers. The categories like gender and the number are intermixed in the given data. These markers usually occur at the end of the stem. Sometimes, when these markers added certain sandhi changes also takes place in the stem or final syllables of the words. In the process of analysis, different types plural markers are encountered. They are as follows /-ul/, /-kul/, /-gul/, /-kil/, /-gil/, /-il/, /-l/, /-sil/, /-sul/, /-til/, /-tul/, /-r/ and /-v/. The exceptions in the language are the first and second person pronouns which are distinguished only for number and person but not for the gender.

5.2.1. Plurals that are formed by the addition of –ul to the singular or root word.

Singular

Plural

Plurals that are formed by adding /-ul/.

1	puɖuɡ	‘stomach’	3	puɖɡul	‘stomachs’
2	kujug	‘tie’	4	kujɡul	‘ties’

Only the non-radical vowel in the final syllable will be deleted before the plus velar.

v → Ø/(c) vc__c+ul

1	bɔɡ	‘crane’	3	bɔɡul	‘cranes’
2	lɔk	‘man’	4	lɔkul	‘men’

Another interpretation is possible for the description that if a word ends with one of the velar sounds like k or g the plural suffix **–ul** is added to form the plural.

5.2.2. Plurals can be formed by the addition of /-gul/.

Body Parts

1	pɔnd	‘cheek’	15	pɔndɡul	‘cheeks’
2	ku:ndɿ	‘penis’	16	ku:ndɡul	‘penises’
3	sutundɿ	‘buttock’	17	sutundɡul	‘buttocks’
4	nɔk	‘nail’	18	nɔkɡul	‘nails’
5	muk ^h	‘shoulder’	19	muk ^h ɡul	‘shoulders’
6	argil	‘chest’	20	argilɡul	‘chests’
7	to:l	‘skin’	21	to:lɡul	‘skins’
8	ku:ndɿtol	‘penis skin’	22	ku:ndɿtolɡul	‘penises’
9	kopre	‘elbow’	23	kopregul	‘elbows’
10	ga:ɖum	‘side lack’	24	ga:ɖumɡul	‘side lacks’
11	pɔtpun	‘back bone’	25	pɔtpungul	‘back bones’
12	pun	‘bone’	26	pungul	‘bones’
13	kɪte	‘waist’	27	kɪteɡul	‘waists’

Birds, Animals and Reptiles

1	sɔndɿ	‘bull’	11	sɔndɡul	‘bulls’
2	kor	‘hen’	12	korgul	‘hens’
3	kɔso	‘owl’	13	kɔsoɡul	‘owls’
4	makɔɖɔ	‘monkey’	14	makɔɖɔɡul	‘monkeys’
5	beɖe	‘cow’	15	beɖegul	‘cows’
6	bacpa:p	‘calf’	16	bacpa:pgul	‘calves’
7	kurjui	‘deer’	17	kurjugul	‘deers’
8	sitol	‘deer with spots’	18	sitolɡul	‘deers with spots’
9	ba:m	‘snake’	19	ba:mɡul	‘snakes’
10	pa:p	‘chick’	20	pa:pgul	‘chicks’

Flowers and Fruits

1	pu:l	‘flower’	3	pu:lɡul	‘flowers’
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2	pɔl	‘fruit’	4	pɔlgul	‘fruits’
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Inanimate Things

1	sɔgɔdɔ	‘cart’	7	sɔgɔdɔgul	‘carts’
2	nu:l	‘thread’	8	nu:lgul	‘threads’
3	kijub	‘knife’	9	kijubgul	‘knives’
4	sako:l	‘pestle’	10	sako:lgul	‘pestles’
5	bɔi	‘book’	11	bɔigul	‘books’
6	ga:ɟul	‘bangle’	12	ga:ɟulgul	‘bangles’

5.2.3. Plurals that are formed by adding /-kil/.

1	magindɔ	‘husband’	12	magindɔkil	‘husbands’
2	ilendɔ	‘young man’	13	ilendɔkil	‘young men’
3	salgindɔ	‘son-in-law’	14	salgindɔkil	‘son-in-laws’
4	ka:nd	‘stone’	15	ka:ndkil	‘stones’
5	seɭ	‘sickle’	16	seɭkil	‘sickles’
6	pal	‘tooth’	17	palkil	‘teeth’
7	mi:s	‘mustach’	18	mi:skil	‘mustaches’
8	we:r	‘root’	19	we:rkil	‘roots’
9	asma:l	‘woman’	20	asma:skil	‘women’
10	masil	‘girl’	21	maskil	‘girls’
11	sepa:l	‘boy’	22	sepa:kil	‘boys’

l → Ø/v__c+kil, l → s/v__c+kil

1	marin	‘tree’	3	markil	‘trees’
2	kalin	‘threshing floor’	4	kalkil	‘threshing floors’

n → Ø/___+kil, v → Ø/r___+kil

5.2.4. Plurals can be formed by adding /-kul/

1	pun	‘bone’	4	punkul	‘bones’
2	pu:ɭ	‘star’	5	pu:ɭkul	‘stars’
3	toɖoɖɔ	‘brother’	6	toɖoɖɔkul	‘brothers’

Here no phonological rule can be applied because the suffix /-kul/ is directly added to the singular words to form the plurals.

5.2.5. Plurals that are formed by addition of /- gil/

Body Parts

1	kolen	‘lap’	10	kolengil	‘laps’
2	kanir	‘tear’	11	kanirgil	‘tears’
3	kaikir	‘fever’	12	kaikirgil	‘fevers’
4	ka:l	‘leg’	13	ka:lgil	‘legs’
5	mūṇa:n	‘nose’	14	mūṇa:ngil	‘noses’
6	und̥tel	‘fore head’	15	und̥telgil	‘fore heads’
7	pa:l	‘breast’	16	pa:lgil	‘breasts’
8	tipen	‘fore skin’	17	tipengil	‘fore skins’
9	sepul	‘flesh’	18	sepulgil	‘fleshes’

Animals and Reptiles

1	kakalin	‘crow’	12	kakalingil	‘crows’
2	sedel	‘porcupine’	13	sedelgil	‘porcupines’
3	ton̥d̥el	‘rat’	14	ton̥d̥elgil	‘rats’
4	eli	‘mouse’	15	elgil	‘mice’
5	kumir	‘crocodile’	16	kumirgil	‘crocodiles’
6	pe:n	‘louse’	17	pe:ngil	‘lice’
7	sirel	‘cat’	18	sirelgil	‘cats’
8	sepet̥	‘broom’	19	sepet̥gil	‘brooms’
9	wedir	‘bamboo’	20	wedirgil	‘bamboos’
10	wa:in	‘rain’	21	waingil	‘rains’
11	peret̥	‘river’	22	peret̥gil	‘rivers’

Words having front vowel preferably take /- gil/ as a plural suffix.

5.2.6. Plurals that are formed by adding /- il/ preferably. These nouns in most of the cases end in a velar and a front vowel.

1	enig	‘elephant’	8	engil	‘elephants’
2	man̥jik	‘rice’	9	man̥jikil	‘rice’
3	ket̥pa:k	‘widower’	10	ket̥pa:kil	‘widowers’
4	nāṇ̥	‘tongue’	11	nāṇ̥il	‘tongues’
5	tad̥iṇ̥	‘liver’	12	tad̥iṇ̥il	‘livers’
6	mi:n	‘fish’	13	minil	‘fish’
7	kelmāṇ̥	‘yoke’	14	kelmāṇ̥il	‘yokes’

5.2.7. Plurals that are formed by the addition of /-l/.

1	qobi	‘small pit’	60	qobil	‘small pits’
2	knawe	‘stick’	61	kanwel	‘sticks’
3	kaqsi	‘wood’	62	kaqsil	‘woods’
4	karke	‘raw mango’	63	karkel	‘raw mangoes’
5	toqi	‘chin’	64	toqil	‘chins’
6	sollu	‘mouth’	65	sollul	‘mouths’
7	sendi	‘hair’	66	sendil	‘hairs’
8	kolu	‘comb’	67	kolul	‘combs’
9	da:qi	‘beard’	68	da:qil	‘beards’
10	kanul maqa	‘eyebrow’	69	kanul maqal	‘eyebrows’
11	kanul paqa	‘eye lash’	70	kanul paqal	‘eye lashes’
12	kanul qima	‘eye ball’	71	kanul qimal	‘eye balls’
13	muqa:n kana	‘nostril’	72	muqa:n kana:l	‘nostrils’
14	sollu toqi	‘lip’	73	sollu toqil	‘lips’
15	pa:l deti	‘nipple’	74	pa:l detil	‘nipples’
16	ki maqa	‘wrist’	75	ki maqal	‘wrists’
17	ki	‘hand’	76	kil	‘hands’
18	siri	‘nerve’	77	siril	‘nerves’
19	redqi	‘heel’	78	redqil	‘heels’
20	kite	‘waist’	79	kitel	‘waists’
21	boqi	‘navel’	80	boqil	‘navels’
22	tite	‘bird’	81	titel	‘birds’
23	koso	‘owl’	82	kosol	‘owls’
24	ada	‘ginger’	83	adal	‘gingers’
25	ejri	‘tomato’	84	bejril	‘tomatoes’
26	nete	‘dog’	85	netel	‘dogs’
27	munde	‘hare’	86	mundel	‘hares’
28	konde	‘bull’	87	kondel	‘bulls’
29	mege	‘goat’	88	megel	‘goats’
30	beqe	‘cow’	89	beqel	‘cows’
31	menda	‘sheep’	90	menda:l	‘sheep’
32	kolja	‘fox’	91	koljal	‘foxes’
33	qruka	‘tiger’	92	qrukal	‘tigers’
34	ghoqa	‘horse’	93	ghoqal	‘horses’
35	eli	‘mouse’	94	elil	‘mice’
36	pandaqe	‘frog’	95	pandaqel	‘frogs’
37	pindaqe	‘fly’	96	pindaqel	‘flies’
38	bursundqi	‘mosquito’	97	bursundqil	‘mosquitos’
39	tumeli	‘wasp’	98	tumelil	‘wasps’
40	take	‘rupee’	99	take:l	‘rupees’
41	pore	‘leafy vegetable’	100	pore:l	‘leafy vegetables’
42	kenda	‘branch’	101	Kendal	‘branches’
43	wele	‘sun’	102	welil	‘suns’
44	kana	‘blind man’	103	kana:l	‘blind men’

45	kaṇi	‘blind woman’	104	kaṇil	‘blind women’
46	ulle	‘house’	105	ullel	‘houses’
47	aja	‘mother’	106	ajal	‘mothers’
48	kaḍse	‘rice’	107	kaḍsel	‘rice’
49	ghaḍi	‘heap’	108	ghaḍil	‘heaps’
50	kope	‘hill’	109	kopel	‘hills’
51	agle	‘pot’	110	aglel	‘pots’
52	kuṭi	‘thorn’	111	kuṭil	‘thorns’
53	jata	‘grinding stone’	112	jatal	‘grinding stones’
54	ṭeṇija	‘axe’	113	ṭeṇijal	‘axes’
55	neji	‘oil’	114	nejil	‘oils’
56	tale	‘plate’	115	talel	‘plates’
57	suta	‘thread’	116	sutal	‘threads’
58	pa:ṭe	‘song’	117	paṭel	‘songs’
59	sendra	‘sari’	118	sendral	‘sarees’

If a word ends with the vowels like /a, e, i, o, u/ the single consonant suffix /-l/ is added to the word to form the plural. In other words, vowel ending nouns take /-l/ as their plural suffix.

5.2.8. Plurals that are formed by addition of /-sil/

1	aja:l	‘married woman’	10	aja:sil	‘married women’
2	muta:l	‘old woman’	11	muta:sil	‘old women’
3	murta:l	‘old woman’	12	murta:sil	‘old women’
4	kaṇa:	‘whole’	13	kaṇa:sil	‘wholes’
5	keṭa:l	‘widow’	14	keṭa:sil	‘widows’
6	ma:l	‘girl daughter’	15	masil	‘girls/daughters’
7	aja:l	‘wife’	16	aja:sil	‘wives’
8	sela:l	‘sister’	17	sela:sil	‘sisters’
9	saṇḍ ma:l	‘girl friend’	18	saṇḍ masil	‘girl friends’

l → Ø/___+sil

5.2.9. Plurals that are formed by adding – sul

1	waṇul	‘knee’	4	waṇusul	‘knees’
2	kekol	‘ear’	5	kekosul	‘ears’
3	korgul	‘horn’	6	korgusul	‘horns’

l → Ø/___+sul

Another explanation is also possible that if the penultimate vowel is /a:/ it is /sil/ elsewhere it is /sul/. The plural suffix /sil/ has two variants [-sil]/a:--- and [-sul]/C---.

5.2.10. Plurals that are formed by adding /-til/

1	gula	‘deaf man’	9	gulatil	‘deaf men’
2	guli	‘deaf woman’	10	gulitil	‘deaf women’
3	boira	‘dumb man’	11	boiratil	‘dumb men’
4	boiri	‘dumb woman’	12	boiritil	‘dumb women’
5	totla	‘stammering man’	13	totlatil	‘stammering men’
6	totli	‘stammering woman’	14	totlitil	‘stammering women’
7	soṭa	‘lame man’	15	soṭatil	‘lame men’
8	soṭi	‘lame woman’	16	soṭitil	‘lame women’

Nouns denoting bodily defects or physical disability may take /-til/ as the plural suffix.

5.2.11. Plurals that are formed by adding /-tul/

1	saṇḍ	‘friend’	3	saṇḍtul	‘friends’
2	mōstōr	‘teacher’	4	mōstōrtul	‘teachers’

5.2.12. Plurals that are formed by adding /-r/

1	muttak	‘old man’	4	muttakor	‘old men’
2	aba	‘father’	5	abar	‘fathers’
3	ilendḥ	‘bridegroom’	6	iler	‘bridegrooms’

Masculine nouns take /-r/ as plural suffix.

5.2.13. Plurals that are formed by adding /-v/

1	aja	‘mother’	2	ajav	‘mothers’
---	-----	----------	---	------	-----------

Feminine nouns take /-v/ as plural suffix.

5.3. Nominal Derivation

There are certain class of nouns in Ollari Gadaba that come in pairs. These pairs of nouns end in /-a/ in case of male nouns and substitute /-a/ by /-i/ to derive corresponding feminine nouns.

1	boir-a	‘dumb man’	5	boir-i	‘dumb woman’
2	buḍ-a	‘old man’	6	buḍ-i	‘old woman’
3	kaṇ-a	‘blind man’	7	kaṇ-i	‘blind woman’
4	soṭ-a	‘lame man’	8	soṭ-i	‘lame woman’

5.3.1. Certain Noun Stems Used to Verbs by the Addition of /-dʒ/.

1	neɟɔŋ	‘breath	4	neɟɔndʒi	‘breathe’
2	umlun	‘urine’	5	umlonɗi	‘urinate’
3	pitɪŋ	‘fart’	6	pitɔndʒi	‘fart (V)’

5.3.2. Some Nouns Pertaining to Space and Time

1	inen	‘today’	8	orgun	‘yesterday’
2	a:sin	‘day before yesterday’	9	tonɗunun	‘tomorrow’
3	piɾneniŋ	‘day after tomorrow’	10	aɾe	‘week’
4	senda:i aɾe	‘last week’	11	wada:n aɾe	‘next week’
5	neliŋ/ma:s	‘month’	12	senda:i neliŋ	‘last month’
6	wada:n neliŋ/ma:s	‘next month’	13	ija:ndɪ	‘year’
7	nirɗin	‘last year’	14	pira:ndiŋ	‘next year’

5.4. Demonstratives

The following demonstratives and interrogatives pronouns are encountered in data. These are the sub class of nouns. The stems of these nouns are complex and derivable from the demonstrative and interrogative roots by the addition of gender and number or with the addition of certain derivative suffixes. The following are the some of the demonstratives denoting men, time and place.

Name	Demonstrative (proximal)	Gloss	Demonstrative (visible)	Gloss	Demonstrative (Invisible)	Gloss
Demonstratives Adjectives	i:	this	a:	that	a:l	yonder
Demonstratives Pronominals	id	this	a:d	that	a:dmen	yonder
Plural	iɰgul	these	augul	those	a:ugulmen	those
Singular	iɰo:ndɪ	this man	aɰo:ndɪ	that man	o:ndɪmen	that man
Plural	i:lɔk	these people	a:ilɔk	those people	a:ilɔkmen	those people

Table-5.1: Demonstratives

5.5. Interrogatives

Questions are two types in Ollari Gadaba viz. Yes/No type questions and questions with Interrogative pronouns. The first type of questions, require replies like yes or no but the second type of questions expect new information from the listener. The following are the examples of interrogative pronouns.

Examples:

1. in-e pidir **ena** pidir
you-GEN name what name
What is your name? (pidir after ena is optional)
2. in-unj **er-e** kuse nĩa peta
you-ACC which-GEN curry good like
Which curry do you like?
3. in **eru** (boy)
you who
Who are you?
4. in **edu** (girl)
you who
Who are you?
5. im **eru-ŋ** kandki-da-r (boys)
you (pl) whom-ACC search-NPST -2PL.M
Whom are you searching for?
6. in **ed-iŋ** kandki-da-t (girl)
you (sing) whom-ACC search-NPST -2PL.F
Whom are you searching for?
7. id **er-e** ulle
this whose -GEN house
Whose house is this?
8. in-e jɔnam-din **ese:l** mājā
you-GEN birth day when be
When is your birthday?

9. in-e ulle **ere-man**
 you-GEN house where-place
 Where is your house?
10. in **enad-inj** Koraput seni-da-t
 you(sing) why-DAT koraput go-NPST -2SG.M.F
 Why are you going to Koraput?
11. **eṭen** ma:t
 how are
 How are you? (subject dropping)
12. in **eṭen** ma:-t
 you (sing) how are-2 SG.M/F
 How are you?
13. im **eṭen** ma-r
 you(pl) how are-2 SG.M/F
 How are you?
14. in-pel/uṇ **eṇit** dres majā:o ?
 you-DAT how many dres have?
 How many dresses you have?
15. in **enet** pojeri-da-t?
 you how much get-NPST—2 SG.M.F
 How much are you getting?

The following are the interrogative demonstratives with the root /er-/ , /ed-/ , /en-/ , /et-/ and /eṇ-/.

S.No	Word	Gloss
1	ena	What
2	ere	Which
3	eru	Who (masculine)
4	edu	Who (non Masculine)
5	eruṇ	Whom (masculine)
6	ediṇ	Whom (non Masculine)
7	erene	Whose
8	ese:l/ere belon	When
9	ere/ereman	Where
10	enadiṇ	Why
11	eṭe:n	How
12	enet	How much
13	eṇit	How many

Table-5.2: Interrogative Words

5.6. Derived Nouns from Adjectives

There is a type of noun derivation available in Ollari Gadaba by the addition of /-t-/ **and** an augment vowel -o- along with the gender number suffixes like /-nd/ (third person masculine singular) and /-r/ (third person masculine plural) and /-te/ before /-lɔk/.

1	niã	‘good’	niãtɔnd niãtonr/ niãtelɔk	‘good man ‘good men’
2	rɔtta	‘red’	rɔttatɔnd rɔttaɔr/ rɔttaɔlɔk	‘red man’ ‘red men’
3	sriɲa:t	‘black’	sriɲa:tɔnd sriɲa:tɔnd/ sriɲa:telɔk	‘black man’ ‘black men’

5.7. Verbal Adjectives

Verbal adjectives are formed by the addition of ɔndi/ɔndi to the verb root. The following are some examples of verbal adjectives.

S.No.	Verb	Gloss	Verbal Adjective	Gloss
1	wand	‘cook’	wandɔndi kaɖse	‘cooked rice’
2	pand	‘ripe’	pandɔndi pɔl	‘ripened fruit’
3	waɬ	‘dry’	waɬɔndi marin	‘dried tree’
4	wid	‘buy’	widɔndi aɲi	‘bought shirt’
5	pun	‘break’	punɔndi kenda	‘broken branch’
6	san	‘die’	sanɔndi se:r	‘dead body’

5.8. Compounds

Compounding is a type of noun derivation in which two or more roots or stems are combined to form a lexeme replaceable by a simple noun stem. There are different types of compounds are available in the language. The components of the compounds are as follows: the occurrence of the stems may be restricted to two or more non-unique stems and phonetic break does not occur normally between the constituents of a compound. They exhibit peculiar morphophonemic variants of the constituent morphemes and it is not at all possible to insert another stem or word between the constituents of the compound.

5.8.1. Endocentric

Endocentric compounds are basically consists of two constituents each. The first constituent is either a noun or an adjective that acts as a satellite or attribute to the following noun. In the following In the following endocentric compounds both of the the constituents are free to occur even alone or elsewhere. In the course of time some of these compounds developed idiomatic meanings too.

1	// ____ + ____ //	ti:npanda:ke	‘honey bee’
2	// ____ + ____ //	ti:np ^h eNa/ef	‘honey comb’
3	// ____ + ____ //	latakuse	‘green grass’
4	// ____ + ____ //	mu:lmunde	‘centre pole’
5	// ____ + ____ //	ɟataka:nd	‘grinding stone’
6	// ____ + ____ //	ɟɔnambase	‘birth place’
7	// ____ + ____ //	battikudura	‘lamp stand’

There are some of the endocentric compounds available in the language, which come in pairs. These compounds take another constituent as satellite either as an adjective or as a noun. The satellite conveys either a ‘male’ meaning or a ‘female’ meaning followed by a generic name, animal or bird. For these compounds, there is possibility of movement between the constituents.

1	andranete	‘male dog’	koilnete	‘female dog’
2	puɖrasir	‘male buffalo’	baga:rsir	‘female buffalo’
3	andrapa:p	‘male child’	koilipa:p	‘female child’
4	andɾ kor	‘cock’	koilikor	‘hen’
5	gaɖramenda	‘male sheep’	tandedmenda	‘female sheep’

5.8.2. Common Endocentric Compounds

A very common class of endocentric compounds consists of names of plants, trees fruits are encountered in the data. In this category the first one consists of specific name followed by generic name or a classifier.

5.8.2.1. pul ‘flower’

1	betalpul	‘pumpkin flower’	4	mɔlipul	‘jasmine flower’
2	mɔnda:rpul	‘hibiscus’	5	terlepul	‘marigold’
3	welepul	‘sun flower’			

5.8.2.2. /gulji/ ‘round edible root’

- | | | |
|---|-----------|----------|
| 1 | alugulji | ‘potato’ |
| 2 | kuregulji | ‘yam’ |
| 3 | sarugulji | ‘chema’ |

5.8.2.3. /kobi/ ‘a kind of vegetable’

- | | | |
|---|-----------|---------------|
| 1 | gattikobi | ‘broccoli’ |
| 2 | porekobi | ‘cabbage’ |
| 3 | pulkobi | ‘cauliflower’ |

5.8.2.4. /kuse/ ‘leafy vegetable’

- | | | | | | |
|---|-----------|-----------------------------|---|------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 | arukuse | ‘a type of leafy vegetable’ | 4 | bajikuse | ‘a type of leafy vegetable’ |
| 2 | murdekuse | ‘a type of leafy vegetable’ | 5 | mutakekuse | ‘curry leaves’ |
| 3 | palakkuse | ‘palak leaves’ | | | |

5.8.2.5. /marin/ ‘tree’

- | | | | | | |
|---|--------------|-------------------|---|--------------|-----------------|
| 1 | boḍmarin | ‘banyan tree’ | 5 | majagmarin | ‘mango tree’ |
| 2 | panismarin | ‘jack fruit tree’ | 6 | peepal marin | ‘peepal tree’ |
| 3 | soloḥo marin | ‘palm tree’ | 7 | supa:rmarin | ‘tamarind tree’ |
| 4 | ta:ḍmarin | ‘palm tree’ | 8 | wedirmarin | ‘bamboo tree’ |

5.8.2.6. /bulu/ ‘berry’

- | | | | | | |
|---|--------------|-------------------|---|-----------|-------------------|
| 1 | nendeḅulu | ‘black berry’ | 4 | sinḍebulu | ‘a type of berry’ |
| 2 | sirbulu | ‘a type of berry’ | 5 | sure bulu | ‘a type of berry’ |
| 3 | tutkuli bulu | ‘a type of berry’ | | | |

5.8.2.7. /neliṇ/ ‘month’

- | | | | | | |
|---|--------------|-------------|----|-----------------|------------|
| 1 | pu:sneliṇ | ‘january’ | 7 | ma:gneliṇ | ‘february’ |
| 2 | phoḡurinelīṇ | ‘march’ | 8 | chaitneliṇ | ‘april’ |
| 3 | boisakneliṇ | ‘may’ | 9 | landḡetneliṇ | ‘june’ |
| 4 | a:sa:ḍneliṇ | ‘july’ | 10 | banda pa:nneliṇ | ‘august’ |
| 5 | osaneliṇ | ‘september’ | 11 | dasreneliṇ | ‘october’ |
| 6 | dijalinelīṇ | ‘november’ | 12 | pōndneliṇ | ‘december’ |

5.8.2.8. /parub/ ‘festival’

- | | | |
|---|------------|------------|
| 1 | berparub | ‘festival’ |
| 2 | karkeparub | ‘festival’ |
| 3 | kuseparub | ‘festival’ |

5.8.2.9. /guɖa/ ‘hamlet’

- | | | |
|---|-----------|----------------|
| 1 | gugaguɖa | ‘guga hamlet’ |
| 2 | lenɟiguɖa | ‘lenji hamlet’ |
| 3 | rellaguɖa | ‘rella hamlet’ |

5.8.2.10. /pa:p/ ‘child’

- | | | | | | |
|---|------------|--------------|---|----------|-------------|
| 1 | korpa:p | ‘chick’ | 5 | ma:lpa:p | ‘baby girl’ |
| 2 | maiɲilpa:p | ‘hens chick’ | 6 | megepa:p | ‘billy’ |
| 3 | mendepa:p | ‘lamb’ | 7 | netepa:p | ‘puppy’ |
| 4 | sepa:lpa:p | ‘small boy’ | | | |

5.8.2.11. /mi:n/ ‘fish’

- | | | | | | |
|---|-----------|------------------|---|------------|------------------|
| 1 | gɔɖʂimi:n | ‘a type of fish’ | 3 | maɲu:rmi:n | ‘a type of fish’ |
| 2 | siɲimi:n | ‘a type of fish’ | 4 | turiɲami:n | ‘a type of fish’ |

5.8.2.12. /ba:m/ ‘snake’

- | | | | | | |
|---|------------|-------------------|---|------------|-------------------|
| 1 | damanaba:m | ‘a type of snake’ | 3 | donɖiaba:m | ‘a type of snake’ |
| 2 | e:tba:m | ‘cobra’ | 4 | pa:rba:m | ‘python’ |

5.8.3. Restricted Compounds with Restricted Satellite

In this category the constituents of the compounds either unique or extremely restricted in their distribution and the other is relatively free to occur

- | | | | | | |
|---|--------|---------|----|------------|-------------------|
| 1 | ulle | ‘house’ | 6 | waikeulle | ‘abandoned house’ |
| 2 | ga:li | ‘wind’ | 7 | suraga:li | ‘whirlwind’ |
| 3 | munde | ‘pole’ | 8 | mu:l munde | ‘corner pole’ |
| 4 | kha:nɖ | ‘stone’ | 9 | adirkha:nɖ | ‘hailstone’ |
| 5 | pun | ‘new’ | 10 | punulle | ‘new house’ |

5.8.4. Fused Compounds

These compounds occur very rarely in the language that too in particular or specific contexts. These compounds exhibit unique morphophonemic alternants.

- | | | | | | |
|---|----------------|--------------------------|---|------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | narka:mpakta:l | ‘day and night’ | 3 | sirtɔladɔl | ‘morning and evening’ |
| 2 | puneama:s | ‘full moon and new moon’ | 4 | banjara:ni | ‘barren queen’ |

5.8.5. Mutually Restricted Compounds

There are a few number of compounds occurring in mutually restricted distribution.

1	perinjuva:r	‘thousand salutations’	3	ka:ndirid	‘scorpion’
2	be:rnajake	‘village chief’	4	niniṭenajake	‘village head’

5.8.6. Intensive Compounds

In these type of compounds one constituent is free one which is preceded or followed by a

1	warta	‘gruel’	6	wartani:r	‘gruel waer’
2	suwe	‘stream’	7	suwen:ir	‘stream water’
3	peret	‘river’	8	peretn:ir	‘river water’
4	kajo:ndi	‘hot’	9	kajo:ndini:r	‘hot water’
5	watondi	‘dry’	10	wtondiṭaṭil	‘dried thorny bush’

5.8.7. Coordinate Compounds or Dual Compounds

These type of compounds are pronounced as single word without pass between the constituents. No overt connection like ‘and’ is present.

1	aja-aba	‘mother and father’	6	kaḍṣe-kuse	‘rice and curry’
2	su:p-mirya	‘salt and pepper’	7	kiju:b-teṇiya	‘knife and axe’
3	teṇija-gagaḍa	‘axe and sickle’	8	ga:re-muta	‘pot and tumbler’
4	guti-koṭa:l	‘iron bar and spade’	9	naṇa:l-kelma:n	‘plough and yoke’
5	wele-neliṇ	‘sun and moon’			

5.9. Reduplicatives

Reduplication is the process of repeating the part of a word or full word. This is schema used in languages to emphasis or intensity in an action or speech. Interestingly in Ollari Gadaba adverbs are used to reduplicate to derive emphatic adverbial relation.

1	d ^h iren d ^h iren	‘slowly slowly’	10	sa: ṇ sa: ṇ	‘immediately’
2	appaḍi appaḍi	‘now and then’	11	kaṇḍek kaṇḍek	‘less less’
3	be gi be gi	‘soon and soon’	12	kakel kakel	‘near near’
4	ber ber	‘big big’	13	il il	‘here here’
5	al al	‘there there’	14	il al	‘here and there’
6	weṭi weṭi	‘running and running’	15	taki taki	‘walking and walking’
7	parki parki	‘crying and crying’	16	berte berte	‘big big’
8	nini nini	‘small small’	17	nagi nagi	‘laughing and laughing’
9	k ^h si k ^h si	‘by coughing and coughing’	18		

5.10. Onomatopoeia

Onomatopoeia is one type of words, which are formed by imitating the natural sounds or sound associated with the objects. The following are onomatopoeia words found in the Polari Gadaba data. There is a total reduplication in each of these words.

1	argi	argi	‘water sound from the streams’
2	uṭki	uṭki	‘the sound of yawning’
3	tipḍa	tipḍa	‘the sound of seeping drops’
4	por	por	‘the sound of dry leaves’
5	sorɔ	sorɔ	‘the creeping sound of a snake’
6	dode:	dode:	‘the beating sound of heart’
7	todo	todo	‘the sound of thunder’
8	dum	dum	‘the sound of a drum’
9	katar	katar	‘the sound of a chicken, or rice in the final cooking’
10	kaḍa	kaḍa	‘the sound of a stones which are in a dabba (box type)’
11	kidiṇ	kidiṇ	‘the sound of bell on the churches or temples’
12	sado	sado	‘the sound of a oil while cooking something in a Kadai’

5.11. Echo-Formation

As Emeneau (1956) has rightly pointed out that, the phonological changes occur within a syllable in the formation of echo-words in Dravidian and Indo-Aryan. In the process of deriving an echo-word the base of the word undergoes either the consonant or the vowel. In Dravidian languages the first syllable whether it is CV or V is replaced by gi- irrespective of the class of the phonemes in the base word, as in Telugu.

Telugu:

1	annam- g innam	‘rice and the like’	4	illu- g illu	‘house and the like’
2	puvvu- g ivvu	‘flower and the like’	5	karra- g irra	‘stick and the like’
3	pustakam- g istakam	‘book and the like’			

The second and the subsequent syllables do not show any alteration in Telugu.

In Indo-Aryan languages only a consonant change can be seen, i.e. affecting only the first (initial) consonant of the base word as in Odia. Sometimes the aspirated /pʰ/ is added in the change of the consonant.

Odia:

1	bōrsa-phōrsa	‘rain and the like’	2	bhatō-phatō	‘rice and like’
3	gōḍō-phōḍō	‘leg and like’	4	ḍālī-phālī	‘dal and like’

As against the above general pattern of Dravidian and the Indo-Aryan, the researcher came across the following patterns of echo formation in Ollari Gadaba where vowels of the base words are altered, by depending upon the syllable patterns and there no change in any of the consonants of the following words:

1	kadṣe	kudsa	‘rice and the other’	11	aṇi	uṇa	‘shirt and the other’
2	ba:m	buma	‘snake and the other’	12	kuse	kusa	‘kurry and the other’
3	kope	kupa	‘hill and the other’	13	gu:ḍe	guḍa:	‘nest and the other’
4	ulle	ulla	‘house and the other’	14	konde	kunda	‘cow and the other’
5	mege	muḡa	‘goat and the other’	15	kursi	kursa	‘chair and the other’
6	dewul	duwal	‘temple and the other’	16	menda	munḍi	‘sheep and the other’
7	gaḍa	gaḍi	‘bolt and the other’	17	waṇu:l	wuṇa:l	‘knee and the other’
8	wandel	wunda:l	‘finger and the other’	18	kor	kura	‘hen and the other’
9	lōk	luka	‘people and the other’	19	ma:puru	mupra	‘god and the other’
10	kanu	kuna	‘eye and the other’	20	muṇān	muṇīn	‘nose and the other’

The syllable pattern, in terms of canonical forms, in Ollai Gadaba would be as follows: (C)(C)V1 (C)(C)CV2 CV3. Of these the mono and the disyllabic are more common than tri-syllabic words. However, the following rules of phonological change can be observed in Ollari Gadaba.

- i) The V1 of the base changes to **u** irrespective of its quality
- ii) If V2 or V3 is any of **i, e or u**, changes to changes to **-a**; if it is **a**, it is replaced by **i**.
- iii) If a monosyllabic base word ends with a consonant, the echo word adds an enunciative **-a** at the end of the (there by converting the latter into disyllabic).

The non-Dravidian phonological pattern found in Ollari Gadaba language can be treated as an acquired feature from the immediate neighboring Munda Languages, viz., Gutob Gadaba and Parengi-Gorum. Mahapatra (1976) provides data from Gata?, Remo and Parengi Gorum showing the vowel alternations involved in South Munda in forming the echo-words. The rules for the formation of echo-words in these languages are similar to those described above (for Ollari Gadaba), as can be noticed from the following instances.

- 1 **semuk-sumak** 'tree and like'
- 2 **kijan-kujin** 'cooked rice and like'

Similar patterns are found in the formation of echo-words in Desiya Odia an Indo-Aryn link language among the speakers of the Dravidian, Munda and Indo-Aryan languages.

- 1 **kumḍa-kamḍi** 'pumpkin and like'
- 2 **git-guta** 'song and like'
- 3 **alu-ula** 'potto and like'

On the basis of the echo-formation patterns found in the South Munda languages, Mahapatra (1976:830) concludes that "echo-formation by changing only the vowels of the base is essentially Munda feature", which had been adopted by the other two families of the languages. However, the South Munda languages had influenced the Ollari Gadaba language the native or the original feature of forming the echo-words by replacing the first syllable or vowel with *gi* is preserved in the most common or basic words used in the daily communication can be seen below (only two words):

- 1 **ka:l** **gi:l** 'leg and the other'
- 2 **kil** **gil** 'hand and the other' (Disussed in Convergence under point 6)

5.12. Binomials

It has been noted by Reddy (1991) that a binomial or a lexical doublet is a set of two words in a certain order whose members are of an identical syntactic category, pertain to a selected semantic field which exhibits a specific sense-relation between them, and they may sometimes be connected by a lexical link. These are not same as onomatopoeia, reduplication and echo-formation and other expressives both in form and function. There is a constraint on the use of these binomials. They cannot be reversible. If at all, it has to be reversed, they demand a kind of conjunction of the two items, but not as a binomial. Each language has its own way of forming the binomials and some languages allow reversibility. Sometimes these binomials demand an identical category restriction on the two members like noun-noun, adjective-adjective and verb-verb constructions. When these are compared, they show phonetic and phonological differences in their structure. It has been stated by Reddy (1991) that the phonotactic arrangement leads to the contribution of phonoaesthetic sense. They also

exhibit equal syllable weight in most cases. The semantic information comes from the each binomial belonging to the same semantic field.

Example:

1	wal	wa:in	‘air and rain’
2	aba	si:nd	‘father and son’
3	narka:m	pakaʈa:l	‘night and day’
4	aja	aba	‘mother and father’
5	ta:li	gina	‘cot and plate’
6	aja:l	magil	‘wife and husband’
7	asma:l	magind	‘female and male’
8	su:p	mirja	‘salt and pepper’
9	wa:in	karu:p	‘rain and heat’
10	sotki	micki	‘truth or lie’
13	ulka	palka	‘high and low tide’
14	juli	ʝɔdi	‘age and pair’

5.13. Adverbial Noun Stems

There is a class of noun-stems, simple as well as derived, denoting time and place that are not distinguished for number and gender but are inflected with certain case suffixes sometimes. Though all these are syntactically adverbials but on the other hand they are all morphological. The oblique stems are given in the following table.

Place	ajo	‘that’	ajoʈuŋ	‘that side’
Place	ijo	‘this’	ijoʈuŋ	‘this side’
Place	a:	‘that’	a:base	‘that place’
Place	i:	‘this’	i:base	‘this place’
Place	ere	‘which’	erebase	‘which place’
Place	tandrel	‘in’	tandrelman	‘inside’
Place	pon	‘front’	pontun	‘in front’
Time	i:	‘this’	i:siris	‘this day’
Time	a:	‘that’	a:siris	‘that day’
Time	paʈin	‘all’	paʈin siris	‘all days’
Time	inen	‘today’	ineʈuk	‘from today onwards’
Time	asin	‘yesterday’	asinʈuk	‘from then onwards’

Table-5.3: Adverbial Nouns

There are types of adverbs available in the language. These adverbs are simple and they denote time and place.

1	kɔrgunel	‘early in the morning’	7	aʈtol	‘morning’
2	pakʈa:l	‘afternoon’	8	sirta:l	‘evening’
3	narka:m	‘night’	9	nendgap	‘midnight’

4	aga:ɖi	‘before’	10	kiɖiŋ	‘below’
5	mutul	‘under’	11	poita:n	‘above/on’
6	kunɖel	‘behind’			

5.14. Pronouns

Pronouns of the 1st and 2nd are sub class of nouns. They are distinguished for number and not for gender. These pronouns are inflected for case. Pronouns of the 3rd persons are all derived from the demonstratives and interrogative adjectives.

1 st person	Singular	Plural	Obliq Forms
	a:n a:ne (genitive)	a:m a:me (genitive)	an and am
2 nd person	in ine (genitive)	im ime (genitive)	in and im
3 rd person	o:nd (masculine) onɖune (genitive) a:d (non-masculine female) a:dne (genitive) a:d (neuter) a:dne (genitive)	o:r/ailok (masculine) orne (genitive) a:w/aimasil (non-masculine female) awe (genitive) a:w (neuter) awe (genitive)	onɖ and or ad and aw

Table-5.4: The 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons, their Plural and Oblique Forms

5.14.1. Pronouns Chart

I	a:n ‘I’	anuŋ ‘me’	nijen ‘self’	a:ne ‘my’
we	a:m ‘we’	amuŋ ‘me’	nijen ‘selves’	a:me ‘our’
You (sg)	in ‘you’	inuŋ ‘you’	nijen ‘rself’	ine ‘your’
You(pl)	im ‘you’	imuŋ ‘you’	nijen ‘selves’	ime ‘your’
He	o:nd ‘he’	o:nduŋ ‘him’	nijen ‘self’	o:ndune ‘his’
She	a:d ‘she’	adiŋ ‘her’	nijen ‘self’	adine ‘his’
It	id ‘it’	idiŋ ‘it’	nijen ‘itself’	idine ‘its’
They	o:r ‘they’	oruŋ ‘them’	nijor ‘selves’	orne ‘their’
They	ailok ‘they’	ailokuŋ ‘them’	nije ‘selves’	ailokne ‘their’

Table-5.5: Pronouns in Ollari Gadaba Language

5.15. Numerals

Numerals are the sub class of nouns. They carry gender and number category and also inflected for the case. Ollari Gadaba preserves its native for 1 to 3. From four onwards the language follows the Odia number system. These numerals from four onwards are compounds. The simple numerals belong to non-masculine gender

category are used for both nouns in the nominative and as attributes for the following head nouns. The numbers 1 to 3 have bound adjectival variants that occur before certain bound stems, classifiers or certain other derivative suffixes to morphological meaning like one man, two men and three men. Number two under goes vowel change for making the distinction between male female. There another instance of making use of the borrowed word /jodek/ for non human things and animals.

5.15.1. Simple Numerals Complex Numerals Including Classifier (masculine gender)

One		Two		Three	
ukuṭ	‘one’	iral/irul	‘two’ (human)	mundug	‘three’
ukur lɔk	‘one man’	irul sepa:kil	‘two boys’	mugur lɔk	‘three men’
ukur sepa:l	‘one boy’	iral masil	‘two women’	mundug siris	‘three days’
oka:l ma:l	‘one girl’	jodek	‘two’ (non human)		
oka:l sma:l	‘one woman’	jodek siris	‘two days’		
ukuṭ siris	‘one day’	jodek megel	‘two goats’		
ukuṭ tɔr	‘once’	jodek tɔr	‘twice’		

Table-5.6: Native Numbers available in the Language

From the tree onwards Ollari Gadaba make use of the borrowed Odia numerals like cari gota, panc gota etc. For the word 20 they make use of the word kuDi which is a munda numeral.

Example:

1	chari gota	chari gota	‘four’
		chari lɔk	‘four men’
2	panch gota	panch gota	‘five’
		panch lɔk	‘five men’
3	che gota	‘six’	
4	sa:t gota	‘seven’	
5	nau gota	‘nine’	
6	dɔs gota	‘ten’	
7	kuDi	‘twenty’	

5.16. Case

It has been observed by Krishnamurti (1969: 248) that a ‘Case is the category of affixation which establishes a kind of relation between the nouns and other word classes in an utterance, particularly the verb’. There are eight cases available in Ollari Gadaba language: nominative, accusative, dative, locative, instrumental, associative,

locative and genitive. Except for the nominative case which does not carry any overt marker as others carry an overt suffix markers as a case marker. Syntactically only nouns in the nominative are nominal; the rest of them are either adjectival or adverbial in function.

5.16.1. Nominative Case

Nominative case is morphologically, syntactically and semantically a null case. It has no separate marker which can be added to the nouns. It always occurs as a direct case.

Examples:

1. a:n sanŋ-na Hyderabd se-ja-n
I-NOM friend-ASS Hyderabad go-NPST-1SGM/F
I will go to Hyderabad with my friend.
2. sepal anseti ma-ja-nḍ
boy-NOM hungry BE-NPST-3SG.M
The boy is hungry.

5.16.2. Accusative Case

Examples:

1. a:n nete-ŋ aṭ-e-n
I-NOM dog-ACC beat- PST-1SG.M.F
I beat the dog.
2. o:nḍ kiṭki-ŋ sandt-o-nḍ
he-NOM window-ACC open- PST-3 SG.M
He opened the window.
3. sepa:l ḍaba:-ŋ pundt-o-nḍ
boy-NOM jar-ACC break-PST-3 SG.M
The boy broke the jar.
4. a:n a:n-e saŋɔ-ŋ phone ken-o-n
I-NOM my-POSS friend-Acc phne do-PST--1SG.M.F
I telephoned to my friend.
5. a:n TV-iŋ bɔnd-ken-o-n
I-NOM TV-ACC stop-do-PAST--1SGM/F
I stopped the TV.

6. a:ɪɒk pa:nd-**iŋ** suɖ-e-r
 they pig-ACC see- PST-3PLM/F
 They saw the pig.
7. raju sepet-**iŋ** indr-e:-ndɪ (raju sepet indre:ndɪ also possible)
 raju broom-ACC bring- PST-3SGM
 Raju brought a broom.
8. suresh marin-**iŋ** katʰ -e-ndɪ
 suresh tree-ACC cut- PAST-3SGM
 Suresh cut the tree.
9. sita pɔl-**uŋ** kuy-e-ɕe (sita pɔl kuyeɕe also possible)
 sita fruit-ACC cut-PST-3SG.F
 Sita cut the fruit.
10. a:n onɖ-**uŋ** baɟa:r-tin suɖ-e-n
 i-NOM him-ACC market-Loc see-PST-1SG.M.F
 I saw him at the market.
11. a:n onɖ-**uŋ** suɖe:n
 i-NOM him-ACC see-PST-1SG.M.F
 I saw him.

There are three variants of accusative case are available in the present data viz.
 /-ŋ/, /-iŋ/, /-uŋ/, /-ɪŋ/ occurs when the word/nouns end with a vowel preceded by a
 consonant then it will take /-ŋ/.

∅ → v/c __ ŋ

v → v / vc __ +ŋ

[+F] / [+F]

v → v / vc __ +ŋ

[-F] / [+F]

5.16.3. Dative Case

Examples:

1. an-**uŋ** ukut sela:l māja
 i-DAT one sister have
 I have a sister.

2. in-**uṇ** ukut cycle mājā ki?
you-DAT one cycle have IM
Do you have a cycle?
3. am-**uṇ** TV mājā
We-DAT TV have
We have a TV.
4. im-**uṇ** er pok-e-r?
you-DAT who tel-PST-1PL.M.F
Who told you? (PL)
5. im-**uṇ** enḍ pok-e-nḍ?
you-DAT who tell-PST-3 SG.M
Who told you? (SG)
6. an-**uṇ** Telugu war-a:
I-DAT Telugu know-NEG
I don't know Telugu.
7. in-**uṇ** Patnayak puj-a:-nḍ ki?
You-DAT Patnayak know-PST-3 SG.M IM
Do you know Patnayak?
8. an-**uṇ** kaikir wari-mājā
I-DAT fever come-have
I got fever.
9. ad-**iṇ** irul sepa-kil mājā
She-DAT two child-PL have
She has two children.
10. a:n beḍe-**ṇ** laṭa sin-o-n
I-NOM cow-DAT grass give- PST-1SG.M.F
I gave grass to a cow.

From the above examples, one can find out the process of case syncretism, where the same sentence has one another meaning, which is 'I beat the cow', as seen below examples:

1. a:n beḍe-**ṇ** aṭ-e-n
cow-ACC beat-PST-1SG.M.F
I beat the cow.

2. a:n ukut ad-**in** bɔi sin-o-n
 i one she-DAT book give-PAST-1SG.M.F
 I gave him a book.

As observed in the accusative case similar variants are available for the dative case too. The variants of dative case are /-ɪ/, /-in/ and /-un/. The following rules will illustrate the phenomenon of dative case marker.

∅ → v/c__ +ɪ

v → v / vc __ +ɪ

[+F] / [+F]

v → v / vc __ +ɪ

[-F] / [+F]

5.16.4. Ablative Case

Examples:

1. a:n kunduli-**tuɪ** wari-da-n
 I-NOM kunduli-ABL come-NPST--1SG.M.F
 I am coming from Kunduli.
2. o:ndɪ marin-**tuɪ** p^hu:-l puʃs-i-ma:-ndɪ
 he-NOM tree-ABL flower-PL pluc-CP-PPFV-3 SG.M
 He has pluck the flowers from the tree.
3. o:ndɪ semiliguɖɔ-**tuɪ** wa-da-ndɪ
 he-NOM semiliguda-ABL come-NPST-3 SG.M
 He will come from semiliguda.

[-**tuɪ**] is the only marker available for ablative case.

5.16.5. Instrumental Case

The instrumental case marker of the language is **-na**.

Examples:

1. a:n bru:s-**na** daton ken-o-n
 i-NOM brush INS teeth clean-PST-1SG.M.F
 I cleaned the teeth with brush.
2. a:n tenjiya-**na** marin kat-e-n
 I-NOM axe-INS tree cut-PST-1SGM/F
 I cut the tree with an axe.

3. ailok canwe-**na** aṭ-e-r
 they stick-INS beat PST-3PLM/F
 They beat him with a stick.

The same case marker is also used for association, even though associative marker is also available in the language, as seen in the next section.

5.16.6. Associative Case

Examples:

1. Kamala a:n **na/na:t** wan-e
 Kamala me ASS come-PST
 Kamala came with me
2. sita o:nd-**na/na:t** send-e
 sita he-ASS go-PST
 Sita went with him.
3. o:nd aca:r-**na/na:t** kaṭse misa:si tij-o-nd
 he-NOM pickle-ASS rice mixing eat-PST-3SG.M
 He ate the rice with pickle.
4. a:d neelkhanta-**na/na:t** parikya:n leka:t-o-nd
 she-NOM Neelkhant-ASS exam write-PST-3SGM
 She wrote the exam with Neelkhant.
5. o:nd pencil-**na/na:t** parikya:n leka:t-o-nd
 he-NOM pencil- ASS exam write-PST-3SGM
 He wrote the exam with a pencil.
6. o:nd narsikarin-**na** weṭ-i-da-nd
 he-NOM fear-ASS run-CP-NPST-3 SG.M
 He is running with fear.
7. o:nd andṣeṭi-**na/na:t** wan-o-nd
 he hunger -ASS come-PST-3 SG.M
 He came hungrily.

Associative marker of the language is /-na/ or /-na:t/, where /-na/ is used for both instrumental and associative. But, the oblic form /-**na:t**/ is an optional marker as we see in Telugu like /-**toṭi**/ in /**na-toṭi**/ ‘with me’ /**nee-toṭi**/ ‘with you’ as in other

way like **na-to** ‘with me’ / **nee-to** ‘with you’. /-na/ is equal to -to and /-**na:t**/ is equal to /-**toŋi**/.

5.16.7. Locative Case

Examples:

1. a:n buṭa:l-**tin** werig-inj sud-e-n
I-NOM bush-LOC cat-ACC see-PST-1SGM.F
I saw the cat in the bush.
2. o:nd mandir-**tin** wendiṭ-inj suḍ-e-nd
he-NOM temple-LOC god-ACC see-PST-3SG.M
He saw the God in the temple.
3. Ramu polug-**tun** maj-a-nd
Ramu village-LOC have-NPST-3 SG.M
Ramu is in the village.
4. mi:n nir-**tin** sej-da
fish liv-LOC live-NPST
Fish lives in water. (note: present habitual action uses progressive marker -da)
5. ḍruka bōn-**tun** sej-da
tiger jungle-LOC live-NPST
Tiger lives in the jungle (note: present habitual action uses progressive marker -da)
6. ba:lṭ koika:l-tin illeṭ-e
bucket well-LOC fall-PST
Bucket fell in the well.

Two variants are available for the Locative case marking. They are [-**tin**] and [-**tun**]. -tun occurs when the noun has a back, round vowel and -tin occurs when the noun has high vowel in it.

V-----→V/C ____ C

[+front] [+front]

[-front] [+front]

Or

v----→ v / + c ____ c

[+F] [+F]

v----→ v/ + c ____ c

[-F] [+F]

5.16.8. Genitive Case

Genitive case describes the adnominal relation. In the present data genitive case is marked a separate suffix differently for +human (pronouns and nouns), and -human. These different forms are attached to the either nouns or pronouns.

Examples:

1. id niləkəntə **–ne** rumal
 this nilkəntə-GEN rumal
 This is Nilkəntə's rumal.

2. Sunita-**ne** toɖuʈ kələg-tin majā:
 Sunita-GEN sister college-LOC is
 Sunita's sister is in the college.

3. iskul- kʰakel an-**e** ulle
 school near me-GEN house
 My house is near the school.

4. id am-**e** ulle
 this our-GEN house
 This is our house.

5. id ajlok **–ne** ulle
 this their-GEN house
 This is their house.

There are some stems which belong to non-masculine category. These forms are made oblique by the addition of **-te** to convey the possession or adnominal relation. The following are few examples of oblique stem formation:

ulleṭe	mu:ldura	‘house’s foundation’	ulleṭe	c ^h ato	‘house’s roof’
ki:ṭe	wandel	‘hand’s fingers’	solluṭe	basna	‘mouth’s smell’
perette	ba:nd	‘river’s bank’	tonduṭe	ka:me	‘tomorrow’s work’
orguṭe	ka:me	‘yesterday’s work’	ineṭe	ka:me	‘today’s work’

The observation of the above data reveals that *–ne/* is the original genitive case marker and the following additions and deletions are made based on the forms that end in. The following rules will illustrate phenomenon.

5.16.9. The following chart presents the case markers as they occur after the noun stems.

S. No	Case	Markers
1	Nominative case	-Ø
2	Accusative case	-ŋ, -iŋ, -uŋ
3	Dative case	-ŋ, -iŋ, -uŋ
4	Ablative case	-tŋ
5	Instrumental case	-na
6	Associative case	-na, -naɬ
7	Locative case	-tin, -tun
8	Genitive case	-e, -ne, -te

Table-5.7: Case Markers and their Variantions

5.17. Clitics

A *Clitic* is syntactically or structurally dependent on a neighboring word, particularly on its host and cannot stand on its own. Most of the cases it is phonologically bound. In other words, clitics are indeclinable class of morphemes, which cannot occur as free morphemes. These are weak forms of functional categories like auxiliaries, particles, determiners and pronouns. In Gadaba three types of clitics are found viz., question clitic, emphatic clitic, inclusive clitic and dubitative clitic.

5.17.1. Inclusive Clitic

Examples:

- a:n-**men** baɣɔr-tin seja
I-**INC** market-LOC go
I too go to market.
- Ramu-**men** wan-o-ndɔ
ramu-**INC** came-PST-PN
Ramu also came.
- a:n ondu:n-**men** org-e-n
I him-**INC** call-PAST-PN
I called him too.
- in sindi-ŋ-**men** indiiir-da-tɔ
you son-ACC-INC bring-NPST-2 SG. M.F
Bring your son also.

- | | | | |
|---------------|------|-----|------|
| 5. ondu-ŋ-men | ukuŋ | car | majā |
| he-ACC-INC | one | car | is |
- He too has a car.

5.17.2. Dubitative Clitic

Examples:

1. o:nd̥ wa-da-nd̥-**ki** war-a-nd̥-**ki** a:n pun-a:n
 he come-NPST-3SG.M-DUB come-NEG-3SG.M-DUB I know-NEG-1SG.M.F
 He will come or not I do not know (we can put I don't know at beginning).
2. a:n pun-a:-n o:nd̥ tin-o-nd̥-**ki** man-a:-**ki**
 i know-NEG-1SG.M.F he eat-PAST-3SG.M –DUB BE-NEG-DUB
 I don't know whether he has eaten or not.

5.17.3. Emphatic Clitic

Examples:

1. i ka:me a:n ken-o-n (simple)
 this work me do-PST-1SG.M.F
 i ka:me a:n-**i** ken-o-n (emphatic)
 this work me-EMP do-PST-1SG.M.F
 I only have done this work.
2. a:m ondu-ŋ sud-e:-m
 we him-ACC see-PST-1PL.M.F
 a:m-**i** ondu-ŋ sud-e:-m
 we- EMP him-ACC see-PST-1PL.M.F
 We ourselves saw him.
3. inen in pok-e-t
 you you tell-PST-2 SG.M.F
 inen in-**i** pok-e-t
 you you- EMP tell-PST-2 SG.M.F
 You yourself told him.

5.18. Adjectives

Adjectives are the class of words which are primarily identifiable by their syntactic function to the following nouns. The reason for taking adjectives as a word class is the existence of a few monomorphemic forms which exclusively function as syntactic adjectives (adjectival). There is also a class of

morphological adjectives which underlie derived pronominals. In addition, certain derivative suffixes serve to identify a few sub classes of adjectives at the word level. All the adjectives in the study may be broadly classified into three morphological types viz. simple, complex and compound.

5.18.1. Demonstrative Adjectives

Generally an adjective qualifies a noun. In Ollari Gadaba there are certain demonstratives which qualify nouns and demonstrate those at the same time. Some of the demonstrative adjectives have been discussed here.

Examples:

1. i:d ‘this’
2. a:d ‘that’
3. ena:d ‘what’

The above demonstrative adjectives also have morphologically bound variants.

1. id-u ‘this one’
2. ad-u ‘that one’

5.18.2. Interrogative Adjectives

1. ena ‘what’
2. erne ‘whose’
1. in ena endik endik-i-da-t
you-NOM what game play-PV-NPST-2 SG.M/F
What game you play?
2. id er-ne ulle?
this whose-GEN house
Whose house is this?

5.18.3. Descriptive Adjectives

Examples:

- | | | | | | |
|---|--------|---------|----|---------|---------|
| 1 | aga:qi | ‘front’ | 15 | kunde:l | ‘back’ |
| 2 | ber | ‘big’ | 16 | sa:s | ‘brave’ |
| 3 | nars | ‘timid’ | 17 | nija | ‘good’ |
| 4 | vuja | ‘bad’ | 18 | qe:ŋ | ‘tall’ |
| 5 | buŋi | ‘short’ | 19 | puned | ‘new’ |

6	eṭed	‘old’	20	pa: jed	‘raw’
7	sɔlək	‘straight’	21	bankṭi	‘bent or curved’
8	koḍed	‘young’	22	ḡura	‘old’
9	mag	‘male’	23	buṭi	‘short’
10	deng	‘tall’	24	paponḍi	‘young’
11	vuja	‘bad’	25	nini	‘small’
12	ka:v	‘tender’	26	bank	‘curve’
13	puned	‘new’	27	ukuṭ	‘one’
14	kundel	‘behind’	28	mundel	‘front’

Note: In descriptive/attributive use, these adjectives are uninflected for example. ber toḍonḍ ‘elder brother’ nini sepa:l ‘small boy’ banza raza ‘barren king’ etc. But when they are used predicatively most of these adjectives are inflected for person, number and gender of the objects they qualify.

Examples:

1.	i: sepa:l	nijā- ṭonḍ	‘this boy is a good boy’
2.	aima:l	vuja- ṭe	‘that lady is a bad lady’
3.	ane	maginḍ	ḍeṇ-ṭonḍ ‘my husband is tall man’
4.	i:	sepa:kil	buṭi-ṭor ‘theses boys are short’
5.	i:	masil	nini-ṭev ‘these girls are small’
M.SG.	-ṭonḍ	PL	-ṭor
N-M.SG	-ṭe, -ṭ	PL	-ṭev

Note: Sometimes some of these forms are used as attributives or descriptive adjectives e.g. nijā-ṭe sepa:l ‘good boy’ vuya-ṭe lək ‘bad men’ berṭe lək ‘big people etc.

5.18.4. Bound Adjectives

5.18.4.1. Numeral Adjectives:

The numerals 1 to 3 in the language have bound variants involved in compounds. The following can be seen:

Examples:

1.	ukuṭ	‘one’	ukuṭ siris	‘one day’
2.	ḡḍek	‘two’	ḡḍek siris	‘two days only’ (check siris (pl))
3.	irul	‘two’	irul sepa:kil	‘two boys’

- | | | | |
|-----------|---------|--------------|-------------------|
| 4. iral | ‘two’ | iral ma:sil | ‘two girls’ |
| 5. mundug | ‘three’ | mundug siris | ‘three days only’ |

ukuṭ-, iral/irul/ɟɔdek- and mundug- also can be added to the plural human suffix -lək. (to express the words like one each, two each and three each).

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------|--------------|------|-------------------|
| 1. irul-lək | ukur ukr | dui-ṭonka | laka | un-o-r |
| two-PL | one one | two-rupees | each | take-PST-3 PL.M/F |
| The two men took one rupee each. | | | | |
| 2. mugur-lək | ukur ukr | tini-ṭonka | laka | un-o-r |
| three-PL | one one | three-rupees | each | take-PST-3 PL.M/F |
| The three men took two rupees each. | | | | |
| 3. cari-lək | ukur ukr | cari-ṭonka | laka | un-o-r |
| four-PL | one one | four-rupees | each | take-PST-3 PL.M/F |
| The four men took three rupees each. | | | | |

Another sub class of bound adjectives consists of forms having restricted occurrence with certain noun heads in compounds.

Examples:

- | | |
|----------------|----------------|
| 1. banja ra:ja | ‘barren king’ |
| 2. banji ra:ni | ‘barren queen’ |

5.18.5. Complex Adjectives:

All derived adjectives consisting of a single root but more than one morpheme belong to this class. The following subclasses may be set up in terms of the stem classes from which they derived.

5.18.6. Derived from Adjectives:

Certain derivative suffixes are added to bound or free adjectival roots to derive complex adjectives.

Examples:

- | | |
|--------------|----------------|
| 1. apa:ɖi | ‘that sort of’ |
| 2. ipa:ɖi | ‘this sort of’ |
| 3. igulpaṭin | ‘this much’ |
| 4. agulpaṭin | ‘that much’ |
| 5. ene paṭin | ‘how much’ |

The above adjectives are derived from **a-**, **i-**, and **e-**, respectively which are bound allomorphs of the demonstrative and interrogative adjectives ad ‘that’, id ‘this’, and ened ‘how’ by the addition of derivative suffixes.

Some complex adjectives are derived by the addition of **-te**, to certain bound or free adjectival roots.

Predicative and Pronominal Adjective -

Examples:

- | | | | | | |
|----------|---------|------------|---------|---------|--------------|
| 1. netir | ‘red’ | : neti-te | viled | ‘white’ | : viled-te |
| 2. tiren | ‘sweet’ | : tiren-te | wetal | ‘hot’ | : wetal-te |
| 3. kakor | ‘cold’ | : kakor-te | sriṇa:t | ‘black’ | : sriṇa:t-te |
| 4. bajā | ‘mad’ | : bajā-te | patol | ‘thick’ | : patol-te |

5.18.7. Derived from Nouns

The oblique-genitive stems of nouns (including demonstrative pronouns), formed by the addition of **-te** **—I or il** in plural, function adjectively when followed by nouns.

Singular:

Examples:

- | | | | | | |
|-------------|----------|-------------------|---------|---------|-----------------|
| 1. ka:nd-te | wendiṭ | ‘god of stones’ | kanu-te | kanir | ‘tears of eye’ |
| 2. ere | ma-te | ‘of which place’ | ai | base-te | ‘of that place’ |
| 3. ai | polug-te | ‘of that village’ | ai | ulle-te | ‘of that house’ |

Plural:

Examples:

- | | | |
|-------------|--------|-----------------|
| 1. kanu-l | kanir | ‘eyes tears’ |
| 2. ka:nd-il | wendiṭ | ‘stones of god’ |

The oblique genitive stems of personal pronouns a:ne ‘my’ and a:me ‘our’ ine ‘your’ ime ‘your’ are used adjectively :

Examples:

- | | | | | | |
|---------|-------|-----------|---------------|-----|---------------|
| 1. a:ne | kanul | ‘my eyes’ | a:me | des | ‘our country’ |
| 2. ine | icca: | keda:t | ‘as you like’ | im | ma:mun ullen |
- ‘to you father-in-laws house’

A small class of nouns denoting measures are changed into adjectives by the addition of /-k/, /-ek/, /-lek/.

Examples:

- | | | | | |
|----------|----------|------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. mat | ‘fist’ | mat- ek | manjik | ‘fist full of sand’ |
| 2. a:nd | ‘palm’ | a:nd- lek | manjik | ‘palm full of sand’ |
| 3. aɡle | ‘pot’ | agle- k | nir | ‘pot full of water’ |
| 4. basta | ‘bag’ | bast- ek | warsil | ‘bag full of paddy’ |
| 5. takne | ‘basket’ | takne- k | p ^h u:l | ‘basket full of flowers’ |

5.18.8. Derived from Verbs:

Verbal stems with the tense-mode morph /-o-/ past become adjectives by the addition of /-ndʒi/.

Past Adjective in /-ondʒi/

Examples:

- | | | | |
|----------|----------|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. or | manondʒi | pɔl | ‘the fruits that they collected’ |
| 2. in | kejonʒi | kame | ‘the work that you have done’ |
| 3. o:ndʒ | indronʒi | p ^h u:l | ‘the flowers that you had sewn’ |

5.18.8.1. Bound Adjectives

Syntactically free adjectives, simple or complex, acquire a stem formative -m- after the epenthetic vowel, when they are involved in morphologically derived pronominals formed by the addition of the personal suffixes.

1 SG	-n	1 PL	-m
2 SG	-t	2 PL	-r
3 SG.M	-ndʒ	2 PL	-r
3 SG.N.M	-a(d)	2 PL	-av

The following examples will illustrate the phenomenon.

Examples:

- | | | |
|----------|-------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. a:n | nijã-ma-n | ‘I am (a) good (one)’ |
| 2. a:m | nijã-ma-m | ‘we (incl.) are (a) good (ones)’ |
| 3. in | nijã-ma-t | ‘you (sg.) are (a) good (one)’ |
| 4. im | nijã-ma-r | ‘you (pl.) are (a) good (ones)’ |
| 5. o:ndʒ | nijã-ma-ndʒ | ‘he is (a) good (one)’ |

6. or nijã-ma-r ‘they (men) are good (ones)’
7. a:d nijã-ma ‘she is (a) good (one)’
8. aw nijã-ma-w ‘they (women/objects) are good (ones)’

Adjectives which are not syntactically free include those listed above and those restricted occurrences like *ondra/ondira*, *koili*, (restricted to animals) *ganja*, *peṭi* (restricted to fowls), etc.

5.18.9. Nominal Adjectives

Many words that are basically nouns, function as adjectival in endocentric compounds with noun heads. Subject to, perhaps, semantic congruence, almost any uninflected noun can occur as a modifier of a following noun in endocentric constructions. These nominal adjectives, however, exclude uninflected pronouns and adverbial nouns but include cardinal numerals (italicized words are nouns used attributively),

Examples:

1. i: pa:nḍu kanda ‘this pig’s flesh’
2. Rāja masil ‘king’s daughters’
3. pereṭ palin ‘river’s bank’
4. maiṇil nendit ‘peacock’s feather’
5. t^hak baṭa ‘crop’s share’

In phrases where the noun used attributively is inflected, we expect forms with the genitive suffix /-ne/ etc. like *pa:nḍu-ne* kanda and *t^hak-ne* baṭa, etc.

Numerals with non-masculine or masculine classifiers can occur either as nouns or as attributes to nouns,

Examples:

- | | | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. ukuṭ bole/pole | ‘one word’ | jodek kalgilṭe jaṭil | ‘the bells of two legs’ |
| 2. mundug siris/tin din | ‘three days’ | mundug nelin | ‘three months’ |
| 3. ukur niniṭe toḍonḍ | ‘1 younger brother’ | irul sinḍil/sepa:l | ‘two sons’ |
| 4. iral ma:lmasil | ‘two daughters’ | ca:r lok be:r b ^h āi | ‘four elder brothers’ |

5.18.10. Other Determinatives used Attributively

Examples:

1. enjir dinam paiṭ ‘for how many days’

2. ejir dinam 'these many days'
3. paʃin dinfu 'the whole stuff'

5.19. Verb

Verbs are a class of words inflected for the categories of tense or mode. The nucleus of a verb form is a verb stem. Verb stems are either simple, or complex or sometimes compound too. A simple stem is a single root. Complex stem has one root followed by one or more derivational morphemes. A compound stem has more than one root. All types of verbs include one or more derivational or inflectional affixes.

5.19.1. Stems

Simple stems are all monomorphemic roots. They follow the following canonical forms.

Monosyllabic:

1. (C)V ending in -a -e -i and -o; is common in the monosyllabic verbs. These type of words are available in the data are very few.

wa	'come'	ke	'do'	pai	'open'
----	--------	----	------	-----	--------

2. V(C) ending in -l -r -n -d -t are following forms. These type of verbs are total 8 are available in the data.

il	'fall'	un	'drink'	ir	'put'
oɖ	'sleep'	aɭ	'beat'	er	'swim'

3. VC(C) ending in clusters nd nɖ and rg. These types of roots are very frequent in the language.

end	'dance'	und	'whistle'
enɖ	'fill'	org	'call'

4. VC(C) (C) ending in ndk is the only example available of this type of verbs roots.

endk	'play'
------	--------

5. V (:) C in most of the cases of the verbs in the type are ending in either retroflexion sounds ɖ or with the dental voiced sound -d.

u:ɖ	'plough'	a:ɖ	'cry'	e:d	'reach'
-----	----------	-----	-------	-----	---------

6. (C)VC ending in any consonant other than -h an -z and -m are more in number. Of this type ending in obstruents are more comparing to the nasals, laterals and retroflexion sounds.

pad	‘drench’	tak	‘walk’
nag	‘laugh’	pal	‘finish’
nil	‘stand’	wal	‘jump’
wal	‘hop’	sen/sej	‘go’
man	‘remain’	jin	‘win’
sin	‘give’	wan/war	‘come’
tin	‘eat’	wen	‘hear’
pok	‘ask’	kop	‘graze’
sat	‘burn’	wit	‘sow’
waɭ	‘roast’	weɭ	‘run’
wit	‘sow’	beɭ	‘meet’

7. (C)V:C the final consonant of this type are ending in -g -s -r -ɭ -ɖ and the semi vowel -y.

ka:s	‘bite’	ki:s	‘pinch’	na:g	‘laugh’
no:r	‘wash’	ku:j	‘cut’	ko:j	‘cut’
su:ɖ	‘see’	pa:ɭ	‘hold’	ka:ɭ	‘tie’

8. (C)VCC – the final consonant of the cluster (not a geminate) is mostly an obstruent and in few cases, however it is retroflexion sound.

sandɭ	‘grow’	sind	‘sneeze’	tumk	‘sneeze’
pundɭ	‘break’	bank	‘bent’	panɖ	‘ripen’

9. (C)V:CC the final consonants of this type is are either -d or -ɖ. Only one example is available in the data.

wa:ndɭ	‘cook’
--------	--------

Dissyllabic:

1. (C)VCV the final vowel of the roots in most of the cases are short vowels. Large number of this type end in -i.

widi	‘sell’	piki	‘collect’	puta	‘blossom’
------	--------	------	-----------	------	-----------

2. (C)VCVC there are only five roots of this type which end in -p -k and -r.

silup	‘get up’	sorup	‘pour’
-------	----------	-------	--------

sujup ‘kiss’ lager ‘fight’
 koruk ‘chew’

3. (C)VCCV only two roots are available of this type. The final vowel is either –i or –a of this type.

kanji ‘carry’ reŋsa ‘crawl’

4. (C)V:CVC only one roots is available of this type. The final consonant is voiced velar sound -g

ta:riɡ ‘swallow’

5. VCVC three roots are available of this type they end –k -g and -j.

oruk ‘paint’ aɟiɡ ‘dig’ aniɟ ‘climb’

6. VCCCV there is only one example is available in the data of this type. The root either ends in –i or –e.

indri/indre ‘bring’

Trisyllabic:

7. CVCVCVC only one example of trisyllabic root is available and it is ending in -t.

pakuput ‘hide’

The most common type of roots in Ollari Gadaba are monosyllables, particularly those ending in C or CC i.e. (C)VC, (C)VCC, (C)V:C and (C)V:CC. These four types account for most of the roots available in the data.

5.19.2. Intransitive and Transitive Verbs

Roots in Ollari Gadaba can be classified either as a transitive or intransitive. Krishnamurti and Gwynn (1985:200) states that “In many cases, a verb root, by virtue of its meaning, is inherently transitive or intransitive”. It has further been mentioned by Keith Brown et.al (2006:68, 132) that a verb that combines with two nominals, viz., agent (animate actor or force) and object (the affected or experience) is transitive verb and a verb that combines with one nominal (which does not require the combination of agent and the object) is known as intransitive verb.

5.19.3. Complex Stems

Complex stems in Ollari Gadaba have at least two constituents each, viz. a simple root and a derivative suffix. The derivative suffixes are those which form

transitive/causative or sometimes reflexive stems. The most common type of forming a causative stem is by the addition of morpheme /put/ to the root.

Root	Gloss	Causative	Stem	Gloss	Causative
mair	‘sell’	mair-u- put	mulug	‘dip’	mulug-u- put
tin	‘eat’	tind-u- put	ad	‘cry’	ad-u- put
no:r	‘wash’	nor-u- put	ka:k	‘vomit’	kak-u- put
ku:t	‘sew’	kuṭ-u- put	sos	‘climb’	sos-u- put
kej	‘do’	kej-u- put	und	‘drink’	und-u- put
aṭ	‘beat’	aṭ-a- put	kisk	‘squeeze’	kisk-- put
widj	‘sell’	widj- put	ajup	‘sweep’	aju- put
akup	‘tear’	aku- put	we:t	‘run’	veṭ- put
endik	‘play’	endik- put	pok	‘speak’	pok-u- put

By looking at the above data one can conclude that, /-**put**/ is the causative marker. To maintain the syllable structure i.e. CV an vowel **a/u** is inserted between the root word and the causative marker. If a root ends with a vowel, no vowel i.e. a/u is inserted. Along with the /-**put**/ marker there is another marker /-**ijir**/ available to derive causatives. The following example will explain the phenomenon;

Root	Gloss	Causative	Stem	Gloss	Causative
ad	‘cry’	ad- ijir	ka:k	‘vomit’	kak- ijir
ku:t	‘sew’	kuṭ- ijir	sos	‘climb’	sos- ijir
und	‘drink’	und- ijir	aṭ	‘beat’	aṭ- ijir
kisk	‘squeeze’	kisk- ijir	widj	‘sell’	widj- ijir
endik	‘play’	endik- ijir	na:g	‘laugh’	nag- ijir

The above description shows that there are two markers are available viz. /-**put**-**ijir**/ for the derivation of causatives in Ollari Gadaba.

5.19.4. Infinitive Forms:

Infinitive is the form of a verb which is not inflected for tense, number, gender and case. Sometimes it may be used as a noun retaining verbal force. The infinitives are formed by adding /-**ij**/ or /-**uj**/ to the root words.

Examples:

1. Raju ukuṭ ani wid-**ij** (icca) keg-i-da:-nd
 Raju-NOM one shirt buy-INF will think-EV-NPST-3 SG.M
 Raju want to buy a shirt.

2. Raju ukut sew tin-**ij** (icca) keg-i-da:nd
 Raju-NOM one apple eat-INF will think-EV-NPST-3 SG.M
 Raju wants to eat an apple.
3. sepa-kil nir indr-**ij** (icca) keg-i-da:nd
 child-PL water bring-INF will think-EV-NPST-3 SG.M
 Children want to bring water.
4. ailok cinema sud-**uj** (icca) keg-i-da:-r
 they-NOM cinema see-INF will think-EV-NPST-3 PL.M
 They wanted to see a movie.
5. ad cendra:-l nor-**uj** (icca) keg-i-da
 she-NOM clothe-PL wash-INF will think-EV-NPST
 She wanted to wash clothes.
6. aya kuse wand-**ij** (icca) keg-i-da
 mother-NOM curry cook-INF will think-EV-NPST
 Mother wanted to cook curry.
7. ca:si wit-il wit-**ij** (icca) ken-o-nd
 mother-NOM seed-PL seed-INF will think-PST-3 SG.M
 The farmer wanted to sow the seeds.

5.19.5. Intransitive and Transitive Stems

Verbs in Ollari Gadaba can be classified either as a transitive or intransitive. As stated by Krishnamurti and Gwynn (1985:200) “in many cases, a verb, by virtue of its meaning, is inherently transitive or intransitive”. Subsequently, it has been noted by Keith Brown et.al, (2006:68, 132) that a verb that combines with two nominals, viz., agent (animate actor or force) and object (the affected or experience) is a transitive verb and a verb that combines with one nominal (which does not require the combination of agent and the object) is known as an intransitive verb.

Examples:

Agent o:nd sej-o-nd
 he-NOM go-PST-3 SG.M
 He went (intr.)

Sufferer	o:nd	sai-sej-o-nd	
	he-NOM	die-go-PST-3P SG.M	
	He died (intr.)		
Agent +Object	o:nd	kaɖse	tij-o-nd
	he-NOM	rice	eat-PST-3 SG.M
	He ate food (tr.)		

A number of transitive verbs are made from the intransitive verbs with the addition of /-t/ marker to the stems. A transitive stem is derived by adding /-t/ to the intransitive stems, /-t/ in past forms and in most cases, the addition of /-t/. Sometimes the vowel /-u-/ is inserted between the two consonants.

Examples:

S.No.	Intransitive		Transitive	
1	bandi	‘to burn’	bandu-t	‘to burn’
2	batra	‘to soak’	bara-t	‘to soak’
3	puni	‘to break’	pun-t	‘to break’
4	watri	‘to boil’	watri-t	‘to boil’
5	tula	‘to weigh’	tula-t	‘to weigh’
6	thor	‘to bend’	thor-u-t	‘to burn’
7	sari	‘to tear’	sari-t	‘to tear’
8	mulug	‘to sink’	mulug-t	‘to sink’
9	cheti	‘to close’	cheti-t	‘to close’
10	melig	‘to swing’	melig-t	‘to swing’
11	tak	‘to walk’	tak-u-t	‘to walk’

Some of the Examples of Intransitive to Transitive Formation

- a:n nir-tin aɲi-l batra-t-o-n
i-NOM water-LOC dress-PL soak-TRAN-PST-1SG.M.F
I soaked the dresses in the water.
- o:nd darpun-uɲ pun-t-o-nd
he-NOM mirror-ACC break-TRAN-PST-3SGM
He broke the mirror.
- am nir-tin ɖɔɲa:-ɲ mulug-t-o-m
we-NOM water-LOC boat-ACC sink-TRAN-PST-1PL.M/F
We sank the boat in the water.

5.19.6. Finite Verbs

A finite verb is the one which is not capable of growing further after the addition of the personal endings. In other words, the word further ceases to grow. Only clitics can be added which are syntactically relevant. In most of the world's languages, finite verbs are locus of the grammatical information for the morphological categories of the verb viz. person, number, gender, tense, aspect and mood.

5.19.6.1. Tense

It has been noted by Sreedhar (1993:1) that time is universal and non-linguistic concept with three divisions, viz. past, present and future. Furthermore, Keith Brown, (2006:129) asserts that the tense is “the category of the verb that places the action or state referred to in time, being past, present or future in relation to the utterance”. Tense is a grammatical category, concerned with the localization of situations in time or situational external. Consequently, Comrie (1993:2) affirms that the tense is the grammaticalized expression of localization in time. The critique is further found stating that finite verb forms have absolute tense and nonfinite verbs will have relative time. Krishnamurti (2003:291) states that “there are two tenses reconstructable for Proto-Dravidian, i.e. past and non-past. Non-past includes the habitual (present/aorist/indefinite/generic) and future. However, Comrie (1976:5) mentions that the ‘tense is a deictic category, i.e. locates situations in time, usually with reference to the present moment, though also to the other situations’. In Ollari Gadaba two types of tense are found i.e. past and non-past.

5.19.6.2. Past Tense

In the past tense, two types of patterns are observed in the data collected. The first pattern involves /-e-/ as past tense marker and the second pattern involves /-o-/. But Bhattacharya (1953:30) treats the two markers /-e-/ and /-o-/ as union vowels (augmenting) and based on Burrow and Bhattacharya (1953:55). Furthermore, Krishnamurti (2003:327) states that the past tense marker is /-Ø-/, which comes between the root and the personal ending. However, in contrast to the above statement, it has been identified by the researcher that in Ollari Gadaba the past tense cannot be /-Ø-/.

Examples:

sud- ‘to see’

1.	a:n	buɽa:l-tin	ba:m-uŋ	sud-e-n
	i-NOM	bush-LOC	snake-ACC	see-PST 1S.M/F
2.	a:m	buɽa:l-tin	ba:m-uŋ	sud-e-m
	we-NOM	bush-LOC	snake-ACC	see-PST-1PL.M/F
3.	in	buɽa:l-tin	ba:m-uŋ	sud-e-t
	you(SG)-NOM	bush-LOC	snake-ACC	see-PST-2S.M/F
4.	im	buɽa:l-tin	ba:m-uŋ	sud-e-r
	you (PL)-NOM	bush-LOC	snake-ACC	see-PST-2PL.M/F
5.	o:nd	buɽa:l-tin	ba:m-uŋ	sud-e-nd
	he-NOM	bush-LOC	snake-ACC	see-PST-3S.M
6.	o:r	buɽa:l-tin	ba:m-uŋ	sud-e-r
	they(M)-NOM	bush-LOC	snake-ACC	see-PST-3PL.M
7.	a:d	buɽa:l-tin	ba:m-uŋ	sud-e-te
	she-NOM	bush-LOC	snake-ACC	see-PST-3SG.F
8.	a:w	buɽa:l-tin	ba:m-uŋ	sud-e-tew
	they(nonM)-NOM	bush-LOC	snake-ACC	see-PST-3PL.F
9.	enig	buɽa:l-tin	ba:m-uŋ	sud-e-te
	elephant-NOM	bush-LOC	snake-ACC	see-PST-3S.N.M
10.	enig-il	buɽa:l-tin	ba:m-uŋ	sud-e-tew
	elephant-PL-NOM	bush-LOC	snake-ACC	see-PST-3PL.N.M

i/we/you(S)/you(PL)/he/they(M)/she/they (F) saw the snake in the bush

Examples:

nor- ‘to wash’

1.	a:n	orgun	sendra:-l	nor-e-n
	i-NOM	yesterday	cloth-PL	wash-PST-2. 1SG.M/F
2.	a:m	orgun	sendra:-l	nor-e-m
	we-NOM	yesterday	cloth-PL	wash-PST-1PL.M/F
3.	in	orgun	sendra:-l	nor-e-t
	you-NOM	yesterday	cloth-PL	wash-PST-2SG.M/F
4.	im	orgun	sendra:-l	nor-e-r
	you-NOM	yesterday	cloth-PL	wash-PST-2PL.M/F

5.	o:nd	orgun	sendra:-l	nor-e-nd
	he-NOM	yesterday	cloth-PL	wash-PST-3SG.M
6.	o:r	orgun	sendra:-l	nor-e-r
	they-NOM	yesterday	cloth-PL	wash-PST-3PL.M
7.	a:d	orgun	sendra:-l	nor-e-ʈe
	she-NOM	yesterday	cloth-PL	wash-PST-3SG.F
8.	a:w	orgun	sendra:-l	nor-e-ʈew
	they-NOM	yesterday	cloth-PL	wash-PST-3PL.F
9.	enig	orgun	sendra:-l	nor-e-ʈe
	elephant-NOM	yesterday	cloth-PL	wash-PST-3SG.non-humn.M/F
10.	enig-il	orgun	sendra:-l	nor-e-ʈew
	elephant-PL-NOM	yesterday	cloth-PL	wash-PST-1SG.non-humn.M/F

Iwe/you(SG)/you(PL)/he/they(M)/she/they(F)/elephant/s washed the clothes yesterday.

Examples:

1. org ‘to call’

1SG.	org-e-n	1PL	org-e-m	
2SG.	org-e-t	2PL	org-e-r	
3SG.M	org-e-nd	1PL.M	org-e-r	
3SG.F	org-e-te	3PL.F	org-e-tew	
a:n	po:ne	key-i	polici-ŋ	org -e-n
I-NOM	phone	do-CP	police-ACC	call-PST-1SG.M/F
I called the police on phone.				

2. nag ‘to laugh’

1SG.	nag -e-n	1PL	nag -e-m
2SG.	nag -e-ʈ	2PL	nag -e-r
3SG.M	nag -e-nd	1PL.M	nag -e-r
3SG.F	nag -e-ʈe	3PL.F	nag -e-ʈew
a:n	kilas-tin	nag -e-n	
i-NOM	class-LOC	laugh-PST-1SG.M/F	
I laughed in the class.			

3. **ad** ‘to cry’

1SG.	ad -e-n	1PL	ad -e-m
2SG.	ad -e-t	2PL	ad -e-r
3SG.M	ad -e-nd	1PL.M	ad -e-r
3SG.F	ad -e-te	3PL.F	ad -e-tew
	a:n	perin	ad -e-n
	I-NOM	loudly	cry-PST-1SG.M/F
	I cried loudly.		

4. **wet** ‘to run’

1SG.	wet -e-n	1PL	wet -e-m
2SG.	wet -e-t	2PL	wet -e-r
3SG.M	wet -e-nd	1PL.M	wet -e-r
3SG.F	wet -e-te	3PL.F	wet -e-tew
	a:n	sajen-eri	wet -e-n
	i-NOM	slow-ADV	run-PST.1SG.M/F
	I ran very slowly.		

5. **od** ‘to sleep’

1SG.	od -e-n	1PL	od -e-m
2SG.	od -e-t	2PL	od -e-r
3SG.M	od -e-nd	1PL.M	od -e-r
3SG.F	od -e-te	3PL.F	od -e-tew
	a:n	otel-tin	niya-ri od -e-n
	i-NOM	hotel-LOC	well-ADV sleep-PST-1SG.M/F
	I slept very well in the hotel.		

Another set of verbs which take **-o-** as a past tense marker are also encountered in the data collected in the selected areas. These verbs which take **/-o-/** as past tense marker, have alternative or separate roots used differently. Though **/-o-/** is used as a past tense marker in all the persons in this category, 3rd person non-masculine singular prefers **/-e-/** (the regular plural marker) even in the roots that have separate endings. Bhattacharya (1953:31) also states that “verbs having distinct morphophonemic variants (stems) take **/-o-/** as past tense marker in all persons except the 3rd person singular and plural”.

For example:

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------|
| 1. uj-, un- and und- | ‘to drink’ |
| 2. wan-, var- and vad | ‘to come’ |
| 3. sij-, sin-, sid- and si | ‘to give’ |
| 4. tij-, and tin- | ‘to eat’ |

In the following verb paradigms one can easily see the pattern.

Example:

- | | | | |
|-----------------|---------|------|-------------------|
| 1. a:n | aɖtoli | ma:l | und-o-n |
| i-NOM | morning | wine | drink-PST-1S.M/F |
| 2. a:m | aɖtoli | ma:l | und-o-m |
| we-NOM | morning | wine | drink-PST-1PL.M/F |
| 3. in | aɖtoli | ma:l | und-o-t |
| you-NOM | morning | wine | drink-PST-2S.M/F |
| 4. im | aɖtoli | ma:l | und-o-m |
| you-NOM | morning | wine | drink-PST-2PL.M/F |
| 5. o:nd | aɖtoli | ma:l | und-o-nd |
| he-NOM | morning | wine | drink-PST-3S.M |
| 6. o:r | aɖtoli | ma:l | und-o-r |
| they-NOM | morning | wine | drink-PST-3PL.M |
| 7. a:d | aɖtoli | ma:l | und-e |
| she-NOM | morning | wine | drink-PST-3S.F |
| 8. a:w | aɖtoli | ma:l | und-e-w |
| they-NOM | morning | wine | drink-PST-3PL.F |
| 9. enig | aɖtoli | ma:l | und-e |
| elephant-NOM | morning | wine | drink-PST-3S.F |
| 10. enig-il | aɖtoli | ma:l | und-e-w |
| elephant-PL-NOM | morning | wine | drink-PST-3PL.F |

i/we/you(S)/you(PL)/he/they(M)/she/they(F) drank wine in the morning.

Example:

- 1. wan ‘to come’**
- | | | | |
|-------|-----------|-------|----------|
| 1SG. | wan-o-n | 1PL | wan-o-m |
| 2SG. | wan-o -t | 2PL | wan-o-r |
| 3SG.M | wan-o -nd | 1PL.M | wan-o-r |
| 3SG.F | wan -e | 3PL.F | wan -e-v |
- | | | | |
|-------|-----------|-------------|------------------|
| a:n | orgun | korapuɖu-ŋ | wan-o-n |
| i-NOM | yesterday | koraput-DAT | come-PST-1SG.M/F |
- I came from Koraput yesterday.

2. be ‘to be’

1SG.	maṭ-o-n	1PL	maṭ -o -m
2SG.	maṭ -o -ṭ	2PL	maṭ -o -r
3SG.M	maṭ -o -nd	1PL.M	maṭ -o -r
3SG.F	maṭ -e	3PL.F	maṭ -e-w

a:n il maṭ-o-n
-NOM here be-PST-1SG.M/F

I was here.

3. sin ‘to give’

1SG.	sin-o-n	1PL	sin -o-m
2SG.	sin -o-ṭ	2PL	sin -o-r
3SG.M	sin -o-nd	1PL.M	sin -o-r
3SG.F	sin-e	3PL.F	sin -e-w

a:n sita-ṇ rampōl sin-o-n
i-NOM sita-DAT ramfruit give-PST-1SG.M/F

I gave Ram phal to Sita.

4. tin ‘to eat’

1SG.	tiy-o-n	1PL	tiy -o-m
2SG.	tiy -o-ṭ	2PL	tiy -o-r
3SG.M	tiy -o-nd	1PL.M	tiy -o-r
3SG.F	tiy-e	3PL.F	tiy -e-w

a:n orguun ulkun tiy-o-n
I-NOM yesterday banana eat-PST-1SG.M/F

I ate banana yesterday.

5.19.6.3. Personal Suffixes

Finite verbs in past are derived by the addition of the following personal suffixes to the past stem.

S.No	Finite aspect category Person/Number/Gender	Pronoun	Pronominal Endings	Verb form (past)
1	1SGM/F	a:n	-n	sud-e-n
2	1PLM/F	a:m	-m	sud-e-m
3	2SGM/F	in	-ṭ	sud-e-ṭ
4	2PLM/F	im	-r	sud-e-r
5	3SG.M	o:nd	- nd	sud-e-nd
6	3PL.M	or	-r	sud-e-r
7	3SG.F	a:d	-ṭe	sud-e-ṭe
8	3PL.F	a:w	-ṭew	sud-e-ṭew

Table-5.8: Pronoun and its Pronominal Endings

5.19.6.4. Non-Past

We can interpret the non-past as present future. The reason for the said interpretation is one tense (the same marker) is used to convey two tenses which causes the temporal range of present and future. Bhattacharya (1953:33) states that the “merging of the two primary tenses i.e., present and future is a peculiarity of Munda, Dravidian and the Aryan tongue Desiya in Central India. How this peculiar linguistic phenomenon appeared in so many speeches of different origin, spoken over a wide area of particular region (i.e. middle India), is still shrouded in mystery. This trait may owe its origin to an ancient substratum speech”.

Present:

Example:

- | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. a:n | inen/tonɖunuŋ | ilma-jã:-n | (I am here today or tomorrow) |
| i-NOM | today/tomorrow | here-NPST-1SG.M/F | |
| 2. a:m | inen/tonɖunuŋ | ilma-jã:-m | (we are here today or tomorrow) |
| we-NOM | today/tomorrow | here- NPST –PL.M/F | |
| 3. in | inen/tonɖunuŋ | ilma-jã:-ɬ | (you are here today or tomorrow) |
| you-NOM | today/tomorrow | here-NPST-2 SG.M/F | |
| 4. in | inen/tonɖunuŋ | ilma-jã:-r | (you are here today or tomorrow) |
| you-NOM | today/tomorrow | here-NPST-2PL,M/F | |
| 5. o:nɖ | inen/tonɖunuŋ | ilma-jã:-nɖ | (he is here today or tomorrow) |
| he-NOM | today/tomorrow | here-NPST-3SG,M | |
| 6. o:r | inen/tonɖunuŋ | ilma-jã:-n | (they are here today or tomorrow) |
| they-NOM | today/tomorrow | here-NPST-3PL,M | |
| 7. a:d | inen/tonɖunuŋ | ilma-jã: | (she is here today or tomorrow) |
| she-NOM | today/tomorrow | here-NPST | |
| 8. a:w | inen/tonɖunuŋ | ilma-jã:-w | (they are here today or tomorrow) |
| they-NOM | today/tomorrow | here-NPST-3PL.F | |
| 9. werig | inen/tonɖunuŋ | ilma-jã: | (cat is here today or tomorrow) |
| cat-NOM | today/tomorrow | here-NPST-3SG.N.M | |
| 10. werig-il | inen/tonɖunuŋ | ilma-jã:-w | (cats are here today or tomorrow) |
| cat-NOM-PL | today/tomorrow | here-NPST-3SG.PL..N.M | |

1. se ‘to go

1SG.	se-ja:--n	1PL	se-ja:--m
2SG.	se-ja:--t	2PL	se-ja:--r
3SG.M	se-ja:--nd	1PL.M	se-ja:--r
3SG.F	se-ja:	3PL.F	se-ja:--w

a:n indî/tonḡunūḡ polug se-ya:-n
i-NOM now/tomorrow villge go-NPST-1SG.M/F

I go to village today or tomorrow.

2. wal ‘to jump’

1SG.	wal-da-n	1PL	wal-da-m
2SG.	wal-da-t	2PL	wal-da-r
3SG.M	wal-da-nd	1PL.M	wal-da-r
3SG.F	wal-da	3PL.F	wal-da-w

a:n indî/tonḡunūḡ ku:rṡ-unḡ wal-da-n
i-NOM now/tomorrow wall-ACC jmp-NPST-1SG.M/F

I jump from the wall now/tomorrow.

3. nil ‘to stand’

1SG.	nil-ta:-n	1PL	nil-ta:-m
2SG.	nil-ta:-t	2PL	nil-ta:-r
3SG.M	nil-ta:-nd	1PL.M	nil-ta:-r
3SG.F	nil-ta:	3PL.F	nil-ta:-w

a:n indî/ tonḡunūḡ nil-ta:-n
i-NOM now/tomorrow jmp-NPST-1SG.M/F

I stand now/tomorrow.

4. sand ‘to open’

1SG.	sand-ta:-n	1PL	sand -ta:-m
2SG.	sand -ta:-t	2PL	sand -ta:-r
3SG.M	sand -ta:-nd	1PL.M	sand -ta:-r
3SG.F	sand -ta:	3PL.F	sand -ta:-w

a:n indî/ tonḡunūḡ valsate sand-t-a:--n
i-NOM now/tomorrow door stand-NPST-1SG.M/F

I open the door now/tomorrow.

5. ai ‘to sweep’

1SG.	ai-ta:--n	1PL	ai -ta:--m
2SG.	ai -ta:--t	2PL	ai -ta:--r
3SG.M	ai -ta:--nd	1PL.M	ai -ta:--r
3SG.F	ai -ta:	3PL.F	ai -ta:--w
a:n	indî/ tonqunuj	ulle	ai-ta:--n
i-NOM	now/tomorrow	house	sweep-NPST-1SG.M/F

I sweep the house now/tomorrow.

6. indri ‘to bring’

1SG.	indri -da:--n	1PL	indri -da:--m
2SG.	indri -da:--t	2PL	indri -da:--r
3SG.M	indri -da:--nd	3PL.M	indri -da:--r
3SG.F	indri -da:	3PL.F	indri -da:--w
a:n	inen/ tonqunuj	nir	indri -da:-n
i-NOM	today/tomorrow	water	bring-NPST-1SG.M/F

I bring water today/tomorrow.

7. aqig ‘to dig’

1SG.	aqig -da:--n	1PL	aqig -da:--m
2SG.	aqig -da:--t	2PL	aqig -da:--r
3SG.M	aqig -da:--nd	1PL.M	aqig -da:--r
3SG.F	aqig -da:	3PL.F	aqig -da:--w
a:n	indî/ tonqunuj	kuqub	aqig -da:-n
i-NOM	now/tomorrow	pit	dig-NPST-1SG.M/F

I dig the pit now/tomorrow.

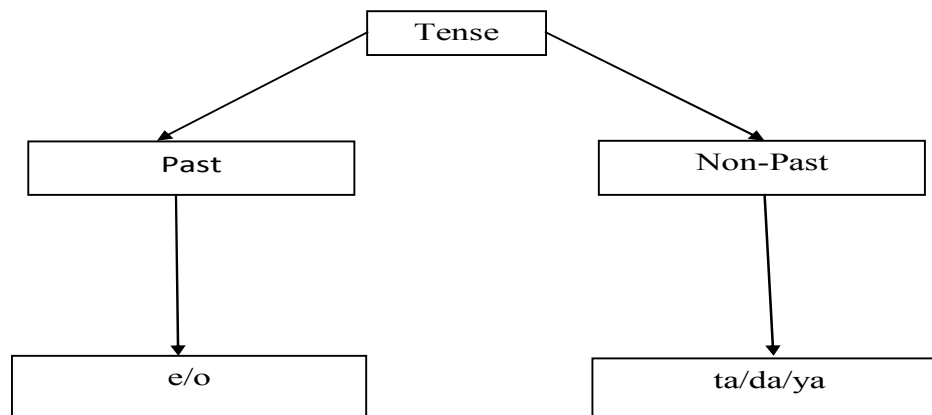


Figure-5.9: Past and Non-Past Tense Markers

5.19.6.5. Aspect

As discussed by Comrie (1976:3) that ‘aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation. Aspectual sentences will have two verbs where the first one refers to the background to the some event while that event itself introduced by the second verb. The second verb presents the totality of the situation referred to without reference to its internal temporal constituency’. Further, he also mentions that the aspect is concerned with relating the time of the situation to any other time-point, but rather with the internal temporal constituency of the situation; one could state the difference as one between situation internal time (aspect) and situation external time is (tense). Subsequently, the critique asserts that aspect is divided into two types viz., perfective and imperfective. Perfective forms indicate situations of short duration, a completed action and termination of a situation (with beginning, middle and end) where as imperfective forms indicate situations of long duration, situation in progress and an incomplete action’.

5.19.6.5.1. Present Imperfective

Present imperfective aspect in Ollari Gadaba is not shown with any separate marker (suffix). The same marker /-**da**/, /**ta**/, /**ja**/ which is used for non past, are used for the present imperfective aspect. Since the language does not allow two consonants sequences, i.e. the final consonant of the root and the first consonant of the non past marker, the language makes use of the epenthetic vowel in between the final consonant of the root and the beginning consonant of the non past marker. Thus epenthetic vowel can be seen consistently between the roots and tense markers (suffixes). The imperfective forms are expressed by attaching the /-**da**/, /**ta**/, /**ja**/ to the roots to stems in the language. Finally, pronominal suffixes are added in agreement with the subjects.

Example:

1. Sleeping on a cot

a:n	kɔ:t	poita:n	oɖ-u-da-n
i-NOM	cot	on	sleep-EPV-NPST-1 SG.M/F
a:m	kɔ:t	poita:n	oɖ-u-da-m
we-NOM	cot	on-PP	sleep- EPV-NPST -1 PL.M/F

in	kɔ:t	poita:n	oɖ-u-da-t
you-NOM	cot	on- PP	sleep- EPV-NPST -2 SG.M/F
im	kɔ:t	poita:n	oɖ-u-da-r
you-NOM	cot	on- PP	sleep- EPV-NPST -2 PL.M/F
o:nd	kɔ:t	poita:n	oɖ-u-d-a-nd
he-NOM	cot	on- PP	sleep- EPV-NPST -3 SG.M
o:r	kɔ:t	poita:n	oɖ-u-d-a-r
they-NOM	cot	on- PP	sleep- EPV-NPST -3 PL.M
a:d	kɔ:t	poita:n	oɖ-u-d-a
she-NOM	cot	on- PP	sleep- EPV-NPST -3 SG.F.NM
a:w	kɔ:t	poita:n	oɖ-u-da-w
they-NOM	cot	on- PP	sleep- EPV-NPST -3 PL.F.NM
werig	kɔ:t	poita:n	oɖ-u-da
cat-NOM	cot	on-PREP	sleep- EPV-NPST
werig-il	kɔ:t	poita:n	oɖ-u-da-w
cat-NOM.PL	cot	on-PREP	sleep- EPV-NPST -3 PL.F.NM
i/we/you (sg)/ you (pl)/he/she/it/they/cat/be/ sleeping on the cot.			

2. Looking at the picture

a:n	bana:	sud-u-da:-n
i-NOM	picture	see- EPV-NPST -1 SG.M/F
a:m	bana:	sud-u-da:-m
we-NOM	picture	see- EPV-NPST -1 PL.M/F
in	bana:	sud-u-da:-t
you-NOM	picture	see- EPV-NPST -2 SG.M/F
in	bana:	sud-u-da:-r
you-NOM	picture	see- EPV-NPST -2 PL.M/F
o:nd	bana:	sud-u-da:-nd
he-NOM	picture	see- EPV-NPST -3 SG.M
o:r	bana:	sud-u-da:-r
they-NOM	picture	see- EPV-NPST -3 PL.M
a:d	bana:	sud-ud-a:
she-NOM	picture	see- EPV-NPST

a:w	bana:	suq-u-da:-w
they-NOM	picture	see- EPV-NPST -3 PL.F.NM
nete	bana:	suq-u-da:
dog-NOM	picture	see- EPV-NPST
nete-l	bana:	suq-u-da:-w
dog-PL-NOM	picture	see- EPV-NPST -3 PL.F.NM
i/we/you (sg)/ you (pl)/he/she/it/they/dog/be/ looking at the picture.		

3. Cutting

1 SG	kuy-u-da:-n	1 PL	kuy-u-da:-m
2 SG	kuy-u-da:-t	2 PL	kuy-u-da:-r
3 SG.M	kuy-u-da:-nd	3 PL.M	kuy-u-da:-r
3 SG.F	kuy-u-da:	3 PL.F	kuy-u-da:-w
a:n	kiyu:b-na	kuy-u-da:-n	
i-NOM	knife-INST	cut-EPV-NPST -1 SG.M/F	
I am cutting with a knfe.			

5.19.6.5.2. Past Imperfective

Past imperfective form is expressed by adding /-no/ to the verb stem. But in the third person non masculine category the imperfective marker is /-ne/. After the addition of past imperfective marker, the pronominal suffixes in agreement with the subject are added in the final. In between the root and the past imperfective marker an epenthetic vowel is inserted. In the present imperfective /-u-/ is inserted and in the past imperfective /-i-/ or /-u-/ is inserted between the final consonant of the root and beginning consonant of the past imperfective marker. In most of the cases the epenthetic vowel /-i-/ is occurring before the nasal sounds. The following examples can illustrate the phenomenon.

Example:

1. Filling the bottle with water

a:n	ka:s-tin	ni:r	end-i-no-n
i-NOM	bottle-LOC	water	fill-EV-IMFV-1 SG.M/F
a:m	ka:s-tin	ni:r	end-i -no:-m
we-NOM	bottle-LOC	water	fill- EV-IMFV -1 PL.M/F
in	ka:s-tin	ni:r	end-i -no:-t
you-NOM	bottle-LOC	water	fill- EV-IMFV -2 SG.M/F
im	ka:s-tin	ni:r	end-i -no:-r
you-NOM	bottle-LOC	water	fill- EV-IMFV -2 PL.M/F

o:nd	ka:s-tin	ni:r	end-i -no:-nd
he-NOM	bottle-LOC	water	fill- EV-IMFV -3 SG.M
o:r	ka:s-tin	ni:r	end-i -no:-r
they-NOM	bottle-LOC	water	fill- EV-IMFV -3 PL.M
a:d	ka:s-tin	ni:r	end-i -ne:
she-NOM	bottle-LOC	water	fill- EV-IMFV
a:w	ka:s-tin	ni:r	end-i -ne:-w
they-NOM	bottle-LOC	water	fill- EV-IMFV -3 PL.F
enig	ka:s-tin	ni:r	end-i -ne:
elephant -NOM	bottle-LOC	water	fill- EV-IMFV
enig-il	ka:stin	ni:r	end-i -ne:-v
elephant-PL-NOM	bottle-LOC	water	fill- EV-IMFV -3 PL.F.NM

i/we/you (sg)/ you (pl)/he/she/it/they/elephant/be/ filling the bottle with water.

2. Was Collecting

1 SG	pik-i-no-n	1 PL	pik-i-no-m
2 SG	pik-i-no t	2 PL	pik-i-no-r
3 SG.M	pik-i-no-nd	3 PL.M	pik-i-no-r
3 SG.F	pik-i-ne	3 PL.F	pik-i-ne-w
a:n	kopel-tandrel	kaɖsil	pik-i-no-m
i-NOM	forest-LOC	fire wood	collect- EV-IMFV -1 SG.M/F

I was collecting firewood in the forest.

3. Was Sleeping

1 SG	oɖ-u-no-n	1 PL	oɖ-u-no-m
2 SG	oɖ-u-n o- t	2 PL	oɖ-u-no-r
3 SG.M	oɖ-u-no-nd	3 PL.M	oɖ-u-n o-r
3 SG.F	oɖ-u-ne	3 PL.F	oɖ-u-ne-w
a:n	kɔt	poita:n	oɖ-u-no-m
i-NOM	cot	on	sleep- EV-IMFV -1 SG.M/F

I was sleeping on a sofa.

4. Was Laughing

1 SG	nag-i-no-n	1 PL	nag-i -no-m
2 SG	nag-i -no- t	2 PL	nag-i -no-r
3 SG.M	nag-i -no-nd	3 PL.M	nag-i no-r

3 SG.F	nag-i -ne	3 PL.F	nag-i -ne-w
a:n	orgun	nag-i-no-n	
i-NOM	yesterday	laugh- EV-IMFV -1 SG.M/F	
I was laughing yesterday.			

5.19.6.5.3. Past Perfective Aspect

Past perfective aspect expresses the action which was completed quite a period in the past. The past perfective marker is expressed by - **maṭo** after the conjunctive participle -**i** which comes after the main verb. In third person non-masculine singular as well as plural, the perfective marker is - **maṭe**.

Example:

1. had sneezed

a:n	tumk-i-maṭo:-n	‘I had sneezed’
a:m	tumk-i-maṭo:-m	‘We had sneezed’
in	tumk-i-maṭo:-t	‘You had sneezed’
im	tumk-i-maṭo:-r	‘You had sneezed’
o:nd	tumk-i-maṭo:-nd	‘He had sneezed’
o:r	tumk-i-maṭo:-r	‘They had sneezed’
a:d	tumk-i-maṭe	‘She had sneezed’
a:w	tumk-i-maṭe:-w	‘They had sneezed’
enig	tumk-i-maṭe:	‘Elephants had sneezed’
enigil	tumk-i-maṭe:-w	‘Elephants had sneezed’
a:n	tumk-i-maṭo:-n	
i-NOM	sneeze-EV-PFV-1 SG.M/F	
I had sneezed.		

2. had seen the snake

a:n	ba:m-un	sud-i-maṭo:-n	‘I had seen the snake’
a:m	ba:m- un	sud-i-maṭo:-m	‘We had seen the snake’
in	ba:m- un	sud-i-maṭo:-t	‘You had seen the snake’
im	ba:m- un	sud-i-maṭo:-r	‘You had seen the snake’
o:nd	ba:m- un	sud-i-maṭo:-nd	‘He had seen the snake’
o:r	ba:m- un	sud-i-maṭo:-r	‘They had seen the snake’

a:d	ba:m- uŋ	sud-i-maɛ:	‘She had seen the snake’
a:w	ba:m- uŋ	sud-i-maɛ:-w	‘They had seen the snake’
enig	ba:m- uŋ	sud-i-maɛ:	‘Elephant had seen the snake’
enigil	ba:m- uŋ	sud-i-maɛ:-w	‘Elephants had seen the snake’
a:n	ba:m-uŋ	sud-i-maɔ:-n	
i-NOM	snake-ACC	see-EV-PFV-1 SG. M/F	

I had seen the snake.

3. I had finished the work

a:n	ka:me	key-i-maɔ:-n	‘I had finished the work’
a:m	ka:me	key-i-maɔ o:-m	‘We had finished the work’
in	ka:me	key-i-maɔ o:-t	‘You had finished the work’
im	ka:me	key-i-maɔ o:-r	‘You had finished the work’
o:nd	ka:me	key-i-maɔ o:-nd	‘He had finished the work’
o:r	ka:me	key-i-maɔ o:-r	‘They had finished the work’
a:d	ka:me	key-i-maɛ:	‘She had finished the work’
a:w	ka:me	key-i-maɛ e:-w	‘They had finished the work’
enig	ka:me	key-i-maɛ e:	‘Elephant had finished the work’
enigil	ka:me	key-i-maɛ e:-w	‘Elephants had finished the work’
a:n	ka:me	key-i-maɔ:-n	
i-NOM	work	do-EV-PFV-1 SG. M/F	

I had finished the work.

5.19.6.5.4. Non Past Perfective Aspect

Non past perfective aspect is expressed by adding **–ma** to the root after the conjunctive participle **–i**.

Example:

1. Have laughed

a:n	nag-i-ma-n	‘I have laughed’
a:m	nag-i-ma-m	‘We Have Laughed’
in	nag-i-ma-t	You have laughed’
im	nag-i-ma-r	‘You have laughrd’
o:nd	nag-i-ma-nd	He has laughed’
or	nag-i-ma-r	‘They have laughed’

a:d	nag-i-ma	‘She has laughed’
a:w	nag-i-ma-w	‘They have laughed’
a:n	nag-i-ma-n	
i-NOM	laugh-EV-NPPFV-1 SG.M/F	

I have laughed.

2. Have eaten

a:n	kaɖʂe	tin-i-ma-n	‘I have laughed’
a:m	kaɖʂe	tin-i-ma-m	‘We have laughed’
in	kaɖʂe	tin-i-ma-t	‘You have laughed’
im	kaɖʂe	tin-i-ma-r	‘You have laughed’
o:nd	kaɖʂe	tin-i-ma-nd	‘He have laughed’
or	kaɖʂe	tin-i-ma-r	‘They have laughed’
a:d	kaɖʂe	tin-i-ma	‘She has laughed’
a:w	kaɖʂe	tin-i-ma-w	‘They have laughed’
a:n	kaɖʂe	tin-i-ma-n	
i-NOM	rice	eat-EV-NPPFV-1 SG.M/F	

I have eaten.

The aspect can be seen in the below digram as illustrated in the above paragraphs.

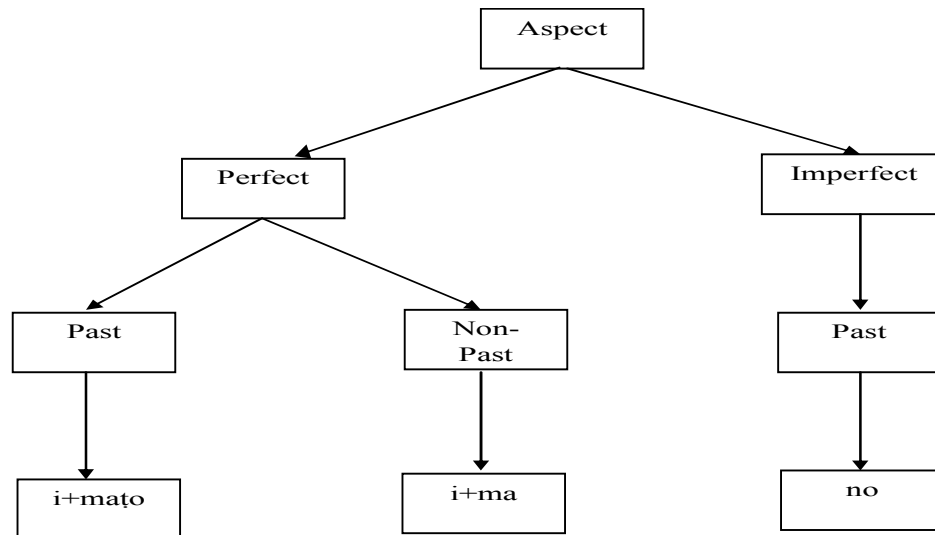


Figure-5.10: Aspectual Markers of Ollari Gadaba

5.19.6.6. Past Habitual

This describes an action performed in the past, continuously as a habit. This implies that the action is not being performed at present. The present participial of the

verb takes a nominalizing derivative suffix and the corresponding agreement suffix, to form the past habitual. To convey the past /**aga:q̣i**/ ‘before’ is used and the past habitual is conveyed by /-**no**-/ within the verb root. Past habitual actions are being conveyed with the same marker i.e. /-**no**-/, **which** used for the past imperfect. In third person singular and plural the habitual marker is /-**ne**/ is used.

Exmple:

1. an aga:q̣i nijāte paṭe par-i-no-n
 I-NOM earlier well song sing-EP-PH-1SG.M/F
 I used to sing well.
2. onḑ aga:q̣i nijā endk-i-no-nd
 he-NOM earlier well play- EP-PH-1SG.M/F
 He used to play well .
3. ad aga:q̣i ampel paṭin din war-i-ne
 she-NOM earlier well every-day come- EP-PH
 She used to come daily to my home.
4. aimal aga:q̣i paṭin din end-i-ne
 she-NOM earlier every-day dance- EP-PH
 That girl used to dance daily.
5. aimasil aga:q̣i dinker par-i-ne-w
 she-NOM earlier always sing-CP-PH-3 PL.N.M
 Those girls used to sing daily.

5.19.6.7. Imperative

The basic verb in Ollari Gadaba language is imperative i.e. command verbs are more basic and common. These verbs do not carry any overt marker which is attached to roots with second person singular subjects.

1. tin ‘eat’
2. unḑ ‘sit’
3. su:ḑ ‘see’
4. no:r ‘wash’
5. wen ‘listen’
6. sen ‘go’

7. idɨg ‘get down’
8. aɬ ‘beat’
9. lager ‘fight’
10. ku:j ‘cut’
11. ka:s ‘bite’
12. nil ‘stand’

5.19.6.8. Prohibitive

Prohibitive is one of the acts which do not allow some body or prevent some body using or buying something. In Ollari Gadaba the prohibitive is formed by the adding /-men/ to the imperative roots without any personal suffixes.

Example:

Positive		Negative	Gloss
1. tin	‘eat’	tin-men	‘don’t eat’
2. undɨ	‘sit’	undɨ-men	‘don’t sit’
3. su:dɨ	‘see’	su:dɨ-men	‘don’t see’
4. no:r	‘wash’	no:r-men	‘don’t wash’
5. wen	‘listen’	wen-men	‘don’t listen’
6. sen	‘go’	sen-men	‘don’t
7. idɨg	‘get down’	idɨg-men	‘don’t get down’
8. aɬ	‘beat’	aɬ-men	‘don’t beat’
9. ku:j	‘cut’	ku: j-men	‘don’t cut’
10. kas	‘bite’	kas-men	‘don’t bite’
11. nil	‘stand’	nil-men	‘don’t stand
12. kaɬ	‘tie’	kaɬ-men	‘don’t tie’

5.19.6.9. Negative Non-Past

Negative non-past in Ollari Gadaba is formed or expressed by adding -a to the roots before personal endings or agreement markers. The following examples will illustrate the phenomenon.

Example:

- | | | |
|-------------------------|---------|-----------------|
| 1. an | polug | sen-a-n |
| i-NOM | village | go-NEG-1 SG.M/F |
| I do not go to village. | | |

2. an tonqunuj niya tak-a-n
 i-NOM tomorrow well walk-NEG-1 SG.M/F
 I will not walk well tomorrow
3. onq nir indr-a-nq
 he-NOM water bring-NEG-3 SG.M/F
 I do not bring water.
4. or kuqub adq-a-r
 they-NOM water dig-NEG-3 PL.M/F
 They do not dig the pit.
5. ad tonqunuj wand-a
 she-NOM tomorrow cook-NEG
 She won't cook tomorrow.

5.19.6.10. Negative Past

Negative past in Ollari Gadaba is expressed by the adding the negative suffix **-ut** to the verb roots before the tense and agreement markers.

Example:

1. sepal inen ar-ut-o-nq
 baby-NOM tody cry-NEG-PST-3 SG.M
 The boy did not cry today.
2. onq windij uq-ut-o-nq
 he-NOM land plough-NEG-PST-3 SG.M
 He did not plough the land.
3. or kigaṭ-iṇ sen-ut-o-r
 they-NOM hunt-ACC go-NEG-PST-3 PL.M/F
 they did not go for hunting
4. aba orgun ullen war-ut-o-nq
 father yesterday house come-NEG-PST-3 SG.M
 Father did not come home yesterday.

5.19.6.11. Compulsative

The sense of ‘must’, ‘should’ and ‘have to’ in Ollari Gadaba are formed by adding compulsative markers /**eda**/ or /**parda**/ to the infinitive stem without any personal suffix.

Example:

1. an seniṇ-eda/parda
 i-NOM go-OBLI
 I have to go.
2. In-uṇ tiniṇ-eda/parda
 i-NOM-ACC eat- OBLI
 You have to eat.
3. ad-iṇ poḍeriṇ-eda/parda
 she-NOM-ACC read- OBLI
 She has to read.
4. am-uṇ wit-il witiṇ-eda/parda
 we-NOM-ACC seed-PL sow- OBLI
 We have to sow the seeds.
5. or-uṇ oḍuṇ-eda/parda
 they 3PL-ACC plough-OBLI
 They have to plough.
6. onḍuṇ paṭe pariṇeda/parda
 He3SG.M song sing-OBLI
 He has to sing.
7. Sepa-kil-iṇ nauṭa tanir poḍuṇ-eda/parda
 Boy-PL-ACC 9pm in sleep- OBLI
 Children have to sleep by 9pm.

5.19.6.12. Potentials

The potentials in Ollari Gadaba are formed by adding /**oḍta**/ to the infinitive stems to express the ability of the subject with personal suffixes.

Example:

1. aima:l wandıñ-odta
 she-3SG.F cook- POTE
 She could cook.
2. nete perin weıñ-odta
 she-3SG.F fast cook- POTE
 Dog could run.
3. an nijã pariñ-odta-n
 i 1SG.m good sing-POTE-1SG.M/F
 I can sing well.
4. onđ mart-ıñ cökuñ-odta-ndı
 i 1SG.m tree-ACC climb-POTE-3SG.M
 He can climb the tree.
5. or nijã endıñ-odta-r
 they 3PL good dacen- POTE-3PL.M
 They can dance well.

5.19.6.13. Hortative

The Hortative which always refers to the first person inclusive plural as its subject, is formed by adding **-ka-** to the verb stem before the person –number marker. The pronominal suffix –m is added to this hortative form.

Example:

1. war/sam wenıñ-ka-m (Inclusive)
 Let listen- HORT -1PL.M/F
 Let us listen.
2. war/sam tınıñ-ka-m (Inclusive)
 Let listen- HORT -1PL.M/F
 Let us eat.
3. war/sam suđuñ-ka-m (Inclusive)
 Let see- HORT -1PL.M/F
 Let us see.

4. war/sam aṭiṇ-ka-m (Inclusive)
 Let beat- HORT -1PL.M/F
 Let us beat.
5. war/sam kaṭiṇ-ka-m (Inclusive)
 Let listen- HORT -1PL.M/F
 Let us cut.
6. war/sam seniṇ-ka-m (Inclusive)
 Let listen- HORT-1PL.M/F
 Let us go.

5.19.6.14. Permissive

Verbs used to express a wish or request for permission come under the permissive category. They are non-past in their reference and they do not carry any tense marker. The marker **si or parda** convey the permission.

Example:

1. an-uṇ inen tadma:lunuṇ-si/parda
 i-ACC toddy drink-PERM
 Let me drink toddy.
2. onḍ-uṇ polug seniṇ-si/parda
 he-ACC village go-PERM
 Let him go to the village.
3. aḍ-iṇ varsi-l uykuṇ-si/parda
 she-ACC paddy-PL pound- PERM
 Let her pound the paddy.
4. or-uṇ endkiṇ-si/parda
 they-NOM-ACC play--PERM
 Let them play.
5. sepal-iṇ oḍuṇ-si/parda
 boy-ACC sleep -PERM
 Let the boy sleep.
6. an-uṇ sen-iṇ-si/parda
 1-ACC go- FIN -PERM
 Let me go.

5.19.6.15. Probabilitatives

This mood expresses probability or possibility of action. The verb root is followed by *nakin* ‘may’.

1. a:m sepa:l *nakin* tonɖunuŋ hostel-tuŋ wa-da-nɖ
we-NOM son may tomorrow hostel-ABL come-NPST-3 SG.M
Our son may come tomorrow from hostel.
2. sirta:l belon *nakin* wain wa-da
evening time may rain come-NPST
It may rain in the evening.
3. in *nakin* pok-u-da-t
you-NOM may tlk-EV-NPST-2 SG.M/F
You may talk now.
4. aima:l *nakin* ukuɖ ghonɕa kundel se-ja
she-NOM may one hour after go-NPST
She may go after an hour.
5. mutak-lək *nakin* roɕi ti-ja-nɖ
old-man may bread eat-NPST-3 SG.M/F
The old man may eat bread.

There is no formal subject agreement in the probabilitatives. The probability of the action is expressed through the auxiliary *nakin* which originally means ‘to come’.

5.19.6.16. Interrogative and Yes /No Question Types

In the sentences, the question participle /*ki* is added in the sentence final position when the whole proposition is questioned. The answer yes is revealed by *hūm* and no is revealed by /*mana*/ in the language. Sometimes even the pitch is added to the question marker which is the characteristic feature of the questions.

Example:

- | | | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------|-------|--------------|------|
| 1. Is it your house? | id | ine | ulle | ki? |
| Yes it is my house. | hūm | id | a:ne | ulle |
| No it is not my house. | mana | id | a:ne ulle | era: |
| 2. Have you eaten rice? | in | kaɖse | tinɕima:t | ki? |
| Yes I have eaten. | hūm | kaɖse | tinɕima:n | |
| No I have not eaten. | mana | kaɖse | tinuɕon | |

3. Has he seen tiger?	o:nd̩ d̩ruka:ŋ	sudima:nd̩	ki?
Yes he seen the tiger.	hūm d̩ruka:ŋ	sudima:nd̩	
No he has not seen the tiger.	mana d̩ruka:ŋ	suda:nd̩	
4. Has the rain come?	wa:in warida:	ki?	
Yes it has come.	hūm wa:in	warida:	
No it has not come.	mana wa:in	wara:	
5. Did cro crew in the morning?	aḍṭol kor	kujete	ki?
Yes it has crew.	hūm aḍṭol	kor	kujete
No it has not crew.	mana aḍṭol	kor	kuja

5.19.6.18. Non-Finite Verbs

Nonfinite verbs in Dravidian languages are very rich. These verbs typically do not inflect for tense i.e. grammatical tense. The most non-finite verb participles found in Dravidian languages are **Participle Verbs or Participial Conjuncts** (present participle, past participle) concessive, conditional, infinitive, negative participle, habitual adjective, past adjective and negative adjective.

5.19.6.18.1. Past Participials

Past participle in Dravidian languages has undergone many changes from –ci→ -si→ -i through the process of relexification or reanalyzed as in Telugu like ce:-si→ce:s-i, nil-si→nilc-i. In Ollari Gadaba also same process of relexification had taken place where –**si** and –**zi** are available in the data and finally data-i remained as past participle.

Example:

1. su:r- i	sej-o-n	‘having seen went’
2. tinj- i	sej-o-n	‘having eaten went’
3. paḍiŋ- i	kej-o-n	‘having ripened went’
4. tuŋ- i	war-o-n	‘having jumped came’
5. und- i	aḍ-o-nd̩	‘having sat cried’
6. war- i	sej-o-n	‘having sit went’
7. lager- i	aṭ-e-n	‘having scolded beat’
8. poder- i	oḍ-e-n	‘having studied slept’

- | | | |
|-------------------|-----------|----------------------|
| 9. endk- i | jiten-o-m | ‘having played won’ |
| 10. apr- i | endk-e-m | ‘having sung played’ |
| 11. und- i | park-e-m | ‘having sat spoken’ |

By looking at the above data –**i** which is the past particle marker is attached to the roots to form the conjunctive participle. There are other types of participial markers which come in the form of either –**si** or /-**zi**/. The following are the examples for the /-**i**/ or /-**zi**/.

Example:

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------|
| 1. sen- zi | ‘having gone’ |
| 2. un- zi | ‘having drunk’ |
| 3. tin- zi | ‘having eaten’ |

The /-**zi**/ form is added to the roots when they end with an alveolar nasal sound /**n**/. When a root ends in /**n**/ the /-**s**/ in past participial markers /-**si**/ is being changed to /**z**/ due to the sandhi or assimilation. One can easily see it through a rule.

s ----- → **z**/ **n**+ ____.

In the elsewhere conditions /**s**/ is remaining as /**s**/ to which the original marker /**i**/ is added and remains as /-**si**/. The following are the examples of /-**si**/.

Example:

- | | |
|-------------------|------------------|
| 1. sɔ- si | ‘having climbed’ |
| 2. sɔj- si | ‘having sent’ |
| 3. kar- si | ‘having crossed’ |

5.19.6.18.2. Non-Past Participle

Non-past verbal participle is formed in Ollari Gadaba by adding /-**ni**/ to a base. The non-past participle occurs when a verbal action takes place in the present or future as opposite to the past participle. The non-past participial is /-**ni**/ in Ollari Gadaba.

Example:

- | | | |
|----------------------|----------|---------------------|
| 1. parkiŋ- ni | und-e-r | ‘sat by singing’ |
| 2. endkiŋ- ni | mair-e-n | ‘learnt by playing’ |

- | | | |
|-----------------------|---------|--------------------|
| 3. tiniṇ- ni | sey-o-n | ‘gone by eating’ |
| 4. lageriṇ- ni | oḍ-e-n | ‘beat by shouting’ |
| 5. poderiṇ- ni | aṭ-e-n | ‘slept by reading’ |

5.19.6.18.3. Conditionals

In general, conditional forms express conceivable unperformed actions. Krishnamurti (2003:335) opines that “The conditional forms meaning ‘if (subject) does/did’ and the concessive forms meaning ‘even if (subject) does/did’ are rendered as non-finite verbs in most Dravidian languages. Such constructions are based on the past stem in some languages; in others they are based on non-past stems or formed with suffixes added to the basic stem. The meaning does not necessarily denote the time of action”. Though some Central Dravidian languages like Kolami, Naiki, borrowed the conditional bound form of Telugu i.e. /-te/, Ollari does not follow any of its neighboring languages. It has its own way of expressing the conditional forms. Every language in the central group has one form but Ollari has three types of the forms viz. /-koṛ/, /-goṛ/ and /ḷḷḍdi-/ to express the condition. Same form is used in past and non-past conditionals. Bhattacharya (1956:40) discusses that except in causative constructions the verbs /-koṛ/, /-goṛ/ are attached with a suffix /-en/. Further he also discusses that the negative verbs use /-koṛen/, and the affirmative verbs except those ending in vowel like /-y/ and /-p/ use /-goṛen/. Finally he also states that the suffix is shortened to /-koṛ/, /-goṛ/. In the present data the researcher encountered only the shortened suffix of the conditional /-koṛ/, /-goṛ/ which are added to the basic stems. As Bhattacharya (1956:40) has discussed that the negative verbs use /-koṛen/, and the affirmative verbs except those ending in vowels like /-y/ and /-p/ use /-goṛen/ to form conditionals. In the present data too, it is consistent that the negative verbs used shortened form /-koṛ/ and the affirmative verbs used the /-goṛ/ to form conditionals. Some of the examples can be seen below.

5.19.6.18.3.1. First Type of Conditional Verbs

Example:

- | | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-----------------|
| 1. ḷḷḍdi | wa:iṇ | war-a | a:n | ama:n | se-ya:-n |
| if | rain | come-NEG | i-NOM | there | go-NPST-1SG.M/F |
| If it doesn't rain I will go there | | | | | |

2. an-un o:nd orug-da:-nd atekod aṭe-ŋ se-ja:-n
 if i-ACC he-NOM call- NPST -3SGM then mrket-DAT go- NPST -1SG.M/F
 If he calls me I will go to market

3. **ḡddin** gilasi-ŋ karisi-da-t atekod a:d pili-se-ja:
 if glass-ACC throw- NPST -2SG.M/F then it break-go-PRS
 If you throw the glass it will break

4. **ḡddi** o:nd nijā endiki-da:-nd atekod o:nd jin-ta:-nd
 if he-NOM well play- NPST -3SG.M then he-NOM win- NPST-3SGM
 If he plays well he will win

In the above constructions /**ḡddi**/ does not have different type of construction for the negative as we have in the second type. Sometimes the affix /-in/ is added to the conditional form /**ḡddi**/.

5.19.6.18.3.2. Second Type of Conditional Verbs:

In the present constructions /-g/ is used for the positive sentences.

Example:

1. im bājṛ-tin sen-**gor** kuse pore indri-da-r
 you-NOM-PL market-ACC go-COND vegetables bring- NPST -2PL.M/F
 If you go to market, you will bring vegetables.

2. im kis-**gor**, sepa:l aḡ-da:-nd
 you-NOM-PL pinch-COND boy cry- NPST -3SG.M
 If you pinch, the baby will cry.

3. wa:in wa-**gor**, maiṇil-sil end-(d)a:
 rain come-COND peacock-PL dance-NPST
 If it rains, the peacocks will dance.

4. aima:l niā pate par- **gor**, puraskar paed-(d)a:
 she good song sing-COND prize get- NPST
 If she sings well, she will get a prize.

5. a:n sama:n-belaṇ wa-**gor** aima:l ullen se-ya:
 I on time come-COND she-NOM house go- NPST
 If I come on time, she will go home.

The conditional **-gor** is changing to **-kor** after the increment of the negative. The following construction will disclose the schema followed in it.

Example:

1. im kis-**a-koṛ**, sepa:l aḍ-a:-nd
 you-NOM-PL pinch-NEG-COND boy cry --NEG-3SG.M
 If you do not pinch, the baby will not cry
2. wa:in war-**a-koṛ**, maiṇil-sil end-a:
 rain come-NEG-COND peacock-PL dance-PRES
 If it does not rains, the peacocks will not dance
3. aima:l niã pate par-**a-koṛ**, puraskar paer-a:
 she good song sing-NEG-COND prize get-NEG
 If she does not sing well, she will nt get a prize
4. a:n sama:n-belaṇ war-**a-koṛ**, aima:l ullen **sey-a:**
 i on time come-NEG-COND she-NOM house go-NEG
 if I do not come on time, she will not go home

Similar conditional markers are used in past conditional too but the form-**tan** is added to the existing **-goṛ** in the positive constructions and **-koṛ** in the negative constructions. The following are the examples with **-tan** constructions.

Example:

1. im kis-**goṛ-tan**, sepa:l aḍ-e-nd-man
 you-NOM-PL pinch-COND boy cry-PST-3SG.M-BE
 If you pinch, the baby will cry.
2. wa:in wa-**goṛ-tan**, maiṇil-sil endut-e-v-man
 rain come-COND peacock-PL dance-PST-3PL.M/F-BE
 If it rains, the peacocks will dance.
3. aima:l niã pate par- **goṛ-tan**, puraskar paien-e-man
 she good song sing-COND prize get-PST-BE
 If she sings well, she will get a prize.
4. a:n sama:n-belan wa-**goṛ-tan**, aima:l ullen send-e-n-man
 i on time come-COND she-NOM house go-PST-1SG.M/F-BE
 If I come on time, she will go home.

In the double conditional sentences like the above sentences, the first condition is **-goḍ** and the second one is **-koḍ**.

5.19.6.18.3.3. Double Conditionals

Example:

1. in wa-**god** wa mana-**kod** mana
you-NOM come-COND come NEG-COND NEG

If you want to come, come otherwise don't come.

2. in tin-**god** tin mana-**kod** mana
you-NOM eat-COND eat NEG-COND NEG

If you want to eat, eat otherwise don't eat.

In the double conditional sentences like the above sentences, the first condition is - **god** and the second one is -**kod** in most of the cases. Elsewhere either - **god** or -**kod** is possible.

5.19.6.18.4. Negative Participles

Negative participle is used to denote the undoness or impossibility of a work. In Ollari Gadaba, the negative participle is expressed by adding -ak/akod to the root wrds.

Example:

1. in sahaja kej-**ak/akod** ar er sahaja ke-da-r
you-NOM help do-NEGP who help do-NPST-3 PL.M/F
You having not helped who will help.
2. or endik-**ak/akod** ar er endig-da-r
they-NOM play-NEGP who play-NPST-3 PL.M/F
They having not played who will play
3. am i kame kij-**ak/akod** ar er keging od-a-r
we-NOM this work do-NEGP who do- NPST-3 PL.M/F
We having not done the work nobody will do the work.
4. ad cendra:l nor-**ak/akod** ar er nor-da-r
she-NOM help wash-NEGP who do-NPST-3 PL.M/F
She having not washed the clothes who will wash.

5.19.6.18.4.1. Negative Participle-1

Example:

1. ailok endk-**jeŋ** ulle-n wan-o-r
they-NOM play-NEGP house-DAT come-PST-3 PL.M/F
They came home without playing.
2. a:m ena ka:me ke-**jaŋ** maɬ-o-m
we-NOM which work do-NEGP stay-PST-2 PL.M/F
We stayed there without doing any work.
3. in sendra-l nora-**jeŋ** oɖt-o-t
you-NOM cloth-PL wash-NEGP sleep-PST-2 SG.M/F
You slept without washing clothes.

5.19.6.18.5. Verbal Adjective

Verbal Adjective forms are abundant in Ollari Gadaba. These are very much similar to a verb in form and meaning. These are formed by adding of **-onɖi** to the roots.

Example:

- 1 wand-**onɖi** kadse ‘the rice which is already cooked’
- 2 pandg-**onɖi** pol ‘the fruit which already riped’
- 3 waɬ-**onɖi** marin ‘the tree which is already dried’
- 4 wiɖ-**onɖi** aŋi ‘the shirt which is already taken out’
- 5 pun-**onɖi** kenda ‘the branch which already broken’
- 6 sai-**onɖi** se:r ‘the body which is already dead’
- 7 waɬ-**onɖi** sukra:l ‘the fish which is already dried’
- 8 orisen-**onɖi** aɣle ‘the pot which already cracked’
- 9 waɬ-**onɖi** egil ‘the leaves which is already dried’

Battacharya (1957: 46) reports that 1st person present future forms also used as verbal adjectives, indicating an indefinite sense:

Example:

- 1 pok-da:-n pate ‘the word to be said’
- 2 wand-da:-n maggind ‘the man who cooks’
- 3 wad-(d)a:-n nelin ‘coming month’
- 4 tin-da:-n kuse ‘edible vegetable’

5.19.6.18.6. Past Adjective or Adjectival Participle

Adjectival participles are sub class of adjectives. It has been mentioned by Krishnamurti (2003:334) that the ‘Adjectival participle is the core part of the relative clause (in the absence of relative pronouns)’. The participle is placed before the noun head. Adjectival participle in Ollari Gadab is formed by adding the suffix - **manɔndʒi** to the root words. The following are some of the examples of Adjectival participles.

Example:

1. in indri-**manɔndʒi** bɔi nijã:te
you bring-ADJP book good
The book which you bought is good.
2. in wandʒi- **manɔndʒi** kuse tire:n
you cook- ADJP curry tasty
The curry which you cooked is very tasty.
3. o:r sudi- **manɔndʒi** mege dẽŋte
they see- ADJP gat tall
The goat which you saw is tall.
4. a:d aʒi- **manɔndʒi** ba:m dẽŋte
she kill- ADJP snake long
The snake which she killed is long.
5. raju kaʒi- **manɔndʒi** dewul perin berte
raju build- ADJP temple very big
The temple which raju build is very big.

5.19.6.18.7. Negative Adjective

Habitual adjectives are also known as adjectival participles. These are derived from verbs and contrast with the verbal nouns. The adjectival marker in Ollari gadaba is -**a:te**. By adding the adjectival marker - **a:te** to the roots the negative adjectives are formed.

Example:

1. uɔ-**a:te** base/jommi atuva base
plough- NEGA land barren land
The land which is not ploughed is barren.

2. a:n key-**a:te** ka:me a:n toɖondɔ ken-o-ndɔ
 i-NOM do- NEGA work i brother do-PST-3 SG.M
 The work which I did not do was done by my brother.
3. a:m tin-**a:te** kaɖse nete tij-(j)a
 we-NOM eat- NEGA rice dog eat-PST
 The food which we have not eaten was eaten by a dog.
4. a:d sen-**a:te** rasta kadderi maɖe
 she-NOM go-NEGA road muddy is
 The road on which I did not go was muddy.

5.19.6.19. Adverbs

It has been asserted by Krishnamurti (1969:214) that adverbs, like adjectives, are primarily set off their syntactic function as attributes or complements to verb phrase or sentences. However, there is no evidence in the collected data that some of the adverb stems carry verbal or nominal inflexion. There are some complex adverbs which are derived by adding exclusively adverbial suffixes like /-**en**/, /-**na:t**/, /-**waɖin**/ and /-**babən**/, etc. to stems belonging to other classes like **rosja** ‘nice’ **rosybabən** ‘nicely’. Morphologically identifiable adverbs, the other major word classes, can be divided into three classes, viz., simple, complex and compound. Each of these adverbs are sub-classified, on the semantic grounds, as time, place and manner adverbs.

6.19.6.19.1. Simple Adverbs

Adverbials stems which are morphophonemic are simple or basic adverbs.

Time:

Example:

- | | | |
|---|-------|--------------|
| 1 | inɖi | ‘now’ |
| 2 | again | ‘torek’ |
| 3 | still | ‘mer/aremer’ |

Manner:

Example:

- | | | |
|---|-------|---|
| 1 | olgen | ‘seperately’ or olgababən ‘seperately’ |
| 2 | aspen | ‘suddenly’ |
| 3 | nijäi | ‘well’ |

6.19.6.19.2. Complex Adverbs

Complex or derived adverbs consist of a single root (adjective, verb or a noun) followed by one or more derivative suffixes. Sometimes the roots are segmentable only on formal grounds and their stem class may not be easily identifiable. The common derivative suffixes are as mentioned earlier /-en/, /-na:t/, /-waɖin/, /-baben/.

Example:

1	a:	(adj)	'that'	a:waɖin	'in that manner'
2	i:	(adj)	'this'	i:waɖin	'in this manner'
3	e:	(adj)	'which'	e:waɖin	'in which manner'
4	dap	(adj)	'quick'	dap-en	'quickly'
5	soŋɔ	(adj)	'immediate'	soŋ-en	'immediately'
6	daʃa:m	(v)	'be tight'	daʃa:m-na:t	'tightly'
7	olga	(adj)	'separate'	olg-en	'separately'
8	netir	(n)	'red'	netir-waɖin	'reddishly'
9	viled	(adj)	'white'	viled-na:t	'whitishly'
10	kakir	(adj)	'cool'	kakir-na:t	'coolly'
11	rosja	(adj)	'nice'	rosja-ren	'nicely'
12	uja	(adj)	'bad'	uja-baben	'badly'
13	dandā	(n)	'speed'	dandā-na:t	'speedily'
14	turun	(v)	'complete'	turun-baben	'completely'

Two adverbs are found with -ŋ preceded by a root in final /-i/; however this type of roots are not found in any of the categories of the data except in case markers (accusative and dative cases) e.g. **da:ɖi** 'row' **daɖi-ŋ** 'in a row' and **du:ri** 'distance' **duri-ŋ** 'distantly'. These are likely to be a borrowing from Telugu, cf. **warasa** 'row' **warasa-ga** 'in a row' and **du:ram** 'distance' **duram-ga** 'distantly'.

5.19.6.19.3. Compound Adverbs

Many onomatopoeic expressions with partial or full reduplication function as compound adverbs of manner. The first constituent of each construction can be taken as the basic form, from which the second constituent can be derived by rules of reduplication. A few basic adverbs of time, place and manner occur reduplicated to denote intensity or emphasis. These seems to come only with the adverbial inflexion – **en**.

Example:

1	dhiren	'slowly'	dhiren dhiren	'very slowly'
2	aŋten	'speedily'	aŋten aŋten	'high speedily'

3	sajen	‘immediately’	sajen sayen	‘immediately with emphasis’
4	dapen	‘quickly’	dapen dapen	‘very quickly’

5.19.6.19.4. Adverbial Nouns

Time:

Adverbial nouns are also divided into simple, complex and compound denoting time and place which are morphologically nouns are adverbial syntactically.

Example:

1	dinsara	‘all day long’
2	borsek	‘a year’
3	ukut boros	‘one year’
4	wada:n boros	‘coming year’
5	bela	‘moment’
6	nitren/dinken	‘daily’
7	aisiris	‘that day’
8	inen/ i:siris	‘today’
9	aqtol	‘morning’
10	din	‘day’
11	sirtaol	‘evening’
12	tonqunur	‘tomorrow’
13	ukut bela	‘one moment’

Place:

Example:

1	duri	‘distance’
2	cari paka	‘around’
3	arsil	‘near’
4	nendit	‘middle’
5	waltin	‘outside’
6	base	‘place’
7	kundel	‘behind’
8	mundel	‘infront’
9	pota:n	‘above’
10	tandrel/tanir	‘inside’

5.19.6.19.5. Complex Stems

Time:

Example:

1	orgun	‘yesterday’
2	asin	‘day before yesterday’
3	tonqunur	‘tomorrow’

- | | | |
|---|------------------|----------------------|
| 4 | pitneniŋ | ‘day after tomorrow’ |
| 5 | torek/ukuŋr | ‘once’ |
| 6 | joŋektŋr/duidin | ‘twice’ |
| 7 | munduŋtŋr/tindin | ‘thrice’ |

Place:

Example:

- | | | |
|---|---------------|-------------|
| 1 | i-man | ‘here’ |
| 2 | a-man | ‘there’ |
| 3 | ij-o:nd | ‘this man’ |
| 4 | aj-o:nd | ‘that man’ |
| 5 | ijo-tuŋ | ‘this side’ |
| 6 | ajo-tuŋ | ‘that side’ |
| 7 | ere-man | ‘where’ |
| 8 | tandrel/tanir | ‘inside’ |

5.19.6.19.6. Compound Stems

Time:

Example:

- | | | |
|---|---------------------|--------------|
| 1 | i-baris | ‘this year’ |
| 2 | wada:n-baris | ‘next year’ |
| 3 | nirdin/nirdin-baris | ‘last year’ |
| 4 | sendai-baris | ‘last year’ |
| 5 | wada:n-neliŋ | ‘next month’ |
| 6 | sendai- neliŋ | ‘last month’ |

In all the above /**baris**/ ‘year’ and /**neliŋ**/ ‘month’ may be taken as stem meaning. The preceeding elements can also be identified with certain unique roots. Along with these time adverbials there are certain fused compounds used as time adverbials.

Example:

- | | | |
|---|-----------------|-------------------|
| 1 | enamen-siris | ‘any day’ |
| 2 | zoŋek-siris | ‘two days’ |
| 3 | munduŋ-siris | ‘three days’ |
| 4 | aŋtoli | ‘early morning’ |
| 5 | ined-din | ‘these many days’ |
| 6 | dinek-dinek | ‘day day’ |
| 7 | narka:m-pakŋa:l | ‘day and night’ |

Place:

Example:

- | | | |
|---|------------|--------------|
| 1 | ere paka | ‘which side’ |
| 2 | rasta paka | ‘road side’ |

- 3 wele paka/wele peta:n 'east side'
- 4 paccim diga:l 'west side'

Certain suffixes or particles like **waḍin**, **laka:n** are added to nouns, adjectives or verbs (derived or inflected stems) to derive adverbs.

Example:

- 1 druka waḍin 'like tiger'
- 2 in waḍin 'like you'
- 3 i waḍin 'like this'
- 4 neliḡ waḍin 'like moon'
- 5 wele waḍin 'like sun'
- 6 ki waḍin 'like hand'
- 7 ukuṭ laka:n 'one each'
- 8 zoḍek laka:n 'two each'
- 9 munduḡ laka:n 'three each'
- 10 tingoṭa laka:n 'three each'

/din/ and /siris/ are taken as stem meaning for 'day' and boros for 'year': the preceding elements like ai- are identified with other roots too. Along with these time adverbials there are certain fused compounds used as time adverbials.

Example:

- 1 enamen-siris 'any day'
- 2 zoḍek-siris 'two days'
- 3 munduḡ-siris 'three days'
- 4 aḡtoli 'early morning'
- 5 ined-din 'these many days'
- 6 dinek-dinek 'day day'

5.19.6.20. Post Positions

Some of the independent post positions like **arek** 'till', **arsel** 'near', **na** 'about', **paiṭ** 'because', **pelṭunḡ** 'than', **k^hakel** 'near' and **tanir** 'through' are encountered in the data. The following are the some of the

Example:

arek 'till'

1. a:n-e dui hazar p^handro **arek** ulle mana: maṭe
i-POSS two thousand fifteen till house no was
I did not have house till 2015.

2. aga:ɖi-din lək Puri **arek** taki taki sen-iŋ-no-r
old-days people Puri till walking go-FIN-IMPV-3 PL-M.F

In olden days people used to walk up to Puri.

arsel ‘near’

1. in ere boi-ŋ suɖu pʰoki ad a:n-**pel** mana
you-NOM which book-ACC see asked that me-near not

The book which you asked for is not with me.

2. a:n polug **arsel** ukuɬ canal majã
i-NOM village near one canal is

There is a canal near my village.

na ‘about’

1. a:n ai-mal-iŋ pidir-na ena: pun-a:-n
i-NOM that-girl-ACC about- anything know-NEG-1 SG.M/F

I don’t know anything about her.

2. a:d kiga:ɬkegiŋ ena pun-a:
She hunting anything know-NEG

She doesn’t know about hunting.

3. a:n a:n-e pidir-na pok-u-da:-nd
i me-POSS name-about speak-EV-NPST-3 SG.M

I will speak about me.

paɪt ‘because’

1. in paɪt a:n in siŋɖiŋ ca:kiri si-da:-n
you because I your son job give-NPST-1 SG.M/F

Because of you I am giving this job to your son.

paɪt ‘because’

1. lək maliŋ **paɪt** vuya:ɬe sen-i-da:-r
people wine because spoil go-EV-NPST-3 PL. M/F

People get spoiled by liquor.

peltunŋ ‘than’

1. a:n be:r siŋɖ nini siŋɖ-iŋ **peltunŋ** thin bɔrosɔŋ bɛɾɔnd
my elder son small son-DAT than three years bigger

My older son is three years older than my younger son.

2. o:nd̥ a:n **peɭtunŋ** beɾo:nd̥
 he me than bigger
 He is bigger than me.

3. kavita Rani-ŋ **peɭtunŋ** perin sundɔr
 kavita rani-DAT than more beautiful
 Kavita is more beautiful than Raja.

kʰakel ‘near’

1. iskol- **kʰakel** an-e ulle majã
 school near me-GEN house is
 My house is near the school.

tanir ‘through’

1. a:n kʰopel tanir sen-da-n
 i-NOM hill through go-NPST-1 SG.M/F
 I am going through jungle

CHAPTER-VI

THE STRUCTURE OF SIMPLE SENTENCES

6. Introduction

Like all other Dravidian languages, Ollari Gadaba employs sentences of different structures. Most of the structures found in the remaining Dravidian languages are found in Ollari Gadaba too. The traditional type of classifying sentence types viz. simple complex and compound sentences. These sentences have been adopted to explore the syntactic patterns of Ollari Gadaba language as the classification has proved the quite fruitful in such an exploration. This chapter attempts to present a detailed account of the syntactic structures and the related processes pertaining to simple sentences in Ollari Gadaba. The following sections deal with sentences with verbs and without verbs and other types of sentences.

6.1. Word Order

The word order in Ollari Gadaba is subject-object-verb (i.e, SOV). This is the normal word order unless there is some change for the purpose of focusing a certain element. If there are two objects, direct and indirect, it is the indirect object that precedes the direct object. The adverbs of time normally occur before the indirect object where as the locative nominal follows the indirect object. Consider the following examples from the language.

Example:

1. a:n orgun onq-uŋ polug-tin ukuŋ pɔl sid-e-n
I-NOM yesterday he-DAT village-LOC one fruit give-PSTG.M.F
I gave him a fruit yesterday in the village.
2. a:n orgun ad-iŋ kolege-tin ukuŋ bɔi sid-e-n
I-NOM yesterday she-DAT college-LOC one book give-PSTG.M.F
I gave her a book yesterday in the college.

6.2. Sentence Structure

Simple sentence can further be divided into (i) verb less sentences and (ii) verb-final sentences. Verb final sentences either transitive or intransitive, depending upon whether the verbal base takes a nominal as its subject or not.

6.3. Verbless Sentences

One of the characteristic features of Indian language is having verbless sentences. These sentences are also referred to as equational sentences. These sentences comprise of two nominals yuxta-posed as in the following.

Example:

1. onḍ bert-o-nd/polugt-o-nd
 he-NOM head-PST-3SG.M
 He is head man.
2. onḍ Gadaba/Gadaba lōk
 he-NOM Gadaba-CN
 He is a Gadaba person.
3. a:n Ramaiah
 i-NOM Ramaiah-PN
 I am Ramaiah.

The first nominal can be treated as topic and the second nominal as comment. Both the NPs denote the same person, thing, or place. The first NP can be either a noun or pronoun. The comment NP always presents some information about the topic NP. Both topic and comment can be preceded by modifiers. Consider the following sentences.

Example:

1. ai Gadaba lōk nijā Gadaba lōk
 that Gadaba-man good Gadaba man
 That Gadaba man is good Gadaba man.
2. ai aṇi eṭed aṇi
 that shirt old shirt
 That shirt is an old shirt.

There is also another possibility of dropping second NP since it is referring to the same NP in the sentence.

Example:

1. ai aŋi eŋed-ŋe
 that shirt old-of
 That shirt is an old shirt.
2. ai polug ber-ŋe
 that shirt old-of
 That village is a big village.

The nominal in the comment NP can be deleted when it is modified by an adjective with **-ŋe** marker but the adjective remaining in the comment position cannot be tolerated with out **-ŋe** and the resultant sentence will be unacceptable. Consider the following examples as illustrated below.

Example:

1. *ai polug ber
 That village big
2. *ai aŋi eŋed
 That shirt old

The adjective has to be nominalized first, and the gender-person suffixes are to be attached to it wherever necessary. For the purpose of nominalization, the third person pronominal suffixes are added to the adjective as markers of derivation.

Example:

1. ai polug-te mukja nijã-tonɖ
 that village-of head-man good one
 That village headman is a good one.

In the above sentences, the third person derivatives suffixes are added to the adjective to derive the nominal in the place of comment NPs. If the topic NPs are plural, the derivative suffixes should also be the corresponding plural forms.

Example:

1. ailok sriŋ-lək
 they-NOM black-people
 They are black people.
2. ailok wil-lək
 they-NOM white-people
 They are white people.

In the above sentences, the topic NPs are in the third person. The derivative suffixes added to the adjectives, to derive the nominals as comments and also function as the gender, number and person markers. Hence, there is no need to attach gender –number-person suffixes separately.

In the case of the first and the second person singular topic NPs, there are two stages of derivation for the comment NPs; one is nominalization of the adjective and the other is adding the gender-number-person suffixes of the topic NPs concerned.

Example:

1. a:n boisto-n
 i-NOM elder-1 SG.M.F
 I am an elderly man.
2. onɖ boisto-nɖ
 i-NOM elder-3 SG.M
 He is an elderly person.

In case of regular nominals, no derivative suffix is added. The person markers are directly added to the nominals. The agreement shows up in the first, second, and third person singulars but not in third person non-masculine. In other cases, the regular noun as well as the noun derived from an adjective by adding pr. suffix stay as they are. There is an inflexion of noun s in singular and plural and the comment noun agrees in number with the topic noun.

Example:

1. a:n nete-n
 i-NOM dog-1 SG.M.F
 I am a dog.

2. in gotiile-t
 you-NOM servant-2 SG.M.F
 You are a servant.
3. am gotiile-kil
 you-NOM servant-2 PL.M.F
 We are a servant (PL).

In such equational sentences as those mentioned above, the two nominals can interchange their positions depending on the shift in focus. The nominal, which occupies the predicate position, receives focus. Consider the following sentences.

Example:

1. in werig
 you-NOM cat
 You are a cat.
2. werig in
 cat you
 A cat you are.
3. am Gadaba-lɔk
 i-NOM Gadaba-PL
 We are Gadaba people.
4. Gadaba-lɔk am
 Gadaba-PL we
 Gadaba people we are.

In the above illustrations, the first indicates the shared information by the speaker and the hearer and the second word gives the new information.

In some of the equational sentences, the clauses of comparison is expressed by the /**peltun**/ but some of the sentences are expressed with another type i.e. /**soŋto**-/ (which conveys the meaning of contemporary) among equational sentences.

Example:

1. onɖ an **peltun** berto-ndɖ
 he-NOM me-OBY CM older-3 SG.M
 He is older than me.

In terms of meaning the deleted verb forms in these sentences can be recognized as /**unonđi**/ ‘drinking’ and /**kejonđi**/ ‘doing’. Thus underlying verbal sentences are:

Example:

1. an-uŋ taɖmal **unonđi** abjas
 i-ACC toddy drinking habbit
 Drinking toddy is my habit.
2. an-uŋ kame **kejonđi** kɔstɔ
 i-ACC work doing difficult
 Doing work is difficult to me.

In case of sentences expressing the quantity of kins (usually the off spring), the existential verb may be omitted.

Example:

1. in-uŋ eŋit aja-sil
 you-ACC how many wife-3 PL.F
 How many wives have you?
2. an-uŋ ɔɔdek aja-sil
 you-ACC two wife-3 PL.F
 I have two wives.

The underlying forms for these equational sentences could be

Example:

1. in-uŋ eŋit aja-sil majã/ majão
 you-ACC how many wife-3 PL.F are
 How many wives have you?
2. an-uŋ ɔɔdek aja-sil majã/ majão
 you-ACC two wife-3 PL.F are
 I have two wives.

For the negative formation of the verb less sentences, the negative particle /**era-**/ ‘not’ is attached finally before the agreement marker.

Example:

1. in polug-ṭe mukja
 you-NOM village-of head man
 You are a headman.
2. in polug-ṭe mukja era-ṭ
 you-NOM village-of head man not-2 SG.M.F
 You are not a headman.
3. onḍ Gadaba-lɔk
 he-NOM Gadaba-PL
 He is a Gadaba man.
4. onḍ Gadaba-lɔk era-nḍ
 he-NOM Gadaba-PL not-3 SG.M
 He is not a Gadaba man.

In some of the sentences of the third person subjects where the meaning of process is not possible, but **era-** expresses only state.

Example:

1. ad nete era
 that dog not
 That is not a dog (only state).
2. ad mal era
 that girl not
 That is not a girl (only state).

Within the equational sentences that express states or processes, imperatives and negative imperatives are also possible, by adding **eno-** after which the agreement markers are added.

Example:

1. in polug-ṭe mukja eno-ṭ
 you-NOM village-of headman became-2 SG.M.F
 You became the headman of the village.
2. in polug-ṭe mukja er-me-ṭ
 you-NOM village-of headman not-become-2 SG.MF
 You don't become the head man.

3. in nijā-ṭe sepa-kil eno-r
 you-NOM good-of child-PL become-2 PL.M.F
 You became good children.
4. in uja-ṭe sepa-kil er-me-r
 you-NOM bad-of child-PL not-become-2 PL.M.F
 You don't become bad children.

6.4. Verb-Full Sentence

A verb-full sentence mainly constitute of a noun phrase and verb phrase. A transitive verb takes a nominal as its object, where as the intransitive verb does not. A limited number of transitive verbs take two objects; indirect object and the direct object.

Example:

1. o:nd̥ kaḍse tij-o:-nd̥ (transitive)
 he food ate-PST-3SG.M
 He ate food.

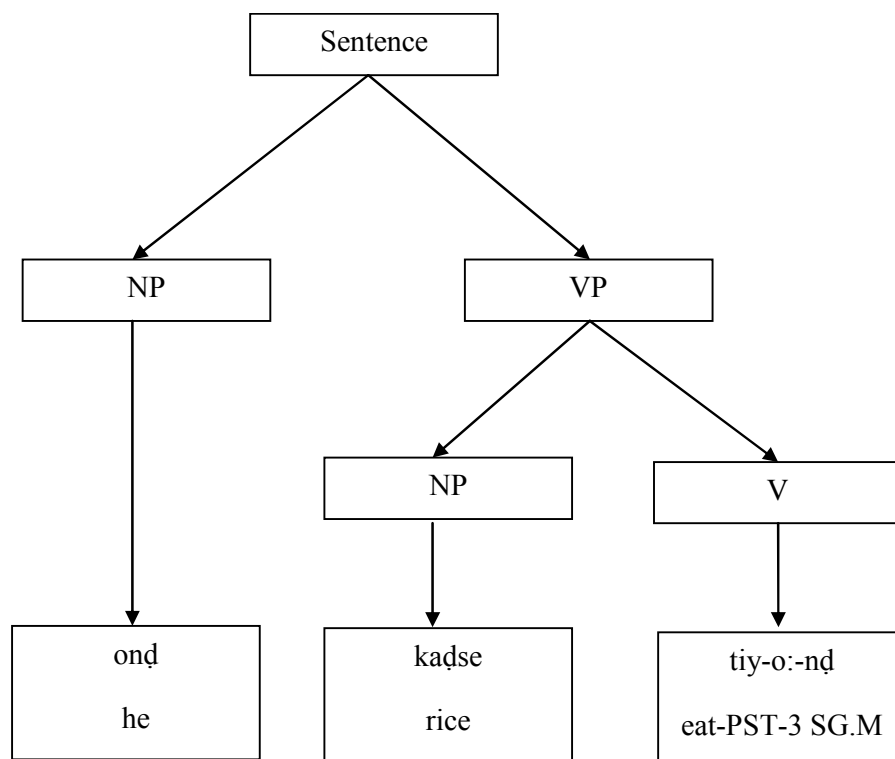


Figure-6.1: Sentence Structure in Ollari Gadaba

2. ni:r ka: juṭ-e (intransitive)
 water boil-PST
 Water boiled.

Since all the verbal and complex sentences are discussed in the Morphology chapter, not much concentration is paid on them in the present chapter.

6.5. Structure of Compound Sentences

Compound sentences in Ollari Gadaba are formed by coordinating equivalent conyuncts of different simple sentences. Dik (1968:25) states that ‘a construction consisting of two or more sentences which are equivalent as to grammatical function and bound together at the same level of structural hierarchy by means of linking device. Matthews (1981:211) also states that ‘coordination is basically between full units, provided that they are syntactically equivalent’. Within the compound sentences there are different coordination is available viz. combinatory, alternative, adversative and some agreement in coordination.

6.5.1. Combinatory Coordination

The complete noun phrases in Ollari Gadaba are coordinated either with a coordination **are** or just simply by juxtaposition. The linking device **are** in most of the cases occur after the first noun phrase or after every conyunct in the coordinate construction but sometimes after the second noun phrase. Consider the following compound sentences:

Example:

1. Rayu, Ramu **are** sunil wan-o-r
 Rayu, Ramu and sunil come-PST-3 PL.M
 Rayu, Ramu and sunil come.
2. Rayu **are** Ramu **are** sunil wan-o-r
 Rayu and Ramu and sunil come-PST-3 PL.M
 Rayu and Ramu and sunil come.
3. Rayu Ramu Sunil wan-o-r
 Rayu Ramu Sunil come-PST-3 PL.M
 Rayu and Ramu and sunil come.

However the first and third sentences are readily accepted by the native speaker where as he hesitantly approves the second sentence. This shows that the addition of another coordination to the last conyunct noun phrase is not well received by the native speaker.

In some of the sentences, the members of noun phrase coordination, i.e. M1, M2 and M3 are permutable in Ollari Gadaba without disturbing the meaning of the sentence. Look at the sentences below:

Example:

1. nete-l pand-kil konde-l wetet-e-w
 dog-PL pig-PL cow-PL run-PST-3 PL. NH
 Dogs, pigs and cows ran.
2. konde-l nete-l pand-kil wetet-e-w
 cow-PL dog-PL pig-PL run-PST-3 PL. NH
 Cows, dogs and pigs ran.
3. pand-kil konde-l nete-l wetet-e-w
 pig-PL cow-PL dog-PL run-PST-3 PL. NH
 Pigs, cows and dogs ran.

However, there are certain sentences in which NP coordination do not allow permutation between its members of M1 and M2. The reason for the fusion of a particular coordinates reveals that, they are binomials whose grammatical structure is irreversible and determined to be irreversible because they are culturally bound. Consider the following sentences:

Example:

1. ondu-ne/unj aja aba er-mana-r
 he-NOM-POSS/ACC mother father not-BE-3 PL.MF
 He has no father and mother.
2. ondu-ne/unj aba aja er-mana-r
 he-NOM-POSS/ACC father mother not-BE-3 PL.MF
 He has no father and mother.

If M1 and M2 are reversed or interchanged in their order, the sentence would become unacceptable or the native speaker s hesitant to accept it.

In some of the verb less sentences, the coordination of a noun phrase consisting of M1 and M2 is more emphatically expressed by adding **irul/iral** ‘both/two’ after the second NP in the construction.

Example:

1. Rabi and sunil irul kopel-unj sej-o-r
Rabi are Sunil both forest-ACC go-PST-3 PL.M
Rabi and Sunil both went to forest.
2. Sisa are Manjli iral tad-mal und-o-r
Sisa and Mangli both palm-wine drink-PST-3 PL.M
Sisa and Mangli both drank toddy.

In some of the equational sentences, the negative combinatory coordination is achieved by juxtaposing the negated NPs. The verb phrase occurs in the nominalized form.

Example:

1. war-ak-lok Rabi erra-ndj Sunil erandj
come-NF-man Rabi not-3 SG.M sunil not
The coming man is neither Rabi nor Sunil.

The independent sentences which are compounded as follows:

Example:

1. war-ak-lok Rabi erra-ndj
come-NF-man Rabi not-3 SG.M
Coming man is not Rabi.
2. war-ak-lok Sunil errandj
come-NF-man Sunil not-3 SG.M
Coming man is not Sunil.

Coordination of NPs indifferent case relations like accusative, instrumental, associative possessive and locative case is observed in the language. The following sentences illustrate the phenomenon:

Example:

1. Rabi konde-l are nete-l-inj at-e-ndj
Rabi cow-PL and dog-PL-ACC beat-PST-3 SG.M
Rabi beat the dogs and cows.

2. Rabi konde-ŋ ki are knawe-naŋ aŋ-e-nŋ
Rabi cow-PL hand and stick-INS beat-PST-3 SG.M
Rabi beat the cow with hand and stick.
3. Rayu are Sunil-ne supar-til majão
Rayu and Sunil-POSS tamarind-PL BE
Rayu and Sunil have tamarind trees.
4. tad-mar-kil polug-tun are kopel-tun majão
palm-tree-PL village-LOC and forest-LOC BE
Palm trees are for their in village and forest.

6.5.2. Deverbalized Coordination

This type of coordination of verb phrases, the VPs are deverballized as verbal nouns and **poleteni** ‘completed’ is added finally to close the construction. Look at the following sentences:

Example:

1. Ruth-ne wan-onŋi are tin-onŋi **poleteni**
Ruth’s come-VNM and eat-VNM completed
Ruth’s coming and eating are completed.

The sentence is paraphrase of,

2. Ruth wan-e are tin-ŋe
Ruth came-PST and eat-PST
Ruth came and ate.

6.5.3. Alternative Coordination

Alternative coordination in Ollari Gadaba is achieved by using **manakɔŋ** ‘either’ between the two members.

Example:

1. Rabi **manakɔŋ** Sunil iman wa-da-nŋ
Rabi or Sunil here come-NPST-3 SG.M
Either Rabi or Sunil will come here.
2. enig **manakɔŋ** ŋruka iman wa-da-nŋ
elephant or tiger here come-NPST-3 SG.M
Either elephant or tiger will come here.

The Coordination of alternation with different case relations such as accusative, instrumental and locative in Ollari Gadaba are shown in the following sentences.

Example:

1. Rabi endkonḍi **manakḍ** vastra indri-da-nḍ
Rabi doll or dress bring-NPST-3 SG.M
Rabi brought either doll or dress.
2. Rabi knave-**naṭ** **manakḍ** rod-naṭ cor-**uṇ** aṭ-e-nḍ
Rabi stick-INS or rod-INS thief-ACC beat-PST-3 SG.M
Rabi beat the thief either with a stick or rod .
3. mittal mḥn-**an** **manakḍ** peṭṭy-**an** majão
laddu bag-LOC or box-LOC BE
The luddu is either in the bag or box.

6.5.4. Adversative Coordination

The propositions constituting contrary and opposed meanings are coordinated in Ollari Gadaba by the binary coordinator **matar** ‘but’. The following sentences will illustrate the phenomenon:

Example:

1. onḍ tad-mal tijar ken-o-nḍ matar onḍ an-uṇ
he-NOM palm-wine made do-PST-3.SG.M but he i-DAT
un-uṇ sit-o-nḍ
drink-ACC not-PST-3 SG.M
He prepared liquor but he did not serve it to me.
2. onḍ nija uḍ-e-nḍ matar onḍ wit-il
he-NOM good plough-PST-3 SG.M but he seed-PL
wit-uṭ-o-nḍ
seed-Not-PST-3.SG.M
He ploughed the land but he did not sow the seed.

6.5.5. Agreement in Coordination

The coordinated noun phrases have to show suitable agreement with the verb phrase by taking corresponding pronominal suffixes. If the coordination is between

first and second person, the pronominal suffix taken by the verb phrase is first person plural suffix. If the coordinate NPs are second and third persons the verb phrase takes the pronominal suffix of the second person plural. The combination of first and third person NPs shows agreement with the first person plural pronominal suffix. If both the coordinates belong to the third person the verb takes the pronominal suffix of third person plural. Any strict order of NPs is not necessary for these rules of concord. The following examples will illustrate the phenomenon:

Example:

1. in are an wan-o-m
 you-NOM and me come-PST-1 PL.M.F
 You and I cam.
2. in are onq wan-o-r
 you-NOM and he come-PST-2 PL.M.F
 You and he came.
3. an are onq wan-o-m
 i-NOM and he come-PST-1 PL.M.F
 I and he came.
4. Rabi are Sunil wan-o-r
 Rabi -NOM and Sunil come-PST-2 PL.M
 Rabi and Sunil came.

The coordinated NPs and their corresponding pronominal suffixes in verb phrases of compound sentences in Ollari Gadaba can be tabulated as follows:

Coordinated NPs	Person Showing Agreement	Pronominal Suffixes in Coordinate Sentences
1 st person, 2 nd person	1 st person plural	-m
2 nd person, 3 rd person	2 nd person plural	-r
1 st person, 3 rd person	1 st person plural	-m
3 rd person, 3 rd person	3 rd person plural	-r

Table: 6.2. Aggrement Markers

6.5.6. Conclusion

The agreement coordination can be summarized as follows:

I + II -----→ I person (plural pronominal suffix)

II + III -----→ II person (plural pronominal suffix)

I + III -----→ I person (plural pronominal suffix)

III + III -----→ III person (plural pronominal suffix)

From the above information, one can derive the hierarchical relation of concord as follows:

I person > II person > III person

CHAPTER-VII

CONVERGENCE FEATURES

7. Introduction

The fusion of many groups, viz., Aryan and non-Aryan started in the Indian sub-continent since 4000 years BC. This fusion started in terms of rituals, marriages, culture, and language. This is why India has become a pluricultural, multilingual, and polysynthetic society with a variety and diversity as the very fabric of its ethos. Reddy (2013:1) mentions that in the history of this ancient land, language has been a bi-directional force which is used for binding and identity. Along with the language as a bi-directional force, it also worked as a link language in many places of India where languages belong to a different family of languages that are genetically different. Subsequently, he asserts that “With their linguistic tolerance motivated by the exigencies of survival, people learned their neighbor’s languages for intergroup communication. Many a time this was a unidirectional process- the minor and the less privileged opting for the code of the mayor and privileged group, but the interaction always had the bidirectional impact, leading to mutual sharing of traits and influences”. The learning of neighboring languages paved the way for the establishment of bilingualism in general and multilingualism in particular. This bilingualism laid the foundation for the cultural convergence. Since culture is codified in the language, the cultural convergence, in turn, paved the way for linguistic convergence resulting in common grammar and the word orders.

7.1. Linguistic Situation of Odisha

The linguistic diversity is a unique feature, strength, identity and backbone of India, which deserves to be preserved. A unique characteristic feature of Southern Odisha especially Koraput District is its heterogeneity in accommodating languages of three different genetic families, viz., Dravidian, Indo-Aryan (Indo-European) and Munda (Astro-Asiatic). Among these languages, some of them are mayor and some of them are indigenous or tribal languages. For centuries, the speakers of these languages have been living together exchanging mutually certain cultural and linguistic traits among themselves. According to the report of the Council of Analytical Tribal Studies (COATS) situated in Koraput lists down the 62 indigenous tribal communities

who were divided into two groups namely primitive tribal groups (PTGs) latter designated as particularly vulnerable tribal groups (PVTGs) and non-primitive tribal groups (NPTGs). The regional major languages like Hindi, Odia, and Telugu are in constant interaction with indigenous minor languages in the area imprinting their linguistic and cultural impact on the latter group of languages. These languages and their linguistic communities are backward on several grounds, viz., economic, education, social upliftment and political consciousness.

7.2. Tribal Culture and the Heritage of Odisha

Odisha is the conglomeration of many tribal groups belonging to four major families of the country, viz., Dravidian, Indo-Aryan, Austro-Asiatic and Tibeto-Burman languages. One can find as many as 62 of the tribal groups in the state especially in Southern Odisha and the Central Odisha. Whenever one discusses the heritage of India, he/she tends to refer to the literary and philosophical texts written in the antique languages, viz., Sanskrit, Prakrits and Tamil, etc. but the heritage of the spoken literature of the minor languages has been undermined and ridiculed for several centuries in India. These minor undermined languages are the repositories of the vast indigenous knowledge, Indian thought, ethnomedicinal knowledge, world view, the concept of equality, respect to the nature and the philosophy of life are found in their daily discourse and oral literature. That is why Moseley (2010:1) states that “Tribal languages are rich storehouses of human culture and heritage”. Though these tribal groups do not have written texts as found for languages like, Sanskrit and Tamil, the characters and names of the tribal people were not mentioned in their texts, as they were existing and living in the Indian subcontinent even during the pre-Vedic period as noted in Reddy (2013: 49) and in Burrow (1958) and Levi et al. (1929).

7.3. The Encounter of Non-Dravidian Element in Ollari Gadaba

In the descriptive study of Ollari Gadaba a Central Dravidian Language, the researcher encountered many of the non-Dravidian features and an investigation into the source of these deviant traits has led to notice predominant convergence of Munda and Indo-Aryan features into the Ollari Gadaba Language. Emeneau in his seminal essay (1956) says that there has been an enormous amount of give and take which lead to the deep convergence among the Indian languages belonging to the

Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Munda family of languages. It has been noted by Keith Brown (2006:29) that the aspect of convergence is the process in which two varieties become more like one another; typically, a non-standard variety becomes more like the standard. Moreover, the approach adopted here is – typological and historical as postulated by Reddy (2013) for Manda and Kuvi languages. First of all the shared grammatical rules across the genetic boundaries are identified on the basis of structural similarities recorded in the field data. Secondly, for each grammatical item that the language shares, the source (i.e. the donor) and the goal (i.e. the recipient) are identified to determine as to for which group the feature is natural, and where it is an innovation or borrowing due to contact. In the absence of historical records, this is done by comparing the languages concerned (especially Dravidian and Indo-Aryan) with genetically related languages outside the contact area. On this basis, one can easily say that convergence is attributed to emerging from one of the linguistic groups in close proximity. Finally, it contributes (Reddy, 2005) to the notion that the central Indian areal convergence forms a miniature linguistic area by itself.

The mutual influence between Dravidian and Indo-Aryan is part of common knowledge. However, apart from showing certain resemblances with the dominant Indo-Aryan languages the Central Dravidian language, i.e., Ollari Gadaba remarkably reflects certain similarities in grammar with that of the neighboring Munda languages. Some of the noteworthy linguistic features of convergence that Ollari Gadaba adapted from the Munda and Indo-Aryan groups include the following:

7.4. Numerals as in Odia and Munda

Number system is one of the most central features of grammar in a natural language. It has been mentioned by Mohanty (2016) that it is a very rigid system in any language. They will not change very easily. In most of the languages, these number systems have evolved based on our hands and fingers. Furthermore, it has been stated by Reddy (2003) that in some languages finger means hand. This use of hands and fingers as a whole for the counting system is based on the man as a centre point, which can be attributed to anthropo-centricity. When a minor language is influenced by a mayor language, especially in number system it borrows the higher numerals. Hence, in most of the languages higher numerals will be influenced first. Always the loss of numerals takes place from high to low. In Ollari Gadaba, almost

all the higher numbers are lost due to the linguistic influence of Odia language. It has also been observed by Bapuyi (2015) that the language has preserved its number system only up to the numerical three. The following are examples of the Ollari numeral system:

Example:

S.No.	Cardinal Numbers	Ollari Numbers
1	1	ukuṭ
2	2	iral/irul/jodek
3	3	mundug
4	4	charigota
5	5	panchgota
6	20	kodegotta
7	30	thirigota
8	60	sategota
9	80	asegota
10	99	unis path
11	100000	ukuṭ lakya

1. a:n **ukuṭ** ad-iṅ bōi sin-o:-n
i.NOM one she-ACC book give-PST-1SG.M/F
I gave her a book.
2. ond-uṅ **jodek** go:ṛa-l majāo
he-GEN two horse-PL be
He has two horses.
3. ad-iṅ **iral** masi-r majāo
She-GEN two daughter-PL be
She has two daughters.
4. ond **carigota** maig-il wiḍi indr-e-nd
he.NOM four mango-PL purchase bring-PST-3SG.M
He bought four mangoes.

However, in Telugu human and nonhuman distinction is maintained in the numerals too. For example /iddaru/ ‘two’ is used for human and /reṇḍu/ ‘two’ is used for non human.

1. a:me-ku **iddaru** koduku-lu unna-ru
she-DAT two son-PL be-3PL.M
She has two sons.

2. atani-ki **reṇḍu** gurra-lu unna-i
 he-DAT two horse-PL be-3PL.NM
 He has two horses.

Further, Bapuyi (2015) has also stated that in Ollari Gadaba human and non-human distinction is maintained but for the human – the Ollari people are using their native number, i.e., /**iral**/ or /**irul**/ and for non-human, they are using the Odia word i.e. /**jodek**/. By the above examples, one can understand that due to Odia influence, i.e., because of long-time interaction, there was deep convergence and it led to the loss of its numerals from four onwards.

Another feature encountered in the data is the **Vigesimal Numeral System** which is attributed to the Munda family of the languages. As it was discussed by Reddy (2016:6), the counting system among the languages in Odisha can be classified into two types, viz., Decimal system - used by Telugu, standard Odia local dialects of Hindi and Marathi and Vigesimal system is used by - Kharia, Gorum, Kuvi, Manda, Ghondi, and Adivasi Odia. Eeneau (1957) and Mohanty (2011) have mentioned in connection to the two numeral systems – the decimal system is native to the dominating Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, both synchronically and diachronically to frame the higher numerals and the second system, i.e., 20 based counting system is purely attested to the Kharia, Gorum and the rest of the Munda languages. Interestingly in Ollari Gadaba, the native numbers are used from one to three, i.e., /**ukut**/ for (1) and **iral/irul/jodek**/ for (2) /**mundug**/ for (3). From fourth onwards, the speakers adopted the Odia counting system, i.e., /**charigota**/ for (4) and /**panchgota**/ for (5) and it continues up to nineteen. Nevertheless, when they start using the number twenty, immediately they use the Munda numeral word /**kuṛe**/ or /**kuṛi**/ for (20) in the language. This is the best example of the convergence of two numeral systems into Ollari Gadaba. It has been stated by Mohanty (2011) that the counting system is a very rigid system. It will not be easily affected – if at all affected then it may mean that the language is highly influenced by the neighboring languages of the area.

7.5. Replacement of Inclusive and Exclusive Distinction of Pronouns on Verb as in Odia

Inclusive and exclusive distinction of pronouns is not common in all the languages of India. Krishna Bhattacharya (2015) mentions in an oral discussion that it

is found in the Dravidian languages and some Munda and North Indo-Aryan languages too. In the Dravidian languages, the distinction is found on the pronouns. For example, the first person plural pronouns – ‘we’ exclusive /**memu**/ and ‘we’ inclusive /**manamu**/ are used in Telugu. /**memu**/ excludes the hearer(s) and /**manamu**/ includes the hearer(s). Mohanty (2008) discusses that Odia makes the inclusive and exclusive distinction in the finite verb when the subject is first-person plural pronoun. Further, he states that since pronoun forms a closed system, which is resistant to changes obviously the influenced (receiver) language makes a suitable modification; and the modification Odia has brought out on the inflexional of verbs. As a result, Odia is executing the inclusive and exclusive distinction on inflexional verbs. Bapuyi (2015) mentions that Ollari Gadaba too executes inclusive and exclusive distinction on the verb. The reason for this variation may be due to Odia influence. This feature might have reached Odia at some point of time, either from Dravidian or Munda languages. Mohanty (2011) asserts that as when Odia received this distinction, it has been expressed on the verb instead of pronoun because pronominal systems are resistant to changes. On the other hand, Bapuyi (2015) affirms that as Odia started influencing Ollari Gadaba, it followed the Odia pattern of inclusive and exclusive distinction on verb. A few examples are given below.

Telugu:

Example:

1. **manamu** wel-ta:-mu
we.NOM go-FUT-1PL.M/F (+incl)
We will go.
3. **memu** wel-ta:-mu
we.NOM go-FUT-1PL.M/F (-incl)
We will go.

Odia:

Example:

1. ame **j-ib-a**
we-NOM go-FUT.AGR(+incl)
We will go.

2. ame **j-ib-u**
 we-NOM go-FUT-AGR (-incl)
 We will go.
3. ame kali bɔʒarɔ-ku **j-ib-a**
 we-NOM kali market-to go-FUT-AGR (+incl)
 We will go to market tomorrow.
4. ame kali bɔʒarɔ-ku **j-ib-u**
 we-NOM kali market-to go-FUT-AGR (-incl)
 We will go to market tomorrow.

Ollari: In Ollari Gadaba the exclusive is formed by the adding /-ka/ before the finite marker and the inclusive is formed by adding /-kambu/ before the finite form.

Example:

1. am **sen-iŋ-ka-r**
 we.NOM go-FIN-EXCL-1PL(-incl)
 We will go.
2. am **sen-iŋ-kambu-r**
 we.NOM go-FIN-INCL-1PL (+incl)
 We will go.
3. am tonɖunuŋ aɽe **sen-iŋ-ka-r**
 we.NOM tomorrow market go- FIN-EXCL 1PL (- incl)
 We will go to market tomorrow.
4. am tonɖunuŋ aɽe **sen-iŋ-kambu-r**
 we.NOM tomorrow market go- FIN-INCL -1PL (+incl)
 We will go to market tomorrow.

The influence of Odia on Ollari Gadaba at an inclusive and exclusive level clearly shows that it has changed from pronoun to verb.

7.6. Yes-No Question Marker by *ki* (interrogative) as in Odia

In most of the Dravidian languages, the ‘Yes-No questions’ are expressed by the clitic /-a:/ which is added at the end of the question word, a phrase or a sentence. Reddy (2016:15) mentions that some of the Munda languages have similar structural patterns. The present pattern of the Yes-No question formation can be seen below:

Telugu:

Example:

1. idi nee ill-en-a?
this.DEM GEN house-EMPH-YES?NO marker
Is it your house?
2. nuvvu annam tinn-a-wa?
You.NOM rice eat-PST- YES?NO marker
Have you eaten rice?
3. atanu puli-ni cus-a-d-a?
he.NOM tiger-ACC see-PST-3SG.M- YES?NO marker
Has he seen the tiger?

Odia:

Example:

1. eita tumo ghoro ki?
This.DEM your house YES?NO marker
Is it your house?
2. bhat kha-i-cho ki?
rice eat-PFV-AGR YES?NO marker
Have you eaten rice
3. se bagho dekh-i-chi ki?
He.NOM tiger see- PFV-AGR YES?NO marker
Has he seen the tiger?

Ollari Gadaba:

Example:

1. id in-e ulle ki?
This.DEM you-GEN house YES?NO marker
Is it your house?
2. in kadse tin-ji-ma:-t ki?
You.NOM rice eat-CP-NPPFV-2SG.M/F YES? NO marker
Have you eaten rice?
3. o:nd dṛuka:-ŋ sud-i-ma:-nd ki?
He.NOM tiger-ACC see- CP-NPPFV -3PS.M YES? NO marker
Has he seen tiger?

4. wa:in wari-da: ki?
 Rain come-NPST YES? NO marker
 Has the rain come?

This looks like a simple replacement of a Dravidian grammatical function by an Indo-Aryan lexical equivalent, as the structure remains as typical Dravidian.

7.7. Dative and Accusative Case Syncretism as in Odia

Reddy (2016:12) asserts that the case inflection in Dravidian languages distinctly marks for the dative and accusative cases by separate suffixes, whereas in Indo-Aryan the two distinctions are neutralized and indicated with the same suffix for both the cases, i.e. Dative and Accusative cases. Since Ollari Gadaba is being influenced by the Odia language due to the close proximity and co-existence, it is following the latter pattern. A few examples are given below.

Telugu:

Example:

1. nenu a:wu-**ni** kott-a:-nu
 i.NOM cow-ACC beat-PST-1SG.M/F
 I beat the cow.
2. nenu a:wu-**ki** -meta ves-a:-nu
 i.NOM cow-DAT-grass give-PST-1SG.M/F
 I gave the food to cow.

Odia:

Example:

1. mũ gaji-**kumar-il-i**
 i.NOM cow-ACC beat-PST-1SG.M/F
 I beat the cow.
2. mũ gaji-**ku**gha:so de-l-i
 i.NOM cow-DAT grasso give-PST-1SG.M/F
 I gave the grass to the cow.

Ollari Gadaba:

Example:

1. a:n nete-ŋ aṭ-e-n
i.NOM dog-Acc beat- PST-1SGM/F
I beat the dog.
2. o:nḍ kiṭki-ŋ sandt-o-nḍ
he.NOM window-ACC open- PST-3SGM
He opened the window.
3. sepa:l ḍaba:-ŋ punḍt-o-nḍ
boy.NOM yar-ACC break- PST-3SGM
The boy broke the yar.
4. a:n a:n-e saṇḍ-ŋ phone ken-o-n
i.NOM my-POSS friend-ACC phone do-PST--1SGM/F
I telephoned to my friend.
5. a:n beḍe-ŋ laṭa sin-o-n
i.NOM cow-DAT grass give- PST-1SGM/F
I gave grass to a cow.

Dative is generalized at the cost of accusative in Ollari Gadaba language. The Accusative and Dative case syncretism is clearly seen in the case of Ollari Gadaba language except in the cases of pronouns.

7.8. Echo-Word Formation with Vowel Alternation

As Emeneau (1969) has rightly pointed out that, the phonological changes occur within a syllable in the formation of echo-words in Dravidian and Indo-Aryan. In the process of deriving an echo-word, the base of the word undergoes either the consonant or the vowel. In Dravidian languages, the first syllable whether it is CV or V is replaced by /gi/ irrespective of the class of the phonemes in the base word, as in Telugu.

Telugu:

Example:

- 1 annam-**g**innam ‘rice and the like’
- 2 illu-**g**illu ‘house and the like’
- 3 puvvu-**g**ivvu ‘flower and the like’
- 4 karra-**g**irra ‘stick and the like’
- 5 pustakam-**g**istakam ‘book and the like’

The second and the subsequent syllables do not show any alteration in Telugu.

In Indo-Aryan languages, only a consonant change can be seen, i.e. affecting only the first (initial) consonant of the base word as in Odia. Sometimes the aspirated /h/ is added in the change of the consonant.

Odia:

Example:

- 1 **b**orsa-**ph**orsa ‘rain and the like’
- 2 **b**hata-**ph**ata ‘rice and like’
- 3 **g**oda-**ph**oda ‘leg and like’
- 4 **ḍ**ali-**ph**ali ‘dal and like’

As against the above general pattern of Dravidian and the Indo-Aryan, the researcher came across the following patterns of echo formation in Ollari Gadaba (a Central Dravidian member) where vowels of the base words are altered, by depending upon the syllable patterns and there no change in any of the consonants of the following words:

Example:

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| 1 | k aḍṣe | k uḍṣa | ‘rice and like’ |
| 2 | a ṇi | u ṇa | ‘shirt and like’ |
| 3 | ba :m | bu ma | ‘snake and like’ |
| 4 | k use | k usa | ‘curry and like’ |
| 5 | k ope | k upa | ‘hill and like’ |
| 6 | gu :ḍe: | gu ḍa: | ‘nest and like’ |
| 7 | u lle | u lla | ‘house and like’ |
| 8 | k onde | k unda | ‘cow and like’ |
| 9 | me ge | mu ga | ‘goat and like’ |
| 10 | k ursi | k ursa | ‘chair and like’ |
| 11 | de wul | du wal | ‘temple and like’ |
| 12 | me ḍa | mu ḍi | ‘sheep and like’ |
| 13 | ga ḍa | ga ḍi | ‘bolt and like’ |
| 14 | wa ṇu:l | wu ṇa:l | ‘knee and like’ |
| 15 | w andel | w unda:l | ‘finger like’ |
| 16 | k or | k ura | ‘hen and like’ |
| 17 | lo k | lu ka | ‘people and like’ |
| 18 | ma :puru | mu pra | ‘god and like’ |
| 19 | ka nu | ku na | ‘eye and like’ |
| 20 | mu ṇṇān | mu ṇṇīn | ‘nose and like’ |

The syllable pattern, in terms of canonical forms, in Ollai Gadaba would be as follows: (C)(C)V1 (C)(C)CV2 CV3. Of these, the mono and the disyllabic are more common than tri-syllabic words. However, the following rules of phonological change can be observed in Ollari Gadaba.

- i) The V1 of the base changes to **u** irrespective of its quality
- ii) If V2 or V3 is any of **i, e or u**, changes to changes to **-a**; if it is **a**, it is replaced by **i**.
- iii) If a monosyllabic base word ends with a consonant, the echo word adds an enunciative **-a** at the end of the (thereby converting the latter into disyllabic).

The non-Dravidian phonological pattern found in Ollari Gadaba language can be treated as an acquired feature from the immediate neighboring Munda Languages, viz., Gutob Gadaba and Gorum. Mahapatra (1976) provides data from Gat?, Remo and Parengi Gorum showing the vowel alternations involved in South Munda in forming the echo-words. The rules for the formation of echo-words in these languages are similar to those delineated above (for Ollari Gadaba), as can be noticed from the following instances.

Example:

- 1 **semuk-sumak** 'tree and like'
- 2 **kijan-kujin** 'cooked rice and like'

Similar patterns are found in the formation of echo-words in Desiya Odia an Indo-Aryn link language among the speakers of the Dravidian, Munda, and Indo-Aryan languages.

Example:

- 1 **kumḍa-kamḍi** 'pumpkin and like'
- 2 **git-guta** 'song and like'
- 3 **alu-ula** 'potato and like'

On the basis of the echo-formation patterns found in the South Munda languages, Mahapatra (1976:830) states that "echo-formation by changing only the vowels of the base is essentially a Munda feature", which had been adopted by the other two families of the languages. However, the South Munda languages had influenced the Ollari Gadaba language, the native or the original feature of forming

the echo-words by replacing the first syllable or vowel with gi is preserved in the most common or basic words used in the daily communication can be seen below (only two words):

Example:

- | | | | |
|---|------|------|----------------------|
| 1 | ka:l | gi:l | ‘leg and the other’ |
| 2 | kil | gil | ‘hand and the other’ |

7.9. Reflexive

The reflexive in Dravidian languages is formed with the addition of an affix to the base forms. If one takes the example of Telugu language, the reflexives are formed by adding the verb forms of /-**kon**/ (which means ‘to take’) to the basic verb stems. When a stem ends in a consonant, /-**u**-/ inserted before the reflexive form /-**kon**/ is added. Following this, it has been mentioned by Krishnamurti (1985:207) that the meaning of the reflexive form of /-**kon**/ is ‘to do something for oneself’ or ‘to do something by one’s own volition’. With the addition of /-**kon**/ to the base stems, the words in some occasions become compounds.

Telugu:

Example:

- | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------|----------------|---------------------------|
| 1. | nenu | birjani | wand-u- kon n-a-nu |
| | i.NOM | biryani | cook-EV- REFL-PST-1SGM/F |
| | I (myself) cooked biryani. | | |
| 2. | memu | i: inti-ni | kat-u- kon n-a-mu |
| | we.NOM | this house-ACC | built-EV-REFL-PST-1PLM/F |
| | We (ourselves) built the house. | | |
| 3. | ajana | wanta | ces-u- kon -ta:-du |
| | he.NOM | cook | do-EV-REFL-NPST-3SGM |
| | He will cook for (himself). | | |

Odia:

Example:

- | | | | | |
|----|--------------------------|-------------|---------|--------------|
| 1. | mũ | nije | birjani | ra:ndh-il-i |
| | i.NOM | i-REFL | biryani | cook-PST-AGR |
| | I myself cooked biryani. | | | |

2. ame **nije** ghorō tijari kar-il-u
 we.NOM we-REFL house build do-PST-AGR
 We ourselves built the house.
3. se ta pañ **nije** ra:ndhi-b-ō
 he.NOM he-ACC for REFL cook-FUT-AGR
 He will cook for himself.

Ollari Gadaba:

Example:

1. a:n **nijen** birjani wand-e-n
 i.NOM i-REFL biryani cook-PST-1SGM/F
 I myself cooked the biryani.
2. a:m **nijem** i: ulle tija:r ken-o-m
 we.NOM REFL this.DEM house built do-PST-1PL.M/F
 We ourselves built the house.
3. in **nijenijer** wan-o:-r
 you.NOM you-REFL come-PST-2PLM/F
 You yourself came.

If one looks at the above data, it is easy to conclude that Ollari Gadaba acquired the reflexive pattern of Odia, the Indo-Aryan language at the cost of Dravidian reflexive marker **-kon**.

7.10. Reciprocal

The same reflexive marker **-kon** is used to form or denote reciprocal action in Telugu as we have seen in the above examples.

Telugu:

Example:

1. wa:ri-lo ware tann-u-**konn**-a-ru
 they.NOM-LOC they beat-EV-RECP-PST-3 PL.M/F
 They beat each other.
2. wa:ri-lo ware poḍuc-u-**konn**-a-ru
 they.NOM-LOC themselves stab-EV-RECP-PST-3 PL.M/F
 They stabbed each other.

Odia:

Example:

1. semane **ପଠଠସ୍ପାରଠ** ପିଟାପିଟି hele
they.NOM RECP beat become-PST
They beat each other.
2. semane **ପଠଠସ୍ପାରଠ** bhusabhusi hele
they.NOM RECP stab become-PST
They stabbed each other.
3. semane **ପଠଠସ୍ପାରଠ** sahito jhagaḍa: kōle
they.NOM RECP with quarrel do-PST
They quarrelled with each other.

Ollari Gadaba:

Example:

1. ailok niḡo tanir aṭati en-o:-r
they-NOM RECP among beat each-PST-3PL.M/F
They beat each other.
2. ailok niḡo tanir bol pain-o:-r
they-NOM RECP among good love-PST-3PL.M/F
They loved each other.
3. ailok niḡo tanir buje monain-o:-r
they-NOM RECP among good stab-PST-3PL.M/F
They stabbed each other.

7.11. Compound Sentences

The compound sentences in languages are being connected by the coordinate marker for adjoining the two finite clauses. It is used differently in different families of languages. For example, in Hindi, an Indo-Aryan language *aur* or *a:r* used as a coordinate marker and in Odia **au/ebon** are used overtly. In Dravidian languages, especially in Telugu, it is used with length marker (:) at the end of each noun in a compound sentence, and sometimes with ‘*mariyu*’ which is equivalent to *and* in English is used. The following examples will reveal the pattern adopted in the Ollari Gadaba language.

Telugu:

Example:

1. ra: ju: ra:ni: iddaru(opt) snehitu-lu
raju rani two-HPL friend-3SG-PL
Raja and Sunil are friends.
2. ra:ju mariyu ra:ni iddaru(opt) snehitu-lu
rayu and rani two-HPL friend-3SG-PL
Raja and Sunil are friends.

Odia:

Example:

1. raju **au/eb᳚᳚** sunil dui ୨᳚᳚᳚ sang᳚
raju and.CONY Sunil two friends
Raju and Sunil are friends (Standard Odia).
2. raju **a:uri/a:ri** sunil dui ୨᳚᳚᳚ sang᳚
Raja and.CONY Sunil two friends
Raja and sunil are friends (Desiya Odia).
3. mo stri **au/ eb᳚᳚** mũ gā:-ku ja:-u-ch-u
i.POSS wife and.CONY I-NOM village-ACC go-PROG- be-AGR
My wife and me are going to the village (Standard Odia)
4. mo stri: **a:uri/a:ri** mũ gā:-ku ja:-u-ch-ũ
i.POSS wife and.CONY I.NOM village:-to go-PROG-be-AGR
My wife and me are going to the village (Desiya Odia).

Ollari Gadaba:

Example:

1. Raja **are** sunil irul sa᳚᳚
Raji and sunil two friends
Raja and Sunil are friends.
2. a:n **are** a:n-e aja:l polug seni-da:-n
i.NOM and.CONY i-GEN wife village go-NPST-1SG.M/F
My wife and me are going to the village.

7.12. Conditional Sentences with ‘if’

Odia:

Example:

1. **ଞଦି** ବଢ଼ା ନଃ-ହେ, ତେବେ ମୁଁ ସେଠା:କୁ ଯିବି-ି
If.COND rain NEG-become then I-NOM there-ABL go-FUT-AGR
If it doesn't rain I will go there.
2. **ଞଦି** ସେ ମଠ-ତେ ଦା:କ-ିବ-ଠ, ତା:ହେଲେ ମୁଁ ବଞ୍ଚା:ରଠ କୁ ଯିବି-ି
if he.NOM i-ACC call-FUT-AGR then i.NOM market to-ABL go-FUT-AGR
If he calls me I will go to market.

Ollari Gadaba:

Example:

1. **ଞଦ୍ଦି** ବା:ିନ ବା-ା ଶା:ନ ଶା:ନ ସେ-ଜା:-ନ
if.COND rain come-NEG i-NOM there go-NPST-1SG.M/F
If it doesn't rain I will go there.
2. **ଞଦ୍ଦି** ଅନ-ଊଞ ଠ:ନ୍ଦ୍ ଠୁଗ-ଦା:-ନ୍ଦ୍ ଅଟେକ୍ଦ ଅଟେ-ଞ ସେ-ଜା:-ନ
if.COND i-ACC he-NOM call- PROG-3SGM then mrket-DAT go-NPST-1SG.M/F
If he calls me I will go to market.
3. **ଞଦ୍ଦିନ** ଗିଲାସି-ଞ କାରିସିଦ-ଠ:-ଡ୍ ଅଟେକ୍ଦ ଶା:ଦ ପିଲି-ସେ-ଜା:
if.COND glass-ACC throw- PST-2SG.M/F then it break-go-NPST
If you throw the glass it will break.
4. **ଞଦ୍ଦି** ଠ:ନ୍ଦ୍ ନିଜା ଶନ୍ଦିକି-ଦା:-ନ୍ଦ୍ ଅଟେକ୍ଦ ଠ:ନ୍ଦ୍ ଯିନ-ତା:-ନ୍ଦ୍
if.COND he-NOM well play-NPST-3SG.M then he.NOM win-NPST-3SGM
If he plays well he will win.

Along with the two way of distinction of gender, i.e., masculine and non-masculine there is another way of indicating the sex by using separate words (ଅନ୍ଦ୍ରା and କୋଲି), (ପୁଢ଼ା and ବାଗା:ର), (ଗାଞ୍ଜା and ପେଟି) and (ଗାଢ଼ା and ଡାନ୍ଦେ).

Example:

- | | | | | |
|---|--------------|------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | ଅନ୍ଦ୍ରା ନେଟେ | ‘male dog’ | କୋଲି ନେଟେ | ‘female dog’ |
| 2 | ପୁଢ଼ା ସିର | ‘male buffalo’ | ବାଗା:ର ସିର | ‘female buffalo’ |
| 3 | ଅନ୍ଦ୍ରା ପା:ପ | ‘male child’ | କୋଲି ପା:ପ | ‘female child’ |
| 4 | ଅନ୍ଦ୍ରା କଠ | ‘cock’ | କୋଲି କଠ | ‘hen’ |
| 5 | ଗାଞ୍ଜା କଠ | ‘cock meant for fight’ | ପେଟିକଠ | ‘hen foe laying eggs’ |
| 6 | ଗାଢ଼ା ମେଗେ: | ‘male goat’ | ଡାନ୍ଦେ ମେଗେ | ‘female goat’ |
| 7 | ଗାଢ଼ା ମେନ୍ଦା | ‘male sheep’ | ଡାନ୍ଦେ ମେନ୍ଦା | ‘female sheep’ |

7.13. Conclusion

By looking at the above features in Ollari Gadaba one can easily say that there is a deep convergence from Indo-Aryan and Munda languages to Ollari Gadaba language. Most of the traits shown in the above list are borrowed into Ollari Gadaba are from the Indo-Aryan and a few are from the Munda languages. Odisha offers a linguistic situation wherein an Indo-Aryan language, Odia and a group of Austro-Asiatic languages pressurized Ollari Gadaba through historical contact. It has been mentioned by Reddy (1980 and 2005) that the Central India as represented by Odisha, presents itself as a mini linguistic area with the diffusion of linguistic traits from each of the three groups into the other two actively involved in the contact situation. As Mohanty (2008:18) rightly said, Odisha region is acting as a convergence corridor through which many features have migrated from one family to another family in the area. Reddy (2013) also states that there is an instance in Central India in which dominating (Dravidian and Indo-Aryan) languages are influenced by the dominated (Munda) group, viz., Gutob Gadaba, Gorum, etc.

7.14. Future Study

There is much scope to work on different aspects of this language. It will be useful for Indian linguistics in general and Dravidian linguistics in particular. Many scholars in the field have discussed that there are different varieties of Dravidian Gadaba, viz. Ollari Gadab (Odisha) and Poya Gadaba (Andhra Pradesh and Odisha) Bhattacharya (1956), Konekor Gadaba (Andhra Pradesh) Bhaskararao (1980), Kapu Gadaba (Odisha) Rangachari (1909) and Ramdass (1931) are spread over Odisha and Andhra Pradesh. Along with these scholarly mentions, other names of the Gadaba language have been discussed in the preliminary chapters of the thesis. Not only this, but there is also a confusion between Konekor Gadaba and Ollari Gadaba, i.e., whether both the varieties are dialects of the same language or two separate languages. This problem can be solved in detail, if a dialect survey and comparative study of these dialects are taken up for further study.

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