PART-III : CONCLUSION

1.0. From the detailed discussion spanning over the 16 chapters in Part II of this dissertation, it has been seen that the general framework of the morphology of Oriya is similar to that of Assamese. Precisely speaking, there have been more similarities than dissimilarities between the two. We are now in a position to make the following generalisation as regards the morphology of both the languages.
1.1. The morphology of both the languages is partly inflectional and partly syntactical (see sec. 9.0. & 14.0.). For the manifestation of different grammatical categories, all the morphemes in both the languages do not necessarily involve morphological changes (see sec. 6.2.4., 6.3.4., 6.7.3., 6.8.4., 8.2. & 8.7.). Gender is not grammatical in any of the two languages. It is a matter of concern only of the animate nouns; that too rests on the natural sex (see. 6.2. & 6.7.). Of the different feminine suffixes -ni is the most productive one, and is common to both the languages (6.2.2. [iii] & 6.7.1. [ii]). Gender is also not a grammatical category for the adjectives in both the languages. All the adjectives do not change according to the gender of the nouns qualified; only the ts. adjectives in both the languages change for gender (sec. 9.1.1., 9.3.1., 9.6.1. & 9.0.1.).

1.2. In both the languages there are only two numbers - singular and plural; dual number is completely absent. In most cases the plural forms are constructed from the singular ones by adding some pl. suffixes which is further subject to some semantic conditioning.
Case 43.1: When the plurality is signalled by some numerals meaning "two" or "above", or some collective word meaning "many or all", the nouns referred to-whether following or preceding - need not be pluralised (sec. 6.3.4. & 6.9.4). Number is not a grammatical category for the adjectives too in both the languages. But where the adjectives are used as nouns, they undergo inflection for number as well as case (sec. 9.4. & 9.8.4).

1.3. In both the languages, the nouns which are already in the field of focus, viz: about which something has been spoken before, take on some definitives, which marks the singularity (sec. 7.0.). The demonstratives (not used as pronominal adjectives) do necessarily take on these definitives. The pl. of such forms are generally constructed by inserting kai in Assamese and kat< in Oriya in between the nouns and the definitives (sec. 7.5. & 7.11.).

1.4. In both the languages the pronouns belong to 3 grammatical persons - 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons - of which the 2nd person manifests 3 ranks in both the languages. There have, however, been differences between the
two languages in the manifestation of ranks in the 3rd person. Corresponding to the 3 persons of the pronouns, the verbs, in both the languages, also manifest 3 persons, of which the 2nd personal verbs manifest 3 ranks in the eg. corresponding to those of the 2nd personal pronouns.

1.5. The general pattern of inflection of nouns and pronouns for case is quite similar in the two languages. Different cases are marked by the use of different case-suffixes. The case-suffixes are the terminal suffixes in the construction of words. Only the emphatic particles could be added to the noun or pronoun already inflected for case. The case-suffixes that mark accusative in the two languages sound quite similar (As. -k, Gu. -ku), and the conditions of their occurrences are also quite similar. Formally the accusative and the dative fall together in both the languages; viz: the dative can't be formally distinguished from the accusative. (Assamese however possesses a different case-suffix (-loj) to mark destinational dative.) The case-suffixes that mark the instrumental in both the languages are
also phonetically similar (As. -re, -edi, corresponding to Or. -re, dei respectively, and the post-position As. (dara) corresponds with Or. (dwa) ). Their occurrences in both the languages are subject to some semantic conditionings (sec. 6.5.3. & 6.9.3). There have been close similarities between As. and Or. in the inflection for the genitive (As. -r, Or. -ro ). Of course, the tendency to drop the genitive-suffix -ro is quite high in Oriya. The personal Pronouns in both the languages generally form oblique bases when case-suffixes are required to be added to. The 1st P. sg., 2nd P. (non-hon.) sg. and 3rd P. (non-hon.) sg. in both the languages form uniform oblique bases (sec. 8.5.2. & 8.9.2.). The locative case-suffixes (Oriya ablative case-suffix too) in both the languages donot generally occur directly after the human nouns without the intervention of some locational nouns (sec. 6.5.6.(i) and 6.9.3-4).

1.6. In both the languages only the te. adjectives undergo inflection for the degree of comparison, viz: the comparative and the superlative degree. Other adjectives in neither of the languages undergo inflection for the degree. To express the comparison between the qualities
of two nouns or pronouns, only the noun or pronoun with
which other noun or pronoun is compared, undergo inf-
lection for some cases, and the adjectives shall remain
unchanged (see sec. 9.2-3 & 9.7-8).

1.7. The general pattern of the manifestation of
the tense, aspect and mood of the verbs is same in the
two languages. The verbs in both the languages are ex-
pressed in 3 tenses - Present, Past and Future. The present
is uniformly marked by -d (viz: nothing is added to the
verb, and PN suffixes are directly added to the stem).
The past is marked by -il and the future by -ib. The pre-
sent and the past tenses in both the languages are reali-
sed in 3 aspects whereas the future is realised in two
aspects. The verbs in both the languages are expressed
in 2 moods in common-indicative, and imperative. There
has been no modal marker for the indicative nor for the
imperative. The imperative is distinguished from the indi-
cative in the use of a different set of personal suffix-
ies. In Or, there is a subjunctive mood, which is distin-
ctly marked by adding -ont-, whereas in Assamese the
same mood is expressed by adding -hetan to the simple past verbs. The verbs in both the languages are realized in two voices - the active and the passive. The passive again is of two types - (i) idiomatic passive and (ii) paraphrastic passive.

The idiomatic passive is restricted to a few verb stems and is impersonal. The paraphrastic passive is constructed by adding -a to the head verb, which is followed by the inflected forms for 3rd person of the auxiliary verb.

2.0. The differences in the morphology of both the languages may be generally summarized as follows:

2.1. In respect of the pronouns in Oriya gender distinction is completely irrelevant, whereas the 3rd personal non-honorific (eg.) pronouns in Assamese manifest gender distinction, viz: some are masculine and some are feminine. (sec. 8.4). Like the personal pronouns, the demonstrative pronouns in Assamese referring to human beings, animals and birds - manifest gender distinction (sec. 8.4.2.). Such distinction is absent in Oriya.

2.2. In the manifestation of number, Oriya differs from Assamese in several points. In Oriya number is mani-
fested in the verbs also whereas it is not so in Assamese.

In Oriya, a pl. verbal form is different from a singular verbal form (sec. 11.19.1 [4]). Oriya further differs from Assamese in maintain a distinction between the inclusivity and exclusivity in the 1st person plural verbal forms in all the tenses. In Assamese there is nothing like inclusive or exclusive form of the verbs (sec. 11.13. 4).

2.3. The personal pronouns in Oriya need not be pluralised when the plurality is signalled by some numeral (meaning 'two' or more) - following or preceding. But in Assamese personal pronouns in such environments are required to be pluralised.

2.4. Oriya differs from Assamese in several points in the manifestation of person and rank of the pronouns and the verbs. Assamese manifests 3 ranks in both the sg. and the pl. forms of the 2nd person pronouns. Oriya manifest these 3 ranks in the sg. only; in the pl., the non-honorific and the honorific (-familiar) merge together. In Assamese, there are 3 ranks in the 3rd person pronouns corresponding to the 3 ranks in the 2nd person. But in
Oriya there is only one form of 3rd person pronoun. The honorific is expressed in the pl. in Oriya. That is, a verbal form used in concord with the honorific is same with that used in concord with the pl. This feature is absent in Assamese. The verbal form used in concord with the 2nd P. a-hon. in Assamese is same with that used in concord with the 3rd person. But in Oriya the verbal form used in concord with 2nd P. m-hon. is identical with that of the 3rd P.(hon.).

2.5. Although the general pattern of inflection of the nouns and the pronouns for case is same in the two languages, there have, however, been some differences between the two. Assamese is quite distinct from Oriya in the inflection of the nouns and the pronouns for the nominative. In Assamese, the nouns and the consonant-ending pronouns do necessarily take the nominative suffix -e, when they occur as subject of transitive and quasi-transitive verbs, and -ô elsewhere. But in Oriya all the nouns and the pronouns take on -ô in the nominative, irrespective of the transitivity and intransitivity of the verbs. Thus the nominative in Assamese is formally quite
distinct from the accusative whereas the nominative in Oriya is not always distinct from the accusative. Assamese differs from Oriya in possessing a separate case suffix (-kñi) to mark the destinational dative. In Oriya the dative (including destinational dative) has completely merged with the accusative. Oriya differs from Assamese in forming oblique bases in -(ɔ)mɔ of all nouns and pronouns in the honorific for the purpose of inflection for case. The case suffixes are added to the oblique forms only. In Assamese there is no oblique base for the honorific. Oriya differs from Assamese in marking the ablative distinctly. In Oriya the ablative is marked by -(t)he-ru). But in Assamese there is no ablative proper. The semantic equivalence of the ablative is expressed by using the post-position (pɔra) after the genitive formation. Oriya also differs from Assamese in the expression of comparison between two nouns or pronouns in respect of some qualities. For this purpose, Assamese adds locative -(t) + kñi), whereas Oriya adds the ablative -(t)he-ru) to the noun or pronoun with which another noun or pronoun is compared. Oriya
differs from Assamese in maintaining a regular inflection for the vocative. Oriya adds -a to the nas. subject to the replacement of the stemfinal -a. But Assamese does not show any inflection for the vocative.

2.6. Assamese possesses a peculiar feature of inflecting the kinship nouns for the personal relationship (sec. 6.4.). This feature is completely absent in Oriya where the same form shows relation with all persons.

2.7. Assamese uses a large number of definitives whereas Oriya uses a few of them. Besides Assamese possesses another peculiar device of referring to any cardinal number with a sense of approximation. This feature is absent in Oriya. Assamese possesses the device of expressing "all the numbers mentioned" by adding -a "also" to the cardinal before any definitive is added to (sec. 10.3.4). This feature is also absent in Oriya.

2.8. Oriya differs from Assamese to a great extent in the manifestation of tense, aspect, mood, transitivity - intransitivity and voice. (i) In Assamese the future is marked by -ib, which has a variant -im. The latter occurs in the first person and the former elsewhere. But in
Oriya the future is uniformly marked by -ib (sec. 11.5.3 & 11.14). (ii) Assamese manifests two aspects — simple or initiative and perfect — in the simple verbs in the present or future tense. But Oriya does not show such aspectual contrast in the simple verbs (sec. 11.6 & 11.15).

In the compound verbs in Oriya the imperfect and the perfect aspects are quite distinctly manifested (sec. 13.7). Oriya -u marks imperfect and -i marks the perfect aspect in all the tenses. But in the compound verbs in Assamese such 2-tier contrast is absent. Besides, Assamese does not manifest the perfect aspect in the future, whereas Oriya manifests the same in the future too. (iii) The habitual conditional (subjunctive) mood in the Or. verbs is marked by adding -ont to the verb, to which in turn, personal suffixes are added to. Assamese does not have any equivalent to such forms. (iv) Assamese constructs the past conditional by adding -hētan to the simple past tense verbs in -il (or -l). This -hētan remains unchanged in all persons. Oriya expresses such ideas by compounding as follows: vs. + perfective -i + auxiliary [th-] + -ont +
personal markers, where the conditional marking element \( =\text{nt} \) does not undergo any change. Thus for As. \( \text{kha-} \text{i} \text{t}\text{-(e)} \text{h}\text{its}\text{a} \text{nt} \), Or. uses \( \text{kha-} \text{i} \text{the}-\text{ant} \text{i} \) "I would have eaten". (v) Assamese maintains the distinction between the transitivity and the intransitivity of the verbs. In Assamese the transitive verbs are distinct from the intransitive verbs in the inflection for the 3rd person of the simple past tense. Secondly, this distinction is reflected in the choice of the nominative suffix in Assamese; -a is added to the nouns or the consonant-ending pronouns occurring as the subject of a transitive verb, -d elsewhere. In Oriya the subject of a transitive verb and that of an intransitive verb behave uniformly. (vi) Oriya further differs from Assamese in the manifestation of the idiomatic passive. Assamese forms the idiomatic passive in the present simple (habitual) only whereas Oriya forms the idiomatic passive in present simple as well as present progressive (sec. 11.8.2. & 11.17).

2.9. Assamese forms a kind of adverb from verbal base by adding -adi to express the comparison of actions
performed by two agents (sec. 14.3.4). In Oriya there is no such one-word adverb, and the similar sense is expressed by compounding. Besides Assamese forms some adverbs from some adjectives by adding -kai (sec. 14.3.3.). In rare cases (only when the vs. is {see 'be'}) in Assamese, adjectives without having undergone any formal change occur as adverbs. In Oriya, in most cases, adjectives without having undergone any formal change occur as adverbs (sec. 14.7.3).