CHAPTER IV

SUP (Nominal Inflection)
4.0. Introduction

Sup is defined as inflection of number, person, gender and case with nouns, substantives and adjectives. The inflected word is called subanta. When formed with the addition of nominal properties a subanta can be used in a sentence by virtue of its being pada by the rule suptiinantam padam (P.1.4.14.), 'an element that ends in sup or tin is pada'. Yāska, in his Nirukta and Nighaṇṭu divided the word into four types: nāma, ākhyāta, nipāta and upasarga. But Pāṇini reduced them to two heads: subanta including nāma, nipāta and upasarga and tiṇanta standing for ākhyāta.

Inflectional affixes indicate certain grammatical functions of words. They do not change the syntactic category of the stem to which they are attached. Moreover, in terms of semantic relations, the relation between the meaning of the base and the meaning of the base + affix construction is quite regular and predictable. Nominal inflections in Pāṇinian system, termed as sup, possess the properties like case, gender, number and person. Oriya, as an inflecting language, is marked by different affixes to represent the above nominal features. But nominal words can be analysed and interpreted in terms of intra-word and inter word features. Thus morphological and morpho-syntactic are the two levels at which Oriya nominal forms can be accounted for. When we talk about the word in its internal order independently, it is morphology. Word which is dependent on other syntactic elements for its analysis and interpretation is morpho-syntax. Properties like, gender, number and person though functionally dependent on other syntactic elements, can be analysed as belonging to the morphological domain. Case, in any inflecting languages, deals with both morphological and syntactic phenomena. Nouns have to be described in terms of case, gender, number and person markings, as they have consequences for agreement patterns in sentences. The affixes used to mark the inflectional features are generally bound morphemes.

4.1. Kāraka 'Case'

Kāraka, a technical term introduced as Kārake (P.1.4.23), 'that which helps in the accomplishment of an action'. The kāraka theory of Pāṇini has been expounded and commented upon by major grammarians in different dimensions. The grammarian and philosopher Bharṭṛhari, in sādhana samudēśa section of Vākyapadiya, Kāṇḍa
111, has examined at length and depth of the philosophy behind *kāraka* theory. According to his interpretation, ‘a *kāraka* is that which helps in the accomplishment of an action by assuming different forms and it lies in the substance holding different powers, which is termed as *sādhana* or means (P.VP.111.7.1,24)’. The *kāraka* category to which a participant is assigned depends upon the nature of the action, the role this participant plays in that action and the manner in which the speaker wishes to speak about that role. *Kāraka* as a conceptual category is added with inflections to make it functional and operational in a sentence. Considering its system and operations, *kāraka* is to be interpreted as the most dependent on other grammatical classification of words. The mechanism involved to decide the various roles *kāraka* plays is partly morphological and mostly syntactic, leading the whole process as morpho-syntactic. Since verb constitutes the core part of sentential analysis in Indian Grammatical Tradition, it remains a deciding factor to the nature and number of *kārakas* associated with it. On the other hand, the kind of participants and their number involved in a sentence depends also on the nature of the verb. Besides such noun-verb syntactic configuration, in Indian tradition the speaker’s intention is also taken into consideration. The argument structure of the verb reflects the number of participants engaged with it, but to decide the nature of participants, a semantic classification of the verb is essential. Some of the verbs might have the same number of participants but the role assigned to them varies. The generative process employed to formulate *kāraka*1 with reference to the verb can be broadly defined in morpho-syntactico-semantic domain. The following sentences exemplify various *kārakas* in relation to the verbs in Oriya:

(4/1) For example,

(i) *rāma pāni piuachi.*

ram.NOM.SG water.ACC drink.PROG.be.PRS.SG

Ram is drinking water.

---

1 *Kāraka* the assignment of *kāraka* is dependent on the verbal activity. Where case is morphologically marked; then Pāṇini’s *kāraka* theory is most suitable. It creates a particular paradigms of declension for the inflectional categories of case and number. But in English, except genitive case, other cases are not morphologically marked. Compared to the western concept, ‘Case’ *Kāraka* theory is based on the syntactico-semantic relations among nominals and verbs. Case identifies the syntactic relations between words in a sentence. Inflecting languages like, Sanskrit and vibhatis mark case, number and gender. The western concept ‘case’ may or, may not overtly marked with the nominals. Rather it is decided by the argument structure which the verbs possess.
(ii) hari govinda ku bahi te de la.

hari.NOM.SG govinda.DAT.SG book.ACC.SG give.PFT.PT.SG
Hari gave a book to Govinda.

Here, in the sentences, the actions *pi* ‘to drink’ and *de* ‘to give’ get accomplished through the participants, *rāma*, *pañī* and *hari*, *govinda*, *bahi* respectively.

### 4.1.1. Types of Kārakas

As discussed earlier, participants are held to be responsible for the action done, but all of them do not have the equal role to follow. According to the nominals and verb relationships in a language, *kārakas* are classified into six types: *kartā* ‘nominative’, *karma* ‘accusative’, *karaṇa* ‘instrumental’, *sampradāna* ‘dative’, *apādāna* ‘ablative’ and *adhikaraṇa* ‘locative’.

(i) *Kartā kāraka* ‘Nomina tive Case’

The *karta* is defined as *svatantra!* karla, the principal / independent agent of the verb (P.1.4.54). It occurs in the subject position with both singular and plural form. In case of singular, it remains unmarked whereas affixes/ particles are marked for plural form as shown below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominative Case Markers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>φ</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>e,</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>māne</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>guḍika</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>guḍāka</code></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4/2) Like,

(i) gāṭi . paḍiāre . caruachi.
cow.NOM.SG.CL. field.LOC graze.PROG.be.PRS.SG
The cow is grazing in the field.
Supplementary Inflection

(ii) gāmāne paḍiāre karuachanti.

Cow.NOM.PL field.LOC graze.PROG.be.PRS.PL

Cows are grazing in the field.

In the above sentences, the kartās are represented as
(i) N + \(\phi\) (SG) + \(\pi\) (CL) > Nominative Singular
(ii) N + - māne (PL) > Nominative Plural

Compared to other kārakas, it is free in nature and employs other accessories for the action to be completed. The independent nature of the kartā is assigned by the speaker’s intention, for which karma, karana and adhikaraṇa can also act as kartā.²

On the basis of the doership of the action, kartā is of two types: mukhya and prayojaka. In the sense of mukhya, kartā is the primary doer of the action while in prayojaka, kartā takes something else’s involvement for the action to be done.

(4/3) e.g.

(i) pilāti paḍhuachi.

boy.NOM.CL.SG read.PROG.be.PRS.SG

The boy is reading.

(ii) rājā purohiṇaṅka dyārā yajña karauachanti.

king.NOM.SG priest.INST.SG PP ritual perform.CAUS.PROG.be.PRS.SG.

The king is performing ritual through the priest.

Here, both the sentences, i.e, in (i) ‘the boy’ as mukhya kartā is doing the work ‘reading’ by his own but in (ii) prayojaka kartā, ‘the king’, unable to perform the yajña, is getting to accomplish the yajña activity through the priest.

The grammatical elements used as kartā in various sentences are: noun, pronoun, adjective and primary derived nominals. The following sentences exemplify the use of different kartā elements, which appear in bold type:

---

² VP. 111.7.18
Noun-

(4/4) \( \text{kukuraṭi, paḍiare, dauḍuachi.} \)

dog.NOM.CL.SG field.LOC. run.PROG.be.PRS.SG

The dog is running in the field.

Pronoun-

(4/5) \( \text{mū bahi paḍhuachi.} \)

I.NOM.SG book.ACC read.PROG.be.PRS.SG

I am reading the book

Adjective-

(4/6) \( \text{sundara samastaṅku ākarsita kare.} \)

beauty.NOM. everyone.ACC attract do.IMP.PRS.SG

Beauty attracts everyone.

Primary derived nominals-

(4/7) \( \text{tāra nāca bhāri sundara ate.} \)

his.POS.SG dance very beautiful be.IMP.PRS.SG

Her dance is very beautiful.

(ii) \text{Karma Kāraka ‘Accusative Case’}

\text{Karma kāraka} is defined by Pāṇini as \text{kartur ipsitamam karma}, ‘the most desired thing of the \text{karta}’, (P.I.4.49). It occurs in the object position. In case of singular, it may be marked/ unmarked. But for plural, it is explicitly marked either by affixes/ particles.

\text{Accusative Case Markers}

\begin{align*}
\text{Singular} & \quad \text{Plural} \\
ϕ & \quad nkā \\
ki & \quad mānaknū \\
ku & \quad mānakathākū \\
nkā & \\
tāṅku & \\
\end{align*}
For instance,

(i) \[\text{riima bahi padhuachi.}\]
\[\text{ram.NOM.SG. book.ACC read.PROG.be.PRS.SG}\]
Ram is reading the book.

(ii) \[\text{riima sabudine hariku māruachi.}\]
\[\text{ram.NOM.SG everyday hari.ACC.SG beat.PROG.be.PRS.SG}\]
Ram is beating Hari everyday.

(iii) \[\text{riima sabudine pilāṅkū māruachi.}\]
\[\text{ram.NOM.SG everyday hari.ACC.PL beat.PROG.be.PRS.SG}\]
Ram is beating the boys everyday.

In the above sentences, the karma are represented as:

1. \[\text{N (IAN) + φ (SG) > Accusative Singular}\]
2. \[\text{N (ANM) + - ku (SG) > Accusative Singular}\]
3. \[\text{N + - nkā (PL) > Accusative Plural}\]

Bhartrhari in his philosophical speculation has classified the most desired thing of the agent as three types: production, modification and destination. Apart from kartā, the closely associated kāraka of the verb is karma. Even the presence and absence of the karma classify the verbs into sakarmaka ‘transitive’ and akarmaka ‘intransitive’ verb respectively. The phal, ‘result’ of the verb is oriented to either kartā or karma. Kartā is always affected / benefitted in the intransitive verb, while in the context of transitive verb; it may be kartā or karma. Apart from these two participants, the result of the verb is not reflected on other kārakas.

Like,

(i) \[\text{riima bhāta rāndhuachi.}\]
\[\text{rama.NOM.SG rice.CL.ACC cook.PROG.be.PRS.SG}\]
Ram is cooking rice.
(ii) rāma bahi padhuachi.
rama.NOM.SG book.ACC read.PROG.be.PRS.SG
Ram is reading book.

In the above instances, bhāta as karma in (i) and rāma as kartā in (ii) get affected by the phal of the verb rāndh ‘to cook’ and padh ‘to read’ respectively.

As the function of kārakas in a sentence depends on the speaker’s intention, karma is also interpreted and contextualized in various ways.

(4/10) For instance,

(a) se sāikalṭi kīnīlā.
he.NOM.SG bicycle.CL.ACC buy.PFT.PT.SG
He bought a bicycle.

(b) sāikalṭi cāluachi.
bicycle.CL.NOM.SG run.PROG.be.PRS.SG
The bicycle is running
sāikal in (a), object of se, is the karma. But in (b), the subject sāikal is contextualized and functions as kartā, called karma kartā ‘accusative subject’.

(iii) Karaṇa Kāraka ‘Instrumental Case’

Karaṇa is the means for the accomplishment of the action (P.1.4.42). The instrumental markers are enlisted below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>re</td>
<td>mānankadvārā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dvārā</td>
<td>mānankadehi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dehi</td>
<td>mānankadei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dei</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among the kārakas, it is the most instrumental in the verbal activities of the sentence. It acts as the coordinator for bringing other kārakas into action.
For instance, pilāṭi cākure āmba kāṭuchi.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>boy.NOM.CL.SG</th>
<th>knife.INST.SG</th>
<th>mango.DOBJ</th>
<th>cut.PROG.be.PRS.SG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

The boy is cutting the mango with knife.

Here, cāku ‘knife’ is assigned with instrumental case, when the verb kāṭ ‘to cut’ is to get accomplished through the subject, pilā ‘the boy’. It is represented as

N + - re (SG) > Instrumental Singular

(iv) **Sampradāṇa Kāraka ‘Dative Case’**

The thing approached by the kartā by means of karma is called sampradāṇa (P.1.4.32). It is the recipient of the verb. It is expressed in both singular and plural form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dative Case Markers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ńkū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nki</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Generally, it is applicable in the sense of the verb de- ‘to give’. 

(4/12) As,

rājā brahmaṇaku gāite dele.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>king.NOM.SG</th>
<th>brahmana.DAT</th>
<th>cow.CL.DOBJ</th>
<th>give.PFT.PT.SG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

The king gave a cow to the Brahmin.

The recipient, brahmaṇa is assigned the sampradāṇa kāraka. It is represented as

N + - ku (SG) > Dative Singular
(v) *Apādāna Kāraka* ‘Ablative Case’

A fixed point from which something departs is termed as *apādāna* (P.1.4.24). It is inflected with both singular and plural forms.

Ablative Case Markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ru</em></td>
<td><em>mānankaru</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ṭhāru</em></td>
<td><em>mānankathāru</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>u</em></td>
<td><em>mānankaṭhu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hā</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The basis, i.e. fixed or starting point is of three kinds: that in relation to which a movement is mentioned, that in relation to which the verb expresses the movement only partly and that in relation to which some movement is required. The noun *gacha* ‘tree’ from which *patra* ‘leaf’ departs, is assigned *apādāna kāraka* in the following sentence:

(4/13) *patra gacharu paḍilā.*

leaf.NOM.SG tree.ABL fall.PFT.PT.SG

The leaf fell from the tree.

It is represented as N + - *ru* (SG) > Ablative Singular

(vi) *Adhikaraṇa Kāraka* ‘Locative Case’

The locus where the activity takes place is *adhikaraṇa kāraka* (P.1.4.45). It is expressed with both singular and plural forms.

Locative Case Markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>e</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>re</em></td>
<td><em>mānankare</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ṭhāre</em></td>
<td><em>mānankathāre</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ṭhī</em></td>
<td><em>mānankaṭhi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ṭheī</em></td>
<td><em>tahī</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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*4 VP. 111.7.136*
Based on ādhāra ‘abode’ and upasleśa ‘contact’, adhikaraṇa is of three kinds: samyoغا, samavāya and vaisayika. Where the contact is not at all points, is samyoga, but in śamavāya, the contact is at all points. Vaiśayika is a contact which holds at the abstract level, i.e. mental. The following instance exemplify paḍīa ‘field’ which acts as locus for the action to be held, khel ‘to play’.

(4/14)  
se paḍīare kheluachi.  
he.NOM.SG field.LOC play.PROG.be.PRS.SG

He is playing in the field.

It is represented as N + - re (SG) > Ablative Singular

4.1.2. Vibhakti ‘Nominal Inflections’

Vibhakti, an inflectional element, is added to the base to form pada, inflected word possessing number and case of the nominals in a sentence. The base form of the nominals might be noun and pronoun distinguishing different nominal features, like animate and inanimate, human and non-human, masculine, feminine and neuter etc. Generally, it is a grammatical device used in the language to make the nominals functional and operational. But in Pāṇini’s grammar, the term vibhakti is also applied to personal endings which are employed to roots to form verbs. The vibhaktis which are added with the kārakas are categorized as kāraka vibhakti. Vibhaktis are always in accordance with the kārakas like prathamā for kartā, dvitiyā for karma, triyā for karana etc. Number, identified by the vibhakti divides the kāraka vibhakti into singular and plural.

Different nominals, like nouns and pronouns have different case terminations in both the numbers in Oriya as presented in the following chart.

General vibhakti markers used in Oriya.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>vibhakti</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>prathamā</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>e, māne, guḍika, guḍāka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dvitiyā</td>
<td>ki, ku, nkā, tāku</td>
<td>nkā, mānakā, mānakāṭhāku</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5 VP. 111.7.149
Besides the nominal inflections, the classifiers ता, ति, ताते, ते are added with some of the nouns.

Like,

pilati ‘boy’
coraṭa ‘thief’
paisāṭie ‘paise’

Dvitiyā and caturthī have the same case markers but differ semantically.

4.1.3. Kāraka and Vibhakti

The relationship of kāraka and vibhakti has already been specified in the previous section. It is obvious that the nature and function of inflection is syntactically motivated. But in Pāñinian context, vibhakti is inflected with the nominals in syntactic as well as semantic context described in the following manner.

(a) prathamā vibhakti:

Prathamā vibhakti is added to the nominals in the sense of

(i) kartā kāraka.

(4/16)

e.g.
rāma āsuachi.
rama.NOM.SG come.PROG.be.PRS.SG
Rama is coming.
(ii) exclamation.

(4/17)

As,  
\[\text{padhāne, āsantu.}\]

Village head.NOM.SG come.IMP.PRS.SG

Village head, come.

(iii) \textit{karma vācya}.

(4/18)

\[\text{e.g.}\]
\[\text{bhāta heuchi.}\]

Rice.NOM cook.PROG.be.PRS.

The rice is cooking.

(iv) only object / person without verb.

(4/19)

\[\text{e.g.}\]
\[\text{debatā (God. NOM.SG)}\]
\[\text{ghara (house.NOM.SG)}\]
\[\text{sītā (Sita.NOM.SG)}\]

(b) \textit{dvitīyā vibhakti}:

This vibhakti is used in the following contexts:

(i) \textit{karma kāraka}.

(4/20)

\[\text{e.g.}\]
\[\text{mā gharaku gali.}\]

I.NOM.SG home.ACC go.PFT.PT.SG

I went home.

(ii) hatred ness.

(4/21)

\[\text{e.g.}\]
\[\text{coraku dhik.}\]

thief.ACC.SG hate.V

Hate thief.
(iii) closeness / continuity.

(4/22)  

  e.g.
  
  gharaku  ghara.  
  house.ACC.SG  house
  
  dinaku  dina  
  day.ACC.SG  day

(iv) the following work.

(4/23)  

  e.g.
  
  tā  karmaku  eḥā  phalilā.  
  his work.ACC  this  get.PFT.PT.SG
  He got this following his work.

(c) tṛīyā vibhakti

  tṛīyā vibhakti  is added in the context of

(i) karaṇa kāraka.

(4/24)  

  e.g.
  
  rāma  rābaṇaku  bāṇadyārā  mārilā.  
  rama.NOM.SG  rabana.DOBJ  arrow.INST  kill.PFT.PT.SG
  Ram killed Rabana by the arrow.

(ii) verbal adjective.

(4/25)  

  e.g.
  
  harina  begare  daudipāre.  
  deer.NOM.SG  fast.INST  run.can.PRS.SG
  Deer can run very fast.

(iii) caste, age, colour etc.

(4/26)  

  e.g.
  
  se  bānare  kalā.  
  he.NOM.SG  colour.INST  black
  He is black by colour.
Chapter-IV

SUP (Nominal Inflection)

rāma jātire kṣatriya.
rama.NOM.SG caste.INST kṣatriya
Ram is kṣatriya by caste.

(iv) hetu / cause.
(4/27)
   e.g.
   se rogare marigalā.
he.NOM.SG disease.INST dye.PFT.PT.SG
He died by disease.

(v) comparison.
(4/28)
   e.g.
   rāma pāthare mo thāru bhala.
rama.NOM.SG study.INST me than good
Ram is better than me in study.

(vi) unspecified kartā.
(4/29)
   e.g.
   mo dyārā lekhā heba nāhi.
me by.INST writing do not
Writing can’t be done by me.

(vii) physically challenged.
(4/30)
   e.g.
   pīthire kuṭā.
Backside problem.

(d) caturthī vibhakti:
caturthī vibhakti is added with the nominals in the case of

(i) sampradāna kāraka.
(4/31)
   e.g.
   mū hariku bahīte deli.
I.NOM.SG hari.DAT book.DOBJ give.PFT.PT.SG
I gave a book to Hari.
(ii) gift / donation.

(4/32) e.g.

daridraku bastra dia.
poor.DAT cloth give.IM.PRS
Give cloth to the poor.

(iii) forbidden / prohibited.

(4/33) e.g.

coraku danḍa dia.
Thief.DAT punishment give.IM.PRS
Give punishment to the thief.

(iv) likeness / taste.

(4/34) e.g.

sītāku ācāra bhala lāge.
Sita.DAT pickle like feel.IM.PRS.SG
Sita likes pickle.

(e) pañcamī vibhakti:

pañcamī vibhakti is used in the following contexts:

(i) apādāṇa kāraka.

(4/35) e.g.

patra gocharu paḍilā.
leaf.NOM tree.ABL fall.PFT.PT.SG
Leaf fell from tree.

(ii) comparison.

(4/36) e.g.

se moṭhāru budhimān.
he.NOM me.ABL intelligent
He is intelligent than me.
(iii) *hetu / cause.*

(4/37) e.g.

\[
\text{se cāliru buḍhā jaṇā paḍe.}
\]

he.NOM.SG walk.ABL old seem be.IMP.PRS.SG

From walking, he seems to be old.

(iv) *place and time.*

(4/38) e.g.

a. \[
\text{se janmaru andha.}
\]

he.NOM.SG birth.ABL blind

He is blind since birth.

b. \[
\text{odiśāru dili bahuta dura.}
\]

Orissa.ABL delhi very far

It’s very far from Orissa to Delhi

(v) *differentiation.*

(4/39) e.g.

\[
\text{tāṅka lekhā moṣṭāru bhīrna.}
\]

His.POS writing my.ABL different

His writing is different from mine.

(f) *saptamī vibhakti:*

*saptamī vibhakti* is used in the sense of

(a) *adhikarana kāraka.*

(4/40) e.g.

\[
\text{pilāti padiare khetuachi.}
\]

boy.NOM.SG field.LOC play.PROG.be.PRS.SG

The boy is playing in the field.

(b) *connected / proximity.*

(4/41) e.g.

\[
\text{grāme grāme}
\]

village.LOC village.LOC

village after village
(c) skill / profession.

(4/42) e.g.

se paḍhāre bhala.
He.NOM.SG study.LOC good
He is good in study.

(d) bhāva vācyā.

(4/43) e.g.

parikṣāphala āsibāre chātra khusi huanti.
exam result arrival.LOC student happy be.IMP.PRS
Student’s feel happy knowing exam result’s arrival.

4.1.4. Non - Pāṇinian Kārakas

The kārakas, i.e. six types discussed above posit the nature of the verb and the number of participants it can engage in a sentence. Besides such formulations, there are some other nominal inflected words used in Oriya. They are sambandha kāraka ‘genitive case’ and sambodhana kāraka ‘vocative case’. Since both the above kārakas are not directly related to the verb, Pāṇini has excluded from the kārakaprakaraṇa. But these two kāraka forms are very much relevant and used in Oriya as shown below:

(a) Sambandha kāraka ‘Genitive Case’

Sambandha kāraka expresses the grammatical relationship of nouns or pronouns among themselves by means of inflections. It typically exhibits a possessive relationship.

(4/44) e.g.

rāmara pua gharaku āsilā.
Ram.GEN son home.ACC come.PFT.PT.SG
Ram’s son came home.

Here, rāma is not directly associated with the verb āsilā ‘came’, but with pua ‘son’.
Sambandha kāraka and Śaṣṭhi vibhakti

Like other kārakas, sambandha kāraka has also both singular and plural form of vibhakti, i.e. inflectional markers. In case of singular, ra, ṅka, ṅkara, tīra and ṭāra markers and for plural, ṅka, ṅkara, māṇanka, māṇankara and guḍikara markers are added with the nouns to form the genitive case. Such markers are added with the genitive case in the following relations:

(i) kartr relation.
(4/45) e.g.
nadira gati bakra.
river.GEN route curve
The river’s route is curve.

(ii) karma relation.
(4/46) e.g.
cāśī phasalara adhikārī.
farmer.NOM crop.GEN owner
Farmer is crop’s owner.

(iii) karana relation.
(4/47) e.g.
rāmanka šarare rābana malā.
rama GEN arrow ravana.NOM die.PT
Ravana died by Ram’s arrow.

(iv) genetic relation.
(4/48) e.g.
dasarathanka putra rāma jaṇe rājā thile.
Dasaratha.GEN son rama a king be.IMP.PT.SG
Dasaratha’s son Ram was a king.
(v) cause effect relation.

(4/49) e.g.

*bhala kāmara phala bhala mile.*
good work.GEN fruit well pay.PRS

Good work's fruit pays well.

(vi) ādhāra ādheya relation.

(4/50) e.g.

*kāpara jala śītala.*
well.GEN water cold

The well's water is cold.

(vii) professional relation.

(4/51) e.g.

*aū phalara bēpāri dekhā jāunāḥī.*
today fruit.GEN vendor seen go.NG.PRS

Today, fruit's vendor is not seen.

(b) *Sambodhana kāraka* ‘Vocative Case’

*Sambodhana kāraka* expresses the grammatical relationship of nouns or pronouns by means of inflections when used for calling or drawing someone's attention. Compared to other *kārakas*, it has no syntactic function; it is independent of the sentence with which it occurs.

(4/52) For instance,

*jagatajanani, jagatara duḥkha dūra kara.*
mother.VOC world.GEN misery remove do.IMP.PRS.

Mother, remove the misery from the world.

The above sentence shows *jagatajanani* ‘mother’ to address somebody which is neither related to the verb nor has any syntactic function.

Sometime the indeclinables like, *he, re, ëre, ëbe; ago, alo, hailo* etc are used in the pre and post position of the vocative case.
4.2. *Liṅga* ‘Gender’

Gender, a grammatical category used for the analysis of word classes has contrasts as masculine, feminine and neuter. Such three fold classification in Sanskrit is evident in Kāśikā on P.2.3.46 as *liṅgam strīliṅgapuliṅganapusakānī*. This gender has sometimes nothing to do with the natural gender, but plays an important role in signaling grammatical relationships among words in a sentence. Oriya also shares threefold gender classification: masculine, feminine and neuter among nouns, pronouns and adjectives. But, unlike Sanskrit, Oriya gender classification is based on the reality. Broadly nouns are classified into animate and inanimate in which all the inanimate belongs to neuter gender. Among the animate group, masculine and feminine genders are assigned to the nouns on the basis of their respective natural gender. Whenever feminine affix is added to the masculine noun base, then the corresponding noun with feminine attribute, i.e. feminine noun base is formed. Adjectives follow the noun’s gender to which it qualifies, but pronouns take the substitute nouns’ gender. Some instances of gender used among nouns, adjectives and pronouns in Oriya are cited below:

(4/53) | Noun |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>Feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>chātra</em></td>
<td><em>chātrī</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(student)</td>
<td>(student)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bālaka</em></td>
<td><em>bālikā</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(boy)</td>
<td>(girl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sabhya</em></td>
<td><em>sabhya</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(member)</td>
<td>(member)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4/54) | Adjective |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>sundara</em></td>
<td><em>sundarī</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(beautiful)</td>
<td>(beautiful)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2.1. Liṅga and Pratyayas ‘Gender and Affixes’

Feminine bases are derived from the masculine bases by the addition of pratyayas in different contexts, sometimes with certain morphophonemic changes as discussed below:

(i) A prātipadika ending in a form the feminine by the addition of the pratyaya ā.

For instance,

- jyoṣṭha + ā > jyoṣṭhā
elder. N.M.SG  SUF  elder. N.F.SG

- kokila + ā > kokilā
cuckoo. N.M.SG  SUF  cuckoo. N.F.SG

- prathama + ā > prathamā
first. N.M.SG  SUF  first. N.F.SG

But if the prātipadika ends in ka, the preceding a is changed to i.

For e.g.

- bālaka + ā > bālikā
boy. N.M.SG  SUF  girl. N.F.SG

Pronoun

tāṅkara pu'a  tāṅkara jhia
(his son)  (his daughter)
tume  tume
(you)  (you)
(ii) The pratyaya $i$ is added to the prātipadika ending in $a$ to form feminine noun.

\[
pācaka + ā > pācikā
\]

cook.N.M.SG SUF cook.N.F.SG

\[
pālaka + ā > pālikā
\]

caretaker.N.M.SG SUF caretaker.N.F.SG

\[
(4/58)
\]

e.g.

\[
kumāra + ĩ > kumāri
\]

young boy.N.M.SG SUF young girl.N.F.SG

\[
pitāmaha + ĩ > pitāmahi
\]

great grand father.N.M.SG SUF great grand mother.N.F.SG

\[
sundara + ĩ > sundari
\]

beautiful.ADJ.M.SG SUF beautiful.ADJ.F.SG

\[
kartā + ĩ > kartri
\]

doer.N.M.SG SUF doer.N.F.SG

(iii) A prātipadika ending in $ā$ form the feminine base by adding the pratyaya $i$.

\[
(4/59)
\]

e.g.

\[
budhā + ĩ > budhi
\]

old.ADJ.M.SG SUF old.ADJ.F.SG

\[
tokā + ĩ > tokī
\]

young boy.N.M.SG SUF young girl.N.F.SG

\[
bhanajā + ĩ > bhanaji
\]

nephew.N.M.SG SUF neice.N.F.SG

(iv) The pratyaya $i$ is used to express the feminine human attributes.
Chapter-IV

Like,

\[
\text{moṭā} + \text{ī} > \text{moṭī}
\]
fat.ADJ.M.SG SUF fat.ADJ.F.SG

\[
\text{gedā} + \text{ī} > \text{gedī}
\]
small.ADJ.M.SG SUF small.ADJ.F.SG

\[
\text{pāgala} + \text{ī} > \text{pāgalī}
\]
mad.ADJ.M.SG SUF mad.ADJ.F.SG

(v) Sometimes, if the prātipadika has three vowels, \(i\) pratyaya is added with it.

(4/61) e.g.

\[
\text{hariṇa} + \text{ī} > \text{hariṇī}
\]
deer.N.M.SG SUF deer.N.F.SG

\[
\text{paṇjāba} + \text{ī} > \text{paṇjābī}
\]
Punjab.N.M.SG SUF Punjab.N.F.SG

(vi) \(ānī\) and \(ānī\) pratyayas are used to form the feminine base in the sense of matrimonial relationship.

(4/62) e.g.

\[
\text{indra} + \text{ānī} > \text{indrānī}
\]
Indra.N.M.SG SUF Indra’s wife.N.F.SG

\[
\text{bhaba} + \text{ānī} > \text{bhabānī} (\text{Siva’s wife})
\]
Siva.N.M.SG SUF Siva’s wife.N.F.SG

\[
\text{rudra} + \text{ānī} > \text{rudrānī}
\]
Siva.N.M.SG SUF Siva’s wife.N.F.SG

(vii) \(ānī\) pratyaya is added to form the feminine base in the context of habitual profession.

(4/63) e.g.

\[
\text{māṣṭara} + \text{ānī} > \text{māṣṭarānī}
\]
teacher.N.M.SG SUF teacher.N.F.SG

156
(vii) **unī**, *pratyaya* is used to express the occupation.

(4/64) e.g.

- *gaunda* + **unī** > *gauṇāṇī*
  - milk man. N.M.SG SUF milk woman. N.F.SG

- *kumbhāra* + **unī** > *kumbhāruṇī*
  - potter. N.M.SG SUF potter. N.F.SG

(ix) In case of occupation, **nī** *pratyaya* is also used.

(4/65) e.g.

- *dhobā* + **nī** > *dhobāṇī*
  - washer man. N.M.SG SUF washer woman. N.F.SG

- *mulā* + **nī** > *mulāṇī*
  - laborer. N.M.SG SUF laborer. N.F.SG

In the preceding section, the masculine and its derivative feminine form has one to one correspondence. But in some instances, more than one feminine form is used with different *pratyayas* for the corresponding masculine.

(4/66) Like,

- *śūdra* + **ā** > *śūdrā*
  - Sudra. N.M.SG SUF Sudra's wife. N.F.SG

- *ācārya* + **ā** > *ācāryā*
  - lady teacher. N.F.SG

- *teacher. N.M.SG SUF teacher's wife. N.F.SG*
Generally, prātipadika is inflected with gender affix to form either masculine or feminine retaining the basic phonological pattern of the word. But in some instances, both genders have contrast phonological pattern.

(4/67) Like,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>masculine</th>
<th>feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bara</td>
<td>kanya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(bridegroom)</td>
<td>(bride)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>svyāmi</td>
<td>strī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(husband)</td>
<td>(wife)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>putra</td>
<td>kanyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(son)</td>
<td>(daughter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pitā</td>
<td>mātā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(father)</td>
<td>(mother)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In certain instances, new lexemes are added to form the feminine.

(4/68) Like,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kabi</th>
<th>nārikabi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(poet)</td>
<td>(lady poet)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>karmī</th>
<th>mahilākarmī</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(worker)</td>
<td>(ladyworker)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>guru</th>
<th>gurupatnī</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(teacher)</td>
<td>(teacher's wife)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3. Vacaña ‘Number’

Vacaña, a grammatical category is used for the analysis of word classes displaying numerical contrasts among nouns and pronouns. Sanskrit has three numbers: singular, dual and plural as cited in the Kāśikā on P.1.2.51. But Prākrit and modern Indian languages have two-fold gender classification as singular and plural. In any particular occurrences of the lexeme, number is selected independently and is formally expressed inflectionally. Though the devices involved to express the number confine itself to the nouns and pronouns but in some instances, verbs also possess number inflection. Generally to express something in singular only \( \text{prātipadika} \) forms are used in Oriya. The changes of plurality are based on \( \text{nirvibhaktika} \) and \( \text{svabhaktika} \).

\( \text{Nirvibhaktika} \) is a sort of device in which plurality is not overtly inflected with the nominals but marked either with the adjective or verb. Basically, such forms of nouns are used in \( \text{kara} \) or \( \text{karma kāra} \).

(4/69) For instance,

(i) \( \text{polis kalegre achi} \).

\( \text{police.NOM.SG college.LOC be.IMP.PRS.SG} \)

Police is in the college.

(ii) \( \text{polis kalegre achanti} \).

\( \text{police.NOM.PL college.LOC be.IMP.PRS.PL} \)

Police are in the college.

In the above sentences, verbs, ‘achi’ and ‘achanti’ exhibit the singular and plural form contrast to their respective subjects.

On the other side, the number inflection is overtly marked with the nouns in case of \( \text{svabhaktika} \).

(4/70) e.g.

\( \text{ghara + guḍika > gharagudika} \)

\( \text{house.N.SG SUF house.N.PL} \)

\( \text{se + māne > semāne} \)

\( \text{he.N.SG SUF he.N.PL} \)
4.3.1. Plural Markers

The lexeme which is inherently unspecified to number is affixed with both singular and plural markers. Since in most of the cases singular is unmarked and represented by the base form of noun and pronoun in Oriya, plural markers, i.e. suffixes in Oriya are added with the singular form of the base. Some of the suffixes with examples are cited below:

(i) *a* ending nouns have the following markers for their respective plural forms: *e*, *mānē*, *māna*, *gudika*, *gudie*, *samūha*, *sreṇī*, *barga*, *dala*, *sabu*, *mālā*.

(4/71) e.g.

\[ \text{bālaka} + e > \text{bālakē} \]

boy.N.SG \( \text{SUF} \) boy.N.PL

\[ \text{loka} + \text{mānē} > \text{lokamānē} \]

person.N.SG \( \text{SUF} \) person.N.PL

\[ \text{āmба} + \text{gudika} > \text{āmbugudika} \]

mango.N.SG \( \text{SUF} \) mango.N.PL

\[ \text{pathara} + \text{gudie} > \text{patharagudie} \]

stone.N.SG \( \text{SUF} \) stone.N.PL

\[ \text{durga} + \text{samūha} > \text{durgasamūha} \]

fort.N.SG \( \text{SUF} \) fort.N.PL

\[ \text{netra} + \text{barga} > \text{netrabarga} \]

eye.N.SG \( \text{SUF} \) eye.N.PL

\[ \text{parbata} + \text{mālā} > \text{parbatamālā} \]

mountain.N.SG \( \text{SUF} \) mountain.N.PL
Chapter-IV  

SUP (Nominal Inflection)

- **sahara** + māna > saharamāna  
  town.N.SG  SUF  town.N.PL

- **parbata** + śreni > parbataśrenī  
  mountain.N.SG  SUF  mountain.N.PL

- **kapota** + dala > kapotadala  
  pigeon.N.SG  SUF  pigeon.N.PL

- **ghara** + sabu > gharasabu  
  house.N.SG  SUF  house.N.PL

(ii) ā ending nouns have māne, guṭiṣka as plural markers.

(4/72)  

- *budhā* + māne > budhāmāne  
  old person.N.SG  SUF  old person.N.PL

- *latā* + guṭika > latāguṭika  
  creeper.N.SG  SUF  creeper.N.PL

(iii) i ending nouns have māne, guṭiṣka, gaṇa as plural markers.

(4/73)  

- *kabi* + māne > kabimāne  
  poet.N.SG  SUF  poet.N.PL

- *bahi* + guṭika > bahīguṭika  

- *pakṣi* + gaṇa > pakṣi gaṇa  
  bird.N.SG  SUF  bird.N.PL

(iv) ō ending nouns have the following plural markers: māne, guṭika.
As discussed in the above instances, nouns and pronouns have the number inflection associated with them. Among the nouns, proper nouns and quantitative nouns are the exceptional subclasses which don’t have the corresponding plural form. Only used singular form nouns are:

(4/78)  *rama* ‘Ram’, *hari* ‘Hari’, *pāni* ‘water’, *sunā* ‘gold’ etc.
Whenever, such nouns represent more than one in number / pieces, numerical adjective precedes the nouns.

(4/79) Like,

\[ \text{cāri jana hari} \] ‘four person named hari’

\[ \text{duikhana pathara} \] ‘two pieces of stone.’

In some of the instances, \( e, tā, ti, tī \) are used to mark the singular form.

\[ \text{e.g.} \]

\[ \text{pada} + e > \text{pade} \]

word.N.BAF SUF word.N.SG

\[ \text{bālaka} + tā > \text{bālakatā} \]

boy.N.BAF SUF boy.N.SG

\[ \text{gacha} + tī > \text{gachatī} \]

tree.N.BAF SUF tree.N.SG

\[ \text{paisā} + tīe > \text{paisātie} \]

paise.N.BAF SUF paise.N.SG

The adjectives and pronouns have different singular and plural forms.

\[ \text{e.g.} \]

\[ \text{mota} + tā > \text{motatā} \]

fat.N.BAF SUF fat one.ADJ.SG

\[ \text{choṭa} + tī > \text{choṭatī} \]

small.N.BAF SUF small one.ADJ.SG

\[ \text{eī} + tī > \text{eītī} \]

this.PR.BAF SUF this one.PR.SG

\[ \text{se} + tī > \text{seītī} \]

that.PR.BAF SUF that one.PR.SG
Chapter- IV

SUP (Nominal Inflection)

\[ keā + \text{ ti} > \text{ keūti} \]
which.PR.BAF SUF which one.PR.SG

\[ se + māne > \text{ semāne} \]
he.PR.SG SUF he.PR.PL

\[ tume + māne > \text{ tumemāne} \]
you.PR.SG SUF you.PR.PL

4.4. Puruṣa ‘Person’

Puruṣa ‘person’, a deictic category acts as a referential interpretation to indicate the nature of the participants in a situation. The distinctions of participants involved in a language are usually marked in the verb / in the pronouns. Usually, a three way contrast is noticed: first person, second person and third person. The first person form refers to the speaker / writer including himself, while the second person refers to the addressee or a group including at least one addressee. The third person indicates other people / things which are referred to. Persons and its interpretational order in Sanskrit are: prathama puruṣa ‘third person’, madhyama puruṣa ‘second person’ and uttama puruṣa ‘first person’. Oriya has also three persons but not in Sanskrit order. The following chart provides the enumeration of different persons of Sanskrit and Oriya and its contrast.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Oriya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Person</td>
<td>aham vayam</td>
<td>mū āmbhe,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(I, SG) (We, PL)</td>
<td>(I, SG) (We, PL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Person</td>
<td>tvam yayam</td>
<td>tume tumemāne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(You, SG) (You, PL)</td>
<td>(You, SG) (You, PL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Person</td>
<td>sah te</td>
<td>se semāne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(he, SG) (them, PL)</td>
<td>(he, SG) (them, PL)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.5. Nominal Declension

It is clear from the above description that there are several categories of nominals according to how they are represented through number, gender and case. The paradigms of gender, number and case declension of these categories are as follows:

(4/82) Chart- I
Noun (human, masculine)

\( bālaka \) ‘boy’

\( vibhakti \) singular plural

\( prathamā \) \( bālaka / bālakaṭā \) \( bālakamāṇe \)

\( dvitiyā \) \( bālakaku \) \( bālakamāṇankū \)

\( tṛtiyā \) \( bālakadyārā \) \( bālakamāṇankadyārā \)

\( caturthī \) \( bālakaku \) \( bālakamāṇankū \)

\( poścamī \) \( bālakara \) \( bālakamāṇankara \)

\( saptamī \) \( bālakaṭhāre \) \( bālakamāṇankathāre \)

(4/81) Chart- II
Noun (human, feminine)

\( bālikā \) ‘girl’

\( vibhakti \) singular plural

\( prathamā \) \( bālikā / bālikāṭi \) \( bālikāmāṇe \)

\( dvitiyā \) \( bālikāku \) \( bālikāmāṇanku \)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun (non-human, neuter)</th>
<th>Noun (non-human, neuter)</th>
<th>Noun (non-human, neuter)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gacha 'tree'</td>
<td>gacha 'tree'</td>
<td>gacha 'tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vibhakti</td>
<td>vibhakti</td>
<td>vibhakti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prathamā</td>
<td>prathamā</td>
<td>prathamā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gacha / gachaṭi</td>
<td>gachagudika</td>
<td>gachagudika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dvitiyā</td>
<td>dvitiyā</td>
<td>dvitiyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gachaku</td>
<td>gachamānankū</td>
<td>gachamānankū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tritiyā</td>
<td>tritiyā</td>
<td>tritiyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gachadei</td>
<td>gachamānandadei</td>
<td>gachamānandadei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caturthī</td>
<td>caturthī</td>
<td>caturthī</td>
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<tr>
<td>gachaku</td>
<td>gachamānankū</td>
<td>gachamānankū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pañcamī</td>
<td>pañcamī</td>
<td>pañcamī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gacharu</td>
<td>gachamānankaru</td>
<td>gachamānankaru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saptamī</td>
<td>saptamī</td>
<td>saptamī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gachare</td>
<td>gachamānankare</td>
<td>gachamānankare</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4/83) Chart-IV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kie 'who'</td>
<td>kie 'who'</td>
<td>kie 'who'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vibhakti</td>
<td>vibhakti</td>
<td>vibhakti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prathamā</td>
<td>kie</td>
<td>keumāne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following chapter can be concluded that nominal inflection is of four types: Kāraka, Vacana, Liṅga and Puruṣa. These devices formulated by Pāṇini are also applicable to describe Oriya language. Besides the Pāṇinian Kārakas, Oriya has Sambandha and Sambodhana Kāraka. Oriya has two numbers and three genders. Like Sanskrit, Oriya has three persons.