

## **Phonological Features of Kisan Mother Tongue Spoken in Odisha State**

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**Abstract**

Kisan, a mother tongue of Kisan tribesmen, included in the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes list, has been successively returned since 1961, is a Dravidian speech essentially spoken in Odisha state surrounded by the Indo-Aryan and Munda speech communities. They are primarily engaged in cultivation and also working as agricultural labourers. Among the Dravidian languages, its close cognate language is Kurukh/ Oraon. Thus it comes under North Dravidian group of languages/mother tongues.

Kisan mother tongue speakers are found overwhelmingly in the three districts of Odisha. Namely, Sundargarh, Sambalpur and Jharsuguda as per the 2001 Census. Out of the total 1,39,428 Kisan mother tongue speakers, 91,368 speakers speak Odia, 5899 speakers converse Hindi and 1857 speakers know English.

Grierson (1909) opines that the ancestors of Kisan tribesmen might have belonged to Karnataka (Carnatic) and later on migrated to Odisha and Bihar and settled there as Oraon and Maler respectively. This article records on some of the phonological features of Kisan mother tongue to know about its present structure. It discusses about various phonemes such as vowels and consonants found in the Kisan mother tongue along with their distribution in the word level. It also discusses about the allophonic variations found in the speech, phonemic contrast available in this mother tongue etc. apart from the vowel and consonant clusters and the syllabic structure.

Kisan is essentially a Dravidian speech earlier but influenced by other speeches belonging to various families surrounded by them at present in Odisha. As a consequence of it, the phonological system of Kisan has undergone a lot of changes from the earlier one i.e. Dravidian feature. Since it is a preliminary research only and mainly focusing on the phonological structure of the speech, no comparative study with the neighbouring languages or other north Dravidian languages are made. However, such studies in future will highlight how much influence is noticed on this mother tongue by other speeches.

**Keywords:** Kisan Mother Tongue, Phonological Features, North Dravidian, Odisha State

**Dravidian Family**  
**North Dravidian group**  
**Kisan mother tongue**  
**Phonological Features**

**1.0 Introduction**

Kisan, a mother tongue, successively returned in different Censuses, is closely related to Kurukh/Oraon language of North Dravidian group. It is primarily spoken in Odisha state. When a linguistic community migrates from one region to other region, especially away from the territory of members of its language family, it experiences tremendous pressure in accepting the change in vocabulary and other structures of language. Changes in vocabulary are a prominent one whereas the changes in morphological and syntactical structure, is less obvious. This article attempts to bring out the phonological features of Kisan mother tongue spoken in Odisha.

**1.1 Demographic Profile of Kisan**

Kisan is returned in Census enumerations successively. The majority of return comes from Odisha state. They also are found considerably in West Bengal, Assam, Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh. However, their presence in other states is very less. The strength of Kisan in the Censuses right from 1961 is given below:

1961	50,378
1971	73,847
1981	1,59,327
1991	1,62,088
2001	1,41,088
2011	2,06,100

As per the 2011 Census, Kisan strength in different states is as follow (above 100 population):

<b>India/State</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>
India	2,06,100	1,02,398	1,03,702
Odisha	1,94,716	96,463	98,253
West Bengal	10,277	5,365	4,912
Assam	648	319	329
Manipur	179	93	86
Arunachal Pradesh	101	54	47

The Census figures indicate that the women speakers are more in number than men. Odisha state has the highest number of Kisan speakers. It also indicates that the Kisan speakers migrated to Eastern and North Eastern states as well for their livelihood.

**1.2 Goal of the Study**

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The phonological features will be studied in depth to understand the present linguistic status of Kisan. The features will be highlighted with the citation of more number of examples so that they will be prominent in their various occurrences.

### **1.3 Significance of the Study**

The study will bring out the detailed phonological features of Kisan speech spoken in the present form. One should keep it in mind that this Dravidian speech is spoken in the distant non Dravidian environment surrounded by Indo Aryan and Munda group of languages. This leads a tremendous pressure on the speech to keep its linguistic identity distinct, either to maintain the features or adopt. Hence the outcome of the study will help the linguistic researcher to understand the linguistic community's adoptability in alien linguistic environment.

### **1.4 Method of Data Elicitation**

The data have been collected from the informants belonging to Kuchinda taluk of Sambalpur district (prior to bifurcation) in Odisha state. The informants have been fluent speakers of Kisan. A questionnaire consisting of different kinds of words covering noun, verb, adjective, adverb and functional one has been used among the informants to elicit the equals of Kisan ones.

### **1.5 Analysis and Report**

The descriptive linguistic method is adopted to analyze and identify the phonetic and phonological features of Kisan speech. The identified features are presented in the form of report.

### **1.6 Scope of the Study**

The study is an attempt to bring out the phonological features of the Kisan speech spoken in Odisha. Studies had been attempted for Kurukh/Oraon by many scholars (Hahn, F: 1900; Ekka, F: 1985), which is closely related to Kisan. However, no attempt has been made to compare the two speeches in this study. This study also aims to bring out the features of Kisan speech only. No comparison is made at this juncture.

### **1.7 Review of Earlier Studies**

Grierson (1909) opines that the ancestors of Kisan tribesmen might have belonged to Karnataka (Carnatic) and later on migrated to Odisha and Bihar and settled there as Oraon and Maler respectively.

Kisan speech, spoken by Kisan men, belongs to the North Dravidian group of Dravidian family and placed along with the languages such as Kurukh, Malto and Brahui. While discussing the name of tribe, Grierson points out that sometimes the caste or occupation name is used to denote the language. Hence Kisan name refers the occupation of the tribe here but do not imply any difference of dialect.

While observing linguistic structures of Kurukh/ Oraon and Kisan, Grierson observes that a notable phonemic pattern in which *kh* of Kurukh is regularly changes into Kisan's *h* in Sambalpur area. Thus Grierson places the Kisan speech as a variety of Kurukh language. The Census of India which conducts the Census operations regularly after independence places Kisan as a non-Scheduled language since 1961 Census.

A sketch grammar of Kisan (Perumalsamy, P: 2002) briefly discusses about the phonological features in the Linguistic Survey of India: Orissa Volume.

## 2.0 Phonemic Inventory

Kisan comprises of forty-three phonemes out of which five are vowels and thirty-eight are consonants. The variations are observed in the phonemic features on the basis of the voiced and voiceless, aspirated and unaspirated etc.

### 2.1 Vowels

	Front	Back
High	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
Mid High	<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>

### 2.2 Consonants

	Bilabial	Labio-Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	<i>p</i> <i>b</i>	<i>t̪</i> <i>d̪</i>	<i>t</i> <i>d</i>	<i>ʈ</i> <i>ɖ</i>	<i>c</i> <i>j</i>	<i>k</i> <i>g</i>	
Aspirated	<i>ph</i> <i>bh</i>	<i>t̪h</i> <i>d̪h</i>	<i>th</i> <i>dh</i>	<i>tʰ</i> <i>dʰ</i>	<i>ch</i> <i>jh</i>	<i>kh</i> <i>gh</i>	
Nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n̪</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɳ</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Fricative			<i>s</i>				<i>h</i>
Flap				<i>ɾ</i>			
Trill				<i>r</i>			
Lateral				<i>l</i>			
Semi vowel	<i>w</i>					<i>j</i>	

### 2.3 Suprasegmental Phonemes

Length and nasalization are supra segmental features in Kisan mother tongue.

#### 2.3.1 Length

The identified five vowels have their lengthened counterparts uniformly. They are:

*i:*    *e:*    *a:*    *o:*    *u:*

#### 2.3.2 Nasalisation

Similarly, the identified vowels both short and long have their nasal counterparts. They are:

ĩ	ẽ	ã	õ and ù
ĩ:	ẽ:	ã:	õ: and ù:

### 3.0 Phonemic Description and Their Distribution

The phonemes, i.e., vowels and consonants are described and their occurrences in the word initial, medial and final positions are given below:

#### 3.1 Vowels

/i/ - The high front unrounded short vowel [i] occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

##### Initial

<i>ibaḍa:d</i>	‘these’
<i>icca:</i>	‘wish’
<i>iduge:</i>	‘to it/this’

##### Medial

<i>nimhe</i>	‘your’
<i>miṭṭa:</i>	‘sweet’
<i>piṭna</i>	‘kill’

##### Final

<i>sa:ḍi</i>	‘wife’s sister’
<i>dhu:li</i>	‘sand’
<i>bodili</i>	‘cloud’

##### /e/

The mid high front unrounded short vowel [e] occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.

##### Initial

<i>emba:</i>	‘sweet’
<i>elcna:</i>	‘fear’
<i>ende:d</i>	‘what’

##### Medial

<i>hebda:</i>	‘ear’
<i>hekka:</i>	‘hand’
<i>thelna:</i>	‘push’

Final

<i>nimhe</i>	‘your’
<i>tohne</i>	‘blow by horn’

/a/

The low back unrounded short vowel [a] occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

<i>ammu</i>	‘water’
<i>alla:</i>	‘dog’
<i>ahana:</i>	‘know’

Medial

<i>baṅ</i>	‘father’
<i>haḍḍu</i>	‘leg’
<i>pacca:</i>	‘old’

Final

<i>puḍḍa</i>	‘short’
<i>o:ra</i>	‘bird’
<i>lakaḍa</i>	‘tiger’

/o/

The mid high back rounded short vowel [o] occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

<i>oska</i>	‘mouse’
<i>okna:</i>	‘sit’
<i>onna:</i>	‘feed’

Medial

<i>ghoron</i>	‘eclipse’
<i>boro:p</i>	‘snow’
<i>pojale:</i>	‘first’

Final

<i>soino</i>	‘soldier’
<i>tuk da:no</i>	‘knock down something erect’

/u/

The high back rounded short vowel [u] occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

#### Initial

<i>uccha:</i>	‘tall’
<i>uttar</i>	‘answer’
<i>uda:</i>	‘wet’

#### Medial

<i>kuhḍi</i>	‘fog’
<i>puna:</i>	‘new’
<i>pura:</i>	‘full’

#### Final

<i>jo:ɽu</i>	‘river’
<i>pe:nu</i>	‘louse’
<i>margu</i>	‘horn’

### 3.2 Consonants

/p/

The voiceless bilabial stop [p] occurs initially, medially and finally.

#### Initial

<i>powan</i>	‘air’
<i>pallu</i>	‘tooth’
<i>puḍḍa</i>	‘short’
<i>puru:b</i>	‘east’

#### Medial

<i>papla</i>	‘butterfly’
<i>popa:</i>	‘cricket’
<i>tipna:</i>	‘shoot’
<i>ropa:</i>	‘plant’

#### Final

<i>khara:p</i>	‘bad’
<i>poro:p</i>	‘festival’
<i>boro:p</i>	‘snow’
<i>di:p</i>	‘island’

/t/

The voiceless labio dental stop [t] occurs in medial and final positions.

<i>can ta:l</i>	‘spider’
<i>mannun ta</i>	‘tree’s’
<i>(tam) hen ti</i>	‘(them) among’
<i>chin tu</i>	‘ashes’
<i>kan ti</i>	‘wall’
<i>durka:n t</i>	‘rotten’

/t/

The voiceless alveolar stop [t] occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

<i>tako:th</i>	‘health’
<i>tamu:</i>	‘green pea’
<i>ti:na:</i>	‘right’

Medial

<i>murta:l</i>	‘corpse’
<i>cha:ti</i>	‘chest’
<i>katili</i>	‘banana’

Final

<i>niso:t</i>	‘lazy’
<i>karo:t</i>	‘saw’

/t̄/

The voiceless retroflex stop [t̄] occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

<i>tattu:r</i>	‘theatre’
<i>tat̄tha</i>	‘lick’
<i>tahna:</i>	‘drag’

Medial

<i>putri</i>	‘pregnancy’
<i>oᅇta:</i>	‘one’
<i>piᅇna</i>	‘kill’

Final

<i>to:ᅇt̄</i>	‘beak’
<i>go:ᅇt̄</i>	‘gong’
<i>kost̄</i>	‘pain’



/c/

The voiceless palatal stop [c] occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

<i>ci:na</i>	‘give’
<i>cicchu</i>	‘fire’
<i>caḍri</i>	‘divorce’
<i>cuna:</i>	‘gold’

Medial

<i>icca:</i>	‘wish’
<i>elcna:</i>	‘fear’
<i>gupcu</i>	‘sharp’
<i>be:cna:</i>	‘play’

Final

<i>ascarc</i>	‘wonder’
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/k/

The voiceless velar stop [k] occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

<i>kugḍija:</i>	‘mist’
<i>kiro:n</i>	‘ray’
<i>kukka:j</i>	‘girl’
<i>kuma:r</i>	‘potter’

Medial

<i>lakaḍa</i>	‘tiger’
<i>ku:ḥki</i>	‘snail’
<i>arki</i>	‘liquor’
<i>be:ku</i>	‘salt’

Final

<i>bo:k</i>	‘crane’
<i>jiḥk</i>	‘porcupine’

### 3.3 Voiceless Aspirated Consonants

/ph/

The voiceless aspirated bilabial stop [ph] occurs in initial and medial positions.

Initial

<i>phena</i>	‘cobra’s hood’
<i>pha:ɖu</i>	‘fruit’

Medial

<i>muphli</i>	‘ground nut’
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/th/

The voiceless aspirated alveolar stop [th] occurs in initial and medial positions.

Initial

<i>thotthu:</i>	‘stammerer’
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Medial

<i>me:tha:</i>	‘husband’
<i>kuthum</i>	‘family’
<i>cathu:r</i>	‘smart’
<i>cokthi</i>	‘strength’
<i>katha:</i>	‘talk’

Final

<i>tako:th</i>	‘health’
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/ʈh/

The voiceless aspirated retroflex stop [ʈh] occurs in initial and medial positions.

Initial

<i>ʈhelna</i>	‘push’
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Medial

<i>ghā:ʈhi</i>	‘joint’
<i>gha:ŋʈhija:na:</i>	‘tangle’
<i>ʈatʈha:</i>	‘mango’
<i>atʈhe:tʈha</i>	‘eight’
<i>ʈatʈha</i>	‘lick’

/ch/

The voiceless aspirated palatal stop [ch] occurs in initially, medially and finally.

#### Initial

<i>chintu</i>	‘ashes’
<i>cha:cha:</i>	‘stone’
<i>chutti</i>	‘hair’
<i>chatti</i>	‘ant’

#### Medial

<i>peyncho:</i>	‘feather’
<i>bakcha:</i>	‘garden’
<i>chinchana</i>	‘wipe’
<i>uccha:</i>	‘tall’

#### Final

<i>camu:ch</i>	‘spoon’
<i>mich</i>	‘lie : falsehood’

#### /kh/

The voiceless aspirated velar stop [kh] occurs in initial and medial positions.

#### Initial

<i>kha:di</i>	‘wound’
<i>khada:</i>	‘donkey’
<i>kha:na:</i>	‘blind’
<i>khatarna</i>	‘fall’

#### Medial

<i>ka:khno:</i>	‘crab’
<i>kharkhasa:</i>	‘moss’
<i>lo:kho:</i>	‘creeper’

### 3.4 Voiced Consonants

#### /b/

The voiced bilabial stop [b] occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

#### Initial

<i>bita:</i>	‘cook’
<i>buiko:mp</i>	‘earthquake’
<i>bili</i>	‘cat’
<i>bej jarna:</i>	‘marriage’

#### Medial

<i>harbu</i>	‘forest’
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<i>hebda</i>	‘ear’
<i>pa:bu</i>	‘road’
<i>khebna</i>	‘quarrel’
<i>emba:</i>	‘sweet’
<i>dho:bu</i>	‘white’

Final

<i>gula:b</i>	‘rose’
<i>puru:b</i>	‘east’

/d/

The voiced dental stop [*d*] occurs in medial position only.

Medial

<i>on durna:</i>	‘bring’
<i>han darna:</i>	‘sleep, lie’
<i>osun dar</i>	‘ugly’
<i>en de:d</i>	‘what’
<i>han dtu</i>	‘monkey’

/d/

The voiced alveolar stop [*d*] occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

<i>da ji:</i>	‘elder sister’
<i>durka:n t</i>	‘rotten’
<i>dokkin</i>	‘south’
<i>durba:l</i>	‘weak’

Medial

<i>hebda:</i>	‘ear’
<i>arudore</i>	‘again’
<i>iduge:</i>	‘to it’

Final

<i>ha:d</i>	‘that’
<i>ibaqa:d</i>	‘these’
<i>ne:d</i>	‘who’

/d/

The voiced retroflex stop [*d*] occurs in initial, medial and final positions

Initial  
*ḍebria* 'left hand'

Medial  
*kuḥḍi* 'fog'  
*camāḍa* 'leather'  
*bi:ḍi* 'sun'  
*khoṇḍa:* 'dumb'  
*lakaḍa* 'tiger'

Final  
*ghondho:ḍ* 'mud'

/j/

The voiced palatal stop [j] occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial  
*jehari* 'niece'  
*jorka:* 'window'  
*jalli* 'net'  
*jode:* 'two'

Medial  
*ganja:* 'cook'  
*kolja:* 'heart'  
*puja:* 'worship'  
*nunjna:* 'pain'  
*ijna:* 'stand up'

Final  
*karo:j* 'reject'  
*jha:j* 'port'

/g/

The voiced velar stop [g] occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial  
*guru:* 'teacher'  
*ga:j* 'cow'  
*guras* 'milk'  
*genji* 'banian'  
*gupcu* 'sharp'

#### Medial

<i>margu</i>	‘horn’
<i>bagcha:</i>	‘garden’
<i>argana:</i>	‘climb’
<i>bhoḍiga:</i>	‘virtue’

#### Final

<i>soro:g</i>	‘heaven’
<i>pa:g</i>	‘weather’

### 3.5 Voiced Aspirated Consonants

#### /bh/

The voiced aspirated bilabial stop [bh] occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

#### Initial

<i>bhahana</i>	‘flow’
<i>bhokna</i>	‘bark’
<i>bhabna:</i>	‘think’

#### Medial

<i>bhaibhoho</i>	‘elder brother’s wife’
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#### Final

<i>la:bh</i>	‘gain’
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#### /dh/

The voiced aspirated alveolar stop [dh] occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

#### Initial

<i>dhukka:</i>	‘cyclone’
<i>dhu:li</i>	‘sand’
<i>dha:ra:</i>	‘catch’

#### Medial

<i>mudhna</i>	‘shut, mouth’
<i>bedhna</i>	‘hunt’

#### Final

<i>budh</i>	‘Wednesday’
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/ɖh/

The voiced aspirated retroflex stop [Dh] occurs in initial and medial positions.

Initial

ɖhana: 'wing'  
ɖhapni 'lid'

Medial

ɖoɖhar 'hollow'  
aɖha: 'vegetable'  
taɖha: 'coldness'  
uɖhiha:rna 'fly'

/jh/

The voiced aspirated palatal stop [jh] occurs only initially

jhoro:n 'brook'  
jha:j 'port'

/gh/

The voiced aspirated velar stop [gh] occurs initially and medially.

Initial

ghumpha 'cave'  
ghondho:ɖ 'mud'  
ghoron 'eclipse'  
ghono: 'horse'  
ghonana 'count'

Medial

saŋghi 'friend'  
goɖghoɖi 'thunder'

### 3.6 Nasals

/m/

The bilabial nasal [m] occurs initially, medially and finally.

Initial

moŋ tiri 'minister'  
merha: 'sky'  
mukka: 'wife'  
me:tu 'back'

*maja:* 'guava'

#### Medial

*tumna:* 'mouth'  
*kumar* 'potter'  
*pi:mna:* 'squeeze'  
*emba:* 'sweet'

#### Final

*gorom* 'hot'  
*e:m* 'we'  
*dram* 'drum'

#### /n/

The dental nasal [n] occurs only medially.

*on tho* 'blind'  
*nin ta* 'blame'  
*pan trotta* 'fifteen'

#### /n/

The alveolar nasal [n] occurs initially, medially and finally.

#### Initial

*niso:t* 'lazy'  
*nira:s* 'despair'  
*nadya:* 'coconut'  
*ne:d* 'who'  
*nalna:* 'dance'

#### Medial

*cuna:ri* 'goldsmith'  
*basana:* 'perfume'  
*tumna:* 'mouth'  
*puna:* 'new'

#### Final

*e:n* 'I'  
*ni:n* 'you'  
*chu:n* 'lime'  
*hasa:n* 'there'

#### /ŋ/



The retroflex nasal [ŋ] occurs only medially.

<i>bara:ŋɖa</i>	‘verandah’
<i>raŋɖi</i>	‘widow’
<i>khonɖa:</i>	‘dumb’
<i>haŋŋu</i>	‘eye’

/ɲ/

The palatal nasal [ɲ] occurs only medially.

<i>kopa maɲji</i>	‘lin seed’
<i>paɲjora:</i>	‘rib’
<i>beɲjarna:</i>	‘marriage’
<i>gaɲ ja:</i>	‘cock’
<i>geɲ ji</i>	‘banian’
<i>nuɲ jna:</i>	‘pain’
<i>kaɲ ja</i>	‘raw’

/ŋ/

The velar nasal [ŋ] occurs only medially.

<i>ɖaŋra:</i>	‘bone’
<i>soŋko:</i>	‘gullet’
<i>hoŋna:</i>	‘prick: as thorn’
<i>beŋta:ŋko:</i>	‘brinjal’
<i>deŋgna</i>	‘say’

### 3.7 Fricatives

/s/

The voiceless alveolar fricative [s] occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

<i>somdu:r</i>	‘sea’
<i>sa:ri</i>	‘sister-in-law’
<i>saguwa:</i>	‘green’
<i>sottu</i>	‘true’
<i>soro:g</i>	‘heaven’
<i>sapa:</i>	‘clean’

Medial

<i>hẽ:su</i>	‘blood’
<i>boisi</i>	‘flute’

<i>ma:su</i>	‘bamboo’
<i>bi:sna:</i>	‘sell’
<i>hasa:n</i>	‘there’

#### Final

<i>se:s</i>	‘end’
<i>guras</i>	‘milk’
<i>pano:s</i>	‘jack fruit’
<i>ma:s</i>	‘month’
<i>hu:s</i>	‘he’

#### /h/

The voiceless velar fricative [h] occurs in initial and medial positions.

#### Initial

<i>heika:</i>	‘dry’
<i>harbu</i>	‘forest’
<i>haddu</i>	‘child’
<i>hotto:</i>	‘neck’
<i>holdija:</i>	‘yellow’
<i>hujna:</i>	‘stab’
<i>han darna</i>	‘sleep’

#### Medial

<i>kuhqj</i>	‘fog’
<i>kuliha:</i>	‘fox’
<i>arho:</i>	‘claw’
<i>muhi</i>	‘face’
<i>maha:jan</i>	‘money lender’
<i>ahana:</i>	‘know’
<i>tahna:</i>	‘drag’

### 3.8 Flap

#### /r/

The voiced alveolar flap [r] occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

#### Initial

<i>ru:ni</i>	‘debt’
<i>rakada:na:</i>	‘rub’
<i>ropa:</i>	‘plant’
<i>ra:kmanna:</i>	‘kiss’
<i>ruttu</i>	‘season’

*rupa:* 'silver'

#### Medial

*korna* 'enter'  
*merha:* 'sky'  
*putra:* 'nephew'  
*gha:ra* 'nest'  
*arki* 'liquor'  
*marci* 'chilly'  
*poro:p* 'festival'  
*dhara* 'hold'  
*arna:* 'dig'

#### Final

*uto:r* 'north'  
*ha:r* 'they'  
*somdu:r* 'sea'  
*kumar* 'potter'

/ɽ/

The voiced retroflex flap [ɽ] occurs in the medial position only.

*o:ɽa* 'bird'  
*sa:ɽi* 'sister-in-law'  
*e:ɽa:* 'goat'  
*ahaɽa* 'flesh'  
*kaɽma* 'waist'  
*baɽka:* 'big'

### 3.9 Trill

/r/

The voiced alveolar trill [r] occurs only medially.

*cira:ra:na:* 'shout'  
*neru* 'snake-cobra'

### 3.10 Semivowel

/w/

The voiced bilabial semivowel [w] occurs initially and medially.

#### Initial

*wuḍḍni* ‘veil’

#### Medial

*corbailwa:n* ‘cashew-fruit’  
*ganwa* ‘basket’  
*powan* ‘air’  
*bhuwni* ‘younger sister’  
*siwa:ni* ‘worm’  
*saguwa* ‘green’  
*chowḍa* ‘wide’  
*dwarpan d* ‘gate’

/j/

The voiced palatal semivowel [j] occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

#### Initial

*j ḍ:mallo: j ḍ:* ‘more’

#### Medial

*da ji* ‘maternal uncle’s daughter’  
*ma ja:* ‘guava’  
*kamja:* ‘labourer’  
*bhul ja:* ‘weaver’  
*nil ja:* ‘blue’  
*ka ri ja:* ‘black’  
*poj ale* ‘first’  
*hoj ana* ‘reap’

#### Final

*kukka:j* ‘girl’  
*ga:j* ‘cow’

### 3.11 Lateral

//

The alveolar lateral phoneme [l] occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

#### Initial

*la:li* ‘saliva’  
*le:nt ki haddu* ‘infant’  
*lekna:* ‘write’

<i>lagna:</i>	‘taste’
<i>lahd̪i</i>	‘wave’

#### Medial

<i>nalna</i>	‘dance’
<i>ku:lu</i>	‘belly’
<i>caṅ ɽla:</i>	‘baldness’
<i>bodili</i>	‘cloud’
<i>a:li:</i>	‘woman’
<i>bili</i>	‘cat’
<i>kolja</i>	‘heart’
<i>piṭali</i>	‘brass’
<i>ɽelna</i>	‘push’
<i>o:lna</i>	‘cry’

#### Final

<i>t̪iɦa:l</i>	‘uncooked rice’
<i>be:l</i>	‘yolk’
<i>ujjo:l</i>	‘bright’
<i>ke:l</i>	‘games’
<i>isku:l</i>	‘school’
<i>bho:l</i>	‘good’
<i>caṅ ta:l</i>	‘spider’

### 4. 0 Major Allophonic Distribution

*/i/*

The high front unrounded vowel [i] has two phones:

[I]- the lower front unrounded vowel occurs in initial and medial positions

*/i/*

[i] – the high front unrounded vowel occurs elsewhere

[Ibaɖa:d]	/ibaɖa:d/	‘these’
[gunI ja:]	/guni ja:/	‘mosquito’
[sa:ɖi]	/sa:ɖi/	‘wife’s sister’
[a:li]	/a:li/	‘woman’
[mausi]	/mausi/	‘maternal aunt’

*/e/*

The mid high front unrounded vowel [e] has two phones:

[E]- the mid low front unrounded vowel occurs in initial and medial positions

/e/

[e] – the mid high front unrounded vowel occurs elsewhere

[Emba:]	/emba:/	‘sweet’
[En dir]	/en dir/	‘why’
[jEhari]	/jehari/	‘niece’
[nimhe]	/nimhe/	‘your’
[tohne]	/tohne/	‘blow by horn’

/a/

The low back unrounded vowel [a] has two phones:

[A]- the low mid back unrounded vowel occurs in initial and medial positions

/a/

[a] – the low back unrounded vowel occurs elsewhere

[Aro:n]	/aro:n/	‘food’
[Alu]	/alu/	‘potato’
[Alla:]	/alla:/	‘dog’
[nAtti]	/natti/	‘grand son’
[esana]	/esana/	‘break: stick’
[hacna]	/hacna/	‘break: rope’

/o/

The mid high back rounded vowel [o] has two phones:

[O]- the mid low back rounded vowel occurs in initial and medial positions

/o/

[o] – the mid high back rounded vowel occurs elsewhere

[Oska:]	/oska:/	‘rat’
[Orhu:]	/orhu:/	‘toe nail’
[Onha:]	/onha:/	‘blind’
[nOnan d]	/nonan d/	‘husband’s sister’
[soino]	/soino/	‘soldier’
[tuk da:no]	/tuk da:no/	‘knock down something erect’

/u/

The high front unrounded vowel [u] has two phones:

[U]- the lower high back rounded vowel occurs in initial and medial positions

/u/

[u] – the high back rounded vowel occurs elsewhere

[Ucha:]	/ucha:/	‘tall’
[Uda:]	/uda:/	‘weight’
[kUjUri]	/kujuri/	‘boil’
[chin̄ tu]	/chin̄ tu/	‘ashes’
[margu]	/margu/	‘horn’

## 5.0 Supra Segmental Phonemes

### 5.1 Length

In Kisan, long vowels are present in the initial, medial and final positions.

/i:/

#### Initial

i:d	‘this’
i:nna:	‘today’
i:na:	‘keep’

#### Medial

ti:ni	‘honey’
bi:ɖi	‘sun’
ni:n	‘you’

#### Final

pacci:	‘old’
a:li:	‘woman’
guli:	‘bullet’

/e:/

#### Initial

e:ɖa:	‘point’
e:m	‘our’
e:n	‘I’
e:ɾa:	‘goat’

#### Medial

che:pu:	‘rain’
ke:l	‘games’
se:s	‘end’

*ce:dna:* 'wet'

Final

*kapade:* 'fore head'  
*jode:* 'two'  
*idge:* 'its'  
*eŋge:* 'my'

/a:/

Initial

*a:l* 'man'  
*a:nsana:* 'arrive'  
*a:gna:* 'swim'

Medial

*ka:ŋku* 'wood'  
*pa:bu* 'road'  
*gha:ra:* 'nest'  
*ma:s* 'month'

Final

*judia:* 'stream'  
*mukka:* 'wife'  
*hekka:* 'hand'  
*ma:* 'mother'

/o:/

Initial

*o:sa:* 'mushroom'  
*o:ra* 'bird'  
*o:ju* 'bullock'  
*o:lna:* 'cry'

Medial

*cho:lu* 'lip'  
*ho:la:* 'tail'  
*dho:bu* 'white'  
*soro:g* 'heaven'

Final

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P. Perumalsamy

Phonological Features of Kisan Mother Tongue Spoken in Odisha State



<i>arho:</i>	‘claw’
<i>chan do:</i>	‘moon’
<i>kukko:</i>	‘boy’
<i>hotto:</i>	‘neck’

/u:/

#### Initial

<i>u:li</i>	‘onion’
<i>u:t</i>	‘camel’

#### Medial

<i>dhu:li</i>	‘sand’
<i>tu:sa:</i>	‘well water’
<i>ru:ni</i>	‘debt’
<i>hu:d</i>	‘she’

#### Final

<i>kiḍattu:</i>	‘hungry’
<i>ruttu:</i>	‘season’
<i>hajju:</i>	‘clay’
<i>ku:lu:</i>	‘belly’

## 5.2 Nasalization

Nasalisation is phonemic in Kisan speech. It is found in medial and final positions.

#### Short Vowels

<i>tīha:l</i>	‘uncooked rice’
<i>boṛsi</i>	‘flute’
<i>hēsar</i>	‘shoulder’
<i>lākara</i>	‘black smith’
<i>pākna</i>	‘blow’
<i>koĩ</i>	‘lilly’

#### Long vowels

<i>hē:su</i>	‘blood’
<i>kē:ṭe:r</i>	‘winnowing pan’
<i>hā:sa</i>	‘itch’
<i>ghā:ṭhi</i>	‘joint’
<i>ō:ṭu</i>	‘shade’
<i>bō:s</i>	‘buffalo-she’

<i>pũ:pũ:</i>	‘flower’
<i>rũ:</i>	‘fur’
<i>muhĩ:</i>	‘face’

## 6.0 Phonemic Contrasts

### 6.1 Vowels: Short

*/i/ and /e/*

<i>misiri</i>	‘sugar candy’
<i>mesiri</i>	‘mixture’

*/e/ and /a/*

<i>khaᅇᅇ</i>	‘part’
<i>khaᅇᅇa</i>	‘battle axe’

*/e/ and /o/*

<i>mesari</i>	‘adultery’
<i>mosari</i>	‘mosquito net’
<i>lembo</i>	‘lemon’
<i>lombo</i>	‘long’

*/a/ and /o/*

<i>cantal</i>	‘bald’
<i>cantol</i>	‘spider’
<i>khaᅇᅇa:</i>	‘battle axe’
<i>khoᅇᅇa:</i>	‘dumb’

*/u/ and /i/*

<i>la:lu</i>	‘red’
<i>la:li</i>	‘saliva’

*/o/ and /u/*

<i>oda:</i>	‘ginger’
<i>uda:</i>	‘wet’

### 6.2 Vowels: Short and Long

*/i/ and /i:/*

<i>tina:</i>	‘right’
<i>ti:ni:</i>	‘honey’
<i>tike:</i>	‘few’
<i>ti:k samoy</i>	‘in time’

/e/ and /e:/  
*hessu:* 'paddy'  
*hẽ:su* 'blood'

/a/ and /a:/  
*taɖi* 'under'  
*ta:ɖ* 'armlet'

/o/ and /o:/  
*bholu* 'bear'  
*bho:l* 'good'

/u/ and /u:/  
*curi* 'knife'  
*cu:ri* 'bracelet'

### 6.3 Vowels: Long

/e:/ and /a:/  
*se:s* 'end'  
*sa:s* 'mother-in-law'  
  
*caɖe:* 'soon'  
*caɖa:* 'besides'

/a:/ and /o:/  
*hoffa:t* 'suddenly'  
*hoffo:* 'neck'  
  
*somba:r* 'Monday'  
*sambo:r* 'sambar'

/o:/ and /u:/  
*so:r* 'arrow'  
*su:r* 'tone'  
  
*ho:s* 'duck'  
*hu:s* 'he'

### 6.4 Consonants

/p/ and /b/

*partta:* 'hill'  
*bartta:* 'message'

*poro:p* 'festival'  
*boro:p* 'ice'

/t/ and /d/

*tata:* 'tongue'  
*dada:* 'paternal aunt's son'  
*torkari* 'curry'  
*dorka:ri* 'useful'

/t/ and /d/

*taᅇᅇa:* 'cold'  
*ᅇiᅇᅇa:* 'bachelor'

*khaᅇᅇa:* 'battle axe'  
*gha:ᅇᅇi* 'joint'

/c/ and /j/

*caᅇᅇa:* 'except'  
*jaᅇᅇa:* 'castor'

*chutti* 'hair'  
*jutti* 'till'

/k/ and /g/

*kaᅇᅇa:* 'raw'  
*gaᅇᅇa:* 'rooster'

*kuli:* 'porter'  
*guli:* 'bullet'

/m/ and /n/

*mani* 'mustard'  
*nani* 'fever'  
*meᅇi* 'sheep'  
*neᅇu* 'snake'

/n/ and /ŋ/

*moᅇᅇiᅇi* 'minister'  
*moᅇᅇaᅇi* 'beggar'

/ŋ/ and /ɳ/  
leŋɖa: 'earthworm'  
laŋɖa: 'naked'

/m/ and /ɳ/  
tamage: 'to them'  
taŋge: 'his/her'

/r/ and /ɽ/  
para 'pigeon'  
baɽa 'hog'

/k/ and /h/  
pakodɨ 'pakoda'  
pahɖɨ 'turban'

/h/ and /g/  
muhi: 'face'  
mugi: 'green gram'

/p/ and /ph/  
paɖɨya 'pasture'  
pha:ɖu 'fruit'

/b/ and /bh/  
boɖɨha 'fine'  
bhoɖɨga: 'virtue'

/t/ and /th/  
ti:ni 'honey'  
thuni 'beak'  
bu:rɨ 'scholarship'  
pu:rɨ 'earth'

/c/ and /ch/  
ca:t 'ceiling'  
cha:t 'straight'

/j/ and /jh/  
joro:n 'spring of water'  
jhora: 'fisherman'

/k/ and /kh/

<i>katti</i>	‘knife’
<i>khetti</i>	‘loss’
<i>kirija:</i>	‘oath’
<i>kherija:</i>	‘rabbit’

/g/ and /gh/

<i>gorom</i>	‘heat’
<i>ghoron</i>	‘eclipse’

## 7.0 Clusters

### 7.1 Vowel

Vowel clusters are found mostly in the word medial and final positions.

Medial position

<i>bhaira:</i>	‘deaf-mute’
<i>kuili</i>	‘cuckoo’
<i>goel</i>	‘bison’
<i>mausi</i>	‘maternal aunt’
<i>nue:ʈa</i>	‘nine’
<i>boĩsi</i>	‘flute’
<i>kaũria:</i>	‘jute’
<i>bhaũre:</i>	‘around’

Final position

<i>jo:i:</i>	‘son in law’
<i>kua:</i>	‘crow’
<i>jia:</i>	‘life’
<i>koĩ</i>	‘lily’

### 7.2 Consonant

#### 7.2.1 Initial Position

<i>praka:so:</i>	‘publisher’
<i>prasansa:</i>	‘praise’
<i>prason̩t</i>	‘prose’
<i>brahma :ŋd̩o</i>	‘universe’
<i>brohaspati</i>	‘jupiter’
<i>dwa:rpa:n̩ d̩</i>	‘gate’
<i>groha</i>	‘planet’
<i>gro:na:</i>	‘hat’

## 7.2.2 Medial position

### 7.2.2.1 Geminated

/pp/

<i>bhappe:</i>	‘stream’
<i>roppa:</i>	‘transplant’

/tt/

<i>katti</i>	‘knife’
<i>catte:tta:</i>	‘seven’
<i>kanja:bhuttu</i>	‘whirlpool’

/tt/

<i>hotto</i>	‘neck’
<i>katti</i>	‘low tide’
<i>botte</i>	‘foam’

/kk/

<i>kukka:j</i>	‘daughter’
<i>ḍukku</i>	‘elopement’

/bb/

<i>sebba</i>	‘serve a master’
--------------	------------------

/dd/

<i>haddu</i>	‘son’
<i>hadda:r</i>	‘children’
<i>heddana:</i>	‘wipe’

/ḍḍ/

<i>haḍḍu</i>	‘leg’
<i>guḍḍa</i>	‘navel’

/gg/

<i>bagge</i>	‘more’
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/cc/

<i>goccu</i>	‘whiskers’
<i>icca:</i>	‘passion’
<i>pacci</i>	‘old’

/ʃʃ/	<i>ajjo:</i>	‘grand -father’
	<i>ajji</i>	‘grand -mother’
	<i>hajju:</i>	‘clay’

/ss/	<i>musso</i>	‘phlegm’
	<i>tissa</i>	‘sour’
	<i>massu</i>	‘beak’

/mm/	<i>tumma:</i>	‘bitter guard’
	<i>ammuka:</i>	‘thirst’

/nn/	<i>panna bakra</i>	‘study room’
	<i>baḍa mannu</i>	‘banyan tree’

/ŋŋ/	<i>leŋŋḍa</i>	‘earth worm’
	<i>caŋŋtu</i>	‘bull’

/ɲɲ/	<i>beɲɲjarna</i>	‘marriage’
	<i>hayɲja:lu</i>	‘tears’

/ŋŋ/	<i>a:ŋŋt̪hi</i>	‘finger’
	<i>maja:ŋŋt̪hi</i>	‘middle finger’

/ll/	<i>pallu</i>	‘tooth’
	<i>hallu</i>	‘field’

#### 7.2.2.2 Obstruent + Obstruent

-pp-	<i>tappa:</i>	‘nest’
-pt-	<i>gupti</i>	‘spear’
-pd-	<i>hapdana:</i>	‘feed a baby’
-p d̪-	<i>kap d̪a</i>	‘cloth’
-pc-	<i>gupcu</i>	‘sharp’
-ps-	<i>epsana:</i>	‘lose: mislay’



-bb-	<i>sebba:</i>	‘serve a master’
-bd-	<i>hebda:</i>	‘ear’
-b d̥ -	<i>kheb d̥ a:na:</i>	‘throw’
-bc-	<i>bhabca:r</i>	‘talked’
-tt-	<i>thottu</i>	‘stammerer’
-tɖ-	<i>bat d̥ i</i>	‘bat’
-tk-	<i>gi:tka:r</i>	‘singer’
-dd-	<i>haddu</i>	‘child’
-dk-	<i>hadko d̥ i</i>	‘hand cuff’
-ʈb-	<i>na:ʈbali</i>	‘actress’
-tt-	<i>botte</i>	‘foam’
-ʈk-	<i>poʈka:</i>	‘flag’
-ɖp-	<i>a d̥ pa:n</i>	‘house’
-ɖd-	<i>had̥dana</i>	‘tire’
-ɖd̥-	<i>ha d̥ du</i>	‘leg’
-ɖk-	<i>ha d̥ ko</i>	‘neem’
-ɖg-	<i>put bad̥ge</i>	‘evening’
-ɖs-	<i>a d̥ ska:</i>	‘horse gram’
-cd̥-	<i>puc̥d̥a:</i>	‘rug’
-cc-	<i>pacci</i>	‘old’
-ck-	<i>cicka:ra:</i>	‘lend’
-j j -	<i>ajjo</i>	‘grandfather’
-kp-	<i>d̥ a:kpio:n</i>	‘postman’
-kt-	<i>ukta:</i>	‘plough’
-kd-	<i>mokdama:</i>	‘case’
-kd̥-	<i>lak̥d̥a:</i>	‘leopard’
-kc-	<i>bakcha:</i>	‘garden’
-ks-	<i>poriksa:t</i>	‘examiner’
-gɖ-	<i>kug̥d̥ia:</i>	‘mist’
-gg-	<i>partta: cig̥gu</i>	‘cliff’
-sp-	<i>brohaspoti</i>	‘jupiter’
-st-	<i>mestiri</i>	‘mason’
-st̥-	<i>cera:st̥a</i>	‘try’
-sj-	<i>mas ji:d</i>	‘mosque’
-sk-	<i>na:sko:</i>	‘elder brother’s wife’
-sg-	<i>dasgot</i>	‘sign’
-ss-	<i>musso</i>	‘phlegm’
-hd̥j-	<i>kuhd̥j</i>	‘fog’

### 7.2.2.3 Obstruent + Sonorant

-pm-	<i>opma:n</i>	‘insult’
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-pn-	<i>hapna</i>	‘drink’
-pl-	<i>papla:</i>	‘claw’
-pr-	<i>copri pona:s</i>	‘pine apple’
-pɽ-	<i>bep ɽia:</i>	‘merchant’
-pj-	<i>rupja:</i>	‘rupee’
-bn-	<i>khebna</i>	‘quarrel’
-br-	<i>dho:brugdi</i>	‘pebble’
-bɽ-	<i>dubɽi</i>	‘anus’
-tm-	<i>a:tma somorpano</i>	‘surrender’
-tn-	<i>na:tni</i>	‘granddaughter’
-tl-	<i>patla:</i>	‘lean’
-tr-	<i>utratikari</i>	‘descendants’
-tw-	<i>satwa:</i>	‘pale’
-tj-	<i>sa:kitjo:</i>	‘literature’
-dm-	<i>badma:s</i>	‘naughty’
-dn-	<i>bhedna:</i>	‘split’
-dl-	<i>badla:na:</i>	‘change: alter’
-dw-	<i>dwarpa:n d</i>	‘gate’
-tm-	<i>poketma:r</i>	‘pick pockets’
-tn-	<i>piṭna</i>	‘kill’
-tl-	<i>caṭli</i>	‘kettle’
-tr-	<i>puṭri</i>	‘pregnancy’
-tw-	<i>naṭwa</i>	‘actor’
-tj-	<i>ghaṭja:na:</i>	‘make a net’
-dm-	<i>opa: dṃanna</i>	‘strain’
-dn-	<i>laḍna</i>	‘fight’
-dr-	<i>baḍro:g</i>	‘leprosy’
-dw-	<i>ghaḍwa:d</i>	‘sailor’
-dj-	<i>nadja:</i>	‘coconut’
-cm-	<i>cocma:</i>	‘spectacles’
-cn-	<i>mo:cna:</i>	‘cut’
-cl-	<i>uclarlj</i>	‘overflow’
-cr-	<i>cicra:na:</i>	‘sprinkle: water’
-jn-	<i>ujna:</i>	‘alive’
-jr-	<i>majria:</i>	‘labourer’
-jw-	<i>ra:jwa:dqi</i>	‘royal’
-jj-	<i>lajjja:</i>	‘shame’
-kn-	<i>bhokna:</i>	‘bark’
-kl-	<i>baklo:s</i>	‘gem’
-kr-	<i>bakra:</i>	‘room’
-kw-	<i>nukwa:la:s</i>	‘nobleman’
-kj-	<i>ra:kja:s</i>	‘demon’

-gn-	<i>a:gna:</i>	‘swim’
-gl-	<i>agli</i>	‘before’
-gr-	<i>upogroha</i>	‘satellite’
-gj-	<i>bigja:n</i>	‘science’
-sm-	<i>asma:</i>	‘bread’
-sn-	<i>ke:sna:</i>	‘winnow : grain’
-sl-	<i>gō:sle:</i>	‘shed’
-sr-	<i>misrna:</i>	‘collision’
-sw-	<i>swanuhutti</i>	‘sympathy’
-sj-	<i>siksja:pruti</i>	‘lesson’
-hn-	<i>mohna</i>	‘eat’
-hl-	<i>jehli ja:</i>	‘prisoner’
-hr-	<i>nohrna:</i>	‘hide’

#### 7.2.2.4 Sonorant + Sonorant

-mm-	<i>ammuka:</i>	‘thirsty’
-mn-	<i>tumna:</i>	‘mouth’
-ml-	<i>kamla:</i>	‘orange’
-mr-	<i>amruth bho:na:</i>	‘papaya’
-nm-	<i>sonma:n</i>	‘respect’
-nn-	<i>onna:</i>	‘feed’
-nw-	<i>ganwa:</i>	‘basket’
-nj-	<i>dhonjaba:t</i>	‘thanks’
-ŋn-	<i>hoŋna</i>	‘prick’
-ln-	<i>mulna:</i>	‘sink’
-ll-	<i>galle:</i>	‘cheek’
-lw-	<i>corbailwa:n</i>	‘cashew fruit’
-lj-	<i>tolja</i>	‘towel’
-rm-	<i>urma:l</i>	‘hand kerchief’
-rn-	<i>erna:</i>	‘sweep’
-rŋ-	<i>ku:rŋtu</i>	‘testicle’
-rl-	<i>sorla:rna</i>	‘slip’
-rw-	<i>carwa</i>	‘shepherd’
-wn-	<i>bhuwni daji</i>	‘maternal aunt’s daughter’
-jn-	<i>sojnik</i>	‘army’

#### 7.2.2.5 Sonorant + Obstruent

-mph-	<i>ghumpha</i>	‘cave’
-mb-	<i>lomba:</i>	‘long’
-mt-	<i>somta:l</i>	‘horizontal’

-md-	<i>samdu:r</i>	‘ocean’
-mʈ-	<i>cimʈa</i>	‘fork’
-mɖ-	<i>camɖa</i>	‘skin’
-mj-	<i>doramjago:t</i>	‘prophet’
-mh-	<i>nimhe</i>	‘your’
-nt-	<i>chintu</i>	‘ashes’
-nd-	<i>chando</i>	‘moon’
-nc-	<i>mo:nch</i>	‘stage’
-nj-	<i>janjo:t</i>	‘conflict’
-nk-	<i>ti:nkunia:</i>	‘triangle’
-ns-	<i>ansa</i>	‘release : set free’
-nh-	<i>menha</i>	‘ram’
-ɳt-	<i>caɳtu</i>	‘bull’
-ɳɖ-	<i>ɖiɳɖa</i>	‘bachelor’
-ɳh-	<i>kaɳhua:</i>	‘ear wax’
-ɳj-	<i>beɳjarna:</i>	‘marriage’
-ɳb-	<i>a jaɳbaɳg</i>	‘parents’
-ɳt-	<i>moɳtari</i>	‘beggar’
-ɳʈh-	<i>aɳʈhi</i>	‘finger’
-ɳɖ-	<i>laɳɖa:</i>	‘naked’
-ɳk-	<i>saɳko:</i>	‘gullet’
-ɳg-	<i>taɳgli</i>	‘black bee’
-ɳh-	<i>siɳha:so:n</i>	‘throne’
-lp-	<i>kalpana:</i>	‘imagine’
-lb-	<i>na:lbana:</i>	‘rub’
-lt-	<i>jolti</i>	‘fast’
-ld-	<i>holdija:</i>	‘yellow’
-lʈ-	<i>la:lʈin</i>	‘lantern’
-lc-	<i>elcna:</i>	‘fear’
-lj-	<i>kolja:</i>	‘heart’
-lk-	<i>ca:lki biɳku</i>	‘comet’
-lg-	<i>elgedna</i>	‘threaten’
-lh-	<i>julha</i>	‘swing’
-rp-	<i>horpana:</i>	‘swell’
-rb-	<i>durba:l</i>	‘weak’
-rth-	<i>purthi</i>	‘earth’
-rd-	<i>hardo</i>	‘lake’
-rc-	<i>kurci</i>	‘chair’
-rj-	<i>dorji</i>	‘tailor’
-rk-	<i>parkutti</i>	‘nature’
-rg-	<i>margu</i>	‘antelope’
-rh-	<i>merha:</i>	‘sky’

-rs-	<i>pu:rba pursa</i>	‘ancestors’
-rk-	<i>ba rka: lahdi</i>	‘high tide’
-rg-	<i>bo rga:</i>	‘great’
-rh-	<i>e: rha:</i>	‘human excrement’
-wt-	<i>ca:wta:na:</i>	‘fold’
-jp-	<i>cejpu</i>	‘raise’
-jj-	<i>pjjama</i>	‘trousers’
-jg-	<i>ga:jgonsle:</i>	‘cow shed’

## 8.0 Syllables

The syllabic structure of Kisan is mono, di, tri and tetra syllabic.

### 8.1 Structure of Mono Syllable

The structure of mono syllable is as follows:

CV:	<i>ma:</i>	‘mother’
C $\tilde{V}$	<i>rū:</i>	‘fur’
CVC	<i>bis</i>	‘venom’
CV:C	<i>bo:k</i>	‘crane’
	<i>ga:j</i>	‘cow’
C $\tilde{V}$ :C	<i>hō:s</i>	‘swan’
V:C	<i>u:t</i>	‘camel’

### 8.2 Structure of Disyllable

The structure of disyllable is as follows:

CV:-CV	<i>pa:-du</i>	‘fruit’
CV:C-CV	<i>ca:r-bi</i>	‘fat’
CVC-CV:	<i>dorŋ-ka:</i>	‘ladle’
CVC-CV:	<i>mas-la</i>	‘spice’
VC-CV	<i>ar-ki</i>	‘liquor’
CV-CV	<i>me-ri</i>	‘sheep’
VC-CV:C	<i>ur-ma:</i>	‘kerchief’
VCV-CV:	<i>aha-da:</i>	‘meat’
V:C-CV:	<i>o:r-na:</i>	‘heat’

### 8.3 Structure of Tri syllable

The structure of trisyllable is as follows:

CVC-CV:C-CV:	<i>bet-ta: ŋ -ko:</i>	‘brinjal’
CVC-CV-CV:	<i>hol-di-ja:</i>	‘yellow’
CVC-CV-CV	<i>bhol-ak-na</i>	‘love’

## 8.4 Structure of Tetra Syllable

The structure of tetra syllable is as follows:

CVC-CV-V-CV:C	<i>naɖ -ja-i-su:n</i>	‘coconut oil’
CV-CV-CVCC-CV	<i>pa-la-ha n.j-ja</i>	‘cucumber’

## 9.0 Observations of the Study

While looking at the phonological features of Kisan, the following observations come to light instantly:

- The presence of voiced and aspirated consonants is observed in Kisan.
- Retroflex consonants such as *ɭ, ɖ, ŋ* are present in Kisan.
- Voiceless fricative *h* occurs in initial and medial position.
- The presence of labio dental and palatal nasals *ɱ* and *ɲ* are observed in Kisan.
- Retroflex flap *ɽ* is present in Kisan.
- The consonant clusters such as the combination of nasal and fricative sounds are observed in the medial position.

The voiced and aspirated consonants came into the phonological system of Kisan due to the contact with Indo-Aryan languages. Similarly the feature *ɽ* is appearing due to the influence of Odia language. The Dravidian features such as dental, retroflex consonants/nasals are retained in Kisan.

The glottal consonant *kh*, the north Dravidian sub family feature, becomes *h* in Kisan.

## 10.0 Concluding Remarks

Kisan, a Dravidian mother tongue, successively returned in decennial Censuses, is spoken majorly in Odisha state. Odia is the official language of the region. Moreover, Austro-Asiatic groups of languages are also present in sizable number in this region. Retention of the linguistic features in an area where other language family members’ presence is **dominant** and overwhelming can be understood. Kisan borrows a lot of vocabulary from neighboring language families. Similarly, some of the phonological features, such as voicing and aspiration, are taken shape in the phonological structure of the language due to heavy borrowing. However, it is remarkable to know that the quintessential features of Dravidian language family, such as retroflex stops and nasals, palatal and dental nasals have been retained in its linguistic structure.

An in depth comparative study of phonological features of Dravidian languages, specifically North Dravidian group, will highlight the features which have undergone change and the retention of basic Dravidian features in an alien environment where they are spoken at present. Hence, this type of study is an essential one.

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### Colophon

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