Chapter 5
Sambalpuri Compounding

Compounding in Sambalpuri, as it is in any other language, is a highly productive process of word formation. Compounds are made of at least two constituent bases, which are members of the major lexical categories like Noun, Adjective, Verb and Adverb. Though theoretically compounding is recursive in principle and there is no limit to the number of stems in a compound, Sambalpuri seems to have a limitation of having to a maximum of only three stems present in the compounds.

Lieber's (1983) theoretical model of Argument Linking and Compounding predicts that a stem of any lexical category can be inserted into a word tree as a sister to a stem of any lexical category. As such all the following logical combination of stems viz. NN, NA, NV, NP, AN, PN, VN, VA, VV, VP, AA, AV, AP, PA, PV and PP are possible. The unacceptable compound formations, however, are filtered out by linking an Argument Structure to the compounds, thereby delimiting over-generation of compounds by Phrase Structure component. The basic structural principle of compound formation, as accepted by Bresnan (1980), Williams (1981) Chomsky (1982) and Marantz (1981), is that the Lexical items often have lexical argument satisfied when those items are inserted into a tree. An 'Argument' is the -element bearing thematic relationship between the
constituents. The Argument Structure may be represented as semantic roles (such as Agent, Theme etc.), grammatical relations (Subject, Object etc.) or structural positions (such as NP, VP etc.). The LFG school (mentioned in § 1.2 earlier) seems to favour the grammatical descriptions (Subject, Object etc.) but in Lieber's (1983) framework as well as that of William's (1981), whom she (Lieber) seems to have followed, only the semantic relations (Agent, Theme, Goal, Source etc.) are preferred to the grammatical relations.

Lieber (1983) proposes that the stems of a compound may have any one of the three Argument Structures: Internal Argument, Semantic Argument and Non-argument or Free. According to her, all obligatory and lexically specified arguments with the exception of Subject are 'Internal Argument'. Phrases, which are not obligatory or lexically specified (such as Locative, Instrumental, Manner phrases, Benefactives, Agentives etc.) are 'Semantic Argument'. When a stem is unlinked by an argument-taking lexical item, it is supposed to be 'Free'. Thus, she gives the following two schemes of Argument-linking Principle:

(a) In the configuration [ ]{v/p} [ ]_{\alpha} or [ ]_{\alpha} [ ]{v/p}, where \alpha ranges over all categories (but not affixes), {v/p} must be able to link all internal arguments.

(b) If a stem [ ]_{\alpha} is free in a compound which also contains an argument-taking stem, \alpha must be interpretable as a semantic
argument of the argument-taking stem, i.e. as a Locative, Manner, Agentive, Instrumental, or Benefactive argument.

As per the above constraint, “the first stem must in some way be interpretable as a semantic argument of the second stem in order for the compound to be judged well-formed” (Lieber 1983: 263).

Lieber (1983), like others, classifies Compounds either as ‘Primary’ (those in which the second stem are not deverbal) or ‘Synthetic’ (those in which the second stem is derived from a verb) based on the source of the second stem of the compound. Unlike the processes of affixation where a single base is attached with affixes, the presence of more than one base in the processes of compounding leads to the question which of the bases is the ‘head’. The right-hand-most base is usually the ‘grammatical head’ and the first one is the ‘modifying element’ in most of the Indo-European family of languages. However, the grammatical head may not always be present in the compound. Based on the presence and non-presence of a ‘head’, Bauer (1983) speaks of six kinds of Compounds: Endocentric, Exocentric, Appositional and Copulative besides Rhyme-motivated and Ablaut-motivated compounds. These have been dealt with in § 5.5 to 5.9 as they relate to Sambalpuri. As per Bauer’s (1983) definition, a ‘compound’ is a lexeme containing two or more potential stems that has not subsequently been subject to a derivational process. For example, words like ‘schoolmasterish’, ‘superhighway’ etc. are not compounds though they are
derived from compounds like ‘schoolmaster’, ‘highway’ etc. Accordingly, Sambalpuri $adhaa\text{-}dhum\text{-}iaa$ is not a compound, this being a derivative of a compound $adhaa\text{-}dhum$. This argument, however, does not hold good in Sambalpuri as many of the compounds do have affixes attached to them yet remain as compounds.

The traditional Paninian grammar speaks of no less than seven broad varieties of ‘Samaas’, viz. Abyaibhaaba, Bahubrihi, Dvandva, Dvigu, Karmaḍhaaray, Praaḍi and Taṭpurush. There are several sub-groups within these seven broad groups. The Taṭpurush has eight, viz. Dvitiya, Tritiya, Chaṭurṭhi, Panchami, Shaṣṭhi, Sapṭami (all of these are based on the kaaraka or case-system of classification), Nāya and Upapad; the Bahubrihi has three, viz. Byaṭhaar, Luptomaan and Shahar; the Karmaḍharay has three, viz. Maḍhyaapadalopi, Upamaan and Upamiṭ.

Of the above-mentioned varieties, ‘Dvandva’ and ‘Bahubrihi’ are the two referred to by a few (Allen 1978, Bauer 1983, Katamba 1993) of the generative school of linguists. Lieber (1983) points out that Verbs and Prepositions are argument-taking lexical items in English. In the absence of prepositions in Indian languages, the kaaraka system often makes up the work of prepositions. Hence, the Taṭpurush samaas explains the argument
structures of many of the Endocentric compounds. Argument structures or Predicate Argument Structures that the Lexicalists speak of seems to be somewhat analogous to the byaasa vaakya of Paninian grammar because the byaasa vaakya of the samaas (mostly Compounds) explains the arguments. However, the Paninian grammar does not distinguish between Primary and Synthetic compounds. The byaasa vaakya takes care of establishing the relationship between the two constituents of the primary as well as the synthetic compounds. Lee’s (1960) analysis of English nominalization by going to the underlying sentential sources or the paraphrasability of the components seems to be a replica of the byaasa vaakya of Paninian grammar. Lee’s (1960) model, however, suffers from the limitation of unrestrained over dependence on deletion of the underlying verbal element in the sentential sources. Allen (1978) and Selkirk (1981) believe that the Argument can only be applied to the synthetic variety; Lieber (1983) though seems to differ in the sense that the difference between primary and synthetic compounds is “merely terminological” – the analysis of primary compounds poses a problem as none of the constituents of such compounds has an overt verbal element. As a result, it becomes difficult to establish the “semantic variability” of the primary compound – Allen (1978). For the analysis of primary compounds, Allen (1978) proposes two ‘principles of meaning formation’ viz. the ‘Variable R Condition’ and the ‘IS A Condition’. The ‘R’ is the underlying verbal relation between the constituents to ascertain ‘a range of possible and consequently impossible meanings’. “The ‘Variable R Condition’ predicts that the complete semantic
content of the first constituent element may fill any one of the available feature slots in the feature hierarchy of the second constituent element, as long as the feature slot to be filled corresponds to one of the features of the filler” (Allen 1978: 93). The second principle —‘IS A Condition’ — predicts that if the left constituent of the compound is X and the right constituent is Y, the whole compound Z is a Y (the X, Y and Z refers to major lexical classes). Lieber (1983) though includes primary compounds in her scheme of Argument Linking Principle tacitly puts the AA, AN, NA and NN combination in the category of ‘Both Stems Non-Argument-taking’. Unlike her predecessors, she seems to reserve the synthetic variety exclusively for compounds having a deverbal and not verbal stem. Accordingly, synthetic compounds are those in which the second deverbal stem has any of these: a suffix attached to it (like the agentive ~er), has a progressive, adjectival or gerundive ~ing or has passive participle ~ed or ~en ending. In Sambalpuri, examples of the first kind are available whereas the other two are non-existent.

Each of the possible and acceptable compounding processes in Sambalpuri is analysed in § 5.1, 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4 with reference to

(a) Category of the Compound
(b) Semantic representation
(c) Feature Percolation and Head
(d) Argument Structures
For the sake of convenience, all the compounds having a verbal or deverbal stem is considered to be of synthetic variety in the present work. Further, it is assumed that unlike English, the first stem of the Sambalpuri compounds may also be verbal or deverbal.

It may be noted that the category class of the output of compound formation may belong to a dual class. In other words, the output can be syntactically used in one case either as an Adjective or as a Noun (examples in § 5.1.1) and in another case, either as an Adjective or as an Adverb (examples in § 5.2.5). Though in both the cases the Compound output behaves as an Adjective, their behaving also as a Noun or an Adverb seems to be triggered by syntactic components in the sentence.

Bauer's (1983) list of possible stem combinations for English compounding is followed to certain extent to list the compounding processes in Sambalpuri, but the category classes, which are non-existent, e.g. preposition and particle, have totally been ignored because of their irrelevance to Sambalpuri. For notational convenience, following Allen (1978), the stems of a compound are noted as X and Y respectively for the first and the second stem and Z for the whole compound.
5.1 **Adjective Compounds**

This variety of compounding is highly productive in Sambalpuri. Adjective Compounds referred to here are those in which the whole compound is an Adjective, though the individual stems may be any of the following combinations viz. AA, AN, AvA, NA, NN, NV, VA and VN. The Adjective and Noun constituent of the compound may be deverbal or non-verbal, hence it would be either a Primary or a Synthetic compound.

5.1.1 Both stems are Adjectives

All the compounds of this variety are primary compounds as none of the stems is deverbal. The output of such compounding are of dual class as all of them could be either Adjectives or Nouns in the syntactic structure. However, any of the stems or both stems may be either a derived or a non-derived Adjective. As such, the AA compounds should comprise any of the following four possible combinations. But (ii) below seems to be non-existent and untenable in Sambalpuri compound formation because a derived Adjective is sufficiently self-contained and it does not require any more information which may be semantically required to invite a non-derived Adjective:

i) both stems are non-derived
ii) first stem is derived and second stem is non-derived (non-existent)
iii) second stem is derived
iv) both stems are derived

An example from each of the above combination is analysed below,
i) Both stems are non-derived:

\[
\begin{aligned}
\text{Adj./N} & \\
\text{ārraua çădli} & \text{ (a girl/woman behaving like a man)}
\end{aligned}
\]

\[
\begin{aligned}
\text{Adj.}_1 & \\
\text{ārraua} & \text{(male-like)}
\end{aligned}
\quad
\begin{aligned}
\text{Adj.}_2 & \\
\text{çădli} & \text{(haughty)}
\end{aligned}
\]

**Fig. 5.1 (1)**

(a) Category: Primary; Endocentric; Adjective/N [+FEMININE]

(b) Semantic representation: ‘Y is/behaves like X’

(c) Feature Percolation and Head: \(Y \rightarrow Z, \text{RHH}\)

(d) Argument Structures: \(\Phi\)

ii) This type is not available in Sambalpuri.

iii) Second stem is derived:

\[
\begin{aligned}
\text{Adj./N} & \\
\text{kāçaça suaad[i} & \text{(a mango-variety which is tasty while it is not yet ripe)}
\end{aligned}
\]

\[
\begin{aligned}
\text{Adj.}_1 & \\
\text{kāçaça} & \text{(unripe)}
\end{aligned}
\quad
\begin{aligned}
\text{Adj.}_2 & \\
\text{suaad[i} & \text{(taste)}
\end{aligned}
\quad
\begin{aligned}
\text{Adj.} & \\
i & \text{(suffix)}
\end{aligned}
\]

**Fig. 5.1 (2)**
(a) Category: Primary; Exocentric; Adjective/N
(b)Semantic representation: Z refers to a mango-variety
(c) Feature Percolation and Head: Y \rightarrow Z, NH
(d) Argument Structures: \Phi

iv) Both stems are derived:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Adj.} \\
keraa \ t\ddaa \\
\text{(having an infected lip-corner)} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
N \\
k \dd \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
N \\
\dd \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{ker} \\
\text{uaa} \\
\text{aa} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{infected lip corner} \\
\text{(suffix)} \\
\text{(mouth)} \\
\text{(suffix)} \\
\end{array}
\]

Fig. 5.1 (3)

(a) Category: Primary; Endocentric; Adjective/N [+MASCULINE]
(b) Semantic representation: Y is X-ed
(c) Feature Percolation and Head: Y \rightarrow Z, RHH
(d) Argument Structures: \Phi

5.1.2 First stem is an Adjective and the second a Noun

In this variety, both primary and synthetic types are available. But the primary type is more frequent than the synthetic type. In the given example of synthetic type (Fig. 5.1 (5)) both the stems are deverbal.
Fig. 5.1 (4)
(a) Category: Primary; Endocentric; Adjective/N [+Feminine]
(b) Semantic representation: ‘X like a Y’
(c) Feature Percolation and Head: X → Z, LHH
(d) Argument Structures: Φ

The above example is a clear violation of the assumption that “the first stem in a compound does not pass any of its features on to the compound as a whole” (Lieber 1983: 259).

Fig. 5.1 (5)

5.1.3 First stem is an Adjective and the second a Verb

No such combination having an output of Adjective compound is recorded in Sambalpuri.

5.1.4 First stem is an Adverb and the second an Adjective

This variety has both primary and synthetic types but the synthetic type is less productive than the primary type.

![Diagram](image)

\( jhīg \ paātal \) (very thin)

---

(a) Category: Synthetic; Endocentric; Adjective/N
(b) Semantic representation: impatient
(c) Feature Percolation and Head: \( Y \rightarrow Z, \ RHH \)
(d) Argument Structures: Manner Argument of *khaa*

---

(a) Category: Primary; Endocentric; Adjective
(b) Semantic representation: X suggests degree Y
(c) Feature Percolation and Head: \( Y \rightarrow Z, \ RHH \)
(d) Argument Structures: \( \Phi \)
(a) Category: Synthetic; Endocentric; Adjective

(b) Semantic representation: X is the location of *paç*

(c) Feature Percolation and Head: Y → Z, RHH

(d) Argument Structures: Location Argument of *paç*

The *-aa* suffix functions like the participial –ed or –en of English verb that works as an adjective with a $\Phi|_A$ affixation.
(a) Category: Synthetic; Endocentric; Adjective
(b) Semantic representation:
(c) Feature Percolation and Head: Y $\rightarrow$ Z, RHH
(d) Argument Structures: Manner Argument of $dekh$

5.1.5 First stem is an Adverb and the second is a Verb

This combination is non-existent in Sambalpuri. Bauer (1983) gives a few examples with Adjective Verb combination like ‘high rise tower’, ‘quick change artiste’ and claims, referring to Adams (1973) that the Adjectives function as Adverbs in the said examples, but Adverbs as such do not combine with Verbs to form acceptable compounds even in English.

5.1.6 First stem is a Noun and the second an Adjective

This is one of the most productive combinations for compounding in Sambalpuri. There are three distinct varieties of such combinations e.g.

i) both stems are non-derived
ii) second stem is derived
iii) second stem is deverbal
i) Both stems are non-derived:

```
Adj.
maagur guri
    (partially fair-complexioned like the colour of maagur fish)
```

```
N Adj.
maagur   guri
    (a kind of fish)  (fair colour)
```

**Fig. 5.1 (9)**

(a) Category: Primary; Endocentric; Adjective
(b) Semantic representation: ‘Y like an X’
(c) Feature Percolation and Head: Y → Z, RHH
(d) Argument Structures: Φ

ii) Second stem is deverbal:

```
Adj.
aaēkh çāharaa
    (eye-catching/tempting to the eyes)
```

```
N Adj.
    V
    /\    /
  aaēkh       çāhar       aa
   (eyes)      (tempt)     (suffix)
```

**Fig. 5.1 (10)**
5.1.7 Both stems are Nouns

The Adjective compound with NN combination is of four types.

i) Both stems are non-derived:

\[ \text{Adj.} \]
\[ \text{saag sulhaa} \ (\text{like the dried leaves and vegetables}) \]

\[ N_1 \]
\[ N_2 \]

\[ \text{saag} \] \quad \text{sulhaa} \]
\[ (\text{green leaves}) \quad (\text{dried leaves/vegetable}) \]

\textbf{Fig. 5.1 (11)}

(a) Category: Primary; Endocentric; Adjective
(b) Semantic representation: like Y made of X
(c) Feature Percolation and Head: Y \rightarrow Z, RHH
(d) Argument Structures: \Phi
ii) Second stem is deverbal:

\[\text{Adj.} \quad \text{ghar rakh\textsuperscript{aa}} \quad \text{(adept in house-keeping)}\]

\[\text{N} \quad \text{Adj.} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{ghar} \quad \text{rakh} \quad \text{aa}\]

\[\text{(house)} \quad \text{(keep)} \quad \text{(suffix)}\]

\textbf{Fig. 5.1 (12)}

(a) Category: Synthetic; Endocentric; Adjective

(b) Semantic representation: X is the Location of \textit{rakh}

(c) Feature Percolation and Head: Y \rightarrow Z, RHH

(d) Argument Structures: Location Argument of \textit{rakh}

iii) Suffixation outside the compound:

\[\text{Adj.} \quad \text{tēkar gij\textsuperscript{aa}} \quad \text{(angry like a wasp)}\]

\[\text{Adj.} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{tēkar} \quad \text{gij} \quad \text{aa}\]

\[\text{(wasp)} \quad \text{(buttock)} \quad \text{(suffix)}\]

\textbf{Fig. 5.1 (13)}
(a) Category: Primary; Adjective

(b) Semantic representation: Y is like that of X

(c) Feature Percolation and Head: Category feature does not percolate to the output, RHH

(d) Argument Structures: \( \Phi \)

*Fig. 5.1 (14)*

(a) Category: Primary; Endocentric; Adjective

(b) Semantic representation: Y is like that of X

(c) Feature Percolation and Head: Category feature does not percolate to the output, RHH

(d) Argument Structures: \( \Phi \)
5.1.8 First stem is a Noun and the second a Verb

All the compounds of this combination are obviously synthetic as the second stem is a Verb.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Adj.} & \quad \text{kaeljaa phat\textsuperscript{aa}} & \quad \text{(heart-bursting)} \\
\text{N} & \quad \text{V/Adj.} \\
\text{kaeljaa} & \quad \text{phat\textsuperscript{aa}} \\
\quad \text{(heart/liver)} & \quad \text{(torn)}
\end{align*}
\]

**Fig. 5.1 (15)**

(a) Category: Synthetic; Endocentric; Adjective

(b) Semantic representation: X is the patient

(c) Feature Percolation and Head: Y \(\rightarrow\) Z, RHH

(d) Argument Structures: Patient Argument of **phat\textsuperscript{aa}

The second stem having the \(-\text{aa}\) suffix inherent in it, functions as the equivalent of English \(-\text{ed}, -\text{en}\) participle, automatically qualify for an Adjectivalization of the stem, hence the feature [+ADJECTIVE] percolates onto the apex node i.e. the whole compound. However, the second stem remains as Verb for all semantic purposes. Since most of the \(\text{dhaatu}\) or verb roots in Indian languages do not have a surface realization without the help of suffixes either Inflectional or Derivational, or without a second
supplementary verb as they do not appear as such (it has been discussed earlier in § 4.4 as dual verbs). Therefore, even with the attachment of ~aa suffix in them, it looks befitting to treat them as verbs.

5.1.9 First stem is a Verb and the second an Adjective

\[
\text{Adj.} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{jaan beʈəa} \quad (\text{knowingly unknown/stupid}) \\
V \quad \text{Adj.} \\
\text{jaan} (\text{know}) \quad \text{beʈəa} (\text{foolish})
\end{array}
\]

Fig. 5.1 (16)

(a) Category: Synthetic; Endocentric; Adjective
(b) Semantic representation: X is the manner
(c) Feature Percolation and Head: Y \(\rightarrow\) Z, RHH
(d) Argument Structures: Manner Argument of jaan

\[
\text{Adj.} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{beɕi khiaa} \quad (\text{the condition of living selling the possessed goods – being unable to earn}) \\
\{V/N\} \quad \text{Adj.} \\
\text{beɕi} \quad \text{kh(aa)} \quad \text{iaa} \quad (\text{suffix})
\end{array}
\]

Fig. 5.1 (17)
(a) Category: Synthetic; Endocentric; Adjective
(b) Semantic representation: X is the manner
(c) Feature Percolation and Head: Y \rightarrow Z, RHH
(d) Argument Structures: Manner Argument of **khaa**

5.1.10 First stem is a Verb and the second a Noun

No such combination, which forms Adjective compound, could be recorded.

5.1.11 Both stems are Verbs

This is not a possible combination to form Adjective compounds.
5.2 Adverb Compounds

The Adverb Compounds in Sambalpuri have the following combinations: AAv, AvA, NA, NAv, NV and VN.

5.2.1 First stem is an Adjective and the second an Adverb

(a) Category: Primary; Endocentric; Adverb [+TIME]
(b) Semantic representation: X has the feature of [-LITERAL]
(c) Feature Percolation and Head: Y → Z, RHH
(d) Argument Structures: Φ
5.2.2 First stem is an Adverb and the second an Adjective

\[ \text{Adv.} \]
\[ \text{aakhir\$ sari} \quad \text{(being in the ultimate/dire condition)} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{Adv.} \\
\text{sari} \\
\text{(condition)}
\end{array} \]
\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{aakhir} \\
\text{(ultimate)}
\end{array} \]

Fig. 5.2 (2)

(a) Category: Primary; Endocentric; Adverb
(b) Semantic representation: X explains Y
(c) Feature Percolation and Head: Y \( \rightarrow \) Z except the category feature, RHH
(d) Argument Structures: \( \Phi \)

5.2.3 First stem is a Noun and the second an Adjective

\[ \text{Adv.} \]
\[ \text{mudi ash(aa)dh Iiaa} \quad \text{(month-end of aashaadh)} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{N} \\
\text{Adj.}
\end{array} \]
\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{mudi} \\
\text{(end)}
\end{array} \]
\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{ash(aa)dh} \\
\text{(Indian month)}
\end{array} \]
\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{iiaa} \\
\text{(suffix)}
\end{array} \]

Fig. 5.2 (3)
(a) Category: Primary; Endocentric; Adverb
(b) Semantic representation: X specifies the time reference of Y
(c) Feature Percolation and Head: $Y \rightarrow Z$ except the category feature, RHH
(d) Argument Structures: $\Phi$

\[
\text{Adv.} \\
\text{a}d\text{a}a \text{ bas}a\text{a} \\
\text{N} \quad \text{Adj.} \quad \text{V} \\
\text{a}d\text{a}a \quad \text{bas} \quad \text{aa} \\
\text{(bamboo pole)} \quad \text{(sit)} \quad \text{(suffix)}
\]

(in an odd condition, as if being pressed with a bamboo shaft)

---

(a) Category: Synthetic; Endocentric; Adverb
(b) Semantic representation: X is the manner
(c) Feature Percolation and Head: $Y \rightarrow Z$ except the category feature, RHH
(d) Argument Structures: Manner/Instrumental Argument of bas
5.2.4 First stem is a Noun and the second an Adverb

Adv. 
*bel sariaa*  
(towards the end of a period)

Fig. 5.2 (5)

(a) Category: Synthetic; Endocentric; Adverb

(b) Semantic representation: ‘towards the end of a period’

(c) Feature Percolation and Head: Y \( \rightarrow \) Z, RHH

(d) Argument Structures: Bebefactive Argument of *sar*

Adv. 
*bhakaa chaadnu*

Fig. 5.2 (6)
(a) Category: Synthetic; Endocentric; Adverb
(b) Semantic representation: X is the manner
(c) Feature Percolation and Head: Y \rightarrow Z, RHH
(d) Argument Structures: Manner Argument of \textit{chaad}

5.2.5 First stem is a Noun and the second a Verb

```
Adv./Adj. 
    pet bhar 
        N 
        pet (stomach) 
        V 
        bhar (fill) 

Fig. 5.2 (7)
```

(a) Category: Synthetic; Endocentric; Adverb/Adjective
(b) Semantic representation: X is the location
(c) Feature Percolation and Head: Y \rightarrow Z except the category feature, RHH
(d) Argument Structures: Location Argument of \textit{bhar}
5.2.6 First stem is a Verb and the second a Noun

\[
\text{Adv.} \\
\text{bhar pet} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{N} \\
\text{bhar} \\
\text{(fill)} \\
\text{pef} \\
\text{(stomach)}
\]

(a) Category: Synthetic; Endocentric; Adverb
(b) Semantic representation: Y is the location
(c) Feature Percolation and Head: \( X \rightarrow Z \) except the category feature, LHH
(d) Argument Structures: Y is the Location Argument of \textit{bhar}

5.2.7 First stem is a Verb and the second an Adverb

This combination is not possible in Sambalpuri.
5.3 Noun Compounds

Noun Compounds are the most productive variety in most of the Indian languages. For such compounds in Sambalpuri, the following combinations are recorded: AA, AN, NA, NN and VN.

5.3.1 Both stems are Adjective

\[ \text{debri çādi} \]  
(a lefty – especially a woman)

![Diagram](image)

Fig. 5.3 (1)

(a) Category: Primary; Exocentric; Noun
(b) Semantic representation: Y is like the X (lefty)
(c) Feature Percolation and Head: Y \( \rightarrow \) Z, except the category feature RHH
(d) Argument Structures: Φ
aedhkaa çüdaa (excessively talkative)

Fig. 5.3 (2)
(a) Category: Primary; Endocentric; Noun
(b) Semantic representation: X explains Y
(c) Feature Percolation and Head: Y → Z, except the category feature RHH
(d) Argument Structures: Φ

5.3.2 First stem is an Adjective and the second a Noun

This combination pattern is one of the most productive varieties in Sambalpuri. The productivity scale is so high that it can be termed as completely productive because any Adjective derived or non-derived or deverbal can be combined with any Noun which is in some way semantically related.
(a) Category: Primary; Endocentric; Noun
(b) Semantic representation: Y is X (fair)
(c) Feature Percolation and Head: Y → Z, RHH
(d) Argument Structures: Φ

**Fig. 5.3 (4)**

**Fig. 5.3 (5)**
(a) Category: Primary; Endocentric; Noun
(b) Semantic representation: Y acts like X (like a dancer)
(c) Feature Percolation and Head: Y \( \rightarrow \) Z, RHH
(d) Argument Structures: \( \Phi \)

\[ \text{Fig. 5.3 (6)} \]

(a) Category: Synthetic; Endocentric; Noun
(b) Semantic representation: Y is for X-ing (walking)
(c) Feature Percolation and Head: Y \( \rightarrow \) Z, RHH
(d) Argument Structures: Benefactive/Instrumental Argument of \( çaal \)
5.3.3 First stem is an Adverb and the second a Noun

\[ \text{dekh} \quad \text{an} \quad \text{s\=ad(a)r} \quad i \]
\[ \text{(see)} \quad \text{(suffix)} \quad \text{(beautiful)} \quad \text{(suffix)} \]

Fig. 5.3 (7)

(a) Category: Synthetic; Endocentric; Noun
(b) Semantic representation: Y but to X (only to see)
(c) Feature Percolation and Head: Y \( \rightarrow \) Z, RHH
(d) Argument Structures: Manner Argument of \text{dekh}

5.3.4 First stem is a Noun and the second an Adjective

\[ \text{huliaa} \quad \text{taait} \]
\[ \text{(appearance)} \quad \text{[+ENGLISH]} \]

Fig. 5.3 (8)
(a) Category: Primary; Endocentric; Noun
(b) Semantic representation: X is Y (tight)
(c) Feature Percolation and Head: X → Z, LHH
(d) Argument Structures: \( \Phi \)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
N \\
mǔh phesk\text{aa} \\
\text{N} \\
mǔh \\
(\text{face}) \\
\text{V} \\
\text{phesk} \\
(\text{sour}) \\
\text{adj./N} \\
\text{aa} \\
(\text{suffix})
\end{array}
\]

Fig. 5.3 (9)

(a) Category: Synthetic; Endocentric; Noun
(b) Semantic representation: X is Y-ed (sour)
(c) Feature Percolation and Head: Y → Z, RHH
(d) Argument Structures: Locative Argument of \textit{phesk}

5.3.5 Both stems are Nouns

Noun Compound, both stems of which are nouns is the most productive sort of all the combination varieties.
Fig. 5.3 (10)

(a) Category: Primary; Endocentric; Noun
(b) Semantic representation: Y extracted from X
(c) Feature Percolation and Head: Y \rightarrow Z, RHH
(d) Argument Structures: $\Phi$

Fig. 5.3 (11)

(a) Category: Primary; Endocentric; Noun
(b) Semantic representation: Y extracted from X
(c) Feature Percolation and Head: Y \rightarrow Z, RHH
(d) Argument Structures: $\Phi$
Within this category, Bauer's (1983) speaks of (giving English examples) two more varieties, viz. i) an NN combination having the first as a proper noun, ii) having both as common nouns.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
N \\
mahaanadi paaen \quad \text{(water from the Mahanadi)} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
N \\
mahaanadi \\
paaen \\
\end{array}
\]

(name of a river) \quad (water)

Fig. 5.3 (12)

The example in Fig. 5.3 (10) fits in the (ii) category i.e. of a combination of two common nouns.
5.3.6 First stem is a Noun and the second a Verb

This combination seems to be blocked off as a Noun Compound because the output of such combination results in the formation of an Adjective Compound.

5.3.7 First stem is a Verb and the second a Noun

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{N} \\
daa \, \text{bethi} \\
\text{V} \quad \text{N} \\
daa \quad \text{bethi} \\
\text{(reap)} \quad \text{(bonded labour)}
\end{array}
\]

Fig. 5.3 (13)

(a) Category: Synthetic; Endocentric; Noun
(b) Semantic representation: Y for X-ing (reaping of crops)
(c) Feature Percolation and Head: Y $\rightarrow$ Z, RHH
(d) Argument Structures: Agentive Argument of daa

5.3.8 Both stems are Verbs

The VV combination to form a Noun Compound is possible only when it is used as in lexical reduplication. The second stem has to be
either semantically opposite of the first stem or semantically synonymous to the first stem e.g. *bas uth* (sit stand) or *ṭhāṭ ḍauḍ* (run run) etc.

![Diagram](image)

**Fig. 5.3 (14)**

(a) Category: Synthetic; Endocentric; Noun

(b) Semantic representation: the act of X-ing and Y-ing

(c) Feature Percolation and Head: both X and Y are Heads, there is no category feature percolation

(d) Argument Structures: Internal Argument outside the compound
5.4 Verb Compounds

Verb Compounds are those that are syntactically used as verbs. In Sambalpuri, the possible combinations recorded for such compounds are AV, NN and NV. Since verbs in Sambalpuri usually do not have a surface 'infinite' form, and they change according to tense, case and person markers, the morpheme *baar* is added, for that is the most common form to suggest a verb form and that is written within {} to suggest that such verbs may have a different phonological realization in syntactic use due to the attachment of inflectional suffixes, mood, case and tense markers.

5.4.1 First stem is an Adjective and the second a Noun

This is an impossible combination in Sambalpuri.

5.4.2 First stem is an Adjective and the second a Verb

\[
V \\
\text{khaali puraa} \{ \text{baar} \} \text{ (to fill the empty portion)}
\]

\[
\text{Adj.} \\
khaali \text{ (empty)} \\
puraa} \{ \text{baar} \} \text{ (fill)}
\]

Fig. 5.4 (1)
5.4.3 Both stems are Nouns

\[ V \]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
magar \leftarrow leuf \\
N_1 & N_2 \\
\text{magar} & \text{leuf} \\
(\text{crocodile}) & (\text{turn})
\end{array}
\]

Fig. 5.4 (2)

(a) Category: Primary; Endocentric; Verb
(b) Semantic representation: Y-ing like an X
(c) Feature Percolation and Head: Y \(\rightarrow\) Z, RHH
(d) Argument Structures: \(\Phi\)

It may be noted that like many verbs that depend on another supplementary verb (from among the limited set of verbs like \textit{de, aan, ne} etc. of dual verb category) for their surface realization, discussed in § 4.4, the NN Verb Compound too depends on one of such verbs. So \textit{delaa}, the
‘filler verb’ is used in compound construction like magar-leuf delaa as well as in plain verb use like aani delaa.

5.4.4 First stem is a Noun and the second a Verb

This combination is very much productive in Sambalpuri. An important aspect of Sambalpuri NV Verb Compound is that one particular noun stem combines with a number of verb stems, and one particular verb stem combines with a number of noun stems to form different compounds.

Fig. 5.4 (3)

(a) Category: Synthetic; Endocentric; Verb
(b) Semantic representation: Y-ing to the X
(c) Feature Percolation and Head: Y -> Z, RHH
(d) Argument Structures: Locative/Instrumental Argument of çāharaa{baar}
The noun stem *aaēkh* can be combined with many other verb stems such as *dekhaa{baar}, dhar{baar}, kar{baar}, maar{baar}, mitkaa{baar}, muj{baar}, pharki{baar}, rakh{baar} and thar{baar} etc.

![Diagram](attachment:diagram.png)

**(a)** Category: Synthetic; Endocentric; Verb  
**(b)** Semantic representation: Y-ing of X  
**(c)** Feature Percolation and Head: Y → Z, RHH  
**(d)** Argument Structures: Locative Argument of *bas{baar}*

The verb stem *bas{baar}* may be combined with many other noun stems such as *adngi, dahi, ghare, ghi, godhaat, makara, mita, pūji, and rādhaa* etc.
5.4.5 First stem is a Verb and the second a Noun

This is not a possible combination for compound formation in Sambalpuri.

5.4.6 Both stems are Verbs

This combination is possible for Sambalpuri compound formation only in serial verb construction discussed earlier in § 4.4 and in reduplicated construction discussed later in § 6.1.2 (3) (g).
5.5 Exocentric Compounds

Compounds with the presence of a head, which can be semantically decomposed, are known as the Endocentric variety. When neither of the stems in a compound allows semantic decomposition, such a compound is grouped under the Exocentric variety. The latter variety is always less productive than the former one. The output of such compounding process, whenever it occurs, is always a Noun Compound. A couple of frequently used Exocentric compounds are given below.

*baagh-dhaar*,* qaatar-khiaa,* *dai-gudiaa*

---

**baagh dhaar** (an exceptionally mischievous/wicked person)

```
  N
 /\    /
|baagh|dhaar|
|     |
```

- **baagh** (tiger)
- **dhaar** (catch)
- **aa** (suffix)

**Fig. 5.5 (1)**

(a) Category: Synthetic; Exocentric; Noun
(b) Semantic representation: X (catch) a person
(c) Feature Percolation and Head: non of the stems are head, Y \(\rightarrow\) Z
(d) Argument Structures: Patient Argument of *dhaar*
5.6 Appositional Compounds

Bauer (1983) describes Appositional Compounds as those in which the first element is marked by the sex of the person. Sambalpuri does also have such compounds though a few in number. They are Noun Compounds.

- **maaekinaa daaktar** (lady doctor)
- **maaejhi pian** (woman peon)
- **tukel såag** (girl friend)
These compounds are guided by certain constraints. In *maaekinaa daakṣar*, the use of a sex specification constituent becomes necessary because the feminine form *daakṣor-en* can also refer to the ‘wife of a doctor’ and not necessarily a ‘lady doctor’. Similarly in *maaejhi pian*, the constraint is phonological as the gender-changing suffix ~*en* or ~*ien* does not fit into the acceptable phonological combination with *pian*.

### 5.7 Dvandva Compounds

Though in the English language, it is not that productive as only the business mergers result in a Dvandva compound, Sambalpuri seems to be quite productive in this process of compounding.

- *baap-po* (father and son), *bar-kaniāa* (bridegroom and bride),
- *bhaat-daael* (rice and curry), *din-raaet* (day and night),
- *dūkh-sukh* (pain and pleasure), *gaea-ḍaamur* (cow and calf),
- *ghaetaa-maaepo* (husband and wife), *goṛ-haat* (leg and and),
- *jhuri-shikaar* (fish and meat), *khaṭ-pirhaa* (cot and xx),
- *pilaa-tukel* (boy and girl), *sāap-kāṭlaa* (snake and scorpion),
- *thir-paaen* (watered-rice and water)

English does not allow the combination of these noun constituents without an ‘and’; hence, the Dvandva compounding is
prohibited, whereas in Sambalpuri, like in many other Indian languages, such combination does not require a conjunction marker.

5.8 Rhyme and Ablaut motivated Compounds

Since the rhyme and ablaut motivated compounding processes end in reduplicated constructions, they have been dealt with in § 6.1 in detail.

5.9 Compounds with Three Stems

Compounds having three constituent stems are not rare in Sambalpuri. However, all such compounds have a common and predictable structure. The output is always a Noun Compound. The first and the last elements are always Nouns and the middle element always an Adjective. The middle stem can be of any of the following type, e.g. a derived, a deverbal or a non-derived Adjective. In certain three-stem-compounds, the first stem may be a numerical adjective or a cardinal number. An example from each type is given below.
1. Middle Stem is derived:

\[ \text{çer-muliaa-usho} \]  

(medicine of roots and herbs)

(herb) (root) (suffix) (medicine)  

Fig. 5.5 (3)

2. Middle Stem is deverbal:

\[ \text{thir-piaa-bel} \]  

(time to take \textit{thir} – afternoon)

(watered rice) (drink) (suffix) (time)  

Fig. 5.5 (4)
3. Middle Stem is non-derived:

\[ \text{naed-khādi-ghar} \]

N Adj. N

\( \begin{align*}
\text{naed} & \quad \text{khādi} & \quad \text{ghar} \\
(\text{river}) & \quad (\text{bank}) & \quad (\text{house}) \\
\text{saḍak} & \quad \text{ṭaraa} & \quad \text{ḍuli} \\
(\text{road}) & \quad (\text{side}) & \quad (\text{land for cultivation})
\end{align*} \]

(a house at the river-bank)
(a road-side piece of land)
(land for cultivation)

Fig. 5.5 (5)