6.1 Reduplication

Reduplication is a process of repetition of lexical items that result in some sort of semantic modification. It may be partial or complete. The repeated items may or may not be a lexical item or a constituent of a lexical item. But they acquire the lexical status after undergoing the process of reduplication. The process of Reduplication, according to McCarthy (1979) and Lieber (1980), is the morphological transformations that form words by permuting the vowel and/or consonant of a string by reversing the order of the segment, by deleting, by adding or simply by repeating the segments. As per Abbi's (1992) classification, as schematized below (Fig. 6.1 (1)). Reduplication can be either Morphological Reduplication or Lexical Reduplication.

![Diagram](Fig. 6.1 (1))
6.1.1 Morphological Reduplication

In Morphological Reduplication, the minimally meaningful and segmentally indivisible morphemes are constituted of iterated syllables. The base and the iterated part jointly constitute a morpheme as well as a lexeme. The entire reduplicated structure stands for a given meaning without allowing any morphological cut within. Sambalpuri has an abundance of such construction. For example:

- *bej bej* (full of pus);
- *bar bar* (murmur);
- *bejer bejer* (useless talking);
- *kūṭhal kūṭhal* (plenty);
- *bah bah* (fervent);
- *maam maam* (intake) etc.

- *kuhaa kuhi* (consultation);
- *muhāa muhī* (face-to-face) etc.

Abbi (1992) seems to claim it as the complete reduplication type, but data in Sambalpuri shows the presence of partial types too. Morphological Reduplication has many varieties of construction that are grouped under the name ‘Expressives’. The following are the types included in Abbi (1992); the examples are, however, from Sambalpuri:

1. Acoustic Noises:
   (a) Animal noises:

   - *bho bho* (of dogs);
   - *mē mē* (of goats);
   - *hāaū hāaū* (of tigers) etc.
(b) Noises of natural phenomena:

- *tup tup* (raindrop);
- *rajho rajho* (downpour);
- *ghad ghad* (thunder)

(c) Noises made by humans:

- *he he* (disturbing laughter);
- *phe phe* (unpalatable laughter);
- *khi khi* (laughter);
- *ghaḍ ghaḍ* (asthmatic breath);
- *gā gā* (death snort);
- *gha ḡa ḡa* (snore);
- *čaaō čaaō* (baby’s cry);
- *ḍhā ḡhā* (fart);
- *bhē bhē* (child’s cry) etc.

2. Noises made by miscellaneous inanimate objects:

- *ḍham ḍham* (drum);
- *rē rē* (cart);
- *ṭhin ṭhin* (bell);
- *raae raaē* (metal bowl);
- *ḍaaē ḍaaē* (Gong) etc.

3. Sense of Sight: they normally refer to the flickering, glimmering, or shimmering aspects of an object e.g.

- *čak čak* (glaze; lightening);
- *jak jak* (glimmering);
- *jul jul* (shimmering);
- *miṭ miṭ* (flickering) etc.

4. Sense of Touch: some expressives of this type indicate the ‘feel of’ or the touch of those indicating the sound e.g.

- *će cće* (cold);
- *sar sar* (moving sensation);
- *haao haao* (hot);
- *baḍ baḍ* (soft) etc.

5. Sense of Smell: this type often indicates bad or good smell e.g.

- *mah mah* (good);
- *čhi čhi* (bad);
- *guh guh* (filthy);
- *puḍaa puḍaa* (burning smell) etc.
6. Sense of Taste:

*las las* (soft); *kurum kurum* (crunchy); *mas mas* (savoury);

*pitaapita* (bitter); *raaagraag* (hot) etc.

Though the words mentioned above are only a few instances of perceptual sensory words, there are a large number of expressives in Sambalpuri relating to feelings, situations, attributes, manner and state of action. In fact, Sambalpuri is a rich storehouse of such expressions, the study of which can be taken up separately by future researchers. However, the present study will consider them in broad outlines.

6.1.2 Lexical Reduplication

Lexical Reduplication refers to the repetition of two identical (bimodal) words. It is considered complete when the base is exactly repeated e.g.

*kudei kudei* (running running); *kahun kahun* (speaking speaking)

and partial if the second element is not an exact repetition of the first as in

*bhatbhaat* (dropping etc.); *thikthaak* (right etc.);

*paaean paban* (rainstorm)

(1) Echo Formation:

This seems to have some language specific features because the kinds of *consonant* or *vowel* changes in the iterated words are usually
unique to a given language. In Sambalpuri, highly productive echo formation reduplication is used as follows:

(a)

i) \textit{ga\c c\i}h \textit{gu\c c\i}h\texttt{aa} (tree etc.); \textit{ph\i}l \textit{ph\u}l\texttt{aa} (fruits etc.);

\textit{kalam} \textit{kul\i}m\texttt{aa} (pen etc.); \textit{gh\u\i}di \textit{ghu\u\i}\texttt{aa} (watch etc.)

ii) \textit{ka\a m} \textit{k\u m\a a} (work etc.); \textit{\u d\u an} \textit{\u d\u n\a a} (offering etc.);

\textit{\u d\u ha\u an} \textit{\d h\u n\u an\a a} (paddy etc.); \textit{gaa\e} \textit{g\u u\a a} (cattle etc.);

\textit{\c c\a\u\l \c u\a\l\a a} (rice etc.)

iii) \textit{ka\a m} \textit{k\u m\i} (work etc.); \textit{\u d\u an} \textit{\u d\u n\i} (offering etc.);

\textit{\u d\u ha\u an} \textit{\d h\u n\u i} (paddy etc.); \textit{gaa\e} \textit{g\u i} (cattle etc.);

\textit{\c c\a\u\l \c u\a\l\i} (rice etc.) etc.

iv) \textit{g\i l\i a\a s} \textit{g\u l\i s\i} (glass etc.); \textit{\s h\i s\a a} \textit{\s h\u s\i} (pencil etc.);

\textit{t\i p\i a\a} \textit{t\u p\i} (sewing etc.); \textit{\l\i p\i a\a} \textit{\l\u p\i} (mop up etc.) etc.

v) \textit{\p e\i} \textit{\p e\i t\a a\a a} (trousers etc.); \textit{\p e\h n} \textit{\p h\u n\a a} (fan etc.);

\textit{t\u p\a a\a} \textit{t\u p\i} (cane container etc.) etc.
The Echo formation in Sambalpuri is achieved by the following morphological rules:

Rule 1:  Whatever is the vowel of the first syllable of the first element of the reduplication, the first syllable of the repeated element must be a /u/.

\[ [a], [aa], [e], [i], [o], [u] \rightarrow [u] \]

Examples are given in (a) above.

Rule 2:  The vowel of the final syllable of the repeated element may be either [aa] or [i].

Rule 3:  If the vowel of the final syllable is [aa] or [i], they interchange position between the two elements.

Rule 4:  The initial syllable is replaced by changing the consonant or both consonant and vowel.

Examples are given in (b) above.

(b)

i)  *sorgor* (rememberance etc.); *het çet* (consciousness etc.);

*letaa gutaa* (kinfolk etc.); *ulţaa suľaa* (messy etc.) etc.
6.1.3 Reduplicated Compound Formation

The reduplicated Compounds are paired constructions in which the second words are not repetitions of the first but do bear some kind of relationship, semantic or otherwise, to the first. The semantic relation between the two elements of the compound may range from near synonyms to polar opposites. It may often result in a semantic drift. For Sambalpuri, there are at least three distinct kinds of relationship observed between the first and the second elements of reduplicated Compounds.

(a) The second element is an opposite either in action or in type or in meaning:

- **aae bae** (earnings–expenses);
- **aanaa jaanaa** (coming–going);
- **jibaar aaebaar** (going–coming);
- **den len** (giving–taking);
- **phiklaa ùâlaa** (flung–picked);
- **ghinaa biçaai/ghinaa bikaa** (buy–sell) etc.
- **bar kaniâa** (bridegroom–bride);
- **deshi bîgeshi** (indigenous–foreign);
- **pilaa tukel** (boy–girl) etc.
- **bhaîaa bhîtar** (outside–inside);
- **kam beshi** (little–more);
- **ãt agal** (short–profuse);
- **anaa niaa** (bring–take) etc.
(b) The second element is semantically related to the first element in some respect or other, usually the first action leads to the second:

*bāṭhaa kuṭaā* (separated–thrashed);

*cāṭhaa pučhaā* (chiselled–wiped) etc.

(c) The second element is semantically identical to the first one either in action or in type or in meaning (exact or a near synonym):

*caabri āapri* (biting–scratching)

*jākkaa pelhaa* (ram–press on)

*kūṭhaa paḍaa* (falter–fart) etc.

*lāḍaa teēgdaa* (stack–pile) etc.

*be trava ghaḍī* (time–period)

*bījli čaḍak* (lightning–lightning fall)

*khasi bukaa* (castrated he goat–she goat)

*iṭhi ṭaahī* (here–there)

*kaaḍo malī* (mud–dirt) etc.

*dar bhay* (fear–fright); *dhukaa garel* (wind–storm);

*dhīḍaa muddaa* (lump–chunk);

*bāl baphu* (strength–vigour) *urghaa baṭhaa* (ache–pain) etc.
6.1.4 Word Reduplication

This is the kind of reduplication where the first word is just repeated, thereby bringing in a new semantic realization. Mostly it is complete but it may be of discontinuous type with an inter-fixation, e.g. inserting *ke* between repetitions.

*ghar ke ghar* (each and every house)
house to house

*gāa ke gāa* (each and every village)
village to village

*mul ke mul* (without profit/capital recovered)
capital-money to capital-money

Reduplicated constructions can be organized into seven groups, four of them having a number of subgroups based on their semantic features as schematized below (Fig. 6.1 (2) to 6.1 (6))

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal Adverbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adverbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominal Modifiers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjective Intensifiers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronominals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

Fig. 6.1 (2)
(a) Verbal Adverbs: It may be grouped under the most productive processes of word formation because nearly all Verbs, irrespective of the semantic dimensions, can be reduplicated in Sambalpuri to form Adverbs.

(i) Suggesting Simultaneity:

\[\text{kadaa paan khaaun khaaun mud kidraalaan}\]

tobaccoed-betel eating eating head reel [+PAST]

X’s head started reeling as soon as he started eating tobaccoed betel.

\[\text{kahun kahun kaadzi pakaalaan}\]

speaking speaking weep [+PAST]

X wept as soon as he/she started speaking.

\[\text{kaadzi kaadi nardu thilaa}\]

weeping weeping run [+PAST][+CONT]

X was weeping while running.

(ii) Simultaneity with two agents:

\[\text{dekhun dekhun padgi malaa}\]

seeing seeing fall die [-LITERAL][+PAST]

X fell down while (we) were watching.

\[\text{raaadhun raaadhun palaalaa}\]

cooking cooking leave [+PAST]

While X was cooking, Y left.
**kahun kahun aaelaa**
telling telling arrive [+PAST]
While X was speaking (of) Y, Y arrived.
As soon as X was told he/she arrived.

(iii) Durative:

*paan beći beći buğhaa heigala*
betel sell sell [+INFINITE] old become [+PAST][PERFECT]
X has become old selling betels.

*giit gaai gaai buğhaa helaan*
song sing sing [+INFINITE] old become [+PERFECT]
He has become old singing songs.

*dhaaai dhaaai mari jibu*
running running dead go [-LITERAL]
(One) becomes dead-like/tired of running.

(iv) Continuative:

*bhaasan shuni shuni jhumri pađbu*
speech listen listen drowse become [+FUTURE][+SUGGESTION]
(You) got tired of listening speeches.

*rađi rađi tāṭi ążukhaalaa*
shouting shouting throat pain [+PAST]
X’s throat soared because of shouting.

(v) Iterative:

\textit{taaki taaki bi\textbf{\textit{cho}} hei gali}

wait wait [+INFINITE] irritated become [+PAST]

I got tired of waiting.

(vi) Non-precipitative:

\textit{pa\textbf{\textit{g}}un pa\textbf{\textit{g}}un b\textbf{\textit{a}}aci gala}

fall fall save go [+PAST]

X was about to fall but did not.

\textit{maarun maarun a\textbf{\textit{t}}ki gala}

thrashing thrashing withdraw [+PAST]

X held back while thrashing.

(b) Adverbs: This is a complete type of Reduplication and is one of the
most productive kinds so far as its use as Verbs.

(i) Manner:

\textit{bharko bharko jibu}

quick quick go [+FUTURE]

Go hastily.

\textit{taa\textbf{\textit{a}}} taa\textbf{\textit{a}} k\textbf{\textit{a}}\textbf{\textit{tha}}a ka\textbf{\textit{a}}\textbf{\textit{h}}esi}
He speaks without hesitation.

_trickle trickle water drop [+PRESENT][+CONTINUOUS]_

Water is trickling.

(ii) Location:

_rucksack lower lower pebbles and upper upper paddy is_

There are pebbles in the lower and paddy in the upper portion of the sack.

_top top cream sit/formed [-LITERAL]_

There is cream on top.

_r Road middle middle not walk [+SUGGESTION]_

It is not proper to walk in the middle of the road.

(iii) Time:

_drama middle middle light go [+PAST]_

Light went off repeatedly in the middle of the play.

_maas maas bhutaa laagiche_
Work has been going on for months.

belhu belhu kabaar saar
early early work finish [+COMMAND]
Finish work early.

(c) Nominal Modifiers:
(i) Size and Shape: This formation in Sambalpuri is possible only to mean plural nominals even if the nominals do not have plural markers.

bad bad ghar (big big houses)
picu picu phal (small small fruits)
lam lam rasi (long long ropes)
{
ho do ho do akhyar (large large letters/handwriting)
ceptaa ceptaa phal (flat flat fruits)

(ii) Colour:
laal laal phul (red red flowers)
{
hob hob kurtaa (white white shirts)
paarraa paarraa paaraa (white white pigeons)

(iii) Quality:
bhal bhal kaam (good good work)
sudar sudar gaal (beautiful beautiful cheeks)
parčhaa parčhaa kaṭhaa (frank frank talk)

(iv) Modifier of abstract nominals:

cūraa cūraa cāhni (conceal conceal look)
aaēsiaa aaēsiaa baush (meat-like meat-like smell)

(v) Taste:
khaaruaa khaaruaa paean (hard water)
kurum kurum bhajaa (crunchy crunchy fry-up)
miṭhaa miṭhaa aam (sweet sweet mango)

(vi) Comparative: An inherent constraint of it is that it is possible only with plurals.

yor jhi maankarnu gaar jhimaan kaali kaali
your daughters from her/his daughters black black
Her/his daughter are blacker than your daughters.

(vii) Numerals:

dui dui lok
two two persons
two persons together
cāar cāar tāka
four four rupees
four rupees each.

\textit{\textit{čha čha mahalaa ghar}}
six six storeyed house
six storeyed house

(d) Nouns:
(i) Distributive:

\textit{ghar ghar buli bhik māagsi}
house house moving alms beg [+HABITUAL]
X begs alms from door to door.

\textit{dūkaan dūkaan jaaikari ḍaam pačraasan?}
shop shop going price ask [+INTEROGATIVE]
X goes enquiring the prices from shop to shop.

\textit{jaagaa jaagaa bas ajkisi}
place place bus stop [+HABITUAL]
The bus stops in places.

(ii) Emphasis (abstracts):

\textit{maajun maajun khuri bhāagi galaa}
cleaning cleaning utensil break [+PAST]
The utensil got broken while cleaning.

\textit{khiaale khiaale jakham hei galaa}
joking joking injury happen [+PAST]
While joking X got (himself/herself) injured.

*hasun hasun safki galaa*

laughing laughing stuck [+PAST]
While laughing X choked.

(iii) Exclusive:

*majejhi majejhi alge basa*

ladies ladies separate sit [+SUGGESTION]
The women folk, sit separately.

*buñhaa buñhaa gapu thisan*

old old gossip [+PRESENT][+PERFECT]
The old people keep gossiping.

*nakli nakli phirei ëmëaa*

fake fake return [+FUTURE]
(We) shall return the fake ones.

(iv) Time:

*ghajdi ghaajdi pilaa kaaajsi*

hour hour child cry [+HABITUAL][+IMPERFECT]
The child cries for hours.

*minit minit ke muji jauesu*

minit minit every urinate go [+IMPERFECT]
(You) go (for) urinating every few minutes.

maas maas kaam karlina

month month work do [+PERFECT]

(I) have worked for months.

(e) Adjective Intensifiers:

aamil çur çur (too sour); laal jar jar (too red); çē paṭ paṭ (too cool);

dhob phir phir (too white)

(f) Pronominals: This is the most productive variety because all Pronominals in Sambalpuri can be reduplicated except a few constraints such as when they are used as Objects e.g.

se mate naaĩ delaa (mate cannot be reduplicated)

he me not give [+PAST]

He did not give to me.

ţui ţaar kalam aaničhu (ţaar cannot be reduplicated)

you his pen bring [+INTEROGATIVE] [+PERFECT]

Have you brought his pen?

(g) Verbs: Verbs to mean order, request, suggest, threaten etc., which can be executable, can also be reduplicated.

çel çel (go go); jaa jaa (go go) dekh dekh (see see) padh padh (read read)
*kar kar (do do) rah rah (wait wait) sun sun (hear hear)*

Besides the above observations made under Abbi’s model, a few other points noted during the analysis of data collected for Reduplication Formation in Sambalpuri are as follows:

The **vowel** changes in partially reduplicated Echo variety have the following patterns (the (+) indicates addition and the (−) indicates deletion):

i. /v/ → /a:/ as in *bhaṭ bhaṭ* (of limited type)

ii. /a:/ → /i/ as in *pila pili* (fairly productive)

iii. /a:/ → /o/ as in *čhaaṭ čhoḍ* (of rare type)

iv. /a:/ → /u/ as in *čhaaḍ čhuḍ* (of a limited type)

v. /i/ → /a:/ as in *phik phaak* (of a limited type)

vi. /u/ → /a:/ as in *thutum thaṭum* (of a limited type)

vii. /e/ → /a:/ as in *cchedo čhaado* (the rarest type)

viii. −/a:/ as in *çakaa çak* (fairly productive)

ix. −/e/ as in *čhaṭe čhaṭ* (of limited type)

x. +/a:/ as in *bag bagaa* (highly productive)

xi. +/aːni/ as in *dar daraani* (rare type)

xii. +/i/ as in *phir phiri* (fairly productive)
The consonant changes are however highly inconsistent.

The above is an analysis of Sambalpuri reduplication in line with Abbi’s (1992) Lexico-Semantic study. But coming back to Lieber’s (1980) framework on the non-affixational morphological processes, she says “Rules of reduplication ... are often triggered by affixes, and in fact, never change the category of a lexical item unless triggered by an affix” (Lieber 1980: 149). In her analysis of Tagalog reduplication, she concludes that

(a) “Reduplication is pervasive in that what appears to be the same formal process appears over and over again in a variety of morphological constructions.

(b) Reduplication cannot be associated with any unique semantic representation.

(c) Rules of reduplication are structure preserving.

(d) Reduplication is triggered by certain affixes and must apply after affixation rather than simultaneous with affixation.

(e) Reduplication does not, by itself, change the category of the base to which it applies.

(f) Reduplication is a strictly local rule.” (Lieber 1980: 174)
Five of the six points of Lieber's conclusion, except (d) fit into the analysis of Sambalpuri reduplication processes. The point in (d) does not seem to apply as neither is the reduplication process triggered by affixes nor affixation precedes reduplication in Sambalpuri. On the contrary, the affixation processes invariably succeed reduplication processes as shown below:

\[ khil \, khil-\text{ei} \, h\text{\textasciitilde}su\text{\textasciitilde}he \]

heartily laugh

(X is laughing heartily)

Adj.

\[ khil \, khil-\text{ei} \]

Adj.

\[ \alpha \quad \alpha \]

\[ khil \quad khil \quad ei \]

(sounds of laughter) (suffix)

Fig. 6.1 (7)
*khal khalaatel palaabaa*

in great speed going

Water is flowing in great speed.

\[
\begin{tikzpicture}
  \node {Adv.}
  \child {node {\textit{khal khalaatel}}}
  \child {node {Adj.}}
  \child {node {$\alpha$}}
  \child {node {$\alpha$}}
  \child {node {\textit{khal}}}
  \child {node {\textit{khalaat}}}
  \child {node {\textit{tel}}}
\end{tikzpicture}
\]

(the noise of flowing water) (suffix)

Fig. 6.1 (8)
6.2 Morphological Conversion in Sambalpuri

Conversion has traditionally been assumed to have zero-affixation, as the conversion process involves no bracketing or affixation. The pair of words involved in the conversion

"would be defined as a relation R such that lexical terminals X and Y satisfy R if and only if they differ only with respect to their category class membership. X and Y would thus have to be phonologically identical and semantically related..." – (Lieber 1980: 126).

The Semantic directionality is shown thus:

\[ R = N \leftrightarrow V \]

Lieber (1980) further says that the ‘affixation analysis’ (Marchand 1969) which supports zero affixation,

"claims that one member of every conversion pair is derived from the other and therefore that one member of each pair must be underlying or basic... the redundancy analysis claims, to the contrary, that neither member of a conversion pair is derived from the other; both members are basic and have entries in the permanent lexicon."

(Lieber 1980: 127)

Though she admits the semantic directionality, she proposes a structurally equal non-directional redundancy rule for conversion.
(a) Given a semantically specified noun X, and a related but semantically under specified verb Y, X must serve as an argument in the interpretation of Y.

\[ \text{paint}_N \rightarrow \text{paint}_V \]  

'cover with paint'

(b) Given a semantically specified verb Y and a related but semantically underspecified noun X, X is interpreted as an instance of Y-ing.

\[ \text{throw}_V \rightarrow \text{throw}_N \]  

'an instance of throwing'

English has plenty of such mono-morphemic conversion pairs. The non-mono-morphemic ones are, however, not phonologically equal or neutral because there is a shift of stress. The conversion pairs derived through a change of phonological cycle seems to falsify the non-directionality of the involved pairs. However, to defend her stance, Lieber (1980) refers to the 'segmental stress assigning rule' (Liberman and Prince 1977) that assigns \ [+\text{STRESS}] \ or \ [-\text{STRESS}] \ features to individual syllables, which is non-directional.

It is important to note that the 'semantic relatedness' of the conversion pairs is a prerequisite as \ [\text{bank}]_N \ with the meaning of 'river-edge' is not a conversion mate of \ [\text{bank}]_V \ relating to monetary transaction, though \ [\text{bank}]_V \ with the meaning of 'financial transaction' is a legitimate conversion mate of \ [\text{bank}]_N. In consideration of this prerequisite, Sambalpuri seems to have a limited number of such conversion pairs, even though there is an abundant stock of pairs, which are phonologically
identical but semantically unrelated, hence they cannot be called conversion pairs. There is a need for research on Sambalpuri conversions in line with Clark and Clark’s (1979) approaches on the semantic operant of the Noun to Verb conversion in English. Following is an analysis of conversion as well as non-conversion pairs of Sambalpuri data.

1. Conversion Pairs:
   i) \([bhali_A] \rightarrow [bhali_N]\)
      \([upari_A] \rightarrow [upari_N]\)
      \([tali_A] \rightarrow [tali_N]\)
   ii) \([bandhaa_N] \rightarrow [bandhaa_A]\)
       \([bunaa_N] \rightarrow [bunaa_A]\)
       \([pilaa_N] \rightarrow [pilaa_A]\)
   iii) \([aaf_N] \rightarrow [aaf_V]\)
       \([aee_N] \rightarrow [aee_V]\)
       \([hal_N] \rightarrow [hal_V]\)
       \([najar_N] \rightarrow [najar_V]\)
   iv) \([aaf_V] \rightarrow [aaf_A]\)
       \([puraa_V] \rightarrow [puraa_A]\)
   v) \([balaa_V] \rightarrow [balaa_N]\)
       \([banaan_V] \rightarrow [banaan_N]\)
       \([kheel_V] \rightarrow [kheel_N]\)
       \([leuf_V] \rightarrow [leuf_N]\)
As shown above, there are five possible varieties of conversion in Sambalpuri:

i) Adj. → Noun

*bhal pilaa bali sine mane naai ghare* – [bhal]_A

good boy because so mind not take

(Being a good boy, (he) does not mind.)

*bhal ke kahele asaar bujhsan* – [bhal]_N

right for tell wrong understand

(The right thing when told is understood wrong.)

**Fig. 6.2 (1)**
This is a clear case of zero affixation in the conversion process.

ii) Noun $\rightarrow$ Adj.

\textit{kapṭaa \textit{bunaa} saelaa na?} $- [\textit{bunaa}]_N$

cloth weaving finish $[+$PERFECT$][+$INTERROGATION$]$  
(Has cloth weaving been finished?)

\textit{bunaa kapṭaa baetar jaaesi} $- [\textit{bunaa}]_A$

woven cloth/saree last $[+$PRESENT$]$ (long)  
(Hand woven clothes/sarees last long.)

![Diagram of bunaa]  

\textbf{Fig. 6.2} (2) \hspace{1cm} \textbf{Fig. 6.2} (3)

The above examples of $[\textit{bunaa}]_N$ and $[\textit{bunaa}]_A$ does seem to be a result of $\Phi$ affixation but $-\text{aa}$ suffixation is responsible for both Adjectivalization as well as Nominalization.
The verb stem [bun] above is also used in another sense i.e. 'to sow', but the same principle of conversion works with that meaning too.

iii) Noun \(\rightarrow\) Verb

\textit{hal dhari dhudaa ke jaa} – \([\text{hal}]_N\)

plough take land to go
(Take the plough and go to the land)

\textit{hal kari jimaa caal khet ke} – \([\text{hal}]_V\)

(to) plough (let) us go [+SUGGESTION] to the land
(Let us go to plough (the land).)

Even though it is also a case of zero affixation, the verb construction, as mentioned earlier in § 4.4, requires a second verb from the limited set of \textit{ge, ne, aan, jaa, kar} etc. for surface realization, which makes use of the first verb as a noun. As such, there may be a difference of opinion as to the categorization of the first element as verb or noun. It has been
maintained through out this project to treat it as verb rather than noun on the ground that it suggests action which cannot be otherwise expressed and since, unlike English, Indian languages do not permit the use of the infinite form like 'to plough', the second verb is used to serve as a filler.

iv) Verb $\Rightarrow$ Adj.

\[\text{tui ii begta puraa} - [\text{puraa}]_V\]

you this bag fill
(You fill this bag.)

\[\text{puraa kaam saaelaa} - [\text{puraa}]_A\]

complete work finish [+PAST][-PASSIVE]
(The complete work is finished)

![Diagram](puraa)

Fig. 6.2 (5)

The verbs involved in this type of conversion correspond to the English passive construction where the verbs presuppose an external agent.
The difference between pur{baar} and puraa{baar} is indicative of this. The V \rightarrow A conversion requires verbs of the second type.

v) Verb \rightarrow Noun

\textit{khelbu jaa} – [khel]\textsubscript{V}
(you) play go
(Go and play)

\textit{khel thi haderle hebaa?}
play in languid will do
(Will it do to languid in play?)

Fig. 6.2 (6)

2. Non-Conversion pairs:

Sambalpuri has an abundance of such phonologically identical but semantically unrelated pairs. From the linguistic point of view, they are independent lexical items and deserve to be individually included in the lexicon along with their categorical and other features, that is why, it is of
little use to analyse them here. However, for the sake of reference by the future scholars only a sample list is given below. They can be used either as the same category but with a different meaning or as a different category with different meaning.

aadi, adaa, aglaa, aktaa, algaa, amri, baaach, baahi, baati, baacha, badi, bahan, basaa, bashaar, bel, bēt, bhāag, bhaataa, bhug, bilei, caabi, caakhi, caap, cari, chaataa, chidaa, chuuta, cuudi, cuubaar, curi, cuut, cuuta, daad, deri, gaali, gaahaa, gahaki, galaa, gali, garaa, gargad, ghaari, guddi, guli, haapri, huri, itaa, jataa, jhuraa, jhuri, kaaaci, kaaqa, kaeti, kahani, kal, kani, kashi, kōt, kатаa, kātaa, kahhaa, kelaa, khaaq, khāati, khudi, khar, khat, khūcaa, khuni, khūtaa, khūti, kuchi, kuhaa, kuṭhi, laag, laal, lechaabaar, muḍ, muḍaa, mul, muṭri, paaci, paadhaa, pakdi, panaa, phāak, phuṭ, pol, puraa, raag, ras, ruaa, sāpaa, sar, siraa, tal, tiaa, tūd, taad, taan, taangi, tikaa, tipi, tirki, tablaa, talei, ukhraa, ulći, uli, uṭhaa and uṭraa.