Sambalpuri Prefixation

Like many other languages, the analyses of Sambalpuri Prefixes do also make confusions because of the resemblance between derivatives and non-derivatives. For example, ‘a’ which is a very productive prefix (discussed in details later) attached to stems usually for indicating negation of some variety or other is also present in non-derivatives like:

‘a’ in a-bhel (innocent); a-dāg (causing hassle);

a-jaṭ (stomach upset); a-kliā (not known before)

Each of the examples above has a near negation meaning attached to it; but it does not have any base which is a word or has any lexical entry without the ‘a’. Similar examples are:

‘aad’ in aadsharaa (a wooden bar to close the door)

‘čau’ in čau-ras (utmost/extreme)

‘har’ in har-misaa (always)

‘nis’ in nis-phuri (helpless)

‘un’ in un-hiāa (the other)

It may also be noted that unlike in English, where prefixes are attached to a fixed class of stems, Sambalpuri prefixes may attach to more than one class of bases. As such, Prefixes are analysed individually rather
than grouping them in Bauer's (1983) classification of arranging them according to their attachment to the stems—prefixes used with Adjectives, with Nouns or with Verbs etc. Moreover, many of the prefixes attach with the bases almost simultaneously with the attachment of suffixes. The same prefix may be Class Maintaining in one place and Class Changing in another.

3.1 Class Maintaining and Class Changing Prefixes

Prefixes are formatives attached to the left of the base morphemes. Linguists who have studied mostly English Prefixes conclude that prefixes rarely change the category of the base they are attached to; hence, they are supposed to be the non-head of the derivational processes. However, Sambalpuri prefixes are different from their English counterpart. There are forty-four Sambalpuri prefixes listed here, of which thirty-three are both class maintaining as well as class changing, six of them are exclusively class maintaining and five exclusively class changing. The list of prefixes in Sambalpuri is as follows:

\[
a, aa, aad, aap, aath, ab, adh, an, baa, baara, ba\text{d}, be, bi, bin, caar,\]

\[
\text{cau, cha, chaaq, dar, dash, dui, ek, ekan, gar, haap, har, hed, hin, mahaq, na, naa, ni, nir, nis, paaq, paq, phi, phul, sa, saa, tin, u, un and us.}\]
Of the above list gar, har, hed, phi, chaad and pag are the only prefixes which are exclusively class maintaining. A few of them, e.g. aa, baa, bi, nir and sa are exclusively class changing. The Cardinal numbers have independent lexical entries, but a few of them serve as both Class Maintaining and Class Changing prefixes in Sambalpuri. Cardinal numbers denoting one to ten (ek, dui, tin, caar, paag, cha, saat, aath, na and dash) are used as prefixes especially when they are attached only to a few nouns, adjectives or adverbs. Even though they look like independent lexical items capable of standing alone – it clearly resembles the example of ‘counterattack’ where ‘counter’ is a prefix, but in isolation it can stand as an independent lexical item capable of taking in other affixes (‘en-counter’ etc.). Nevertheless, they can also be interpreted as Compounds called ‘Dvigu’ in Sanskrit. However, as per the model followed here, they fit in the list of prefixes and are included in the analysis that follows.

Before analysing each of the prefixes listed above based on the assumptions and model mentioned in § 1.2 and 2.2, the approximate change in the semantics of the derivatives that occur after the attachment of each prefix to the base is given below:

1. a → adds a meaning of negation ‘no’, ‘not’
2. aa → suggests ‘till’ or ‘until’
3. aad → suggests ‘odd’, ‘improper’, ‘not straight’
4. *aap* → suggests ‘self’
5. *aath* → suggests ‘eight’
6. *ab* → suggests some sort of negation of the base
7. *adh* → suggests ‘half’
9. *baa* → suggests ‘with’
10. *baara* → a cardinal number but suggests ‘numerous’
11. *bad* → suggests ‘bad’, ‘very’
12. *be* → suggests ‘without’
13. *bi* → suggests ‘without’
14. *bin* → suggests ‘without’
15. *çaar* → suggests ‘four’
16. *çau* → suggests ‘four’, ‘every’
17. *cha* → suggest ‘six’
18. *chaad* → suggests ‘quit’, ‘shun’
19. *dar* → suggests ‘incomplete’
20. *dash* → suggests ‘ten’
21. *dui* → suggests ‘two’
22. *ek* → suggests ‘one’
23. *ekan* → suggests ‘like one’
24. *gar* → suggests ‘absence’
25. *haap* → suggests ‘half’
26. har → suggests 'every'
27. hed → suggests 'head' or 'chief'
28. hin → suggests 'of low standard'
29. maha → suggests 'utmost'
30. na → suggests 'nine'
31. naa → suggests 'not', 'not unto mark'
32. ni → suggests 'without'
33. nir → suggests negation, 'without'
34. nis → suggests negation
35. pāaç → suggests 'five'
36. pāç → suggests 'five' taken together or in a special sense
37. phi → suggests 'every'
38. phul → suggests 'full'
39. sa → suggests the meaning 'with'
40. saat → suggests 'seven'
41. tin → suggests 'three'
42. u → suggests 'odd'
43. un → suggests 'other'
44. us → suggests 'incomplete'

It is pertinent to note here that Sambalpuri is not a stress language like English that heavily depends on the stress-pattern. Stress is important though mostly in case of ambiguity, but for ordinary speech
pattern, it is not that much dependent on stress. As such the Level ordering proposed in several literature of generative theoreticians (already discussed in 2.3) when applied to Sambalpuri seems to be a forced one. Therefore, the phonological feature described in (b) such as [+NEUTRAL] or [-NEUTRAL] etc. are being deliberately confined to obvious phonemic changes only and any change in the stress alone is being ignored. In case of presence of more than one affix, the affix which attaches latter is kept in Level 2. Such Level ordering is described in (d) the analysis of Sub-categorization feature.
3.2 Foreign Prefixes with Native Bases and *vice versa*

There are only six prefixes which are of foreign origin, viz. *be*, *gar*, *haap*, *har*, *hed*, *phi* and *phul*. Except *haap*, *hed* and *phul*, which are from English, the other three *gar*, *har* and *phi* are of Persian origin. Of the three English origins, *haap* (half) and *phul* (full) have been retained as Adjectives in Sambalpuri speech and are used as both class maintaining as well as class changing types.

As regards Native prefixes with Foreign Stems, such variety could not be found in Sambalpuri. However, prefixes from one source of foreign origin may attach to the stems of another source of foreign origin. As in the following example 'be' is a prefix of Persian origin. This is attached to the stem 'taaim' which is of English borrowing. However, 'be' can also be attached to other native stems.

(i) *gar*

It has only one entry of actual use in Sambalpuri having the feature of [+PERSIAN] for the both elements, the prefix as well as the stem:
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERSION]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \( [A^- [A \text{ at Level 1] }]

e) Diacritic feature: [-NATIVE], [+PERSIAN]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

(ii) har

It is a prefix attached mostly to nouns but can also attach to a few derived Adjectives.
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun [+COUNT]
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \([N^-][N]\) at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: \([N \ [VP]

\[\text{har-mūh-aa} \]
\(\text{(worn face)}\)

\(\text{Adj.}\)
\(\text{N}\)
\(\text{Adj.}\)

\(\text{har (worn)}\)
\(\text{mūh (face)}\)
\(\text{aa (suffix)}\)
\(\text{[+NATIVE]}\)
\(\text{[+NATIVE]}\)
\(\text{[+NATIVE]}\)

\text{Fig. 3.2 (3)}

\(\text{a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective [+QUALITY]}\)
\(\text{b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]}\)
\(\text{c) Semantic representation: [+DIVERGENCE] har \neq \text{every}}\)
\(\text{d) Sub-categorization feature: [A- [A] at Level 2}}\)
\(\text{e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]}\)
\(\text{f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP}\)
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective [+QUALITY]
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [+DIVERGENCE] har = without
d) Sub-categorization feature: [A- [A at Level 2
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

In the second and third example of har above, when a prefix is used as a Level 2 affix, there is a semantic drift because har no longer means ‘every’, rather there is an addition of the meaning of ‘without’. The prefix har in the latter two examples (3.4 (3) and 3.4 (4)) seems to be of some native diachronic origin and not the one from the Persian source as it is in the example in (Fig. 3.4 (2)).
(iii) *phi*

This is also from Persian, which attaches to Nouns that have the diacritic feature of [+COUNT]

\[\text{phi-baçhar} \rightarrow \text{(every year)}\]

\[\text{phi} \ (\text{every}) \quad \text{baçhar} \ (\text{year})\]

[a] Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun [+COUNT]

[b] Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]

[c] Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]

d) Sub-categorization feature: \([N- [N] \text{ at Level 1}\]

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE] [+COUNT]

[f] Insertion frame: [N [VP

(iv) *haap*

English "half" is naturalized in Sambalpuri. It is used as a prefix, rather than a Lexical entry. It is both Class Changing as well as Class Maintaining.
Fig. 3.2 (6)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective [+QUANTITY]
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \([A^- [N] \text{ at Level 1}\]
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

haap-gilaas (half a glass)

haap (half)  gilaas (glass)
[+ENGLISH]  [+NATURALIZED]

Fig. 3.2 (7)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun [+COUNT]
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \([N^- [N] \text{ at Level 1}\]

haap-tikat (half a ticket)

haap (half)  tikat (ticket)
[+ENGLISH]  [+NATURALIZED]
e) Diacritic feature: [±NATIVE][+CONSUMABLE][+WEARABLE] [+MEASURABLE]

f) Insertion frame: [N [VP

(v) *hed*

This is exactly the English 'head' assimilated to Sambalpuri. It is always Class Maintaining.

*hed*-pandit * (Head Pandit/Master)

hed (head)  pandit (master/teacher)

[+]ENGLISH   [+]NATIVE

Fig. 3.2 (8)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun [+]HUMAN
b) Phonological representation: [+]NEUTRAL

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: [N– [N at Level 1

e) Diacritic feature: [±NATIVE][+DESIGNATION]

f) Insertion frame: [N [VP
(vi) **phul**

It is also borrowed from English and is both Class Maintaining and Class Changing.

![Diagram of phul-pêt (Full trousers)]

- **Category** (conjugation/declension class): Noun [-HUMAN]
- **Phonological representation**: [+NEUTRAL]
- **Semantic representation**: [-DIVERGENCE]
- **Sub-categorization feature**: [N - [N at Level 1]
- **Diacritic feature**: [+NATIVE][+CONSUMABLE][+WEARABLE][+MEASURABLE]
- **Insertion frame**: [N [VP

![Diagram of phul-kap (cupful)]

- **Adj.**
- **N**
- **phul** (full) [+]ENGLISH
- **kap** (cup) [+]NATURALISED

Fig. 3.2 (9)

Fig. 3.2 (10)
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective [+QUANTITY]
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: $A^- [N$ at Level 1

e) Diacritic feature: [±NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

(vii) be

```
  be-taaim (ill timed/odd hours)
      
  Adj.   N

  be (odd) taaim (time)

  [+PERSIAN]  [+ENGLISH]
```

Fig. 3.2 (11)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: $A^- [N$ at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [±NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP
3.3 Prefixes with mandatory suffixes:

There are instances where prefixes attached to bases compulsorily take other suffixes to have a well-formed structure. They can be both Class Maintaining and Class Changing. It may be noted here that it clearly violates the assumption that the output of each layer of input affixation results in a well-formed structure or in other words a ‘word’. In the following examples, no single affix (prefix or suffix) create a well-formed structure in Sambalpuri. That is, attachment of both a prefix and a suffix is mandatory to form an acceptable word. Though the root can stand alone, the attachment of either a prefix or a suffix as the case may be, straightaway calls for another affix of the other kind.

3.3.1 Prefixes with mandatory suffixes which are Class Changing:

(i) From Adjective to Adjective/Adverb: adh, aath, dar, ek, ekan

(a) adh

```
Fig. 3.3 (1)
```

![Diagram](attachment:image.png)
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adverb [+MANNER]
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: $[A^{−}[v]]^{−}_{A_r}$ at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adv. [VP

This may be compared with *adh-khi-aa* analysed in § 3.6 (7) (ii), Fig. 3.6 (21).

(b) *aath*

![Diagram of *aath*]

- Adjective
- *aath-dāat-iaa* (having eight teeth – shows the age of a cow etc.)
- *aath* (eight)
- dāat (teeth)
- iaa (suffix)

Fig. 3.3 (2)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: $[A^{−}[N]]^{−}_{A}$ at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]

f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

Similar examples are aath-kun-iaa, aath-gāthi-aa, aath-haaat-iaa etc.

(c) dar

{Adj./Adv.}

dar-pāthr-iaa (being in odd condition)

Adj.

N

dar pātar iaa (incomplete) (condition etc.) (suffix)

Fig. 3.3 (3)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adverb [+MANNER]

b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL] deletion of the second non-nasalized /e/ in pātar occurs during ~iaa suffixation

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]

d) Sub-categorization feature: [A− [N]] − [A/Adv] at Level 1

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]

f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP or [Adv. [VP

It may be compared with dar-sijh-aa, which does not require an immediate attachment of both affixes.
Fig. 3.3 (4)
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adverb [+MANNER]
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \([a^{-}[n]-a]\) at Level 2
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. NP or [Adv. [VP

d) \textit{ek}

Fig. 3.3 (5)

\begin{tikzpicture}
\node {\text{Adj./Adv.}}
    child {node {\textit{dar-sijh-aa}} edge from parent[description] node[auto,swap] {\textit{(incompletely boiled)}}}

\node {\text{Adj.}}
    child {node {\text{V}}}
    child {node {\textit{dar} \textit{(incomplete)} \textit{sijh} \textit{(boil) \textit{aa} \textit{(suffix)}}}

\end{tikzpicture}
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adverb [+MANNER]
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL] deletion of the second /š/ in dhadas occurs during ~iaa suffixation at Level 2
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: [A– [N]] at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adv. [VP

It may also be compared with ek-murkh-iaa, in which the attachment of ek is at Level 2.

{Adj./Adv.}

\[\text{ek-murkh-iaa} \quad \text{(moody/one sided)}\]

(adjunct)

\[\text{ek} \quad \text{(one)} \quad \text{murukh} \quad \text{(stupid)} \quad \text{iaa} \quad \text{(suffix)}\]

\text{Fig. 3.3 (6)}

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adverb [+MANNER]
b) Phonological representation: [-NEUTRAL] deletion of /u/ in murukh during ~iaa suffixation at Level 1
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: [A– [[N] – A] at Level 2
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP or [Adv. [VP
(e) *ekan*

Fig. 3.3 (7)

- **a)** Category (conjugation/declension class): Adverb [+MANNER]
- **b)** Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
  
  /o/ → /u/ in *god* only during ~*iaa* suffixation at Level 2
- **c)** Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
- **d)** Sub-categorization feature: \([\lambda^- \, [N]] - \lambda_v\) at Level 1
- **e)** Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
- **f)** Insertion frame: [Adv. [VP]
(ii) From Noun to Adjective/Adverb: *a, aad, bin, dui, ni, nis*

(a) *a*

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\{\text{Adj./Adv.}\} \\
\text{a-ghar-iaa} & \text{(without a house/home/society)} \\
\{\text{N/A}\} \\
\text{N} \\
\text{a} & \text{ghar} & \text{iaa} \\
\text{(no)} & \text{(house)} & \text{(suffix)}
\end{array}
\]

Fig. 3.3 (8)

- a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective and Adverb
- b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
- c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
- d) Sub-categorization feature: [N− [N]] −A or [A− [N]] −AV] at Level 1
- e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
- f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP or [Adv. [VP

Similar examples are *a-gosthi-aa; a-mūh-āa*
(b) aad

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective

b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]

d) Sub-categorization feature: \([N^\sim [n]] -A\]

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]

f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

Similar examples are aad-sur-iaa, aad-kēd-iaa, aad-ker-iaa
(c) *bin*

{Adj./Adv.}

<bin-sur-iaa> (without being conscious)

{N/A}

<bin> (without)

<iaa> (suffix)

<iaa> (without being conscious)

<iaa> (suffix)

<iaa> (suffix)

<iaa> (suffix)

<iaa> (suffix)

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<iaa> (suffix)

<iaa> (suffix)

<iaa> (suffix)

<iaa> (suffix)

<iaa> (suffix)

<iaa> (suffix)

<iaa> (suffix)

<iaa> (suffix)
Fig. 3.3 (11)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective

b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]

d) Sub-categorization feature: \([N^- [N]] -A\) at Level 1

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]

f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP
(e) \textit{ni}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{Adj.}
\item \textit{ni-jal-aa} \quad (without water/breakfast)
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{ni}
\item \textit{jal}
\item \textit{aa}
\end{itemize}

(\text{without}) \quad (\text{water}) \quad (\text{suffix})

\textbf{Fig. 3.3 (12)}

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textbf{a}) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
\item \textbf{b}) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
\item \textbf{c}) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
\item \textbf{d}) Sub-categorization feature: \([\mathit{N} \rightarrow \mathit{[N]} \rightarrow \mathit{A}] \quad \text{at Level 1}
\item \textbf{e}) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
\item \textbf{f}) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP}
This may be compared with \textit{nis-phal-aa} where there is no obvious phonological change at any of the Levels and \textit{nis-phal} does not necessarily wait for \textit{~aa} suffixation.
(iii) From Noun to Adjective/Adverb: \textit{bin, ek, u}

(a) \textit{bin}

\begin{itemize}
  \item a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective and Adverb
  \item b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
  \item c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
  \item d) Sub-categorization feature: \([A- [N]] - Av\) or \([N- [N]] - A\) at Level 1
  \item e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
  \item f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP or [Adv. [VP
\end{itemize}
(b) *ek*

![Diagram of *ek*]

**Fig. 3.3 (15)**

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \[A^-[N]]-A\] at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective and Adverb
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \([A^- [N]] -_{\text{Av}}\) or \([N^- [N]] -_{\text{A}}\) at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP or [Adv. [VP}
(iv) From Noun to Adverb: *an, ek*

(a) *an*

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Adj.} \\
\text{an-}paf-iaa \\
\text{(in odd situation)} \\
\text{N} \\
\text{N} \\
an \quad paf \quad iaa \\
\text{(odd)} \quad \text{(side)} \quad \text{(suffix)}
\end{array}
\]

Fig. 3.3 (17)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \([N- [N]] - A\) at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

Similar example is *an-baar-iaa.*
(b) *ek*

**Adj.**

*ek-dhaḍs-iaa*  
(going one-sided)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
  \text{N} \\
  \text{ek} \quad \text{dhaḍs} \quad \text{iaa} \\
  \text{(one)} \quad \text{(road)} \quad \text{(suffix)}
\end{array}
\]

**Fig. 3.3 (18)**

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective

b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]

d) Sub-categorization feature: \([N− [N]] −A]\) at Level 1

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]

f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

Similar examples are *ek-purg-iaa, ek-jhan-iaa* etc.
3.3.2 Prefixes with mandatory suffixes which are Class Maintaining:

(i) From Adjective to Adjective: aap, a, aad, adh, baara and ek

(a) aap

Fig. 3.3 (19)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [+DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: [A− [N] −A] at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP
(b) a

Fig. 3.3 (20)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: $[A^{-[
u]} - A]$ at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

Similar examples are a-bhir-an, a-paar-u etc.
(c) aad

{Adj./Adv.}

aad-kerli-aa → (odd-sided/awkward)

Fig. 3.3 (21)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective and Adverb
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: $[[A^{-} [[N] A]] A_v] \text{ at Level 2}$
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP or [Adv. [VP

Similar examples are aad-bujh-aa, aad-kēd-iaa, aad-ker-iaa
(d) *ad* *h*

![Diagram](image)

Fig. 3.3 (22)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective

b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL] /a:/ → /y/ in *naas* during ~*iaa* suffixation at Level 2

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]

d) Sub-categorization feature: [N− [N] −A] at Level 1

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]

f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP
(e) **ek**

Fig. 3.3 (23)

- a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
- b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
- c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
- d) Sub-categorization feature: $[A^{−}[N]]−\lambda$ at Level 1
- e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
- f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

Similar examples are **ek-čhatri**, **ek-āgi**, **ek-sar-iaa**
(ii) From Noun to Noun: *ekan* and *dui*

(a) *ekan*

Noun

\[ ek\text{-}gan\text{-}gu\text{-}d\text{-}i \] 

(a game to hop on one foot)

Adj

\[ ek\text{an} \]

(one like)

\[ g(o)u\text{d} \]

(leg)

\[ i \]

(suffix)

**Fig. 3.3 (24)**

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun

b) Phonological representation: [-NEUTRAL] /o/ → /u/

c) Semantic representation: [+DIVERGENCE] 'a game'

d) Sub-categorization feature: \[ A^{-}[N] \] at Level 1

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]

f) Insertion frame: [N [VP
(b) *dui*

Fig. 3.3 (25)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun

b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL] /o/ \(\rightarrow\) /u/ occurs during ~\textit{iaa} suffixation at Level 2

c) Semantic representation: [+DIVERGENCE][+ANIMATE]

‘birds for consumption’ and ‘man’

d) Sub-categorization feature: [\(A^\text{\_}[N]\) \(-N\)] at Level 1

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]

f) Insertion frame: [N [VP
3.4 Prefixes of exclusively Class Changing type:

As it has been mentioned earlier, most of the prefixes in Sambalpuri belong to both Class Maintaining and Class Changing types. However, a few of them are exclusively used as Class Changing type, viz. *aa, baa, bi, nir* and *sa*. All of these are added to Nouns to make Adjectives.

(i) *aa*

\[
\text{Adj.} \\
\text{aa-jiban} \quad \text{(the whole life)}
\]

\[
\text{aa} \quad \text{N} \\
\text{(whole)} \quad \text{jiban} \quad \text{(life)}
\]

**Fig. 3.4 (1)**

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective  
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]  
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]  
d) Sub-categorization feature: [A− [N at Level 1]  
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]  
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [VP}
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE] 'till/until' etc.
d) Sub-categorization feature: \([A^-[N}\) at Level 2
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

(ii) \textit{baar}

Adj.
\textit{baar-	extit{izzat}} (with honour)

\textit{baar}(with) \textit{izzat} (honour)

Fig. 3.4 (2)
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: $[\lambda_- [N \text{ at Level 1}]
$e) Diacritic feature: $[\pm \text{NATIVE}]$
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [VP

Similar example is \textit{baa-kaa\text{\textdelta}d\text{\textdelta}a}]

(iii) \textit{bi}

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
  \node {bi} child {node {Adj. \textit{bi-phal} (having failed)}
  child {node {N}
    child {node {\textit{bi} (without)}}
    child {node {\textit{phal} (fruit)}}
  }};
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

\textbf{Fig. 3.4 (3)}

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [+DIVERGENCE] ‘failure’
d) Sub-categorization feature: $[\lambda_- [N \text{ at Level 1}]
$e) Diacritic feature: $[+ \text{NATIVE}]$
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP/VP]
(iv) **nir**

\{Adj./V\}

\[\text{nir-mul}\] (uproot/uprooted)

\[\text{nir}\] (no)

\[\text{mul}\] (root)

Fig. 3.4 (4)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective and Verb

b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]

d) Sub-categorization feature: \([A^- N]\) or \([v^- N]\) at Level 1

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]

f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [VP or [V [NP

(v) **sa**

\[\text{Adj.}\]

\[\text{sa-laj}\] (blushing/polite)

\[\text{sa}\] (with)

\[\text{laaj}\] (blush)

Fig. 3.4 (5)
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective

b) Phonological representation: [-NEUTRAL] /a:/ → /e/ in laaj

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]

d) Sub-categorization feature: [A- [N at Level 1

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE] [+FEMININE]

f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [VP
3.5 Prefixes of exclusively Class Maintaining type:

The following prefixes are exclusively Class Maintaining, viz. *gar*, *har*, *hed* and *phi*. These have already been discussed in § 3.2. Apart from these prefixes of foreign origin, there are two other native prefixes *chaad* and *pāc* which are exclusively Class Maintaining too.

(a) *chaad*

![Diagram](image)

(a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]

c) Semantic representation: [+DIVERGENCE] [+CEREMONIAL]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \([N^-] [N\text{ at Level 2}]

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP}
Similar examples are čhaad-mar-di, čhaad-patār etc.

(b) pāč

Fig. 3.5 (2)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \([N - N]\) at Level 2

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP]
3.6 Prefixes that are both Class Changing and Class Maintaining:

(1) \(a\)

It has three types of Class Changing variety and three types of Class Maintaining variety.

i) \(a\) attached to non-derived Nouns to form Adjectives:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Adj.} \\
\text{a-bal} \\
\text{N} \\
a \text{ (no)} \quad \text{bal} \text{ (strength)} \quad \text{a-sim(aa) (limit)}
\end{array}
\]

(having no strength) (having no limit/end)

**Fig. 3.6 (1)**

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective

b) Phonological representation: \([\pm \text{NEUTRAL}]\)

\([-\text{NEUTRAL}]\) deletion of /a:/ in \(a\)-sim-aa

c) Semantic representation: \([-\text{DIVERGENCE}], [+\text{NEGATION}]\)

d) Sub-categorization feature: \([A^- [N] \text{ at Level 1}\]

e) Diacritic feature: \([+\text{NATIVE}]\)

f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP or [Adj. [VP

Similar examples are \(a\)-bel, \(a\)-dh\(\text{\text{g}}\), \(a\)-jaa\(\text{\text{f}}\), \(a\)-niam and \(a\)-sim etc.
ii) *a* attached to derived Nouns to form Adjectives:

\[ a-\text{çal-an} \] (ill-behaved)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective  
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]  
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE], [+NEGATION]  
d) Sub-categorization feature: \([A-][N] \) at Level 2  
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]  
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

iii) *a* attached to Verbs to form Adjectives:

\[ a-\text{çal} \] (of no use/counterfeit)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective  
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]  
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE], [+NEGATION]  
d) Sub-categorization feature: \([A-][N] \) at Level 2  
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]  
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective

b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE], [+NEGATION]

d) Sub-categorization feature: \([A^- [v \at Level 1]

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]

f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

iv) \(a\) attached to derived/verbal Adjectives that remain as Adjectives:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Adj.} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{a} \\
\text{ças} \\
\text{aa}
\end{array}
\]

\(a\)-ças-aa (not being cultivated)

(not) (cultivate) (suffix)

Fig. 3.6 (4)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective

b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE], [+NEGATION]

d) Sub-categorization feature: \([A^- [A \at Level 2]

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]

f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP
v) \textit{a} attached to non-derived Adjectives that remain as Adjectives:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{a-suṭar} \\
\text{(not disciplined)}
\end{array}
\]

\begin{tikzpicture}
  \node (adj) {Adj.}
  \node (a) [below left=1.5cm and 2cm of adj] {\textit{a}}
  \node (suṭar) [below right=1.5cm and 2cm of adj] {suṭar (sober)}
  \node (not) [below left=0.5cm and 0.5cm of a] {\textit{(not)}}
  \node (sober) [below right=0.5cm and 0.5cm of suṭar] {\textit{(sober)}}
  \draw (a) -- (not); \\
  \draw (adj) -- (a); \\
  \draw (adj) -- (suṭar); \\
  \end{tikzpicture}

\textbf{Fig. 3.6 (5)}

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective

b) Phonological representation: \textit{[+NEUTRAL]}

c) Semantic representation: \textit{[-DIVERGENCE]}

d) Sub-categorization feature: \textit{[A- \([\text{A-} \text{at Level 1} \text{]}\)}

e) Diacritic feature: \textit{[+NATIVE]}

f) Insertion frame: \textit{[Adj. [NP}  \textit{]}}

vi) \textit{a} attached to Nouns that remain as Nouns:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{a-baaf} \\
\text{(odd road)}
\end{array}
\]

\begin{tikzpicture}
  \node (n) {N}
  \node (a) [below left=1.5cm and 2cm of n] {\textit{a}}
  \node (baaf) [below right=1.5cm and 2cm of n] {baaf (road)}
  \node (no) [below left=0.5cm and 0.5cm of a] {\textit{(no)}}
  \node (road) [below right=0.5cm and 0.5cm of baaf] {\textit{(road)}}
  \draw (a) -- (no); \\
  \draw (n) -- (a); \\
  \draw (n) -- (baaf); \\
  \end{tikzpicture}

\textbf{Fig. 3.6 (6)}
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE], [+NEGATION]
d) Sub-categorization feature: [$N^- [N$ at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP

(2) *aad*

This prefix has only one Class Changing type and two Class maintaining types.

i) *aad* attached to Nouns to form Adjectives:

```
Adj.  
   /\ 
  /   \  
 aad-muh (of giving an ignoring gesture)
   /\   
  /   \ 
 aad   muh (ignoring) (look/gesture)
```

Fig. 3.6 (7)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [+DIVERGENCE] ‘side’
d) Sub-categorization feature: [$A^- [N$ at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [VP

ii) aad attached to derived/non-derived Adjectives that remain as Adjectives:

![Diagram](attachment:figure36.png)

(aad-bhaēraa (being partially deaf/having odds listening)

(aad) (bhaēraa (side) (deaf)

Fig. 3.6 (8)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: [A- [A at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: $[\lambda - [v]] - \lambda$ at Level 2
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

iii) $\text{aad}$ attached to Nouns that remain as Nouns:

(a reservoir with open sides)

Fig. 3.6 (10)
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: [N~ [N at Level 1

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP

(3) *aap*

It has one Class Changing and one Class Maintaining type.

i) *aap* attached to Nouns to form Adjectives:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Adj.} \\
aap-rajaa \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
aap \text{ (self)} \\
N \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
raja \text{ (king)} \\
\end{array}
\]

(being self-styled/conceited)

*Fig. 3.6 (11)*

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: [A~ [N at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [VP
ii) *aap* attached to derived Adjectives that remain as Adjectives:

\[
\text{aap-bhal-ei} \quad \text{(self-defending)}
\]

\[
\begin{aligned}
&\text{aap (self)} & \text{bhal (good)} & \text{ei (suffix)} \\
\end{aligned}
\]

Fig. 3.6 (12)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \([A^- A^-] \quad \text{at Level 2}\)
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

iii) *aap* attached to non-derived Adjectives that remain as Adjectives:

\[
\text{aap-sūthu} \quad \text{(being a stasher)}
\]

\[
\begin{aligned}
&aap (self) & \text{sūthu (miser)} \\
\end{aligned}
\]

Fig. 3.6 (13)
(4) **aaaθ**

As mentioned earlier in § 3.1, **aaaθ** is a cardinal number, which has a valid lexical entry in the lexicon. Nevertheless, it also works as a prefix with Nouns and Adjectives to make them Adjectives.

![Diagram](https://via.placeholder.com/150)

**Fig. 3.6 (14)**

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective

b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \([\alpha^- [\alpha \ \text{at Level 1}]

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

Similar examples are *aath-dāat-iaa, aath-haat-i, aath-kun-iaa* and *aath-(a)ni* etc.

\[
\begin{align*}
aath & \quad \text{(eight)} \\
g\tilde{a}th & \quad \text{(knot)} \\
iaa & \quad \text{(suffix)}
\end{align*}
\]

(having eight/several knots)

Fig. 3.6 (15)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [-NEUTRAL]
   deletion of /\d/, shifting of nasalization to /v/ in *g\tilde{a}th*

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \([\alpha^- [\alpha \ \text{at Level 2}]

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP
(5) \textit{ab}

It has two Class Maintaining entries: \textit{ab} attached to an Adjective and remains an Adjective and \textit{ab} attached to a Noun and remains a Noun.

i) \textit{ab} attached to an Adjective and remain an Adjective:

\begin{equation}
\text{ab-lekh-aa} \quad \text{(ill behaved)}
\end{equation}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\begin{tikzpicture}
\t\node (A) {Adj.};
\t\node (B) at (0,1) {V};
\t\node (C) at (-1,0) {\textit{ab} \quad \text{(ill)}};
\t\node (D) at (0,0) {\textit{lekh} \quad \text{(write)}};
\t\node (E) at (1,0) {\textit{aa} \quad \text{(suffix)}};
\t\draw [->] (A) -- (B);
\t\draw [->] (B) -- (C);
\t\draw [->] (B) -- (D);
\t\draw [->] (B) -- (E);
\end{tikzpicture}
\caption{Fig. 3.6 (16)}
\end{figure}

\begin{enumerate}
\item Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
\item Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
\item Semantic representation: [+DIVERGENCE] [-LITERAL]
\item Sub-categorization feature: [A- [A at Level 2
\item Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
\item Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP
ii) *ab* attached to a Noun and remains a Noun:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{ab-gun} \\
\downarrow \\
N \\
\downarrow \\
\text{ab} \quad \text{gun}
\end{array}
\]

(iill nature)

**Fig. 3.6 (17)**

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun [+ABSTRACT]
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: [N- [N

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP

(6) *aŋh*

This prefix has four Class Changing types including the one already discussed in § 3.3.1, (i) (a) and one Class Maintaining type.
i) *adh* attached to an Adjective to form a Noun:

```
          N
         / \ 
adh   adh-kapaoa-li (migraine)  \\
\      \        
     Adj.  
       /  
      /   
     N    
   /   
adli kapaoa i
(half) (forehead) (suffix)
```

Fig. 3.6 (18)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [+DIVERGENCE] ‘an ailment’
d) Sub-categorization feature: \([n^a]_A\) at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: \([N [VP\]

ii) *adh* attached to a derived/verbal Noun/Adjective to form an Adjective or Adverb:
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective and Adverb

b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL] deletion of /ɑ:/ in khaa during ~iaa suffixation at Level 1

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]

d) Sub-categorization feature: [A- {N/A] at Level 2

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]

f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP or [Adv. [VP

iii) adh attached to Nouns to form Adjectives:

Adj.

adh-paraan (exhausted)

N

adh (half) paraan (life)

Fig. 3.6 (19)
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]  
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]  
d) Sub-categorization feature: $[\alpha = [N \quad \text{at Level 1]}$  
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]  
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP/VP]

iv) **adh** attached to derived/verbal Adjectives/Nouns to form Adjectives:

![Diagram]

**Fig. 3.6 (21)**

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective  
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]  
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]  
d) Sub-categorization feature: $[\alpha = [(N/A) \quad \text{at Level 2]}$  
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]  
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP]
(7) *an*

It has four Class Changing and one Class Maintaining types.

i) *an* attached to an Adjective to form an Adjective/Adverb:

{Adj./Adv.}

\[
\text{an-}\text{bat}r-\text{iaa} \quad \text{(not fully soaked/ripe)}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Adj.} \\
\text{Adj.} \\
\text{an} \quad \text{bat}r \quad \text{iaa}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\text{(not)} \quad \text{(ripe/soak)} \quad \text{(suffix)}
\]

Fig. 3.6 (22)

c) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective

b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]

d) Sub-categorization feature: [A— [A] —Av] \quad \text{at Level 1}

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]

f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP or [Adv. [VP}
ii) *an* attached to derived/non-derived Nouns to form Adjectives:

\[
\text{Adj.}
\]

\[
\text{an-}\theta ekh-\text{aa} \quad \text{(like not seeing/ignoring)}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Adj.} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{an} \\
\theta ekh \\
\text{aa}
\end{array}
\]

(no) (look/care) (suffix)

Fig. 3.6 (23)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: [\( A^- \)] at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

iii) *an* attached to a Noun along with a suffix to form an Adverb:

Discussed earlier in § 3.3.1 (iv) (a), (Fig. 3.3 (17)).
iv) *an* attached to verbs to form Adjectives:

\[ \text{Adj.} \]

\[ \rightarrow \text{an-} \text{padh} \quad \text{(illiterate)} \]

\[ \text{an} \quad \text{(not)} \]

\[ \text{padh} \quad \text{(read)} \]

**Fig. 3.6 (24)**

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective

b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]

d) Sub-categorization feature: \( [\lambda^h [v \atop A^v \text{ at Level 1} ] ] \)

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]

f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

v) *an* attached with derived/non-derived Adjectives that remain as Adjectives:

\[ \rightarrow \text{an-sijh-aa} \quad \text{(not properly boiled/cooked)} \]

\[ \text{an} \quad \text{(insufficient)} \]
\[ \text{sijh} \quad \text{(boil)} \]
\[ \text{aa} \quad \text{(suffix)} \]

**Fig. 3.6 (25)**
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE],
d) Sub-categorization feature: $[A^- [A$ at Level 2

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

(8) baara

It has one each of Class Changing and Class Maintaining type.

i) baara attached to Nouns to form Adjectives:

```
Adj. baara-çaaul-iaa ← (having diverse source/engagement)
```

Fig. 3.6 (26)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: $[A^- [N]] -A]
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

ii) *baara* attached to a derived Adjective/Noun that remains as Adjective/Noun or becomes an Adverb:

\[\text{baara-}\text{maas-i}\]

(of twelfth months/always; a ritual on the first death anniversary)

(twelve) (maas) (suffix)

*a*) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective/Adverb/Noun
*b*) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
*c*) Semantic representation: [+DIVERGENCE]
   for Adv., it means a long period of time; for N, it refers to a ritual
*d*) Sub-categorization feature: \([_{A/N]} - [N] -_{A/AV/N}]\) at Level 1
*e*) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
*f*) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP or [Adv. [VP or [N [VP
Many such examples could be recorded in Sambalpuri but for analysis of such examples, it requires going into the syntactic components beyond the domain of Word Morphology, hence it is left out for future researchers.

(9) *bad*

It has two Class Changing and one Class Maintaining types.

i) *bad* attached to Nouns to form Adjectives:

```
bad-çalan (ill behaved)
```

Fig. 3.6 (28)
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: \([+\text{NEUTRAL}]\)
c) Semantic representation: \([-\text{DIVERGENCE}]\)
d) Sub-categorization feature: \([A^-]_N\) at Level 2
e) Diacritic feature: \([+\text{NATIVE}]\)
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [VP

ii) \textit{bad} attached to a Noun to form either an Adverb or a Noun:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{bad-naam} \\
\text{(having a bad name/bad name)}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{bad} \\
\text{(bad)}
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\text{naam} \\
\text{(name)}
\end{array}
\]

\([+\text{PERSIAN}]\quad [+\text{NATIVE}]\)

Fig. 3.6 (29)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adverb and Noun
b) Phonological representation: \([+\text{NEUTRAL}]\)
c) Semantic representation: \([-\text{DIVERGENCE}]\)
d) Sub-categorization feature: \([_AV^-]_N\) or \([_N^-]_N\) at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: \([\pm\text{NATIVE}]\)
f) Insertion frame: [Adv. [VP or [N [VP
iii) **bad** attached to Adjectives that remain as Adjectives:

\[
\text{bad-udaa} \quad \text{(too wet)}
\]

\[
\text{bad(very)} \quad \text{udaa (wet)}
\]

\[[+\text{NATIVE}] \quad [+\text{NATIVE}]\]

**Fig. 3.6 (30)**

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: [\text{A} \quad [\text{A}]

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

(10) **be**

This prefix has two each of Class Changing and Class Maintaining types.

i) **be** attached to Nouns to form Adjectives:

\[
\text{Adj.}
\]

\[
\text{be-ghar} \quad \text{(having no home/being displaced from home)}
\]

\[
\text{be(without)} \quad \text{ghar(house)}
\]

**Fig. 3.6 (31)**
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: $[A^- [N$ at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

ii) *be* attached to Verbs to form Adverbs:

$$be\, dhaḍak\, (\text{without care})$$

Fig. 3.6 (32)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adverb
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: $[A^- [V$ at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adv. [VP
iii) be attached to Adjectives that remain as Adjectives:

\[ \text{be-husiaar} \] (not being clever)

\[ \text{Adj.} \]

\[ \text{be} \] (without)

\[ \text{husiaar} \] (clever)

**Fig. 3.6 (33)**

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: [\( A - [A \) at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

iv) be attached to Nouns that remain as Nouns:

\[ \text{be-khaatir} \] (no respect/care)

\[ \text{N} \]

\[ \text{be} \] (without)

\[ \text{khaatir} \] (respect)

**Fig. 3.6 (34)**
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: [N— [N at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP

(11) bin

It has three Class Changing and two Class Maintaining types.

i) bin attached to Nouns to form Adjectives:

```
  Adj.
   bin
    baap (illegitimate)

Fig. 3.6 (35)
```

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [+DIVERGENCE] ‘illegitimate’
d) Sub-categorization feature: [A— [N at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP
ii) *bin* attached to Verbal Adjectives to form Adjectives/Adverbs:

\[
\text{\{Adj./Adv.\}} \quad \text{bin-}
\]

\[
\text{\textit{dekh}-}\text{\textit{aa}} \quad \text{(without having seen)}
\]

Fig. 3.6 (36)

- **a)** Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective and Adverb
- **b)** Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
- **c)** Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
- **d)** Sub-categorization feature: \([\text{Av}^-][\text{A}]\) at Level 1
- **e)** Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
- **f)** Insertion frame: [Adv. [VP

iii) *bin* attached to Nouns together with *-iaa* suffix to form either Adjectives or Adverbs:

This has already been dealt with earlier in § 3.3.1 (ii) (d).
iv) *bin* attached to derived Adjectives that remain as Adjectives:

```
bin-bih<i>ei
```
(without being married)

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bin</th>
<th>bih(aa)</th>
<th>ei</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(without)</td>
<td>(marriage)</td>
<td>(suffix)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

**Fig. 3.6 (37)**

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+-NEUTRAL]
   deletion of /a:/ occurs at Level 1 during addition of ~ei suffix
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: [A- [A at Level 2
e) Diacritic feature: [+-NATIVE] [+-FEMININE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

v) *bin* attached to Nouns that remain as Nouns:

```
bin-baat+~
```
(without road)

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bin</th>
<th>baat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(without)</td>
<td>(way)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

**Fig. 3.6 (38)**
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \([N^−_N]_ν\) at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP

(12) \(\text{çaar}\)

It is also a cardinal number in Sambalpuri as in all other Indo-Aryan family of languages. The argument given in (5) of § 3.6 for \(\text{aath}\) is equally applicable to it. It has one Class Changing and two Class Maintaining types.

i) \(\text{çaar}\) attached to Nouns to form Adjectives:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Adj.} \\
\text{çaar-phant} \text{ (four/several times)} \\
\text{çaar} \\
\text{phant}
\end{array}
\]

\(\text{çaar}\) (four) \hspace{1cm} \(\text{phant}\) (time unit)

Fig. 3.6 (39)
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: $[A- [N \text{ at Level 1}]
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

ii) $caar$ attached to Nouns that remain as Nouns:

Fig. 3.6 (40)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: [-NEUTRAL] deletion of /e/ in $anaa$
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: $[N- [N \text{ at Level 1}]
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP
iii) *çaar* attached to derived/non-derived Adjectives that remain as Adjectives:

\[
\text{çaar-aamil} \rightarrow \text{Adjective (lightly sour)}
\]

\[
\text{çaar} \quad \text{aamil}
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(four/a fruit)</th>
<th>(sour)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Fig. 3.6 (41)**

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective

b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]

c) Semantic representation: [+DIVERGENCE] 'slightly sour'

d) Sub-categorization feature: \([A^-\text{[A} \text{ at Level 1}\]

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]

f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

(13) *çau*

It has two Class Changing and two Class Maintaining types.

i) *çau* attached to a Verb to form an Adjective:

\[
\text{çau-pat} \rightarrow \text{Verb (failure from all sides)}
\]

\[
\text{çau} \quad \text{pat} \quad \text{V}
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(four)</th>
<th>(side/die)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Fig. 3.6 (42)**
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL.]
c) Semantic representation: [+DIVERGENCE] ‘defeating’
d) Sub-categorization feature: \([A^\text{−}][v\text{\ at Level 1}}

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [VP

ii) çau attached to an Adverb that remains as an Adverb:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{çau-girdaa} \\
\text{Adv.} \\
\text{çau} \\
\text{girdaa} \\
\text{(four) (sides)}
\end{array}
\]

Fig. 3.6 (43)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adverb
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL.]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \([A^\text{−}][A]\text{\ at Level 1}}

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adv. [VP
iii) छाउ attached to Nouns that remain as Nouns:

\[ \text{छाउ-खुट्त} \]
(rectangular door-frame)

\[ \text{छाउ} \quad \text{खुट्त} \]

(four) (doorsill/post)

**Fig. 3.6 (44)**

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun

b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]

d) Sub-categorization feature: \([N^- \ N] \text{ at Level 1}\]

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]

f) Insertion frame: [N [VP

(14) छहा

It has one each of Class Changing and Class Maintaining type.
i) *cha* attached to Nouns to form Adjectives:

\[
\text{Adj.} \xrightarrow{\text{cha-haat-i}} \text{(six times arm-length)}
\]

*Fig. 3.6 (45)*

- Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
- Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
- Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
- Sub-categorization feature: \([A^-[N]]-A]\) at Level 1
- Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
- Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

ii) *cha* attached to Nouns that remain as Nouns:

\[
\text{N} \xrightarrow{\text{cha-ghadî}} \text{(six/several hours)}
\]

*Fig. 3.6 (46)*

- Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
- Phonological representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
- Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
- Sub-categorization feature: \([A^-[N]]-A]\) at Level 1
- Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
- Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

---

The text describes the process of attaching the suffix *cha-haat-i* to nouns to form adjectives. It outlines various linguistic features such as category, phonological representation, semantic representation, sub-categorization feature, and diacritic feature, along with their representations in a tree diagram.

The second part explains the attachment of *cha-ghadî* to a noun, maintaining its status as a noun, and provides a similar tree diagram for this process.
a) Category (conjugation/declension class):
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \([N-N]\text{ at Level 1}\)
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP

(15) \textit{dar}

It has one Class Changing and two Class Maintaining types.

i) \textit{dar} attached to derived/non-derived Nouns to form Adjectives:

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
  \node (n) at (0,0) {N};
  \node (v) at (-1,-1) {V};
  \node (dar) at (-2,-2) {\textit{dar}}; % (incomplete)
  \node (hag) at (0,-2) {\textit{hag}}; % (defecate)
  \node (aa) at (2,-2) {\textit{aa}}; % (suffix)

  \draw[->] (n) -- (v);
  \draw[->] (n) -- (dar);
  \draw[->] (dar) -- (hag);
  \draw[->] (hag) -- (aa);

  \node at (-3,-3) {\textit{dar-hag-aa} \hspace{1cm} (incomplete defecation)};
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

Fig. 3.6 (47)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \([A-N]\text{ at Level 2}\)
ii) ḏar attached to derived Adjectives that remain as Adjectives:

\[
\text{ḏar-pan-aa} \quad \text{(not properly ripe)}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{_adj} \\
\text{ḏar} \\
\text{pan} \\
\text{aa}
\end{array}
\]

\begin{itemize}
  \item (incomplete)
  \item (ripe)
  \item (suffix)
\end{itemize}

**Fig. 3.6 (48)**

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective

b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL] the change of /a:/ \( \rightarrow \)/e/ in

\[\text{pan} \text{ occurs during } -\text{aa} \text{ suffixation at Level 1} \]

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]

d) Sub-categorization feature: \( [\text{A-} [\text{A} \text{ at Level 2} \]

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]

f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

---

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(16) \textit{dash}

It has only one Class Changing type i.e. \textit{dash} attached to a Noun to form an Adjective:

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}[scale=0.7, grow = down, sloped]
  \node (n) {N}
  child {  child {  child {  child {\textit{dash}}  }  }  child {  child {  child {\textit{haat-i}}  }  }  }
  child {  child {\textit{Adj.}}
  }
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

\textbf{Fig. 3.6 (49)}

\begin{enumerate}
  \item Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
  \item Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
  \item Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
  \item Sub-categorization feature: \([A- [N]] -A\) at Level 1
  \item Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
  \item Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

(17) \textit{dui}

It has two Class Changing types and one Class Maintaining type.
i) *dui* attached to Nouns to form Adjectives:

![Diagram](attachment:image.png)

- **Adj.**
  - **Adj.**
    - **N**
      - **dui** (two)
      - **bačhar** (year)
      - **iaa** (suffix)

- **Fig. 3.6 (50)**

  a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
  b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
  c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
  d) Sub-categorization feature: \([A^− [A]] − A\) at Level 1
  e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
  f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

ii) *dui* attached to Nouns that remain as Nouns:

![Diagram](attachment:image.png)

- **N**
  - **dui** (two)
  - **jokh** (measure)

- **Fig. 3.6 (51)**

  a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
  b) Phonological representation: [-NEUTRAL]
  c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
  d) Sub-categorization feature: \([A^− [A]] − A\) at Level 1
  e) Diacritic feature: [-NATIVE]
  f) Insertion frame: [N [NP] [DP] [N]

---

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(18)  **ek**  
It has two Class Changing and three Class Maintaining types.

i)  **ek** attached to Nouns to form Adjectives/Adverbs:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\{\text{Adj./Adv.}\} \\
\overset{\text{ek-dam}}{\rightarrow}  \\
\quad \quad \quad \quad \text{(in one breath/fully/optimal)} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
N \\
\quad \quad \quad \quad \text{ek (one)} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\quad \quad \quad \quad \text{dam (breath/strength)} \\
\end{array}
\]

Fig. 3.6 (52)
ii) *ek* attached to Adjectives that remain as Adjectives:

\[ \begin{array}{c}
Adj. \\
\text{ek-barg-i} \\
\text{Adj.} \\
\text{N} \\
\text{ek (one)} \text{ barag (type)} \text{ i (suffix)} \\
\end{array} \]

(of one shape/type)

Fig. 3.6 (53)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective

b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL] deletion of second /w/ in *barag* occurs only during ~i suffixation at Level 2

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]

d) Sub-categorization feature: \([A− [N]] −A]\) at Level 1

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]

f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

iii) *ek* attached to Adverbs that remain as Adverbs:

\[ \begin{array}{c}
Adv. \\
\text{ek-lag} \\
\text{Adv.} \\
\text{ek (one)} \text{ lag (continued)} \\
\end{array} \]

(continuously)

Fig. 3.6 (54)
iv) *ek* attached to Nouns that remain as Nouns:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\textit{ek-rakam} \\
\text{(of one type)}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{N} \\
\text{ek} & | & \text{rakam} \\
\text{(one)} & | & \text{(type)}
\end{array}
\]

**Fig. 3.6 (55)**

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \([N^- \ [N] \text{ at Level 1}\]
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP]
(19) ekan

   It has only two Class Maintaining types.

   i) ekan attached to an Adjective that remain as an Adjective:

   adj.
   ekan-čaṭr-i (like singly crowned)
   adj.
   N

   (like one) (crown) (suffix)

   **Fig. 3.6 (56)**

   a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
   b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
   c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
   d) Sub-categorization feature: [A- [N]] -A]
   e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
   f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

   [image of word tree diagram]
ii) *ekan* attached to a Noun that remain as a Noun:

\[
\text{N} \\
\text{ekan-}g\text{u}d-i \\
\text{(a game to hop in one leg)} \\
\text{N} \\
\text{ekan} \\
\text{(like one)} \\
\text{god} \\
\text{(leg)} \\
\text{i} \\
\text{(suffix)}
\]

**Fig. 3.6 (57)**

- a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
- b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
- c) Semantic representation: [+DIVERGENCE] 'a game'
- d) Sub-categorization feature: \([N- [N]] \rightarrow N\) at Level 1
- e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
- f) Insertion frame: [N [VP

(20) *haap*

It has been discussed in § 3.2 (d), (Fig. 3.2 (6) and (7)).

(21) *hin*

It has one each of Class Changing and Class Maintaining type.
(poor) (fate)

Fig. 3.6 (58)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \([A^- [N] \text{ at Level 1}]

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

---

ii) hin attached to Nouns that remain as Nouns:

(hin-maan) (poor prestige/honour)

Fig. 3.6 (59)

---
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \[N^- [N \text{ at Level 1}]
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP

(22) \textit{mahaa}

It has one Class Changing and two Class Maintaining types.

i) \textit{mahaa} attached to a Noun to form an Adjective:

\[
\text{Adj.} \quad \text{mahaa-daan} \quad \text{(too costly)}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{mahaa(high)} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{N} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{daan (cost)}
\end{array}
\]

\text{Fig. 3.6 (60)}

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \[A^- [N \text{ at Level 1}]
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP}
ii) *mahaa* attached to derived/non-derived Adjectives that remain as Adjectives:

```plaintext
mahaa-phāak-u
```

*Fig. 3.6 (61)*

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective

b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]

d) Sub-categorization feature: \[A^-_A\] at Level 2

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]

f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

iii) *mahaa* attached to a Noun that remains as a Noun:

```plaintext
mahaa-ghamaḍ
```

*Fig. 3.6 (62)*
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \([N^- [N \quad \text{at Level 1}]
\]
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP

\(23\) \(na\)

{Adj./Adv.}

\(naa-din-i\ddot{a}a\) (considered inauspicious to return home after nine days)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Adj.} \\
\text{N} \\
\text{n}\ddot{a}\ddot{a} \\
\text{\(n\ddot{a}\)} \\
\text{\(\text{\(n\ddot{a}\)}\)} \\
\text{\(\text{\(d\ddot{a}\)}\)} \\
\text{\(\text{\(i\ddot{a}\)}\)} \\
\text{\(\text{\(i\ddot{a}\)}\)} \\
\end{array}
\]

\((\text{nine})\) (\text{day}) (\text{suffix})

Fig. 3.6 (63)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [+DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \([A^- [A \quad \text{at Level 1}]
\]
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP
(24)  *naa*

It has two Class Changing and one Class Maintaining types.

i)  *naa* attached to Nouns to form Adjectives:

```
                    Adj.  
                      
                    naa-baalak  (not yet an adult)
                        
                      N

naa (not)  baalak (boy)
```

Fig. 3.6 (64)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [+DIVERGENCE]  *naa* = ‘yet’
d) Sub-categorization feature: [A- [N at Level 1]
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE] [+LEGAL]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

ii)  *naa* attached to a Verb to form an Adjective:

```
                    Adj.  
                      
                    naa-paas  (not appreciated)
                        
                      V

naa (not)  paas (appreciate)
```

Fig. 3.6 (65)
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: $[A^- [v \quad \text{at Level 1}}$
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [VP

iii) *naa* attached to Adjectives that remain as Adjectives:

```
naa-laaek (like a misfit)
    \-----
      \-
     \-Adj.
      \-
    \-
  \-
\-
naa(not)  laaeck (fit)
```

Fig. 3.6 (66)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: $[A^- [A \quad \text{at Level 1}}$
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP
(25)  *ni*

It has two Class Changing and one Class Maintaining types.

i) *ni* attached to Nouns to form Adjectives:

```
  Adj.
  \    \   \  \
  \    \   \  \
  \    \   \  \
    ni-dar (without fear)
```

\[ ni \text{(no)} \quad \text{dar (fear)} \]

*Fig. 3.6 (67)*

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \([A^- \quad [N \quad \text{at Level 1}\]
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

ii) *ni* attached to a Verb to form an Adjective:

```
  Adj.
  \    \   \  \
  \    \   \  \
  \    \   \  \
    ni-āt (inadequate/insufficient)
```

\[ ni \text{(no)} \quad \text{āt (adequate/sufficient)} \]

*Fig. 3.6 (68)*
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: [\text{A\text{\_}A} at Level 1

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP/VP

iii) \text{ni} attached to an Adjective that remains as an Adjective:

\[ ni\text{-}sh\ddot{a}khd\ddot{i} \] (not inauspicious, food being untouched)

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{ni (not)} \\
\text{sh\ddot{a}khd\ddot{i} (food-touched)} \\
\text{Adj.}
\end{array} \]

Fig. 3.6 (69)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: [\text{A\text{\_}A} at Level 1

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP/VP
(26) \textit{nis}

It has one Class Changing and one Class Maintaining type.

i) \textit{nis} attached to Nouns to form Adjectives:

\begin{itemize}
  \item Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
  \item Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
  \item Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
  \item Sub-categorization feature: [A- [N at Level 1
  \item Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
  \item Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP
\end{itemize}

\begin{center}
\textit{nis} (no) \textit{phal} (fruit)
\end{center}

\textbf{Fig. 3.6 (70)}

ii) \textit{nis} attached to a Noun that remains as a Noun:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{nis} (sure) \textit{faar} (respite)
\end{itemize}

\begin{center}
\textit{nisaar}
\end{center}

\textbf{Fig. 3.6 (71)}
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: $[+\text{NEUTRAL}]$
c) Semantic representation: $[+\text{DIVERGENCE}]$ nis $\neq$ not
d) Sub-categorization feature: $[N^- [N$ at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: $[+\text{NATIVE}] [+\text{SANSKRIT}]$
f) Insertion frame: $[N [VP$

(27) $pāc$

It has only one Class Changing type i.e. $pāc$ attached to a Noun to form an Adjective:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Adj.} \\
\text{pāc-phut-iaa} \\
\text{(of five feet high)}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Adj.} \\
\text{N} \\
\text{pāc} \\
\text{(five)} \\
\text{phut} \\
\text{(foot)} \\
\text{iaa} \\
\text{(suffix)}
\end{array}
\]

Fig. 3.6 (72)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: $[+\text{NEUTRAL}]$
c) Semantic representation: $[-\text{DIVERGENCE}]$
d) Sub-categorization feature: \([A^\rightarrow [A]] \rightarrow A\) at Level 1

e) Diacritic feature: \([+\text{NATIVE}]\)

f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

(28) \textbf{phul}

It has been discussed in § 3.2 (f), (Fig. 3.2 (9) and (10)).

(29) \textbf{saat}

It has one each of Class Changing and Class Maintaining type.

i) \textbf{saat} attached to a Noun to form an Adjective:

\[
\text{Adj.}
\]
\[
\text{saat-patr-iaa} \quad (\text{having seven leaves})
\]
\[
\text{Adj.}
\]
\[
\text{N}
\]
\[
\text{saat} \quad (\text{seven})
\]
\[
\text{pat(a)r} \quad (\text{leaf})
\]
\[
\text{iaa} \quad (\text{suffix})
\]

\textbf{Fig. 3.6 (73)}

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective

b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL] deletion of the second /v/ in \textit{patar} only during ~iaa suffixation at Level 2

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]

d) Sub-categorization feature: \([A^\rightarrow [N]] \rightarrow A\) at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

ii) *saat* attached to a Noun to form a Noun:

```
  N
 / \
/   \    (a kind of game of tiny china-clay balls)
N/ \  \/     \N
/  \
//  \    saat
//   //    saat-gaat-i
//    //
//     //
//      //
//       //
//        //
saat    gaat     i
(seven) (hole) (suffix)
```

Fig. 3.6 (74)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [+DIVERGENCE] 'a game'
d) Sub-categorization feature: $[\text{N}^- [\text{N}] \sim \text{N}]$ at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP
(30) \( \text{\textit{tin}} \)

It has one each of Class Changing and Class Maintaining type.

i) \( \text{\textit{tin}} \) attached to Nouns to form Adjectives:

\[
\text{Adj.} \quad \text{\textit{tin}}-\text{bhāag} \quad \text{(three fold)}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\textit{tin}} & \\
\text{bhāag} & \\
\text{N} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

(\text{three}) \quad \text{(fold/piece)}

Fig. 3.6 (75)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: [\(A_1\text{[N]}\) at Level 1]
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP]
ii) ṭin attached to Nouns that remain as Nouns:

\[ \text{ṭin-лок} \]

(the three worlds of Puraanic concept)

Fig. 3.6 (76)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \([N_{-}[N] \text{ at Level 1}

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP

It is appropriate to note that in Sambalpuri, with the use of \(\text{лок}\)
as the base, \(\text{ṭin}\) usually comes with another adverbializing suffix \(\text{hi}\) making
it \(\text{ṭin-hi-лок}\), thereby specifying the worlds referred to in the Hindu concept.
(31)  

It has one each of Class Changing and Class Maintaining type.

i)  $u$ attached to a Noun to form an Adjective:

Fig. 3.6 (77)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: $[+\text{NEUTRAL}]$
c) Semantic representation: $[-\text{DIVERGENCE}]$
d) Sub-categorization feature: $[A-[N]]-A$ at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: $[+\text{NATIVE}]$
f) Insertion frame: $[\text{Adj.} [NP/VP}$
ii) \( u \) attached to a Noun that remain a Noun:

\[ \text{u-nidraa} \] (without sleep)

Fig. 3.6 (78)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERSION]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \([N \rightarrow N] \) at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP

(32) \( un \)

It has only one Class Changing type i.e. \( un \) attached to a Noun to form an Adjective, but with ~ iaa suffixation, the same can be either an Adjective or an Adverb:
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective

b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL] deletion of /e/ in jaaet occurs only during -iia suffixation at Level 2

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]

d) Sub-categorization feature: \( [\lambda^- [N]] \rightarrow [\lambda/\lambda] \) at Level 1

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]

f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP
The two different constructions shown below in Fig. 3.6 (80) and Fig. 3.6 (81) are because of the fact that in the first example, *nidraa* is considered a non-derived stem having the feature [+SANSKRIT] whereas in the second it is taken as a derived [+NATIVE] stem which is attached with the prefix *us* to form an Adjective. The first one is Class Maintaining and the second Class Changing.

Noun

![Diagram](Fig. 3.6 (80))

- Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun and Adjective
- Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
- Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
- Sub-categorization feature: [N] or [A] both at Level 1
- Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
- Insertion frame: [N VP or [Adj. VP]

{Adj./Adv.}

![Diagram](Fig. 3.6 (81))