Chapter 4
Sambalpuri Suffixation

Before analysing the Suffixation processes, it may be quite appropriate to note here that unlike English suffixes, Sambalpuri suffixes are not fixedly attached to a single category. The same suffix may attach to different class of bases. Moreover, the number of suffixes attached serially to a base is limited to, that too only in a few cases, two suffixes. As it has been mentioned earlier, the Level ordering applied to Sambalpuri seems to be of little importance.

In the traditional Paninian grammar, suffixes are categorised according to the stems they are attached to. The Kruḍaṇṭ suffixes are those that attach to verbal stems and the Taddhīṭ suffixes are those that attach to bases other than verbal roots. In the modern western linguistic literature which have been mentioned and followed in the present work, such categorisation seems to be ignored, especially when the same suffix attach to both types of bases. However, according to the classification followed in this thesis, the Kruḍaṇṭ suffixes get its entry automatically in the § 4.1.3, 4.2.2, 4.3.3 and 4.4.3. The Kruḍaṇṭ and Taddhīṭ classification is particularly relevant to make a distinction between verbal stems and non-verbal stems.
Sambalpuri suffixes unlike those of their English counterparts, do not necessarily change the class of the base they are attached to as it has been shown in § 4.1.1. However, there is a definitive change in the meaning of the base after the processes of suffixation even though the class form remains unchanged. Sambalpuri suffixes may result in any of the processes as follows: Adjectivalization of the stems; Adverbialization of the stems; Nominalization of the stems and Verbalization of the stems. The semantic representation of the ‘terminals’ ranges from the regular and predictable to highly irregular and unpredictable.
4.1 Adjectivalization in Sambalpuri

The following suffixes are used in Sambalpuri to form Adjectives:

\[ \text{aa, aadhi, aadi, aagal, aak, aal, aalu, aar, aardhi, ak, baaj, bhar, } \text{či, } \]
\[ \text{čiaa, } \text{daar, } \text{di, } \text{du, } \text{e, } \text{ei, } \text{el, } \text{eli, } \text{gi, } \text{haa, } \text{hi, } \text{i, } \text{iaa, } \text{ik, } \text{il, } \text{khaa, } \text{khor, } \]
\[ \text{kiaa, } \text{ku, } \text{laa, } \text{maa, } \text{may, } \text{mu, } \text{niāa, } \text{raa, } \text{ri, } \text{ria, } \text{ru, } \text{si, } \text{tī, } \text{tīaa, } \text{tū, } \text{tīhi, } \]
\[ \text{tāa, } \text{tū, } \text{u, } \text{and } \text{uaa. } \]

4.1.1 Adjective from Adjective

From the list mentioned above, \( e, \text{ ei, } \text{ el, } \text{ hi, } \text{ iaa, } \text{ ik, } \text{ khaa, } \text{ ku, } \)
\( \text{ laa, } \text{ mu, } \text{ niāa, } \text{ raa, } \text{ tī, } \text{ and } \text{ tū } \) are the suffixes which make Adjectives out of the already existing Adjectives. But the suffixation processes result in a change in meaning.

(1) \( e \)

\[ \text{Adj. } \]
\[ \text{aath-e } \text{(approximately eight) } \]
\[ \text{Adj. } \]
\[ \text{aath (eight) } \text{ e (suffix) } \]

Fig. 4.1 (1)
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective [+QUANTITY]
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE] adds the meaning of approximation
d) Sub-categorization feature: $\lambda \rightarrow \lambda$ at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE] [+ORDINALS]
f) Insertion frame: [NP– [Adj.

(2) $ei$

```
Adj.  (tall/tallish)
  
 Adj.
  
  deteg-ei  
  
  Adj.  
  
   deteg  (tall)  
  
   ei (suffix)
```

Fig. 4.1 (2)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective [+SIZE]
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: $\lambda \rightarrow \lambda$ at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE] [+FEMININE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP
200
(3) \( hi \)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Adj.} \\
\text{\( caar-hi \) } \quad \text{(all the four)} \\
\text{Adj.} \\
\text{\( caar \) } \quad \text{\( hi \)} \\
\text{(four) } \quad \text{(suffix)}
\end{array}
\]

\textbf{Fig. 4.1 (3)}

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective \([+\text{QUANTITY}]\)
b) Phonological representation: \([+\text{NEUTRAL}]\)

c) Semantic representation: \([-\text{DIVERGENCE}]\) adds the meaning 'all of'
d) Sub-categorization feature: \( A \rightarrow A \) at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: \([+\text{NATIVE}] [+\text{ORDINALS}]\)
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

(4) \( iaa \)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Adj.} \\
\text{\( bahal-iaa \) } \quad \text{(thick, especially liquid)} \\
\text{Adj.} \\
\text{\( bahal \) } \quad \text{\( iaa \)} \\
\text{(thick) } \quad \text{(suffix)}
\end{array}
\]

\textbf{Fig. 4.1 (4)}
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective [+QUALITY]
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE] re-specify the Adjective
d) Sub-categorization feature: $A] - A]$ at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE] [+LIQUID]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

(5) $khaa$

```
  Adj.  
 /     
bad-khaa (elder amongst relations)
```

Fig. 4.1 (5)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective [+DEGREE]
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE] refers to a few kinship
d) Sub-categorization feature: $A] - A]$ at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE][+HUMAN][+RELATIONS]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP
(6) **ku**

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Adj.} \\
\text{ghut-\textit{ku}} \quad \text{(short of proper size)} \\
\text{Adj.} \\
\text{\textit{ghot}} \quad \text{(small/tiny)} \\
\text{ku} \quad \text{(suffix)}
\end{array}
\]

**Fig. 4.1 (6)**

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective [+DEGREE]

b) Phonological representation: [-NEUTRAL] /ø/ \(\rightarrow\) /u/ in \textit{ghot}

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]

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

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]

f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

(7) **laa**

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Adj.} \\
\text{pich-laa} \quad \text{(of last)} \\
\text{Adj.} \\
\text{pach} \quad \text{(back/last)} \\
\text{laa} \quad \text{(suffix)}
\end{array}
\]

**Fig. 4.1 (7)**
(8) *mu*

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Adj.} \\
guj-mu \\
\text{(of pointed shape)} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Adj.} \\
\text{guj(aa) \\ mu} \\
\text{(pointed) \\ (suffix)} \\
\end{array}
\]

Fig. 4.1 (8)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective [+SHAPE]

b) Phonological representation: [-NEUTRAL] /a:/ \(\rightarrow\) /i/ in *paçh*

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]

d) Sub-categorization feature: \(\_A\) \(-A\) at Level 1

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]

f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP}
(9) *niāa*

```
(Adj. *baaahaar-niāa* (of the outside)

Adj.

*baaahaar* (outside)

*niāa* (suffix)
```

**Fig. 4.1 (9)**

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

(10) *raa*

```
(Adj. *due-raa* (second/of food served the second time)

Adj.

*due(u)* (two)

*raa* (suffix)
```

**Fig. 4.1 (10)**
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective

b) Phonological representation: [-NEUTRAL] /h/ \( \rightarrow \) /s/ in duh, even the /h/ is retained quite often without changing over to /s/.

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]

d) Sub-categorization feature: \( _A \rightarrow _A \) at Level 1

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]

f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

(11) ţi

\[ 
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Adj.} \\
\text{lam-ţi} \\
\text{Adj.} \\
\text{lam} \\
\text{ţi} \\
\end{array} 
\]

(longish)  
(long) (suffix)  

Fig. 4.1 (11)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective [+SHAPE]

b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE] re-specify the Adjective

d) Sub-categorization feature: \( _A \rightarrow _A \) at Level 1

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

f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP
4.1.2 Adjective from Noun

The following suffixes are attached to Noun stems to form Adjectives:

\[ aa, aadhi, aadi, aagal, aak, aal, aalu,aar, aardhi, ak, baaj, bhar, ci, \\
\[ ciaa, daar, di, du, e, el, eli, gi, haa, i, iaa, il, khor, kiaa, maa, may, \\
\[ raa, ri, riaa, ru, si, fiaa, tu, u and uaa. \]
(1) *aa*

---

**a)** Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective

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

[-NEUTRAL] in example iv) above /a:/ -> /ɘ/ in *daat*

**c)** Semantic representation: \([\pm \text{DIVERGENCE}]\)

i) [+HUMAN] one who takes N

ii) [+HUMAN] one who behaves like a dweller of N

iii) [+HUMAN] one who has an inalienable N

iv) [-HUMAN] [+DIVERGENCE] one who has an exceptional N

‘an elephant’

v) [+INANIMATE] the existence of N

vi) [+INANIMATE] that which has the colour of N

**d)** Sub-categorization feature: \(N \rightarrow \text{A}\)

**e)** Diacritic feature: \([\pm \text{NATIVE}] [\pm \text{ANIMATE}] [\pm \text{HUMAN}]\)

**f)** Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP]
(2) aadhį

Adj. 

\textit{dlin-aadhį} \quad \text{(of a few days)}

N

\textit{dlin} \quad \text{\textit{aadhį}}

(day) \quad \text{(half/approximate)}

\textbf{Fig. 4.1 (14)}

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective

b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]

d) Sub-categorization feature: \( N \rightarrow A \) \quad \text{at Level 1}

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]

f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

(3) aadi

Adj. 

\textit{kutm-aadi} \quad \text{(having a large family)}

N

\textit{kutm(um)family} \quad \text{\textit{aadi} (suffix)}

\textbf{Fig. 4.1 (15)}
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]  
c) Semantic representation: [+DIVERGENCE] 'having a large kutum'
d) Sub-categorization feature: \([N] - A\) at Level 1  
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]  
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

(4) aagal

\[ \text{Adj.} \]
\[ \text{çunaa-aagal} \]  
(residue of powdered-rice)

\[ \text{N} \]

\[ \text{çunaa} \]  
(lime)  
\[ \text{aagal} \]  
(suffix)

Fig. 4.1 (16)

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

![Diagram for aak]

a) Category (conjugation/declension class):

b) Phonological representation: [-NEUTRAL] /ɑː/ → /e/ in çaal

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]

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

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]

f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

(6) **aal**

![Diagram for aal]

a) Category (conjugation/declension class):

b) Phonological representation: [-NEUTRAL] /ɑː/ → /e/ in aal

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]

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

(7) aalu

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

Fig. 4.1 (19)

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

Adj.
\( \text{din-aardhi} \) 
(a day or so)

\( \text{N} \)

\( \text{din} \) 
(day)

\( \text{aardhi} \) 
(half or so)

Fig. 4.1 (20)

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

(9) ak

Adj.
\( \text{jan-ak} \) 
(moon-lit)

\( \text{N} \)

\( \text{jan} \) 
(moon)

\( \text{ak} \) 
(suffix)

Fig. 4.1 (21)
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \( N \rightarrow A \) at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

(10) \textit{baaj}

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
  \node (adj) {Adj. \textit{dhokaa-baaj} (like a cheat)};
  \node (n) [below] {N};
  \node (dhokaa) [below left] {\textit{dhokaa} (cheat)};
  \node (baaj) [below right] {\textit{baaj} (suffix)};
  \draw [->] (adj) -- (n);
  \draw [->] (adj) -- (dhokaa);
  \draw [->] (adj) -- (baaj);
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

\textbf{Fig. 4.1 (22)}

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

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
    \node (N) {N};
    \node (tupaa) [above left of=N] {\textit{\text{tupaa}}};
    \node (bhar) [above right of=N] {\textit{bhar}};
    \node (container-full) [above right of=bhar] {\text{(container-full)}};
    \node (cane-container) [below left of=tupaa] {\text{(cane-container)}};
    \node (fill) [below right of=bhar] {\text{(fill)}};

    \draw[->] (tupaa) edge (N);
    \draw[->] (bhar) edge (N);
    \draw[->] (container-full) edge (bhar);
    \draw[->] (cane-container) edge (tupaa);
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

\textbf{Fig. 4.1 (23)}

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

(12)  \textit{\text{\text{ci}}}

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
    \node (N) {N};
    \node (pul-\textit{ci}) [above left of=N] {\textit{\text{pul-\text{ci}}}};
    \node (\textit{\text{ci}}) [above right of=N] {\textit{\text{\text{ci}}}};
    \node (hollow/without seeds – of nuts) [above right of=pul-\textit{ci}] {\text{(hollow/without seeds – of nuts)}};
    \node (without seed) [below left of=pul-\textit{ci}] {\text{(without seed)}};
    \node (suffix) [below right of=\textit{\text{ci}}] {\text{(suffix)}};

    \draw[->] (pul-\textit{ci}) edge (N);
    \draw[->] (\textit{\text{ci}}) edge (N);
    \draw[->] (hollow/without seeds – of nuts) edge (pul-\textit{ci});
    \draw[->] (without seed) edge (pul-\textit{ci});
    \draw[->] (suffix) edge (\textit{\text{ci}});
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

\textbf{Fig. 4.1 (24)}
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [-NEUTRAL] /o/ → /u/ in *pol*
c) Semantic representation: [+DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: N] − A] at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

(13) *ciaa*

*Fig. 4.1 (25)*

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: N] − A] at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP
(14)  
\[\textit{daar}\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Adj.} \\
\textit{dam-\textit{daar}} \\
\textbf{N} \\
\textit{\textit{daar}} \\
\textit{\textit{dam}} \\
\end{array}
\]

(14) daar

\textit{plucky}

\text{fortitude}

\text{suffix}

Fig. 4.1 (26)

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

(15)  
\[\textit{di}\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Adj.} \\
\textit{gāj-\textit{di}} \\
\textbf{N} \\
\textit{\textit{di}} \\
\textit{\textit{gājei}} \\
\end{array}
\]

(15) di

\text{marijuana-addict}

\text{marijuana}

\text{suffix}

Fig. 4.1 (27)
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective  
b) Phonological representation: [-NEUTRAL] deletion of /ei/ in gājei  
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]  
d) Sub-categorization feature: [N] — [A] at Level 1  
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE][+HUMAN]  
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

(16)  ḍu

adj.

naak-ḍu  

(having an odd/a large nose)

N

naak

(nose)

ḍu

(suffix)

Fig. 4.1 (28)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective  
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]  
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]  
d) Sub-categorization feature: [N] — [A] at Level 1  
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE][+MASCULINE]  
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP
Fig. 4.1 (29)

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

(b) Phonological representation: [-NEUTRAL] deletion of /u/ in āaghu

(c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE][+MEASURE]

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

(e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]

(f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

Fig. 4.1 (30)

(18) el

Adj.
khap-el
(of clay-tiled roof)

N

khap(a)r
(clay roof cover)

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

(19)  *eli*

```
Adj.  rup-eli  (silvery)

N

rupaa  (silver)  eli  (suffix)
```

Fig. 4.1 (31)
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective [+COLOUR]
b) Phonological representation: [-NEUTRAL] deletion of /a:/ in *rupaa*
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \[N \rightarrow A\] at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE][+METAL]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \([N] - [A]\) at Level 2
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

(21) **haa**

```
Adj.
---
rug-haa (diseased)
---
N
---
rog (disease) haa (suffix)
```

Fig. 4.1 (32)
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [-NEUTRAL] /o/ → /o/ in rog
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: $N] - A$ at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE] 
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

(22) $i$

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Adj.} \\
daakhtar-i
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\text{(of doctors' profession)} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{N} \\
daakhtar \\
deakhtar-i
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
(\text{doctor}) \\
(\text{suffix})
\end{array}
\]

**Fig. 4.1 (34)**

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: $N] - A$ at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE][+PROFESSION]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP
(23)  
\[\text{iaa} \]

![Diagram](image)

Fig. 4.1 (35)

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

(24)  
\[\text{il} \]

![Diagram](image)

Fig. 4.1 (36)
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \( N - A \) at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

(25) \textit{khor}

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
  \node (n) {N};
  \node (l) [right of=n] {lāač-
  \node (k) [right of=l, above of=n] {khor} (compulsive bribe-taking);
  \node (a) [right of=n, below of=n] {lāač} (bribe);
  \node (h) [right of=k, below of=k] {khor} (suffix);
  \draw (n) -- (l);
  \draw (l) -- (a);
  \draw (a) -- (h);
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

Fig. 4.1 (37)

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Adj.} & \quad \overrightarrow{\text{din-}kiaa} \\
\text{N} & \quad \overrightarrow{\text{din}} \quad \overrightarrow{\text{kiaa}} \\
\text{day} & \quad \text{(suffix)}
\end{align*}
\]

(for a day/per day)

Fig. 4.1 (38)

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

(27) *maa*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Adj.} & \quad \overrightarrow{\text{gœth-}maa} \\
\text{N} & \quad \overrightarrow{\text{g(ð)eth}} \quad \overrightarrow{\text{maa}} \\
\text{knot} & \quad \text{(suffix)}
\end{align*}
\]

(knotty/of short height)

Fig. 4.1 (39)
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [-NEUTRAL] deletion of /θ/ in gæth
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: [N] – [A] at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE][+HUMAN]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

(28) may

```
  Adj. phul-may  (full of flowers)
     /   |
     N    |
     phul  may
    (flower) (suffix)
```

Fig. 4.1 (40)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: [N] – [A] at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP
(29)  
raa

\[\text{Adj.} \]
\[bheji-ri \rightarrow (of \ \text{vegetables with sprouted seeds})\]

\[N\]

\[bheji \]
(vegetable)

\[ri \]
(suffix)

Fig. 4.1 (41)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [+DIVERGENCE] 'fruits with sprouted-seeds'
d) Sub-categorization feature: \(Nl \rightarrow \text{A}l\) at Level 1

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

(30)  
ri

\[\text{Adj.} \]
\[d\ddot{a}at-ri \rightarrow (having \ \text{big/odd teeth})\]

\[N\]

\[d\ddot{a}at \]
(teeth)

\[ri \]
(suffix)

Fig. 4.1 (42)
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [+DIVERGENCE] 'having exceptional/big N'
d) Sub-categorization feature: $N \rightarrow A$ at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE][+FEMININE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

(31) \textit{riaa}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\begin{tikzpicture}
\node (N) at (0,0) {$N$};
\node (cith) at (-1.5,1) {$\text{\textparagraph cith}$};
\node (riaa) at (1.5,1) {$\text{\textparagraph riaa}$};
\node (oily_sticky) at (0,2) {\textit{(oily/sticky)}

\draw [-stealth] (N) -- (cith);
\draw [-stealth] (N) -- (riaa);
\draw [-stealth] (cith) -- (oily_sticky);
\draw [-stealth] (riaa) -- (oily_sticky);
\end{tikzpicture}
\caption{\textit{oily/sticky substance}) (suffix)}
\end{figure}

Fig. 4.1 (43)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: $N \rightarrow A$ at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP
(32)  

\[ ru \]

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adj.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\ddot{d}a\dot{a}t-ru)</td>
<td>(having big/odd teeth)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ N \]

\[ \ddot{d}a\dot{a}t \]

\[ ru \]

(teeth)  (suffix)

Fig. 4.1 (44)

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

(33)  

\[ si \]

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adj.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\ddot{h}\ddot{e}d-si)</td>
<td>(broken – especially bricks/stones)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ N \]

\[ \ddot{h}\ddot{e}d \]

\[ si \]

(broken piece)  (suffix)

Fig. 4.1 (45)
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: N ⁄ A] at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE][+INANIMATE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

(34)  ṭiaa

Adj.
luhaa-ṭiaa (like iron-taste)

luhaa (iron)

Fig. 4.1 (46)

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

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Adj.} \\
kathhaa-tu \\
N \quad \text{(talkative)} \\
kathhaa \quad tu \\
tell \quad \text{(suffix)}
\end{array}
\]

**Fig. 4.1 (47)**

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

(36) \( u \)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Adj.} \\
gumaan-u \\
N \quad \text{(like an introvert)} \\
gumaan \quad u \\
(pride) \quad \text{(suffix)}
\end{array}
\]

**Fig. 4.1 (48)**
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \( N \rightarrow A \) at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

\( uaa \)

(37) (shaped like a pit—of pots)

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{Adj.} \\
gaad-uaa \\
N \\
gaad \\
\text{uaa}
\end{array} \]

(ditch) (suffix)

Fig. 4.1 (49)

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

The following suffixes are attached to verbal stems:

\[ aar, haa, il, laa, raa, ri, ru, taa, u \text{ and } uaa \]

(1) \( aar \)

\[ \text{çinh-aar} \] (familiar)

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{N} \\
\text{çinh} \quad \text{aar}
\end{array} \]

(know/distinguish) (suffix)

Fig. 4.1 (50)

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

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

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

(c) Semantic representation: \([+\text{DIVERGENCE}] \text{‘timid’}\)

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

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

(f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

\[\text{(watery defecation)} \quad \text{(suffix)}\]

Fig. 4.1 (51)

(3) **il**

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

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

(c) Semantic representation: \([+\text{DIVERGENCE}] \text{‘timid’}\)

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

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

(f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

\[\text{(still – of water or liquid)}\]

Fig. 4.1 (52)
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: $v \rightarrow A$ at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

(4) *liaa*

\[\begin{array}{c}
\text{Adj.} \\
khüç-laa \\
\downarrow \\
v \\
\downarrow \\
khüç \\
laa
\end{array}\]

(stuck)

(pierce/stick) (suffix)

Fig. 4.1 (53)

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

(5) ra\(\text{a}\)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Adj.} \\
\text{çab-ra\(\text{a}\)} \rightarrow \text{(aggressive/biting)} \\
V \\
\text{çaab} \\
\text{ra\(\text{a}\)} \\
\text{(bite)} \\
\text{(suffix)}
\end{array}
\]

Fig. 4.1 (56)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
b) Phonological representation: \([\text{-NEUTRAL}] \text{/a/} \rightarrow \text{/e/} \text{ in çaab}\)
c) Semantic representation: \([\text{-DIVERGENCE}][\text{+HABIT}]\)
d) Sub-categorization feature: \(v \rightarrow \text{A} \) at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: \([\text{+NATIVE}] \text{ [+ANIMATE]}\)
f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP
(6) *ri*

\[ \text{Adj.} \]

\[ hās-ri \]

(of person impulsively laughing)

\[ V \]

\[ hās \quad ri \]

(laugh) \quad (suffix)

**Fig. 4.1 (57)**

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective

b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]

d) Sub-categorization feature: v] -A] at Level 1

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

f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

(7) *ru*

\[ \text{Adj.} \]

\[ kāad-ru \]

(of person impulsively crying)

\[ V \]

\[ kāad \quad ru \]

(weep) \quad (suffix)

**Fig. 4.1 (58)**
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective

b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]

d) Sub-categorization feature: v] – a] at Level 1

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

f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

Fig. 4.1 (59)

(8) taa

![Diagram]

(lighted)

(light/fire) (suffix)

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

(b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]

(c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]

(d) Sub-categorization feature: v] – a] at Level 1

(e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]

(f) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP
(9) ti

Adj.
çaal-ti (of/for walking)

V
çaal (eat) ti (suffix)

Fig. 4.1 (60)

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

(10) u

Adj. geph-u (of compulsive eating)

V
geph (eat) u (suffix)

Fig. 4.1 (60)
g) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective
h) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
i) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
j) Sub-categorization feature: $v \rightarrow_{A}$ at Level 1
k) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE][+HUMAN]
l) Insertion frame: [Adj. [NP

(11) $u\text{aa}$

\[\text{V} \quad \text{ghin-}\text{u\text{aa}} \quad \text{Adj.} \quad \text{(bought)}\]
\[\text{ghin} \quad \text{u\text{aa}} \quad \text{(buy) \quad (suffix)}\]

**Fig. 4.1 (61)**

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

The following suffixes are used in Sambalpuri for Adverbialization of the stems:

\textit{aa, aak, bhar, dekhiaa, he, iaa, ir, jaakar, kiaa, ku\text{\textperiodcentered}aa, laa, nu, saa, saaraa, sa\textasciitilde{r}aa, tel} and \textit{ur}.

4.2.1 Adverb from Adjective

Of the above-mentioned list, the following are the suffixes attached to Adjectives to form Adverbs:

\textit{aa, el, he, iaa, and kiaa}.

(1) \textit{aa}

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
\node {Adv.} [grow=up, sibling distance=10mm, edge from parent fork right]
child {node {debri-\textit{aa}} edge from parent node[above] {\small (with left hand/lefty)}
child {node {Adj.} edge from parent node[below] {\small \textit{debri}}}
child {node {\textit{aa}} edge from parent node[below] {\small (suffix)}}}
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

Fig. 4.2 (1)

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

b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: \([\pm \text{DIVERGENCE}]\)
d) Sub-categorization feature: \(_{A}^{A} - _{Av}^{Av}\) at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: \([+\text{NATIVE}]\)
f) Insertion frame: [Adv. [VP

(2) el

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Adv.} \\
aag\text{x}\text{-}el \\
\text{Adj.} \\
aag\text{h} \\
el
\end{array}
\]

(being in front/ahead)

(front/ahead) (suffix)

Fig. 4.1 (2)

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

```
(4) *iaa*
```

### Category (conjugation/declension class): Adverb

**Fig. 4.2 (3)**

- a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adverb
- b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
- c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
- d) Sub-categorization feature: $A \rightarrow \overline{AV}$ at Level 1
- e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE][+ORDINALS]
- f) Insertion frame: [Adv. [VP

### Insertion frame: [Adv. [VP

**Fig. 4.2 (4)**

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

(5) *kiaa*

![Diagram showing the structure of *alap-kiaa*.

**Fig. 4.2 (5)**

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

The Adverb making suffixes that attach to Nouns in Sambalpuri are:

*aa, bhar, dekhiaa, iaa, ir, jaakar, kuṭaa, laa, saa, saraa, sarṭaa* and *ur*.

(1) *aa/āa*

![Fig. 4.2 (6)](image)

- **a)** Category (conjugation/declension class): Adverb
- **b)** Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
- **c)** Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
- **d)** Sub-categorization feature: \(N\)\(_{-}\)\(Av\) at Level 2
- **e)** Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
- **f)** Insertion frame: [Adv. [VP}
(2) *bhar*

```
 Adv. jiban-bhar (life-long)
 /      \
 N       
 jiban  bhar
  (life) (suffix)
```

**Fig. 4.2 (7)**

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

(3) *dekhiiaa*

```
 Adv. gaal-dekhiiaa (on the face/the cheeks)
 /      \
 N       
 gaal  dekhiiaa
  (cheek) (suffix)
```

**Fig. 4.2 (8)**
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adverb
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \( N \rightarrow_{Av} \) at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adv. [VP

(4) *iaa*

![Diagram of *iaa* tree structure]

Fig. 4.2 (9)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adverb
b) Phonological representation: [-NEUTRAL] deletion of /i/ in *majhi*
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \( N \rightarrow_{Av} \) at Level 2
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adv. [VP
(5) \textit{ir}

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
  \node (n1) {\textit{piç-ir}};
  \node (n2) {\textit{ir}} at (2,0) [below of=n1, xshift=-1em, yshift=1em] {	extit{ir} (suffix)};
  \node (n3) {\textit{piç}} at (-1,0) [below of=n2] {	extit{piç} (gush)};
  \node (n4) {N} at (0,0) [below of=n3] {	extit{N}};
  \draw[->] (n1) -| (n4);
  \draw[->] (n2) -| (n4);
  \end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

Fig. 4.2 (10)

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

(6) \textit{jaakar}

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
  \node (n1) {\textit{kutum-jaakar}} at (0,0) [left of=n2, xshift=2em, yshift=0em] {	extit{kutum-jaakar} (of all the family members)};
  \node (n2) {\textit{jaakar}} at (1,0) [below of=n1, xshift=-0em, yshift=-1em] {	extit{jaakar} (all)};
  \node (n3) {\textit{kutum}} at (-1,0) [below of=n2] {	extit{kutum} (family)};
  \node (n4) {N} at (0,0) [below of=n3] {	extit{N}};
  \draw[->] (n1) -| (n4);
  \draw[->] (n2) -| (n4);
  \end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

Fig. 4.2 (11)
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adverb
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: $N \rightarrow _{Av}$ at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adv. [VP

(7) kutaa

\[ \text{Adv.} \]
\[ \text{baçhar-kutaa} \] 
\[ \text{(round the year)} \]

\[ \text{N} \]
\[ \text{baçhar} \]
\[ \text{kuτaa} \]
\[ \text{(year)} \]
\[ \text{(suffix)} \]

Fig. 4.2 (12)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adverb
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: $N \rightarrow _{Av}$ at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adv. [VP
(8) laa

```
(alone)
```

```
Adv.
N
ek - laa
(one) (suffix)

Fig. 4.2 (13)
```

(a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adverb

(b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]

(c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]

(d) Sub-categorization feature: $N \rightarrow _{-Av}$ at Level 1

(e) Diacritic feature: [+ NATIVE]

(f) Insertion frame: [Adv. [VP

(9) saa

```
(at the village-end)
```

```
Adv.
gāa-mud-saa
```

```
N
N
N
N
```

```
gāa
muḍ
saa
(village) (end) (suffix)
```

Fig. 4.2 (14)
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adverb
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: $N - AV$ at Level 2
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adv. [VP

(10) saaraa

![Diagram of saaraa]

Fig. 4.2 (15)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adverb
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: $N - AV$ at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adv. [VP
(11) *sartaa*

Fig. 4.2 (16)

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

(12) *ur*

Fig. 4.2 (17)
4.2.3 Adverb from Verb

Only three Sambalpuri suffixes attach to Verbs to form Adverbs: aak, nu and tel.

(1) aak

```
Adv. 
\text{çap}-aak \rightarrow 
(fittingly)

V

\text{çap} \quad \text{aak}

(fit) \quad \text{(suffix)}
```

Fig. 4.2 (18)
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adv. [VP

(2) nu

\[
\text{Adv.} \quad \text{bas-nu} \quad \text{(while sitting)}
\]

\[
\text{V} \quad \text{bas} \quad \text{nu} \quad \text{(sit)} \quad \text{(suffix)}
\]

**Fig. 4.2 (18)**

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

This suffix is attached to verbs only in a reduplication construction as \(~\text{nu}\) can attach to \([\text{bas-\text{uth}}]_v\) to make \([[\text{bas}]_v \\text{nu}]_{\text{Adv.}} \quad [[\text{uth}]_v \text{nu}]_{\text{Adv.}}\).
(3) *fel*

![Diagram of the structure of *fel*]

Fig. 4.2 (19)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adverb
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: v]−av] at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [Adv. [VP
4.3 Nominalization in Sambalpuri

In the processes of Nominalization in Sambalpuri, the following suffixes are used:

- $aa$, $aak$, $aali$, $aami$, $aan$, $aani$, $aar$, $aari$, $aas$, $aat$, $aati$, $ak$, $an$, $baa$, $baalaa$, $ca$, $ci$, $daani$, $dar$, $ei$, $en$, $eti$, $gar$, $giri$, $haak$, $haraa$, $i$, $iaa$, $iiaa$, $khaanaa$, $laa$, $li$, $mi$, $naa$, $ni$, $niiaa$, $ol$, $phaal$, $piqhaa$, $ri$, $ti$, $uaa$, $uaal$, $ul$, $uli$, $unaa$, $uni$ and $utii$.

4.3.1 Noun from Adjective

The suffixes that form Adjectives from Nouns are:

- $aa$, $aami$, $eti$, $mi$, and $phaal$

(1) $aa$

Fig. 4.3 (1)
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun [+ABSTRACT]
b) Phonological representation: [-NEUTRAL] /o/ → /u/ in bojh
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: [A] → [N] at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP

(2) aami

```
N
dust-aami → (mischief/prank)
```
Adj.

```
dust

aami
```

(mischievous) (suffix)

Fig. 4.3 (2)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun [+ABSTRACT]
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: [A] → [N] at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP
(3) *e*ti

![Diagram of *e*ti]

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun [+ABSTRACT]
b) Phonological representation: [-NEUTRAL] deletion of /a:/ in *saphaa*
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: A] ¬N] at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP

(4) *mi*

![Diagram of *mi*]

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: [-NEUTRAL] deletion of /a:/ in *saphaa*
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: A] ¬N] at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE] 'day count'
d) Sub-categorization feature: A]–N] at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP

(5) phaal

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{\{N/A\}} \\
pach-phaal \\
\text{Adj.} \\
pach (back) \\
phaal (side)
\end{array}
\]

(back-side)

Fig. 4.3 (5)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun and 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: [N [VP or [Adj. [NP
4.3.2 Noun from Noun

The following are the suffixes attached to Nouns that remain as Nouns with a change in meaning:

\(aani, aar, aari, aas, aat, aati, ak, baalaa, caa, ci, daani, daar, ei, gar, giri, haraa, i, iaa, khaanaa, laa, li, pi\check{c}haa, ri, \ddot{t}, uaa, uaal, ul\) and \(ul\).

(1) \textit{aani}

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
  \node (n) at (0,0) {N};
  \node (a) at (-1,1) {tel-aani} edge from parent node[auto] {\(\text{an earthen plate to keep oil}\)};
  \node (na) at (-2,2) {N} edge from parent node[auto] {\(\text{an earthen plate to keep oil}\)};
  \node (n1) at (-3,3) {tel} edge from parent node[auto] {\(\text{oil}\)};
  \node (n2) at (-3,2) {aani} edge from parent node[auto] {\(\text{suffix}\)};
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

\textbf{Fig. 4.3 (6)}

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

N

bhuti-aar

(bonded/hired labour)

N

bhuti

(aar)

(bonded labour) (suffix)

Fig. 4.3 (7)

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

(3) aari

N

bhik-aari etc.

N

bhik (alms) aari (a beggar)
i) jhi (daughter) aari (niece)

Fig. 4.3 (8)
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE] in ii) [+KINSHIP]
d) Sub-categorization feature: $N \rightarrow N$ at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE][+HUMAN]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP

(4) *aas*

\[
\text{attachment) \hspace{1em} (face/mouth) \hspace{1em} (suffix) }
\]

**Fig. 4.3 (9)**

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

\[ \text{N} \]

\[ \text{bar-aat} \]  (bridegroom's procession)

\[ \text{N} \]

\[ \text{bar} \]

(bridegroom)

\[ \text{aat} \]

(suffix)

\textbf{Fig. 4.3 (10)}

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun

b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]

d) Sub-categorization feature: \( N \rightarrow N \) at Level 1

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]

f) Insertion frame: [N [VP

(6) aa\text{ti}

\[ \text{N} \]

\[ \text{bi\text{c}h(u)}-\text{aa\text{ti}} \]  (a person like a scorpion)

\[ \text{bi\text{c}hu} \]

(scorpion)

\[ \text{aat\text{i}} \]

(suffix)

\textbf{Fig. 4.3 (11)}
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: [-NEUTRAL] deletion of /u/ in bicihu
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \[N \rightarrow N\] at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP

(7) ak

\[
\begin{array}{c}
 N \\
 jhal-ak \\
 jhal \\
 (glean) \\
 ak \\
 (suffix)
\end{array}
\]

(gleamer/sampler)

Fig. 4.3 (12)

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

\[
\begin{array}{c}
N \\
\text{ghar-baala etc.} \\
\end{array}
\]

i) **ghar** (house) **baala** (house-owner/landlord)

ii) **murhi** (popped rice) **baala** (popped-rice seller)

iii) **jaadu** (magic) **baala** (a magician)

iv) **dukaan** (shop) **baala** (shop-owner)

**Fig. 4.3 (13)**

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun

b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]

   i) the owner of a N
   ii) the seller of N
   iii) the showman of N
   iv) the owner/person in charge of N

d) Sub-categorization feature: \[N \rightarrow N\] at Level 1

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

f) Insertion frame: [N [VP
(9) çaa

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{N} \\
\text{khay-çaa} \\
\text{N} \\
\text{khay} \\
\text{çaa}
\end{array}
\]

kiy ay gaa
(spoil/neglect) (suffix)

(10) çi

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{N} \\
\text{aphim-çi} \\
\text{N} \\
\text{aphim} \\
\text{çi}
\end{array}
\]

Fig. 4.3 (14)

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

Fig. 4.3 (15)
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: \([+\text{NEUTRAL}]\)
c) Semantic representation: \([-\text{DIVERGENCE} \text{ ‘addict’}]\)
d) Sub-categorization feature: \([N] - [N] \text{ at Level 1}\)
e) Diacritic feature: \([+\text{NATIVE}]\)
f) Insertion frame: \([N [VP\)

(11) *daani*

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{N} \\
\text{thuk-daani} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{(spittoon)} \\
\text{N} \\
\text{thuk} \quad \text{daani} \\
\text{(spit)} \quad \text{(suffix)}
\end{array}
\]

Fig. 4.3 (16)

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

```
N
paharaa-daar etc.  N
```

i) **paharaa** (watch) **daar** (watchman)

ii) **jhaadu** (broom) **daar** (cleaner man)

iii) **thikaa** (contract) **daar** (contractor)

iv) **tahsil** (Tehsil) **daar** (the official head of a tehsil)

v) **phauz** (army) **daar** (army-man)

Fig. 4.3 (17)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun

b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]’work position’

i) one that works to give N

ii) one that works with N

iii) one that works on N

iv) the head of N

v) one that works in N

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

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

f) Insertion frame: [N [VP
(13) \( ei \)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
N \\
kirh-ei \rightarrow (a \text{ person like an insect – abusive sense}) \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
N \\
kirh(aa) \\
ei \\
\end{array}
\]

\( (\text{insect}) \quad (\text{suffix}) \)

Fig. 4.3 (18)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun

b) Phonological representation: \([-\text{NEUTRAL}] \) deletion of /a:/ in \( kirhaa \)

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

d) Sub-categorization feature: \( N \rightarrow N \) at Level 1

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

f) Insertion frame: \( [N \ [VP \]

(14) \( gar \)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
N \\
sau\ddot{a}aa-gar \rightarrow (a \text{ businessman/a vendor}) \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
N \\
sau\ddot{a}aa \\
gar \\
\end{array}
\]

\( (\text{transaction}) \quad (\text{suffix}) \)

Fig. 4.3 (19)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
(15)  \textit{giri}

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}

\node (N) {N} child {node (daadaa-giri) {	extit{daadaa-giri}} \edge[->] node[below] {(strongman-attitude)} ;}
child {node (N) {N} \edge[-] node[below] {\textit{daadaa} (strongman)} ;}
child {node (N) {N} \edge[-] node[below] {\textit{giri} (suffix)} ;}
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

\textbf{Fig. 4.3 (20)}

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: $\text{N}^{-\text{N}}$ at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE][+HUMAN]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP}
(16)  

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{haraa} \\
\text{N} \\
\text{tel-haraa} \\
\text{N} \\
\text{tel} \\
\text{(oil)} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[\rightarrow (a \text{ person who sells/makes oil)}\]

\[\text{Fig. 4.3 (21)}\]

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

(17)  

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{i} \\
\text{N} \\
\text{khamaar-i} \\
\text{N} \\
\text{khamaar} \\
\text{(grain-house)} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[\rightarrow (\text{the grain-house keeper)}\]

\[\text{Fig. 4.3 (22)}\]
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \[N \rightarrow N\] at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP

(18) \textit{iaa}

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
  \matrix[row sep=2em,column sep=2em,align=center] {
    \node (N) {N} & \node (iaa) {iaa} & \node (dhol) {\textit{dhol}} & \node (etc.) {iaa etc.} \\
  \};
\draw[->] (N) -- (iaa) node[midway,above] {\textit{iaa}};
\draw[->] (N) -- (dhol) node[midway,above] {\textit{dhol}};
\draw[->] (dhol) -- (etc.) node[midway,above] {\textit{iaa etc.}};
  \end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

i) \textit{\textit{dhol}} (drum) \textit{iaa} (a drum-player)

ii) \textit{sagad} (bullock cart)\textit{iaa} (a cart-driver)

iii) \textit{kir\textit{jan}} \textit{iaa} (person singing bhajans with \textit{gini} hitting sort of brass plates together)

Fig. 4.3 (23)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: [±NEUTRAL] /o/ \rightarrow /u/ in \textit{\textit{dhol}}
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \[N \rightarrow N\] at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE][+HUMAN]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [+DIVERGENCE][+MINIATURIZATION]
   N of 'smaller shape'
d) Sub-categorization feature: \( \text{N} \rightarrow \text{N} \) at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE][+INANIMATE]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP

(19) \( \text{khaanaa} \)

Fig. 4.3 (25)
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: $N \rightarrow N$ at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP

(20) \textit{laa}

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{N} \\
\text{khūf-īlaa} \\
\text{khūf} \quad \text{laa}
\end{array} \]

(small piece of a log – especially for cooking)

(\text{log/post}) \quad (\text{suffix})

\textbf{Fig. 4.3 (26)}

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE][+MINIATURIZATION]
d) Sub-categorization feature: $N \rightarrow N$ at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP
Fig. 4.3 (27)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun

b) Phonological representation: [±NEUTRAL] deletion of /a:/ in bhugaa

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE][+MINIATURIZATION]

d) Sub-categorization feature: N → N at Level 1

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

f) Insertion frame: [N [VP

\[ \text{\{N/A\}} \]

\[ \text{\textit{\textbf{chuaa-li}} (having given birth to a child)} \]

\[ \text{\textit{\textbf{N}} \]

\[ \text{\textit{\textbf{\textit{chuaa}}} \]

\[ \text{\textbf{(child)}} \]

\[ \text{\textbf{(suffix)}} \]

\[ \text{\textit{\textbf{li}}} \]

\[ \text{\textbf{(a small pond)}} \]

\[ \text{\textbf{bādh-li}} \]

\[ \text{\textbf{(a small cane-container)}} \]

\[ \text{\textbf{(cane container)}} \]

\[ \text{\textbf{li)}} \]
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun and Adjective
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [+DIVERGENCE] 'having a child'
d) Sub-categorization feature: $N \rightarrow N$ at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE][+HUMAN]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP or [Adj. [NP

(22) $pi\check{c}haa$

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{gāa}\-pi\check{c}haa \\
\text{(village-wise/per village)}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{gāa} \\
\text{(village)}
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{pi\check{c}haa} \\
\text{(suffix)}
\end{array}
\]

Fig. 4.3 (29)

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

\[
\begin{array}{c}
N \\
\text{juaa-ri} \\
N \\
\end{array}
\]

i)  \( juaa \) (gambler)  \( ri \) (gambler)

ii)  \( sunaa \) (gold)  \( ri \) (one who deals with gold by caste/by profession; goldsmith)

**Fig. 4.3 (30)**

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun

b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
   i) one who is addict to N
   ii) one who deals in N

d) Sub-categorization feature: \[ N \rightarrow N \] at Level 1

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

f) Insertion frame: \[ N \ [VP \]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
N \\
\text{massa-ri} \\
N \\
\end{array}
\]

\( massa \) (mosquito)  \( ri \) (suffix)

**Fig. 4.3 (31)**
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \( N \rightarrow N \) at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE][+INANIMATE]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP

(24) \( \ddot{ji} \)

\[
\begin{tikzpicture}
  \node (N) at (0,0) {\(N\)};
  \node (N1) at (-1,-2) {\(N\)};
  \node (N2) at (1,-2) {\(N\)};
  \node (paaen-ti) at (-2,-4) {paaen-\( \ddot{ti} \)};
  \node (paaen) at (-2,-3) {\textit{paaen} (water)};
  \node (ji) at (-2,-2) {\( \ddot{ji} \)};
  \draw (N) -- (N1);
  \draw (N) -- (N2);
  \draw (N1) -- (paaen);
  \draw (N2) -- (ji);
  \draw (paaen) -- (paaen-ti);
  \draw (ji) -- (paaen-ti);
\end{tikzpicture}
\]

i) \textit{paaen} (water) \( \ddot{ji} \) (one who gives water for payment)

ii) \textit{bichaa} (scorpion) \( \ddot{ji} \) (one who is like a scorpion)

iii) \textit{chuaa} (child) \( \ddot{ji} \) (a baby-sitter)

iv) \textit{pilaa} (child) \( \ddot{ji} \) (one who has given birth to a child)

\textbf{Fig. 4.3 (32)}

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
   i) one who works to give N [+FEMININE]
   ii) one who is like N [+HUMAN] [+LITERARY]
iii) one who cares N [+FEMININE]
iv) one who has given birth to N
d) Sub-categorization feature: N] − N] at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE][+HUMAN]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP

(25) uaa

\[ bhaar-uaa \]

(a professional carrier, who carries goods balancing on a bamboo shaft)

(bamboo to carry load) (suffix)

Fig. 4.3 (33)
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][+MASCULINE]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP
(26)  

\[
\begin{align*}
N \\
ghaṭ-uaal \\
(\text{one who watch a river-bank}) \\
\end{align*}
\]

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun

b) Phonological representation: \([-\text{NEUTRAL}] /a:/ \rightarrow /e/ \text{ in } ghaṭ\]

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

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

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

f) Insertion frame: \([N [VP\]

(27)  

\[
\begin{align*}
N \\
haṭ-ul \\
(\text{a hammer}) \\
\end{align*}
\]

Fig. 4.3 (35)
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

(28)  

\[
\text{uli} \\
N \\
g{\text{äa}}(\text{äa})\text{-uli etc.} \\
N \\
\]

i)  
gäa (village)  uli  (a villager – abusive sense)

ii)  
maa (mother)  uli  (a village goddess)

Fig. 4.3 (36)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL] /ä:/ \rightarrow /i/
c) Semantic representation: [+DIVERGENCE] ii) refers to a ‘goddess’
d) Sub-categorization feature: N [-N] at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP
4.3.3 Noun from Verb

The following suffixes are attached to Verbs to derive Nouns:

\[ \text{aa, aak, aali, aan, aani, aagi, ak, baa, baar, ei, en, haak, i, iaa, li, naa, ni, ni\text{"aa, o\text{"i, uaal, unaa, uni and } u\text{"i.} \]

(1) \text{aa}

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{N} \\
\text{d\text{"i-aa} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{d\text{"e} \\
\text{aa} \\
\end{array}
\]

(give) \quad \text{(suffix)} \quad \text{(the act of giving)}

\text{Fig. 4.3 (37)}

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun

b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]

d) Sub-categorization feature: \( v \rightarrow N \) at Level 1

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]

f) Insertion frame: [N [VP}
(2) *aak*

\[ N \]

\[ \text{sur-aak} \rightarrow (a\ clue) \]

\[ V \]

\[ \text{sor} \quad \text{aak} \]

(recall/know) (suffix)

Fig. 4.3 (38)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun

b) Phonological representation: [-NEUTRAL] /ə/ \( \rightarrow \) /u/ in *sor*

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]

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

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]

f) Insertion frame: [N [VP

(3) *aali*

\[ N \]

\[ \text{jug-aali} \rightarrow (a\ watchman) \]

\[ V \]

\[ \text{jug} \quad \text{aali} \]

(watch) (suffix)

Fig. 4.3 (39)
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: \( v \rightarrow N \) at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE][+HUMAN]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP

\[ \begin{align*}
    &N \\
    &\text{\texttt{chek-aan}} \\
    &\text{\texttt{chek}} \\
    &\text{\texttt{aan}} \\
\end{align*} \]

\( \text{(obstruct)} \quad \text{(suffix)} \)

Fig. 4.3 (40)

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

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{N} \\
\text{\textasciitilde{dekh}-aani} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{\textasciitilde{dekh}} \\
\text{\textasciitilde{aani}} \\
\end{array}
\]

(for the act of seeing)

\text{Fig. 4.3 (41)}

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun

b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]

c) Semantic representation: [+DIVERGENCE] 'money given to children and subordinates for a festive occasion'

d) Sub-categorization feature: \(v \rightarrow n\) at Level 1

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

f) Insertion frame: \([N \ [VP]\]

(6) *aat\~i*

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{N} \\
\text{\textasciitilde{buh}-aat\~i} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{\textasciitilde{buh}} \\
\text{\textasciitilde{aat\~i}} \\
\end{array}
\]

(a mover /a carrier)

\text{Fig. 4.3 (42)}
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE][+PROFESSION]
d) Sub-categorization feature: v] − N] at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE] [+HUMAN]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP

(7) ak

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{N} \\
paaç-ak \\
\text{V} \\
paaç \\
\text{(digest)} \\
ak \\
\text{(suffix)}
\end{array}
\]

(home-made pills for digestion)

\[\text{Fig. 4.3 (43)}\]
(8) *baar*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{N} & \quad d\text{hu-baar} \quad \text{(washer-man)} \\
\text{V} & \\
\text{dhu} & \quad \text{baar} \\
(\text{wash}) & \quad (\text{suffix})
\end{align*}
\]

Fig. 4.3 (44)

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

(9) *baar*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{N} & \quad r\text{aadh-baar} \quad \text{(the act of cooking)} \\
\text{V} & \\
r\text{aadh} & \quad \text{baar} \\
(\text{cook}) & \quad (\text{suffix})
\end{align*}
\]

Fig. 4.3 (45)
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: v] −N] at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP

(10)  

\[ bîch-\textit{ei} \]

N

\( \text{bîch} \)

V

\( \text{ei} \)

(spread)

(suffix)

(the act of spreading a sheet)

Fig. 4.3 (46)

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

\[ N \]

+mud-en \rightarrow (a point where the road turns)

+mud (turn)

+en (suffix)

\[ V \]

**Fig. 4.3 (47)**

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun

b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]

d) Sub-categorization feature: v] – N] at Level 1

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]

f) Insertion frame: [N [VP

(12) **haak**

\[ N \]

+gaa-haak \rightarrow (the lead singer in a chorus)

gaa (sing)

+haak (suffix)

\[ V \]

**Fig. 4.3 (48)**
one who sings in traditional devotional chorus in *kirtan* and *paalaa*

Fig. 4.3 (49)

(a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun

(b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]

(c) Semantic representation: [+DIVERGENCE]

(d) Sub-categorization feature: v] − N] at Level 1

(e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]

(f) Insertion frame: [N [VP

(13)...
(14)  \textit{iāa}

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

(15)  \textit{li}

\begin{itemize}
\item Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
\item Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
\item Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
\item Sub-categorization feature: \[v \rightarrow n\] at Level 1
\item Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
\item Insertion frame: \[N \{VP or [Adj. [NP
\end{itemize}
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE][+ABUSE][+TABOO]
d) Sub-categorization feature: v] –N] at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE][+FEMININE]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP

(16)  

(a clip to hold something tight)

(tighten)  

(suffix)  

Fig. 4.3 (52)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE][+INSTRUMENT]
d) Sub-categorization feature: v] –N] at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE][+INANIMATE]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP
(17)  

\[ ni \]

\[
\text{N} \\
\text{bhaal-ni} \\
(\text{serious thinking – in the face a problem})
\]

\[
\text{V} \\
\text{bhaal} \\
\text{ni}
\]

(seriously think)  (suffix)

Fig. 4.3 (53)

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

(18)  

\[ ni\a \]

\[
\text{N} \\
\text{m\d-a\a-ni\a} \\
(\text{one who begs/asks for})
\]

\[
\text{V} \\
\text{m\d-a\a} \\
\text{ni\a}\a
\]

(ask for)  (suffix)

Fig. 4.3 (54)
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun

b) Phonological representation: [-NEUTRAL] /āː/ → /ê/ in māag

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]

d) Sub-categorization feature: v] ¬N] at Level 1

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

f) Insertion frame: [N [VP

\[ol\]

\[\begin{array}{c}
\text{N} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{V} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{chid} \quad \text{ol}
\end{array}\]

\text{(cut/shiver) \quad (suffix)}

\text{(the act of shivering)}

Fig. 4.3 (55)
Fig. 4.3 (56)

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

Fig. 4.3 (57)

(21) **uaal**

(a person who keeps crops in bunch)
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: v] ~ n] at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP

(22) unaa

\[ \begin{array}{c}
N \\
paa-unaa \\
& V \\
paa & unaa \\
(\text{get}) & (\text{suffix}) \\
(\text{getting payment})
\end{array} \]

Fig. 4.3 (58)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: v] ~ n] at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP
(23)  

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{uni} \\
\text{N} \\
\ji-\text{uni} \\
\text{(the act of living)} \\
\text{V} \\
\ji \\
\text{(live)} \\
\text{uni} \\
\text{(suffix)} \\
\end{array}
\]

**Fig. 4.3 (59)**

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

(24)  

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{u\textbar}i} \\
\text{N} \\
\jaa-u\textbar{i} \\
\text{(the act of going)} \\
\text{V} \\
\jaa \\
\text{(go)} \\
\text{u\textbar{i}i} \\
\text{(suffix)} \\
\end{array}
\]

**Fig. 4.3 (60)**
a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Noun
b) Phonological representation: [+NEUTRAL]
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]
d) Sub-categorization feature: v] − N] at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]
f) Insertion frame: [N [VP
4.4 Verbalization

The process of Verbalization or, in other words, the process of suffixation in deriving Verbs from Adjectives or Nouns or Verbs seems to be quite complex. It is because of the fact that Verbs in Sambalpuri or for that matter in many languages of the Indo-Aryan family surfaced already in derived forms as they all belong to roots which may be traced only by diachronic study. In the traditional Paninian grammar, the verbal roots are called धातु. The suffixes attached to the verbal stems, strictly speaking, belong to the domain of Inflectional Morphology. Moreover, Sambalpuri like many other Indian languages, have many verbs which can be termed as ‘dual verbs’ – two verbs surface together in which one of the verbs works like a noun and the other verb, always the second one, is of a limited set like ne, aan, देश, पका, mar etc. They do not exactly carry their meaning in the syntax, rather they function as a ‘filler’.

धारी आन (hold–bring)

कारी नेद (do–take)

पढ़ी पका (read–finish)

पढ़ी मरबु (fall–die)

Besides, there are instances of Serial Verb Construction (Collins – 1997) in Sambalpuri.
"A serial verb construction is a succession of verbs and their complements (if any) with one subject and one tense value that are not separated by any overt marker of coordination or subordination"—(Collins 1997: 462).

The $V_2$ may be the result of $V_1$ but they do not have overt coordination or subordination.

$\textit{radi khe\ddot{g}i} \, \text{de}$
shout, drive X out

$\textit{khaai shuila\ddot{a} \, na}$
X has eaten, has slept

$\textit{\ddot{u}\ddot{d}aa \, rakhi} \, \text{de}$
pick X up keep (that)

The above examples may be rewritten like the following with a coordination/subordination marker:

$\textit{radi kari khe\ddot{g}i} \, \text{de}$
shout and drive X out

$\textit{khaai kari shuila\ddot{a} \, na}$
X has eaten and has slept

$\textit{\ddot{u}\ddot{d}aa \, aaru rakhi} \, \text{de}$
pick X up and keep that
Though many Adjectives and a few Nouns can be used as Verbs, they do not require any specific verb-making suffixes. Whatever suffixes are added to them belong to the Inflectional category, hence are left out for future research on Inflectional Morphology of Sambalpuri. However, for turning Adjectives and Nouns to Verbs, the following two suffixes are normally used: *ei* and *au*. However, it needs to be used as dual verbs mentioned above making it mandatory to use the second verb like *ne, aan* etc. (as in the first example below). The second example, however, does not require a second verb. A change in the Phonological representation is common in such Verbalization though not always necessary.

\[ \ddrei aanlaa na \] (it is darkening)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
V \\
\ddhrei \\
\text{Adj.} \\
\ddhaar \\
ei
\end{array}
\]

V (darken)  
Adj.  
\ddhaar (dark)  
ei (suffix)

**Fig. 4.4 (1)**

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Verb  
b) Phonological representation: [-NEUTRAL] deletion of /a:/ in *\ddhaar*  
c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]  
d) Sub-categorization feature: \[ A ] \rightarrow \text{v} \] at Level 1
e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]

f) Insertion frame: [NP [VP

\[
\begin{array}{c}
V
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
kirh-ei
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{c}
kirhaa
\end{array}\quad \text{and} \quad \begin{array}{c}
ei
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{(insect)}
\end{array}\quad \text{and} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{(suffix)}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{(infest with insects)}
\end{array}
\]

Fig. 4.4 (2)

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Verb

b) Phonological representation: [-NEUTRAL] deletion of /a:/ in kirhaa

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE]

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

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]

f) Insertion frame: [NP [VP

4.5 Native Suffixes with Foreign Bases and vice versa

No entry could be found in Sambalpuri having native suffixes attached to foreign stems. However, a few instances of coinage could be recorded in the colloquial speech in the urban areas where the amalgamation
between the educated and the semi-educated population result in the coinage of derivation like: *gal-ebəl* under the influence of English.

![Diagram](image)

**Fig. 4.5 (1)**

a) Category (conjugation/declension class): Adjective

b) Phonological representation: [-NEUTRAL]

c) Semantic representation: [-DIVERGENCE] *ebəl* = 'able'

d) Sub-categorization feature: v] -a] at Level 1

e) Diacritic feature: [+NATIVE]

f) Insertion frame: [NP [Adj.}