CHAPTER THREE

THE ORIYA NOUN PHRASE
As in English, the Noun Phrase in Oriya has various types of modifiers which can occur before and after the head. Oriya and English, however, differ very much in the functioning of the post head modifiers. Whereas English uses different types of post modifiers, Oriya allows only a clausal post modifier (the relative clause) and all non-clausal ones are obligatorily transformed to premodifiers. Thus,

(1) The book on the table - (det+head + post modifier)
   (table top of book) (n+premodifier+head)

(2) The man on the road
    rāstā uparara loka
    (road top of man) (n+premodifier+head)

(3) The girl in the car
    kar bhitarara jhia
    (car inside of girl) (n+premodifier+head)

(4) The bird in the cage
    panjuri bhitarara pakkhi
    (cage inside of bird) (n+premodifier+head)

In each of these examples, the source of the English post modifier and the corresponding Oriya premodifier is a relative clause; but whereas in English, the relative clause is transformed into a
prepositional phrase and functions as the post modifier like the original relative clause, in Oriya, however, the same process transforms the relative clause into a pre-head modifier.

3.1. CATEGORIES OF ORIYA MODIFIERS:

The pre-modifiers in Oriya can be categorised as follows:

(a) Determiners
(b) Quantifiers
(c) Epithets
(d) Nominals
(e) Phrasal modifiers

3.1.1. Determiners -

Nouns are frequently introduced by determiners. A determiner before a noun determines the head in a Noun Phrase. The following modifiers can be treated as determiners in Oriya: sabu (all), bahuta (many), gotakete (a few), kaunasi (any), bibhinna (different), nana (many), aneka (a large number), kichi (some) and the like.

(5) Sabu loka (det + head) all people 'all people'

(6) bahuta loka (det+head) many people 'many people'

(7) kaunasi bhasa (det+head) any language 'any language'
The determiners of Oriya can be broadly classified as (i) Specific and (ii) Non-specific. Before the two classes of determiners are discussed it is useful to look at the definite in Oriya. Oriya does not have definite determiners like English. It is realised in Oriya by adding a post position *ti* or *ta* to the noun.

A noun in Oriya occurring with *ti* or *ta* or without any such postposition has always some degree of definiteness. Specifically, it is more definite than a noun occurring without any of these post positions. For example:

(12) *goti pila mote dekha kari āsithila*.

(A boy came to see me)

(13) *pilati mote dekha kari āsithila*.

(The boy came to see me)

(14) *kichī pilā mote dekha kari āsithile*.

(Some boys came to see me)

(15) *pilamanе mote dekha kari āsithile*.

(The boys came to see me)
Since Oriya has no separate category like the Generic (Article) of English, the generic meaning is a function of the category Definite which is usually realized as null.

(16) mora bhaï daktara
(My brother is a doctor)

(17) purusa stri apekhyä besi balabän
(A man is stronger than a woman)

In the above examples the generic meaning of (17) as well as the specific meaning of (16) are both realized by zero determiners.

The contrast between Definite and the generic Nondefinite of English does not operate in Oriya. Rather, they are merged together in a single category Determiner. For example:

(18) gharabhitare sapa achi
(There is a snake in the room)

(19) sapa gharabhitare achi
(The snake is in the room)

Here the word gharabhitare which exchanges its position with sapa in the two sentences continues to be definite in both the instances. The definite meaning of snake in the second example is related to the context of speech and is also due to thematization that gives intonational focus to the word.

(a) Non-specific:

The non-specific determiners in Oriya can be divided into two classes:

(i) Inclusive, & (ii) Non-inclusive
(i) **Inclusive**

(a) in the singular sense:

(i) individualized - 'pratyeka' (each)

(ii) non-individualized - 'prati' (every)

(b) in the plural sense:

(a) Selective, (b) Non-selective

(a) Selective

(a') Open: Both in the dual (either) and non-dual (any) sense kaunasi is used as the modifier in Oriya Noun Phrase:

(24) kaunasi bahi caliba

\{ 'Either book will do' - (dual) \}

\{ 'Any book will do' - (non-dual) \}
(a) Restricted:

keteka(some) is non-singular and is restricted in number compared to sabu (whole)

(25) keteka pila besi bhala
some boys more good
"Some boys are better (than others)"

(b) Non-selective -

(b') Singular:

(26) se gotie murkha
he a fool
'He is a fool'

(b') Non-singular:

(27) mu kichi bahi cahen
I some book want
I want some books.

Both in dual and non-dual uses kaunasi can combine with a negator to indicate negative meaning as in the following:

(28) kaunasi jhia sundar muhen
either girl beautiful not
'Neither girl is beautiful' (neither of the two girls)

(29) mu kaunasi bahi padhi nahn
I any book have not read
'I have not read my book'

(b) Specific:

The specific determiners are grouped into two as (i) demonstrative, and (i) possessive

(i) Demonstrative -

Words like ehi, ei (this) and seh, sei
(that) are used as demonstratives in Oriya Noun Phrase. Though the words ehi and ei carry the same meaning (i.e. this) and both sehi and sei imply the same thing (i.e. that) there exists stylistic difference between ehi and ei, sehi and sei. In colloquial Oriya ei and sei are used instead of ehi and sehi respectively. For example:

(30) ei jhia (dem+head)
   this girl
   'this girl'

(31) sei jhia (dem+head)
    that girl
    'that girl'

Here also we find that the demonstratives ehi and ei refer to physical nearness whereas sehi and sei imply physical distance. Oriya demonstratives have no separate plural marker. ei and sei can be used with both singular and plural heads:

(32) (i) ei jhia (dem+head (sing))
    this girl
    'this girl'

(ii) ei jhiamane (dem+head (pl.))
    these girls
    'these girls'

(33) (i) sei jhia (dem+head (sing.))
    that girl
    'that girl'

(ii) sei jhiamane (dem+head (pl.))
    those girls
    'those girls'

Like the demonstratives in English these demonstratives
in Oriya can also be used with both count and non-count noun heads:

(34) **ei/sei botala** (dem+sing.count noun) 
    **this/that bottle**
    'this/that bottle'

(35) **ei/sei botalagudika** (dem+pl.count noun) 
    **these/those bottles**
    'these/those bottles'

(36) **ei/sei pani** (dem+non-count head) 
    **this/that water**
    'this/that water'

Demonstratives in Oriya can be broadly categorised into two groups:

(a) **Interrogative**, (b) **Non-Interrogative**.

(a) Interrogative:

keun (which) is the member of the Interrogative group:

(37) **keun bahiti tora ?** (dem+head) 
    **which book yours**
    "which book is yours?"

(b) Non-Interrogative:

The non-interrogative demonstratives can be divided into two sub-types,

(b\(^1\)) near,

and (b\(^2\)) non-near.

ehi and ei belong to the first sub-type whereas sehi and sei belong to the second sub-type.

(ii) **Possessives**:

(a) Non-Interrogative

(b) Interrogative
(a) Non-Interrogative :

(a\textsuperscript{1}) Pronomial or Possessive Pronoun

(a\textsuperscript{2}) Non-Pronomial or Genitivals

Words like mohara/mora/mori (my, mine), amara (our), tahara (his/her), tumara/apanankara (your), kahara (whose), ketekankara (of some) are the possessive pronouns (pronominal modifiers) in Oriya.

(38) mora bahi (P/P + head)

my book

'my book'

(39) amara skul (P/P + head)

our school

'our school'

(40) eita kahara bahi ? [dem+P/P (questionizer)

this whose book + noun ]

'Whose book is this ?'

(41) eita kahara jaga nuhen (dem+P/P+noun

this anybody's place no + negation)

'This is nobody's place.'

(42) tumara bahi (P/P + head)

your book

'Your book,'

(43) tahara bahi (P/P + head)

his/her book

'his/her book'

It is seen that kahara can be used in two contexts, (i) as a questionizer, and (ii) in the sense of negation.

Possessives with markers like -ra, -nkara, -manankara (of some) are called genitivals and are used as Premodifiers in the Oriya Noun Phrase.
For example:

(44) nāmun ra pua (gen+head)
Mānum of son
"Mānum's son"

(45) pilara nāma (gen+head)
boy of name
'boy's name'

(46) āma baāira paribā (P/P + gen+head)
our garden of vegetables
'vegetables of our garden'

From the above examples it is also found that genitivals can be of two types:

(i) genitivals signifying human being,
(ii) genitivals signifying non-human.

Genitival in (44) and (45) are gen (hum), whereas that of (46) is gen (non-hum).

(b) Interrogative -

(i) Pronominal : kāhāra (whose)

(47) eha kāhāra bahi?
this whose book
"Whose book is this?"

(ii) Non-Pronominal - keun - ra (which's)

(48) eha keun pilara bahi?
this which boy's book
'Which boy's book is this?'

The system of determiners in Oriya, as analysed here, shows that compared to English, the English determiner system is much less complex. This may be one of the reasons why Oriya learners of English find difficulty
in the use of English determiners.

3.1.2. Quantifiers:

Quantifiers are analysed as Numerals, Enumeratives, Emphatics, Aggregatives with optional sub-modifiers such as 'Approx' and 'Rating'. Unlike English, Oriya Numerals include also Multiplicatives and Fractionals which, in English, are part of the category Predeterminer.

(a) Numerals -

Numerals are numbers with two sub-types:

(1) Ordinals, and (ii) Cardinals.

Prathama (first), dwitiya (second), trutiya (third) and similar formatives from numbers are the Ordinals used as modifiers in the Oriya Noun Phrase. They modify both human and non-human nouns. For examples,

(49) prathama santana [ord+head (hum)]

first child

'first child'

(50) ekadasa sreni[ord +head (non-hum)]

eleventh class

'eleventh class'

The following are the examples of cardinals in Oriya:

gotie (one)

duiti (two)

satati (seven)

etc.

Like ordinals, cardinals can also modify both human and non-human heads in a Noun Phrase:
Sometimes only in the case of human beings the suffix -jana is used with both singular and plural numbers. For example:

\[(53) \text{ekajana} /\text{jane} \text{ bhadraloka} \quad [\text{card. (sing) + head}]\]
\[\text{one gentleman}\]

\[(54) \text{tinijana stri} \quad [\text{card. (pl) + head}]\]
\[\text{three ladies}\]

Quantifiers like adha/adhe (half), dedha (one and a half), adhei (two and a half), eka-trutiyanısa (one-third) are termed as fractional.

\[(55) \text{tara adha sampatti (frac. + head)}\]
\[\text{his half property}\]

\[(56) \text{dedha barsa (frac. + head)}\]
\[\text{one and year a half}\]

\[(57) \text{adhei mail (frac. + head)}\]
\[\text{two and mile a half}\]

When the prefix sadhe - is used with cardinals like tini (three), cari (four) and the like, they become
fractionals. Thus we find:

(58) tini barsa (card.+head)
\[ \text{three year} \]
\[ \text{'three years'} \]

but

(59) sadhetini barsa (frac.+head)
\[ \text{three and year} \]
\[ \text{a half} \]
\[ \text{'three and a half year'} \]

Oriya uses modifiers like duiguna, tiniguna etc. as multiplicatives. Their use implies comparison:

(60) chara duiguna bhata
\[ \text{this of twice rice} \]
\[ \text{"rice twice of this"} \]

The multiplicatives in Oriya are usually formed by adding guna to any cardinal.

Words like praya (almost), kampakhyare (minimum), atibesi (maximum), kebala (only) are the 'Approx' quantifiers in Oriya.

(61) praya tini saha loka
\[ \text{'almost three hundred people'} \]

(62) kampakhyare satati abibāhita jhia
\[ \text{'minimum seven unmarried girls'} \]

'Rating' is a sub-modifier which may modify a cardinal. It includes elements like purba/purbabarti (previous), para/parabarti (next) and shesa (last):

(63) purba cāri anka
\[ \text{previous four act} \]
\[ \text{'previous four acts'} \]
It may be marked that these sub-modifiers may themselves become independent modifiers without necessarily combining with cardinals. In that case, they function as epithets.

(b) Enumeratives:

The category Enumerative is posited to account for constructions like \( \text{NP}(N+\text{measure})+\text{head} \) as in:

(66) \( \text{gilās pānī} \)
\[ \text{a glass water} \]
\[ \text{a glass of water} \]

(67) \( \text{cāmuca bhāta} \)
\[ \text{a spoon rice} \]
\[ \text{a spoon of rice} \]

(68) \( \text{kāpe cā} \)
\[ \text{a cup tea} \]
\[ \text{a cup of tea} \]

It is possible to have alternative constructions of the type:

\[
\text{[Cardinal][Fractional]} + N + \text{Measure}
\]

as in the following:

(69) \( \text{ekā gilās pānī} \)
\[ \text{one glass water} \]
\[ \text{one glass of water} \]
Here it should be noticed that the formulation for the Oriya Enumeratives, unlike English, will not allow recursive embeddings, that is, no more than one occurrence of $N$ (measure) is permitted in any single Enumerative construction. Furthermore, $N$ [measure] can be preceded only by a numeral and not by just any determiner. Specifically, it does not allow any non-specific to co-occur:

- (72) bahut caula
- (73) bahut ser caula  
  * (74) eka ser caula
- (75) alpa petrol
- (76) alpa litar petrol  
  * (77) tini litar petrol

Constructions like

- (78) dôle loka
  a people
  group
  'a group of people'
- (79) pale gai
  a herd cows
  'a herd of cows'

also belong to this category. But the nouns like dala and pala cannot imply [measure] as can be litar (litre), kilo
(k.g.), kap. (cup), āomic (spoon) etc. They have rather more of the feature [collection]. Hence, the rule for the Enumerative should have two options like

\[
\text{Enumerative} \rightarrow N + \left[ \text{measure} \right]
\]

(C) Emphatics:

Words like alpa, tikie, kam, (few, little, a little), gadie/gadae (several, many), kebala (only), ketegudie (several), besi (much/many) are the emphatics in Oriya.

(80) alpa bhāta
      little rice
     'a little rice'

(81) kam loka
      few people
     'few people'

(82) tikie cini
      little sugar
     'little sugar'

(83) gadie kama
      several works
     'several works'

The intensifiers khub and bahut can also be included among these Emphatics. When added to the usual emphatics, these intensifiers do not change the meaning of the emphatics but give a greater degree of intensification to the same. Thus,

(84) kam asa
     little hope
     'little hope'
does not differ so much semantically from

\[(85) \text{khub/bahut kam asa} \quad \text{very little hope} \]

'very little hope'

except in the degree of 'hope'. Both the cases imply positive meaning. But in the corresponding English construction, the addition of the intensifier implies negation of hope.

\[\text{kebala} \quad \text{is also an Emphatic which can be used with singular and plural heads:}\]

\[(86) \text{kebala rama (jiba)} \quad \text{[Emph. head(sing.)]} \]

\[
\text{only Ram will go}
\]

\[
\text{Only Ram (will go)}
\]

\[(87) \text{kebala strilokamane} \quad \text{[Emph. + head (pl.)]} \]

\[
\text{only ladies}
\]

\[
\text{only ladies}'
\]

This Emphatic never follows other quantifiers, rather it precedes them. Thus,

\[(88) \text{ (a) kebala gotie pila (Emph.+card.+head) \quad \text{only one boy} \quad \text{'only one boy'} } \]

\[
\text{* (b) gotie kebala pila (card.+Emph.+head) \quad \text{one only boy} } \]

\[(89) \text{ (a) kebala prathama pila (emph.+ord.+head) \quad \text{only first boy} \quad \text{'only the first boy'} } \]

\[
\text{* (b) prathama kebala pila (ord.+Emph.+head) \quad \text{first only boy} } \]
(90) (a) kebala adha sampatti (Emph.+Frac.+head)
only half property
'only half property'

(b) adha kebala sampatti (Frac.+emph.+head)
half only property

(91) (a) kebala dale loka (emph.+enum.+head)
only a group of people
'only a group of people'

(b) dale kebala loka (Enum.+Emph.+head)
a group only people

Besides these, the words thik, bilkul, ekdam, pakhapakhi, purapuri, hin are also used as Emphatics in Oriya Noun Phrases:

(92) thik sei mapa
'Just the size'

(93) bilkul apananka pari
'Just like you'

(94) tanka pakhapakhi denga
'Almost as tall as him'

(95) ei bahi hin
'Just this book'

(96) purapuri/ekdam saman pent
totally absolutely same pants.

(d) Aggregatives:

The Aggregative is represented, in isolation, by such lexical items as sabu, but most characteristically
it combines with the preceding cardinals in which case it is, phonologically, a bound form Jaka. It co-occurs with both human and non-human nouns. Thus,

\[
dui (jana) + \text{Agg} \longrightarrow duitijaka/duijana jaka
\]

\[
tini (jana) + \text{Agg} \longrightarrow tinitijaka/tinijana jaka
\]

As a part of the category Determiner, the constituent Aggregative is inherently definite.

(97) (i) duiti pilå (asile)

'Two boys (came)'

(ii) duitijaka/duijanajaka pilå (asile)

'Both the boys (came)'

(98) (i) dasati ghara

'ten houses'

(ii) dasatijaka ghara

'all the ten houses'

Because of this implication of inherent definiteness of the Aggregative, we find that the Aggregative in Oriya, can also sometimes substitute for the Anaphoric (definite) function.

In this regard, we may also note the behaviour of the cardinals with pronouns. In Oriya, sequences as ame dui, apana dui, semane dui simply do not occur. Instead, we have semane duijana, ame duijana etc. The occurrence of apana duijana to the exclusion of apana dui may be interpreted as related to the inherent definiteness of the constituent Aggregative. In English, however, you two is related to the two of you (as opposed to two of you).
(e) Limiters:

In the Oriya Noun Phrase we also find elements like hin, madhya, ta, bas, khaba which function as a kind of limiter.

(99) ei duiṭi hin pila

'only these two boys' (i.e., only two of these boys)

(100) ei duiṭi pila hin

'only these two boys' (and no one else)

(101) ei duiṭi pila madhya

'Also these two boys'

(102) ei duiṭi pila ta

particularly these two boys

or

at least these two boys.

In all the above sequences, the limiter elements hin, madhya, ta have an emphatic implication.

hin may be preceded by cardinals and also by Aggregatives, but in these uses an obvious meaning difference is involved. For example

(103) duiṭi hin pila jibe

'Only two boys will go'

(104) duijanajaka hin pila jibe

Both the boys will go.

In (103) hin has an exclusive or restrictive implication when it is preceded by a cardinal whereas this sense is absent in (104) where it follows an Aggregative and functions as an emphaseror only.
The really useful function of hin is to mark the scope of the limiter unambiguously, especially in a case where the limiter happens to be an item which is homophonous with an item from some other constituent. The following two examples make it clear.

(105) kebala duiṭi pila hin əsibe

'Only two boys (and no one else) will come'

(106) kebala duiṭi pila əsibe

'Only two boys (and no one else) will come'

The two examples show that hin is rather an optional element of the Limiter. But one can also find that the sentence may be ambiguous in that kebala may be interpreted as modifying just duiṭi - the numeral - and not the whole Noun Phrase. Kebala hin and bas .... hin etc. can also occur as sub-modifiers of numerals (in which case they belong to the constituent 'Approx') just as for English we have found that an item like only can be a numeral sub-modifier as well as a limiter affecting the whole noun phrase. Thus,

(107) (i) kebala duiṭi jhia əsile

Only two girls came

(ii) kebala duiṭi hin jhia əsile

Only two girls came

(108) (i) kebala duiṭi jhia əsile

Only two girls came

(ii) kebala duiṭi jhia hin əsile

Only two girls came

Different particles are often associated with different limiter words. Thus, kebala , bas , ati besire etc. take hin as in ,
Buy only a TV

but kam-se-kam or ati kam re etc. take ta as in

You've to offer at least a cup of tea, ehadada, emitiki etc. take madhya. It is possible for the particles to occur alone without any of the limiter words with which they are associated but the limiter words are, nevertheless, assumed in each such occurrence.

In this example the limiter word is optional and it may mean either

(a) 'Also a boy can do it' (as can a girl)

(b) Even a boy can do it (not to speak of a man)

In both the senses, a limiter is assumed to be present.

hin as a numeral sub-modifier tends to be restrictive in negative constructions. In affirmative constructions it has more of a sense of emphasis. Like wise in English both just and only have a restrictive sense, but just also has an added sense of emphasis:

duiti hin pilā āsile

only two boys came
So far the emphasizer function, hin is very often felt to alternate with madhya in negative constructions. This provides a further distinction between hin and madhya as limiters on the one hand, and as numeral sub-modifiers on the other. In the case of the former, the possible alternation of hin with madhya in negative construction is for exclusiveness, in the case of the latter, it is for emphasis.

In case numerals are followed by Aggregative, they take only hin (in its emphasizer function).

(114) dasajanaśaka hin pilā asile

The ten boys - all of them came.

In the case of pronouns which precede Numeral + Aggregative as in tume duijanā there may be ambiguity in written sequences, between the occurrences of a numeral sub-modifier hin and a Noun Phrase limiter hin. This will always be clear in speech through emphasis. Thus,

(115) (i) tume duijanā hin jiba

You two - both of you will go (numeral sub-modifier)

(ii) tume duijana hin jiba

Only the two of you (or; 'you two') will go (Limiter)

3.1.3 Epithets:

Epithets are used in two ways in the Oriya Noun Phrase as

(a) Adjectives

and  (b) Participial Modifiers.
(a) Adjectives

Adjectives in Oriya are mainly of two types: adjectives that can take an intensifier and those which cannot.

Words like puruna (old), lamba (long), ghana (dense), sundara (beautiful), ma (new) belong to the category of adjectives which can go with intensifiers like ati (too, very, extremely), bahuta (very) etc.

For example:

(116) puruṇa ghara (adj+head)
old house
'old house'

(117) ati puruṇa ghara (int+adj+head)
very old house
very old house

(118) bhala pila (adj+head)
good boy
'good boy'

(119) ati bhala pila (int+adj+head)
very good boy
'very good boy'

Some adjectives in Oriya, however, cannot take intensifiers. Examples are

bidesi (foreign), ma (great), masika (monthly)
barsika (yearly) etc.

(120) bidesi bhasa (adj+head)
foreign language
'foreign language'

(121) ati bidesi bhasa (int+adj+head)
very foreign language
'very foreign language'
(122) maha kabi (adj.+head)
'great poet'

(123) ati maha kabi (int.+adj.+head)
'very great poet'

(124) masika patrika (adj.+head)
'monthly magazine'

(125) ati masika patrika (int.+adj.+head)
'very monthly magazine'

(126) barsika aya (adj+head)
'yearly income'

(127) ati barsika aya (int.+adj+head)
'very yearly income'

In case the adjective is part of an adjectival phrase, English does not allow it to be placed in the prenominal position. The entire phrase, on the other hand, is moved to the post nominal position. But Oriya does not have any restriction on the prenominal placing of adjectival phrase. Thus, in English

(128) (i) A boy more intelligent than Ram

(129) ramatharu adhika buddhima pila.

(b) Participial Modifiers

The use of epithets in Oriya can also be found in the form of Participial Modifiers. As in English, Participial Modifiers in Oriya are also derived from relativized verbs of the form , V-ing or V-en. Oriya
however differs from English considerably with regard to participial modifiers because of internal restrictions of form and function in the two languages. As differentiated from English, in Oriya, adjectivization involves change in the form of the verb.

(130) (i) jaluchi → jaluthiba (V-ing)  
burning  'burning'

(ii) jalichi → jalithiba (V-en)  
'burnt'  'burnt'

Modifiers in Oriya are formed from the present participles of verbs with the ending thiba added to them.

(131) bhasuthiba  danga (Fr.part+head)  
floating  boat  
'floating boat'

(132) soithiba  loka (Fr.part+head)  
sleeping person  
'sleeping person'

(133) uduthiba  cadei (Fr.part+head)  
'flying bird'

In some stylistic uses such participial modifiers may have alternative forms derived from the verbs with such morphological endings as -mam, nta and the like. These forms are not strictly participial ones, they are rather adjectives formed from the verbs. Examples are:

(134) bhasamana jahaja  
'floating ship'

(135) udanta thalia  
'flying plate'

(136) jalanta gruha  
'burning house'
The past participial modifiers are formed from the verbs in past perfect with the addition of the ending thiba.

(137) jalithibā kātha (past part+head)
burnt wood
'burnt wood'

(138) bhangithibā ghara (past part+head)
broken house
'broken house'

(139) padithibā patra (past part+head)
fallen leaf
'fallen leaf'

As in case of the present participial modifiers, stylistic uses may occasion alternative forms by adding ta to the verbs. Such forms are not strictly participial modifiers but adjectives.

(140) gata ghatanabali (past part+head)
past events
'past events'

(141) agata stithi (past part+head)
arrived guest
'arrived guest'

(142) ahata sainika (past part+head)
wounded soldier
'wounded soldier'

(143) mruta deha (past part+head)
dead body
'dead body'

Oriya can derive participial modifiers from all relativized verbs whereas there are restrictions in case of English. There is a constraint on the formation
of present participial modifiers from English transitive verbs, but there is no such restriction in Oriya. Thus, in English,

(144) running water (intransitive verb)
(145) sleeping dog (intrans. verb)
*(146) eating man (man who is eating)*
*(147) reading book (book which he is reading)*

but all these have their equivalents in Oriya:

bohuthiba pani
soithiba kukura
khauthiba loka
padhuthiba bahi

As regards the Past Participial modifiers also Oriya has no restriction: it can derive them both from Dynamic and Stative uses of all verbs.

3.1.4 Nominal Pre modifiers:

Nominals are also used as Pre modifiers in the Oriya Noun Phrase:

(148) barse pani (n/m+head)
rain water
'rain water'

(149) phala bagica (n/m+head)
fruit garden
'fruit garden'

(150) jibana dhara (n/m+head)
life course
'Course of life'

As in English, the nominal Pre modifiers
in Oriya may be Noun, Proper Name or Gerundive.

(a) Noun + Head:

(151) pathara gha \\
      stone house

'stone house'

(152) ispata karakhana \\
      steel factory

'steel factory'

(153) bharata mata \\
      India mother

'Mother India'

(154) tama kaka \\
      Tom uncle

'Uncle Tom'

(C) Gerundive + Head:

(155) piiba pani \\
      drinking water

'drinking water'

(156) kathakula kandhei \\
      talking doll

'talking doll'

(157) soiba batika \\
      sleeping tablets

'sleeping tablets'

3.1.5: Phrasal Premodifiers and others -

Sometimes a Noun Phrase may occur as a genitival in an embedded Noun Phrase and thus modifies the head. In English such phrasal modifiers occur in the post-head position, but in keeping with the general tendency of the language, they are pre modifiers in Oriya.
Like the Noun Phrase premodifier, Oriya also uses adverbial phrasal premodifiers which in English occur as post-modifiers.

- (160) धिरे धिरे आसुथिबा लोक
   `slowly coming man`
   'The man coming slowly'

- (161) बगारे आसुथिबा गाडी
   `speedily running vehicle`
   'The vehicle running speedily'

Words like अति, भारी (very or 'too') and बहुता (very/many/much) function as intensifiers before adjectives in the Oriya Noun Phrase, and can be categorised as Sub-modifiers. For example:

- (162) भारी भाला पिला (s/m+adj+head)
  `very good boy`
  'very good boy'

- (163) बहुता सुंदरा एक्ही (s/m+adj+head)
  `very beautiful eye`
  'very beautiful eyes'

3.1.6. Post modifiers:

As in English, in Oriya the relative clause (relativized sentence) functions as the post-head modifier. English, however, derives a number of post-modifiers by abbreviating the relative clause into prepositional/adverbial phrases. Oriya, on the other hand, positions such phrasal post modifiers in the pre-head
position as has been observed earlier. Hence, in Oriya, it is the relative clause that is the only post modifier. As in English, the Oriya relativized sentence contains a pronominal replacement with appropriate case ending for a deep structure NP which is in some sense identical with the head NP. But Oriya and English differ much in so far as Oriya adds a second pronominal for the matrix NP after the relativized sentence. Thus,

(164) (a) pilātira (pilāti note dekhākala) sārt cirijaichī

\[ \rightarrow \text{pilāti jahāra sārt cirijaichī se note dekhākala} \]

\[ \rightarrow \text{jeunpilātira sārt cirijaichī se note dekhākala} \]

(b) The Boy's (The boy met me) shirt is torn.

\[ \rightarrow \text{The boy whose shirt is torn met me.} \]

The second pronominal se in the Oriya equivalent distinguishes it from English. It may be observed that Oriya has provision for two alternative forms of the relativized sentence, but in both se is added for the matrix NP. The two forms of the Oriya relativized sentence have different degrees of definiteness: the first being less definite than the second. Hence, the second is preferred for a restricted relative while the first is the form of an unrestricted relative clause.

The presence of a second pronominal for the matrix NP in Oriya raises an interesting question. As can be seen above, in both the forms of the Oriya
sentence, the relative clause serves as a pre-modifier for the head pronoun se. Under this interpretation, Oriya may be said to have no true post-head modifier and that all modifiers in Oriya are pre-head ones. This will necessitate a revision of the list of Oriya premodifiers so that the relative clause may be included as the clausal premodifier. It is more to the point to accept such an interpretation and describe all modifiers—lexical, phrasal and clausal—as premodifiers in Oriya—in keeping with the structural peculiarities of the language which favours left branching rather than right.

3.2. ORDER OF OCCURRENCE

The order of words in an Oriya sentence is not as rigidly fixed as that of English. The meaning of an utterance depends not so much on the positions of the items but the inflections they carry. We propose to discuss in this section the various positions occupied by different categories of modifiers in the Oriya Noun Phrase.

3.2.1 Determiners:

The determiners can usually inter-change positions with all categories of modifiers in the Oriya Noun Phrase with a few restrictions.

A nominal modifier generally comes immediately before the head. So it cannot be followed by a determiner. For example:
(1) (a) sabu skul pilā (det+n/m+head)
    all school boys
    'all school boys'

(b) skul sabu pilā (n/m+det+head)
    school all boys

Also a determiner cannot precede a demonstrative,
as in

(2) (a) ei sabu jinisa (dem+det+head)
    these all things
    'all these things'

(b) sabu ei jinisa (det+dem+head)
    all these things
    'all these things'

The determiner does not generally precede a
possessive pronoun. For example,

(3) (a) āmara sabu bahi (P/P +det+head)
    our all books
    'all our books'

(b) sabu āmara bahi (det+P/P+head)
    all our books

Here in the (b) the meaning would be "all are our
books" and hence it becomes a sentence rather than
a Noun Phrase.

A determiner cannot precede a genitival
(non-human); when it does, it results in ambiguity.
For example, the following

(4) kichi skulara chatra (det+gen+head)
    a few school students
    of
may have two different meanings as:

(a) A few students of school.

(b) Students of a few schools.
But if the determiner follows the non-human genitive, it does not result in such ambiguity:

(5) skulra kichi čhātra (gen+det+head)

'school a few students of a few students of school'

(6) (a) dāktarakhānāra sabu rogi [gen+(non-hum.)+det+head]

'hospital of all patients'

(b) sabu dāktarakhānā ra rogi [det+gen(non-hum.)+head]

'patients of all hospitals' (not of one hospital)

Here in (b) sabu instead of functioning as a modifier of rogi functions as a sub-modifier modifying dāktarakhānāra.

A determiner may follow a genitive (human), but it cannot precede such a genitive. For example:

(7) (a) manisara sabu āsha [gen(hum)+det+head]

'man of all hopes'

(b) sabu manisara āsha [det+gen(hum)+head]

'hopes of all men'

Here the meaning of (a) is not the same as that of (b) because in (b) sabu functions as a sub-modifier and thus gets linked with the gen (hum) manisara instead of modifying āsha.

A determiner cannot precede an Adverbial Group. For example:
(8) (a) bhitarara aneka jinisa (adv.gr +det+head)  
inside of many things  
'many things inside'
(b) aneka bhitarara jinisa (det+adv.gr.+head)  
many inside things
As in earlier examples here in (b) aneka modifies 
bhitarara rather than jinisa, thus changing the meaning.

The demonstratives in Oriya generally occur before the adjectives, possessive pronouns, present participial and past participial modifiers.

(9) sei sundari jhia (dem+adj+head)  
that beautiful girl  
'that beautiful girl'
(10) ei amara ghara (dem+P/P+head)  
this our house  
'this our house'
(11) sei uduthiba prajapati (dem+pr.part+head)  
that flying butterfly  
'that flying butterfly'
(12) sei ahata hoithiba sainika (dem+past part.+head)  
that wounded soldier  
'that wounded soldier'

For poetic and other special effects it is possible to reverse the order of the demonstratives and the following elements. The above-mentioned noun phrases may be rewritten as follows:

sundari sei jhia (adj+dem+head)  
beautiful that girl  
'that beautiful girl'
The demonstratives usually do not follow such modifiers as nominals and numerals, rather precede them.

For example:

(13) (a) ei pathara ghara (dem+nom+head)
this stone house
'this stone house'

* (b) pathara ei ghara (nom+dem+head)
stone this house

(14) (a) sei pānca bhai (dem+num+head)
those five brothers
'those five brothers'

* (b) pānca sei bhai (num+dem+head)
five those brothers

A demonstrative cannot precede a genitival (human):

(15) (a) mohanara ei ghara (gen+dem+head)
Mohan's this house
'Mohan's this house'

or

'This house of Mohan'
(b) ei mohanara ghara (dem+gen+head)  
this Mohan's house

[Here in (b) the demonstrative ei ceases functioning as a modifier of ghara. Rather it modifies the genitival mohanara and thus functions not as a modifier, but as a sub-modifier in the Noun Phrase.]

A demonstrative does not usually precede other genitivals and adverbial groups to avoid ambiguity of being linked up with the nouns in them. For example:

(16) (a) bajārara ei paribā (gen+dem+head)  
market of these vegetables  
'these vegetables of the market'

(b) ei bajārara paribā (dem+gen+head)  
this market of vegetables  
'vegetables of this market'

(Here with the change of other the meaning also changes, because in (b) ei gets linked with bajārara.)

(17) (a) konara ei ghara (adv.gr.+dem.+head)  
corner of this house  
'this house of the corner'

(b) ei konara ghara (dem+adv.gr.+head)  
this corner of house  
'house of this corner'

(Here also the same problem arises as ei gets linked with konara.)

But the demonstrative can precede a possessive pronoun because it cannot get linked up with the
Possessive Pronouns occur as the first item in an Oriya Noun Phrase. For example:

(18) (a) ṭāhāra ei bahi (P/P+dem+head)
    his this book
    'his this book'
(b) ei ṭāhāra bahi (dem+P/P+head)
    this his book
    'his this book'

But, if the possessive pronoun follows a demonstrative, it is likely to alter the meaning.

(21) (a) ṭāhāra ei ghara (P/P+denw+head)
    our this house
    'our this house'
(b) ei ṭāhāra ghara (dem+P/P+head)
    this our house
    'this our house'

Here in (b) it may mean "this is our house" with ei functioning as the subject of a sentence. But sometimes the personal pronoun can follow the demonstratives in the Noun Phrase as in (b) when the expression is meant to convey an emotional effect. Similar alternations of meaning are brought about by the relative...
order of personal pronouns and adjectivals:

(22) (a) tankara prakāsita upanyāsa (P/P+past part.+head)
his published novel
'his published novel'

(b) prakāsita tankara upanyāsa (Past Part. +P/P+head)
published his novel
'his published novel'

(23) (a) mora uduthibā gudi (P/P+Pr.part.+head)
my flying kite
"my kite, which is flying"

(b) uduthibā mora gudi (Pr.part.+P/P+head)
flight my kite
"my kite, which is flying"

In these examples, it may be found that with the change of order, the meaning also undergoes a change though superficially they seem to mean the same thing. A careful examination of both (a) and (b) in each case will show us the subtle stylistic and semantic differences between the two.

In the example (22), (a) means that one of his novels is published as distinguished from his other unpublished novels, and (b) that his novel is also published along with other novels.

Similarly in (23) (a) refers to one of my kites which is flying as distinguished from my other kites which are not flying, whereas (b) means that out of many flying kites only one belongs to me.
The genitivals occur exactly in such places as the possessive pronouns in the Oriya Noun Phrase. For example:

(24) tumara ei jhia (P/P+dem+head)

your this daughter

'Your this daughter'

(25) harira ei jhia (gen+dem+head)

Hari's this daughter

'Hari's this daughter'

But the genitivals cannot follow such modifiers as the

(i) numerals,

(ii) nominals,

(iii) Adjectives, and

(iv) Adverbial Groups.

For example:

(26) (a) mohanara dui pua (gen+num+head)

Mohan's two sons

'Mohan's two sons'

(27) (a) bambera citratarka (gen+n/m+head)

Bombay of film star

'film star of Bombay'

(28) (a) bajara ra kharap khadya (gen+adj+head)

market of bad food

'bad food of market'
(b) **kharap bajārara khādyā (adj+gen+head)**

food of bad market

(Here **kharap** gets linked up with **bajārara** and modifies **bajārara** instead of modifying the head **khādyā**.)

(29) (a) **skulara samārā gacha (gen+adv.gr.+head)**

school of in front tree of

'the tree in front of the school'.

* (b) **samārā skula ra gacha (adv.gr.+gen+head)**

in front school of tree of

Genitivals (hum) and possessive pronouns can be followed by gen (non-hum), but they cannot be preceded by the same.

(30) (a) **āma badira pariba (P/P+gen(non-hum)+head)**

our garden of vegetable

'vegetables of our garden'

* (b) **badira āma pariba (gen (non-hum) + P/P +head)**

garden of our vegetables

(31) (a) **rāmara badira pariba (gen(hum)+gen(non-hum)+head)**

Ram of garden vegetables of

'vegetables of Ram's garden'

* (b) **badira rāmara pariba (gen(non-hum)+gen(hum)+head)**

garden of Ram of vegetables

3.2.2. Quantifiers:

The position of the Oriya cardinals is not fixed in relation to other categories of modifiers except that they cannot occur before the

(i) demonstratives,
(ii) possessive pronouns
(iii) genitivals (human)
and (iv) Agverbials.
For example:

(32)*\((a)\) gotie ei jhia \((\text{card.+dem+head})\)
one this girl
(b) ei gotie jhia \((\text{dem+card+head})\)
this one girl
'this one girl'

(33)*\((a)\) gotie amara jhia \((\text{card.+P/P+head})\)
one our daughter
(b) amara gotie jhia \((\text{P/P+card+head})\)
our one daughter
'our one daughter'

(34)*\((a)\) gotie mamun ra kandhei \((\text{card+gen(hum)+head})\)
one Mamun's doll
(b) mamun ra gotie kandhei \((\text{gen(hum)+card+head})\)
Mamun's one doll
'Mamun's one doll'

(35)*\((a)\) gotie ama ghara samara bagica \((\text{Card+adv.gr.+head})\)
one our house in front garden of
(b) ama ghara samara gotie bagica \((\text{Adv+card.+head})\)
our house in front one garden of
'one garden in front of our house'

As to the occurrence of the cardinals with the genitivals one can find instances like the following:
But, here it may be noted that the genitival belongs to the class of Common Noun. But when the genitival is derived from a Proper Name such occurrence of the cardinal before the genitival is constrained.

The cardinals also cannot occur after a nominal Modifier. Thus,

(37)-(a) gotie pathara ghara (Card +n/m+head)  
'sone stone house'

(b) pathara gotie ghara (n/m+card+head)  
'stone one house'

The ordinals can occur at the same places as the cardinals. Besides, the two can also occur in the Noun Phrase at the same time and the order of their occurrence depends on the sense conveyed. For example:

(38) (a) ei klasa ra prathama cehot chatra (dem+gen+ord+card+head)  
'the first four students of this class'

(b) ei cehot klasara prathama chatra (dem+card+gen+non-hum+ord+head)  
'the first students of these four classes'

The fractionals occur in the same place as the cardinals. The numeral ardheka or adha can occur independently or with other cardinals. When it occurs independently, it retains its form, ardheka or adha. But
when it combines with a cardinal its form changes into dedha (one and half), adhe (two and half), sadhe tin (three and half), sadhe car (four and half) and the like.

Emphatics also like the numerals immediately precede the head:

(39) alpa bhata (Emph.+head)
    a rice
    'a little rice'

The Emphatic kebala, however, never follows any other quantifier, rather it precedes them. Thus,

(40) (a) kebala goti pila (Emph.+card.+head)
    only one boy
    'only one boy'

(b) goti kebala pila (Card.+Emph.+head)
    one only boy

In case of the Enumeratives the N (measure) can be preceded only by a numeral and not by any determiner.

(41) (a) bahut caula

(b) bahut ser caula

(c) eka ser caula

(42) (a) alpa petrol

(b) alpa litar petrol

(c) tini litar petrol

In a specifically definite construction it can, however, be preceded by the Anaphoric or the Cataphoric, as in,
The limiter hin may be preceded by cardinals and also by Aggregatives, but in both the uses an obvious meaning difference is involved.

(44) duiti hin pilā jibe (Card.+Limiter+head)

'Only two boys' will go'.

(45) duijanajaka hin pilā jibe (Aggr.+Limiter+head)

'Both the boys' will go'.

hin as a numeral sub-modifier tends to be restrictive in negative construction.

Madhya and its associated limiter items cannot occur with numerals in affirmative sentences:

(46) *(a) duiti madhya pilā āsile
*(b) duiti madhya āsile

As a noun phrase limiter, on the other hand, madhya is acceptable in

(47) duiti pilā madhya āsile

Occurrence of madhya as a numeral sub-modifier is possible only in negative constructions and in certain non-simple sentences like the conditionals:

(48) dui jana madhya (pilā ) āsile nāhin.

'Not even two (boys) came'.

(49) dui jana madhya āsijibe, kāmati hoijiba

'Even if two came the work will be served'.

Here one can notice that madhya as a numeral sub-modifier occurs only as an emphasisor.

In case numerals are followed by the Aggregative,
they, as also the Aggregative without numerals, take hin in its emphaisor function.

(50) dasajnajaka hin jhia asile

The ten girls — all of them came

3.2.3. Epithets:

An adjective generally precedes the noun in the Oriya Noun Phrase. But it cannot occur before any of the following:

(i) Possessive Pronoun,
(51) (a) tānkara bhala kāma (P/P+adj+head)
his good work
'his good work'

(b) bhala tānkara kāma (adj+P/P+head)
good his work

(ii) Genitivals,
(52) (a) rāmara sundari jhia (gen+adj+head)
Ram's beautiful daughter
'Ram's beautiful daughter'

(b) sundari rāmara jhia (adj+gen.+head)
beautiful Ram's daughter

(iii) Adverbial Groups,
(53) (a) gharasamāra sundara bagicā (Adv.gr.+Adj.
house in front beautiful gar- + head).
of den
'beautiful garden in front of house'.

(b) sundara gharasamāra bagicā (adj.+adv.gr.
beautiful house in front garden +head)
of
Adjectives also cannot occur after a nominal modifier in the Oriya Noun Phrase.

For example:

(54) (a) nirmala nadi jala (adj. + n/m + head)
  clear river water
  'clear river water'

  (b) nadi nirmala jala (n/m + adj. + head)
  river clear water

The Present Participial Modifiers can occur in any place in the Oriya Noun Phrase, except that (i) it cannot precede an adverbial group,

(55) (a) upare uduthiba eadei (adv. gr. + pr. part. + head)
  above flying bird
  'bird flying above'

  (b) uduthiba upare eadei (pr. part. + adv. gr. + head)
  flying above bird

(ii) it cannot follow a nominal modifier.

(56) (a) paduthiba barsa pani (pr. part. + n/m + head)
  falling rain water
  'falling rain water'

  (b) barsa paduthiba pani (n/m + pr. part. + head)
  rain falling water

Past Participial modifiers occur in the same place and behave in the same manner as the Present Participials do.

3.2.4 Nominal Modifiers:

The nominal modifiers occur only after all other modifiers and immediately before the head. Often it
becomes a compound with the head-word. For example:

\[(57) \text{sei nali pathara ghara (det+adj+n/m+head)}\]

that red stone house

'that red stone house'

Here the head is ghara and pathara is the nominal modifier. But patharaghara can be treated as a compound noun functioning as the head of the NP.

3.2.5. Phrasal Modifiers:

The place of occurrence of an adverbial phrase as Modifier in the Oriya Noun Phrase is fixed. Only possessive pronouns and genitivals (human) can occur before such a modifier. For example:

\[(58) \text{amara gharanikatara skul (P/P+adv.gr.+head)}\]

our house near of school

'the school near our house'

\[(59) \text{Mamun ra gharapakhara skul (gen(hum)+adv.gr.+head)}\]

Mamun of house near of school

'the school near Mamun's house'

On the other hand, an adverbial group, as a modifier, can never follow any of the following categories of modifiers:

(i) Determiners
(ii) Demonstratives
(iii) Genitivals (non-human)
(iv) Numerals
(v) Adjectives
(vi) Participial modifiers
(vii) Nominal modifiers.
Some examples are given below:

(60) (a) gharabitarara bibhinna kona (adv.gr.+det+head)  
house inside of different corner  
'different corners of the inside of the house'
(b) bibhinna gharabhitara kona (det+adv.gr.+head)  
different house inside of corner

[Here in (b) bibhinna gets linked up with  
gharabhitara instead of independently modifying kona.  
Thus the whole Noun Phrase means 'corners of the insides 
of different houses' which is quite different from the 
meaning of (a)]

(61) (a) gharabhitara sei kona (adv.gr.+dem+head)  
house inside of that corner  
'that corner of the inside of the house'
(b) sei gharabhitara kona (dem+adv.gr.+head)  
that house inside of corner

(Here also sei gets linked up with gharabhitara and 
changes the meaning.)

(62) (a) amagharapakhara gachara phala [adv.gr.+gen  
our house near of tree of fruit  
'the fruit of the tree near our house'
*(b) gachara amagharapakhara phala [gen(non-  
tree of our house near of fruit +head]

(63) (a) rastakadara pancati gachha (adv.gr.+hum +head)  
road side of five trees  
'five trees on the side of the road'
(b) pāncati rāstākādara gacha (num+adv.gr.+head)
five road side of tree

Here in (b) pāncati gets linked up with rāstākādara and creates the possibility of the expression meaning "the tree by the side of five roads".

(64) (a) bagīcābhitarara sundara druṣya (adv.gr.+adj.+head)
garden inside of beautiful scene
‘beautiful scene of the inside of the garden’.

(b) sundara bagīcābhitarara druṣya (adj.+adv.gr.+head)
beautiful garden inside of scene

[Here in (b) sundara becomes the adjective of bagīcā in bagīcābhitarara and hence the meaning is changed]

(65) (a) pāhāda uparara bhāsuthībā bādal (adv.gr.+pr.part.+head)
mountain top of floating cloud
‘the cloud floating on the top of the mountain’.

(b) bhāsuthībā pāhādauparara bādalā (Pr.part+Adv.gr.+head)
floating mountain top of cloud

(66) (a) paradāpachara bismita cāhāni (adv.gr.+past.part.+head)
screen behind of surprised look
‘the surprised look behind the screen’

(b) bismita paradāpachara cāhāni (Past.part.+adv.gr.+head)
surprised screen behind look of

(67) (a) tankagharapākhara rangamanca abhineta (adv.gr.+n/m+head)
his house near of stage actor
‘the stage actor (living) near his house’
Thus, the occurrence of the adverbial groups in the above examples is prohibited, firstly, for its ungrammaticality and secondly to avoid ambiguity.

The occurrence of a rank-shifted Noun Phrase as a modifier in another Noun Phrase is not fixed, except that it can precede such items as:

(i) Present Participials,
(ii) Past Participials,
(iii) Adjectival modifiers,
and (iv) Nominal modifiers

and never follow them in the Noun Phrase. For example:

(68) (a) \( \text{duraak\={a}sara} \text{ udi\=jauthiba pakkhi} \) (\( N/P + \text{Pr. Part.} \) + head)
    distant sky of flying bird
    'flying bird of the distant sky'

    (b) \( \text{udi\=jauthiba} \text{ duraak\={a}sara pakkhi} \) (\( \text{Pr. Part.} + N/P + \text{head} \))
    flying distant sky of bird

(b) creates, here, ambiguity by linking udijauthiba with duraakasara as the modifier of the latter.

(69) (a) \( \text{dirghadinajuddhara \=a\=hata sainika} \) (\( N/P + \text{Fast. Part.} \) + head)
    long battle of wounded soldier
    'wounded soldier of long battle'

    (b) \( \text{\=a\=hata dirghadinajuddhara sainika} \) (\( \text{Fast. Part.} + N/P \) + head)
    wounded long battle of soldier
The Noun Phrase as modifier also occurs after the genitival and possessive pronouns, but it cannot precede them.

(70) (a) duimahālakoṭhāra prakruta mālika (N/P+adj+head)
two-storeyed real owner
building of
'real owner of the two-storeyed building'

(71) (a) asādhapratamadinara barsa pani (N/P+n/m+
asadha of first day of rain water
head)
'the rain water of the first day of asādhā'.

(72) (a) bambera sabutharubesi sundara bagicāra phula
Bombay of all than more beautiful garden flower
of
(gen+II/P+head)
'flower of the most beautiful garden of Bombay'

(73) (a) tankara nuāgharara phula (P/P +N/P + head)
his new house of flower
'flower of his new house'

(70) (a) duimahālakoṭhāra prakruta mālika (N/P+adj+head)
two-storeyed real owner
building of
'real owner of the two-storeyed building'

(71) (a) asādhapratamadinara barsa pani (N/P+n/m+
asadha of first day of rain water
head)
'the rain water of the first day of asādhā'.

(72) (a) bambera sabutharubesi sundara bagicāra phula
Bombay of all than more beautiful garden flower
of
(gen+II/P+head)
'flower of the most beautiful garden of Bombay'

(73) (a) tankara nuāgharara phula (P/P +N/P + head)
his new house of flower
'flower of his new house'

(70) (a) duimahālakoṭhāra prakruta mālika (N/P+adj+head)
two-storeyed real owner
building of
'real owner of the two-storeyed building'

(71) (a) asādhapratamadinara barsa pani (N/P+n/m+
asadha of first day of rain water
head)
'the rain water of the first day of asādhā'.

(72) (a) bambera sabutharubesi sundara bagicāra phula
Bombay of all than more beautiful garden flower
of
(gen+II/P+head)
'flower of the most beautiful garden of Bombay'

(73) (a) tankara nuāgharara phula (P/P +N/P + head)
his new house of flower
'flower of his new house'

(70) (a) duimahālakoṭhāra prakruta mālika (N/P+adj+head)
two-storeyed real owner
building of
'real owner of the two-storeyed building'

(71) (a) asādhapratamadinara barsa pani (N/P+n/m+
asadha of first day of rain water
head)
'the rain water of the first day of asādhā'.

(72) (a) bambera sabutharubesi sundara bagicāra phula
Bombay of all than more beautiful garden flower
of
(gen+II/P+head)
'flower of the most beautiful garden of Bombay'

(73) (a) tankara nuāgharara phula (P/P +N/P + head)
his new house of flower
'flower of his new house'

(70) (a) duimahālakoṭhāra prakruta mālika (N/P+adj+head)
two-storeyed real owner
building of
'real owner of the two-storeyed building'

(71) (a) asādhapratamadinara barsa pani (N/P+n/m+
asadha of first day of rain water
head)
'the rain water of the first day of asādhā'.

(72) (a) bambera sabutharubesi sundara bagicāra phula
Bombay of all than more beautiful garden flower
of
(gen+II/P+head)
'flower of the most beautiful garden of Bombay'

(73) (a) tankara nuāgharara phula (P/P +N/P + head)
his new house of flower
'flower of his new house'

(70) (a) duimahālakoṭhāra prakruta mālika (N/P+adj+head)
two-storeyed real owner
building of
'real owner of the two-storeyed building'

(71) (a) asādhapratamadinara barsa pani (N/P+n/m+
asadha of first day of rain water
head)
'the rain water of the first day of asādhā'.

(72) (a) bambera sabutharubesi sundara bagicāra phula
Bombay of all than more beautiful garden flower
of
(gen+II/P+head)
'flower of the most beautiful garden of Bombay'

(73) (a) tankara nuāgharara phula (P/P +N/P + head)
his new house of flower
'flower of his new house'
Sub-modifiers or Intensifiers always occur before the adjectives. They never follow the adjectives. For example:

(74) (a) bhāri bhala pila (S/M+adj+head)
very good boy
'very good boy'

* (b) bhala bhāri pila (adj+S/m+head)
good very boy

The order of the modifiers in the Oriya Noun Phrase may be represented as follows:

Possessive Pronoun/ Genitival (human) + Adverbial Group/ Nominal Group + Demonstrative + Determiner + Genitival (non-human)/ Present Participle/Past Participle + Adjective /Numeral / Present Participle / Past Participle +Nominal Modifier + HEAD.

3.3. CONCORD WITH THE HEAD

In Oriya the matter of concord between the modifier and the head in the Noun Phrase has to be considered only from the point of view of number. Like many other modern Indian languages Oriya had its origin in Sanskrit. In the Indian languages, therefore, features of concord usually follow the same in Sanskrit. Oriya, however, has got rid of many inflections in course of time. Thus, while Hindi has retained the feature of gender in adjectives, nouns, and verbs Oriya does not have these features except in a few marginal cases of the following:
(1) (a) sundari nari
beautiful woman
'beautiful woman'

(b) sundara purusa
handsome man
'handsome man'

(2) (a) buddhimana pilä
intelligent boy
'intelligent boy'

(b) buddhimati jhia
intelligent girl
'intelligent girl'

But such usages are rare in Oriya and a notable feature of them is that the adjectives are Sanskrit words taken into Oriya vocabulary and as such retain their original feature of concord in gender as in Sanskrit.

The plurality of an Oriya Noun Phrase is reflected either in the 'head' or in some of the modifiers; and is marked whereas the non-plurality is unmarked.

(3) ei bahigudika [dem+head (pl)]

(4) ei sabu bahi [dem+det (pl) +head]

Some modifiers can co-occur with both plural and non-plural heads. These are

(5) (a) ei jhia [dem+head (sing)]
this girl
'this girl'

(b) ei jhiamane [dem+head (pl)]
these girls
'these girls'
(ii) Numerals (Ordinals):

(6) (a) prathama jhia [Ord. + head (sing)]
    first daughter
    'first daughter'
(b) prathama jhiamane [Ord. + head (pl)]
    first daughter
    'first daughters'

(iii) Adjectives:

(7) (a) sundara ghara [adj. + head (sing)]
    beautiful house
    'beautiful house'
(b) sundara gharagudika [adj. + head (pl)]
    beautiful houses
    'beautiful houses'

(iv) Possessives:

(8) (a) tankara jhia [P/P + head (sing)]
    his daughter
    'his daughter'
(b) tankara jhiamane [P/P + head (pl)]
    his daughters
    'his daughters'

(9) (a) mohanara bshi [gen (hum) + head (sing)]
    Mohan of book
    'Mohan's book'
(b) mohanara bahigudika [gen(hum) + head (pl)]
    Mohan of books
    'Mohan's books'
(10) (a) gharara jharaka \[\text{gen(non-hum) + head (sing)}\]  
house of window  
'window of the house'  
(b) gharara jharakāgudika \[\text{gen(non-hum) + head (pl)}\]  
house of windows  
'windows of the house'  

(v) Participial Modifiers:  

(11) (a) uduthiba cadei \[\text{Pr.part. + head (sing)}\]  
flying bird  
'flying bird'  
(b) uduthiba cadeigudika \[\text{Pr.part. + head (pl)}\]  
flying birds  
'flying birds'  

(12) (a) ahata sainika \[\text{Past part. + head (sing)}\]  
wounded soldier  
'wounded soldier'  
(b) ahata sainikamane \[\text{Past part. + head (pl)}\]  
wounded soldiers  
'wounded soldiers'  

(vi) Nominal Modifiers:  

(13) (a) rangamanca abhineta \[\text{n/m + head (sing)}\]  
stage actor  
'stage actor'  
(b) rangamanca abhinetamane \[\text{n/m + head (pl)}\]  
stage actors  
'stage actors'  

and (vii) Phrasal Modifiers:
(14) (a) seibirata saharara basinda [P/m+head (sing)]
  that big city of inhabitant
  'inhabitant of that big city'
(b) seibirata saharara basindagana [P/m+head(pl)]
  that big city of inhabitants
  'inhabitants of that big city'

(15) (a) ghara pachapakhara bagica [P/m + head (sing)]
  house back side of garden
  'the garden of the back side of the house'
(b) ghara pachapakhara bagicagudika [P/m + head (pl)]
  house back side of gardens
  'gardens of the back side of the house(s)'

The demonstratives in Oriya can also occur with both count and non-count noun-heads. For example:

(16) (a) ei botala (gudika) (dem+count noun head)
  (this/these) bottle(s)
  'this (these) bottle(s)'
(b) sei botala (gudika) (dem+count noun head)
  (that/those) bottle(s)
  'that (those) bottle(s)'
(c) ei/sei pani (dem+non-count noun-head)
  this/that water
  'this/that water'

Ordinals in Oriya modify both human and non-human noun-heads. For example:
3.4. MUTUAL EXCLUSIVENESS

In Oriya Noun Phrase mutual exclusiveness is not a very prominent feature. As it has been noted almost all the categories of modifiers can co-occur with each other except a few. The modifiers which cannot co-occur are

(i) Determiners and Cardinals,

(1) *(a) sabu dui pila (det+card+head)

all two boys

*(b) dui sabu pila (card.+det+head)

two all boys

(ii) Possessive Pronouns and Genitivals (hum)

(2) *(a) tañāra mohanara gharā [P/P +gen(hum)+head]

his Mohan of house

'his Mohan's house'

(b) tañāra bhaira gharā [P/P +gen(hum)+head]

his brother house of

'his brother's house'

Here in (b) tañāra gets linked up with bhaira and ceases functioning as a modifier of the entire Noun Phrase.
The mutual exclusiveness is due to the fact that semantically each of the above pairs belongs to one category. Both the determiners and numerals denote quantity. Similarly, possessive pronouns and genitivals (hum) indicate relationship with a person. They are, therefore, mutually exclusive.

Certain determiners cannot co-occur with the demonstratives as in the following examples:

(3) (a) bahut ei loka (det+dem+head)
Many these people
(b) ei bahut loka (dem+det+head)
these many people

(4) (a) ei sabu loka (dem+det+head)
these all people
'all these people'
(b) sabu ei loka (det+dem+head)
all these people

Like wise 'Approx' and 'Rating' do not co-occur:

(5) praya purba dina (Approx+Rating+head)
almost previous day
(6) para praya dina (Rating+Approx+head)
next almost day

Cardinals cannot co-occur with pronouns.

Sequences as the following:

(7) aume dui (Pr.card.)
we two
(8) apana dui (Pr.card.)
you two
simply do not occur. Instead, we have

* they two

's both of us'

* the two of you' (not 'two of you')

's the two of them'

In an Enumerative construction, the quantifiers N' (measure) cannot occur with the determiners in the Oriya Noun Phrase. Thus,

* (9) semane dui (Pr.card.)

they two

* (10) bahut ser cula

much seer rice

Since hin in negative constructions is more prominently an emphsizer while madhya retains its 'clusive' sense in both affirmative and negative structures, hin can alternate with madhya in negative constructions for emphsizer functions as in the following:

(11) pilama (hin) madhya asibe nahin .

'Not even the boys will come'