

CHAPTER-2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Only a few linguistic works have been done on the Sadri spoken in Assam. Present review chapter is based on various published works done on Sadri in India. We have mentioned below a list of selected works done on this language and also tried to review the main points of these works. In Central India, specifically in Jharkhand, books and magazines in Nagpuriya Sadri are published. The language is taught in the Universities (Chettri, 2005).

It is found that Rev. E. H. Whitley was the first to write a short grammar of Sadani which was published under the title “Notes on the Ganwari Dialect of Lohardaga, Chhota Nagpur, assisted by A. Salkar, 1895” (Calcutta 1896). This concise grammar was meant for British Civil Servants and missionaries who had to communicate with the villagers of Lohardaga district. As Grierson, p. 278, explains, then “---- the old district of Lohardaga originally included Palamau. The latter district was separated off, and the remaining portion retained the name of Lohardaga. Finally, in the year 1899, the name of the newly formed District of Lohardaga was changed to that of Ranchi.” In his introduction, Whitley notes: ‘Any one speaking this variety of Ganwari will be understood by villagers over a large area of the country to the North, South and West of Ranchi, though not far to the East, in which direction Bengali prevails, and some other peculiar dialects.’ This remark proves that the linguistic area of Sadani at Whitley’s time was not much different from what we know it to be like nowadays. What whitely

describes is characterized by him as a ‘variety of Ganwari’. The difference between the dialect described by Whitley and that spoken by the chief informant are relatively small and never touch the basic linguistic structure. They will be mentioned in the relevant parts of this study.

In 1903, Sadani was discussed by Sir George A. Grierson in his Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. V. pt. II, pp. 43 seqq. and pp. 277- 299. His study depends on Whitley’s Ganwari dialect. In the Linguistic Survey of India, Sadri is called Nagpuria and is the sub-dialect of Bhojpuri, which is a dialect of Bihari, an Indo-Aryan language. Grierson’s analysis of the language is the first to fix the linguistic boundaries of Sadri exactly and to classify Sadri as a dialect of Bhojpuri. Grierson gave the numbers of Sadri speakers in 1903, his statistical data being reproduced here:

Ranchi District	297,585 persons
Palamau District	250, 000 persons
Jashpur_District	46, 672 persons
<hr/>	
Total number	594, 257 persons
<hr/>	

From this table, it becomes obvious that in 1903 there were absolutely and relatively more Sadri speakers than in 1961, for in 1903 there was a population of 1,839,291 persons in the three districts listed above vs. 594,257 persons speaking Sadri as their mother tongue, while in 1961 in Palamau and Ranchi alone, there was a population of 3,

326,354 persons among whom there were only 459,143 plus an uncertain number of people speaking Sadri as their mother tongue. The fact that in 1903 in Palamau 250,000 persons out of a population of 596,770 persons spoke Sadri as their mother tongue, while in 1961, in the same district only 8,438 persons out of the total number of 1,187,789 of the same district spoke Sadri as their mother tongue, demonstrates how enormous a reduction Sadri suffered in this district. This development is probably partly due to the progress of urbanization and the resulting increase in population in the Ranchi district. Moreover, a language policy which aims at replacing certain minor dialects of these districts by Hindi will have remained ineffective.

In 1931, the 'Language Hand-Book - Sadani' was published by the Tea District Labour Society. In the work itself, the author remains anonymous, but Nawranghi, Reader, p. III, mentions his name as Rev. (H.) Floor, S. J. the work has 106 pages, 21 of which cover the grammar which thus is as concise as that of Whitley. Compared with Whitley's expositions the grammatical section does not present any new material, but pages from 25-74 contain rich examples of conversation. Although, the subjects of these conversations are mainly taken from the life of the tea plantations, the given examples form an invaluable collection of linguistic material. Pages from 77- 106 contain a small Sadri – English and English – Sadri vocabulary which until now has remained one of the important existing glossary of Sadri. In 1956, P.S. Nawranghi, S.J. published his 'Simple Sadani Grammar'. His work, like Whitley's and Floor's, is meant for practical purposes. It is much more copious than the previous studies on Sadri, as it contains iii, ii, 159 pages and 6 pages specimens of Sadri. It is the first Sadri grammar having an author speaking Sadri as his mother tongue. It abounds in grammatical and semantic examples. Just as

with the previous Sadri grammars, the theoretical principles underlying Nowrangi's book are those of the traditional method of Latin grammar. Nowrangi holds the opinion that the phonological and phonetic system of Sadri is only slightly different from that of Hindi, especially with regard to the vowel system (p. 2: 'The pronunciation of the Sadani vowels and consonants is practically like that in Hindi.....').

In 1960, U.N. Tiwari treated Sadri in his 'Origin and Development of Bhojpuri'. He discussed Sadri from the historical point of view. Compared with the treatment of the other three dialects of Bhojpuri, Tiwari's description of Sadri is rather brief. Among the numerous specimens of Bhojpuri dialects given in an appendix to his work, there is also one specimen of Sadri contributed by P.S. Nowrangi. The geographical distribution of Bhojpuri has been fixed by Tiwari on a map at the end of his monograph. According to this, Sadri is confined geographically to the districts of Palamau and Ranchi, but this limitation seems to be too rigid.

There exists a translation of the Gospels by Rev. Eidnas published by the Bible society which, however, was not accessible to the author. It was published before 1931 (as it was mentioned by Floor already), but later for reasons of language policy was prevented from being circulated. It was supposed to be replaced by the Hindi version of the New Testament.

P.S. Nowrangi's another work with the title 'Nagpuriya Sadani Boli Ka Biyakaran' was published in the year 1965. Here, he gives the description of the language along with its similarities as well as dissimilarities with other Indo-Aryan languages like Bihari, Bangali, Magahi, Nepali, Merwari and Hindi.

A research paper with the title ‘Sadani/ Sadri’ by Savita Kiran and John Peterson was published in the Internet which I got in the www.google.com. In their research, they have provided an overview of the consonant phonemes of Sadri, based on the discussion in Jordan-Horstmann (1969:19ff.). The phonemic status of forms given in parenthesis ‘()’ is uncertain. /r/ and /rh/ are probably best considered intervocalic allophones of /d/ and /dh/ respectively. They provide a table of consonants below-

	bilabial	Dental	alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	velar	glottal
Stops	p b ph bh	t d th dh		t d th dh		k g kh gh	
Fricative					c[ts] j[dz] ch[ts ^h] jh[dz ^h]		
Nasals	m	n				ŋ	
Laterals		l					
Flaps			r	(r) (r ^h)			
Fricatives		s					h
Semi-vowels	w				y		

They also give an overview of the Sadri vowel system, based on the discussion in Jordan Horstmann (1969:19f.).

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	ʌ	o
Low	a		

In their research, they also mentioned that nasalization is phonemic and appears to be compatible with all monophthongs. For example, /uth/ – ‘arise’ vs. /ũth/ ‘camel’, /kha-e/ [eat-SUBJ.3SG] ‘s/he may eat’ vs. /kha-ẽ/ [eat-SUBJ.3PL] ‘they may eat’. Vowel length, on the other hand is not phonemic. They also mention a number of diphthongs in Sadri; their exact number is uncertain. They are given below:

Second vowel	ʌ	a	e	i	o	u
First vowel						
ʌ	-	-	ʌe	ʌi	-	ʌu
a	-	-	ae	ai	-	au
e						
i	-	-	-	ei	-	eu
o	-	-	(oe)	oi	-	ou
u	-	-	-	ui	-	-

They also provided us with the following syllabic structures as found in the native vocabulary in Sadri:

. V: i ‘this’, u ‘that’

. CV: ka ‘what’, ni ‘negative’

. VC: ek ‘one’, mē ‘in’

. CVC: mor ‘my’, bat ‘way’

. (C)VCC: This structure is found in syllables with homorganic nasal+ stop: Ant ‘end’, lAmb ‘long’. Otherwise, if two consonants occur word medially, they are normally separated by a syllable boundary: hʌl.ka ‘light’, khul.la ‘open’.

They also mentioned that although loan words with other syllable structures do exist, there is a tendency to fit these into the (C)V(C) structure, for eg. prem-perem etc.

They also mentioned that some intransitives form their transitive counterpart not by adding the causative morpheme –a but rather by alternating the vowel in the CVC – structure of the base, for eg., m ʌr/ mor – ‘die’ vs. mar – ‘kill’, this process is not productive.

From the above discussion, it is found that their description of the phonetic inventory of the Sadri language is almost based on the findings of Monica Jordan and Horstmann’s analysis on the language. So, in this section, we find a little research from the side of the researchers, they just picked up their most of the materials from Jordan-Horstmann.

They were also working on the morphology of the Sadri language. They mention that Sadri is generally agglutinating and almost all grammatical marking is via suffixes, enclitics or postpositions. There is also one marker, the erstwhile non verbal marker –i/-e, which functions as a linker in complex verbs. It appears as a suffix with stems ending in a vowel and as an infix directly preceding the final consonant of roots ending in a consonant, eg., le-I ‘take - LNK’ vs. be <i>c- ‘sell-<LNK>’. Only marking for TAM and person is fusional; all other grammatical marking is agglutinative.

They also speak about morphological categories of Sadri. According to them, Sadri has two major word classes: nominals and verbs, and a number of minor classes, most notably postpositions and adverbs. They pointed out that nominals in Sadri may function as subject, object and adjunct and mark for number and case. Nominals can be further divided into nouns, adjectives and pronouns. Adjective may be used attributively without further marking, whereas nouns and pronouns require the genitive to appear attributively. Secondly, verbs have finite and non-finite forms; in their finite form, they obligatorily mark for number and above all person, tense and mood, which are their distinguishing features; in their finite form, they may function as the predicate of a main clause. Thirdly, postpositions govern an NP. Similarly, there is also a small class of adverbs whose main function is to modify a sentence/ clause, verb, adjective or other adverb. Savita Kiran and John Peterson discuss here only the nominal and verbal categories.

In the nominal categories, they inform us that Sadri has no grammatical gender. Sex distinctions can be indicated for some noun pairs by means of derivational marking,

e.g., gho.a 'horse' / gho.i 'mare', aja 'grandfather' / aji 'grandmother', lohar 'blacksmith' / loharin 'blacksmith's wife'.

In their research, they find that there are two numbers in Sadri in both nouns and verbs: singular and plural. In nominals, the singular is unmarked, while the plural is formed by adding =m.n to the last element of the noun phrase, e.g., ch.uwa 'child' . ch.uwa=m.n 'children'. =m.n may also be used to express a large amount of something, e.g., dhan=m.n 'paddy', denoting a large amount of paddy. It is also found in the pronominal system in the 3rd person singular (optionally) to denote politeness (see below). Pronouns show further distinctions: In addition to number they also denote person (1, 2, 3) and various honorific levels.

Next, Savita Kiran and John Peterson discusses about classifiers. According to them, Sadri possesses a small number of classifiers, the most common of which are =o, =ho, =go and =jh.n. The first three do not appear to differ in meaning, whereas =jh.n is restricted to humans. These classifiers occur after numerals to denote discrete entities, e.g., cair=.ho / cair=go kukkur 'four dogs', ek=jh.n bhai 'one brother'.

In their research paper, it is also mentioned that there are three cases in Sadri: unmarked or "nominative", genitive, and the oblique.

The unmarked case is used to mark the subject and non-definite / non-human direct objects.

The enclitic oblique case, marked by =ke, marks indirect objects and definite / human direct objects. The following sentence illustrates these two cases: *sadi*

gh.r=wala=m.n appears in the unmarked case as it is the subject, whereas ch.gri=ke is a definite direct object and therefore appears in the oblique case. Below is the example which is mentioned in their research work.

sadi gh.r=wala=m.n ... u ch.gri=ke ka.-l-. .ur kha-l- . .

wedding house=ADJVZR=PL that goat=OBL cut-PST-3PL and eat-PST-3PL

'The people of the wedding house ... cut that goat up and ate [it].'

The genitive is marked by one of the following markers, depending on the form of the last unit preceding this marker (cf. Jordan-Horstmann, 1969: 45 for details): =k.r, -k, -k as exemplified below-

bhai=har=m.n=.k sewa

brother=3POSS=PL=GEN service

'his/her brothers' service'

But it is really surprising that they did not get the instrumental case in Sadri and it is very difficult to believe them most of the Indian languages do have instrumental case. It seems that they have overlooked this particular aspect as far as Sadri is concerned. Along with it, it is also found that in the classifier section of the noun seems very brief. She only puts four of the classifiers found in the language.

In the Verbal categories, Savita Kiran and John Peterson state that Finite predicates mark for the following categories: tense, aspect and mood (TAM) and person / number / honorific status of the subject.

In the Tense, aspect and mood of the verb, there are two predominantly aspectual markers in Sadri. One, the suffix *-t* (after consonants) / *-t* (after vowels) is clearly aspectual and denotes imperfectivity. This form is found both as a nominal in conjunction with postpositions and also in complex predicates: *nikl-t=he* [emerge-IPFV=PRS.3SG] 's/he is emerging / emerges'

The other form, in *-l* / *-l*, with a similar distribution, is largely temporal in nature, as it is used to denote the simple past tense in finite verbs. In non-finite forms, which are unmarked for person and number, it is a participial marker and is found with postposition, in attributive function and also with the auxiliary verb *ja-* 'PASS', from *ja-* 'go', to denote the passive.

It is also mentioned in the work that there are three basic tenses in Sadri: past, present and future. In all three, there are two categories: one periphrastic category, with the main verb appearing as an imperfective participle with a form of the copula denoting tense, person, number and honorific status, and a second, synthetic form, with tense, person, number and honorific status marking expressed in a single portmanteau morpheme. While the imperfective form is explicitly marked for imperfectivity, ranging from iterativity and habituality to progressivity, the unmarked form is aspectually unmarked as in *ja-t r.he* [go-IPFV=PST.3SG] 's/he was going / used to go' vs. the aspectually unmarked *ge-l-k* [go-PST.3SG] 's/he went'.

In this section, one thing comes to my notice that they left a lot of important areas of the verbal section. They did not discuss about auxiliary and main verbs. Even in the section of tense, they mention two categories namely periphrastic category and syntactic

form. Here, they could have discussed things a little elaborately to understand the relation of different aspects like habitual, perfective and imperfective with different tenses.

Finally, Savita Kiran and John Peterson discussed on syntax. Firstly, they worked on Simple Sentence. Sadri is a nominative/accusative language with differential object marking. A and S appear in the nominative, while the marking of P depends on its semantics/pragmatics: human/definite Ps are marked by the oblique marker =ke, as is the goal (G) in bi transitive clauses. There is no morphological ergativity in Sadri. Pronouns and nouns are not treated differently with respect to case. There are three moods: indicative, subjunctive and imperative. As is typical of eastern Indo-Aryan languages, Sadri also has a future/non-future opposition in the imperative. The future imperative is identical to the future tense, although unlike the future, which is negated by the non-modal negative marker ni, the future imperative is negated by the modal negative marker n.: a-b-a [come-FUT-2FAM.POL] 'come (later)!; you (FAMILIAR, POLITE) will come', negated: n. aba! 'Do not come (later)!', ni aba 'you will not come'.

In Complex sentences, they firstly discuss on coordination. There are a number of coordinating conjunctions in Sadri, such as .ur aur 'and', mudam m.g.r 'but', etc., which have no influence on word order. To prove it, they provide examples -

duy-o g..ha .eg-ek c.<i>l ge-l-. aur g..ha j.g-e poh. c-l-. , ...

two-CLASS ditch jump-INF go-<LNK> V2-PST-3PL and ditch place-LOC
arrive-PST-3PL

'The two went off to jump over the ditch and arrived near the ditch ...'

Next, they had a discussion on subordination. According to them, there are many subordinating constructions in Sadri. These make use of either non-finite or finite forms. The following presents a very brief survey of some of the most common constructions.

Purposive clauses: Purposive clauses, especially those involving a verb of motion, generally mark the subordinated form by the simple infinitive, as with .egek c.il gel. which is mentioned just above. Alternatively, the infinitive may be marked by the "extensional" marker le. as exemplified below-

ur u=ke ut.r-a-ek le s.ub g.ch m ce.-l- .

and that=OBL descend-CAUS-INF EXT all tree LOC ascend-PST-3PL

'... and all climbed up the tree to take it down.'

Conditional clauses: Conditional clauses can be formed by a number of means; the sentences may be introduced by a conditional subordinator like.g.r .gur, hole which means 'if'. The conditional participle of .g.r .gur appears clause-initially, hole clause-finally with a finite verb; the subordinator may also be omitted, especially if the verb appears in the subjunctive; or the "conditional participle" may also be used. The "conditional participle" also has a number of other functions not directly related to conditionality as exemplified below-

ek tawa .abk-a-e de-le b.d.k-i u.h-en

one griddle boil-CAUS-LNK V2-COND hurry-LNK V2-PRS.3PL

'... if you boil them on a griddle, they will scatter here and there (= "hurry").'

Causal clauses:

Causal clauses are formed by a clause-initial subordinator such as kaheki 'because' (< kah-e ki [say-LNK CMPL]), kale (ki) 'because' (< ka 'what' le 'EXT'), or post - posed subordinator c.lte 'because', all of which take a clause with a finite verb.

siyar k d-ek lag-l-k, kale .hela j.lidi ni nikl-.t=he,

jackal cry-INF begin-PST-3SG because dirt.clump fast NEG emerge-
IPFV=PRS.3SG

'The jackal began to cry, because the clump of dirt did (= "does") not come out
quickly,'

Temporal clauses: Clauses denoting the time until another action/event are formed with the imperfective participle followed by the extensional postposition le. The A or S of the subordinated verb appears in the genitive.

raur a-w-t le p.ka-e r.h-b . [Nowrangi, ca. 1956: 160]

2POL.GEN come-w-IPFV until cook-LNK remain-FUT.1SG

'I'll keep on baking [bread] until you return.' Etc.

When I went through their analysis of the syntax, it is found that they had taken data from Nowrangi's book "A simple Sadani Grammar" (1956). I think that during these six decades, the language has gone through a lot of changes in phonology, morphology as well as in syntax. So, the linguistic data from 1956 may not be suited to a linguistic

analysis in the year 2009-2010. Apart from it, they did not discuss about wh- clauses, relative clauses etc. which are very important when we discuss about complex sentences.

In the book 'SEDANI: A BHOJPURI DIALECT SPOKEN IN CHOTANAGPUR' by Monika Jordan Horstmann published in 1968 in Barlin gives the linguistic description of the Sadani dialect. This monograph describes the new Indo-Aryan Sadani dialect of Bhojpuri spoken in Ranchi district in the state of Bihar, India, and the adjoining areas of Madhya Pradesh. The total number of people speaking the language (which is also known as Sadari) is 459,143. The monograph, as it is published, is a translation of the German original (including some additions) submitted by the author as her Ph.D. dissertation to the Free University of West Berlin in 1966. The study is divided into six sections: (1) Introduction, (2) Phonology and Phonetics, (3) Morphophonemics, (4) Morphology (5) Texts and Translation, and (6) Glossary.

In the phonology and phonetics part, she describes firstly about the phonemic inventory. The phonemes of Sadani belongs to two groups –

The group of segmental phonemes (a)

The group of supra segmental phonemes (b)

Firstly, the writer discusses about the segmental phonemes. According to their function as syllable constituents, segmental phonemes are either vowels or consonants. A few phonemes may function as both vowels and consonants.

First of all, she discusses different allophones and phonetic description of vowels.

She describes them in the following manner-

/i/, allophone [i], free variant [iː], [iː], distribution +.....+, +.....c, c.....+, c.....v,
c.....c.

Phonetic description: High, close, unrounded, oral vocoid.

Examples: /i/ demonstrative pronoun of the 3rd person [i] ~ [iː] ~ [iː], /isʌn/ 'such'
[iːsʌn], /ki/ particle occurring as a sentence increment, semantically "that, then"
or zero [ki] ~ [kiː], /jiu/ 'life' [jiu] ~ [jiːu], /din/ 'day, time, period' [din] ~ [diːn]

Allophone [ɪ], distribution V (except/i).....+, V....C (but, cf. also allophone [ɛ̃])

Phonetic description: high, open, front, unrounded, oral vocoid.

Examples: /hoi/ 'yes' [hoɪ], bekʌit 'spouse' [bekʌɪt] ~ [bekʌɪt].

Allophone [ɛ̃], distribution /a/.....+, if /a/is represented phonetically by [aː] or [aː]

Phonetic description: Mid, open, front, unrounded, nasal vocoid.

Examples: /mai/ 'mother' [maːɛ̃], /gai/ 'cow, cattle' [gaːɛ̃], but /gai/ 'id.' [gʌ+i]

Allophone [j], distribution V.....V

Phonetic description: voiced, palatal, fricative contoid.

Example- /kaia/ 'body' [kaja]

Allophone [j], free variant [ij], distribution C.....V

Phonetic description: cf. [j] or high, close, front, unrounded, oral vocoid followed by [j].

Examples: /piar/ 'love, affection' [piar] ~ [pijar], /piala/ 'cup' [pjala] ~ [pijala].

Allophone [ij], distribution V...// V//, C//V// (/v// is a derivative affix with an initial vowel).

Phonetic description: cf. [ij]

Examples: /bhai/ 'brother' [bha], if followed by //A// //bhAiA// 'id.' [bhΛija]; /goti/, if followed by //a//

/gotiA// 'id.' [gotija] ~ [gotijaː]; /chōḍi/ 'girl' [chōḍi] ~ [chōḍiː], if followed by //O//, an emphatic particle, //chōḍio// [chōḍiɔ].

/u/, allophone [u], free variants [uː], [uː], distribution +.....+, +.....C, /i/.....+,

C.....+, C.....C.

Phonetic description: high, close, back, rounded, oral vocoid.

Examples: /u/ personal and demonstrative pronoun of the 3rd person.

[u] ~ [uː] ~ [uː], /uṭh/ 'to get up, to rise' [uṭh] ~ [uːṭh],

/mirtu/ 'death' [mirtu] ~ [mirtuː], /jiu/ 'life' [jiu] ~ [jiːu],

/kΛbur/ 'tomb' [kΛbur] ~ [kΛbuːr].

Allophone [ʊ], distribution v, ʃ.....+, v, ʃ.....c (cf. allophone [ʊ̃]),

for the distribution /i/....+ cf. above.

Phonetic description : high, open, back, rounded, oral vocoid.

Examples: /putʌu/ 'daughter-in-law' [putʌu], [ʌʊɾ].

Allophone: [õ], free variant [õ̃], distribution /a/.....+.

Phonetic description: High, open, front, rounded, nasal vocoid or low, close, back, rounded, nasal as a free variant.

Examples: /gau/ 'village' [gaõ] ~ [gʌõ̃], /nau/ 'name' [nʌõ] ~ [nʌõ̃].

Allophone: [ʊ̃], distribution +...../i/, c...../i/.

Phonetic description: high, open, front, rounded, oral vocoid.

Examples: /uig/ 'having grown' [ʊ̃g], /suit/ 'having fallen asleep, having slept' [sʊ̃t].

Allophone: [w]: distribution v.....v, ñ, c.....v.

Phonetic description: voiced, bilabial, fricative contoid with sometimes lenis articulation. Examples: /jʌuan/ 'young, lad' [jʌwan], /ʌɸhuara/ 'week' [ʌɸhwarə].

Allophone: [uw], distribution c.....//v// (//v// is a derivative affix with an initial vowel).

Phonetic description: high, close, back, rounded, oral vocoid followed by a voiced, bilabial, fricative contoid with sometimes lenis articulation.

Examples: /chu/ 'to touch' [chu] ; if followed by //A//, //chuA// 'to cause or to allow to be touched' [chuwa].

Allophone: [ʊw], free variant [õw], distribution v...//v//.

Phonetic description: high, open, back, rounded, oral or nasal vocoid followed by a voiced, bilabial, fricative contoid with sometimes lenis articulation.

Examples: /putʌu/ ‘daughter-in-law’ [putʌʊ]; if followed by //Hð// ‘also’,
//putʌuHð// ‘also the daughter-in-law’(/putʌuuohð/)

[putʌʊwohð] ~ [putʌʊ̃wohð]; /chʌu/ ‘six’ [chʌʊwo] ~ [chʌʊ̃wo].

/e/, allophone[e], free variant [æ], distribution +.....+, +.....c, c.....+, c.....c/,

c.....-cv, -c̃ṽ (the hyphen indicates the syllable border).

Phonetic description: mid, close, front, unrounded, oral vocoid or low, close, front, unrounded, oral vocoid. [æ] is always pronounced short.

Examples: /e/ interjection,, mostly “ϕ” , sometimes “hallo” [e] ~ [eː]~[æ], /ek/ ~ [eːk]

~[æk], /se/ ‘then, therefore’ [se] ~ [seː]~ [sæ], /det/ “giving” [det] ~ [deːt] ~ [dæt],

/beʔa/ “son” [beʔa] ~ [bæʔa].

Allophone: [ɛ], rarely free variant, distribution +.....cev, cc̃ṽ, c....cvc, c̃vc, c.....c̃ṽc̃

(or only one of the two vowels nasalized), c....cvvc, c...c̃ṽvc̃ (or only one of the two vowels nasalized).

Phonetic description: mid, open, front, unrounded, oral vocoid or a mid, close,

front, unrounded, oral vocoid. Both vocoids are pronounced short.

Examples: /etna/ 'such' [ɛtna] ~ [etna], /gɛlɒk/ 'he went' [gɛlɒk], /tʰehuna/

'knee' [tʰehuna] ~ [tʰehuna]

Allophone /ẽ/, distribution: wherever /~/ is concomitant with /e/.

Phonetic description: mid, open, front, unrounded, nasal vocoid, always short.

Examples: /mẽ/ 'in' [mẽ], /kẽs/ 'hair' [kẽs]

/o/, allophone [o], free variant [õ], distribution +.....+, +.....c (v, ṽ)+, c.....c+,

c...-cv+, c.....c̃ṽ, c.....cv(ṽ)c+ (the hyphen indicates the syllable border).

Phonetic description: mid, close, back, rounded, oral vocoid.

Examples: /o/ interjection [o] ~ [õ], /ok/ 'to vomit, the vomit' [ok] ~ [õk], /roʈi/

'bread'

[roʈi] ~ [rõʈi]

Allophone [ɔ], free variant [o], distribution +.....v, ṽ, +.....ccv, +.....ccṽ, c.....cvcv (c),

c.....c̃vc̃ (c) (or only one of the vowels nasalized), c.....cvvc, c.....c̃vvc.

Phonetic description: low or mid, close, back, rounded, oral vocoid.

Examples: /hoek/ 'to be, (the) being' [hɔɛk] ~ [hoek], /moẽ/ 'i' [mɔẽ] ~ [moẽ]

Allophone [ɔ̃], free variant [õ], distribution: wherever /~/ is concomitant with /o/.

Phonetic description: low or mid, close, back, rounded nasal vocoid, always short.

Examples: /chõḍa/ ‘boy’ [chõḗa] ~ [chõḗa].

/ʌ/, allophone [ʌ], distribution +...../u/, c.../u/, +.....c, c....c.

Phonetic description: Mid, open, oral vocoid the tongue position being either central or back.

Examples: /ʌur/ ‘and’ [ʌur], /sʌub/ ‘all’ [sʌub]

Allophone [ʌ₊], distribution: in all positions before /i/.

Phonetic description: cf. [ʌ] but the tongue position being slightly front.

Examples: /kʌir/ ‘having done’ [kʌ₊ir]

Allophone [ʌ̃], free variant [ʌ], distribution: in all positions before vowels which tend to be realized as nasals.

Phonetic description: cf. [ʌ] but nasal.

Example: /chʌua/ ‘child’ [chʌuwa] ~ [chʌũwa] ~ [chʌ̃ũwa].

/a/, allophone [a], distribution +.....c, c.....c, +...../o/, /õ/, c...../o/, /õ/.

Phonetic description: low, open, central, oral vocoid, short or long.

Example: /adha/ ‘half’ [adha]

Allophone [a], free variant [ʌ], distribution: in all positions before /u/.

Phonetic description: cf. [a] and [ʌ].

Examples: /saus/ ‘mother-in-law’ [saus] ~ [sʌus]

Allophone [a₊], free variant [Λ₊], distribution: in all positions before /i/.

Phonetic distribution: cf. [a] and [Λ] but the tongue position being slightly front.

Example: /aij/ 'today' [a₊tj] ~ [Λ₊tj]

After discussing the vowels as stated by Monica Jordan Horstman, a question arises to my mind why she did not treat the nasal vowels differently. On the other hand, she included the nasal vowels as allophones of the oral vowels in some phonetic environments. I also believe that her treatment of /w/ and /y/ as the allophones of /u/ and /i/ respectively is doubtful.

Monica Jordan Horstman's book 'SEDANI: A BHOJPURI DIALECT SPOKEN IN CHOTANAGPUR' also discusses about the allophones of consonantal phonemes and their phonetic descriptions. Let us go through her book-

/p/, allophone [p], distribution +v, v.....+, v.....v, v.....c, c.....v¹.

Phonetic description: voiceless, bilabial, unaspirated stop.

Example- /purukh/ 'man'

/t/, allophone [t]

Phonetic distribution: voiceless, alveolar, unaspirated stop.

Example- /tel/ 'oil'

/ʈ/, allophone [ʈ]

Phonetic description: voiceless, retroflex, unaspirated stop.

Examples: /ʈʊʈa/ 'broken'

/c/, allophone [c]

Phonetic description: voiceless, alveo-palatal, affricated, unaspirate stop.

Example- /cʌrka/ 'white'

/k/, allophone [k]

Phonetic description: voiceless, velar unaspirate stop.

Example: /kukur/ 'dog'

/b/, allophone [b]

Phonetic description: voiced bilabial unaspirate stop.

Example: /din/ 'day'

/d/, allophone [d]

Phonetic description: voiced, alveolar, unaspirate stop.

Example: /din/ 'day'

/ɖ/, allophone [ɖ], distribution +.....v, c (with the exception of /r/, /l/)......v.

Phonetic description: voiced, retroflex, unaspirate stop.

Example: /ɖʌr/ 'fear'

Allophone [ɽ], distribution: v...+, , v.....v, v.....c.

Example: /god/, ‘foot’[gor], /kλɖa/ ‘bull’, /hλɖbλɖæck/ ‘to be perplexed’[hλɖbλɖæck].

/j/, allophone [j], free variant [z, dʒ]

Phonetic description: voiced, alveo-palatal, affricated stop ([j]), or voiced, alveolar fricative ([z]) or voiced alveo-palatal fricative ([ʒ]), or a sound lying between an alveolar, affricated voiced stop ([dʒ]) and a voiced, alveo-palatal, affricated stop ([^dʒ]).

Example: /jλnλm/ ‘birth, life’ [j/z/z/^dʒλnλm].

/g/, allophone [g],

Phonetic description: voiced, velar, un-aspirate stop.

Example: /gλrλm/ ‘warm, hot, heat’ [gλrλm].

/m/, allophone [m]

Phonetic description: voiced, bilabial, unaspirate nasal.

Example: /murgi/ ‘fowl’ [murgi].

/n/, allophone [n], distribution +.....v, v.....+, v.....v, v.....dental consonant,

c.....v, v.....labial consonant.

Phonetic description: voiced, alveolar, unaspirate nasal.

Example: /non/ ‘salt’ [non].

Allophone [ɳ], in all positions before retroflex consonants.

Phonetic description: voiced, retroflex, unaspirate nasal.

Example: /ɖiɳɖa/ ‘unmarried, single’ [ɖiɳɖa].

Allophone [ɳ̃], distribution: in all positions before retroflex consonants.

Phonetic description: voiced, alveo-palatal, un-aspirate nasal.

Examples: /jʰʌɳjʰʌt/ ‘trouble, worry’ [jʰʌɳ̃jʰʌt].

Allophone: /ŋ/, distribution: in all positions before velar stops.

Phonetic description: voiced, velar unaspirate nasal.

Example: /rʌŋg/ ‘colour’ [rʌŋg].

/l/, allophone [l],

Phonetic description: voiced, alveolar, frictionless lateral.

Example: /lan/ ‘to bring (verb-stem)’ [lan]

/r/, allophone [r], distribution +.....v, v.....v, v.....c (voiced), c (voiced).....v; v.....+/r/

Phonetic description: voiced, alveolar flapped vibrant

Example: /roɽi/ ‘bread’ [roɽi], /kʌrek/ ‘to do, (the) doing’ [kʌrek], /mʌrdana/
‘man’s compartment, men -folk’ [mʌrdana], /chʌgri/ ‘goat’ [chʌgri]

Allophone [r̄], distribution v.....+/r/

Phonetic description: voiced, alveolar, trilled vibrant.

Example: /mʌr+re/ ‘interjection’ [mʌre].

Allophone [r], free variant [ɾ], distribution v.....c (voice less), c (voice-less)....v,

v....+ (if /+/ is not followed by /r/)

Phonetic description: voiced, alveolar flapped vibrant, fortis ([r]) or lenis ([ɾ]).

Examples: /kʌrte/ ‘(while) doing’ [kʌrte] ~ [kʌɾte], /bʌkra/ ‘he-goat’ [bʌkra] ~ [bʌkɾa], /ghʌr/ ‘house’ [ghʌr] ~ [ghʌɾ]

/s/, allophone [s],

Phonetic description: voiceless, alveolar, fricative sibilant.

Example: /sʌub/ ‘all’ [sʌub].

/h/, allophone [h], distribution: +.....v, v.... +, v....c.

Phonetic description: voiceless, glottal, fricative vocoid.

Examples: /hine/ ‘here, hither’ [hine], /rʌh/ ‘to remain (verb-stem)’ [rʌh], /rʌhbũ/ ‘I shall remain’ [rʌhbũ].

Allophone [h], distribution: v.....v.

Example: /tohar/ ‘your’ [tohar]

Allophone: /ø/, distribution: after aspirate consonants.

Example: /raikhhõ/ ‘I have kept’ [raikhõ].

/ph/, allophone [ph], free variant [pø]

Phonetic distribution: voiceless, bilabial, aspirate stop or voiceless, bilabial, unaspirate stop followed by a homorganic, voiceless fricative.

Example: /phul/ 'flower' [phul] ~ [pøul].

/th/, allophone [th]

Phonetic description: voiceless, alveolar, aspirate stop.

Example: /thir/ 'quiet, firm' [thir].

/ṭh/, allophone [ṭh]

Phonetic description: voiceless, retroflex, aspirate stop

Example: /ṭhakar/ 'rascal, imposter' [ṭhakar].

/ch/, allophone [ch]

Phonetic description: voiceless, alveo-palatal, aspirate stop.

Example: /chati/ 'breast, bosom' [chati]

/kh/, allophone [kh], free variant [x], distribution +....v, v....v (if there is a

syllable border between the first vowel and /kh/).

Phonetic description: voiceless, velar, aspirate stop or voiceless, velar fricative.

Examples: /khaek/ 'to eat' [khaek] ~ [xaek], /dekhar/ 'sight, view' [dekhar] ~ [dexar]

Allophone [kh], distribution v....v, v....c; in the case of the position v...v there is

a syllable border lying between k and h.

Examples: /dekhʌb/ ‘we shall see’ [dekhʌb], /dekhte/ ‘(while) seeing’ [dekhte].

Allophone: [x], distribution v....+; for c....+ no example could be traced.

Example: /dukh/ ‘misfortune’ [dux]

/bh/, allophone [bh],

Phonetic description: voiced, bilabial, aspirate stop.

Example: /bhukh/ ‘hunger’ [bhux]

/dh/, allophone [dh]

Phonetic description: voiced, alveolar aspirate stop.

Example: /dhʌr/ ‘to hold, seize (verb-stem)’ [dhʌr]

/ḍh/, allophone [ḍh], distribution +.....v, c (with the exception of /r/, /l/....v).

Phonetic description: voiced, retroflex, aspirate stop.

Example: /ḍhus/ ‘to push, kick, (verb-stem)’ [ḍhus].

Allophone [ɽh], free variant [ɽ], distribution v.....c.

Phonetic description: voiced, retroflex, vibrant, aspirate or unaspirate.

Example: /cʌḍhlʌk/ ‘he mounted’ [cʌɽhlʌk] ~ [cʌɽlʌk].

Allophone [ɽh], distribution: v....+, v....v (examples for the distribution /r/, /l/,v

could not be traced).

Example: /cʌɖh/ ‘to mount’ [cʌɖh], /buɖha/ ‘aged, old man’
[buɖha].

/jh/, allophone [jh], free variants [zh, zʰ], distribution is like the phoneme /p/

Phonetic description: voiced, alveo-palatal, affricated, aspirate stop ([jh]), or
voiced, alveolar, aspirate fricative ([zh]) or voiced, alveo-palatal, aspirate fricative
[zʰ].

Example: /rijh/ ‘pleasure, fun, joy’ [rijh/zʰ/zʰ].

/gh/, allophone [gh], distribution is like the phoneme /p/.

Phonetic description: voiced, velar, aspirate stop.

Example: /ghʌɾ/ ‘house’ [ghʌɾ].

From the above discussion, it is no doubt that she tries to give a detailed analysis of the vowel and consonants of the Sadri phonemes treating them as independent consonantal phonemes. I also believe that her treatment of /w/ and /y/ as the allophones of /u/ and /i/ respectively is doubtful. She can treat them as independent consonantal phonemes like other Indo-Aryan languages of India.

Monica Jordan Horstman in her book ‘SEDANI: A BHOJPURI DIALECT SPOKEN IN CHOTANAGPUR’ also discusses about different supra-segmental features. These are discussed below-

Firstly, she discusses about Nasalization. According to her, nasal is articulated together with the vowel with which it is concomitant. Nasalized vowels behave like oral vowels in respective distribution. She tells that the only exceptions are the vowel phonemes /e/ and /o/. She mentions examples to show the contrast between the presence of nasal versus absence of a nasal:

/mai/ ‘mother’ : /maĩ/ ‘rope’

/uṭh/ ‘to arise’ : /ũṭh/ ‘camel’

/khae/ ‘he eats, he may eat’ : /khaẽ/ ‘they eat, they may eat’

/chõḍi/ ‘girl’ : /choḍi/ ‘he will leave, abandon’

/bʌḍa/ ‘much, very’ : /bʌḍã/ ‘having a broken or amputated tail’

/kʌha/ ‘say! tell! (2nd. Pers. Pl.)’ : /kʌhã/ ‘where, whither’

Here, she treated nasalization as supra-segmental feature very briefly. She just only depicts some examples without making a detailed analysis to understand it by the readers. Here, she comments that nasal vowels are contrasted with oral vowels in some phonetic distribution. On the other hand, she included the nasal vowels as only the allophones of oral vowels.

In the morphology section, Monica Jordan mentions four classes of morphemes. They are namely-

- 1) Roots
- 2) Derivational affixes for the formation of stems

3) Flexional endings

4) Particles

She defines that the nuclear constituent of a word is the root. If a root single or with peripheral constituents, is found to occur as an isolated utterance, it is called a free root. If, however, a root occurs bound to a stem only, it is called a stem bound or simply a bound root. Roots are to be regarded as bound only if they are stem bound, but not if they are allomorphs of free roots. With regard to their constituents, stems are simple or complex. Simple stems are identical with free roots. Complex stems consist of one or more than one root and certain derivational affixes. From the point of view of distribution, three classes of stems have to be distinguished, namely-

1) Nominal Stems

2) Verb Stems

3) Modified stems, that is stems that modify the stems of types (1) and (2) with regard to their grammatical or semantic structure.

When she examines these three classes of stems from the point of view of their tendency to attract additional peripheral constituents besides the derivative affixes, verb stems have to be regarded as very open, noun stems as less open, and modifying stems as close; that is verb stems have the strongest tendency of all stems to attract peripheral constituents, noun stems less, and modifying stems show no tendency to do so.

Apart from the phonology and morphology section, she also depicted some Sadri texts including different folktales, some of which she collected from secondary sources like Nowrangi's Reader, pp. 18 – 23. Another text is recorded in 1956 by Prof. Dr. H. J. Pinnow and the other was given by her informant Mr. Surin himself in the year 1963.

Here, it is found that this monograph describes the new Indo- Aryan Sadani dialect of Bhojpuri spoken in Ranchi district in the state of Bihar, India, and the adjoining areas of Madhya Pradesh. The total number of people speaking the language (which is also known as Sadari) is 459,143. She discusses not only Phonology and Phonetics, Morpho-phonemics and Morphology but also included Texts and Translation and Glossary. It also includes a bibliography, maps and appendices on Kaithi script, and a census specimen. The only striking feature of this monograph is that its author literally follows through the analytical procedures of morphological segmentation and identification in redoing what is stated by Nowrangi (A Simple Sadani Grammar, Ranchi, 1956) in simple and straightforward terms. Consequently, this structural description of Sadani is in fact nothing more than an attempt to identify the already known morphological units of the language in terms of an awkward system of morpho-phonemes.

In the research work, ‘Argument Selection in Sadani/ Sadri as Spoken in Assam’, the researcher Lucky Dey gives an account of the argument selection in Sadani/ Sadri as spoken in Assam. The objectives primarily include (1) a detailed descriptive study of case marking and thematic roles in the language and (2) an attempt to show how the grammar of argument marking is organized in a hierarchy. At the secondary level, the study also tries to assess the influence of Assamese, the dominant regional language in the argument marking of Sadri. The study of the argument selection provides a detailed discussion of the arguments and the predicates in Assam Sadri. The proto-role approach makes it easy to understand the differences in argument realization in the natural language, which otherwise seems so complicated. At a descriptive level, the thesis has attempted to

categorize the arguments in terms of their proto-properties. This categorization ultimately explains the selection of the arguments to their associated argument structure position. The analysis reinforces the notion that a two-way understanding of the verbal properties and that the argument properties are important. Verbs are divided primarily into stative and dynamic. Likewise, the arguments can be understood as prototypes and non-prototypes. In addition, it is necessary to realize that these categories and their properties are not air-tight, but their meaning overlap. They intrude into the each other's properties. Thus, the study demonstrates how this overlapping of meaning or properties is always in a degree continuum.

She mentions that in Assam Sadri, the nominative subjects can have the thematic roles of agent, experiencer, and themes which can be arranged in a continuum between dynamic and stative verbs. The dynamic verbs have the tendency to take agentive subjects whereas the less dynamic verbs have the tendency to assign non-agentive subjects. The involvement of dative subjects in the action or the experience, even though non-volitional, can be shown as a degree of continuum between dynamic non-volitional followed by mental state and finally physical state, expressed by the verb. Similarly, the involvement of genitive subjects in the action can be seen as a continuum between agent and patient roles. The analysis shows that the predicates indicating dynamic mental states ensure more involvement of the subject followed by predicates denoting physical states, events and finally states or possessions. Locative subjects indicate abstract location, having the semantic role of goal and thus occurs after the patient role in the thematic hierarchy. The object, like that of the subjects can be arranged in a thematic hierarchy, where the patient outranks the theme, which again outranks the oblique objects. The

argument that occupy the direct object position do not always entail all the proto-patient properties like undergoing ‘change of state’ and ‘incremental theme’ and so on. Depending upon the nature of the verb type, some objects undergo change of state physically, and some undergo the change mentally. On the other hand, there are some that do not undergo any definite change or are not affected by the action. After analyzing the Assam Sadri data, she shows that not all verbs imply totally affected objects. The degree of affectedness can be seen as a continuum between more affected and less affected patients. The dynamic action verbs that physically affect the arguments are considered to be proto-typical patients followed by arguments that are mentally affected, as that of ‘scold’ and ‘remember’, followed by perception verbs like ‘see’ and finally by stative verb ‘know’. In case of oblique objects, locative m./pr., implies affectedness with dynamic verb biswas kar ‘trust do’ to whereas, with stative ah. ‘have’ it implies non-affectedness. The mono transitive constructions can take the role of a patient or theme, whereas in di-transitive constructions, the direct object is normally the theme. The indirect objects with the thematic role of the recipient and beneficiary come next to it in the hierarchy. The theme entails the proto-patient property of undergoing change of position in the sense of being ‘transfer’. The recipient and the beneficiary do not undergo such change. Again, the argument with role of a recipient is the one who ‘receives’, in that sense can be considered more involved in the action than the beneficiary for whom ‘the action is done’ or so to say who is supposed to be ‘benefited by the action’. Thus, the recipient is more affected the beneficiary. Thus, in the hierarchy of di-transitive, the theme outranks recipient which again outranks the beneficiary.

She also mentions that the basic problem of grammatical marking, having no one to correspondence with the thematic roles in argument structure, has been also encountered in causativisation and passivisation. With the help of the aspectual and proto-role theories, she makes some interesting generalization about both causatives and passives in Assam Sadri. In causativisation, the subject is demoted to the direct object, indirect object and the oblique NP position. According to her, the causee NP can take accusative, dative or the instrumental case with regards to the argument position.

The alternation of the accusative, dative and instrumental case reflects the degree of control of the causee. In passivisation, the passive subject with the proto-patient role outranks the other non-prototypical patients in degree of affectedness. The passive subject position remains unoccupied in case of impersonal passives. The language also allows passive agent with the instrumental case /*dwara*/ to appear as the passive subject, in certain cases. They are placed at the non-affected end of the scale. In the hierarchy, experiencer arguments with dative case come next to the patient, followed by the beneficiary and theme and finally the instrumental. It is observed that both the causee and the passive subject adhere to the principles of thematic hierarchy based on the proto-properties, just like the core arguments Agent, Subject and Object. Proto-properties of causee show that their thematic hierarchy also forms a degree of continuum between more agentive and less agentive with instrument at one end and accusative on the other end of the scale. The passive subject shows the continuum between more affected to less affected patient roles with manifestation by the accusative followed by dative and nominative case features. In short, the predicates can be arranged in a hierarchy, where the dynamic outranks the non-dynamics. The data show that there is no definite

demarcation between dynamic and stative; instead they are broken down into further categories showing the degree of control as a continuum between proto-agent and proto-patient. She placed these two roles at the two extreme ends of the scale. The other roles are placed depending upon their tendency towards one of them. In a clause structure, each argument position, be it subject of transitive, direct object, indirect object or any others, reveals the existence of a hierarchy; where the prototype outranks the non-prototypes. Again, each case marked argument (dative, genitive and so on) reveals the existence of a sub-hierarchy, where the proto-typical role outranks the non-prototypical ones. Thus, the relationship between the predicates, argument marking and the argument position consist of these interacting hierarchies. Finally, she reveals that the patterns in Assam Sadri, when contrasted with the patterns in Nagpuriya Sadri show some compelling differences between both the varieties of Sadri. The influence of dominant languages can be seen in the argument marking of Assam Sadri. The influence is quite prominent and can be seen as a gradual process of language change.

It is a good work as she clearly pointed out the influences of Assamese on Sadri at the grammatical level. It would have been better had she talked about the whole linguistic structure of Sadri.

John Peterson from University of Leipzig published an article namely “Language contact in Jharkhand: Linguistic convergence between Munda and Indo-Aryan in eastern-central India” in Vol. 9 (2) Himalayan Linguistics 2010 where it takes a closer look at language convergence in Jharkhand in eastern-central India, concentrating on Indo-Aryan and Munda languages. This article is taken to review only for the reason that it concentrates on some important linguistic traits of the Sadri language in comparison with

some other languages found in Jharkhand. Although it is well-known that the Indo-Aryan languages which function as lingua franca in the region – such as Sadri, Bengali and Oriya – have had an enormous impact on the morpho-syntax and lexicon of the Munda languages. In this study, he calls our attention to a number of convergences which have so far gone unnoticed, many of which appear to originate in Munda, while others are of uncertain origin. These include, among others, the emergence of inalienable possession as a morphological category and incipient dual marking in the pronominal paradigm in Sadri, similarities in categories denoting 'from' and 'to' or 'begin' and 'keep on', as well as a number of interesting areal developments of the genitive, including 3rd person marking, focus marking, or becoming part of the copular stem in several languages of the region.

The reviewed work is primarily based on data which were obtained during field work on Sadri in March, 2009 as well as on data from field work over the course of five years on Kharia, Mundari and Santali.

In this paper, he mentions that Sadri is the Indo-Aryan lingua franca for much of western and central Jharkhand, and is also used on a daily basis by speakers of a number of Munda and Dravidian languages. It has an array of alternate names, of which "Sadani" is the term generally used outside of India to refer to this language. John Peterson refers to this language as "Sadri". According to the Ethnologue, in 1997 there were 1,965,000 speakers of Sadri in India, with 2,165,000 speakers in all countries (Lewis 2009). Sadri varies considerably in terms of morpho-syntax depending on the native language of the person speaking it, and the texts he has from three different ethnic groups (Sadri jait) differ in a number of respects. There are also considerable differences in pronunciation; although these are clear signs of ethnic identity for the speakers involved, they are not

dealt with further in the research work as the present study concentrates on morpho-syntactic features.

He then, discusses on multilingualism in Jharkhand. According to him, the level of bi- and multilingualism is relatively high in Jharkhand, at least in southwestern Jharkhand. In his own experience, in this region, most speakers of Munda languages are fluent in their native language as well as Sadri and Hindi. Speakers of Sadri, on the other hand, are generally fluent in Hindi as well but seldom have active knowledge of a Munda language, although this is not entirely unknown. Finally, speakers of Santali, which is spoken further to the east, are often more familiar with Bengali than with Hindi or Sadri, and Bengali has had an enormous impact on Santali, comparable to that of Sadri or the Munda languages of western Jharkhand. Thus, although individual levels of multilingualism certainly vary greatly, there is a relatively high level of multilingualism in Jharkhand, so that convergences between the many languages of this region are to be expected.

It is well-known that the IA languages have had an enormous impact on all aspects of the Munda languages of central and eastern-central India. However, the Munda languages also appear to have been the catalyst for a number of changes in IA languages, at least when these are spoken in areas with a high concentration of speakers of Munda languages, such as Sadri, the traditional IA lingua franca for speakers of various Munda and Dravidian languages in much of Jharkhand. As he has shown a number of linguistic convergences which can be found in the languages of Jharkhand, with some of these originated in Munda, others in Indo-Aryan, and others of unclear origin. It is found that some of the features discussed in the article such as the similarities between expressions

for 'from' and 'to' and 'begin' and 'keep on', are true not only of the languages of Jharkhand but also of at least some languages further to the east, such as Bengali. Other features are true of only some of the languages of Jharkhand and of those further to the north, e.g., the use of the genitive to mark the 3rd person, singular, which is also found as far afield as Maithili, spoken in Bihar and Nepal. Yet others seem to set the languages of Jharkhand off from their immediate neighbours entirely, such as the grammatical distinction between alienable and inalienable possession. Finally, features are also found which hold for some languages of Jharkhand and possibly also further to the south, such as Oriya (e.g., the use of the genitive to mark focus), or to the south and east, such as "anticipatory" markers or "conditional participles / converbs". Constructions such as that in (i) below, which shows that in Sadri as well, there is a close link between focus and other types of nominalization (note: ja-'go' is here a so-called "vector verb" which follows the lexical stem marked by the linker -e and which denotes Aktionsart. Its exact semantics are irrelevant here):

Sadri (i)

je=k.r se wiswas ho-e ja-ela ki .b biha ho-be k.r-i. [HKS.0019]

CR=GEN ABL certainty COP-LNK go-PRS.3SG CMPL now wedding COP-NMLZR
do-FUT.3SG

'Through which certainty arises that the wedding will definitely take place (literally: "the wedding will do being").'

With respect to morpho-syntax, Kharia, Mundari, Ho, Santali and Sadri all share the following general characteristics:

All five are predominantly predicate-final ("SOV"), although not rigidly so;

All five show a strong head-final tendency in general, not only with respect to the position of the predicate but also internal to clause-level constituents ("NPs") as well as with respect to the position of bound morphemes;

All five have predominantly agglutinating / enclitic grammatical marking.

Thus, from the review of the above article, it is found that he made a comparative analysis of Munda and Indo-Aryan languages in eastern-central India including Sadri at morpho-syntactic level. He could not study other linguistic aspects of the Sadri language in the research paper.

In the Ph.D. thesis, "Dibrugarh Jilar chah shramikar kathit Asamiya Bhasa: eti Bislesan or 'The Spoken Assamese Language of the Tea Labourers of Dibrugarh District: An Analysis' ", the research fellow Indrajit Handique from Dibrugarh University, Assam gives a description of the phonology, morphology and syntax of the Assam Sadri spoken in Dibrugarh district of Assam.

In the phonology, he mentions that there are six vowels in the sadri language spoken in Dibrugarh district of Assam. These are-

/i/: it is a front high unrounded vowel.

/e/: it is a front mid unrounded vowel

/a/: it is a central lower unrounded vowel.

/ɔ/: it is a back lower rounded vowel.

/o/: it is a back mid rounded vowel.

/u/: it is a back high rounded vowel.

Here he finds that all the vowels occur in all the three positions of words namely initially, medially and finally. In this section, we want to mention that all indo-Aryan languages have the short central vowel /ʌ/ or /ə/. But, the author misses to include one of it in his phonetic inventories. It really raises question on me. The author missed this because I have a lot of examples of word where /ə/ is a phoneme in Assam Sadri

He also mentions a lot of diphthongs found in the Sadri spoken in the Dibrugarh district of Assam. Among these diphthongs, /ei, oi, ou, ɔi, ai, au/ occur in the initial positions of words. The diphthongs /iɔ, ia, ui, ua, ei, eu, ua, ei, oi, ɔi, ɔu, ai, au. ao/ occur in the medial positions of words. Finally, the diphthongs /iu, io, ia, ui, ua, eu, ou, ɔi, ai, au, ao/ occur in the word final positions of words.

He also mentions that nasalization is phonemic and it contrasted with oral vowel counterparts as exemplified below-

/ẽ/ vs. /e/

/ẽri/ ‘heal’

/eri/ ‘a thread’

/ã/ vs. /a/

/kãça/ ‘not ripe’

/kača/ ‘to wash cloths’ etc.

In his research, he got twenty four consonantal phonemes which are given below-

Unaspirated plosives : /p, b, t, d, k, g/

Aspirated plosives : /ph, bh, th, dh, kh, gh/

Unaspirated fricatives : /s, j, h/

Aspirated Fricatives : /sh, jh/

Nasal : /m, n, ŋ/

Lateral : /l/

Flap : /ɾ/

Approximant : /w, y/

Here, I want to express my doubts on the consonantal phonemes. In this section, he did not discuss at all about the affricate phonemes of the language. As per my knowledge about different varieties of Sadri, it is an essential phonological trait. Being an Assamese speaker, he was not able to identify it as Assamese has no affricate sound.

In his thesis, he also mentions different consonant clusters. He writes that there are clusters of two as well as three consonants in the Sadri language spoken in Dibrugarh district of Assam. According to him, consonant cluster in the medial position of word is more frequent in the language compared to the medial and final positions of words. He also mentions that the initial consonant clusters are mainly taken from English words.

Here, we depicted some of the examples of consonant clusters from his thesis for verification below:

Initial consonant cluster

/kl-/ : /klab/ 'club'

/bl-/ : /blɔk/ 'block' etc.

Medial consonant cluster

/-pp-/ : /thappɔr/ 'slap'

/-bg-/ : /ɔbga/ 'pure' etc.

Final consonant cluster

/-st/ : /phast/ 'first'

/-nd/ : /kand/ 'to cry' etc.

As per the analysis of my findings, the above mentioned examples of medial consonant clusters are just consonantal sequences, not consonant clusters at all. In this section, he really increases the ambiguity about consonant cluster and consonant sequence.

He also depicts examples of consonant clusters of three consonants as given below-

/-ndr-/ : /endra/ 'to open eyes widely'

/-ntr-/ : /mɔntrɔ/ 'religious humming' etc.

Here also a question arises in my mind. According to me, these are the consonant clusters of two consonants, instead of three. For example, /-n/ is the coda of the first syllable /en/ and the consonant cluster /dr-/ is the onset of the next syllable /dra/. Instead, he included /-ndr-/ as one consonant cluster within a syllable.

In the Morphology section, Indrajit Handique discusses about two types of words on the basis of the data collected from his informants. These two types of words are namely-

- 1) Simple or root words
- 2) Derived or compound words

First of all, he discusses about the simple or root words. According to him, there are a lot of simple or root words found in the sadri language spoken by the tea labourers of Dibrugarh district which have their completely own meanings as exemplified below-

/manus/	‘male’
/gas/	‘tree’
/kam/	‘work’
/sand/	‘moon’
/tara/	‘star’ etc.

Here, we totally agree with him. These are purely simple words of Sadri language.

Next, he discusses about derived or compound words. Here, he explains that the derived or compound words of the Sadri language spoken by the tea labourers of Dibrugarh district can be formed in three different ways like-

- 1) With the addition of affixes
- 2) By compounding two or more simple words
- 3) By reduplication

Here, he discusses two types of affixes found in the above mentioned language.

These are –

1)Prefix: these prefixes are added before the simple words of different classes namely- noun, adjective etc. to get new derived words as exemplified below-

/ɔ-/	/ɔ-dhɔrɔm/	‘not religious’
/ku-/	/ku-kɔrɔm/	‘bad deeds’
/s-/	/s- kal/	‘early morning’ etc.

3.suffix: There are a lot of suffixes which are used to get new derived words in the language. I depicted some examples here from the researcher’s thesis-

/-ɔn/	/nas-ɔn/ (‘dance’ verb + suffix)	‘dance (noun)’
/-ra/	/kand-ra/ (‘cry’ verb + suffix)	‘one who cries (noun)’
/-khana/	/daktɔr-khana/ (‘doctor’ noun + suffix)	‘hospital’ etc.

In the section of affix, he depicts examples of different prefixes and suffixes as exemplified above. But, he does not make any detailed analysis the class maintaining affixes and class changing affixes.

When he discusses the compound words which are made up by the process of compounding two or more simple words, he collected a lot of such words which he collected during his interaction with his informants. I picked some of them here-

/jawan - səkđi/	‘young girl’
/sitəl - maṭi/	‘cool soil’
/kāsi - bən/	‘one type of grass’ etc.

In the section of compound or derived words constructed through the process of reduplication, he mentions mainly three types of reduplications-

1)complete reduplication: here, he gives examples like-

/phəjir-phəjir/	‘early morning’
/pakəl-pakəl/	‘ripe’
/aste-aste/	‘slowly’ etc.

2)partial reduplication: here, he mentions examples like-

/katari-satari/	‘a traditional knife’
/ghər-sər/	‘house’ etc.

3)onomatopoeic words: here, he depicts examples like-

/meu-meu/ ‘voice of cat’

/keŋ-keŋ/ ‘voice of dog’ etc.

Here, he did not go for any detailed analysis of the compound words regarding the presence or absence of bahubrihi compound, endocentric or exocentric compound etc.

Another work on Assam Sadri is “Cha Mazdur Asamia Sabd Aru Khand-Bakya Sambhar” compiled by Dewram Tasha, published by Assam Sahitya Sabha (1990). It is a kind of dictionary.

The other is “Axomor cha mazdur git-mator ek hamixiyamulak addhayan or ‘A critical study of the songs of the Tea Garden Labourers in Assam’ ” (1999), PhD thesis by Joytsna Sarmah Bezbaruah. Here, she devotes a chapter on the description of Assam Sadri.

A large amount of literature has been and continues to be published in Sadri, including a number of works by Peter Shanti Nowrangi of different types, both prose and poetry, as well as translations of sections of the New Testament. Other works include Prasad (1992), a collection of folktales, a jhu (2003), a historical drama, as well as a number of translations from other languages into Sadri.

But unfortunately, not much works are found in Sadri spoken in the tea gardens of Assam even though it is a very important lingua franca as far as the day today interaction of the tea garden labourers are concerned.