

## CHAPTER-3

### PHONOLOGY

Sadri is one of the Indo-Aryan languages. The phonemes of the sadri language spoken in the tea-gardens of Assam belong to two groups, namely

→The group of segmental phonemes

→ The group of suprasegmental phonemes

It is found that segmental phonemes can be divided into consonants and vowels. Below is given the description and distribution of these segmental phonemes found in the Sadri language spoken in Assam -

#### **3.1. Vowels:**

There are two types of vowels in Sadri spoken in Assam namely-

→ Oral Vowel

→ Nasal Vowel

##### **3.1.1. Oral Vowels:**

Sadri has a six oral vowel system showing a three way contrast of front, central and back. The vowels are distinguished at the three levels of tongue height: high, mid and low. There are two way contrasts namely front and back at the high level. On the other hand, there is three way contrasts i.e. front, centre and back at the mid level while there is

only one central vowel at the low level. The oral vocalic phonemes in Sadri are i, e, ə, a, o and u. The front and central vowels are unrounded while the back vowels are rounded.

The vowels of Sadri are voiced, but voicing is not a relevant feature of the language. Nasalization is phonemic in the language and appears to be compatible with all monophthongs. Vowel length, on the other hand, is not phonemic. To get a better idea, the vowels of Sadri are shown in the following figure -

	Front		Central		Back	
	UR	R	UR	R	UR	R
High	i					u
Mid	e		ə			o
Low			a			

### 3.1.1.1. Description and Distribution of Oral Vowels:

**/i/:**

It is a high front unrounded vowel. It occurs in all the three positions of words, i.e. initially, medially and finally. Let us take the following examples-

#### **Word-Initially-**

/ičara/ 'signal'

/ičla/ 'prawn'

/ita/ 'brick'

/isan/	‘such’
/inam/	‘prize’
/ilaiči/	‘a spice’

**Word-Medially-**

/bhagina/	‘niece’
/mithun/	‘bison’
/minjur/	‘peacock’
/kičuwa/	‘earth worm’
/čimti/	‘ant’

**Word-Finally-**

/čimti/	‘ant’
/ghuᅅgi/	‘snail’
/čiᅅri/	‘prawn’
/biči/	‘scorpion’
/siᅅi/	‘a fish’
/mači/	‘house fly’
/aji/	‘grand mother ’

/e/:

It is a mid front unrounded vowel. It occurs in all the three positions of words namely initial, medial and final positions. These are exemplified below-

**Word-initially-**

/ekla/	‘alone’
/ek <sup>h</sup> ən/	‘now’
/etna/	‘so much’
/ekdəm/	‘completely’
/ek/	‘one’
/etəi/	‘this much’

**Word-medially-**

/temrəs/	‘guava’
/lembu/	‘lemon’
/pepta/	‘papaya’
/bes/	‘good’
/apel/	‘apple’
/genda/	‘marigold’
/tel/	‘oil’

/sənd<sup>h</sup>eh/

‘doubt’

**Word- finally-**

/jabe/

‘go’

/niče/

‘below’

/hamnike/

‘us’

/hine/

‘here’

/b<sup>h</sup>itre/

‘inside’

/bahire/

‘outside’

**/a/:**

It is a low central unrounded vowel. It occurs in all the three positions of words as shown below-

**Word-initially-**

/agun/

‘fire’

/aja/

‘great grandfather’

/atəŋk/

‘terror’

/and<sup>h</sup>ar/

‘darkness’

/akas/

‘sky’

/apel/

‘apple’

/ačkai/ 'astonishment'

/asa/ 'hope'

**Word-Medially-**

/narkəl/ 'coconut'

/dalim/ 'pomegranate'

/k<sup>h</sup>akra/ 'crab'

/b<sup>h</sup>alu/ 'bear'

/baq<sup>h</sup>/ [baɾ<sup>h</sup>] 'flood'

/pap/ 'sin'

**Word-Finally-**

/poka/ 'insect'

/papla/ 'butterfly'

/makɟa/ [makɾa] 'spider'

/at<sup>h</sup>a/ 'glue'

/t<sup>h</sup>adra/ 'thunder sound'

/t<sup>h</sup>anda/ 'cold'

/kəwita/ 'poem'

**/ə/:**

It is a mid central unrounded vowel. It occurs in all the three positions of words.

Let us take the following examples-

**Word-Initially-**

/ənt/		‘finish’
/əlgə/		‘isolate’
/əjgəd/	[əjgəɾ]	‘a serpent’
/ənjan/		‘unknown’
/əʃli/		‘original’
/əɾji/		‘application’

**Word- Medially-**

/hərin/		‘deer’
/bəkli/		‘heron’
/maʃri/		‘fish’
/pədum/		‘lotus’
/hrəd/		‘lake’
/ʃəmd <sup>hi</sup> /		‘daughter – in- law’s father’
/ pətəŋ kəbi/		‘cabbage’

/jəwan/ 'young'

**Word-Finally-**

/k<sup>h</sup>abə/ 'to eat'

/karbə/ 'to do'

/debə/ 'to give'

/rak<sup>h</sup>bə/ 'to keep'

/məstə/ 'healthy'

/nəmrə/ 'mild'

**/o/:**

It is a mid back rounded vowel. It occurs in all the three positions of words. Let us take the following examples-

**Word- Initially**

/oçul/ 'to repay'

/ok<sup>h</sup>əir/ 'mortar'

/osan/ 'such'

**Word-Medially-**

/poka/ 'insect'

/g<sup>h</sup>oɖa/      /g<sup>h</sup>oɾa / 'horse'



/t <sup>h</sup> oɖa/	/t <sup>h</sup> oɾa/	‘a little’
/k <sup>h</sup> ol/		‘open’
/j <sup>h</sup> opa/		‘a classifier’
/d <sup>h</sup> ol/		‘drum’
/sona/		‘gold’

**Word- Finally-**

/čariyo/	‘all four’
/bačabo/	‘saving’
/d <sup>h</sup> o/	‘wash’
/rediyō/	‘radio’
/p <sup>h</sup> əto/	‘photo’

**/u/:**

It is a high back rounded vowel. It occurs in all the three positions of words. Let us take the following examples-

**Word- Initially-**

/uta/	‘that one’
/ukil/	‘lawyer’
/ug/	‘grow’

/ugela/		‘grow’
/umər/		‘age’
/ut <sup>h</sup> /		‘stand up’
/uriya/		‘to keep things neat and clean’
/ud̪iya/	[uɾya]	‘people from Odisha’
/u/		‘he/ she’

**Word – Medially-**

/suga/		‘parrot’
/kuli/		‘cuckoo’
/buɖ <sup>h</sup> a/		‘old man’
/jamun/		‘black berry’
/bənuwa/		‘labourer’
/munga/		‘drumstick’

**Word- Finally-**

/lembu/		‘lemon’
/alu/		‘potato’
/b <sup>h</sup> alu/		‘bear’

/garu/	‘cow’
/sətru/	‘enemy’
/ç <sup>h</sup> atu/	‘mushroom’
/p <sup>h</sup> up <sup>h</sup> u/	‘father’s younger sister’
/get <sup>h</sup> u/	‘the last one’
/balu/	‘sand’

### 3.1.1.2. Contrastive pairs of Oral Vowels:

To prove its identity as a phoneme, we have to contrast vowels with each other in the same identical environment. Let us discuss the following examples-

**/e/ vs /a/**

/et <sup>h</sup> a/	‘here’	
/at <sup>h</sup> a/	‘glue’	
/b <sup>h</sup> eɖa/	[b <sup>h</sup> eɾa]	‘sheep’
/b <sup>h</sup> aɖa/	[b <sup>h</sup> aɾa]	‘fare’
/tel/	‘oil’	
/tal/	‘a tree’	

/ka/

‘voice of crow’

/ke/

‘who’

**/ə/ vs /u/**

/əməɾ/

‘immortal’

/uməɾ/

‘age’

/p<sup>h</sup>əl/

‘fruit’

/p<sup>h</sup>ul/

‘flower’

**/a/ vs /u/**

/mačri/

‘fish’

/mučri/

‘mosquito net’

/pata/

‘leaf’

/puta/

‘grand child’

**/i/ vs. /e/**

/ki/

‘what’

/ke/

‘who’

/ita/ 'brick'

/eta/ 'now'

/bis/ 'twenty'

/bes/ 'very good'

**/o/ vs /u/**

/rop/ 'to plant'

/rup/ 'form'

/očul/ 'to repay'

/učul/ 'rules'

**/a/ vs /ə/**

/kam/ 'work'

/kəm/ 'less'

/bar/

‘day’

/bər/

‘groom’

/ka/

‘voice of crow’

/kə/

‘to speak’

**/i/ vs /a/**

/didi/

‘elder sister’

/dada/

‘elder brother’

/ita/

‘brick’

/ata/

‘wheat flour’

/baɟi/

[baɾi]

‘widow’

/baɟa/

[baɾa]

[male who did not marry]

/tali/

‘clap’

/tala/

‘lock’

/raji/ 'consent'

/raja/ 'king'

**/i/ vs /e/ vs /ə/**

/ki/ 'what'

/ke/ 'who'

/kə/ 'speak'

**3.1.2. Nasal Vowels:**

Nasalization is phonemic in this language. It is seen that nasal vowels are contrasted with its oral counterparts in the Sadri language. It is found that just like oral vowels, Sadri has six nasal vowels showing a three way contrast of front, central and back. The vowels are distinguished at the three levels of tongue height: high, mid and low. There are two way contrasts namely front and back at the high level. On the other hand, there is three way contrasts i.e. front, centre and back at the mid level while there is only one central vowel at the low level. The nasal vocalic phonemes in Sadri are  $\tilde{i}$ ,  $\tilde{e}$ ,  $\tilde{\alpha}$ ,  $\tilde{\alpha}$ ,  $\tilde{o}$  and  $\tilde{u}$ . The front and central vowels are unrounded while the back vowels are rounded. Their distributions are shown in the following figure –

	Front		Central		Back	
	UR	R	UR	R	UR	R
High	$\tilde{i}$					$\tilde{u}$
Mid	$\tilde{e}$		$\tilde{\alpha}$			$\tilde{o}$
Low			$\tilde{\alpha}$			

### 3.1.2.1. Description and Distribution of Nasal Vowels:

Below is given the description and distributions of the nasal vowels in the Sadri language-

/ĩ/:

It is a high front unrounded nasal vowel. It occurs in all the three positions of words. Let us take the following examples-

#### Word-initially-

/ĩ/	‘he’
/ĩnjot/	‘light’
/ĩč <sup>h</sup> /	‘inch’

#### Word – Medially-

/saĩd/	‘perhaps’
/č <sup>h</sup> ĩta/	‘scoop’ ‘papasuwa mati’
/k <sup>h</sup> ĩč/	‘to draw (the sword)’

#### Word-Finally-

/nahĩ/	‘no’
/yəhĩ/	‘here’





/sãg/		‘assistance’
/dãd/	[dãr]	‘fear’
/k <sup>h</sup> ãda/	[k <sup>h</sup> ãra]	‘piece’
/hãsuwa/		‘sickle’
/hãs/		‘laugh’
/p <sup>h</sup> ãs – p <sup>h</sup> ãs/		‘sound of snake’

/ã/:

It is a low central unrounded nasal vowel. It occurs in all the three positions of words as shown below-

**Word- Initially-**

/ãk/		‘mark’
/ãk <sup>h</sup> /		‘eye’
/ãri/		‘a fish’
/ãčəl/		‘front part of a saree’
/ãg/		‘fire’

**Word – Medially-**

/g <sup>h</sup> ãs/		‘grass’
/pãč/		‘five’

/bās/		‘bamboo plant’
/k <sup>h</sup> ād/	[k <sup>h</sup> ār]	‘make pieces’
/sānj <sup>h</sup> /		‘evening’
/hāka/		‘calling’
/mād/	[mār]	‘a liquid’
/bāt/		‘divide’
/rāci/		‘a place name’
/kāp/		‘to tremble’
/dāt/		‘tooth’
/čānd/		‘moon’
/kāci g <sup>h</sup> ās/		‘a type of grass’

**Word – Finally-**

/nəvā/		‘new’
/yəhā/		‘here’
/jəhā/		‘where’
/hā/		‘yes’

**/õ/:**

It is a mid back rounded nasal vowel. It occurs in the initial and medial positions of words. It does not occur in the final position of words. Let us take the following examples to verify it-

**Word- Initially-**

/õ <sup>h</sup> ʈʰ/		‘lip’
/õho/		‘negation or no’
/õrni/		‘a lady’s dress’

**Word – medially-**

/k <sup>h</sup> õs/		‘to insert’
/ç <sup>h</sup> õḍa/	[ç <sup>h</sup> õṛa]	‘boy’
/ç <sup>h</sup> õto/		‘small’
/ç <sup>h</sup> õḍi/	[ç <sup>h</sup> õṛi]	‘girl’
/gõḍ/	[gõṛ]	‘Gond caste’
/jõk/		‘leech’

**/ũ/:**

It is a high back rounded nasal vowel. It occurs in the initial, medial and final positions of words. Let us take the following examples-

**Word- Initially-**

/ũč̣a/ 'height'

/ũ/ 'umh'

/ũṭ/ 'camel'

**Word – Medially-**

/kũẉər/ 'prince'

/kũẉari/ 'princess'

/gũḍa/ [gũṛa] 'powder'

/j<sup>h</sup>ũḍ/ [j<sup>h</sup>ũṛ] 'bushy forest'

/mũḍ/ [mũṛ] 'head'

/mũh/ 'face'

/čũč̣ua/ 'one type of rat'

**Word – Finaly-**

/d<sup>h</sup>aũ/ 'times (second part of the compound)'

/hũ/ 'yes'

### 3.1.2. 2. Contrasting pairs of Oral and Nasal Vowels:

**/i/ vs. /ĩ/**

/mai/ 'mother'

/maĩ/ 'rope'

**/u/ vs /ũ/**

/ut/ 'to float away'

/ũt/ 'camel'

**/e/ vs /ẽ/**

k<sup>h</sup>ae/ 'he eats'

/k<sup>h</sup>aẽ/ 'they eat'

/ed̪i/ [eṙi] 'a thread'

/ẽd̪i/ [ẽṙi] 'heal'

/kef̪ĩ/ 'scissors'

/kẽf̪ĩ/ 'rheum of eye'

**/o/ vs /õ/**

/çod̪i/ [çor̪i] ‘abandon’

/çõd̪i/ [çõr̪i] ‘girl’

**/ə/ vs /ã/**

/bəd̪a/ [bər̪a] ‘much, very’

/bãd̪a/ [bãr̪a] ‘having a broken or amputated tail’

**/a/ vs /ã/**

/kača/ ‘to wash cloth’

/kãča/ ‘not ripe’

/pap/ ‘sin’

/pãp/ ‘joint of a tree’

/p<sup>h</sup>ak/ ‘a bamboo work used to keep iron tools’

/p<sup>h</sup>ãk/ ‘leakage’

**3.1.3. Diphthongs:**

Sadri has seven diphthongs. Out of the seven diphthongs, four involve glide towards /i/: /ei, əi, ai, ui/ and other three towards /u/: /ou, au, eu/. Except /ei/, /eu/ and

/ui/, all the other diphthongs can occur in all the three positions of words. /ei/ occurs in the initial and medial positions of words. /eu/ and /ui/ can not occur in the initial position, these two can occur only in the medial and final positions of words. Among all these seven diphthongs, /ai/ and /əi/ occur very frequently in the language compared to the other diphthongs found in the language.

### 3.1.3. 1. Description and Distribution of Diphthongs:

**/ei/:**

In this diphthong, the glide starts from /e/ and moves to /i/. This diphthong is found in initial and medial positions of words. For example-

#### **Word-initially-**

/eita/	‘this one’
/eidige/	‘this side’
/eirəkəm/	‘this way’

#### **Word- medially-**

/d <sup>h</sup> eir/	‘a lot of’
/deik <sup>h</sup> /	‘to show’
/beiman/	‘cheater’
/beijan/	‘no sense’



**/əi/:**

In this diphthong, the glide starts in /ə/ and moves towards /i/. This diphthong occurs in all the three positions of words as exemplified below-

**Word-initially-**

/əɪnəi/	‘partiality’
/əɪrəkəm/	‘that way’
/əɪsəb/	‘those things’

**Word –medially-**

/bəɪt <sup>h</sup> /	‘sit down’
/pəɪdə/	‘birth’
/məɪl/	‘dirt’

**Word-finally-**

/b <sup>h</sup> əɪ/	‘fear’
/məɪ/	‘myself’
/əb <sup>h</sup> əɪ/	‘courage’
/səməɪ/	‘time’
/kərdəɪ/	‘star fruit’



**Word-initially-**

/aik <sup>h</sup> /	‘eye’
/aij/	‘today’
/ain/	‘law’
/aig/	‘fire’
/air/	‘ridge’

**Word-medially-**

/kail/	‘tomorrow’
/b <sup>h</sup> aig/	‘to flee’
/dail/	‘lentil soup’
/lajj/	‘shame’
/čaič <sup>h</sup> /	‘mother-in-law’

**Word-finally-**

/eklai/	‘alone’
/kamai/	‘income’
/jamai/	‘son-in-law’
/bilai/	‘cat’

## **/au/:**

In this diphthong, the glide starts in /a/ and moves to /u/. It occurs in all the three positions of words. For example-

### **Word-initially-**

/aur/ 'and'

/auwaj/ 'voice'

/aula/ 'amla'

### **Word-medially-**

/pauna/ 'to receive'

/pau<sup>h</sup>a/ 'plant'

/b<sup>h</sup>auna/ 'a traditional Assamese drama'

### **Word-finally-**

/g<sup>h</sup>au/ 'wound'

/lau/ 'gourd'

/dau/ 'a kind of dagger'

/mau/ 'a terrorist group'

/b<sup>h</sup>au/ 'to act'

**/eu/:**

In this diphthong, the glide starts in the phoneme /e/ and moves towards the phoneme /u/. It is found that it occurs in the medial and final positions of words. For example-

**Word-medially-**

/deuna/	‘to give’
/deuai/	‘medicine’
/deuri/	‘who serves food in religious function’

**Word- finally-**

/keu/	‘no one’
/meu/	‘voice of cat’

**/ui/:**

In this diphthong, the gliding starts from /u/ and moves towards /i/. It occurs in the medial and final positions of words. For example-

**Word medially-**

/kuiha/	‘sugar cane’
/juin/	‘join’

**Word –finally-**

/pui/	‘a leafy vegetable’
/tʰui/	‘to touch’
/dui/	‘two’
/gui/	‘a kind of snake’
/tui/	‘you’
/bʰui/	‘soil’

**3.1.3. 2. Contrastive pairs of Diphthongs:**

**/ai/ vs /au/ vs /eu/**

/mai/	‘mother’
/mau/	‘a terrorist group’
/meu/	‘voice of cat’

**/əi/ vs /ei/ vs /eu/**

/kəi/	‘indef. adjective’
/kei/	‘who’
/keu/	‘no one’

### **/ai/ vs /ui/**

/b<sup>h</sup>ai/ 'brother'

/b<sup>h</sup>ui/ 'soil'

### **/ai/ vs /au/**

/air/ 'ridge'

/aur/ 'and'

### **/ou/ vs /au/**

/b<sup>h</sup>ou/ 'voice of dog'

/b<sup>h</sup>au/ 'to act'

### **3.1.4. Consonants:**

There is a set of twenty nine consonantal phonemes in Sadri. As far as their place of articulation is concerned, Sadri consonants show a seven way contrast: bilabial, dental, alveolar, retroflex, palatal, velar and glottal. Similarly, in terms of their manner of articulation, the consonants can be categorized into seven types: stops, affricates, nasals, laterals, flaps, fricatives and semi-vowels or approximants. Aspiration is phonemic in this language. There are eight voiceless stops (p, p<sup>h</sup>, t, t<sup>h</sup>, ṭ, ṭ<sup>h</sup>, k, k<sup>h</sup>) and eight voiced stops (b, b<sup>h</sup>, d, d<sup>h</sup>, ḍ, ḍ<sup>h</sup>, g, g<sup>h</sup>). It has two voiceless affricates /č, č<sup>h</sup>/ and two voiced affricates /j, j<sup>h</sup>/. The Sadri language has only two fricatives: one is voiceless unaspirated alveolar fricative /s/ and the other is voiced unaspirated glottal fricative /h/. There are three nasal sounds viz. /m, n, ŋ/. It has one lateral namely /l/ and one flap /r/. There are two approximants

namely /w/ and /y/. From the point of place of articulation, there are six bilabial phonemes viz. /p, p<sup>h</sup>, b, b<sup>h</sup>, m, w/, four dental phonemes viz. /t, t<sup>h</sup>, d, d<sup>h</sup>/, four alveolar phonemes viz. /s, n, l, r/, four retroflex phonemes viz. /ʈ, ʈ<sup>h</sup>, ɖ, ɖ<sup>h</sup>/, five palatal phonemes viz. /č, č<sup>h</sup>, j, j<sup>h</sup>, y/, five velar phonemes viz. /k, k<sup>h</sup>, g, g<sup>h</sup>, ŋ/ and one glottal phoneme viz. /h/.

It is found that the phonemes /ɖ<sup>h</sup>/, /ŋ/, /w/, /y/ could not occur in the initial position of words. It is also seen that the approximants /w/ and /y/ could not occur even in the final positions of words in Sadri language. The consonantal phonemes of Sadri can be understood from the table below

	Bilabial		Dental		Alveolar		Retroflex		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
	Vl	Vd	Vl.	Vd.	Vl.	Vd.	Vl.	Vd.	Vl.	Vd.	Vl.	Vd.	Vl.	Vd.
Unasp. Stops	p	b	t	d			ʈ	ɖ			k	g		
Asp.	p <sup>h</sup>	b <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	d <sup>h</sup>			ʈ <sup>h</sup>	ɖ <sup>h</sup>			k <sup>h</sup>	g <sup>h</sup>		
Unasp. Affricates									č	j				
Asp.									č <sup>h</sup>	j <sup>h</sup>				
Fricatives					s									h
Nasals		m				n						ŋ		
Laterals						l								
Flaps						r								
Semi-vowels		w								y				



### 3.1.4.1. Description and Distribution of Consonants:

/p/:

It is a voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop. It occurs in all the three positions of words. For example-

#### Word - Initially-

/pura/		‘fill (total)’
/pərəb/		‘festival’
/pata/		‘leaf’
/puk <sup>h</sup> ri/		‘pond’
/petʃ/		‘abdomen’
/pəriç <sup>h</sup> əi/		‘introduction’
/pani/		‘water’
/pat <sup>h</sup> ar/		‘paddy field’
/pətəl/		‘a vegetable’

#### Word-medially-

/j <sup>h</sup> upɖi/	[j <sup>h</sup> upri]	‘hut’
/papla/		‘butterfly’
/t <sup>h</sup> epra/		‘short’

/p <sup>h</sup> əpla/	‘hollow’
/t <sup>h</sup> opa/	‘a classifier’
/pəpita/	‘papaya’
/t <sup>h</sup> appət/	‘slap’
/hapta/	‘week’
/tipka/	‘drop’

**Word-finally-**

/sãp/	‘snake’
/pap/	‘sin’
/kap/	‘cup’
/d <sup>h</sup> ap/	‘small hill like soil’
/bap/	‘father’
/kitap/	‘book’
/jap/	‘jump’
/pãp/	‘rings of tree’

**/p<sup>h</sup>/:**

It is a voiceless aspirated bilabial stop. It occurs in all the three positions of words. Let us take the following examples-

**Word-Initially -**

/p <sup>h</sup> əkɪr/		‘harmit’
/p <sup>h</sup> əd/	[p <sup>h</sup> aɾ]	‘to tear’
/p <sup>h</sup> ʊp <sup>h</sup> a/		‘husband of father’s sister’
/p <sup>h</sup> ʊp <sup>h</sup> u/		‘father’s younger sister’
/p <sup>h</sup> ʊl/		‘flower’
/p <sup>h</sup> əl/		‘fruit’
/p <sup>h</sup> āk/		‘leakage’
/p <sup>h</sup> ʊsɾi/		‘small boil’
/p <sup>h</sup> altu/		‘non-permanent labourer’
/p <sup>h</sup> urti/		‘fun/ joy’

**Word – Medially-**

/təp <sup>h</sup> ət/		‘difference’
/kup <sup>h</sup> a/		‘people without a good face’
/tup <sup>h</sup> an/		‘storm’
/p <sup>h</sup> ʊp <sup>h</sup> a/		‘husband of father’s sister’
/p <sup>h</sup> ʊp <sup>h</sup> u/		‘father’s younger sister’

/up <sup>h</sup> ra/	‘to weed out’
/up <sup>h</sup> la/	‘floating’
/lap <sup>h</sup> a/	‘a leafy vegetable’
/kəp <sup>h</sup> i/	‘coffee’

**Word-finally-**

/bərəp <sup>h</sup> /	‘ice’
/čəp <sup>h</sup> /	‘clean’
/gɪrəp <sup>h</sup> /	‘georaffe’
/mɑp <sup>h</sup> /	‘forgive’
/ɪskɑp <sup>h</sup> /	‘scarf’
/jɑp <sup>h</sup> /	‘jump’

**/b/:**

It is a voiced unaspirated bilabial stop. It occurs in all the three positions of words. For example-

**Word-Initially-**

/batao/	‘to speak out’
/bətua/	‘one traditional utensil to cook food’
/balu/	‘sand’

/bərsa/	‘rain’
/bijli/	‘lightning’
/bela/	‘sun’
/bərka/	‘big’
/baɖ <sup>h</sup> /	‘flood’

**Word - Medially-**

/dubla/	‘weak’
/babu/	‘master’
/gobər/	‘cow dung’
/kəbi/	‘a vegetable’
/tambul/	‘betel nut’
/b <sup>h</sup> aji/	‘fried vegetable’
/dibba/	‘container’
/saɳbadik/	‘reporter’
/dubla/	‘weak’
/tamba/	‘copper’

### **Word-finally-**

/gərib/ 'poor'

/čəb/ 'all'

/pərəb/ 'festival'

### **/b<sup>h</sup>/:**

It is a voiced aspirated bilabial stop. It occurs in all the three positions of words.

Let us have a look on the following examples -

### **Word-Initially-**

/b<sup>h</sup>alu/ 'bear'

/b<sup>h</sup>agina/ 'niece'

/b<sup>h</sup>al/ 'good'

/b<sup>h</sup>ag/ 'to divide'

/b<sup>h</sup>uk/ 'hunger'

/b<sup>h</sup>erua/ 'henpacked'

/b<sup>h</sup>aṭa/ 'brick kiln'

/b<sup>h</sup>aṅra/ 'one who is edicted to opium'

/b<sup>h</sup>at/ 'cooked rices'

**Word-Medially-**

/lob <sup>h</sup> iya/	‘greedy’
/arəmb <sup>h</sup> əni/	‘beginning’
/təb <sup>h</sup> i/	‘yet’
/sab <sup>h</sup> i/	‘key’
/sab <sup>h</sup> a/	‘meeting’
/rab <sup>h</sup> a/	‘a tribe of North- East India’

**Word-Finally-**

/sub <sup>h</sup> /	‘good’
/jib <sup>h</sup> /	‘tongue’
/lab <sup>h</sup> /	‘profit’
/lob <sup>h</sup> /	‘greed’
/kumb <sup>h</sup> /	‘name of a festival’

**/t/:**

It is a voiceless unaspirated dental stop. It occurs in all the three positions of words as exemplified below -

**Word-Initially-**

/teteŋa/	‘lizard’
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/taja/	‘fresh’
/tita/	‘bitter’
/talka/	‘palm’
/tel/	‘oil’
/tal/	‘a tree’
/tala/	‘lock’
/tiŋra/	‘a fish’
/teɖ <sup>h</sup> a/	‘crooked person’
/tusu/	‘a religious festival’
/təgər/	‘a flower’

**Word-Medially-**

/k <sup>h</sup> ətəm/	‘finish’
/bəstu/	‘thing’
/k <sup>h</sup> əta/	‘nest’
/čimti/	‘ant’
/bilati/	‘tomato’
/mətər/	‘peas’



/pepta/ 'papaya'

/susti/ 'lazy'

/čati/ 'chest'

### **Word-finally-**

/rait/ 'night'

/purohit/ 'priest'

/pəndit/ 'talented person'

/napit/ 'barbar'

/sat/ 'seven'

/jit/ 'defeat'

/sit/ 'winter'

/səŋgit/ 'song'

/k<sup>h</sup>at/ 'a simple bed'

### **/t<sup>h</sup>/:**

It is a voiceless aspirated dental stop. It occurs in all the three positions of words.

For example-

### **Word-Initially**

/t<sup>h</sup>oɖa/ [t<sup>h</sup>oɾa] 'a little'

/t <sup>h</sup> uk/		‘to spit’
/t <sup>h</sup> ana/		‘police station’
/t <sup>h</sup> ad̪i/	[t <sup>h</sup> ari]	‘metal plate’
/t <sup>h</sup> ak/		‘become tired’

**Word-Medially**

/pat <sup>h</sup> ar/		‘peddy field’
/mit <sup>h</sup> un/		‘bison’
/t <sup>h</sup> ot <sup>h</sup> na/		‘chin’
/mat <sup>h</sup> a/		‘head’

**Word-Finally-**

/hat <sup>h</sup> /		‘hand’
/ræt <sup>h</sup> /		‘chariot’
/sat <sup>h</sup> /		‘together’
/pət <sup>h</sup> /		‘road’

**/d/:**

It is a voiced unaspirated dental stop. It occurs in all the three positions of words namely word-initially, word-medially and word-finally-

**Word-Initially-**

/didi/	‘elder sister’
/dučra/	‘another’
/dada/	‘elder brother’
/dāt/	‘teeth’
/dakuwa/	‘peon’
/diŋla/	‘pumpkin’
/dibba/	‘container’
/dāirkin/	‘a very small fish’
/dau/	‘a iron utensil’

**Word-Medially-**

/čada/	‘tobacco’
/bəɖla/	‘revenge’
/t <sup>h</sup> adra/	‘thunder sound’
/dada/	‘elder brother’
/didi/	‘elder sister’
/sadri/	‘language’

/udbilai/	‘an animal’
/badli/	‘bat’
/hərdəm/	‘always’
/b <sup>h</sup> endra/	‘a tree’

### **Word-Final-**

/bipəd/	‘obstacle’
/swəd/	‘taste’
/dərəd/	‘pain’
/kand/	‘to cry’
/məd/	‘wine’
/k <sup>h</sup> od/	‘ownself’
/hrəd/	‘lake’
/k <sup>h</sup> el-kud/	‘game’
/čānd/	‘moon’

### **/d<sup>h</sup>/:**

It is a voiced aspirated dental stop. It occurs in all the three positions of words. Let us look at the examples given below-

**Word-Initially-**

/d <sup>h</sup> anuk/	‘baw’
/d <sup>h</sup> atura/	‘a kind of flower’
/d <sup>h</sup> ukni/	‘hand fan’
/d <sup>h</sup> an/	‘rice’
/d <sup>h</sup> arua/	‘borrower’
/d <sup>h</sup> eisara/	‘a lot’
/d <sup>h</sup> undu/	‘a bird’
/d <sup>h</sup> ora/	‘a snake’
/d <sup>h</sup> ismis/	‘dismiss’
/d <sup>h</sup> ərna/	‘protest’
/d <sup>h</sup> akni/	‘lid’

**Word-Medially-**

/mæd <sup>h</sup> u/	‘honey’
/sənd <sup>h</sup> eh/	‘suspicion’
/and <sup>h</sup> ar/	‘darkness’
/sad <sup>h</sup> u/	‘hermit’

/mud<sup>h</sup>an/

‘roof’

**Word-Finally-**

/dud<sup>h</sup>/

‘milk’

/čəmənd<sup>h</sup>/

‘relationship’

/bānd<sup>h</sup>/

‘to tie’

/gənd<sup>h</sup>/

‘smell’

/bənd<sup>h</sup>/

‘close’

**/k/:**

It is a voiceless unaspirated velar stop. It occurs in all the three positions of words.

Below is given its examples-

**Word-Initially-**

/kendrə/

‘centre’

/kahe/

‘because’

/kin/

‘buy’

/karən/

‘cause’

/kəmti/

‘decrease’

/kan/

‘ear’

/koṭi/

‘crore’

/kəmar/

‘blacksmith’

**Word-Medially-**

/ekla/

‘alone’

/aijkail/

‘now a days’

/akbəkai/

‘become confused’

/poka/

‘insect’

/lekin/

‘but’

/nəkri/

‘job’

/raiks/

‘devil’

**Word-Finally-**

/t<sup>h</sup>ak/

‘to become tired’

/atəŋk/

‘terror’

/lik<sup>h</sup>ək/

‘writer’

/gayək/

‘singer’

/lukaik/

‘secretly’

/p<sup>h</sup>āk/

‘leakage’

/d<sup>h</sup>uk/

‘to enter’

/k<sup>h</sup>/:

It is a voiceless aspirated velar stop. It occurs in all the three positions of words namely initially, medially and finally as exemplified below-

**Word-Initially-**

/k <sup>h</sup> aʈa/	‘note book’
/k <sup>h</sup> ira/	‘cucumber’
/k <sup>h</sup> atiya/	‘bed’
/k <sup>h</sup> el/	‘game’
/k <sup>h</sup> əta/	‘nest’
/k <sup>h</sup> odna/	‘to tattoo on the body’
/k <sup>h</sup> akla/	‘glutton’

**Word-Medially-**

/ok <sup>h</sup> əir/	‘mortar’
/purk <sup>h</sup> a/	‘ancestor’
/suk <sup>h</sup> na/	‘dry’
/lek <sup>h</sup> ən/	‘destiny’
/ek <sup>h</sup> an/	‘now’



/puk<sup>h</sup>ri/ 'pond'

/č<sup>h</sup>ək<sup>h</sup>u/ 'eye'

### **Word-Finally-**

/muk<sup>h</sup>/ 'face'

/lik<sup>h</sup>/ 'to write'

/duk<sup>h</sup>/ 'unhappiness'

/suk<sup>h</sup>/ 'happiness'

/āk<sup>h</sup>/ 'eye'

/rak<sup>h</sup>/ 'to keep'

/sak<sup>h</sup>/ 'to taste'

### **/g/:**

It is the voiced unaspirated velar stop. It occurs in all the three positions of words.

To exemplify it, some examples are given below-

### **Word-Initially-**

/gop<sup>h</sup>a/ 'cave'

/gandar/ 'rhino'

/guhri/ 'pig'

/garu/		‘cow’
/gaḍi/		‘car’
/gir lak/		‘fell down’
/gana/		‘song’

**Word-Medially-**

/tagḍa/	[tagra]	‘healthy’
/agun/		‘fire’
/pagla/		‘mad’
/nagar/		‘city’
/agər/		‘if’
/sagar/		‘sea’
/təgər/		‘a flower’
/b <sup>h</sup> agria/		‘one who run away ’

**Word-Finally-**

/b <sup>h</sup> ag/		‘to run away’
/maᅇg/		‘to beg’
/big/		‘to throw’

/alag/		‘seperate’
/ãg/		‘fire’
/aig/		‘fire’
/deg/		‘jump’
/munɔŋ/		‘a lentil’

**/g<sup>h</sup>/:**

It is a voiced aspirated velar stop. It occurs in all the three positions of words. Let us have a look at the following examples-

**Word-Initially-**

/g <sup>h</sup> ar/		‘house’
/g <sup>h</sup> oɖa/	[g <sup>h</sup> oɾa]	‘horse’
/g <sup>h</sup> ãs/		‘grass’
/g <sup>h</sup> au/		‘wound’
/g <sup>h</sup> əɖi/		‘clock’
/g <sup>h</sup> ət/		‘a pot made from soil’
/g <sup>h</sup> uŋɔŋ/		‘a traditional ornament’

### **Word-Medially-**

/səŋg <sup>h</sup> ərs/	‘conflict’
/ug <sup>h</sup> rai/	‘without cover’
/ma g <sup>h</sup> au/	‘measles’
/ag <sup>h</sup> on/	‘a month’
/pag <sup>h</sup> a/	‘rope to bind cow’

### **Word-Finally-**

/mag <sup>h</sup> /	‘name of a month’
/bag <sup>h</sup> /	‘tiger’
/suŋg <sup>h</sup> /	‘to smell’

/ʈ/:

It is a voiceless unaspirated retroflex stop. It occurs in all the three positions of words. For example-

### **Word-Initially-**

/ʈut/	‘to break’
/ʈikli/	‘a head ornament’
/ʈairgan/	‘stars’
/ʈopi/	‘cap’

### **Word-Medially-**

/beʈi/	‘daughter’
/beʈa/	‘son’
/goʈa/	‘entire’
/k <sup>h</sup> aʈa/	‘note book’

### **Word-Finally-**

/ũʈ/	‘camel’
/peʈ/	‘stomach’
/bãʈ/	‘distribution’
/g <sup>h</sup> əʈ/	‘decrease’

### **/ʈ<sup>h</sup>/:**

It is a voiceless aspirated retroflex stop. It occurs in all the three positions of words. Let us go through the following examples-

### **Word-Initially-**

/ʈ <sup>h</sup> anda/	‘cold’
/ʈ <sup>h</sup> ik/	‘good’
/ʈ <sup>h</sup> ika/	‘contract’
/ʈ <sup>h</sup> ak/	‘deceive’

### **Word-Medial-**

/piʈ <sup>h</sup> a/	‘bread’
/kaʈ <sup>h</sup> i/	‘bambo stick’
/gəʈ <sup>h</sup> i/	‘to speak’

### Word-Final-

/kaɬ <sup>h</sup> /	‘wood’
/piɬ <sup>h</sup> /	‘back’
/paɬ <sup>h</sup> /	‘lesson’
/uɬ <sup>h</sup> /	‘to stand up’
/baiɬ <sup>h</sup> /	‘to sit down’
/j <sup>h</sup> uɬ <sup>h</sup> /	‘false’

### /ɖ/:

It is a voiced unaspirated retroflex stop. It occurs in all the three positions of words. It has two allophones namely [ɖ] and [ɖ̠]. The allophone [ɖ] occurs word-initially and the other allophone [ɖ̠] occurs word-medially and word-finally. Let us take the following examples-

### Word-Initially-

/ɖar/		‘fear’
/ɖaŋgua/		‘unmarried single’
/ɖala/		‘a bamboo utensil’
/ɖ̠ɖ̠ka/	[ɖ̠ɖ̠ka]	‘a vegetable’

### Word-Medially-

/çokɖa/	[çokɖa]	‘boy’
/kaɖa/	[kaɖa]	‘buffalo’
/luɖi/	[luɖi]	‘uvula’
/j <sup>h</sup> aɖa/	[j <sup>h</sup> aɖa]	‘diarrhoea’

/ud̪iya/ [uɽiya] ‘people from Odisha’

**Word-Finally-**

/kod/ [koɽ] ‘dig’

/əjgəɖ/ [əjgəɽ] ‘python’

/čikəɖ/ [čikəɽ] ‘root’

/pahəɖ/ [pahəɽ] ‘hill’

/kat<sup>h</sup>əɖ/ [kat<sup>h</sup>əɽ] ‘jack fruit’

/sāɖ/ [sāɽ] ‘ox’

**/ɖ<sup>h</sup>/:**

It is a voiced aspirated retroflex stop. It occurs in the medial and final positions of words. For example-

**Word-Medially-**

/bud<sup>h</sup>iya/ ‘old woman’

/bud<sup>h</sup>a/ ‘old man’

/beɖ<sup>h</sup>a/ ‘wall’

**Word-Finally-**

/bəɖ<sup>h</sup>/ ‘to increase’

/baɖ<sup>h</sup>/ ‘flood’

/pəɖ<sup>h</sup>/ ‘to read’

/čəɖ<sup>h</sup>/ ‘to mount’

/č/:

It is voiceless unaspirated palatal affricate. It occurs in all the three positions of words. For example-

**Word-Initially-**

/čaŋti/		‘friend’
/čouddho/		‘fourteen’
/čəq <sup>h</sup> /		‘to mount’
/čəka/		‘wheel’
/čānd/		‘moon’
/čəl/		‘to go’

**Word-Medially-**

/k <sup>h</sup> ečəɖ/	[k <sup>h</sup> ečəɖ]	‘wickedness’
/načni/		‘dancer’
/mačri/		‘fish’

**Word-Finally-**

/bač/		‘save’
/bič/		‘between’
/gač/		‘tree’



/g<sup>h</sup>əič/

‘to rub’

/č<sup>h</sup>/:

It is a voiceless aspirated palatal affricate. It occurs in all the three positions of words. Let us have a look at the following examples-

**Word-Initially-**

/č<sup>h</sup>awa/

‘baby’

/č<sup>h</sup>əmka/

‘to shock’

/č<sup>h</sup>atu/

‘mushroom’

/č<sup>h</sup>ata/

‘umbrella’

/č<sup>h</sup>ətə/

‘small’

**Word-Medially-**

/kač<sup>h</sup>ua/

‘tortoise’

/čəč<sup>h</sup>ma/

‘spectacles’

/həč<sup>h</sup>ua/

‘sickle’

/pič<sup>h</sup>la/

‘slippery’

/pič<sup>h</sup>wai/

‘last one’

/pič<sup>h</sup>e/

‘afterward’

### **Word-Finally-**

/čaič <sup>h</sup> /	‘mother – in- law’
/kuč <sup>h</sup> /	‘something’
/loč <sup>h</sup> /	‘loss’

/j/:

It is a voiced palatal unaspirated affricate. It occurs in all the three positions of words. For example-

### **Word-Initially**

/jəldi/	‘immediate’
/jaga/	‘place’
/jiu/	‘soul’
/jəbab/	‘answer’
/jayjad/	‘belongings’

### **Word-Medially-**

/bijli/	‘lightning’
/minjur/	‘peacock’
/b <sup>h</sup> əuji/	‘elder brother’s wife’
/əɾji/	‘application’

/maja/ 'fun'

**Word-Finally-**

/aij/ 'today'

/laj/ 'shy'

/b<sup>h</sup>ej/ 'to send'

/k<sup>h</sup>oj/ 'to search'

/raij/ 'people'

/samaj/ 'society'

**/j<sup>h</sup>/:**

It is a voiced aspirated palatal affricate. It occurs in all the three positions of words. let us have a look at the following examples-

**Word-Initially-**

/j<sup>h</sup>əgɖa/ [j<sup>h</sup>əgra] 'to quarrel'

/j<sup>h</sup>amela/ 'problem'

/j<sup>h</sup>al/ 'hot in taste'

/j<sup>h</sup>alkiya/ 'chilly'

/j<sup>h</sup>umur/ 'a traditional dance'

/j<sup>h</sup>əkmək/ 'to shine'

### **Word-Medially-**

/boj <sup>h</sup> a/	‘bundle’
/maj <sup>h</sup> e/	‘in between’
/maj <sup>h</sup> ila/	‘second in age’

### **Word-Finally-**

/buj <sup>h</sup> /	‘to understand’
/maj <sup>h</sup> /	‘middle’
/sij <sup>h</sup> /	‘to boil’
/sāj <sup>h</sup> /	‘evening’

### **/m/:**

It is a voiced bilabial nasal. It occurs in all the three positions of words namely initially, medially and finally as exemplified below-

### **Word-Initially-**

/məj <sup>h</sup> la/	‘middle’
/mat <sup>h</sup> a/	‘head’
/munga/	‘drumstick’
/mækra/	‘spider’
/mit <sup>h</sup> un/	‘bison’

/mən/	‘mind’
/maina/	‘mynah’
/minjur/	‘peacock’
/murgi/	‘chiken’

**Word-Medially-**

/kəmər/	‘waist’
/jamun/	‘berry’
/samaj/	‘society’
/səməi/	‘time’
/d <sup>h</sup> əmka/	‘to threaten’
/sembi/	‘a vegetable’
/čimti/	‘an ant’
/bemar/	‘disease’
/nimak <sup>h</sup> /	‘salt’

**Word-Finally-**

/gərəm/	‘warm’
/kam/	‘work’

/ʃərəm/ 'shame'

/dam/ 'cost'

/dim/ 'egg'

/sɔlgʌm/ 'turnip'

/niyəm/ 'rules'

**/n/:**

It is a voiced alveolar nasal. It occurs in all the three positions of words. Below is given some examples of it -

**Word-Initially-**

/nəkri/ 'job'

/nəjər/ 'look'

/nadi/ 'river'

/newta/ 'invitation'

/nam/ 'name'

/narkəl/ 'coconut'

/noksən/ 'loss'

**Word-Medially-**

/kahni/ 'story'

/pani/	‘water’
/rani/	‘queen’
/pak <sup>h</sup> na/	‘stone’
/duniya/	‘world’
/sendel/	‘footwear’
/sona/	‘gold’
/čini/	‘sugar’

**Word-Finally-**

/man/	‘respect’
/ʈairgan/	‘stars’
/dulhən/	‘bride’
/jan/	‘to know’
/d <sup>h</sup> ən/	‘wealth’
/bəhin/	‘sister’
/čabon/	‘soap’
/agun/	‘fire’
/kan/	‘ear’

**/ŋ/:**

It is a voiced velar nasal. It occurs in medial and final positions of words. To exemplify it, let us go through the following examples-

**Word-medially-**

/teteŋa/	‘lizard’
/teŋa/	‘sour’
/rəŋgoli/	‘an art of colour’
/aŋri/	‘finger’
/g <sup>h</sup> uŋgi/	‘snail’
/maŋŋnia/	‘beggar’
/jiŋga/	‘a vegetable’
/d <sup>h</sup> oŋa/	‘smoke’
/daŋər/	‘big’

**Word-Finally-**

/beŋ/	‘frog’
/p <sup>h</sup> iriŋ/	‘locust’
/j <sup>h</sup> eŋ/	‘problem’
/t <sup>h</sup> eŋ/	‘leg’



/pɪŋ/		‘pin’
/lɒŋ/		‘clove’
/baltɪŋ/		‘bucket’

/l/:

It is a voiced alveolar lateral. It occurs in all the three positions of words. Let us have a look on the following examples-

**Word initially-**

/ləhu/		‘blood’
/lal/		‘red’
/ləmbu/		‘lemon’
/ləɖai/	[ləɾai]	‘to fight’
/lik <sup>h</sup> /		‘to write’
/lata/		‘creeper’

**Word-medially-**

/jəldi/		‘soon’
/bilai/		‘cat’
/lal <sup>h</sup> a/		‘greed’
/ələg/		‘seperate’

/jila/ 'district'

/bilati/ 'tomato'

/tala/ 'lock'

/tali/ 'clap'

**Word- finally-**

/tel/ 'oil'

/j<sup>h</sup>al/ 'hot in taste'

/kəmbəl/ 'blanket'

/p<sup>h</sup>əl/ 'fruit'

/p<sup>h</sup>ul/ 'flower'

/payəl/ 'an ornament'

/tal/ 'a tree'

/čul/ 'hair'

/matul/ 'hammer'

**/r/:**

It is a voiced alveolar flap. It occurs in all the three positions of words which are exemplified below-

**Word-initially-**

/roʃi/	‘bread’
/rani/	‘queen’
/raij/	‘kingdom’
/raja/	‘king’
/rista/	‘relationship’
/rag/	‘anger’
/rai/	‘a vegetable’
/rait/	‘night’

**Word-medially-**

/g <sup>h</sup> arni/	‘wife’
/garib/	‘poor’
/dərkhast/	‘application’
/aram/	‘relaxation’
/k <sup>h</sup> ukri/	‘mushroom’
/upre/	‘above’
/bərtən/	‘utensil’

### **Word-finally-**

/metər/	‘sweeper’
/and <sup>h</sup> ər/	‘darkness’
/jadukər/	‘magician’
/k <sup>h</sup> əbər/	‘news’
/daktər/	‘doctor’
/kumar/	‘potter’
/g <sup>h</sup> ər/	‘house’
/čadər/	‘a female dress’

### **/s/:**

It is a voiceless alveolar fricative. It occurs in all the three positions of words.

They are shown below-

### **Word-initially-**

/salgum/	‘turnip’
/sewa/	‘hospitality’
/sagər/	‘ocean’
/səb/	‘all’
/səməi/	‘time’

/siliŋ/

‘ceiling’

/salai/

‘match box’

**Word- medially-**

/k<sup>h</sup>asi/

‘castrated goat’

/pərsu/

‘day after tomorrow’

/rista/

‘relationship’

/dusmən/

‘enemy’

/besi/

‘too much’

**Word-finally-**

/udas/

‘dejected’

/səŋg<sup>h</sup>ərs/

‘fight’

/pardes/

‘foreign country’

/bilas/

‘pillow’

/gilas/

‘glass’

**/h/:**

It is a voiced glottal fricative. It occurs in all the three positions of words. Let us give a look on the following examples-

**Word- initially-**

/hat <sup>h</sup> /		‘hand’
/hãd̪ia/	[hãɽiya]	‘local wine’
/hõs/		‘to laugh’
/hati/		elephant’
/hira/		‘diamond’
/hãs/		‘duck’
/hal/		‘plough’
/hara/		‘green’

**Word-medially-**

/kahni/		‘story’
/mahadeu/		‘God shiv’
/pəhile/		‘before’
/bahəɽ/		‘outside’
/sahəs/		‘courage’
/jahaj/		‘ship’
/guhal/		‘cow shed’

/č<sup>h</sup>ahi/ 'porcupine'

**Word- finally-**

/lulah/ 'physically disabled'

/rah/ 'to stay'

/salah/ 'advice'

/boh/ 'to carry'

/ah/ 'to come'

**/w/:**

It is a voiced bilabial approximant. It occurs in the medial position of words as exemplified below-

**Word- Medially-**

/auwaj/ 'voice'

/bəlwan/ 'strong'

/k<sup>h</sup>awa/ 'eat up'

/suwid<sup>h</sup>a/ 'comfort'

/pičuwa/ 'stay behind'

/kūwær/ 'prince'

/kūwari/ 'princess'

/y/:

It is a voiced palatal approximant. It occurs only in the medial position of words.

For example-

**Word-medially-**

/k <sup>h</sup> iyal/	‘wish’
/nəhiyar/	‘wife’s native village’
/k <sup>h</sup> əriya/	‘a tribe’s name’
/rupiya/	‘money’
/buɖ <sup>h</sup> iya/	‘old woman’
/piyar/	‘love’
/tiyag/	‘sacrifice’

**3.1.4.2. Contrastive pairs of the Consonantal Phonemes:**

**/p/ vs /p<sup>h</sup>/**

/pata/	‘leave’
/p <sup>h</sup> ata/	‘to tear’
/kupa/	‘to angry’
/kup <sup>h</sup> a/	‘people with ugly face’



/d<sup>h</sup>ap/ 'slope'

/jap<sup>h</sup>/ 'jump'

**/b/ vs /b<sup>h</sup>/**

/bata/ 'to tell'

/b<sup>h</sup>ata/ 'brick kiln'

/balu/ 'sand'

/b<sup>h</sup>alu/ 'bear'

/baɖa/ [baɾa] 'male who does not marry'

/b<sup>h</sup>ɖa/ [b<sup>h</sup>aɾa] 'fare'

**/t/ vs /t<sup>h</sup>/**

/mata/ 'goddess'

/mat<sup>h</sup>a/ 'head'

/tal/ 'a tree'

/t<sup>h</sup>al/ 'dish'

/sat/ 'seven'

/sat<sup>h</sup>/ 'togetherness'

/taja/ 'fresh'

/t<sup>h</sup>aqa/ [t<sup>h</sup>aqa] 'dish'

**/d/ vs /d<sup>h</sup>/**

/kand/ 'to cry'

/kand<sup>h</sup>/ 'arm'

/k<sup>h</sup>ud/ 'ownself'

/dud<sup>h</sup>/ 'milk'

**/k/ vs /k<sup>h</sup>/**

/ãk/ 'line'

/ãk<sup>h</sup>/ 'eye'

/kaʈa/

‘thorn’

/k<sup>h</sup>aʈa/

‘note book’

/kəɾəm/

‘a festival’

/k<sup>h</sup>əɾəm/

‘chappal’

**/t/ vs /ʈ/**

/tar/

‘rope to bind’

/ʈar/

‘search’

**/g/ vs /g<sup>h</sup>/**

/gata/

‘hole in the soil’

/g<sup>h</sup>ata/

‘loss’

/b<sup>h</sup>aga/

‘to run away’

/paɡ<sup>h</sup>a/

‘rope to tie cows’

**/j/ vs /j<sup>h</sup>/**

/jal/

‘net’

/j<sup>h</sup>al/

‘hot in taste’

/roja/

‘fasting in the Ramjan month’

/boj<sup>h</sup>a/

‘bundle’

**/j/ vs /k<sup>h</sup>/**

/ja/

‘go’

/k<sup>h</sup>a/

‘eat’

**/r/ vs. /l/**

/rait/

‘night’

/lait/

‘electrical bulb’

/tara/

‘star’

/tala/

‘lock’

/čərɗi/

‘cold’

/jəɗɗi/

‘soon’

**/h/ vs /m/**

/hair/

‘to loss’

/mair/

‘to beat’

**/č/ vs /č<sup>h</sup>/**

/čada/

‘tobacco’

/č<sup>h</sup>ak<sup>h</sup>a/

‘to taste’

/čata/

‘to slap’

/č<sup>h</sup>ata/

‘umbrella’

**/m/ vs. /n/**

/mata/

‘goddess’

/nata/

‘relation’

/mama/

‘maternal uncle’

/mana/

‘to obey’

/g<sup>h</sup>um/ 'to sleep'

/k<sup>h</sup>un/ 'blood'

/mai/ 'mother'

/nai/ 'nothing'

/dim/ 'egg'

/din/ 'day'

**/t<sup>h</sup>/ vs. /t̪<sup>h</sup>/**

/t<sup>h</sup>ak/ 'to be tired'

/t̪<sup>h</sup>ak/ 'to deceive'

**/t/ vs /t̪/**

/tik/ 'sound of clock'

/t̪<sup>h</sup>ik/ 'good'

/mat̪i/ 'soil'

/kat̪<sup>h</sup>i/ 'bamboo stick'

/roʃi/ 'bread'

/goʃ<sup>hi</sup>/ 'speaking'

/ʈut/ 'to break'

/j<sup>h</sup>uʈ<sup>h</sup>/ 'false'

**/d/ vs /d<sup>h</sup>/:**

/guɖa/ [gʊɾa] 'rice flour'

/buɖ<sup>h</sup>a/ 'old man'

/gəɖ/ [gəɾ] 'heel'

/čəɖ<sup>h</sup>/ 'to mount'

/bəɖ/ [bəɾ] 'big'

/bəɖ<sup>h</sup>/ 'to increase'

**/d/ vs /d<sup>h</sup>/**

/dʌl/

‘lentil’

/d<sup>h</sup>ʌl/

‘slope’

**/m/ vs /n/ vs /ŋ/**

/kʌm/

‘work’

/kʌn/

‘ear’

/kʌŋ/

‘mouth angle’

**/n/ vs /ŋ/**

/bɪn/

‘a musical instrument’

/pɪŋ/

‘pin’

/tʌn/

‘hard’

/tʌŋ/

‘to hang up’

**/l/ vs /h/**

/lʌl/

‘red’

/hʌl/

‘condition’



/čal/ 'behaviour'

/čah/ 'tea'

**/l/ va /r/**

/laj/ 'shame'

/raj/ 'rule'

/jila/ 'district'

/jira/ 'cumin seeds'

**/l/ vs /r/ vs /d/**

/hal/ 'condition'

/har/ 'loss'

/had/ [har] 'bone'

**/r/ vs /d/**

/uriya/ 'to keep things neat and clean'

/udjya/ [urjya] 'people of Odisha'

**3.1.5. Consonant Cluster:**

Generally, Sadri consonant clusters are found in all the three positions of words. It is found that Sadri permits up to two consonants in the three clusters of words namely initial, medial and final. Here, the term 'consonant cluster' is the occurrence of more than

one consonant in a syllable. For example, in English, /sp-/ in the word ‘spoon’ is a cluster because both the consonants forming the sequence belong to the same syllable, whereas, /-sk-/ in the word ‘basket’ is not a cluster since /-s/ and /k-/ belong to two different syllables. /-s/ is the arresting consonant of the first syllable, and /k-/ is the releasing consonant of the second syllable of the word /basket/.

### 3.1.5.1. Initial Consonant Clusters:

Initial consonant cluster is very crucial in Sadri phonology. In the initial clusters, the first member can be /p, b, t, k, g, s, h/ while other consonants viz. liquids /l, r/, stop /k/ and approximant /w/ occupy the positions as the second member of the clusters. Let us take the following table-

First Member	Second member			
	l	r	k	w
p		+		
b	+	+		
k	+			+
s		+	+	+
d				+
h		+		
t		+		

However, the remaining consonant phonemes like /t, t<sup>h</sup>, d, d<sup>h</sup>/etc. do not contribute themselves as both members of the clusters. Below is a list of words for illustrating the initial occurrence of consonant clusters in Sadri-

Consonant clusters	examples	gloss
<b>Stop + liquid</b>		
/pr-/	/pran/	‘life’
	/praja/	‘humble people’
	/prətib <sup>h</sup> a/	‘talent’
	/prem/	‘love’
	/prətibad/	‘protest’
	/prətiyägita/	‘competition’
/br-/	/brəslaya/	‘a place-Barslaya’
	/bras/	‘brush’
/tr-/	/traibel/	‘tribal’
/kl-/	/klab/	‘club’
/bl-/	/blæk/	‘block’
	/blek bord/	‘black board’

### **Fricative + stop**

/sk-/	/skel/	‘scale’
	/skul/	‘school’
	/step/	‘step’

### **Fricative + liquid**

/sr-/	/sri/	‘Mr. or Mrs.’
/hr-/	/hrəd/	‘lake’

### **Fricative + Approximant**

/sw-/	/swad/	‘taste’
	/swær/	‘voice’

### **Stop + Approximant**

/kw-/	/kwatar/	‘quatar’
/dw-/	/dwara/	‘by’

#### **3.1.5.2 Medial Consonant Clusters:**

In medial consonant clusters, the first members of the clusters are mainly occupied by /b<sup>h</sup>, t, d, d<sup>h</sup>, k, n, ŋ/ whereas /r, g, d, s/ participates as the second member of the cluster. The various combinatory possibilities of medial consonant clusters are illustrated below in the table-

First consonant	Second consonant			
	r	d	g	s
b <sup>h</sup>	+			
t	+			
d	+			
k	+			
n		+		
ŋ			+	+
d <sup>h</sup>	+			

The following examples are the varieties of medial consonant cluster which are found in Sadri. Let us look at the examples-

**Voiceless stop + liquid**

/-tr-/                      /mənrə/                      ‘religious humming’

                                    /məntri/                      ‘minister’

                                    /mistri/                      ‘carpenter’

/-kr-/                      /səŋskriti/                      ‘culture’

                                    /səŋskrit/                      ‘Sanskrit language’

**Voiced stop + liquid**

/-dr-/                      /ləndra/                      ‘a cloth’

	/b <sup>h</sup> endra/	‘a tree’
	/kandra/	‘one who cries’
	/kendrə/	‘centre’
/-d <sup>h</sup> r-/	/ənd <sup>h</sup> rə prədes/	‘an Indian state’
/-b <sup>h</sup> r-/	/əpəb <sup>h</sup> rəms/	‘apabhramsa’

### **Nasal + stop**

/-nd-/	/dundli/	‘an insect’
	/kundri/	‘a vegetable’
	/gundri/	‘a bird’
/-ŋg-/	/maŋgna/	‘beggar’
	/aŋgna/	‘courtyard’

### **Nasal + fricative**

/-ŋs-/	/səŋskriti/	‘culture’
	/səŋskar/	‘reformation’
	/səŋskrit/	‘Sanskrit language’

### 3.1.5.3. Final Consonant Clusters:

Though it is rare, Sadri has the consonant cluster in the final position of words. The first member of the clusters are /l, r, m, n, ŋ, k/ and second member of the cluster will be /t, d, d<sup>h</sup>, k, k<sup>h</sup>, s, m, g, g<sup>h</sup>, j/. Below is the table of final consonant clusters -

First consonant	Second consonant									
	t	d	d <sup>h</sup>	g	k	k <sup>h</sup>	s	m	g <sup>h</sup>	j
l		+								
r	+					+		+		
m								+		
n	+	+	+							+
ŋ					+	+		+	+	
k								+		

Let us take the examples of final consonant clusters which are found in Sadri-

#### Stop + Fricative

/-ks/                      /raks/                      ‘devil’

#### Liquid + stop

/-ld/                      /fild/                      ‘field’

/-rk<sup>h</sup>/                      /murk<sup>h</sup>/                      ‘stupid’

/-rt/                      /kort/                      ‘court’

#### Nasal + stop

/-nt/	/tʌrənt/	‘quickly’
	/ənt/	‘finish’
/-nd/	/kænd/	‘cry’
	/pəsɪnd/	‘liking’
	/nɪnd/	‘sleep’
	/anənd/	‘happy’
/-nd <sup>h</sup> /	/kænd <sup>h</sup> /	‘shoulder’
	/rænd <sup>h</sup> /	‘cook’
	/bɪnd <sup>h</sup> /	‘pierce’
	/pɪnd <sup>h</sup> /	‘put on’
	/gænd <sup>h</sup> /	‘smell’
	/bænd <sup>h</sup> /	‘close’
/-ŋk/	/atəŋk/	‘terror’
	/əŋk/	‘mathematics’
/-ŋg/	/əŋg/	‘body part’
	/səŋg/	‘togetherness’
	/rəŋg/	‘colour’



/-ŋg <sup>h</sup> /	/suŋg <sup>h</sup> /	‘smell’
	/səŋg <sup>h</sup> /	‘organisation’

### **Nasal + fricative**

/-ms/	/əpəbhrəms/	‘apabhramsa’
/-ŋs/	/əŋs/	‘portion’
	/uəŋs/	‘family’
/-ŋj/	/sāŋj/	‘evening’

### **Liquid + Nasal**

/-rm/	/gərm/	‘hot’
	/d <sup>h</sup> ərm/	‘religion’

### **3.1.5. 4. Consonant Sequence:**

Sadri has a lot of consonantal sequences in the medial positions of words. These are shown below-

#### **Stop + Stop**

/-pt-/	/hapta/	‘week’
	/pepta/	‘papyra’
/-pk-/	/tipka/	‘a pinch’
/-bk-/	/habka/	‘to bite by dog’

	/dubki/	‘to enter into water’
/-tt <sup>h</sup> -/	/patt <sup>h</sup> ər/	‘stone’
/-tk-/	/tatka/	‘fresh’
	/mətka/	‘healthy’
	/bəlɪtkar/	‘rape’
	/p <sup>h</sup> ətka/	‘fire cracker’
	/čutkula/	‘comedy’
	/čutkara/	‘to get relief’
/-kb-/	/əkbəka/	‘become confused’
/-kt-/	/lokokti/	‘poverb’
	/taktuk/	‘a echo word’
	/takta/	‘wood’
	/ad <sup>h</sup> unikta/	‘modernity’
/-kd-/	/ekdom/	‘completely’
/-tʃb-/	/kaʃbe/	‘cutting’
/-bk-/	/čabka/	‘a disease’
/-bg-/	/abga/	‘pure’

/-db-/	/udbilai/		‘a fish-eating animal’
/-dk-/	/pudga/		‘act of removing feathers’
/-pɔ-/	/kapɔa/	[kapɔa]	‘cloth’
/-ɔk-/	/khiɔki/	[k <sup>h</sup> iɔki]	‘window’
	/bɔɔka/	[bɔɔka]	‘big’

### Stop + liquid

/-pɔr-/	/t <sup>h</sup> epɔa/		‘short person’
/-pɔl-/	/d <sup>h</sup> apɔa/		‘thick and wide’
/-p <sup>h</sup> r-/	/up <sup>h</sup> ɔa/		‘to throw away’
/-p <sup>h</sup> l-/	/up <sup>h</sup> ɔa/		‘to float’
	/p <sup>h</sup> opɔa/		‘blister’
	/dap <sup>h</sup> ɔa/		‘a tribe’
/-br-/	/lebrɔa/		‘left handed’
	/kabrɔa/		‘a colour’
/-bl-/	/dubrɔa/		‘weak’
/-tr-/	/utrɔa/		‘to get down’

	/četrə/	‘area’
	/netri/	‘female leader’
/-tl-/	/patla/	‘thin’
/-dr-/	/sadri/	‘Sadri language’
	/padri pata/	‘a leafy vegetable’
	/čadra/	‘a dress’
/-dl-/	/b <sup>h</sup> adli/	‘bat’
/-t <sup>h</sup> r-/	/gat <sup>h</sup> ri/	‘bundle’
/-kr-/	/nəkri/	‘job’
	/čakriwala/	‘serviceman’
/-kl-/	/eklai/	‘alone’
	/nekles/	‘neck lace’
/-k <sup>h</sup> l-/	/bək <sup>h</sup> la/	‘toothless’
/-gr-/	/tagra/	‘healthy’
	/k <sup>h</sup> agri/	‘a plant’
/-gl-/	/dəgla/	‘faithless person’
/-g <sup>h</sup> r-/	/pag <sup>h</sup> ra/	‘earring for man’

/-k <sup>h</sup> r-/	/puk <sup>h</sup> ri/		‘pond’
<b>Stop + affricate</b>			
/-pč-/	/č <sup>h</sup> ipča/		‘miser’
/-bj-/	/kabja/		‘hinges’
/-tč <sup>h</sup> -/	/atč <sup>h</sup> a/		‘good’
/-kč-/	/k <sup>h</sup> ekča/		‘rough voice’
/-kč <sup>h</sup> -/	/sikč <sup>h</sup> it/		‘educated’
<b>Stop + fricative</b>			
/-ks-/	/baksa/		‘box’
	/bæksis/		‘reward’
<b>Affricate + Stop</b>			
/-čt-/	/gučti/		‘tribe’
/-jd-/	/məjdur/		‘labourer’
/-jk-/	/aijkail/		‘nowadays’
/-jg-/	/əjgəð/	[əjgəɹ]	‘python’
<b>stop + nasal</b>			
/-pn-/	/t <sup>h</sup> apna/		‘pedestal’

/-tm-/	/atma/		‘soul’
/-tn-/	/ketna/		‘how much’
	/kanda alu/		‘sweet potato’
/-t <sup>h</sup> n-/	/čat <sup>h</sup> ni/		‘chutney’
/-dm-/	/bədmas/		‘noughty’
/-d <sup>h</sup> n-/	/mud <sup>h</sup> na/		‘roof’
/-d̪n-/	/d <sup>h</sup> əd̪na/	[d <sup>h</sup> əɾna]	‘handle’
/-kn-/	/d <sup>h</sup> akna/		‘lid’
/-k <sup>h</sup> m-/	/b <sup>h</sup> ik <sup>h</sup> maga/		‘beggar’
/-k <sup>h</sup> n-/	/čak <sup>h</sup> na/		‘to taste food’
	/suk <sup>h</sup> na/		‘dry’
/-gn-/	/b <sup>h</sup> agna/		‘run away’
/-dm-/	/admi/		‘man’

**Nasal + stop**

/-mp <sup>h</sup> -/	/bump <sup>h</sup> ul/		‘Ayurvedic oil’
/-mt-/	/čimti/		‘ant’
/-md-/	/čəmdi/		‘relative’

/-mk-/	/j <sup>h</sup> umka/	‘earring’
	/gumke/	‘echo’
/-nt-/	/g <sup>h</sup> ənta/	‘hour’
/-nd-/	/genda/	‘marigold’
	/b <sup>h</sup> andar/	‘store house’
/-nd <sup>h</sup> -/	/rand <sup>h</sup> a ghər/	‘kitchen’
	/sənd <sup>h</sup> i/	‘treaty’
/-nk-/	/čənka/	‘breakable easily’
/-ng-/	/munga/	‘drumstick’
	/səŋgit/	‘song’
/-ŋt-/	/laŋta/	‘nacked’
/-ŋt <sup>h</sup> -/	/aŋt <sup>h</sup> i/	‘ring’
/-ŋb-/	/saŋbadik/	‘reporter’
/-ŋg <sup>h</sup> -/	/səŋg <sup>h</sup> at/	‘conflict’

### **Affricate + nasal**

/-čn-/	/načni/	‘dancer’
/-č <sup>h</sup> n-/	/rəč <sup>h</sup> na/	‘essay’

	/bična/	‘bed’
/-jn-/	/bajna/	‘sound’
/-jm-/	/raijman/	‘tax’
<b>Nasal + affricate</b>		
/-mč <sup>h</sup> -/	/gamč <sup>h</sup> a/	‘assamese towel’
/-nč-/	/anča/	‘become bored’
	/unčəlis/	‘thirty nine’
/-nj/	/punjabi/	‘people from Punjab’
	/ĩnjət/	‘light’
<b>Affricate + liquid</b>		
/-čr-/	/t <sup>h</sup> əčra/	‘jerkng’
	/mučri/	‘mosquito net’
	/məčri/	‘fish’
/-čl-/	/ačli/	‘original’
/-jl-/	/əjla/	‘simpleton’
	/kəjla/	‘a colour’
/-j <sup>h</sup> l-/	/maj <sup>h</sup> la/	‘middle’



### **Nasal + nasal**

/-mn-/	/d <sup>h</sup> emni/	‘woman with bad habit’
	/t <sup>h</sup> imna/	‘arm’
	/samne/	‘in front of’
/-ŋn-/	/taŋna/	‘back bag’
/-nm-/	/sənmən/	‘respect’

### **Nasal + liquid**

/-mr-/	/temrəs/	‘guava’
	/hamre/	‘we’
	/čamra/	‘leather’
	/nəmrə/	‘wise’
	/t <sup>h</sup> umra/	‘pink cheeks’
/-ml-/	/kamla/	‘labourer’
/-ŋr-/	/teŋra/	‘a fish’
/-ŋl-/	/baŋla/	‘banglow’

### **Liquid + stop**

/-rp-/	/tərpə/	‘hardship’
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/-rb-/	/bərbad/	‘bad’
/-rt-/	/kurta/	‘a dress’
	/p <sup>h</sup> urti/	‘enjoyment’
/-rd-/	/hərdəm/	‘always’
	/kərdəi/	‘star fruit’
/-rk-/	/t <sup>h</sup> urka/	‘short man’
/-rk <sup>h</sup> -/	/irk <sup>h</sup> a/	‘jealous’
/-rg-/	/murgi/	‘hen’
/-lp <sup>h</sup> -/	/julp <sup>h</sup> i/	‘hair lock’
/-lb-/	/əkbəka/	‘astonishment’
/-lt-/	/čalta/	‘a sour fruit’
/-ld-/	/jəldi/	‘soon’
/-ld <sup>h</sup> -/	/paild <sup>h</sup> a/	‘a tree’
/-lk-/	/j <sup>h</sup> ilka/	‘shine’
/-lg-/	/əlga/	‘to separate’
<b>Liquid + affricate</b>		
/-rč-/	/pərču/	‘day after tomorrow’

/-rj-/	/dərja/	‘door’
	/gijra/	‘church’
/-rj <sup>h</sup> -/	/murj <sup>h</sup> ai/	‘faded’
/-lč-/	/ilča/	‘a fish’
/-lč <sup>h</sup> -/	/alč <sup>h</sup> ua/	‘very delicate’
/-lj-/	/kailja/	‘liver’

### **Liquid + nasal**

/-rn-/	/j <sup>h</sup> ərna/	‘brook’
	/marna/	‘threshing’
/-ln-/	/čalni/	‘siever’

### **Liquid + liquid**

/-rl-/	/karla/	‘bitter gourd’
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### **Liquid + fricative**

/-lh-/	/lulha/	‘handicap’
	/sulha/	‘fire place’

### **Liquid + approximant**

/-lw-/	/bəlwan/	‘strong’
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### **Fricative + stop**

/-sk-/	/uska/	‘sift’
/-st-/	/susti/	‘laziness’
/-hk-/	/məhkuma/	‘subdivision’

### **Nasal + Fricative**

/-ns-/	/pansu/	‘a footwear’
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### **Affricate + approximant**

/-c <sup>h</sup> w-/	/piç <sup>h</sup> war/	‘rear’
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### **Fricative + nasal**

/-hn-/	/bəhni/	‘opening income of the day’
	/kahni/	‘story’
/-sn-/	/isna/	‘similarity’
/-sm-/	/dusmən/	‘enemy’

### **Fricative + liquid**

/-hr-/	/dehri	‘doorway’
/-hl-/	/kulhi/	‘cuckoo’

/-sr-/                      /bāsri/                      ‘a flute’

### **Stop + approximant**

/-ty-/                      /hətya/                      ‘murder’

/-d̪w-/                      /jhad̪wai/                      [j<sup>h</sup>ar̪wai]                      ‘to clean’

/-d<sup>h</sup>w-/                      /dud<sup>h</sup>wala/                      ‘milk man’

### **3.1.5.5 Geminates:**

In Sadri, we come through Geminates. It is found that stops - /p, b, t, d, k/ have the tendency to become geminate. Apart from these stops, the lateral phoneme /l/ makes geminate words. The affricates /č/ and /j/, the fricative phoneme /s/ and the nasal phoneme /n/ have also geminate words. To exemplify it, let us go through the examples given below-

#### **p + p:**

/t<sup>h</sup>appər/                      ‘slap’

/č<sup>h</sup>appən/                      ‘fifty six’

/teppan/                      ‘fifty three’

#### **b + b:**

/nəbbəi/                      ‘ninety’

/dibba/                      ‘container’

**t + t:**

/patta/ 'to give importance'

/tettis/ 'thirty three'

/səttər/ 'seventy'

**d + d:**

/pədda/ 'curtain'

/badda/ 'father's elder brother'

/baddi/ 'wife of father's elder brother'

/adda/ 'discussion between friends on some issues'

/buddi/ 'long bean'

**k + k:**

/t<sup>h</sup>əkkər/ 'accidental'

/d<sup>h</sup>akka/ 'push'

/p<sup>h</sup>əkkər/ 'very crooked'

/dikkət/ 'problem'

**s + s:**

/lussa/ 'wicked'

/issər/ 'God'

/ussəka/ 'to instigate someone'

**l + l:**

/alla/ 'God'

/halla/ 'noise'

/k<sup>h</sup>ulla/ 'open'

/rəsgolla/ 'a sweet'

/čilla/ 'shouting'

/čəllis/ 'forty'

**n + n:**

/unnis/ 'nineteen'

**č + č:**

/pəččis/ 'twenty five'

**j + j:**

/ujjəl/ 'bright'

**3.2. Syllable:**

A syllable is a unit of pronunciation uttered without any interruption. It is made up of one or more than one phoneme. The vowel syllable is essential to the structure of a

syllable that is a syllable is not possible without the vowel phoneme. The vowel is obviously the obligatory element in a syllable and is called the ‘nucleus’ or ‘peak’ of the syllable. On the other hand, the consonant which begins a syllable is called the ‘onset’ and that which occurs at the end of a syllable is called the ‘coda’ of the respective syllables. When a coda is absent in a syllable, it is called ‘open’ syllable and when a coda is present in a syllable, it is called ‘closed’ syllable.

Sadri syllables consist of a nucleus which basically occurs with an onset or a coda. The nucleus of a syllable may be a vowel or a diphthong. It is found that some Sadri syllables have only a peak or a nucleus. However, all vowels in Sadri make the nucleus of the syllable that is there is no non syllabic vowel in this language. Different types of syllables have been mentioned below-

### 3.2.1. Mono- Syllabic Words:

Like other Indo- Aryan languages, Sadri roots are generally monosyllabic. This is one of the typological features of Indo- Aryan language family. There are some examples of mono-syllabic words found in the language which is given below. Here, the symbols V and C represent vowel and consonant respectively-

#### Open syllable-

CV	/k <sup>h</sup> a/	‘eat’
	/ja/	‘go’
	/nə/	‘nine’
	/ka/	‘sound of crow’



CVV	/mae/	‘mother’
	/nai/	‘no’
	/meu/	‘sound of cat’
	/bou/	‘elder brother’s wife’
	/c <sup>h</sup> oi/	‘six’
	/dui/	‘two’
<b>Closed syllable:</b>		
VC	/ah/	‘come’
	/an/	‘bring’
	/ãg/	‘fire’
	/ãk <sup>h</sup> /	‘eye’
	/ek/	‘one’
CVC	/kər/	‘do’
	/gir/	‘fall’
	/ses/	‘finish’
	/kəm/	‘less’
	/dam/	‘price’

CVVC	/hāis/	‘laughter’
	/rait/	‘mother-in-law’
	/raij/	‘kingdom’
	/mair/	‘to beat’
CCVC	/skel/	‘scale’
	/skul/	‘school’
CVCC	/bind <sup>h</sup> /	‘pierce by arrow’
	/murk <sup>h</sup> /	‘stupid’
	/rand <sup>h</sup> /	‘to cook’
	/maŋg/	‘to beg’

It is clear from the above mentioned examples that there are existed both types of monosyllabic words namely the CV pattern as well as VC pattern. The variety of VC pattern syllabic word is much more than the CV pattern syllabic words in this language.

### 3.2.2. Disyllabic Words:

**Open Syllable:** Let us firstly go through the examples of syllables where second syllable is open-

VCV	/age/	‘before’
	/alu/	‘potato’

VCCV	/əŋkə/		‘mathematics’
CVCV	/dala/		‘a bamboo utensil’
	/jaga/		‘place’
	/pani/		‘water’
	/balu/		‘sand’
CVCCV	/pak <sup>h</sup> na/		‘stone’
	/čurjə/		‘sun’
	/bərka/		‘big’
CVVCV	/kaiči/		‘scissor’
	/čəuki/		‘chair’
	/čiuḍa/	[čiuḗa]	‘a traditional snack’
CVCCVV	/kərdəi/		‘star fruit’
	/jəlp <sup>h</sup> ai/		‘olive’
CVCVV	/bilai/		‘cat’
	/harua/		‘bull’
	/kačua/		‘tortoise’
CVVCCV	/sougni/		‘vulture’

CVCCCV          /məntri/          ‘minister’

                     /ləndra/          ‘blanket’

**Closed Syllable:** Here, the second syllable is closed.

VCVC             /əɡʌn/             ‘fire’

                     /əwaj/             ‘sound’

                     /ʊkɪl/             ‘lawyar’

CVCVC          /niyəm/          ‘rules’

                     /dʰənʊk/          ‘bow’

                     /jəɪn/             ‘bail’

CVCCVC         /mɪnjʊr/         ‘peacock’

                     /dʊlɦɪn/          ‘bride’

                     /gændər/         ‘rhino’

                     /kəmbəl/         ‘blanket’

CVVCVC         /pəʊsəl/         ‘domestic’

                     /daɪvər/         ‘driver’

### 3.2.3. Tri-Syllabic Words:

**Open Syllable:** Here, the third syllable is open.

VCVCV	/uɖiʝa/	[uɽiya]	‘people of Odisha’
	/əguwa/		‘lead’
	/upaɖ <sup>h</sup> i/		‘title’
CVCCVCV	/basinda/		‘local people of a place’
CVCCVCVV	/matkəlai/		‘black dal’
CVCVCV	/hə̃suwa/		‘sickle’
	/k <sup>h</sup> əriya/		‘an ethnic group’
/CVVCVCV/	/paijama/		‘a traditional pant’
	/baundari/		‘boundary’
CVCCVCV	/g <sup>h</sup> oɖʂala/	[g <sup>h</sup> oɽsala]	‘horse stall’
	/gamhari/		‘a tree’
	/duɖ <sup>h</sup> wala/		‘milk man’

**Closed Syllable:** Here, the third syllable is closed-

VCVCVC	/əpəman/		‘shame’
VCCVCVC	/ugrəwad/		‘extremist’
	/unčəlis/		‘thirty nine’
CVCVCVC	/məhadeu/		‘god Mahadev’

	/janowar/	‘animal’
	/kerketa/	‘a bird’
CVVCVCVC	/həigeleg/	‘it’s done’
CVCVCVCC	/b <sup>h</sup> umikəmp/	‘earthquake’
CCVCVCCVVC	/brihəspait/	‘Thursday’
CVCCVCVC	/d <sup>h</sup> ənyəbad/	‘thank you’
	/gəlmərič/	‘black pepper’
CVCVCVVC	/səsurair/	‘father-in-law’s house’
VCVCCVC	/atəŋkbad/	‘terrorism’
CVCVCCVC	/balatkar/	‘rape’

### 3.2.4. Tetra-Syllabic Words:

**Open Syllable:** Here, the forth syllable is open-

CVCVCVCV	/nəɾəsiŋhə/	‘curry leaves’
	/məd <sup>h</sup> umak <sup>hi</sup> /	‘honey bee’
VCVCCCVCV	/atəŋkbadi/	terrorist’
CVCCVCVCV	/rajkūwari/	‘princess’
	/hətyakari/	‘murderer’

CVCVVCVCV      /bunaiwala/      ‘weaver’

VCVCVCCV      /ad<sup>h</sup>unikta/      ‘modernity.

**Closed Syllable:** In the following examples, the fourth syllable is closed –

CVCVCCVCVC      /rəhənsəhən/      ‘way of life’

CVCVCVCVC      /ritiriwaj/      ‘custom’

### 3.2.5. Penta-Syllabic Words:

**Open Syllable:** Here, the fifth syllable is open-

CCVCVCVCVCV      /prətiyogita/      ‘competition’

VCVCVCCVVCV      /unanəbboita/      ‘eightynine with Classifier /-ta/’

**closed Syllable:** Here, the fifth syllable is closed-

CVCVCVCVCCVC      /bisak<sup>h</sup>apətnəm/      ‘name of a place’

VCVCCVCCVCCV      /ek<sup>h</sup>əttərtukra/      ‘seventyone with Classifier /-tukra/’

### 3.2.6. Hexa-Syllabic Words:

**Open Syllable:** The sixth syllable is open-

VCVCVCCVVCVCCV      [athanəboitukra]      ‘ninety eight with Classifier /-tukra/’

CVCVCVCCVVCVCCV      [satanəboitukra]      ‘ninetyseven with Classifier /-tukra/’

It is unable to get closed hexasyllabic words from my analysis of the phonology of the Sadri language.

From the above examples, it is found that penta - syllabic and hexa - syllabic words are very rare in this language. We got such words by the process of compounding as exemplified above.

### 3.2.7. Syllable Initial:

So far as the syllable initial sounds are concerned, with the exception of /ŋ/, /w/, /y/, all the other consonantal phonemes can begin a word – initial syllable. These are listed below with examples-

/p/	/pahad/	[pahaɾ]	‘hill’
/p <sup>h</sup> /	/p <sup>h</sup> up <sup>h</sup> a/		‘husband of father’s sister’
/b/	/beɽi/		‘daughter’
/b <sup>h</sup> /	/b <sup>h</sup> alu/		‘bear’
/t/	/teteɽa/		‘lizard’
/t <sup>h</sup> /	/t <sup>h</sup> epra/		‘short’
/d/	/dāt/		‘tooth’
/d <sup>h</sup> /	/d <sup>h</sup> an/		‘rice’
/t̪/	/t̪iɽer /		‘tamarind’
/t̪ <sup>h</sup> /	/t̪ <sup>h</sup> anda/		‘cold’
/d̪/	/d̪ala/		‘a bamboo utensil’



/k/	/kan/		‘ear’
/k <sup>h</sup> /	/k <sup>h</sup> ekra/		‘crab’
/g/	/guhri/		‘pig’
/g <sup>h</sup> /	/g <sup>h</sup> uŋgi/		‘snail’
/č/	/čãnd/		‘moon’
/č <sup>h</sup> /	/č <sup>h</sup> air/		‘four’
/j/	/jait/		‘ethnic group’
/j <sup>h</sup> /	/j <sup>h</sup> əgɖa/	[j <sup>h</sup> əgra]	‘fight’
/m/	/maina/		‘mynah’
/n/	/nadi/		‘river’
/s/	/sagər/		‘sea’
/h/	/hawa/		‘breeze’
/l/	/lal/		‘red’
/r/	/rani/		‘queen’

### 3.2.8. Syllable-Final:

Except /w/ and /y/, the entire consonantal phonemes can occur in the word-final position of the syllable. They are listed below with examples-

/p/	/pap/		‘sin’
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/p <sup>h</sup> /	/map <sup>h</sup> /		‘forgive ness’
/b/	/gərib/		‘poor’
/b <sup>h</sup> /	/lab <sup>h</sup> /		‘profit’
/t/	/sat/		‘seven’
/t <sup>h</sup> /	/hat <sup>h</sup> /		‘hand’
/d/	/dərəd/		‘pain’
/d <sup>h</sup> /	/gond <sup>h</sup> /		‘smell’
/t/	/pet/		‘stomach’
/t <sup>h</sup> /	/pat <sup>h</sup> /		‘read’
/d/	/kapaɖ/	[kapaɾ]	‘forehead’
/d <sup>h</sup> /	/bəd <sup>h</sup> /		‘increase’
/k/	/t <sup>h</sup> ak/		‘tired’
/k <sup>h</sup> /	/aik <sup>h</sup> /		‘eye’
/g/	/b <sup>h</sup> ag/		‘run away’
/g <sup>h</sup> /	/bag <sup>h</sup> /		‘tiger’
/č/	/bič/		‘between’
/č <sup>h</sup> /	/kuč <sup>h</sup> /		‘something’

/j/	/k <sup>h</sup> oj/	‘search’
/j <sup>h</sup> /	/si <sup>h</sup> j/	‘boil’
/m/	/dam/	‘price’
/n/	/jan/	‘to know’
/ŋ/	/piŋ/	‘pin’
/s/	/bās	‘bamboo’
/h/	/salah/	‘advice’
/l/	/p <sup>h</sup> ul/	‘flower’
/r/	/and <sup>h</sup> ar/	‘dark’

### 3.3. Supra Segmental Phoneme:

In this section, we are discussing about word accent, the most important supra-segmental feature found in the phonology of the Sadri language.

#### 3.3.1. Word Accent:

In Sadri, it is found that each word has one main stress indicated by the symbol [ ' ]. From the research, it is found that words consisting of a single syllable bearing this main accent. On the other hand, the secondary accent is indicated by the symbol [ ` ]. It varies considerably. In the case of isolated verb forms consisting of two syllables, the main accent always lies on the second syllable. Let us take the following examples-

/naraj/	[nàráj]	‘angry’
/mesa/	[mèsá]	‘mix’
/ulʔa/	[ùlʔá]	‘opposite’
/kəɖa/	[kə̀rá]	‘dig out’

In Sadri, we are able to lay only two word accents – primary and secondary. It does not matter whether it is two syllabic or more than two syllabic words. For example -

/k <sup>h</sup> içɖi/	[k <sup>h</sup> içrí]	‘a type of food’
/anusər/	[ánùsər]	‘according to’
/beyakul/	[bèyakúl]	‘afflicted’
/məhina/	[məhìná]	‘month’
/t <sup>h</sup> otna/	[t <sup>h</sup> òtná]	‘chin’
/səsuraír/	[səsùráír]	‘father-in-law’s house’
/muk <sup>h</sup> iyá/	[muk <sup>h</sup> iyá]	‘chief’
/beiman/	[bə́imàn]	‘cheat’
/b <sup>h</sup> əuji/	[b <sup>h</sup> əují]	‘sister-in-law’
/ilekson/	[íleksòn]	‘election’
/j <sup>h</sup> ənjat/	[j <sup>h</sup> ənját]	‘problem’

/bisak <sup>h</sup> apətnəm/	[bɪsək <sup>h</sup> ápətnəm]	‘name of a place’
/məhadeu/	[məhàdéu]	‘god Mahadev’
/raj/	[ráj]	‘kingdom’
/satanəbboi/	[satànəbbói]	‘ninety seven’
/teteŋa/	[tètèŋá]	‘lizard’
/janowar/	[janówàr]	‘animal’
/pahad/	[pàháŋ]	‘hill’
/brihəspait/	[brìhəspáit]	‘Thursday’
/paijama/	/pa’ijamà/	‘a traditional pant’
/baundari/	[báundari]	‘boundary’
/niyəm/	[níyə̀m]	‘rules’
/guhri/	[gúhri]	‘pig’
/ah/	[áh]	‘come’
/əpəb <sup>h</sup> rəms/	[əpəb <sup>h</sup> rə̀ms]	‘apabhramsa’
/paild <sup>h</sup> a/	[páild <sup>h</sup> à]	‘a tree’
/ghuŋgi/	[ghúŋg`i]	‘snail’
/čariyo/	[čàriyó]	‘all four’

/bačabo/	[bəčəbó]	‘will save’
/p <sup>h</sup> ul/	[p <sup>h</sup> úl]	‘flower’
/baɖi/	[bàrì]	‘garden’
/hil/	[híl]	‘shiver/shake’
/jur/	[júr]	‘strong’
/pic <sup>h</sup> e/	[pic <sup>h</sup> é]	‘behind’
/p <sup>h</sup> əisəla/	[p <sup>h</sup> əisələ]	‘judgement, decision’
/jərur/	[jèrúr]	‘certainly’
/paud <sup>h</sup> a/	[pa ‘ud <sup>h</sup> à]	‘plant’
/paisa/	[páisà]	‘money’
/ad <sup>h</sup> unikta/	[ád <sup>h</sup> uniktà]	‘modernity’
/d <sup>h</sup> əmká/	[d <sup>h</sup> əmká]	‘threaten’
/beiman/	[bóimàn]	‘cheat’
/dimag/	[dìmág]	‘brain’
/rand <sup>h</sup> /	[ránd <sup>h</sup> ]	‘cook’
/əguwa/	[əgùwá]	‘lead’
/b <sup>h</sup> aruwa/	[b <sup>h</sup> arùwá]	‘a person who carries load’

/jait/	[jáit]	‘ethnic group’
/aijkail/	[àijkáil]	‘now a days’
/raja/	[ràjá]	‘king’
/jamun/	[jámùn]	‘berry’
/laij/	[láij]	‘shy’
/patai/	[pàtái]	‘leaf’

From the above examples, it is clear that Sadri has two prominent word-accent namely primary and secondary. In monosyllabic words, only the primary word accent is seen and in two syllabic words, both primary and secondary word accents have been seen. On the other hand, words with three and more syllables have also two accents and here, other syllables remain unaccented. It is also seen that in multi-syllabic words with complex peak i.e. with diphthongs, main accent is remained on the syllable with complex peak.

### **3.4. Morpho-phonemics:**

#### **3.4.1. Phonologically Conditioned Morpho-phonemics:**

##### **3.4.1. 1. Epenthesis:**

A vowel is inserted between two consonant clusters in the sadri language spoken by some Sadri speakers. Let us go through the following examples-

/pyar/ → /piyar/      ‘love’

/prem/ →	/perem/	‘love’
/glas/ →	/gilas/	‘glass’
/klas/ →	/kilas/	‘class’
/blok/ →	/bolok/	‘block’
/pleyar/ →	/pileyar/	‘player’

In some words, they added a sequence of consonant and vowel after the words as exemplified below-

/tam/ →	/tamba/	‘copper’
/am/ →	/amba/	‘mango’

Some speakers insert a vowel to break medial consonant clusters like-

/mistri/ →	/mistiri/	‘carpenter’
/istri/ →	/istiri/	‘iron’

### 3.4.1. 2.Prothesis:

/i/ is added before borrowed (English) words beginning with a consonant cluster having /s/ as the first member of the cluster in order to break the cluster in speeches of some Sadri speakers. For example-

/skul/ →	/iskul/	‘school’
/stop/ →	/istop/	‘stop’



/steson/ →	/isteson/	‘station’
/stəp/ →	/istəp/	‘stop’
/skru/ →	/iskru/	‘screw’
/stul/ →	/istul/	‘stool’
/skel/ →	/iskel/	‘scale’
/step/ →	/istep/	‘step’

### 3.4.1. 3. Apocope:

The last consonant or consonants is /are dropped from the borrowed English words. Examples are as follows -

/post/ →	/pos/	‘pillar’
/ləmp/ →	/ləm/	‘lamp’
/p <sup>h</sup> ild/ →	/p <sup>h</sup> il/	‘field’
/bɛlt/ →	/bɛl/	‘belt’
/sɪmənt/ →	/sɪmə/	‘cement’
/kərənt/ →	/kərə/	‘current’
/pɛnt/ →	/pɛn/	‘pant’
/hænd/ →	/hænd/	‘hand’
/gɒlkiːpər/ →	/gɒlki/	‘goalkeeper’

/protest/ → /protes/ 'prtest'

/lost/ → /los/ 'lost'

/epoint/ → /epoin/ 'appoint'

#### 3.1.4. 4. Syncope:

Some sounds are lost from middle of the words. The examples of syncope are given below-

/sekretari/ → /seketari/ 'sacretary'

/nars/ → /nas/ 'nurse'

/parmanent/ → /parment/ 'parmanent'

#### 3.4.2. Morphologically Conditioned Morpho-phonemics:

##### 3.4.2. 1. Morphophonemic Processes Pertinent to Free Nominal Stems:

The third person demonstrative pronoun /i/ becomes /e/ before the bound morphemes /-khən/, which is used for 'time, moment' and before /-tna/ which means 'quality'. For example-

/ikhən/ 'at this time, at this moment' -----> /ekhən/

/itna/ 'in this way, thus, so' -----> /etna/

The personal and demonstrative pronoun of third person /u/ becomes /o/ before the bound morpheme /-tna/ which is used for 'quality' for example-

/utna/                    ‘in this way, thus, so’ -----> /otna/

/u/ becomes /ø/ before a numeral which is followed by a noun. For eg.-

/u sato bhai/                    ‘those seven brothers’ -----> /sato b<sup>h</sup>ai/

The relative pronoun /jə/ becomes /jəi/ before /-sən/ which means ‘quality’ or /-se/ which means ‘manner’. For example-

/jəsən/                    ‘of what kind?/ which?’                    /jəisən/

/jəse/                    ‘of which manner?’                    /jəise/

The interrogative pronoun /kə/ becomes /k/ before /e/ ‘pronoun of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person for animate object’ and before /a/ ‘pronoun of the third person for inanimate objects and animals’. For eg.-

/kəe/                    ‘who’                    ----->                    /ke/

/kəa/                    ‘what or which’ ----->                    /ka/

This interrogative pronoun /kə/ becomes /kəi/ before /sən/ which is used for ‘quality’ and /se/ which is used for ‘manner’. For eg.

/kəsən/                    ‘of which kind? Which?’ -----> /kəisən/

/kəse/                    ‘in which manner?’ -----> /kəise/

### 3.4.2. 2. Morphophonemic Processes Pertinent to Verbal Affixes:

/i/, the extension of the verb stem ‘perfect absolute’ becomes /e/ after stem ending in /o/ and /a/, eg.

/ja/ 'to go'

/ja-i/ -----> /jae/ 'having gone'

/ho/ 'to be'

/ho-i/ -----> /hoe/ 'having been'

/ət/ 'the present continuous' marker becomes /t/ after stem ending, if /ət/ is followed by a morpheme with initial vowel. For eg. -

/tʰu/ 'to touch'

/tʰu-ət-e/ -----> tʰute 'while touching'

This present continuous marker /ət/ becomes /t/ after stems ending in /e,o, a/, eg. -

/de/ 'to give'

/de-ət/ 'giving' -----> /det/

/dʰo/ 'to wash'

/dʰo-ət/ 'washing' -----> /dʰot/

/ja/ 'to go'

/ja-ət/ 'going' -----> 'jat'

/b/, the future tense marker becomes /əb/ after stems ending in /r/ when followed by the personal affixes of the first person plural marker. For example -

/kət/ 'to do'

/kər-b-ə/

do-fut- pl

/kərəb/                    ‘will do’

This future tense marker /b/ becomes/ə/ when followed by the personal affix of the of the third person singular /i/

For eg.-

/kər/                    ‘to do’

/kər-b-i/

Do-fut-3S

/kəri/                    ‘He will do.’

### **3.4.2. 3 Morphophonemic Processes Pertinent to Particular Verb Stems:**

/a/ ‘come’ becomes /au/ before /e, o, a/

Eg.

/æk/ ‘to come’ becomes /aek/ ‘the coming’

/ja/ ‘to go’ becomes /ge/ before /əl/ ‘past indefinite’ and at the same time, /ə/ is lost from the morpheme/əl/

For eg.

/ja-əl-ək/                    ‘he went’

/gɛlək/

#### 3.4.2. 4. Morphophonemic Processes Pertinent to Stem Bound Participles:

Emphatic particle /e/ becomes /he/ after /i/, demonstrative pronoun of the third person and after /u/, personal and demonstrative pronoun of the third person. For eg.,

/ie/            ‘this very’ -----> ‘ihe’

/ue/            ‘just he, this very’ -----> ‘uhe’

Another emphatic particle /o/ becomes /ho/ after /e/. For eg. –

/tohəreo/            ‘just you’ -----> ‘tohəreho’

This same emphatic particle /o/ becomes /u/ after /ke/ ‘who?’

For example-

/keo/            ‘whosoever’ -----> ‘keu’

The word in Sadri /hõ/ which means ‘also’ becomes /ohõ/ after stems ending /v v/ and consonant. For example-

/putəu-hõ/            ‘also father-in-law’ -----> /putəuohõ/

/bəhin - hõ/            ‘also the sister’ -----> /bəhinohõ/