

CHAPTER-4

CONCLUSION

For socio-economic, socio-political and other socio-cultural reasons, most of the adivasis of Assam have opted for Assam Sadri as their first language. Besides, this lingua franca provides one linguistic identity to the various adivasi groups. Since, the importance of mother tongue education at the primary level cannot be ignored, many international bodies like the UNICEF, UNESCO and government institutes like SCERT, missions like Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan and others are publishing text books in Sadri, mainly for different adult literacy programmes. These programmes are conducted by local NGOs like PAD, Mondol etc in collaboration with organizations like Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). In 2010, a Sadri medium school was opened with the initiatives of some NGOs for the adivasi children in Janubasti, in Lakhimpur district of Assam where the local NGO PAD takes the initiative. As stated by Lucky Dey (2011), Assam has languages from five language families: Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic, Tibeto-Burman and Tai Kadai. Close contact of languages from these language families has given some unique linguistic features to the languages of this region. Similarly, Sadri has borrowed a lot of features from languages like Assamese, Bengali, Hindi etc. The Adivasi Sahitya Sabha has made a policy of adopting the Roman script for Adivasiya, though at present, most writings are in Assamese and Devnagiri script. Adivasiya is a new name given by the Sabha for this language but it has not picked up. It is still known as either Sadri or Bagania Bhasa. In their opinion, Sadri spoken in Jharkhand is the language of the Sadans or the Dikhus, literally meaning 'outsider'. Sadri, spoken in Assam, is essentially different. The reason behind this is that, it is the product

of heterogeneous ethnic groups who came together to Assam, got exposure to Assamese as it is the only dominant language used in and around the tea gardens and Sadri got developed over a period. So, they started using it as a link language for day to day functions including socio-cultural and economic reasons. Thus, Sadri in Assam is essentially different from Nagpuria Sadri (Nagpuria) and other varieties spoken in different parts of the country.

In our analysis of the phonology of Sadri, it is observed that Sadri has segmental as well as suprasegmental phonemes. The segmental phonemes include vowels and consonant. When we go through the data, it is found that Sadri has not only oral vowels but also nasal vowels. In oral vowel system, Sadri has six 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 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.

Nasalization is phonemic in the language. It is seen that nasal vowels are contrasted with its oral counterparts in the Sadri language. It is found that Sadri has six nasal vowels showing a three way contrast of front, central and back just like oral vowels. 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 /ĩ, ẽ, õ, ã, õ and ã/. The front and central vowels are unrounded while the back vowels are rounded.

It 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 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.

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. Aspiration is phonemic in this language. There are eight voiceless stops (p, p^h, t, t^h, ṭ, ṭ^h, k, k^h) and eight voiced stops (b, b^h, d, d^h, ḍ, ḍ^h, g, g^h). It has two voiceless affricates /č, č^h/ and two voiced affricates /j, j^h/. 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 or semi vowels namely /w/ and /y/.

From the point of place of articulation, there are six bilabial phonemes viz. /p, p^h, b, b^h, m, w/, four dental phonemes viz. /t, t^h, d, d^h/, four alveolar phonemes viz. /s, n, l, r/,

four retroflex phonemes viz. /ʈ, ʈʰ, ɖ, ɖʰ/, five palatal phonemes viz. /č, čʰ, j, jʰ, y/, five velar phonemes viz. /k, kʰ, g, gʰ, ŋ/ and one glottal phoneme viz. /h/.

It is found that the consonantal phonemes /ɖʰ/, /ŋ/, /w/, /y/ could not occur in the initial position of Sadri words. It is also seen that the approximants /w/ and /y/ could not occur even in the final positions of words in Sadri language.

. In Sadri, we got clusters of two consonants in all the three positions of words namely initially, medially and finally as well as it has a lot of consonant sequences in the medial position of words. 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.

We discussed one supra segmental feature of the Sadri language namely Word Accent. It has two word accents 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 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.

It is also found that Sadri can construct words upto hex- syllable. Of course, the hexa and penta syllabic words are very few compared to other syllabic words. It is very rare to get pure word in hexa-syllabic word constructions. These words are mainly compound words.

Apart from it, we have found two types of morphophonemic processes namely phonologically conditioned morphophonemics and morphologically conditioned morphophonemics in the language during the phonological analysis of this language. In the phonologically conditioned morphophonemics, we discussed processes like epenthesis, syncope, prosthesis, apocope etc. On the morphologically conditioned morpho-phonemics, we discussed about different changes happen to noun stems, verb stems and different affixes when some other words or affixes are added to them.