A Descriptive Grammar of Sadri

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

SAAD AHMAD

Centre for Linguistics

School of Language, Literature & Culture Studies

Jawaharlal Nehru University

New Delhi-ll0067

INDIA

2022

Centre for Linguistics
School of Language, Literature and Culture Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi – 110067, India

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CERTIFICATE

This thesis titled **"A Descriptive Grammar of Sadri"** submitted by Mr. Saad Ahmad, Centre for Linguistics, School of Language, Literature and Culture Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or in full, for any other degree or diploma of any university or institution.

This may be placed before the examiners for evaluation for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Prof. Pradeep Kumar Das

[SUPERVISOR]

Centre for Linguistics

SLL&CS

JNU, New Delhi

[CHAIRPERSON]

Centre for Linguistics

SLL&CS

JNU, New Delhi

Declaration by the Candidate

This thesis titled **"A Descriptive Grammar of Sadri"** submitted by me for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or in full, for the award of any other degree or diploma of any University or institute.

[Saad Ahmad]

Ph.D. Scholar
Centre for Linguistics
SLL&CS
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi – 110067, India

Dedicated with love to

Papa, Ammi, Sadiya and Shadab

and

To my friends who are family

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Lastly, my family deserves my gratitude and love. Their patience and support made this this possible. Love and appreciation to my father for teaching me to question and reason and for bringing me up with the motto that there is an answer always, it is just a matter of time till we find it; to my mother for teaching me the importance of wellbeing above everything else; to my brother for teaching me that putting oneself above the rest is not a bad thing always; to my late grandfather, a grand man of refined tastes, who taught me the pleasure of building and living life on one's own terms.

Table of Contents

List of Figures, Tables and Maps

Figures

Maps

Tables

List of symbols and Abbreviations

1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
ACC	Accusative
AGP	Agentive participle
ANT	Antithesis
AUX	Auxiliary
CAUS	Causative
CLF	Classifier
COMP	Complementizer
COMPL	Completive
COND	Conditional
COP	Copula
COR	Correlative
CVB	Converb
DAT	Dative
DEF	Definite
DST	Distal
DUR	Durative
EMP	Emphasis marker
F	Feminine
FAM	Familiar
FUT	Future tense
GEN	Genitive
HON	Honorific
IMP	Imperative
IND	Indicative
INDF	Indefinite
INF	Infinitive
INS	Instrumental
IPFV	Imperfective

LNK	Stem linker
LOC	Locative
M	Male
NEG	Negation
PASS	Passive
PFV	Perfective
PL	Plural
POL	Politeness
POSS	Possessive
PRS	Present tense
PROG	Progressive
PRX	Proximal
PST	Past tense
PTCL	Particle
PTCP	Participle
REL	Relative marker
SUBJ	Subjunctive
SG	Singular
TAG	Tag Question

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Language and its Geographical Spread

Sadri is an Indo-European language of the Indic family. It is spoken by roughly 5,131,180 speakers[1]. Lewis (2009) estimated that the total number of speakers of Sadri in 1997 was 1,970,000. Estimates based on the census of India 2001 puts the number of speakers at 2,044,776. These figures, however, may be very inaccurate as there are various dialects that are conflated and classified as Sadri. There is a similar sounding language also called Sadri spoken in the tea gardens of Assam by labourers (mostly belonging to ethnic Jharkhandi and Chhattisgarhi tribes) who migrated from various areas of the Chotanagpur plateau region. However, it has been recognised as a distinct language named Axomiya Sadri. There is often a tendency to conflate the numbers with Hindi and to use the term Sadri to refer to related linguistic varieties, some considered similar but independent languages. It is also mostly still a creolised contact language for the tribes and the Hindi-Urdu speaking population in the areas shared by the border districts of the Indian states of Jharkhand[2] (Simdega and Gumla district), Odisha (parts of Sundergarh district), Chhattisgarh (parts of Balrampur and Jashpur districts) and West Bengal (parts of Purulia district). The figures provided above are estimates based on aerial surveys by researchers visiting the areas where Sadri is spoken. Since it is also used mostly as a contact language, i.e., lingua franca by most tribes, the approximation of the number of speakers further gets complicated.

There are many names listed by many studies on linguistic diversity in the region, some as recent as 2009 which refer to a lot of these names (all of them different linguistic varieties) as alternate names of Sadri (Lewis, 2009). These names differ region wise. Some listed alternate names are: Ganwari, Chotanagpuri, Sadana, Sadani, Jharkhandi, Nagpuria, Sadan, etc. Etymologically, Sadri means: 'belonging to the town'. Grierson mentions that the name Sadri is also "used when an aboriginal tribe abandons its own language and takes to an Aryan one" (Grierson, Linguistic Survey of India, 1903). In more recent references by the speakers themselves and the

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1 https://www.ethnologue.com/language/sck

2 Jharkhand was carved out of the state of Bihar in November 2000. However, the region was known as Jharkhand even before it attained statehood.

population in the region, the name Sadri is more specifically used for the variant predominantly spoken in the erstwhile Biru region in and around Simdega district, where it has developed mostly as the L1, with an increased tendency of tribes to adopt it as the main language due to its higher usability in the developing marketplace. The name Nagpuria appears more as an umbrella term for connected dialects and varieties without any specificity of region and distinction of contact language or L1. Ahmad notes that speakers in the Birugarh region identify with the name Sadri. Language of songs and literature, with minor linguistic differences, is categorised as Nagpuria (Ahmad, 2015). The Sadri speaking area in the eastern India is encircled in the map below.

Map 1.1: India Political[3]

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3 https://images-na.ssl-images-amazon.com/images/I/613XicWo1yL.jpg

Nagpuri/Nagpuria enjoys the status of the second official language in Jharkhand. There is demand to include Nagpuri in the eighth schedule of the Indian constitution, a move opposed by many scholars and politicians.

In this study, Sadri as spoken in the region roughly demarcated as the erstwhile Birugarh region in the south-eastern Chotanagpur plateau falling largely in the state of Jharkhand has been taken into account. This region falls roughly in the district of Simdega. Speakers in this region use the language largely as L1 or as their mother tongue. The language here is standardised and has a varied grammatical structure. Other connected varieties of Sadri (included under Nagpuria) include substantial freedom to inclusion of Hindi, which L1 Sadri speakers would see as code mixing and code switching. Henceforth in this dissertation, Sadri would mean the L1 variety and Nagpuria would mean the general non-standardised varieties used as Lingua Franca. The map below shows the location of Simdega district.
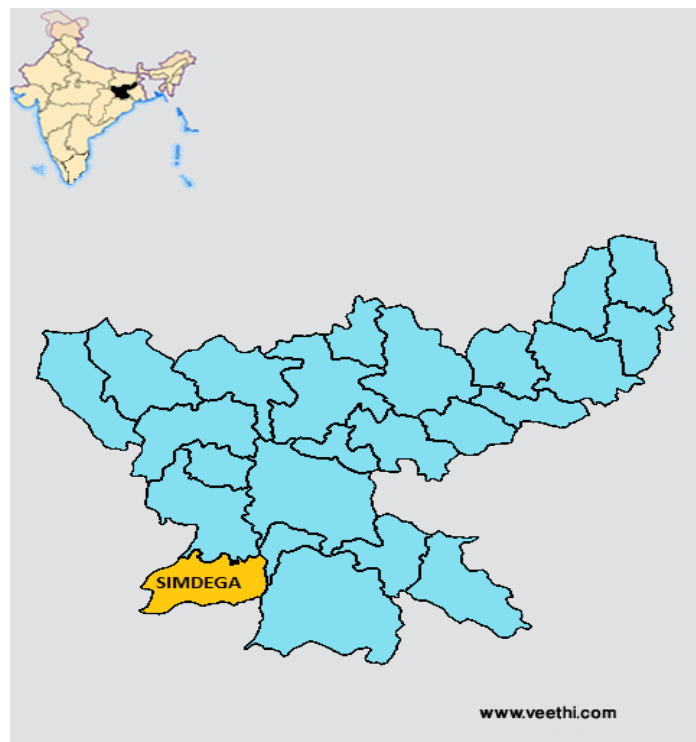
Map 1.2: Simdega district[4]

While a brief sketch of Sadri/Sadani/Nagpuria exists, this work will serve as an in-depth description of the language used as L1. Before I begin the description of the

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4 www.veethi.com

language itself, I would like to provide information on the speakers of the language, a brief history of language, the genetic affiliation of the language, previous work on Sadri and closely related languages, and how this descriptive grammar fits into the current scholarship.

1.2 The Sadri Speaking People

The name Sadri is not a loconym associated with a specific speaker group but it is spoken by disparate *adivasi* or tribal groups and non-tribal groups of Aryan origin. In the Birugarh region these comprise of adivasi tribes such as Khadiya, Oraon, Munda, Ho, Gond, Chik Badaik, Birhor, etc. and non-adivasi groups such as Bhogta, Bhuia, Ghansi, Dom, Chamar, etc.[5] Most native speakers as a result comprise of the non-tribal population living in the rural areas. The tribals use the language mostly as the contact language or the lingua franca. These tribal groups which speak their own indigenous languages belong to at least three distinct linguistic families, such as the Austroasiatic, Indo-European and Dravidian family. Languages of the Munda group of languages spoken by various tribal goups such as Ho, Santhali, Birhor and Mundari belong to the Austroasiatic family. Languages like Kurukh, Rajmahalia, Mal Pahariya, Malto and related varieties belong to the Dravidian family (Osada T. , 2014). They are spoken by the Oraons and related Dravidian tribes. Vidhyarthi and Upadhyay note that the Khadia tribes speak languages of the Khadia-Juang branch of the Munda language. A subtribe speaks Khadia Thar which is an Indo-Aryan language (Vidhyarthi & Upadhyay, 1980).

1.3 The Script and Literature

In the past Kaithi script was used to write Sadri. However, as the script has become almost extinct with very few remaining practitioners of the script, the use of Kaithi for Sadri has seen a steady decline to a point now where very few know of the script even. In contemporary times, the script used is Devanagri. In the absence of standardized Sadri the literature produced can at best be attributed to a general Nagpuria language. Many Nagpuria magazines are also being published. In addition, there is a Nagpuria music and film industry informally called Jhollywood.

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5 https://jharnet.com/jharkhand-caste-list/

1.4 Lexicon

Since Sadri developed as a contact language, it does not have a chaste lexicon that belongs exclusively to Sadri. The language thus borrows heavily from different languages depending on the topic being expressed. The lexicon also varies according to the ethnicity and religious identity of speaker groups. Thus, Sadri lexicon shows influence of English as widely as it does Urdu. However, the major influence seen is of Hindi.

1.5 Historical Background and Genetic Affiliation

The most prominent theory trying to explain the obscure origin of Sadri comes from Grierson (1903) and Jordan-Horstmann (1969), who consider Sadri to have originated as a dialect of Bhojpuri. Some Indian scholars like Tiwari (1960) too find merit in this idea. Similarly, Suniti Kumar Chatterji classified Sadri as a Western-Magadhan language along with Bhojpuri (Chatterji, 1926). Suggesting similar origin, some scholars suggest that a sub branch of a Parakrit (vernacular) spoken in the region gave rise to Sadri as a result of infusion of Austroasiatic and Dravidian elements. However, there seems to be an agreement about the language having its origin as a variation of Bhojpuri/Maithili that developed as a marketplace pidgin in the Chotanagpur plateau where most of the tribal population was concentrated. Over a period of creolization and standardization, most areas where the non-tribals and tribals live side by side, the language has come to be adopted as a major second language with an increasing tendency to be learnt as the L1. The increased interactions among the tribal and non-tribal groups with intertribal marriages and consolidation of Hindu religious practices and the advent of Christianity led to the increased importance of the contact language. With the creolization of the language and adoption as L1 developed the grammatical breadth of the language. Goswami (1976) gives a list of groups that use Sadri as the second language and the groups that use it as L1.[6]

This theory has been debated by various scholars. The origin of the name Sadri might hold some clues about the origin and development of the language. Navrangi argues that the etymology of the alternate name of the language, Sadan, can be traced to the old Indo-Aryan *niṣa:ḍa,* which refers to "ethnic group of Northeast India" (Navrangi,

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6 See appendix2

1956). However, there is no ethnic group that can be clearly linked with the origin of the language which is why its origin as a pidgin holds most significance. This does not discredit the idea, following Navrangi, that Sadri originated as the language of the Sadans: ancient people of Aryan race who lived among the non-Aryan tribes which ultimately came to be adopted by various tribal groups as a common link language. Approximately 90 such communities are referred to by the term *adivasi*[7].

Following from the discussion above, the genealogical tree of Sadri can be traced as follows:

Magadhi Apabhramsa

Western Magadhan — Central Magadhan — Eastern Magadhan

Bhojpuri

Magahi — Maithili

Oriya

NSW Bhojpuri — Khortha — Nagpuriya

Bengali — Axomiya
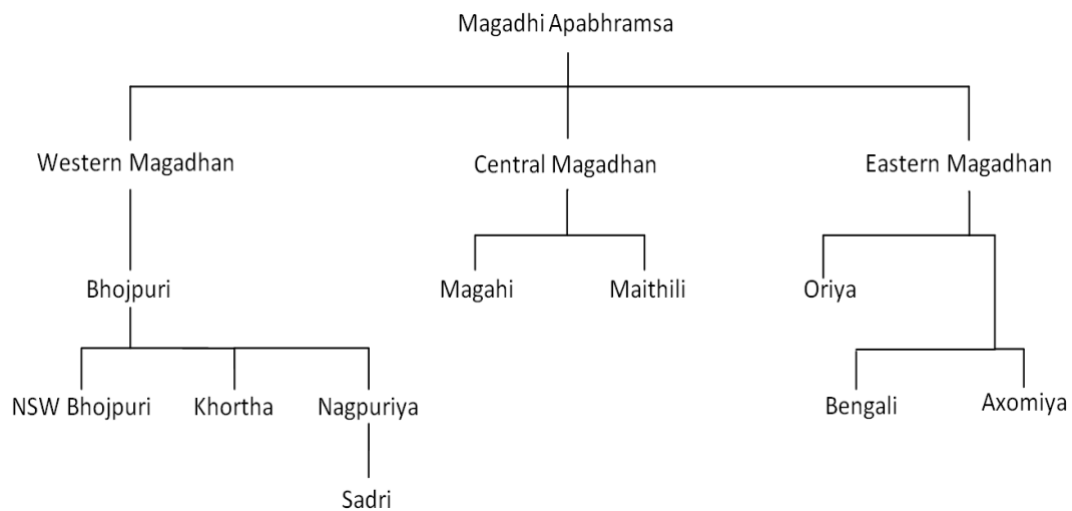
Sadri

Figure 1.1: Genealogical tree of Sadri (Ahmad, 2015).

1.6 Vitality

The EGIDS[8] for Sadri in its primary country is 3. It means that the language enjoys wider use according to the ethnologue. An EGIDS of level 3 indicates that the language has been developed to the point that it is used and sustained by institutions beyond the home and community. This is however debatable as Sadri/Nagpuri is yet to have an official grammatical documentation, an exercise that this work has undertaken.

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7 See appendix1 for a list of aboriginal communities (Adivasis) living in Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, and Odisha.

8 EGIDS stands for Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale. It is a vitality estimate for every identified language in each country where that language is spoken.

Figure 1.2 shows the place of Sadri within the cloud of all living languages. [9] However, it must be noted that this graph from the ethnologue does not represent the L1 population which has been posited to use Sadri as opposed to the general Lingua Franca which is Nagpuria as posited earlier.
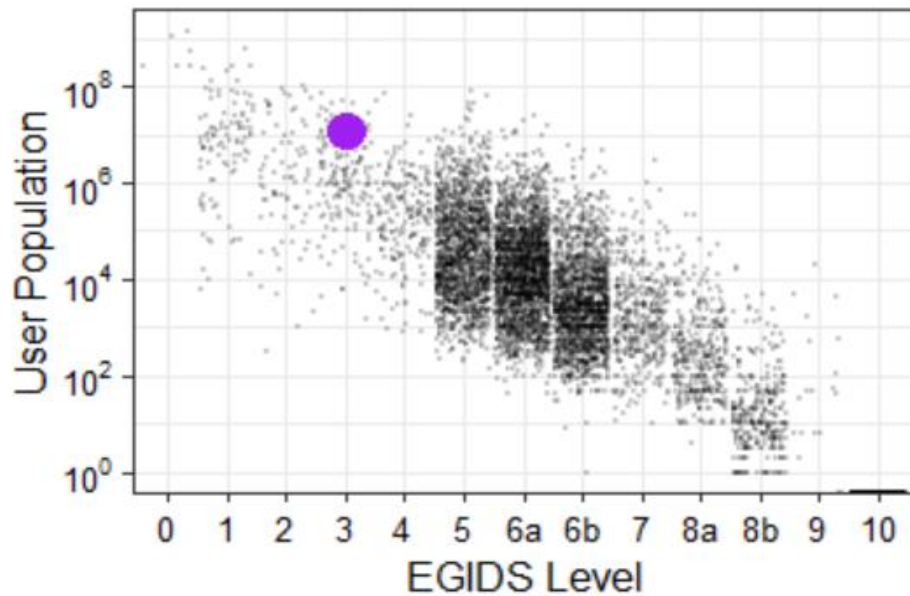
Fig 1.2: Sadri (Nagpuria) in language cloud[10]

In terms of vitality, Nagpuria is not an endangered language and enjoys a substantially large speaker base. Again, the data does not clearly indicate the vitality level of L1 Sadri. Based on the field work conducted for the dissertation, it is clear that the language is gaining more speakers due to its better viability compared to the indigenous tribal languages spoken within a specific tribe. Figure 1.3 shows the size and vitality of Nagpuria.

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9 Each language in the world is represented by a small dot that is placed on the grid in relation to its population (in the vertical axis) and its level of development or endangerment (in the horizontal axis), with the largest and strongest languages in the upper left and the smallest and weakest languages (down to extinction) in the lower right. Sadri is shown as a purple dot.

10 https://www.ethnologue.com/cloud/sck
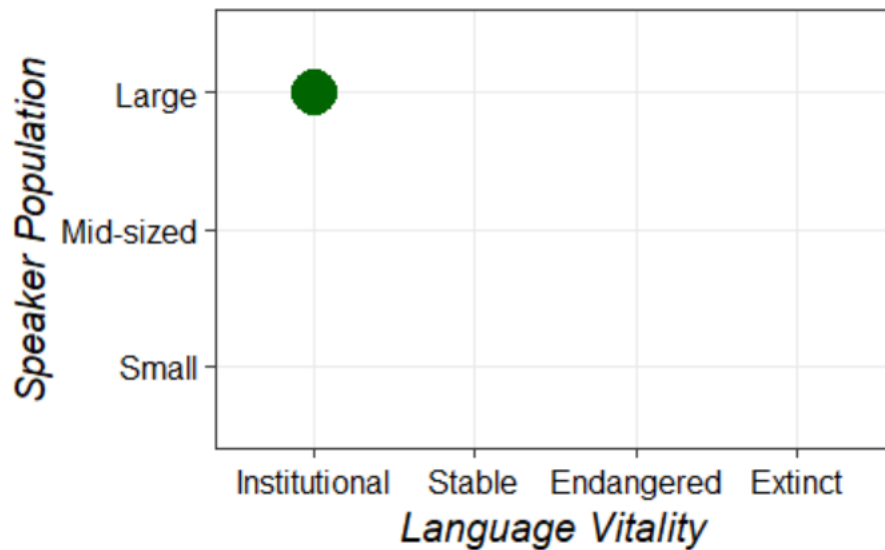
Fig 1.3: Size and vitality of Sadri (Nagpuria)

1.7 Previous Research

Owing to its confusing and numerous nomenclature and varying status as the lingua franca, there is a considerable confusion about the language mentioned in various texts purportedly describing Nagpuria. The present work is based exclusively on the L1 variety, there is no detailed work available on the grammar. Over a period of time, however, there has been a considerable work on the language owing to its strategic importance in communication with diverse tribal and non-tribal groups in the region. Barring a sketch grammar, these works, however, are descriptions of the language in general and some are simple working grammars written in the tradition of Latin grammars.

A book called *'Notes on the Ganwari Dialect of Lohardaga, Chhota-Nagpur'* by E.H Whitley, published in 1896 is presumably the first book to attempt to describe the grammar (Whitley E. H., 1986). In another book *'Notes on Nagpuria Hindi',* published in 1914, Whitley presents an outline grammar to be used by British officials and missionaries to communicate with the native populations in the area around Lohardaga.[11] The book demarcates the area as north west and south of Ranchi where

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11 The district of Lohardaga originally included the areas which are now under Palamu district. Later Palamu was separately given district hood and remaining areas retained in the district of Lohardaga. Eventually, in 1899 the district was shifted from Lohardaga to Ranchi. In 1983, Gumla containing the present district of Simdega was separated from Ranchi and was made a district. In the same year the district of Lohardaga again came into existence after

the language could be understood. This is roughly the area where related varieties of Nagpuria enjoy a speaker base. Similarly, a practical guidebook titled *'Language Handbook - Sadani',* written by Rev. Henric Floor and published by the District Labour Association, Kolkata in 1931 is a book to aid the British officials and missionaries to interact with the labourers employed in the tea gardens of Assam. These labourers were from different tribal groups of Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Odisha, who were brought to the tea plantations in Assam as indentured labourers where they still live today and speak a version of Sadri that has grown separately as Axomiya Sadri. *'A Sadani Reader'* (1956) and *'A Simple Sadani Grammar'* (1956) by P.S.Nowrangi like the books by Father Whitley and Father Floor is for practical purposes. These books, however, were the first books on Nagpuria written by a native speaker. Another book by Nowrangi *'Nagpuriya Sadani Boli Ka Biyakaran',* published in 1965 describes Nagpuria in relation with other Indo-Aryan languages in the proximity as well as gives a grammatical sketch in the Latin grammar tradition (Nowrangi, 1965). *'English Sadri Dictionary',* published in 1975, compiled by Rev. Edgar Blain and is also for practical purposes.

Grierson in his Linguistic Survey of India gave an overview of Nagpuria while classifying it as a "corrupt form of Bhojpuri". Apart from delimiting the geographical spread of the language, Grierson pegged the number of speakers at 5,94,257. He also mentions the alternate names of Sadan and Sadri, apart from the now obsolete name 'Dikku Kaji' (the language of the Dikku or Aryans). This name was used by the Munda people purportedly for Nagpuria. Grierson attributes the variations in Nagpuria as divergences from Bhojpuri due to the fact that "Nagpuria has borrowed grammatical forms from the neighbouring Chhattisgarhi of the east central provinces". He cites the use of the definite suffix *-hər* and plural suffix *=mən* as proof. The influence of the other Austroasiatic and Dravidian languages that comprise the socio-linguistic environment is not talked about.

U.N.Tiwari wrote about the origin of Nagpuria which he calls Sadani in his D.Litt. dissertation titled *'The Origin and Development of Bhojpuri',* published in 1960 (Tiwari, 1960). He classifies Sadani as a dialect of Bhojpuri along with Northern

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being separated from Ranchi. Later in 2001 the district of Gumla was divided and Simdega for the first time came into existence as district. (District Simdega, 2021)

Standard Bhojpuri, Southern Standard Bhojpuri and Western Standard Bhojpuri. This is a view debated and denied by the Sadri speaking people who claim affiliation to Odiya. Tiwari and Chatterji who briefly touch upon the topic in *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Literature* are of the same view in this regard (Chatterji, 1926). Tiwari notes that Nagpuria is spoken in districts of Palamu and Ranchi. This would correspond roughly to the present districts of Gumla, Simdega, Ranchi, Lohardaga and Palamu in Jharkhand.

Jordan-Horstmann in *'Sadani: A Bhojpuri Dialect Spoken in Chotanagpur'* investigate the grammatical structure of Nagpuria while making comparisons with Bhojpuri. The book fails to acknowledge Nagpuria as an independent language following Grierson (1903), Chatterji (1926) and Tiwari (1960) and classifies it as a dialect of Bhojpuri. While detailed unlike previous works, their analysis is based roughly on Northern Nagpuria as they rely on the data provided in Nowrangi's '*A Simple Sadani Reader'* (Jordan-Horstmann, 1969). The book describes the phonetics and phonology, and morphology of the language. The book also describes the linguistic spread, and the linguistic classification.

Apart from the aforementioned works, Nagpuria in particular has been at the centre of many studies, particularly in the areas of language convergence and contact induced change. Abbi in her work titled '*Languages of Tribals and Indigenous Peoples of India, The Ethnic Space'* studied Indo-Aryan influence on a Dravidian Language Kurukh and a Munda language belonging to the Austroasiatic language Kharia (Abbi, 1997). Since Sadri is a lingua franca that has originated through Aryan and tribal contact, this is an important study in the context of this present one. Osada deals with general convergence tendencies of all three language families that interact in the region. He takes note of shared traits, such as numeral classifiers, echo-word formation and onomatopoeics (Osada T. , 1991).

There exists a sketch grammar of Sadani/Sadri written by Savita Kiran and Dr. John Peterson (Kiran & Peterson). Kiran has worked extensively in studying the development of Sadri as a contact language between the Munda tribes and the Aryan population. Her M.Phil. dissertation titled '*Contact between Munda and Indic: Development of Sadri as a Lingua Franca'* is unpublished and could not be accessed. Savita Kiran, who is currently an Assistant Professor in the University of Delhi has

worked on linguistic convergence and language contact among the languages and tribal groups in the area. Dr. John Peterson, currently a professor in the University of Kiel, has also worked on language contact and convergence of Munda languages. In his paper *'Language contact in Jharkhand: Linguistic convergence between Munda and Indo-Aryan in Eastern-Central India'*, building on Abbi (1997) and Osada (1991), Peterson traces back examples of contact and influence in Sadri to Munda (Peterson, Himalayan Linguistics, 2010). His paper titled *'Jharkhand as a "linguistic area"- Language contact between Indo-Aryan and Munda in Eastern-Central South-Asia'*[12] is an overview of linguistic convergences between the Munda and Indo-Aryan languages. He discusses lexical borrowings into Munda from Indic and other convergence of grammatical nature. In his paper *'From "finite" to "narrative": The enclitic marker =a in Kherwarian (North Munda) and Sadri (Indo-Aryan)'* [13], he focuses on the distribution of finite marker in Kherwarian and argues that it closely resembles the distribution of =*a* marker in Sadri, which he regards as a 'narrative marker'. He is of the opinion that this marker is a result of direct influence brought into Sadri by L1 speakers of Kerwarian which is a North Munda language (Austroasiatic). (Peterson, 2021).

All works described above are sketch grammars or works either of a guidebook nature or draw data from earlier sources. I attempted to verify some data particularly from Nowrangi's *Nagpuriya Sadani Boli Ka Biyakaran* and Jordan-Horstmann's *'Sadani: A Bhojpuri Dialect Spoken in Chotanagpur',* but the speakers from Birugarh region pointed out major difference in verbal inflections and some syntactic differences. This may be due to a difference in the variety and uniqueness of linguistic atmosphere in the Birugarh region. The speakers using it as L1 display greater variety and sophistication in morphology, syntax, and pragmatics.

1.8   Typological Overview

Linguistic typology is the analysis, comparison, and classification of languages according to their common structural features and forms. Determining the typology

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12 Raymond Hickey (ed.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Areal Linguistics.* [Cambridge Handbooks in Language and Linguistics.] Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

13 Appeared in *Advances in Munda Linguistics*, a special issue of the *'Journal of South Asian Languages and Linguistics. 2015'*

of a language using a cross-linguistic framework can help describe and compare individual languages to find correlations between them (Vellupillai, 2013). The basic word order, i.e., the syntactic arrangement of the constituents, and the morphosyntactic marking of the subject and the objects order of a language can be used to determine and sometimes predict features of a language. This is based on the idea that a particular order of the constituents has implications on certain other features of that language. Based on the discussion above we can predict the ordering of constituent pairs such as, the noun and the genitive marking, the noun and adjectives, verbs and adpositions, etc. (Lehmann, 1973).

Sadri is a nominative accusative language with a SOV word order in simple declarative sentences typical to Indic languages. However, due to the presence of overt case and agreement markings, the scrambling of the word order is pragmatically allowed. Nominals attach with verbs to function as predicates and attributive adjectives. The attributive adjectives precede the noun. Nominalized forms are also used in relative constructions. The relative clause usually precedes the noun it modified, but this is not strictly followed and can be altered for pragmatic considerations.

As is typical of OV languages, Sadri has post-positions which follow the nouns. These postpositions mark the grammatical relations on nouns. The genitive marker appears before the governing noun. Agents of both transitive and intransitive verbs are unmarked. Verbs bear agreement markers for tense, number and person. Other markings on verb are of aspect, participle.

Other correlational features that are typologically indicative for an OV language are that the question word does not come initially in the sentence, the standard of comparison precedes the adjective, adverbials precede the verb, and the auxiliary follows the main verb. Interestingly, atypical to OV language typology, in Sadri, the negation function marker precedes the verb and the subordinator precedes the dependent clause.

Typical to languages of the subcontinent, Sadri chains non-finite clauses together under a single matrix verb. This process can be described as the possibility to construct long sequences of foreground clauses with operator dependence, typically

within the sentence. This phenomenon also described as clause-chaining is used extensively in natural discourse of the L1 speakers of Sadri.

In terms of Morphological typology, Sadri tends to be quite less agglutinating than other Indo Aryan languages, especially Hindi and Bhojpuri that its origin is closely related to. There is a great tendency to use the syntactic route to express something rather than using borrowed derivational morphology. With the newer generation there is a greater tendency to use derivational morphemes of Hindi and Urdu origins. Mostly Persian and Sanskrit prefixes and suffixes are used with the words of Persian and Sanskrit origin respectively. These processes are not productive, limited to borrowed words and dependent on the frequency of use among Hindi/Urdu speakers in the area.

1.9 The Present Study and its Methodology

1.9.1 The Present Study and Scope of Research

As described in earlier sections, there are many dialectical variations of Sadri based on the regions. The present study undertakes to document a descriptive grammar of Sadri spoken as L1 in the Birugarh region. Elsewhere the language is used predominantly as a lingua franca and does not have the sophistication in grammatical structure pertaining to limited social scenarios in which it is used.

There are variations of register too depending on the interactions with other dominant languages in the area. Predominantly, there are registers that show influence of Hindi, Hindustani and Urdu. There is no clear basis of this variation but it can be roughly characterised as generational, based on the medium of formal education received by the speaker and influence of the other dominant language. In the present study, variations in lexicon are not accounted for. However, phonological variations depending on generational factors has been indicated where relevant.

1.9.2 The Data

For the purpose of this study, data was elicited during the period from June 2014 to August 2016 from speakers in the Simdega district which, as mentioned earlier, roughly corresponds to the erstwhile Birugarh region. The data was collected during interview sessions with native speakers of Sadri. I chose only native speakers and have brought variety in the data based on sex, and age too. However, the data

comprises of speakers above the age of 15. I have myself gained some fluency in the language in this process. Additionally, two of my data consultants could be reached on phone in case additional data was required for deeper analysis or to corroborate some peculiarities.

1.9.3 Methodology

I used both, direct elicitation method through questionnaires and discourse-centered approach to gather data for the study. In the field sessions, I used the questionnaires to directly elicit data, which also majorly provides the basis of my analysis and study. At times, however, I took a discourse-centered approach to data collection too depending on the social situation I met the consultant in. I found it to be very beneficial. Apart from making the corpus rich and varied, the language sample I could gather depicted objects and situations that were culturally relevant to the speakers. Additionally, it made my data set lexically varied and rich.

I used the questionnaires created by Abbi specially designed for Indian languages (Abbi, 2001) and questionnaires based on the 'standard structure of descriptive linguistic studies questionnaire'[14] recommended by the Max Planck institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig. In the later stages of analysis most of my data elicitation through the interview method was based on the questions in '*The Lingua Descriptive Studies Questionnaire'* developed by Bernard Comrie and Norval Smith (Comrie & Norval).

The symbol system used to transcribe the language data is the IPA symbol system after data elicitation concluded. For glossing, Leipzig glossing rules have been followed. Those are the conventions for interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses. For the most part, the category label abbreviations used are also the standard abbreviations developed and recommended jointly by the Department of Linguistics of the Max Plank Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology and by the Department of Linguistics of the University of Leipzig. (Comrie, Haspelmath, & Bickel, Leipzig Glossing Rules)

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14 downloaded from http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/

1.9.4 Organisation of the Present Work

Chapter 2 describes the sound system of the language. This chapter begins with the identification of sounds and their phonemic status in the language. To establish the phonemic status of the sounds, minimal and sub-minimal pairs are provided. Moreover, the distribution of sounds at syllable and word level is also discussed. This chapter also investigates syllable structure and other phonological processes found in this language.

Chapter 3 discusses the morphology of the language. This includes noun morphology, verbal morphology, adjectives and adverbs. Copulas and postpositions are also described. Noun morphology also deals with pronouns and nouns, and their behaviour in the language. Verbal morphology consists of suffixes and prefixes which are attached to the verbs, and their usage. There is also a brief discussion on adjectives and adverbs in the same chapter. This chapter also concentrates on the derivational morphology of the language. An attempt is made to understand the derivation of various categories of function words through various derivational processes.

Chapter 4 gives an account of the syntactic structure of the language. This description includes verbless predicates and verbal predicates. This chapter also focuses on negative constructions, interrogative clauses and imperative structures. Complex constructions are also included in this chapter.

Chapter 5 presents the conclusion of the thesis.

2 PHONOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the phonology and phonetics of Sadri. The chapter aims to delineate the syllabic segmentals and the non-syllabic segmentals, i.e., describing the inventory of vowel and consonants used in the language. This discussion shall be supported by and based on an enquiry into the phonemic status of the sounds. This will be followed by the discussion on the phonotactics of the language that will describe the distribution of phonemes and possible consonant clusters. There will also be a discussion on how phones are put together to form syllables and the possible syllable types.

2.2 Phonological Units (segmentals)

Sadri employs the pulmonic egressive airstream mechanism to produce all phonetic segments.

2.2.1 Distinctive Segments

Following is the list of the distinctive segments in Sadri.

2.2.2 Syllabic Segments (vowels)

Any sound which occupies the nucleus of a syllable and is produced with a stricture of open approximation (Carr, 2008). In Sadri there are eight oral monophthongs. They are shown in the vowel chart below.
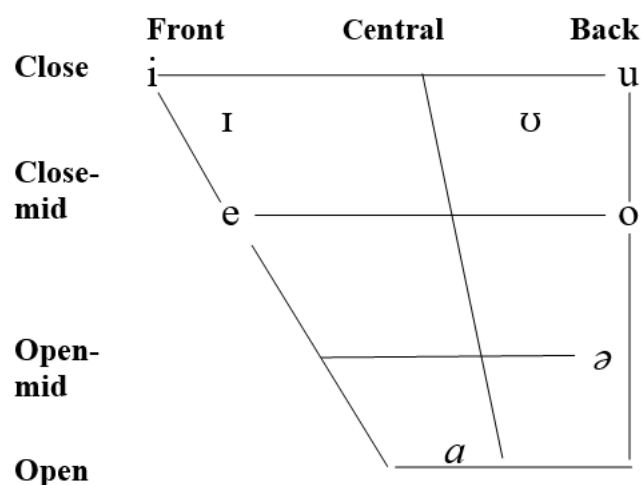
Fig 2.1: Vowels in Sadri

There are three front vowels, one central and four back vowels. The oral monophthongs contrast in position, roundness and height. Vowel length is not usually phonemic. Minimal pairs are mostly seen involving direct loan words from Hindi. However, vowel length can be manipulated for intonation. Vowels in Sadri are described below. The list also presents vowel sounds in the word initial, medial and final position.

Vowel	Example	Gloss
/i/	*i*	'this'
	bikh	'venom'
	----	----
/ɪ/	*ɪskʊl*	'school'
	sɪɟar	'jackal'
	əlmarɪ	'cupboard'
/ʊ/	*ʊɽɪ̪ɖ*	'black lentil'
	kʊkʊr	'dog'
	bʰalʊ	'bear'
/u/	*uʈh*	'get up'
	ʧul	'plaited hair'
	----	----
/e/	*eʈwar*	'Sunday'
	kẽs	'hair'
	əpne	'he (honorific)'
/ə/	*əmba*	'mango'
	kərɪɟa	'black'
	----	----
/o/	*okɪl*	'lawyer'
	boka	'stupid (male)'
	kaɖo	'mud'

/a/	*adʒa*	'brother-in-law'
	haɽha	'hyena'
	gʋɪɟa	'beloved'

Table 2.1: Vowels and minimal pairs

2.2.2.1 Nasalization

Speakers may nasalize some front vowels when appearing before alveolar and retroflex stops and flaps. However, this is not phonemic. Such allophones can be found in free variation among vowels other than the ones mentioned below, which show a phonemic contrast. Free nasalization of front vowels is a regional variation and not dialectical. Vowel nasalization may also occur when they appear before nasal consonants and nasal vowels. Again, this is based more on the age group of the speakers. Older speakers have an increased tendency to nasalize the front vowels and vowels appearing before nasal consonants.

Some oral and their corresponding nasal vowels exhibit phonemic contrast. This contrast was seen among pairs of local and loan words. The following minimal pairs are some examples. Here the oral and the nasal vowels contrast to show the distinctiveness caused by nasalization.

| /u/ | *uʈʰ* | 'arise' | /ũ/ | *ũʈʰ* | 'camel' |
| /o/ | *koʈa* | 'ration' | /õ/ | *kõʈa* | 'dog (male)' |

2.2.2.2 Velarisation

There is a tendency to velarise the open vowel in some speakers. It was found that speakers in closer proximity to Indo-Aryan languages do not velarise the open vowel while the ones who either speak Munda as their first language or interact with native Munda speakers more, exhibit this tendency in greater measure. The distinction is not phonemic in nature but can be used for emphasis.

kʰap / kʰaˠp   'grabbing by trying to cover it with one's fingers'

ʈãʈ / ʈãˠʈ   'tight'

2.2.2.3 Rounding

Sadri speakers, particularly the older speakers, have a tendency to round the schwa /ə/ in monosyllabic words. This seems to be an influence of Bhojpuri and other Bihari dialects of Hindi. This is, however, not phonemic and purely a matter of style.

2.2.3 Diphthongs

Sadri allows only two-vowel clusters or diphthongs. Diphthongs are vowels whose quality changes during their production (Katamba, 1996).

Barring the front closed unrounded vowel, all other participate in diphthongization as the initial vowel. Eleven diphthongs have been identified in Sadri. They are given below:

Diphthong	Examples		Diphthongs	Examples	
/eʊ/	*keʊ*	'anyone'	/eo/	*seo*	'apple'
/au/	*ʧaur*	'rice'	/aɪ/	*aɪn*	'bring'
/ae/	*pæ̃nkɪ*	'one-serving'	/oa/	*dʒoal*	'mature'
/ʊa/	*bʰəkʊa*	'stupid'	/əɪ/	*ʧəɪr*	'four'
/əo/	*kəoledʒ*	'college'	/əʊ/	*səʊb*	'everyone'
/oɪ/	*ɖoɪn*	'wet-field'	/ao/	*bʰao*	'price'

Table 2.2: Diphthongs in Sadri

2.2.4 Borrowed Vowels and Diphthongs

Owing its origin as a contact language, Sadri has a strong history of borrowing words but fitting them into its own phonological paradigms. Such assimilations are not distinctive for all speakers, and pronunciation may depend on various sociological factors. One must keep in mind that many such loan words enter Sadri through local dialects of Hindi where modifications to the quality of the sound must already have been made. Thus, /ɔ/ and /æ/ from English may exist in free variation with /əo/ and /æ̃/ respectively.

2.2.5 Non-Syllabic Segments (Consonants)

Sadri has 32 consonants as shown on the IPA consonant chart below. Some work on the consonant system has been done by Monika Jordan-Horstmann (1969). However,

some discrepancies were noticed considering the dialectal variation. Changes were also made on the basis of observations on dialectal and regional variations. The list below represents the consonants found in Sadri used as first language.

	Bilabial		Dental		Alveolar	Retroflex		Palatal		Velar		Glottal
Plosive	p	b	t̪	d̪		ʈ	ɖ			k	g	
aspirated	pʰ	bʰ	t̪ʰ	d̪ʰ		ʈʰ	ɖʰ			kʰ	gʰ	
Nasal		m			n						ŋ	
Trill					r							
Flaps						ɽ						
aspirated						ɽʰ						
Affricate								ʧ	dʒ			
aspirated								ʧʰ	dʒʰ			
Fricative			s									h
Approximant		w							j			
Lateral					l							

Fig 2.2: Consonants in Sadri

2.2.5.1 Plosives

Sadri has all unvoiced plosives, voiced plosives, unvoiced aspirates and voiced aspirates of the labial, dental, retroflex and velar group. The following table presents an attempt to list out consonants of Sadri with examples from minimal pairs or near minimal pairs. Non-phonemic segments have also been discussed.

Plosive	Explanation and occurrence
/p/	labial unvoiced plosive e.g., *pul* 'bridge', *ɖɪpa* 'elevation', *dʒʰap* 'cover',
/pʰ/	labial unvoiced aspirate e.g., *pʰul* 'flower', *kõpʰɪ* 'notebook', *kapʰ* 'cough'
/b/	labial voiced plosive e.g., *bʊl* 'roam', *bəɪs* 'twenty-two', *kobɪ*, 'cauliflower', *səʊb* 'everyone'
/bʰ/	labial voiced aspirate e.g., *bʰʊla* 'to forget', *bʰəɪs* 'water buffalo', *bʰadʒɪ* 'vegetable', *səʊbʰ* 'everyone'

/t̪/	dental unvoiced plosive
	e.g., *t̪ar* 'wire', *pət̪:əl*[15] 'leaf plate', *sʊt̪* 'to sleep'
/t̪ʰ/	dental unvoiced aspirate
	e.g., *t̪ʰarɪ* 'plate', *pət̪ʰ:əl* 'stone', *rət̪ʰ* 'the rath festival'
/d̪/	dental voiced plosive
	e.g., *d̪an* 'gift', *ad̪ɪ* 'ginger', *kand̪* 'cry', *kənd̪a* 'sweet potato'
/d̪ʰ/	dental voiced aspirate
	e.g., *d̪ʰan* 'paddy', *kənd̪ʰa* 'shoulder', *gənd̪ʰ* 'smell'
/ʈ/	retroflex unvoiced plosive
	e.g., *ʈar* 'to set aside with a stick', *ʈãɽ* 'high field', *kəʈəl* 'cut (PST)', *səʈ* 'shirt'
/ʈʰ/	retroflex unvoiced aspirate
	e.g., *ʈʰãɽ* 'stand (IMP)', *ʈʰepɪ* 'lid', *kəʈʰəl* 'jackfruit', *ʈʰɪha* 'reserved space'
/ɖ/	retroflex voiced plosive
	e.g., *ɖalɪ* 'basket', *ɖəmkədʒ* 'traditional dance',
ɖʰ/	retroflex voiced aspirate
	e.g., *ɖʰalɪ* 'slope', *ɖʰoka* 'boulder',
/k/	velar unvoiced plosive
	e.g., *kaɪl* 'tomorrow', *kʊkʊr* 'dog', *nɪmək* 'salt'
/kʰ/	velar unvoiced aspirate
	e.g., *kʰeʈ* 'field', *bʰʊkʰəl* 'hungry', *dʒãkʰ* 'vegetable trellis'
/g/	velar voiced plosive
	e.g., *gorna* 'store to ripen a fruit', *əgʊa* 'representative', *nag* 'cobra'
/gʰ/	velar voiced aspirate
	e.g., *gʰorna* 'enclosure', *pagʰa* 'rope', *magʰ* 'name of a month'

Table 2.3: Plosives and their distribution

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[15] The colon symbolises gemination of the consonant

2.2.5.2 Nasals

There are three nasal consonants. They are all voiced and can occur in all positions.

Nasal	Explanation and occurrence
/m/	bilabial voiced e.g., *ma* 'mother', *mora* 'earthen granary', *ʈəmrəs* 'guava', *nam* 'name'
/n/	alveolar voiced, e.g., *na* 'negative particle', *nala* 'canal', *kanɖ* 'cry', *ɖʰan* 'paddy'
/ŋ/	velar voiced nasal: occurs word medially before velar stops or at the coda position e.g., *əŋʊl* 'finger', *rəŋ* 'colour',

Table 2.4: Nasals and their distribution

2.2.5.3 Trill, Flaps, and Lateral

Sadri has voiced and aspirated trill. The aspirated trill is rarely found and appears to be a borrowing. The lateral can occur at all positions. The retroflex voiced and aspirated flap occurs in medial and final position.

Consonant	Explanation and occurrence
/r/	alveolar trill e.g., *reksa* 'rikshaw', *bara* 'twelve', *ʈar* 'wire'
/rʰ/	alveolar aspirated trill e.g., *barʰa* 'boar'
/ɽ/	retroflex voiced flap e.g., *gəɽal* 'buried', *ʧʰõɽɪ* 'girl', *ʈaɽ* 'palm tree'
/ɽʰ/	retroflex aspirated flap e.g., *gəɽʰa* 'deep', *meɽʰ* 'boundary of a field that stops water'
/l/	alveolar voiced lateral e.g., *lal* 'red', *kələʈ* 'to turn', *dʒʰol* 'cobweb'

Table 2.5: Trills, flaps, laterals and their distribution

2.2.5.4 Affricates

The affricates are represented by all voiced, unvoiced and aspirated consonants of the palatal series. They occur in all positions.

Affricate	Explanation and occurrence
/ʧ/	palatal unvoiced e.g., *ʧəmokən* 'tick', *maʧa* 'scaffold', *pãʧ* 'five'
/ʧʰ/	palatal unvoiced aspirate e.g., *ʧʰegrɪ* 'goat', *məʧʰrɪ* 'fish', *gə̃ʧʰ* 'tree'
/dʒ/	palatal voiced e.g., *dʒama* 'all', *badʒa* 'music', *ladʒ* 'shyness'
/dʒʰ/	palatal voiced aspirated e.g., *dʒʰɪmək* 'sprinkle', *gəndʒʰʊ* 'name of a caste', *sadʒʰ* 'to put inside'

Table 2.6: Affricates and their distribution

2.2.5.5 Fricatives

The fricatives include voiceless alveolar and glottal consonant. There is no restriction of position where they can appear.

Fricative	Explanation and occurrence
/s/	alveolar unvoiced e.g., *sodʒʰ* 'straight', *pʰokso* 'brittle', *kes* 'hair'
/h/	glottal unvoiced, e.g., *hə̃sʊwa* 'sickle', *mə̃hʊwa* 'mahua flower', *lah* 'lac'

Table 2.7: Fricatives and their distribution

2.2.5.6 Approximants

Approximants or semi vowels are voiced. In Sadri the category is represented by a bilabial and palatal consonant. The bilabial was not observed to occur in the initial and final position. The words where it occurs were observed to have been recent borrowings from Indo-Aryan. In the borrowed words, in the initial and final position, the approximant is replaced by the vowel /o/. The palatal voiced approximant /ʝ/ has no such restriction.

Approximant	Explanation and occurrence
/w/	bilabial voiced approximant e.g., *maowaḏɪ* 'maoist'
/j/	palatal voiced approximant e.g., *ɟəɪḏ* 'remembrance', *məĩjã* 'girl child', *mãj* 'mother'

Table 2.8: Approximants and their distribution

2.2.5.7 Consonant length

Long or double consonants occur only in the word medial positions. The following consonants occur with length: /k/, /g/, /tʃ/, /d/, /ḏ/, /t/, /ṯ/, /p/, /b/, /n/, /m/, /1/, and /s/. In the examples of long consonants given below, for clarity they are shown as double letters as opposed to the IPA notation:

Geminate	Example with gloss
/bb/: [bb]	*dɪbba* 'box'
/pp/: [pp]	*ləppa* 'yo yo'
/tt/: [tt]	*məttɪ* 'soil'
/ṯṯ/: [ṯṯ]	*lʊṯṯɪ* 'fruit fly'
/dd/: [dd]	*gəddɪ* 'bundle'
/ḏḏ/: [ḏḏ]	*tʃəḏḏər* 'sheet'
/kk/: [kk]	*tʃəkka* 'wheel'
/gg/: [gg]	*sʊgga* 'parrot'
/nn/: [nn]	*tʃʊnna* 'limestone'
/mm/: [mm]	*dʒamma* 'everything/every'
/11/: [11]	*dʰʊlla* 'dust'
/ss/: [ss]	*kʰəssɪ* 'he goat'

Table: 2.9: List of geminates

Long consonants are preceded by short vowels.

Geminates are rare in root words but can be seen to occur when verb stems ending with plosives form perfective participles. The stem final stop sound is geminated. Older and rural speakers tend to exhibit this process, while there is an increasing tendency among the younger speakers to not geminate the stem final stop.

sʊṱ-əl   'sleep-PFV'

pəkk-əl   'ripe-PFV'

bɪtʃʰtʃʰ-əl   'collect-PFV'

Gemination is not productive in Sadri. The phonemic nature of geminates depends on the phonemic nature of the loans in Hindi.

2.3 Phonotactics

2.3.1 Distribution of Non-syllabic Segments

The following table lists down the restrictions in the occurrence of phonemes position-wise:

2.3.1.1 Word-final Consonants

All consonant segments except approximant */w/*, glottal */h/* and retroflex */ɖ/* and aspirates */ɖʰ/* and */ʈʰ/* can be found word finally.

2.3.1.2 Word-initial Consonants

All consonant segments except nasal */ŋ/*, aspirate */ʈʰ/*, and approximants */w/* and */j/* can occur word initially.

2.3.1.3 Word-medial Consonants

The retroflex */ɖ/* and its aspirate */ɖʰ/* were not found to occur word medially.

The restrictions in the occurrence of consonants have been presented in tabular form below:

Word initial	Word medial	Word final
/ŋ/	/ɖ/	/ɖ/
/ʈʰ/	/ɖʰ/	/ɖʰ/
/w/		/ʈʰ/

/j/	/w/
	/h/

Table 2.10: Restriction in occurrence of consonants

The semi vowel /w/ gets vocalised to /o/ in the word initial and final position.

2.3.1.4 Allophones

The unaspirated voiced and unvoiced bilabial stops exist in free variation with their aspirated counterparts in the word final position. Similarly, unaspirated unvoiced retroflex and velar stops are allophonic with their aspirated variety in the word final position.

2.3.2 Consonant Clusters

Consonant clusters are generally rare in Sadri. They occur predominantly in words of Indo-Aryan origin.

2.3.2.1 Distribution

Word initial consonant clusters and word final consonant clusters are very rare among native speakers. Influence of standard Hindi can be observed in Sadri literature and among educated speakers where there is a greater tendency to incorporate Hindi pronunciation; the degree may vary. Predominantly, the rural uneducated speakers break the word initial CC cluster through various epenthetic processes. The process has also been discussed in the section on syllables.

CC sequences are permitted word medially where it is a result of the schwa syncope[16] rule. This process itself is a borrowing from Hindi which comes into Sadri along with the loan words. The process results in the occurrence of syllable-final and syllable-initial clusters.

There are some restrictions in the formation of consonant clusters as follows:

(i)   two aspirated consonants do not combine to form a consonant cluster,

(ii)   /ʧʰ/ is not combined to form a consonant cluster,

(iii)   /ɖ/ does not occur as the second member of a consonant cluster.

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16 schwa syncope or schwa deletion: In Indo-Aryan languages the schwa ('ə') implicit in each consonant of the script is obligatorily deleted at the end of words and in certain other contexts for intelligibility and unaccented speech.

Examples of the consonant clusters are given below. These clusters can be classified into following subclasses:

C (stop) + C (stop), e.g., *nəgḍɪ* 'cash'*, səŋʈʰa* 'stick/staff'*, nəkʈa* 'chipped'

C (stop) + C (liquid), e.g., *əgla* 'former'*, bɪdʒlɪ* 'electricity'*, bəgra* 'more'

C (stop) + C (fricative) e.g., *nəksa* 'map'

C (fricative) + C (stop) e.g., *moskɪl* 'difficult'

C (liquid) + C (nasal) e.g., *hərḍɪ* 'turmeric'*, həlka* 'light'

C (liquid) + C (liquid) e.g., *hərla* 'a species of bird'

C (nasal) + C (stop) e.g., *kənḍa* 'tuber'*, amɽa* 'a tropical fruit'

C (liquid) + C (nasal) e.g., *əlna* 'cloth stand'*, sərna* 'a religious group'

C (obstruent) + C (nasal) e.g., *səḍʰna* 'a kind of vegetable'*, bʰəɪgna* 'nephew'

C (nasal) + C (nasal) e.g., *əŋna* 'courtyard'

C (nasal) + C (fricative) e.g., *əmsɪ* 'dried raw mango'*, ənsa* 'frustration'

The combinations given above were found in the corpus. However, this list is not exhaustive of all possible combinations.

Tripartite combinations are not possible in Sadri.

2.3.3 Distribution of Syllabic Segments

2.3.3.1 Word-final Vowels
With the exception of the long vowels */i/* and */u/*, and */ə/* all vowels occur freely in word-final position.

2.3.3.2 Word-initial Vowels
There is no restriction on the occurrence of the word-initial vowels.

2.3.3.3 Sequences of Vowels
The sequences of dual vowels have been described in the section on diphthongs. It must be noted that Sadri does not allow sequence of three vowels.

2.4 Syllable Structure

2.4.1 Canonical Syllable Type

The syllables can be made of an optional onset and coda, and a nucleus. Therefore, it shows the possibility of all four variants of minimal possible syllable structures.

Possible syllable structure	Example
V	*i* 'this'
CV	*ka* 'what'
VC	*an* 'bring'
CVC	*kes* 'hair'

Table 2.11: Possible syllable types

It should be noted that vowel-initial syllables are found only in the initial position of words.

VC.CV	*am.ba* 'mango'

Since word initial and final consonant clusters are rare in Sadri, due to the tendency of speakers to insert a schwa /ə/even in loan words, there are, however some loan words as spoken by younger speakers that show CC cluster in the onset position. E.g.

CCVC	*prem* 'love'

The present corpus too suggests that only one consonant is allowed in the beginning of the word initial syllable.

CC clusters are not found in the word final syllables. In some loan words where the preceding syllable does not have aspirated consonants in the coda position, syllabic consonants are seen. If this condition is not met, schwa /ə/ insertion takes place E.g.

CVC.C	*məs.ʈ* 'nice'
CVCVC	*səkʰəʈ* 'hard'

The CC cluster word medially are not part of the same syllable. There was no evidence of clusters of more than two consonants. Thus, CCVC is the only one complex syllable structure found other than the minimally possible ones.

CCVC	*prem* 'love'

2.4.2 Assignment of Medial Clusters to Syllables

The medial consonant clusters are assigned to syllables according to the following rule. The first consonant of the medial cluster is assigned to the preceding syllable and the second consonant goes with the following syllable.

In the following examples, the syllabic boundary is marked with a dot:

nəg.ɖɪ 'cash'

bʰəɪg.na 'nephew'

The assignment of medial units to syllables does not depend on the morphological structure.

2.4.3 Word Structure

Words may be monosyllabic, disyllabic, or polysyllabic in Sadri depending on the number of syllables occurring in a word. Depending on the occurrence of a consonant sound in the coda position of word final syllable words can be referred to as open syllable words (ending without coda) and closed syllable words (ending with a coda) Let us consider the following words: (a dot signifies the syllable boundary)

Monosyllabic	
Open	
V	*u* 'that'
CV	*ka* 'what'
Closed	
VC	*an* 'bring'
CVC	*mas* 'meat'

Disyllabic	
Open	
V.CV	*ala* 'come (2PL)'
CV.CV	*am.ba* 'mango'
CVC.CV	*bəg.ra* 'more'
Closed	
V.CVC	*e.kʰən* 'now'
VC.CVC	*əl.gal* 'tilted'
CV.CVC	*ke.kʰən* 'when'

CVC.CVC   *pǝk.kʰǝn* 'rock'

Table 2.12: Word types based on syllable structure

Following a similar pattern there can be multiple probable concatenations of the basic possible syllables to form words that are polysyllabic. Polysyllabic words are mostly concatenated verbs and words that are products of derivational morphology.

2.5 Suprasegmental Features

2.5.1 Nasalization

All Sadri vowels can be nasalized. It is distinctive and therefore nasalisation is phonemic. Refer to section 0 for more detail and examples.

2.5.2 Length

Length of vowels and consonants can be contrastive, hence are phonemic.

There are three pairs of short and long vowels that exhibit contrastive length: /ɪ/ and /i/; /ʊ/ and /u/; and /ə/ and /a/. The contrast is not found in other vowels. The following words illustrate the length contrast:

lɪkʰ 'write-2SG.IMP'   *likʰ* 'lice eggs'

sʊʈa 'sleep-2PL.IMP'   *suʈa* 'thread'

nǝs 'vein'   *nas* 'destruction'

For discussion on consonant length, refer to section 2.2.5.7.

2.5.3 Stress

Stress does not create phonemic contrast in Sadri. Phonetically, words are stressed for emphasis only.

Length and pitch are the phonetic correlates of stress. Usually, unstressed syllables lack length and a high pitch.

The placement of phonetic stress is based on some rules:

1. Stress is connected to syllable weight. There are three measures of weight: light (syllables ending in a lax, short vowel), medium (syllables ending in a tense, long vowel, or a lax, short vowel followed by a consonant), and heavy (others). Where one syllable has greater weight than the others, stress is placed on the heavier syllable. e.g., *kʰə ˋwas* 'hunger', *pǝrɪ ˋwar* 'family'

2. When a syllable begins with a long vowel, stress is placed on it. e.g., `ɪskʊlɪja 'that who goes to school'

3. Usually, the syllable preceding the consonant cluster gets stress. e.g., `nəgɖɪ 'cash'

The stress pattern in Sadri needs further investigation.

2.5.4   Intonation

In Sadri, intonations have syntactic rather than emotional content. There are four major types of intonational patterns:

(1) high-fall ↘   (2) high-rise ↗

(3) rise-and-fall ↗ ↘   (4) mid-level →

Statements have a high-fall intonation pattern. Intonation peaks are positioned on the penultimate word or on the negative particle if there is one.

1. *mõj   hõwã   nɪ ↘   dʒamʊ*
   1SG   there   NEG   Go-FUT
   'I will not go there'

2. *sonʊ   bʰaʈ ↘   kʰa-ʈ-he*
   Sonu   food   eat-IPFV-PRS.3SG
   'Sonu is eating food'

Yes-no questions and tag questions have a 'high rise' intonation.

3. *ʈõj   dʒama   gʰər   sapʰa   kər-b-e ↗   ka*
   2SG   all   house   clean   do-FUT-2SG   Q
   'Will you clean the whole house?'

Information questions, like question word questions, feature rise in intonation on the question word. The intonation falls gradually afterwards.

4. *ʈõj   kaɪl ↗   kəhɪja ↘ bʰaʈ   kʰa -l-e*
   2SG   yesterday   when   food   eat-FUT-2SG
   'When did you eat food yesterday?'

Commands and imperatives generally follow the mid-level intonational pattern.

5. *ʈohre=mən pəɽʰ-a*

    2PL   read (IMP.2SG)

    'You (PL) read'

2.5.4.1 *Contrastive and Emphatic Intonation*

The constituent to be emphasized or the focus of contrast is subject to stronger than average stress. The element to be contrasted carries a slightly higher stress than the emphasized segment. Any of the elements can receive contrastive stress in the following sentence depending on the degree of emphasis. In the following examples, underlining indicates a high degree of stress.

6. *u   bəɽʰɪ̃ã̃   ə̤dmɪ   heke*

    3SG   good   man   be-PRS

    'He is a good man'

7. *ʈõɻ   kɪ̤ʈab   betʃ*

    2SG   book (ACC)   sell-IMP

    'You sell books'

In the emphatic sentences such as (7) the vowel length of the stressed constituent is increased depending on the degree of emphasis to be expressed. The contrastive intonation on the other hand in (8) involves a much higher degree of stress on the segment *ʈõɻ*.

2.6 Morphophonemics

2.6.1 Alternations

Morphophonemic alternation refers to a process whereby sounds undergo changes when in juxtaposition with other sounds within a word. The following processes operate to effect such changes in vowel and consonant sounds in the native and borrowed vocabulary.

Vowel Alternations

The long vowel /a/ of the verb root becomes the short /ɪ/ when the causative suffix /a/ is added to the verb root.

k^ha +   *a*   = $k^hɪja$

take   CAUS   cause to take

Vowel shortening

The long vowel /i/ of the verb root becomes the short /ɪ/ when the causative suffix /a/ is added to the verb root.

pi   +   *a*   =   *pɪja*

drink   CAUS   cause to drink

Nasalisation

Vowels may become nasalized before a nasal consonant. However, this is not distinctive. It is observed that vowels can be nasalized when occurring before and after glides. This process is allophonic.

bəʈʰɪja 'good' ⟶ *bəʈʰɪ̃jã*

Consonant Deletion

The dental /ʈ/ of the imperfective participle gets aspirated and the glottal /h/ is deleted when the auxiliary [hə̃] and its forms occur in the sentence.

k^ha-*ʈ*   *he*   = $k^haʈ^he$

eat-IPFV   PRS.3SG   is eating

Consonant addition

When verb roots ending with vowel sounds are causativised by adding the causative suffix /-a/ a glide/semi-vowel is added in between. It is shown in the examples below.

pi   +   *a*   =   *pɪja*

drink   CAUS   cause to drink

le   +   *a*   =   *lewa*

take   CAUS   cause to take

k^ha +   *a*   = $k^hɪja$

eat   CAUS   cause to eat

ḍʰo   +   *a*   =   *ḍʰowa*

wash   CAUS   cause to wash

3 MORPHOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter contains for the most part a detailed discussion on the morphological structure of different word classes in Sadri language. The discussion comprises of the inflectional and derivational forms of various lexical and grammatical word categories. Word classes described include nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, postpositions, adverbs, particles, determiners, conjunctions, interjections, etc. The chapter from time to time shall also discuss some syntactic strategies that were seen to have come in order with some morphological processes.

3.2 Pronoun

Sadri pronouns are inflected for number and case and show proximity and various honorific levels. Broadly, there are seven classes of pronouns in Hindi: personal, demonstrative, relative, possessive, reflexive, interrogative, and indefinite.

3.2.1 Personal Pronouns

Pronouns in the direct and oblique cases are given below:

Direct case		
Person	**Singular**	**Plural**
<u>1st Person</u>	*mõj*	*həmre=mən / həme=mən*
<u>2nd Person</u>		
Familiar	*ʈõj*	*ʈohre=mən*
Honorific	*rəʊre*	*rəʊre=mən*
<u>3rd Person</u>		
Proximal	*i*	*i=mən*
Distal	*u*	*u=mən*
Honorific	*əpne*	*əpne=mən*

Table 3.1: Pronouns in the direct and oblique cases

The 3rd person honorific is used sporadically. When used by wives, it is taken in a specific definite sense meaning to refer to their husbands. In the plural sense and in a generic and non-definite context, it is used to express high regard for specific persons. The first person and second person pronouns have two stems. The unmarked form is different from the genitive and dative form for the 1st person singular and 2nd person familiar, and the genitive form is different from the unmarked form for 2nd person honorific.

Marked				
	Dative		**Genitive**	
Person	**Singular**	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
1st Person	*moke*	*həmre=mən-ke*	*mor*	*həmre=mən-ək*
2nd Person				
Familiar	*ʈoke*	*ʈohre=mən-ke*	*ʈor*	*ʈohre=mən-ək*
Honorific	*rəʊre-ke*	*rəʊre=mən-ke*	*rəʊr*	*rəʊre=mən-ək*
3rd Person				
Proximal	*i-ke*	*i=mən-ke*	*i-kər*	*i=mən-ək*
Distal	*u-ke*	*u=mən-ke*	*u-kər*	*u=mən-ək*
Honorific	*əpne-ke*	*əpne=mən-ke*	*əpne-kər*	*əpne=mən-ək*

Table 3.2: Pronouns with dative and genitive case

Pronouns for other cases are marked by the relevant postposition following the genitive forms of the pronoun, for example, *mor mẽ* (LOC)*, mor se* (ABL), etc.

3.2.2 Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns have the same form as the 3rd person personal forms.

The forms in the direct case are given below:

Direct		
	Singular	**Plural**
Proximal	*i*	*i=mən*
Distal	*u*	*u=mən*
Marked		

	Dative		**Genitive**	
Person	**Singular**	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
Proximal	*i-ke*	*i=mən-ke*	*i-kər*	*i=mən-ək*
Distal	*u-ke*	*u=mən-ke*	*u-kər*	*u=mən-ək*

Table 3.3: Demonstrative pronouns in direct case and marked form

Other cases are marked by appropriate postpositions following the genitive form. For example:

Ablative: *i-kər se*
Locative: *i-kər mẽ*

3.2.3   Reflexive Pronouns

These pronouns are anaphoric which must be co-referential with another nominal within the same clause. In other words, they substitute a noun or pronoun which is the logical subject of the sentence.

In Sadri, reflexive pronouns have the following forms.

Direct		Dative		Genitive	
Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
əpne	*əpne- mən*	*əpne-ke*	*əpne=mən-ke*	*əpən*	*əpne=mən-kər*

Table 3.4: Reflexive pronouns in direct case and marked form

Other cases are marked by appropriate postpositions following the genitive form.

3.2.4   Relative Pronouns

Sadri has one relative pronoun: *ʤe*. The reflexive pronouns have the following forms:

Direct		Dative		Genitive	
Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
dʒe	*dʒe- mən*	*dʒe-ke*	*dʒe=mən-ke*	*dʒe- kər*	*dʒe=mən-kər*

Table 3.5: Relative pronouns in direct case and marked form

Other cases are marked by appropriate postpositions following the genitive form.

3.2.5 Interrogative Pronouns

Sadri has two basic interrogative pronouns in both singular and plural: *[ke]* 'who' (for human entities) and *[ka]* 'what' (for non-human entities). *[ka]* is the neutral form used to form interrogative sentences. *[ke]* is the direct/nominative form. The dative form and genitive form are made by attaching the postposition *[ke]* and *[kər]* respectively. Other cases are marked by postpositions following the genitive forms.

3.2.6 Indefinite Pronouns

There are two indefinite pronouns in Sadri: *keʊ* 'someone/somebody' and *kono* 'something'. *keʊ* is used for human entities and *kono* is used for non-human entities.

3.3 Noun

A noun is a member of a syntactic class that includes words which refer to people, places, things, ideas, or concepts. Nominals may act as any of the following: subjects of the verb, objects of the verb, indirect object of the verb, or object of a preposition (or postposition) (Givón, 1984). They have a specific distribution, and perform specific syntactic functions (Crystal, 1980).

This section will discuss the types of nouns, inflections, and means used to express syntactic and semantic functions of noun phrases.

3.3.1 Types of Nouns

Abstract noun

An abstract noun is a noun that denotes something viewed as a nonmaterial referent. It is a noun denoting a state or property that cannot be seen, touched, etc. (Crystal, 1980).

Sadri	Gloss
prem	'love'
kʰʊsɪ	'happiness'

bəʈʰa	'pain'
kʰəwas	'hunger'
ədʒaɖɪ	'freedom'

These nouns in Sadri do not attach to plural marker, quantifiers and demonstratives. They however take case markers.

Collective noun

A collective noun is a noun that refers to a group of entities that may be considered either as individuals or as one larger entity (Crystal, 1980).

Sadri	Gloss
pərɪwar	'family'
bərʈən-basən	'utensils'
məwesɪ	'cattle'
tʃʰegrɪ-gorʊ	'all animals in a farm or a collection'
bəɪʈʰkɪ	'assembly'
pəntʃɪʈ	'group of headmen'

A lot of common nouns of the same semantic fields are used together to form collective nouns similar to the example of *tʃʰegrɪ-gorʊ*. These nouns take all noun markers such as number, case, demonstratives and definite-indefinite markers and quantifiers.

Common noun

It denotes the class of animate and inanimate entities.

Sadri	Gloss
aɖmɪ	'man'
bʊɖa	'plant'
mʊrgɪ	'chicken'
gorʊ	'bovine cattle'
basən	'utensil'

These nouns take all noun suffixes and markers.

Proper noun

Nouns that refer to names of individuals both animate and inanimate, place or a set of things that are unique in a given context are proper nouns (Brown & Miller, 2013).

Sadri	Gloss
sərhʊl	'name of a festival'
kʊrdeg	'name of a place'
məŋəl	'Tuesday'
somra	'Name of a man'
magʰ	'Name of a month'

These nouns do not allow plural markers and definite and indefinite function markers in their environment. Other markers, function words and morphemes such as case and demonstratives are allowed.

Countable noun

Nouns that denote both animate and inanimate individual entity that can be counted are called countable nouns (Brown & Miller, 2013).

Sadri	Gloss
tʃaɹ	'cups of tea'
bɪlaʊ̈ʈɪ	'tomato'
aɖmɪ	'man'
gorʊ	'cow'
ʈebʊl	'table'

These nouns allow the number, definite-indefinite, case, demonstrative function in their environment.

Uncountable noun/mass noun

Nouns of which any quantity is treated as undifferentiated unit rather than discrete elements are mass nouns or uncountable nouns. These nouns cannot be counted (Brown & Miller, 2013).

Sadri	Gloss
tʃaɹ	'tea'
mas	'meat'

ḍʰʊka	'wind'
rəʊḍ	'sunshine'
dʒəŋəl	'forest'

Some nouns such as *tʃae* 'cups of tea' or 'tea' are used in both countable and uncountable forms. However, owing to the difference in their morphosyntactic and semantic behaviour it is best to consider them as different lexical items. Uncountable/mass nouns do not allow plural function in their environment.

3.3.2 Means Used to Express the Syntactic and Semantic Functions of Noun Phrases

In Sadri, postpositions, suffixes for case, and derivational processes such as gender and number express the syntactic and semantic functions. In unmarked case constructions, where definite inanimate objects do not distinguish themselves from subjects in terms of case-marking, the word order plays a syntactic role. Sadri masculine and feminine nouns are unmarked for number. Refer to 0 for more detail.

The paradigms of *tʃʰõɽa* 'boy' and *tʃʰõɽɪ* 'girl' given below illustrate the role of suffixes and postpositions to convey different cases:

Masculine: tʃʰõɽa 'boy'

Cases		Noun	Postposition
Direct		*tʃʰõɽa*	*Φ*
Oblique		*tʃʰõɽa*	*ke* (accusative/dative)
			se (locative/instrumental)
			-ək/kər (Genitive)
Vocative	*e:*	*tʃʰõɽa*	*re*

Feminine: tʃʰõɽɪ 'girl'

Cases		Noun	Postposition
Direct		*tʃʰõɽɪ*	*Φ*
Oblique		*tʃʰõɽɪ*	*ke* (accusative/dative)
			se (locative/instrumental)
			-ək/kər (Genitive)
Vocative	*e:/əge*	*tʃʰõɽɪ*	*ge*

Table 3.6: Case suffixes

The vocative morphemes *[e:]* and *[əge]* precede the nouns and are exclusive distribution with *[re]* and *[ge]*. The vocative paradigm exists only for {+ human} nouns.

From the above paradigms, it is clear that Sadri lacks bound case suffixes barring the Genitive case (*-ək* attaches to nominal in their concatenated plural form). Thus, nouns are inflected only for gender. Inflected nominals are followed by postpositions to indicate various relationships between the noun phrases and the verb phrases.

3.3.2.1 Gender

Sadri does not have grammatical gender. However, natural sex is recognized through gender/sex-specific words such as: *ajo* 'mother', *baba* 'father', *mə̃ɪjã* 'baby girl', *babu* 'baby boy', *kaɽa* 'male buffalo', *bʰə̃ɪs* 'she-buffalo'. In these cases, it can be said that Sadri marks sex/gender lexically.

Common animate nouns show sex distinction rather than gender distinction. In the absence of pronominal gender and gender markings on the VPs, especially the noun-verb agreement, Sadri can be considered as a rather genderless language. This can be seen as an influence of the Dravidian group of languages, such as Uraon and Pahadia.

Some observations:

1. Inanimate nouns are sex neutral.

2. The default sex for common nouns is male.

3. However, the default sex of common nouns is also governed by the more useful sex, e.g., *gorʊ* 'common noun cow/cow (F)' vs *bəɪl* 'ox'.

4. There is a reluctance to form female forms of common nouns unless specificity is required.

5. Where specificity is required, commonly unmarked irregular forms/sex-specific words are more common. These irregular forms appear to be borrowings from other languages.

Though the gender of a large number of inanimate nouns can be predicted by their endings, there are no hard and fast rules for assigning the genders. The gender formation involves only suffixation. We can make some general observations as follows:

1. The female noun for men of a profession or social group and/or their wives are formed by attaching -əɪn. In case of stems ending with vowels -a and -ɪ the vowel /ə/ is elided.

Male		Female	
pəndɪʈ	'priest'	*pəndɪʈəɪn*	'priestess/priest's wife'
lohra	'blacksmith'	*lohrəɪn*	'blacksmith-F/his wife'
mənɪdʒər	'manager'	*mənɪdʒərəɪn*	'manager-F/his wife'
malɪ	'gardener'	*malɪn*	'gardener-F/his wife'

2. The corresponding female noun will end in -ɪ if a male non-human noun ends with a vowel:

Male		Female	
kõʈa	'dog'	*kõʈɪ*	'bitch'
bənɖra	'monkey'	*bənɖrɪ*	'female monkey'

3. The corresponding female noun will end in -ɪ in case of male attributive noun.

Male		Female	
kənɖrʊ	'boy who keeps crying'	*kənɖrɪ*	'girl who keeps crying'
bənɖra	'monkey'	*bənɖrɪ*	'female monkey'

4. If the male noun is monosyllabic and ends with a consonant, the female noun is derived by attaching -nɪ.

Male		Female	
ser	'lion'	*ser-nɪ*	'lioness'
ũʈʰ	'camel'	*ũʈʰ- nɪ*	'female camel'
sɪjar	'jackal'	*sɪjar-nɪ*	'female jackal'

3.3.2.2 Number

Sadri has two numbers: singular and plural. Both singular and plural number are unmarked. Plural is indicated by the clitic *=mǝn*. This attaches to the last constituent of the noun phrase.

Singular		Plural	
ʧʰǝʊwa	'kid'	*ʧʰǝʊwa=mǝn*	'kid-PL'
ɪskʊlɪja-ʧʰǝʊwa	'kid that goes to school'	*ɪskʊlɪja ʧʰǝʊwa=mǝn*	'kids that go to school'
ʧõɽa ʧõɽɪ	'boy and girl'	*ʧõɽa ʧõɽɪ=mǝn*	'boys and girls'
goʈek ʧʰǝʊwa	'INDF-kid'	*goʈek ʧʰǝʊwa=mǝn*	'INDF-kids'

There is no number agreement with numerals. Nominals do not inflect for number in any morphosyntactic environment.

The suffix *=mǝn* can attach to names of people to signal the meaning 'and the like' or to indicate affiliated or connected people such as a group of friends or family. For example:

sonʊ=mǝn 'Sonu's family/Sonu and his friends'

The plural suffix can be seen attached to adjectives which is actually a result of the redundancy of the noun due to the familiarity of the context.

bʰǝkʊa ʧõɽa=mǝn 'stupid boys'
bʰǝkʊa=mǝn 'stupid ones'

3.3.2.3 Case

Case is the system of marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads (Blake, 2001). It expresses the semantic and syntactic function of NPs in a clause. In other words, case is the morphosyntactic categorization of noun phrases that is imposed by the structure within which the noun phrase occurs (Payne, 1997).

The subject of the intransitive verb is treated the same as the subject of a transitive verb. It is thus a Nominative-Accusative case system (Dixon, 1994). The nominative, also called direct case is unmarked. Subjects in Sadri can be marked for various other cases. Refer to section 3.2.1 on non-nominative subjects for more on this topic.

In Sadri case-clitics/postpositions (further study required) express the syntactic and semantic functions of noun phrases. Case clitics are morphemes that have the syntactic characteristics of a word, but depends phonologically on another word or phrase. They are added to noun stems or nouns affixed for definiteness and number. For more on postpositions refer to section 3.5.

Case clitics and postpositions do not bring morphophonemic changes in the stem of a noun. Followed by postpositions, they indicate various relationships between the noun phrases and the verb phrases.

Following are the case forms and the respective markers:

	Case	Marker	Type
1.	Nominative	ϕ	--
2.	Accusative	ke	postposition
3.	Dative	ke	postposition
4.	Genitive	=ək/kər	clitic/postposition
5.	Locative	mẽ	postposition
6.	Ablative	se	postposition
7.	Instrumental	se	postposition

Table 3.7: Case and morphological type of markers

3.3.2.4 Definiteness and Specificity

Numerals followed by classifiers -go, and -ʈʰo mark indefiniteness and also signify generic entities. The classifiers -go and -ʈʰo are used interchangeably.

(1) ek- go   ʧʰõɽa
     one-CLF   boy
     'A boy/one boy'

The classifier goʈ-ek is used to refer to indefinite but specific entities which is not relevant.

(2) goʈ-ek   ʧʰõɽa
     certain-one boy
     'A certain boy'

The possessive pronouns, demonstratives and aggregatives which are derived from cardinal numerals are used to mark definiteness and specificity. Relative pronouns like *[dʒe]* and its marked forms are used to indicate specificity.

(3) u   ʧʰõɽa...

3SG   boy

'That boy…'

(4) ɖʊŋo   ʧʰõɽa...

both   boy

'Both the boys…'

(5) dʒe   ʧʰõɽa...

that   boy

'That boy who…'

3.3.2.5 Classifiers

A classifier is a word or affix that accompanies nouns and can be considered to categorize a noun depending on the type of its referent. In Sadri, these classifiers accompany a noun and generally reflect some kind of conceptual classification of nouns in a grammatical context. Sadri has a small number of classifiers and they majorly show definiteness and specificity of a noun referent in an NP. The Sadri classifiers are given below:

-go	Used to mark indefinite generic entity
-ʈʰo	Used to mark indefinite generic entity
goʈ-	Used to mark specific entity (name not relevant)
-dʒʰən	Used for human indefinite generic entity

Table 3.8: Classifiers and their function

Following are some sentences to show the use of these classifiers:

(6) *ek-go*   *ʧʰõɽa*

one-CLF   boy

'A boy/one boy (indefinite)'

(7) ek-ʈʰo   ʧʰõɽa

    one-CLF   boy

    'A boy/one boy (indefinite)'

(8) goʈ-ek   ʧʰõɽa

    certain-one   boy

    'A certain boy (specific)'

-dʒʰən is a used to indicate the sematic class of [+human]. It also means that the entity is indefiniteness and generic.

(9) ʧaɪr-dʒʰən   bəɪʈʰ-əl   ahəẽ

    four-people   sit-PFV   COP.PRS.SG

    'You sold the book'

Further discussion can be found in the previous section on definiteness and specificity.

3.3.3 Noun Substitutive

There are some substitutives used in place of proper nouns in Sadri. These are used with vocatives; question words such as *ka* 'what', *kəhã* 'where', with *[ne]* in question tags. *[ne]* is used as an interjection and is the assimilated form of the negative particle *[nɪ]* and the vocative *[e]*. The substitutive *[na]* is used for male, *[ge]* for female, *[dʒɪ]* as masculine unfamiliar, *[bəɖa]* as polite masculine unfamiliar and *[bəɖɪ]* as polite feminine unfamiliar.

3.3.4 Noun Derivation

Nouns may be derived from other nouns, adjectives and verbs. In this process certain Morphophonemic changes can take place. It should be noted that the derivational morphology is not very uniform and productive. Both roots and derivatives seem to be borrowed directly from the source languages.

3.3.4.1 Nouns from Nouns

It is common to see Persian and Sanskrit prefixes and suffixes and they are used with nouns of Persian and Sanskrit origin respectively. Derived nouns in use in Sadri are borrowed directly along with the main noun forms. Some of these borrowed nouns have undergone sound changes. Most remain unchanged.

The following common prefixes are used to form nouns from nouns:

be- 'without' –this prefix is of Persian origin and is used with words of Persian origin.

sərəm	'shame'	*besərəm*	'shameless'
məʈləb	'meaning'	*beməʈləb*	'meaningless'

bəɖ- 'bad/without' –this prefix is of Persian origin and is used with words of Persian origin.

ʈəmɪdʒ	'manner'	*bəɖʈəmɪdʒ*	'manerless'
tʃələn	'conduct'	*bəɖtʃələn*	'characterless'

nə- 'not' –this prefix is of Persian origin and is used with words of Persian origin.

læk	'ideal'	*nəlæk*	'non-ideal'

əp- 'without' –this prefix is of Sanskrit origin and is used with words of Sanskrit origin.

man	'respect'	*əpman*	'disrespect'

ɖʊr- 'bad' –this prefix is of Sanskrit origin and is used with words of Sanskrit origin.

dəsa	'state'	*ɖʊrdəsa*	'bad-condition'

kʊ- 'bad' –this prefix is of Sanskrit origin and is used with words of Sanskrit origin.

kərəm	'deed'	*kʊkərəm*	'bad-deed'

ən- 'bad/not'–this prefix is of Sanskrit origin and is used with words of Sanskrit origin.

honɪ	'fate'	*ənhonɪ*	'bad-fate/disaster'

sʊ- 'good'–this prefix is of Sanskrit origin and is used with words of Sanskrit origin.

kərəm	'deed'	*sʊkərəm*	'good-deed'

The following suffixes are used to form nouns from nouns:

-ɪ 'agentive/possessive' – it expresses possession, agency pertaining to words borrowed from Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic sources.

ʈel	'oil'	*ʈelɪ*	'one who extracts oils'

-aha/-ahɪ 'attributive' – it expresses an attribute of a person. It attaches to abstract nouns. It creates pejorative nouns out of words of both Sanskrit and Persian origin.

dʒələn	'jealousy'	*dʒələɳʈahɪ (F)*	'jealous one'
		dʒələɳʈaha (M)	
sundər	'beautiful'	*sundrahɪ*	'the beautiful one'

-ḍar 'owner' –this suffix is not productive and appears only with Persian/Urdu loan words. It produces common nouns.

dʒəmɪn	'land'	*dʒəmɪnḍar*	'landowner'
ḍokan	'shop'	*ḍokanḍar*	'shop owner'

-gər 'dealing in' –this suffix again is not very productive appears only with Persian/Urdu loan words. It produces common nouns.

dʒaḍʊ	'magic'	*dʒaḍʊgər*	'magician'

-ɪ 'attributive/ownership' –this suffix creates abstract nouns out of common nouns derived using the processes mentioned earlier.

dʒəmɪnḍar	'landowner'	*dʒəmɪnḍarɪ*	'landownership'
dʒaḍʊgər	'magician'	*dʒaḍʊgərɪ*	'magicianship'

-war/-ɪja 'affiliated to/given to' –the suffix *-war* is usually attached after place name with two syllables to signal affiliation; the suffix *-ɪja* is attached to place names of more than two syllables.

maʈa	'intoxication'	*məʈwar*	'drunk/drunkard'
aɽʰəʈ	'wholesale market'	*aɽʰəʈɪja*	'marketeer'

-ɪ 'diminutive/female' –this suffix creates common nouns invoking a diminutive sense of a bigger entity. The stem final vowel is dropped.

tʃə̃ʊk	'market square'	*tʃə̃ʊkɪ*	'verandah bed'
tʊkra	'piece'	*tʊkrɪ*	'rag'
bɪlar	'cat (M)'	*bɪlaɪ*	'cat (F)'

-aɪn 'female' –this suffix is used to denote professions and expresses the meaning of either 'female professional' or 'wife of a professional'.

lohra	'ironsmith'	*lohraɪn*	'ironsmith (F) /ironsmith's wife'
ḍaktər	'doctor'	*ḍaktəraɪn*	'doctor (F)

/doctor's wife'

-ra/-era 'profession' –this suffix is used to derive nouns denoting either relation or profession.

sãp	'snake'	*sə̃pera*	'snake-charmer'
loha	'iron'	*lohra*	'ironsmith'

3.3.4.2 Nouns from Adjectives

-i 'stative' –this is the most prominent suffix to derive abstract nouns from adjectives. This derivation is Persian in origin and works on adjectives of Persian origin.

ləmba	'long'	*ləmbai*	'length'
kʰʊs	'happy'	*kʰʊsi*	'happiness'

-pən/-as 'stative' –this suffix is also used to derive abstract nouns from adjectives. It seems that this suffix is used when formation of abstract nouns using *-i* is blocked due to the derivate of the former already taking another meaning, which is usually that of a common noun. This derivation is Persian in origin and works on adjectives of Persian origin.

kʰəṭṭa	'sour'	*kʰəṭai*	'souring agent'	*kʰəṭṭapən/*	'sourness'
				kʰəṭas	
mɪṭʰa	'sweet'	*mɪṭʰai*	'sweetmeats'	*mɪṭʰapən/*	'sweetness'
				mɪṭʰas	

-ṭa '-ness' –this suffix is of Sanskrit origin and is used with words of like origin.

bɪses	'special'	*bɪsesṭa*	'specialty'
gəmbʰɪr	'serious'	*gəmbʰɪrṭa*	'seriousness'

The suffix *-kʊ(M)* is used to form nouns from adjectives that signal endearment and used as proper nouns mostly.

lal	'big'	*ləlkʊ*	'red one'
moṭ	'fat'	*moṭkʊ*	'fat one'

3.3.4.3 Nouns from Verbs

Suffixation is the most used device to derive nouns from verbs.

The most productive suffix which derives nouns from verbs is *-ek* 'INF'. It derives gerundive nouns from verb.

dʒa	'go'	*dʒa-ek*	'going'
sʊʈ	'sleep'	*sʊʈ-ek*	'sleeping'
bʊl	'roam'	*bʊl-ek*	'roaming'

The suffix *-ən* is used to form abstract nouns from verbs.

mɪl	'meet'	*mɪlən*	'meeting'
tʃəl	'walk'	*tʃələn*	'manner/tradition'
ɖe	'give'	*ɖen*	'giving'

The suffix *-ən* when attached to causative forms or inherent causative verbs gives rise to nouns describing an action or common nouns. The short vowel is transformed into long open vowel *a*.

mɪla	'cause to meet'	*mɪlan*	'tally'
tʃəla	'cause to walk'	*tʃəlan*	'releasing receipt'
ɖewa	'cause to give'	*ɖan*	'gift'
tʃəɽʰa	'cause to climb'	*tʃəɽʰan*	'climbing path'

The suffix *-na* is used to form nouns of instrumentality. It takes the form *-nɪ* to signal diminutiveness along with instrumentality.

bel-ek	'to roll bread'	*belna*	'rolling pin'
tʃal-ek	'to sift'	*tʃəlnɪ*	'seive'
tʃɪl-ek	'to peel'	*tʃɪlnɪ*	'peeler'
bəɪʈʰ-ek	'to sit'	*bəɪʈʰnɪ*	'meeting'

The suffix *-ɪ* is a nominalizer and yields abstract nouns when attached to causative nouns used to signal procedural abstract noun. The same derived noun can also have an extended stative abstract meaning.

tʃəɽʰa	'cause to climb'	*tʃəɽʰaɪ*	'upward incline'/ 'process of climbing'
bəna	'make'	*bənaɪ*	'making charge' / 'process of making'

gʰera	'get surrounded'	*gʰeraɪ*	'circumference' / 'process of surrounding'
dʒoɽa	'get added'	*dʒoɽaɪ*	'construction' / 'process of constructing'

The suffix *-ʈɪ* is used to make nouns that mean outcome of an action.

gʰʊr	'return'	*gʰʊrʈɪ*	'change in return'
dʒəl	'burn'	*dʒəlʈɪ*	'loss of material in making'
pəɽ	'happen/to lie down'	*pəɽʈɪ*	'sustenance in business'

The suffix *-a* is a nominaliser used to form abstract nouns. To compare with the causative forms, refer to the examples above.

gʰer	'surround'	*gʰera*	'circle'
dʒoɽ	'add'	*dʒoɽa*	'pair'
kʰel	'play'	*kʰela*	'game/drama'

The suffix *-wa* forms abstract nouns from causatives. These abstract nouns signal a trait.

bəɽʰa	'cause to grow'	*bəɽʰawa*	'instigate/encourage'
ɖɪkʰa	'cause to see'	*ɖɪkʰawa*	'show off'

The suffix *-ək* is used to signal the doer or place where the verb habitually takes place.

lɪkʰ	'write'	*lekʰək*	'writer'
bæʈʰ	'sit'	*bæʈʰək*	'drawing room'

The suffix *-əona* is used to form nouns meaning 'means to do'.

məɽa	'put'	*məɽəona*	'stand'
kʰeləona	'play'	*kʰeləona*	'toy'

The suffix *-u* yields nouns from psych verbs that express patient or experiencer.

kanɖ	'cry'	*kanɖrʊ*	'crying one'

Zero morphemes and vowel alterations sometimes yield nouns from verbs.

Zero morpheme			
mar	'hit'	*mar*	'beating'
kʰərtʃa	'spend'	*kʰərtʃa*	'expenditure'

Vowel alteration			
tʃəl	'come'	*tʃal*	'gait'
mɪl	'meet'	*mel*	'similarity'
mõɽ	'turn'	*moɽ*	'corner/turn'

3.3.5   Syntax of Derived Nouns and Non-derived Nouns

There is no difference in the syntactic properties of nouns derived from verbs compared to non-derived nouns. Derived nouns are marked for number and case. They govern the shape of the modifier and verb agreement. They take all the arguments of the verb they are derived from.

3.3.6   Noun Compounds

Noun compounds are headed by a noun, which is the final member of the group. The first member may be a noun, an adjective, or a participle and may be declined for number and case. A postposition is attached to the final member of the compound.

3.3.7   Noun-Noun Compounds

3.3.7.1   *Copulative Compounds*

Semantically-related nouns can form what is called copulative compounds or co-compounds. Nouns do not behave as independent constituents, i.e., they do not bear markers separately for number. The postposition attaches to the second noun. The order of nouns is mostly fixed. The meaning is not very different from that of the constituent nouns.

bap-maẽ	'parents'
ḍal-bʰaʈ	'food'

Sometimes copulative compounds project a sense of the whole or a superordinate class the individual nouns may belong to. They are then called superordinate compounds.

ṭel-panɪ	'oil-water'	'essentials'
goɽ-hã̃ṭʰ	'leg-hand'	'body'

3.3.7.2 Reduplicated Compounds

Reduplicated compounds express exhaustive meaning. In Sadri the first noun is marked with the emphasis marker *-e.*

gʰər-e gʰər	'every house'
panɪ-e panɪ	'water (everywhere)'

3.3.7.3 Partially Duplicated Compounds

In these noun compounds, also known as an echo-compound, the second member is formed by changing the initial letter of the first member. The initial sound is changed into /ʊ/ in the echo noun and if followed by another vowel the following vowel is deleted. The compounds usually represent the meaning of 'so on and so forth'.

kam-ʊm	'work and so on'
bɪha-ʊha	'marriage and so on'

3.3.7.4 Modifier-noun Compounds

In these compounds, the first noun member acts like a modifier or source and the second member acts as the main noun.

tʃʰapa-saɽɪ	'printed-sari'
ḍal-ṭɪʝən	'lentil-curry'

3.4 Determiners

A determiner is a word or affix that belongs to a class of noun modifiers that expresses the reference, including quantity, of a noun (Crystal, 1980).

Sadri has the following types of determiners:

3.4.1 Demonstratives

These words are used to indicate the entities being referred to and to distinguish those entities from others. In Sadri the demonstratives are deictic in nature and refer to the proximity of the referent to the referrer.

3.4.1.1 Proximal Demonstratives

The 3ʳᵈ person proximal pronoun */i/* is the proximal demonstrative. It indicates that the thing referred to is close to the speaker. The plural is formed by affixing the plural marker *=mən.*

3.4.1.2 Distal Demonstratives

The 3ʳᵈ person distal pronoun */u/* is the distal demonstrative. It indicates that the thing referred to is far from the speaker. The plural is formed by affixing the plural marker *=mən*.

3.4.2 Quantifiers

In Sadri the quantifiers are dependent on nouns that indicate the quantity of a noun in a vague manner. Some examples are:

Determiner	Gloss
səʊb	'All'
ʈənɪ-mənɪ	'Some'
kəʈɪ-kun	'little'
dʰere-mənɪ	'A lot of'

3.4.2.1 Numerals

A numeral is a word class designating numbers or related to specifying quantities and any other countable divisions. There are several types.

3.4.2.2 Cardinals

These are words denoting the number of things referred to. In other words, cardinal numbers are used in counting, showing how many objects are specified.

There are two sub-groups:

3.4.2.2.1 Simple Cardinals:

These are independent numerals. Cardinal numbers from 'one' to 'nine' are in this category.

Cardinal Numeral	Gloss
ek	'one'
ɖʊ	'two'
ʈin	'three'
tʃəɪr	'four'

Various other cardinals too are independent and not derived. They are given below:

Cardinal Numeral	Gloss
saʈʰ	'sixty'
səʈʈər	'seventy'
əssɪ	'eighty'
nəbbe	'ninety'
həʒar	'thousand'
lakʰ	'hundred-thousand'
kəroɽ	'10 million'
ərəb	'1 billion'

3.4.2.2.2 Compound Cardinals:

They are formed by adding or multiplying the simple cardinal numbers with various suffixes and prefixes for denominations of decade, hundred, thousand, etc.

These are of three types:

1. Additive compounds: These are formed by adding the simple numerals from one to nine to the decade suffix *[–dah]* which is expressed as */-rah/* in all environments except after high back round vowel where it is expressed as */-dah/* and mid back vowel where it is expressed as */-lah/*. The form for 11 is distinct. It is *ɪga-rəh*.

   Other tens too take part to form respective compounds from tens + one till tens + eight.

   The numeral eighty-nine and ninety as an exception to the subtractive compounding are formed by additive process shown in the table below.

   All numerals after 100 are formed by this process.

Cardinal Numeral	Gloss
tʃəʊ-ḍəh	four + ten = 'fourteen'
so-ləh	six + ten = 'sixteen'
ʈe-rəh	three + ten = 'thirteen'
ek-ʈis	one + thirty = 'thirty one'
nəw-asi	nine + eighty = 'eighty nine'
nɪna-nəbbe	nine + ninety = 'ninety nine'

2. Subtractive compounds: Forms of ten+9 till 79 are formed by prefixing [ʊn-] to the next decade marker.

Cardinal Numeral	Gloss
ʊn-nɪs	'nineteen'
ʊn- ʈis	'twenty-nine'
ʊn- həʈʈər	'seventy-nine'

3. Multiplicative compounds: These compounds are formed by compounding simple cardinals with each other.

The tens till 50 are formed by compounding the decade suffixes, such as, */ɖə-/, /bi-/, /ʈi-/, /tʃal-/* and */pətʃa-/* with the tens suffix */-s/*.

Cardinal Numeral	Gloss
ʈi-s	three X ten = 'thirty'
pətʃa-s	five X ten = 'fifty'

3.4.2.3 Ordinals

Ordinals with some exceptions are formed by suffixing *[-wã]* to numerals. The exceptions are given below:

Ordinals	Gloss
pəhɪla	'first'
ɖosəra	'second'
ʈɪsra	'third'
tʃəʊʈʰa	'fourth'
tʃʰəʈʈʰa	'sixth'

3.4.2.4 Fractionals

Fractionals are forms such as the following:

Fractionals	Gloss
ɖeɽʰ	'one and half'
adʰa	'half'
səwa	'one and a quarter'
pəʊn	'three quarters'
ɖʰaɪ	'two and half'
saɽʰe	'half added to'

They are used with measure words as well as numerals.

3.4.2.5 Restrictives

In Sadri restrictives are formed by suffixing *[-e]* on the numerals and measure words.
For example:

Restrictives	Gloss
ɖʊɪ-e	'only two'
ʈin-e	'only three'
həʤar-e	'only thousand'

3.4.2.6 Multiplicatives

Multiplicatives are formed by suffixing *[-gʊna]* to numerals. For example:

Multiplicatives	Gloss
ɖʊ- gʊna	'two times'
ʈɪn- gʊna	'three times'
həʤar- gʊna	'thousand times'

3.4.2.7 Aggregatives

Aggregatives are formed by suffixing [-o] to the numerals. For example:

Aggregatives	Gloss
ɖʊɪ-ɟo	'both'
ʈɪn-o	'all three'
həʤar-o	'thouands'

Aggregatives of measure words are formed mostly by reduplication with the insertion
of the linker -e- between the reduplicated forms. The linker can be dropped. Numerals
too take part in this process but it is optional.

Aggregatives	Gloss
həʤar-həʤar	'thousands'
bor-e-bora	'sacks full of something'
dəram-e-dəram	'drums full of something

3.5 Postpositions

Postpositions establish the relationship between a nominal and other entities. This is
based on the relationship of case as discussed in the previous segment. Postpositions

have a semantic function too. For instance, they signal relationships of benefaction, possession, manner, location, instrumentality, etc.

Sadri nouns and pronouns are in their unchanged root form when followed by a postposition. The postpositions are not affixed; the genitive marker /-ək/ being an exception.

The postpositions do not inflect and remain invariant.

Sadri has a small number of simple postpositions and a larger set of complex postpositions.

3.5.1　The Postposition [ke]

The accusative and dative postposition /ke/ marks the indirect and direct objects.

The postposition marks accusative case on direct objects when it is animate or definite inanimate entity. However, it is optional if the object is definite inanimate.

(10)　*sonʊ*　　*ḍipa*　　*ke*　　*h̃ka-l-ək*
　　　Sonu　　Deepa　ACC　call-PST-3SG
　　　'Sonu called Deepa'

(11)　*ʈõɟ*　　　*kʊrsɪ*　　*(ke)*　　*sapʰa*　*kər-b-e*
　　　2SG　　　chair　　(ACC)　clean　do-FUT-2SG
　　　'You will clean the chair'

(12)　*gorʊ=mən*　*sonʊ*　*kər*　*dʰan*　　*(ke)*　　*kʰa-e*　　*ge-l-əẽ*
　　　cow-PL　　　Sonu　GEN　paddy　ACC　eat-LNK　go-PST-3SG
　　　'The cows ate Sonu's paddy'

The accusative postposition does not occur when the accusative case is unmarked, i.e., when the DO is indefinite inanimate

(13)　*ʈõɟ*　　　*kɪʈab*　　　*beʧ-l-e*
　　　2SG　　　book (ACC)　sell-PST-2SG
　　　'You sold books'

However, if the postposition occurs in the same syntactic environment in a transitive/causative sentence, it signals definiteness of the DO. Thus, in case of inanimate nouns, *ke* acts as a definitizer.

(14) *t̪õɟ*   *kɪt̪ab*   *ke*   *betʃ-l-e*
      2SG   book   ACC   sell-PST-2SG

      'You sold the book'

The postposition marks the dative case on the indirect object of a transitive verb.

(15) *mõɟ*   *ram*   *ke*   *tʃɪt̪t̪ʰɪ*   *lɪkʰ-ət̪*   *hõ*
      1SG   Ram   DAT   letter (ACC)   write-IPFV   PRS.ISG

      'I am writing a letter to Ram'

The postposition */ke/* marks the dative case in case of conjunct verbs falling in the category of psyche predicates (abstract noun + verb). These verbs are also referred to as stative-inchoative verbs.

(16) *sonʊ*   *ke*   *pɪjas*   *lag-l-ək*
      girl   DAT   thirst   feel-PST-3SG

      'Sonu felt thirsty'

However, the postposition does not mark the dative case when the indirect object belongs to a complex intransitive verb.

(17) *sonʊ*   *kər*   *kes*   *sodʒʰ*   *ho-ɪ*   *dʒa-ɪ*
      Sonu   GEN   hair(DAT)   straight   be-LNK   go-FUT-3SG

      'Sonu's hair will get straight'

The postposition *ke* also marks the completion of an action in the construction verb-LNK + *ke*. In this situation it functions as a coverb.

(18) *sonʊ*   *kʰa-e*   *ke*   *dʒa*   *he*
      Sonu   eat-LNK   DAT.CVB   go   PRS.1SG

      'Sonu has gone after eating'

Due to the influence of standard Hindi, there is a tendency to use *ke* with time adverbials among young speakers. However, such constructions are seen as impure constructions. In case of name of days, *ke* is used to denote specificity.

(19) *sonʊ   sənɪtʃər   ke   awɪ*
Sonu   Saturday   DAT   come-FUT-3SG
'Sonu will come on Saturday'

3.5.2 The Postposition [se]

In Sadri the postposition */se/* can have multiple semantic functions. It is used to mark Instrumental case. It indicates that the noun is the instrument by which the subject accomplishes an action. In other cases, the postposition has an ablative function where it is used to mark removal / movement away from something, specifications, price, or measurement, etc.

Ablative

The postposition has ablative function when it indicates mutual association, starting point in movement and comparison, duration, etc.

Association

(20) *sonʊ   məĩja   se   dʒʰəgrə-ṱ   he*
Sonu   girl child   ABL   fight-IPFV   PRS.3SG
'Sonu is fighting with the girl'

Movement

(21) *mõɪ   sɪmɖega   se   gomla   dʒa- ṱ   hõ*
1SG   Simdega   ABL   Gumla   go-IPFV   PRS.1SG
'I am going to Gumla from Simdega'

Starting point in comparison

(22) *age   sal   se   bəʈʰɪja   pʰəsɪl   ho-ɪ   he*
former   year   ABL   good   crop   be-LNK   PRS.3SG
'The crop is better than last year's'

Duration

(23) *dʰan   tʃəɪr   dɪn   se   rakʰ-əl   ahe*
paddy   four   day   ABL   put-PFV   PRS.3SG
'The paddy has been lying for four days'

Instrumental

The postposition has instrumental function in cases where it indicated causality, instrumentation, agency, etc.

Causality

(24) panɪ   nɪ   pəɽ-ek   se   pʰəsɪl   su-ɪ-kʰ   ge-l-ək
     water/rain NEG   be put-INF   INS   crop   dry<LNK>   go-PST-3SG
     'Due to not raining/watering, the crops dried up'

Instrumentation

(25) sonʊ   ʈaɲɪ   se   kaʈʰɪ   pʰar-l-ək
     Sonu   axe   INS   firewood   tear-PST-3SG
     'Sonu cut firewood with an axe'

Agency

(26) sonʊ   panɪ   se   bʰɪndʒ   ge-l-ək
     Sonu   water   INS   wet   go-PST-3SG
     'Sonu got wet with water'

3.5.3 The Postposition [mẽ]

The postposition *mẽ* is used to denote location, duration, price, difference etc. Some examples:

Location

(27) ʈəmrəs   ʈebʊl   mẽ   rakʰ-əl   ahe
     guava   table   LOC   put-PFV   PRS.3SG
     'The guava is kept on the table'

(28) ʈəmrəs   dʒʰola   mẽ   rakʰ-əl   ahe
     guava   bag   LOC   put-PFV   PRS.3SG
     'The guava is kept inside the bag'

As seen from the examples above, Sadri does not exclusively mark the spatial position of the object of the postposition in the location until it is needed to be specified. In that case complex postpositions with the genitive within AdvP is used. This has been discussed in the previous section.

Duration / point in time

(29) gaɽɪ   dʊ   gʰənʈa   mẽ   a-l-ək
     vehicle two   hour   LOC   come-PST-ISG.PFV
     'The vehicle came in two hours'

Price

(30) ʈəmrəs tʃʰo rʊpɪja mẽ kɪn-l-õ
      guava   six   rupee(s) LOC buy-PST-1SG
      'I bought the guava for six rupees'

Belonging

(31) u   mən mẽ   sonʊ rehe
      3SG PL   LOC   Sonu PST.3SG
      'Sonu was among them'

Difference

(32) u   mən mẽ   sonʊ bes   rehe
      3SG PL   LOC   Sonu better PST.3SG
      'Among them Sonu was better'

Manner

(33) u   mən hĩjã bə̃hõʈ moskɪl   mẽ   a-e   rəh-ə̃ẽ
      3SG PL   here very   difficulty LOC come-LNK PST.3PL
      'They had come here in/with great difficulty'

3.5.4 The Postposition [kər]

The postposition /kər/, the genitive postposition, is used to denote the relationship between a noun and pronoun with other nouns and pronouns. It is used to express the semantic functions of possession, relationship, belonging, purpose, trait, worth, etc. It functions mostly as an adnominal postposition. Some examples:

Possession

(34) sonʊ kər lʊga
      Sonu GEN apparel
      'Sonu's clothe(s)'

Relationship

(35) sonʊ kər ɑjo
      Sonu GEN mother
      'Sonu's mother'

Belonging, source and origin

(36) bəsʈɪ   kər   eɖmɪ
      Village GEN   man
      'My village's man'

Subject of an action

(37) sonʊ   kər   gõĩʈʰ
      Sonu   GEN   talk/idea
      'Sonu's idea'

Object of an activity

(38) sonʊ   u   kər   ɪdʒəʈ   kər-l-ək
      Sonu   3SG   GEN   respect do-PST-3SG
      'Sonu showed respect to him/her'

Worth

(39) ʧaɪr   rʊpɪja   kər   ʈəmrəs
      four   rupees   GEN   guava
      'Guava worth four rupees'

The postposition *kər* takes part in compound adverbial conjunctions and pseudo-nouns.

(40) ʈəmrəs [AdvP [PP ʈebʊl kər]   ʊpre]   rakʰ-əl   ahe
      guava   table   GEN   above   put-PFV   PRS.3SG
      'The guava is kept above the table'

(41) [NP [PP u   kər]   gõĩʈʰɪja-ek]   se   moke   bes   lag-l-ək
      3SG   GEN   talk-INF   INS   1SF.DAT   good   Feel-PST-1SG
      'Due to her talking (with me), I felt good'

The form */-ək/* is used to mark the same relationship and attaches to nouns which are in their concatenated form or not in their root form. *kər* is not bound by this rule and can occur as an alternate form in place of */-ək/*.

(42) ʧəʊwa=mən   kər   pədʰaɪ

Child-PL   GEN   education

'Children's education'

(43) *tʃəʊwa=mən-ək   pədʰaɪ*

Child-PL-GEN   education

'Children's education'

3.5.5 The Postposition [le]

Purpose is expressed by the infinitive verb followed by the postposition /*le*/.

(44) *sonʊ   səbdʒɪ   kɪn-ek   le   bədʒar ge-l-ək*

Sonu   vegetables   buy-INF   for   market   go-PST-3SG

'Sonu went to the market to buy vegetables(s)'

3.5.6 Compound Postpositions

Compound postpositions are formed by combining mostly the postposition *[kər]* with other words. Unless needed for emphasis, the postposition *[kər]* is dropped. The postposition *[se]* takes part too but the number is very limited.

The following table lists down these compound postpositions and their gloss:

Postposition	Gloss
kər le/legɪn	for/purpose
kər səŋe	comitative
kər rup	in form of/essive
kər se	from/due to
kər age	in front of
kər bʰɪʈre	inside
kər patʃʰe	behind/afterwards
kər ʊpre	above
kər pase	near
kər pəhɪle	before
kər tʃʰəʈe	due to
kər læ̃k	suitable
kər saʈʰe	together
kər samne	in front
kər hĩjã	in someone's address

kər bəʈe	towards
kər ɖəne	movement towards
kər ʈʰɪn	near
kər dʒəɪsən	like
kər dʒegʰa	in place of
mẽ se	out of/among/partitive

Table 3.9: Compound postpositions

3.6 Adjectives

Traditionally, adjectives are known as words that act as modifiers of noun or noun phrase. Semantically, those words that change/add to the meaning or information given by a noun, noun phrase or its referent are called adjectives. However, this is a very loose definition and does not keep out words of various other categories, most importantly determiners. In Sadri, almost all pronouns can act as traditional adjectives.

According to Haspelmath, "adjectives are sometimes like function words in that they form a rather small, closed class. For instance, Tamil (South India) and Hausa (northern Nigeria) have only a dozen adjectives. […] Many languages appear to lack adjectives entirely, expressing all such properties and concepts by words that look like verbs or like nouns" (Haspelmath, 2001).

In Sadri, unlike Hindi, adjectives are not inflected for gender and number. For example:

bəɽ tʃʰõɽa/ tʃʰõɽɪ	'big boy/girl'
pɪjər gaɽɪ	'yellow vehicle'
sʊnɖər tʃʰõɽa/ tʃʰõɽɪ	'beautiful boy/girl'
sodʒʰ gãtʃ	'straight tree'

3.6.1 Types of Adjectives

Morphologically, adjectives are primarily of two types:

Simple adjectives

These adjectives exist in their root lexical form

pɪjər	'yellow'

sodʒʰ	'straight'
sʊnɖər	'beautiful'

Derived adjectives

These adjectives are derived from other parts of speech. For more see 3.6.4

Noun		*hos* 'consciousness'	→	*behos* 'unconscious'
Adverb		*nədʒdık* 'near'	→	*nədʒdıkı* 'close'
Verb (participle)		*kaʈ* 'to cut'	→	*kaʈəl* 'cut/chopped'
Agentive participle	postpositions	*upre* '3SG DIS'	→	*upre-ola* 'one on top/one above'
	Noun	*bəsʈı* 'village'	→	*bəsʈı-ola* 'one from (my) village'
	Verb	*kaʈ-ek* 'cut-INF'	→	*kaʈ-ek-ola* 'the one used to cut'
	Adverb	*kaıl* 'tomorrow'	→	*kaıl-ola* 'one from tomorrow'

Table 3.10: Derivation of adjectives

3.6.2 Degree of Adjectives

Adjectives in Sadri participate in periphrastic comparative and superlative constructions.

Superlative and comparative degrees of qualities are denoted with the help of the postposition *[se]* attached to the noun or pronoun with which the comparison is made.

The comparative construction is of the following form:

Compared entity + standard of comparison + se + adj + copula

(45) *mor   dʰan   u-kər   dʰan   se   bes   ahe*
      ISG.POSS paddy   3SG-GEN   paddy   ABL   good   PRS.3SG
      'My paddy is better than his paddy'

Superlative involves comparison with all. It has the following form:

Compared entity + səb 'all' + se + adj + copula

(46) mor   dʰan   səb   se   bes   ahe
     ISG.POSS   paddy   all   ABL   good   PRS.3SG
     'My paddy is the best'

3.6.3   Classes of Adjectives

Adjectives can be grouped into several sub-classes on the basis of their syntactic properties, internal composition, and semantics.

Attributive and Predicative

Based on the occurrence of adjectives in specific syntactic positions, i.e., whether it can precede a noun, or function as a complement to a linking verb, or occur in both positions, adjectives can be categorized as attributive or predicative.

Attributive adjectives in Sadri precede the noun as pre-modifiers. For example:

bəɽ tʃʰõɽa/ tʃʰõɽɪ	'big boy/girl'
pɪjər gaɽɪ	'yellow vehicle'
sʋnɖər tʃʰõɽa/ tʃʰõɽɪ	'beautiful boy/girl'
sodʒʰ gãtʃ	'straight tree'

Those that can function only as complements of a linking verb are called predicative, or post-modifiers. For example:

(47) dʰan   bes   ahe
     paddy   good   PRS.3SG
     'This paddy is good'

Based on internal composition, adjectives can be classified as basic, derived and complex adjectives:
Simple and derived adjectives have been discussed earlier as morphological types.

Complex adjectives are the ones that have preceding sub-modifiers such as *mʋrʋkʰ* 'very', *ʈənɪ* 'small', *kətɪ* 'little', etc. For example:

mʋrʋkʰ sʋnɖər tʃʰõɽɪ	'very beautiful girl'
ʈənɪ bəɽ kagətʃ	'a little sized paper'
kətɪ kʋn tʃaʋr	'a little rice'

Pronominal Adjectives

Adjectives are also derived from the proximate, distal, relative, correlative and interrogative pronouns. They are given below:

	Type		Quantity	
<u>Proximal</u>	*əɪsən*	'like this'	*eʈna*	'this much'
<u>Distal</u>	*wəɪsən*	'like that'	*oʈna*	'that much'
<u>Relative</u>	*dʒəɪsən*	'of the type of'	*dʒeʈna*	'as much as'
<u>Interrogative</u>	*kəɪsən*	'of what type'	*keʈna*	'how much'

Table 3.11: Pronominal adjectives

Almost all pronouns can function as adjectives. The demonstrative points out at persons and objects. For example:

<div align="center">

i tʃʰõɽɪ   'this girl'

u gorʊ   'that cow'

</div>

Possessive pronouns are used to specify and to show relationship. For example:

<div align="center">

ʊkər tʃʰõɽɪ   *'his/her daughter'*

mor gorʊ   *'my cow'*

</div>

Relative and Indefinite pronouns also function as adjectives. For example:

<div align="center">

dʒe tʃʰõɽɪ   'the girl who'

kono kɪʈab   'some book'

</div>

3.6.4 Derivation of Adjectives

Sadri has a relatively smaller number of basic adjectives as compared to Hindi and Urdu. Derived adjectives are often direct loans and Sadri has a tendency to not productively use the derivational pathway. Various syntactic and pragmatic structures are used to express meanings otherwise fulfilled by derived adjectives. Genitive postposition *kər* and *ola* constructions are used mostly for this purpose.

3.6.4.1 Adjectives from Nouns

Majority of derived adjectives fall under this category.

The adjectivization is mostly suffixal. Various derived adjectives of Persian origin are used but they are direct loans, i.e., the affixation shown in these words are not productive at all. Following are some examples:

ɪdʒəʈ	'honour'	*beɪdʒəʈ*	'without respect'
sal	'year'	*salana*	'yearly'
ḍos	'blame'	*nɪrḍos*	'blameless'
mol	'value'	*anmol*	'priceless'
nam	'name'	*baḍnam*	'infamous'
dər	'fear'	*nɪdər*	'fearless'
dʒəhər	'poison'	*dʒəhrɪla*	'poisonous'

The suffix *-a* is used to derive adjectives that signal relation or possession.

məɪl	'dirt'	*məɪla*	'dirty'
dʒʋʈʰ	'lie'	*dʒʋʈʈʰa*	'liar'

The suffix *-war/-ɪja* 'affiliated to/given to': the suffix *-war* is usually attached after place name with two syllables to signal affiliation. To specify female gender *-warɪn/-jarɪn* is attached. The suffix *-ɪja* is attached to place names of more than two syllables. To specify female gender *-nɪ* is attached. These derivatives are primarily adjectives but the human noun they qualify can be redundant. However, other non-human nouns cannot.

kesa	'Kesa'	*keswar*	'from Kesa'
lohərdəga	'Lohardaga'	*lohərdəgɪja*	'from Lohardaga'
kesa	'Kesa'	*keswarɪn*	'from Kesa (F)'
lohərdəga	'Lohardaga'	*lohərdəgnɪ*	'from Lohardaga (F)'

The suffix *-ɪja* is used to derive other adjectives that signal relationship or affiliation.

ɪskʋl	'school'	*ɪskʋlɪja*	'belonging to school'
səsʈa	'cheap'	*səsʈəhɪja*	'of shoddy kind'

The suffix *-in* also signals relationship.

nɪmək	'salt'	*nəmkin*	'salty'
səʋkʰ	'taste'	*səʋkʰin*	'tasteful/stylish'

Adjectives derived using the suffix *-ɪ* have a meaning of 'pertaining to something'.

bərsaʈ	'rain'	*bərsaʈɪ*	'rainy'
pəhaɽ	'hill'	*pəhaɽɪ*	'hilly'

dʰən	'wealth'	*dʰənɪ*	'wealthy'
əŋredʒ	'Englishman'	*əŋredʒɪ*	'English'

The suffix *-ɪk* also derives adjectives meaning 'pertaining to'.

mas	'month'	*masɪk*	'monthly'
bərəs	'year'	*barsɪk*	'yearly'
səmadʒ	'society'	*səmadʒɪk*	'social'

The suffix *-ahɪ(F/N)/-aha(M)* signals attributive relationship.

ek rʊpɪja	'one rupee'	*ek rʊpɪjahɪ*	'one rupee value'
dʒələn	'jealousy'	*dʒələntaha*	'jealous'

The suffix *-ka (M)/-kɪ (F)* is used to make adjectives which express agency or experiencer. They are used as nouns when the qualified noun is rendered redundant. The male form is the default one.

bəʈ	'big'	*bəʈka*	'big one/big boy'
tʃʰoʈ	'small'	*tʃʰoʈka*	'small one/small boy'
bəʈ	'big'	*bəʈkɪ*	'big girl'
tʃʰoʈ	'small'	*tʃʰoʈkɪ*	'small girl'

The suffix *-u* expresses agency or experiencer.

bədʒar	'market'	*bədʒarʊ*	'from market'

The participial marker *-əl/-al* attaches to abstract nouns of experience to yield adjectives that express experiencer.

bʰʊkʰ	'hunger'	*bʰʊkʰəl*	'hungry'
tʃoʈ	'hurt'	*tʃoʈal*	'hurt'

The postposition *ola* when attached to nouns gives rise to complex attributive adjectives. However, the main noun is mostly redundant. Hence these adjectives can be used as nouns independently. *ola* is productive with grammatical categories other than nouns such as adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, verbs. It is a very productive device for forming agentive, experiencer, and instrumental nouns from nouns. In sentence

(48) the noun derived through this process is used as an adjective while in sentence (49) it is used as a noun. In sentence (50) the noun is derived from the infinitive form of the verb.

(48) *i*   *ɖʊdʰ*   *ola*   *ɖektʃɪ*   *heke*
3SG   milk   owner   wok   PRS.3SG
'This is a wok for milk'

(49) *ɖʊdʰ*   *ola*   *aɪdʒ*   *nɪ*   *a-l-ək*
milk   owner   today   NEG   come.PST.3SG
'The milk-man did not come today'

(50) *i*   *dɪsa-ek*   *ola*   *leɖra*   *heke*
3SG   lay-INF   owner   thick cloth   PRS.3SG
'This is a thick cloth for laying'

3.6.4.2 Adjectives from Verbs

Participialisation

The perfective participle can function as adjectives. In Sadri the participle does not inflect for number and gender.

sʊʈ	'sleep'	*sʊʈəl*	'sleeping'
mɪl	'mix'	*mɪləl*	'mixed'

In case the verb is causative, the *-əl* suffix is realized as *-al*.

ɖewa	'cause to give'	*ɖewal*	'given (by somebody asked to give)'
mɪla	'cause to mix'	*mɪlal*	'mixed (by someone)'

3.7 Verb

A verb comprises of a verb stem and the inflections. The morpheme that contains the lexical information of the verb is the stem. Sadri verbs inflect for person, number, tense, aspect and mood.

Verb stems generally do not appear without inflections. Verbs in the direct imperative form appear to be bare verb stems. However, this is debatable. See discussion on imperative mood.

This section discusses the types of verbs found in Sadri. First, a discussion on the two classes of verb stem will take place and the following subsections will outline the morphemes affixed to the verb stem. Sadri verbs do not have prefixes. It must be noted that not all morphemes are available simultaneously.

3.7.1 Semantic Categories of Verbs

Various semantic categories of Sadri verbs can be understood through the following distinctions:

3.7.1.1 Stative vs Inchoative vs Dynamic/Active

Verbs that take dative subjects and most intransitive verbs fall in the category of stative or inchoative. Transitive verbs are mostly active. However, intransitive verbs indicating motion are stative in nature. The table shows the different stative, inchoative and active forms derived from the same stem.

Stative	Inchoative	Active
pəkəl 'to be ripe'	*pək-ek* 'to become ripe'	*pəka-ek* 'to ripen'
pəṯa ho-ek 'to know'		*pəṯa kər-ek* 'to find'

The active/dynamic conjunct verbs are turned into stative verbs or psyche predicates, and inchoative verbs by substituting the vector verbs *ho-ek* 'to be', and *aw-ek* 'to come' in place of *kər-ek* 'to do' respectively (Ahmad, 2015).

3.7.1.2 Volitional vs Non-volitional

Verbs can be seen as volitional and non-volitional. Verbs can be inherently volitional and are derived too. Causativisation transforms non-volitional verbs into volitional (Ahmad, 2015).

Non-Volitional	Volitional
həḍs-ek 'to get nervous'	*həḍsa-ek* [1st causal] 'to make somebody nervous'

3.7.1.3 Affective vs Effective

Verbs fall into two categories depending on their description of the state of the subject. Verbs are affective if they describe the physical or psychological state of the subject and effective if they describe the action done by the subject. Affective verbs comprise of a subcategory of reflexive verbs which denote self-action. All inherent effective verbs are transitive.

To derive affective verbs, the morpheme *[-a]* is suffixed to the inherent effective verbs. The *[-a]* marker should not be confused with the homophonous first causal marker, which in a completely opposite manner, upon affixation, increases the valence of the verb (Ahmad, 2015).

The effective verb *tʰəg-ek* 'to cheat' can be turned into affective verb by suffixing [-a]. *tʰəg-a-ek* 'to get cheated' is affective.

The derived affectives are unaccusative in nature i.e., the subject of these verbs are actually their objects. Such verbs are also called inherently passive verbs (Carnie, 2012).

3.7.2 Verb-stem Classes

The basic form of a verb is called the verb stem. This can be inflected for aspect, tense, mood, person, number and honorificity. There are two classes of verb stems: transitive and intransitive. Transitive verbs take more than one argument, while the intransitive verbs take only one argument.

3.7.2.1 Transitive Stems

These verbs take more than one argument. Verbs mostly denoting actions and processes fall under this category. In Sadri, the subject is not mandatorily marked. The direct object is marked only if it is an animate or definite inanimate entity.

Some examples of Sadri transitive stems are given below:

Stem	Gloss
hera	'lose'
dɪsa	'lay out'
kʰol	'open'
lɪkʰ	'write'

Some examples are given below:

(51)   *sonʊ*   *tʃʰəʈ-ke*   *dɪsa-l-ək*

       Sonu.NOM   grass mesh-ACC   lay out-PST-3SG

       'Sonu laid the grass mesh '

(52) sonʊ   tʃʰəʊwa-ke   hera-l-ək
     Sonu.NOM   child-ACC   lose-PST-3SG
     'Sonu lost the child'

3.7.2.2 Intransitive Stems

The class of stems which are intransitive includes verbs with a single argument. They do not take a direct role. This argument functions as its grammatical subject. The subject is in direct case.

Some examples of Sadri intransitive stems are given below:

Stem	Gloss
beɽa	'get lost'
gʰʊsək	'crawl'
gɪr	'fall'
sʊʈ	'sleep'

(53) sonʊ   beɽa-l-ək
     Sonu   get lost-PST-3SG
     'Sonu got lost'

(54) tʃʰəʊwa   gʰʊsək-el
     Child   crawl-PRS.1SG
     'The child crawls'

3.7.2.3 Di-transitive Stems

Verbs like: *ɖe* 'give', *bʰedʒ* 'send' take three arguments with the subject in the unmarked nominative case, direct object in accusative and the indirect object in dative case.

(55) sonʊ   məɪɲã-ke   tʃaʊr   ɖe-l-ək
     Sonu.NOM   girl child-DAT   rice.ACC   give-PST-3SG
     'Sonu gave rice to the girl child'

(56) *sonʊ*   *məɪjã-ke*   *tʃaʊr*   *bʰedʒ-l-ək*

      Sonu.NOM   girl child-DAT   rice.ACC   send-PST-3SG

      'Sonu sent rice to the girl child'

3.7.3 Types of verbs

Sadri verbs can be divided into two types, based on their morpho-semantic complexity: Auxiliary verbs and Main verbs.

3.7.3.1 Auxiliaries

While a main verb provides meaning or semantic content about the effect/action expressed, the auxiliaries provide only grammatical information or are used as vehicles of grammatical expression (Payne, 1997).

3.7.3.1.1 The Verb ho-ek 'to be'

The forms of the verb *ho* 'be' function as auxiliaries in the present tense form. It is a helping verb that occurs with the main verb in present tense constructions. All other forms of the verb are linking verbs in nature and have been discussed later on in a separate section. The forms of the auxiliary are portmanteaus of number, person and present tense.

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	*hõ*	*hɪ*
2nd (intimate)	*hɪs*	*ha*
2nd (polite)	*ha*	*ha*
3rd (intimate)	*he*	*həẽ*
3rd (polite)	*həẽ*	*həẽ*

Table 3.12: Forms of the auxiliary [*ho*]

The following sentences show the various forms of the present tense auxiliary in use.

(57) *mõɪ*   *tʃaʊr*   *kɪn*   *hõ*

      1SG   rice   buy   PRS.1SG

      'I have bought rice'

(58) həme-mən tʃaʊr kɪn hɪ
1PL rice buy PRS.1PL
'We have bought rice'

(59) t̪õɪ tʃaʊr kɪn hɪs
2SG rice buy PRS.2SG
'You have bought rice'

(60) t̪ohre-mən tʃaʊr kɪn ha
2PL rice buy PRS.2PL
'You (PL) have bought rice'

(61) rəʊre tʃaʊr kɪn ha
2SG.POL rice buy PRS.1SG
'You (POL) have bought rice'

(62) rəʊre-mən tʃaʊr kɪn ha
2SG.POL-PL rice buy PRS.1PL
'You (POL.PL) have bought rice'

(63) sonʊ tʃaʊr kɪn he
Sonu rice buy PRS.3SG
'Sonu has bought rice'

(64) sonʊ-mən tʃaʊr kɪn həẽ
Sonu-PL rice buy PRS.3PL
'Sonu and others have bought rice'

(65) əpne tʃaʊr kɪn həẽ
3SG.POL rice buy PRS.3PL
'He (POL) bought rice'

(66) *əpne-mən*   *tʃaʊr*   *kɪn*   *həẽ*

3SG.POL-PL   rice   buy   PRS.3PL

'He (POL) and others have bought rice'

3.7.3.1.2 The Verb rəh-ek 'to stay'

The various forms of the verb *rəh-ek* 'to stay' have grammaticalized as auxiliaries. They are used as past tense auxiliaries in the default form. They are tense marked for future when used as future tense auxiliaries. The future tense forms are used to indicate the presumptive. This seems to be a borrowing from Bhojpuri where forms of the verb *rəh* are seen to work as the past tense copula (Shukla, 1981). It is described as a feature of Bihari and eastern Hindi dialects (Mesthrie, 2004).

The following table lists down the past and future tense forms of the auxiliary respectively.

Person	Affirmative	
	Singular	*Plural*
1ˢᵗ	*rohõ*	*rɪhɪ*
2nd (intimate)	*rəhɪs*	*rəha*
2nd (polite)	*rəha*	*rəha*
3rd (intimate)	*rehe*	*rəhəẽ*
3rd (polite)	*rəhəẽ*	*rəhəẽ*

Table 3.13: Past tense forms of the auxiliary [*rəh*]

The following sentences show the various forms of the past tense auxiliary in use.

(67) *mõɪ*   *tʃaʊr*   *kɪn*   *rohõ*

1SG   rice   buy   PST.1SG

'I had bought rice'

(68) *həme-mən*   *tʃaʊr*   *kɪn*   *rɪhɪ*

1PL   rice   buy   PST.1PL

'We had bought rice'

(69) t̪õɪ   tʃaʊr   kɪn   rəhɪs
      2SG   rice   buy   PST.2SG
      'You had bought rice'

(70) t̪ohre-mən   tʃaʊr   kɪn   rəha
      2PL   rice   buy   PST.2PL
      'You (PL) had bought rice'

(71) rəʊre   tʃaʊr   kɪn   rəha
      2SG.POL   rice   buy   PST.2SG
      'You (POL) had bought rice'

(72) rəʊre-mən   tʃaʊr   kɪn   rəha
      2SG.POL-PL   rice   buy   PST.2PL
      'You (POL) and others had bought rice'

(73) sonʊ   tʃaʊr   kɪn   rehe
      Sonu   rice   buy   PST.3SG
      'Sonu had bought rice'

(74) sonʊ-mən   tʃaʊr   kɪn   rəhəẽ
      Sonu-PL   rice   buy   PST.3PL
      'Sonu and others had bought rice'

(75) əpne   tʃaʊr   kɪn   rəhəẽ
      3SG.POL   rice   buy   PST.3PL
      'He had bought rice'

(76) əpne-mən   tʃaʊr   kɪn   rəhəẽ
      3SG.POL-PL   rice   buy   PST.3PL
      'He (POL) and others had bought rice'

Person	Affirmative	
	Singular	*Plural*
1st	*rəhmʊ*	*rəhəb*
2nd (intimate)	*rəhbe*	*rəhba*
2nd (polite)	*rəhba*	*rəhba*
3rd (intimate)	*rəhɪ*	*rəhbəẽ*
3rd (polite)	*rəhbəẽ*	*rəhbəẽ*

Table 3.14: Future tense forms of the auxiliary [*rəh*]

The following sentences show the various forms of the future tense auxiliary in use.

(77) mõɪ   tʃaʊr   kɪn   rəhmʊ
     1SG   rice   buy   FUT.1SG
     'I will have bought rice'

(78) həme-mən   tʃaʊr   kɪn   rəhəb
     1PL   rice   buy   FUT.1PL
     'We will have bought rice'

(79) ʈõɪ   tʃaʊr   kɪn   rəhbe
     2SG   rice   buy   FUT.2SG
     'You will have bought rice'

(80) ʈohre-mən   tʃaʊr   kɪn   rəhba
     2PL   rice   buy   FUT.2PL
     'You (PL) will have bought rice'

(81) rəʊre   tʃaʊr   kɪn   rəhəb
     2SG.POL   rice   buy   FUT.2SG
     'You (POL) will have bought rice'

(82) rəʊre-mən   tʃaʊr   kɪn   rəhba
     2SG.POL-PL   rice   buy   FUT.2PL
     'You (POL) and others will have bought rice'

(83)   sonʋ   tʃaʋr   kɪn   rəhɪ
       Sonu   rice   buy   FUT.3SG
       'Sonu will have bought rice'

(84)   sonʋ-mən   tʃaʋr   kɪn   rəhbəẽ
       Sonu-PL   rice   buy   FUT.3PL
       'Sonu and others will have bought rice'

(85)   əpne   tʃaʋr   kɪn   rəhbəẽ
       3SG.POL   rice   buy   FUT.3PL
       'He will have bought rice'

(86)   əpne-mən   tʃaʋr   kɪn   rəhbəẽ
       3SG.POL-PL   rice   buy   FUT.3PL
       'They (POL) and others will have bought rice'

3.7.3.2 Main Verbs

Main verbs can be divided further on the basis of the number of arguments they take, and their syntactic function. Broadly, the types of main verb are the copula, intransitive verbs, and transitive verbs. The process of causativisation has been discussed separately in terms of the effect it has on the valency of the verb involved.

3.7.3.2.1 Copula

A copula or a linking verb is any morpheme (affix, particle, or verb) that joins, or couples, two nominal elements in a predicate nominal construction. It marks the clause as a predicate nominal and often carries the tense/aspect and other information necessary for predications in the language (Payne, 1997).

By this definition, there are three such roots in Sadri. Forms of the verb *ho* 'be' and *rəh* 'stay' are used to link a subject with the complement. The verb *ho* has grammaticalized to express present tense exclusively while the latter is grammaticalized to express past tense in the default form. The *rəh* verb expresses future tense only when marked for it. See section 3.7.4.3 for future tense markers.

The forms of *lǝg* 'seem/feel' verb are used only in negative present tense. These forms have been discussed in detail in the subsequent sections.

3.7.3.2.1.1 The Verb ho-ek 'to be'

The *ho* verb carries the grammatical information of tense, aspect, person and number. The prefixing of the *ah* lends an aspectual sense of perfectness while the *hek* form expresses the perfective aspect. These two different forms express location/existence and attribution/identity respectively.

The table given below respectively show the forms of the copula in the perfective aspect in the affirmative sense.

Person	Affirmative	
	Singular	*Plural*
1st	*hekõ*	*hekɪ*
2nd (intimate)	*hekɪs*	*heka*
2nd (polite)	*heka*	*heka*
3rd (intimate)	*heke*	*hekǝ̃*
3rd (polite)	*hekǝ̃*	*hekǝ̃*

Table 3.15: Forms of the *hek-V* in perfective aspect

The following sentences show the various forms of the *hek-V* copula in use.

(87) *mõɟ*   *mʊkʰɪɲa*   *hekõ*
      1SG   headman   PRS.1SG
      'I have been the headman'

(88) *hǝme-mǝn*   *hõsɪɲar*   *hekɪ*
      1PL   clever   PRS.1PL
      'We have been clever/alert'

(89) *ʈõɟ*   *mʊkʰɪɲa*   *hekɪs*
      2SG   headman   PRS.2SG
      'You have been the headman'

(90) *ʈohre-mən*   *hõsɪŋar*   *heka*
2PL   clever   PRS.2PL
'You (PL) have been clever/alert'

(91) *rəʊre*   *mʊkʰɪŋa*   *heka*
2SG.POL   headman   PRS.2SG
'You (POL) have been the headman'

(92) *rəʊre-mən*   *hõsɪŋar*   *heka*
2SG.POL-PL   clever   PRS.2PL
'You (POL) have been clever/alert'

(93) *sonʊ*   *mʊkʰɪŋa*   *heke*
Sonu   headman   PRS.3SG
'Sonu has been the headman'

(94) *sonʊ-mən*   *hõsɪŋar*   *hekəẽ*
Sonu-PL   clever   PRS.3PL
'Sonu and others have been clever/alert'

(95) *əpne*   *mʊkʰɪŋa*   *hekəẽ*
3SG.POL   headman   PRS.3PL
'He has been the headman'

(96) *əpne-mən*   *hõsɪŋar*   *hekəẽ*
3SG.POL-PL   clever   PRS.3PL
'They (POL) have been clever/alert'

The table given below respectively show the forms of the copula in the perfect aspect in the affirmative sense.

Person	Affirmative	
	Singular	*Plural*
1st	*ahõ*	*ahɪ*

2nd (intimate)	*ahıs*	*aha*
2nd (polite)	*aha*	*aha*
3rd (intimate)	*ahe*	*ahəẽ*
3rd (polite)	*ahəẽ*	*ahəẽ*

Table 3.16: Forms of the *ah-V* in perfect aspect

The following sentences show the various forms of the *ah-V* copula in use.

(97) *mõɟ* *mʊkʰɪɟa* *ahõ*
　　　　1SG　　headman　　PRS.1SG
　　　　'I am the headman'

(98) *həme-mən* *hõsɪɟar* *ahı*
　　　　1PL　　　　clever　　PRS.1PL
　　　　'We are clever/alert'

(99) *t̪õɟ* *mʊkʰɪɟa* *ahıs*
　　　　2SG　　headman　　PRS.2SG
　　　　'You are the headman'

(100) *t̪ohre-mən* *hõsɪɟar* *aha*
　　　　　2PL　　　　clever　　PRS.2PL
　　　　　'You (PL) are clever/alert'

(101) *rəʊre* *mʊkʰɪɟa* *aha*
　　　　　2SG.POL　　headman　　PRS.2SG
　　　　　'You (POL) are the headman'

(102) *rəʊre-mən* *hõsɪɟar* *aha*
　　　　　2SG.POL-PL　clever　　PRS.2PL
　　　　　'You are clever/alert'

(103) *sonʊ* *mʊkʰɪɟa* *heke*
　　　　　Sonu　　headman　　PRS.3SG

'Sonu is the headman'

(104) *sonʋ-mən*   *hõsɩjar*   *ahəẽ*
Sonu-PL   clever   PRS.3PL
'Sonu and others are clever/alert'

(105) *əpne*   *mʋkʰɩja*   *ahəẽ*
3SG.POL   headman   PRS.3PL
'He is the headman'

(106) *əpne-mən*   *hõsɩjar*   *ahəẽ*
3SG.POL-PL   clever   PRS.3PL
'They (POL) are clever/alert'

It must be noted that the forms expressing the negative in the perfective and perfect aspect vary. The negative form is derived by prefixing *na-* to the verb *ləg* 'seem/feel'. The verb *ləg* when used as a lexical verb takes the usual *[nɩ]* as the negation marker (see section 4.6.3). The negative forms for perfective and perfect aspect are given below in the tables below.

Person	Negative	
	Singular	*Plural*
1st	*nalagõ*	*nalagɩ*
2nd (intimate)	*nalagɩs*	*nalaga*
2nd (polite)	*nalaga*	*nalaga*
3rd (intimate)	*nalage*	*nalagəẽ*
3rd (polite)	*nalagəẽ*	*nalagəẽ*

Table 3.17: Negative forms of the copula in perfective aspect

Person	Negative	
	Singular	*Plural*
1st	*nəkʰõ*	*nəkʰɩ*
2nd (intimate)	*nəkʰɩs*	*nəkʰa*
2nd (polite)	*nəkʰa*	*nəkʰa*

| 3rd (intimate) | *nəkʰe* | *nəkʰəẽ* |
| 3rd (polite) | *nəkʰəẽ* | *nəkʰəẽ* |

Table 3.18: Negative forms of the copula in perfect aspect

Another way to describe the difference between the two forms is expressed through describing their telicity. Form of *hek-V* are telic and *ah-V* are atelic. That being said, these two forms, both in the affirmative and negative are seen to be used interchangeably in the younger generation. A tendency of deeming constructions with the improper form ungrammatical is higher in older speakers.

3.7.3.2.1.2 The Verb *rəh-ek* 'to stay'

The various forms of *rəh* 'stay' are used as a linking verb in simple predicative sentences. In other constructions it is used as an auxiliary. The forms of *rəh* in future tense signal the relationship of presumption. The past tense form signals attribution or past identity.

For forms of *rəh* see section 3.7.3.1.2

The following sentences show the various forms of the past tense copula in use.

(107) *mõɟ*   *mʊkʰɪ̯a*   *rohõ*
      1SG   headman   PST.1SG
      'I was the headman'

(108) *həme-mən*   *hõsɪ̯ar*   *rɪhɪ*
      1PL   clever   PST.1PL
      'We were clever/alert'

(109) *ʈõɟ*   *mʊkʰɪ̯a*   *rəhɪs*
      2SG   headman   PST.2SG
      'You were the headman'

(110) *ʈohre-mən*   *hõsɪ̯ar*   *rəha*
      2PL   clever   PST.2PL
      'You (PL) were clever/alert'

(111)   *rəʊre*   *mʊkʰɪɟa*   *rəha*

         2SG.POL   headman   PST.2SG

         'You (POL) were the headman'

(112)   *rəʊre-mən*   *hõsɪɟar*   *rəha*

         2SG.POL-PL   clever   PST.2PL

         'You (POL) were clever/alert'

(113)   *sonʊ*   *mʊkʰɪɟa*   *rehe*

         Sonu   headman   PST.3SG

         'Sonu was the headman'

(114)   *sonʊ-mən*   *hõsɪɟar*   *rəhəẽ*

         Sonu-PL   clever   PST.3PL

         'Sonu and others were clever/alert'

(115)   *əpne*   *mʊkʰɪɟa*   *rəhəẽ*

         3SG.POL   headman   PST.3PL

         'He was the headman'

(116)   *əpne-mən*   *hõsɪɟar*   *rəhəẽ*

         3SG.POL-PL   clever   PST.3PL

         'They (POL) were clever/alert'

The following sentences show the various forms of the future tense copula in use.

(117)   *mõɟ*   *mʊkʰɪɟa*   *rəhmʊ*

         1SG   headman   FUT.1SG

         'I will be the headman'

(118)   *həme-mən*   *hõsɪɟar*   *rəhəb*

         1PL   clever   FUT.1PL

         'We will be clever/alert'

(119) ʈõɪ   mʊkʰɪɟa   rəhbe

2SG   headman   FUT.2SG

'You will be the headman'

(120) ʈohre-mən   hõsɪɟar   rəhba

2PL   clever   FUT.2PL

'You (PL) will be clever/alert'

(121) rəʊre   mʊkʰɪɟa   rəhəb

2SG.POL   headman   FUT.2SG

'You (POL) will headman have bought rice'

(122) rəʊre-mən   hõsɪɟar   rəhba

2SG.POL-PL   clever   FUT.2PL

'You (POL) and others will be clever/alert'

(123) sonʊ   mʊkʰɪɟa   rəhɪ

Sonu   headman   FUT.3SG

'Sonu will be the headman'

(124) sonʊ-mən   hõsɪɟar   rəhbəẽ

Sonu-PL   clever   FUT.3PL

'Sonu and others will be clever/alert'

(125) əpne   mʊkʰɪɟa   rəhbəẽ

3SG.POL   headman   FUT.3PL

'He will be the headman'

(126) əpne-mən   hõsɪɟar   rəhbəẽ

3SG.POL-PL   clever   FUT.3PL

'He (POL) and others will be clever/alert'

The constructions of negative sentences using *rəh* verb are formed by the usual
sentential negation method. See section 4.5.3.1.

3.7.3.3 Intransitive Verbs

Discussed in the section on verb stem classes. See 0

3.7.3.4 Transitive Verbs

Discussed in the section on verb stem classes. See 3.7.2.1

3.7.3.5 Di-transitive Verbs

Discussed in the section on verb stem classes. See 0

3.7.3.6 Causatives

Languages use causativisation as an operation to increase the number of essential arguments of the predicator. It is also called increasing the valency of the verb whereby upon causativisation the derivative needs one more argument. (Payne, 1997)

In Sadri it is normally the causer which is the new argument and that becomes the new subject. The causee which is the argument that actually does the action in a causativised sentence remains the same in both derived and the underlying sentences. It indicates that a subject either causes someone or something else to do or be something or causes a change in state of a non-volitional event.

Sadri verbs have two causal forms. Generally, but not across the board, 1st causative is formed by suffixing *[-a]* and the second causative is formed by suffixing *[-wa]*. The two causal forms of the verb *lɪkʰ* 'write' is given below as example:

Verbs	Causative 1	Causative 2
lɪkʰ	*lɪkʰ-a*	*lɪkʰ-wa*
'write'	'cause X to write'	'cause X to cause Z to write'

Following sentences show causativisation at work:

(127) *mõɪ*   *tʃɪʈʰɪ*   *lɪkʰ-l-õ*

1SG   letter   write-PST-1SG

'I wrote a letter'

(128) *sonʊ*   *mõr-se*   *tʃɪʈʰɪ*   *lɪkʰ-a-l-ək*

Sonu   1SG-INST   letter   write-CAUS 1-PST-3SG

'Sonu made me write a letter'

(129)   *sɪʈa*   *sonʊ-ke*   *mõr-se*   *tʃıʈʰı*   *lɪkʰ-a-l-ək*

        Sita   Sonu-ACC   1SG-DAT   letter   write-CAUS 1-PST-3SG

        'Sita made Sonu make me write a letter'

Sadri affective and effective verbs react differently to the process of causativisation.

Intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs take part in this process and it is fairly productive process. Intransitive verbs first undergo transitivisation

Both affective transitive and intransitive verbs have both causal forms. Inherent effective verbs that are transitive and di-transitive have only the second causal form.

Verbs (Affective)	Causative 1		Causative 2	
lɪkʰ 'write'	*lɪkʰ-a*	'cause X to write'	*lɪkʰ-wa*	'cause X to cause Z to write'
Verbs (Effective)				
ɖɪsa 'lay'			*ɖɪsa-wa*	'cause X to cause Z to lay'

Ahmad (2015) notes down some morphophonemic alternations triggered by the causative affixation.

- Verb stems which have long vowels in the roots are shortened upon causativisation. For example: *sɪkʰ-ek* 'to learn' becomes *sɪkʰ-a-ek* [1st causal] and *sɪkʰ-wa-ek* [2nd causal].

- Verb roots ending with long front vowels have their vowels shortened and are suffixed with -*ɟa* instead of -*a*. For example: *pɪ-ek* 'to drink' becomes *pɪɟa-ek* [1st causal], *sɪ-ek* 'to sew' becomes *sɪɟa-ek* [1st causal], etc.

- In verb roots with open vowel, upon causativisation the front open vowel changes to front close vowel. E.g., *la-ek* 'to bring' becomes *lɪɟa-ek* [1st causal] upon causativisation.

3.7.3.7   Complex Verbs

Based on their internal complexity and the nature of the parts of the whole verb, Sadri verbs can be classified into compound and conjunct verbs. In addition to the simple,

one-word verbs discussed so far, there are verbs which are morphologically complex in structure. These verbs are made of more than one word.

3.7.3.7.1 Conjunct Verbs

Conjunct verbs or light verbs are formed by combining a nominal entity, such as a noun or an adjective and a verb. Only abstract nouns take part in the conjunct verb constructions.

The verbs taking part in this process are called verbalizers or light verbs. These light verbs are limited in number in Sadri. The most common verbs found in conjunct verb construction are, *mɪl* 'find/get', *kər* 'do', *ləg* 'feel', *a* 'come', *ho* 'be', and *ɖe* 'give'. There is no such limitation on the nominals. Some semantic factors and morphosyntactic factors appear to govern the occurrence of particular verbalisers with particular nominals, but it is not predictable and requires further study.

All *Nominal + Verb* sequences cannot be considered as conjunct verbs. According to Mohanan, 1994, apart from analysing the semantic bleaching of the verb, the valency of the verb is key in understanding the difference between a N+V conjunct verb and an argument+verb sequence. In a non-complex verb sequence, the theta roles and structural case are assigned to arguments. When this is met, structurally, the N+V sequence is not a conjunct verb sequence. However, recent research (Das, 2018) has further exemplified the case relations in conjunct verb and answers the complexity presented by some conjunct verb through the analysis of thematic roles assigned by the complex predicate. Das argues that the difference in case marking assigned by the conjunct verb compared to the case assigned by the light verb if it acted as a lexical verb can be answered by considering the conjunct verb as one unit that assigns its own thematic roles which are different from those typically assigned by the light verb. (Das, 2018) The case markers on the arguments of the conjunct verb are a result of the thematic roles assigned by the complex predicate. However, he goes further to say that the structural case of the light verb still needs to be satisfied. In case it does not coincide with any of the case markings licensed by the complex predicate, the structural case is assigned to the nominal in the N+V complex. This, in Hindi, can be seen when the verb agrees with the gender of the nominal of the conjunct complex.

The nouns and adjectives occur in their root form. The verb bears grammatical function markers such as tense, person, number, and honorificity, i.e., the lexical verb

takes all the markings of a finite verb. Following are some examples of conjunct verbs:

(130) mor   tʃaʊr kʰarab ho-l-ek
       1SG.POSS   rice   spoilt   be-PST-3SG
       'My rice has got spoilt'

(131) dʒa-ek   bera   dʒʰəʈ   kər-b-e
       go-INF   during haste   do-FUT-2SG
       'Make haste when going'

Verbs like *ləg* 'feel', *ho-ek* 'to be', *a-ek* 'to come', etc. are used to form psyche predicates which require subjects in dative case.

(132) sonʊ   ke   pɪjas   ləg-l-ək
       Sonu   DAT   thirst feel-PST-3SG
       'Sonu felt thirsty'

Note that the use of the verb *kər* 'do' affects the transitivity of the verb complex. It gives rise to periphrastic causative verbs as discussed in the previous section. Compare the following sentences:

(133) dʒama gʰər   səpʰa ho-l-ək
       all   house   clean   be-PST-3SG
       'The whole house is clean'

(134) ʈõɟ   dʒama gʰər   səpʰa kər-b-e
       2SG   all   house   clean   do-FUT-2SG
       'You will clean the whole house'

Sentence 50 with the verb in conjunct construction is causativised and hence needs one more argument as compared to 51 with auxiliary.

3.7.3.7.2 Compound Verbs

Compound verbs are a combination of two lexical verbs. The first verb, i.e., V$_1$, is the main verb which is sometimes also called the polar verb. The second verb, i.e., V$_2$, is referred to by various terms such as explicator, operator, vector verb or the light verb.

In modern linguistics, the term light verb is used more often which will be used in this study too.

The V₂ takes all markers of grammatical function such as aspect, tense, mood, number and person distinction in the constructions where the compound verb is used as a finite verb.

In the compound, the light verb loses its semantic features. It thus loses any ability to add to or modify the meaning of the polar verb. (Nash & Samvelian , 2016) The V₂ only lends aspectual meanings to the main verb.

The main verb in Sadri is affixed with the stem linker [-*e*] that is realized in the following forms:

- In verb stems ending with a close and close-mid back vowel, the linker is a suffix */-ɪ/*.
- In stems ending with vowels, other than the ones mentioned in the previous clause, the linker is suffixed as */-e/*.
- Stems ending in a consonant have the linker infixed as */-ɪ-/* preceding the final consonant.

Ahmad (2015) argues that it is the erstwhile conjunctive participle marker which now functions as a linker in complex verbs.

Sentences below exemplify the compound verbs and the alternations of the linker:

(135) *ʤama   kʰəlɪhan   sapʰa   ho-ɪ   ʤa-Ø-ɪ*
      All   barn   clean   be-LNK   go-FUT-3SG
      'Whole barn will be cleaned up'

(136) *ʤa-ek   paʧʰe   nɪnɖa-e   le-b-e*
      go-INF   after   sleep<LNK>   take-FUT-2SG
      'Sleep after reaching'

(137) *basaən   mə<ɪ>nʤ   ɖe-b-e*
      utensils   wash<LNK>   give-FUT-2SG
      'Wash the utensils'

In the data set collected, Sadri was found to have a very small number of light verbs. They are: *a* 'come', *dʒa* 'go', *le* 'take', and *ɖe* 'give'.

Not all light verbs occur with all main verbs. Below is a discussion on the main verbs these light verbs occur with, and the semantic import of the compound thus created.

a 'come': this light verb signals the aspectual meaning of motion oriented towards the speaker which is completed. It occurs with intransitive verbs indicating motion.

(138)　*sonʊ*　*kʰeʈ*　*se*　*tʃə<ɪ>l*　*a-l-ək*
　　　　sonu　field　ABL　move<LNK>　come-PST-3SG
　　　　'Sonu came from the field'

dʒa 'go': this light verb signals the aspectual meaning of motion oriented away from the speaker and a completed or certain action. It occurs with intransitive verbs indicating motion away from the focal point. With transitive verbs it signals a complete but abrupt or hurried action.

(139)　*sonʊ*　*kʰeʈ*　*bət*　*tʃə<ɪ>l*　*ge-l-ək*
　　　　sonu　field　towards　move<LNK>　go-PST-3SG
　　　　'Sonu went towards the field'

(140)　*sonʊ*　*bʰaʈ*　*kʰa-e*　*dʒa-ɸ-ɪ*
　　　　sonu　food　eat<LNK>　go-FUT-3SG
　　　　'Sonu will eat the food' (abrupt)

le 'take': this light verb suggests a completive but a habitual aspectual meaning which can signal uncertainty. With intransitive verbs it also has a self-benefactive sense.

(141)　*sonʊ*　*bʰaʈ*　*pəka-e*　*le-l-ək*
　　　　sonu　food　cook<LNK>　take-PST-3SG
　　　　'Sonu cooked the food' (completive and self-benefactive)

(142)　*sonʊ=mən*　*bʰaʈ*　*kʰa-e*　*le-en*
　　　　Sonu and his people　food　eat<LNK>　take-PRS.PL
　　　　'Sonu and his group (friends/family) eat food' (habitual and uncertain)

(143) *sonʊ*   *sʊ<ɪ>ʈ*   *le-l-ək*

     sonu   eat<LNK>   take-PST-3SG

     'Sonu slept' (completive and self benefactive)

ɖe 'give': this light verb may signal a completive change in state and sudden action. With transitive verbs the action can also be directed towards the benefactory other than the subject. With intransitive verbs it can express an action for other's benefit.

(144) *sonʊ*   *bʰaʈ*   *pəka-e*   *de-l-ək*

     sonu   food   cook<LNK>   give-PST-3SG

     'Sonu cooked the food' (completive for other's benefit)

(145) *sonʊ*   *sʊ<ɪ>ʈ*   *de-l-ək*

     sonu   sleep<LNK> give-PST-3SG

     'Sonu slept' (sudden action)

3.7.3.8 Other Complex Verb Forms

In Sadri there can be a series of three verbal elements forming a complex verb form.

One way to do it is with the use of an auxiliary in addition to V_1 and V_2. Similar to two-verb compounds, the V_1 is the main verb and the V_2 is the light verb that imparts aspectual meaning to the compound verb. The auxiliary bears the tense, agreement markers. This construction is usually seen with the past tense auxiliary which in this situation signals perfect aspect additionally to the one signalled by the V_2. For example, in the sentence below, the V_2 signals completive sense and the auxiliary signals perfect aspect.

(146) *mõɪ*   *tʃaʊr*   *kʰa-e*   *le-e*   *rohõ*

     1SG   rice   eat-LNK   take-LNK   stay.PST.1SG

     'I had eaten the rice (completed self-benefactive action)'

Contrast sentence (146) with (147) and (148).

(147) *mõɪ*   *tʃaʊr*   *kʰa-e*   *le-l-õ*

     1SG   rice   eat-LNK   take-PST-1SG

     'I ate the rice (perfective + self-benefactive)'

(148) *mõj* *tʃaʊr* *kʰa-e* *rohõ*

1SG   rice   eat-LNK   stay.PST.1SG

'I had eaten the rice (perfect)'

Sentence (147) is in perfective aspect while (148) Is in perfect aspect. Both these senses are shown in the V₁+V₂+Aux construction which shows an action that is complete and in favour of the doer.

The following sentences show the same construction with an intransitive verb.

(149) *mõj* *sʊ<ɪ>ʈ* *dʒa-e* *rohõ*

1SG   sleep<LNK>   go-LNK   stay.PST.1SG

'I had fallen asleep'

(150) *mõj* *sʊ<ɪ>ʈ* *rohõ*

1SG   sleep<LNK>   stay.PST.1SG

'I had fallen asleep'

3.7.4 Tense

Tense encodes the information about the time an event took place with respect to the time when it is communicated. In this regard, tense can be seen as a deictic category (Lyons, 1968). Givon argues that tense is "the systematic coding of the relation between two points along an ordered linear dimension of time" (Givon, 2001). On the other hand, Comrie defines it as "the grammaticalised location in time" (Comrie, 1985). It is clear from the discussion that tense is concerned only with the encoding of the relationship between the time of occurrence and utterance and not the manner in which the action was done or a state was achieved.

Sadri has a past vs non-past tense system. The time of occurrence is treated as the point of departure for any description of an event. The tenses having a marking through a morpheme are the simple present, simple past and simple future. These markings are carried either by the main verb, light verb, the auxiliary or the copula.

3.7.4.1 Present Tense

The present tense in Sadri is used to signal an ongoing action in real time, a repeated or characteristic action, or a habitual action. It is also used when expressing a fact.

The present tense in Sadri is unmarked.

(151) *mõɪ   bədʒar   dʒa-on*
       1SG   market   go-PRS.1SG
       'I go to the market'

The following table shows the present tense portmanteau in the given grammatical scenarios:

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	*-on*	*-ɪl*
2nd (intimate)	*-ɪs*	*-wəl*
2nd (polite)	*-ɪl*	*-wəl*
3rd (intimate)	*-el*	*-en*
3rd (polite)	*-en*	*-en*

Table 3.19: Forms of the present tense portmanteau

Present tense is also marked by the auxiliary [*hõ*] and the inflected copular forms of *hek-V* and *ah-V*.

(152) *mõɪ   bədʒar   dʒa-ʈ   hõ*
       1SG   market   talk-IPFV   PRS.1SG
       'I am going to the market'

(153) *mõɪ   bəɪʈʰ-əl   ahõ*
       1SG   sit-PFV   PRS.1SG
       'I am sitting'

(154) *mor   səɪkɪl   bədʒar   mẽ   heke*
       1SG.POSS   bicycle   market   LOC   PRS.3SG
       'My bicycle is in the market'

3.7.4.2 Past Tense

The past tense expresses an ongoing action in the past or an action accomplished in the past.

Past tense is marked by the morpheme *[-l-]* and the auxiliary *rəh* 'to stay' and its inflected forms periphrastically. The morpheme [-l-] marks the tense on main verbs and the light verbs. Elsewhere the verb *rəh* marks past tense only when overt tense marking is not present. However, it must be noted that the past tense marker is optional when using the verb *rəh*.

The following sentence is an example of a sentence in simple past.

(155) u=mən   bədʒar   ge-l-əẽ

3-PL   market   talk-PST-3PL

'They went to the market'

The forms of simple past are given below:

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	*V-l-õ*	*V-l-ɪ*
2nd (intimate)	*V-l-e*	*V-l-a*
2nd (polite)	*V-l-ɪ*	*V-l-a*
3rd (intimate)	*V-l-ək*	*V-l-əẽ*
3rd (polite)	*V-l-əẽ*	*V-l-əẽ*

Table 3.20: Forms of simple past

3.7.4.3 Future Tense

The future tense expresses an action that hasn't occurred yet or a state that has not yet been attained.

In Sadri, future tense is marked by the morpheme *[-b-]*.

The forms of verbs in the simple future forms are given below:

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	*V-m-ʊ*	*V-b-Ø*
2nd (intimate)	*V-b-e*	*V-b-a*
2nd (polite)	*V-b-a*	*V-b-a*

| 3rd (intimate) | *V-Ø-ɪ* | *V-b-ə̃* |
| 3rd (polite) | *V-b-ə̃* | *V-b-ə̃* |

Table 3.21: Forms of simple future

(156)   mõɪ   bədʒar   dʒa -m-ʊ

1SG   market   go-FUT-1SG

'I will go to the market'

In construction involving a participle, the past tense morpheme attaches with the auxiliary *rəh* 'stay'.

(157)   u=mən   bədʒar   dʒa-ʈ   rəh-b-ə̃

3-PL   market   go-IPFV   FUT-3PL

'They are going to the market'

3.7.5 Aspect

The term 'aspect' shows the perspective taken on the internal temporal organisation of the situation such as manner or status of the completion. It thus shows the difference with which one can describe the internal temporal constituency of a situation.

Holt describes aspect as "different ways of conceiving the flow of the process itself" (Holt, 1943). Comrie defines aspect as "different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation" (Comrie, 1976).

In Sadri the only grammatically marked aspects are imperfective and perfective. Other aspects are marked periphrastically.

3.7.5.1 Imperfective Aspect

Imperfective aspect is a grammatical aspect that expresses an event or state, with respect to its internal structure, instead of expressing it as a simple whole. (Comrie, 1976a) It is used in to describe iterative, progressive/ongoing, habitual action, etc. These events could occur in the past, present, or future.

Actions and states, in Sadri, are expressed in the imperfective aspect by an imperfective participle formed by suffixing the aspectual marker *[-ʈ]* to the main verb. Verb stems ending with a vowel are suffixes with */-ʈ/* and stems ending with a consonant is suffixed with */-əʈ/*.

The imperfective participle is followed by an auxiliary which marks person, and number in finite clauses.

(158)　u=mən　bədʒar　dʒa-ṭ　　həẽ
　　　　3-PL　　market　go-IPFV　PRS.3PL
　　　　'They are going to the market'

(159)　u=mən　bədʒar　dʒa-ṭ　　rəhəẽ
　　　　3-PL　　market　go-IPFV　PST.3PL
　　　　'They were going to the market'

(160)　u=mən　bədʒar　dʒa-ṭ　　rəh-b-əẽ
　　　　3-PL　　market　go-IPFV　FUT-3PL
　　　　'They would be going to the market'

3.7.5.2 Perfective Aspect

According to Comrie (1976), "the perfective denotes a situation viewed in entirety as an unanalysable whole without any consideration of its internal temporal structure. In the perfective, we describe a situation as taking place within a single undivided moment without considering its internal temporal structure. Such an event has a well-defined end point, i.e., it has a temporal boundary and is located in the past".

Perfectivity in Sadri is marked by the *[-l-]* morpheme which also marks past tense.

There are two forms:

Simple Perfective:

(161)　u=mən　bədʒar　ge-l-əẽ
　　　　3-PL　　market　go-PST.PFV-3PL
　　　　'They went to the market'

Presumptive Perfective:

(162)　u=mən　　bədʒar　　ge-l　　　ho-b-əẽ
　　　　3-PL　　　market　　go-PFV　　stay-FUT-3PL
　　　　'They would be gone to the market'

The suffix *-əl* or *-l* is used to form perfective participles. However, unlike the imperfective, the perfective aspect does not use the participle except for adjectival function.

(163) *pək-əl*   *amba*   *bes*   *rehe*
      ripe-PFV   mango   good   PST.3SG
      'The ripe mango was good'

3.7.5.3 Other Aspects

Aspects such as, Indefinite aspect, Habitual aspect, Progressive aspect, and Perfect aspect are not marked discretely.

3.7.5.3.1 Indefinite Aspect

The indefinite aspect or simple aspect does not express information about the completion of an action or about the action being a habitual. It is used to denote factuality. Simple predicative sentences are indicative. An example is given below:

(164) *kʰeʈ*   *tʃakər*   *heke*
      field   wide   3SG.PRS
      'The field is wide'

3.7.5.3.2 Habitual Aspect

This aspect denotes actions which occur habitually where the action is performed by the subject as a usually or customarily (Dahl, 1985).

Present habitual sense can be derived from sentences in simple present.

(165) *mõɟ*   *bədʒar*   *dʒa-on*
      1SG   market   go-IPFV
      'I go to the market'

Past imperfect as exemplified by sentence (166) shows past habitual aspect.

(166) *mõɟ*   *bədʒar*   *dʒa-ʈ*   *rohõ*
      1SG   market   go-IPFV   PST.1SG
      'I used to go to the market'

(167) *mõj* *age sal* *bədʒar* *dʒa-ʈ* *rohõ*
1SG last year market go-IPFV PST.1SG
'I used to go to the market last year'

(168) *mõj* *kaɪl* *bədʒar* *dʒa-ʈ* *rohõ*
1SG yesterday market go-IPFV PST.1SG
'I was going to the market yesterday'

This structure can show progressive aspect too. The context in (167) makes it clearer.

Presumptive habitual is shown using FUT tense in the auxiliary.

(169) *mõj* *bədʒar* *dʒa-ʈ* *rəh-m-ʊ*
1SG market go-IPFV stay-FUT-1SG
'I would be going to the market'

3.7.5.3.3 Progressive Aspect

The progressive aspect is indicated by the following form:

Imperfect participle + auxiliary

For example:

(170) *u* *bədʒar* *dʒa-ʈ* *he*
3SG market talk-IPFV PRS.3SG
'She/he is going to the market'

The progressive aspect is signalled only when the imperfect participle is given a time reference by the tense markers. (See counterfactual aspect).

3.7.5.3.4 Perfect Aspect

Both perfective and the perfect denote the completion of an action. However, according to Comrie (1976), they are different. Although, in Indo-Aryan linguistics there is a tendency to conflate the two aspects, Comrie is of the opinion that "perfective, differently from perfect, denotes a situation viewed in entirety as an unanalysable whole without any consideration of its internal temporal structure".

The perfect aspect is used to indicate a situation or action that has occurred prior to the time under consideration. It often shows the resulting state rather than the action/occurrence itself. The perfect aspect is concerned with the relationship

between the action or state being described and another time reference, i.e., the time of consideration. Mostly, perfect denotes a lingering relevance while perfective doesn't. In a way perfect aspect invokes the past to describe a present situation.

The difference between perfect and perfective will be clear from the sentence below which is in perfective aspect. Note that the sentence above indicates a lingering relevance of the action:

(171) u   kɪʈab   pəʈʰ-l-ək
       2SG   book   read-PST;PFV-2SG
       'He went to the market'

The perfect aspect is expressed by the following form:

Stem+linker + auxiliary/light verb

 For example:

(172) u   kɪʈab   pə<ɪ>ʈʰ   he
       2SG   book   read <LNK>   PRS.2SG
       'He has read the book'

(173) u   kɪʈab   pə<ɪ>ʈʰ   rəhɪ
       2SG   book   read <LNK>   stay.FUT.2SG
       'He will have read the book'

Inceptive aspect is marked by the light verb (V$_2$) *ləg* 'begin' and completive aspect is signalled by the light verbs and *le* 'take'.

3.7.6 Mood

Modality is the linguistic mechanism that is concerned with the encoding of information regarding the status of the proposition described by the event (Palmer, 2001). Mood describes the speaker's attitude toward a situation, including the speaker's belief in its reality, or likelihood. It sometimes describes the speaker's estimation of the relevance of the situation to him/herself (Payne, 1997).

Sadri expresses five moods: Indicative, Imperative, Subjunctive, Counterfactual and Presumptive. Out of these, only imperative and subjunctive are marked on the verb. Others are marked/marked periphrastically.

3.7.6.1 *Imperative*

The imperative mood is used to ask an action to be done as a command or a request. It can also convey a warning and a prohibition too. The imperative sense is restricted to the future tense. It cannot refer to actions in the present or past tenses. Additionally, as it denotes a warning, command, request, etc., it is mostly used with the second person. Since the subject thus is clear due to the grammatical environment, the subject can be easily dropped.

Imperative mood is marked by the morpheme *[-o]*. It is overtly marked when the subject is 2nd person familiar. The imperative marking undergoes a phonological change due to the person and number/honorific marker.

(174) *ʈõɪ*   *bədʒar*   *dʒa-o*
　　　 2SG   market   go-IMP.2SG
　　　 'You, go to the market!'

(175) *ʈohre=mən*   *bədʒar*   *dʒa-wa*
　　　 2PL   market   go-IMP.2PL
　　　 'You all go to the market!'

Periphrastically, imperative mood is expressed by a simple third person future sentence. The negation, however, distinguishes the difference between the indicative sense and imperative sense. For example, sentence (176) can be used both in the imperative and indicative mood. However, the negation of the imperative takes a different morpheme *[-na]* instead of the regular *[-nɪ]*.

(176) *ʈõɪ*   *bədʒar*   *dʒa-b-e*
　　　 2SG   market   eat-FUT-1SG
　　　 'You will go to the market'

(177) *ʈõɪ*   *bədʒar*   *nɪ*   *dʒa-b-e*
　　　 2SG   market   NEG   eat-FUT-1SG

'You will not go to the market'

(178) ṯõɟ   bədʒar   na   dʒa-b-e
       2SG   market   NEG.IMP   eat-FUT-1SG
       'You shall not go to the market!'

3.7.6.2 Subjunctive

Subjunctive denotes a mood of verbs expressing what is imagined or wished or seen as a possible event.

Subjunctive mood is a status of non-assertion of the proposition described by the event (Palmer, 2001). According to Lunn (1995), "a proposition is worthy of non-assertion when: (1) the speaker doubts its veracity, (2) it is unrealised or (3) it is presupposed. As opposed to it, a verb in indicative mood is the one which was asserted".

The suffixes that mark the subjunctive mood on the verb are given in the table below:

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	-õ	-ɪ
2nd (intimate)	-ɪs	-wa
2nd (polite)	-ɪ	-wa
3rd (intimate)	-e	-ẽ
3rd (polite)	-ẽ	-ẽ

Table 3.22: Forms of the subjunctive marker

(179) mor   ɪtʃʰa   heke   kɪ   mõɟ   bədʒar   dʒa-õ
       1SG.POSS   wish   PRS.3SG COMP   1SG   market   go-SBJV;1SG
       'I wish that I could go to the market'

Sentence (179) exemplifies subjunctive mood in a sentence.

3.7.6.3 Other Moods

Indicative, counterfactual and presumptive moods are expressed periphrastically.

3.7.6.3.1 Indicative

In Sadri, indicative mood is signalled by the verb in root form followed by the tense aspect, and agreement markers.

(180) *sonʊ bədʒar dʒa-ʈ   he*
   Sonu market go-IPFV PRS.3SG
   'Sonu is going to the market'

The indicative can occur with verbs in habitual aspect, imperfective aspect/progressive aspect, and perfective aspect.

3.7.6.3.2 Counterfactual

Counterfactual aspect is described as the aspect that tells that the validity of one event is based on another event. It indicates a hypothetical state of affairs that depends on a different event or set of circumstances that could have taken place earlier to the time of utterance.

The counterfactual form is as follows:

Imperfective participle + person and number.

Counterfactuals have no tense marking. In the presence of the imperfective, it automatically gives the sense of hindsight.

(181) *sonʊ   bədʒar   dʒa-ʈ-ək*
   Sonu market go-IPFV-2SG
   'Sonu could be going to the market'

3.7.6.3.3 Presumptive Mood

Presumptive is a grammatical epistemic mood. It denotes the speaker's attitude or judgement about a claim or proposition that 'it might be expected to happen or have happened'. Other similar ideas such as, concern, indifference, or curiosity can also be expressed.

The presumptive mood has the following form:

verb stem + aspect/ linker + ho-FUT-Agreement.

The presence of imperfect and perfective aspect marker signals the presumption of an ongoing action and a state of concluded event that is yet not complete.

(182) *u   bədʒar dʒa-ʈ   ho-Ø-ɪ*
   3SG.DST market eat-IPFV be-FUT-3SG
   'He would be going to the market'

(183) u   bədʒar ge-l   ho-Ø-ɪ
       3SG.DST   market eat-PFV   be-FUT-3SG
       'He would be in the market'

On the other hand, the use of the stem linker in place of the aspect markers signals a completed/concluded action.

(184) u   bədʒar dʒa(-e)   ho-Ø-ɪ
       3SG.DST   market eat-IPFV   be-FUT-3SG
       'He would have gone to the market'

3.7.7 Infinitive

The infinitive marker in Sadri is *[-ek]*. It attaches to the verb stem.

Infinitives can be used as nouns. However, they have the properties of an abstract noun both semantically and morphologically as they do not take the plural suffix.

(185) bədʒar dʒa-ek   ahe
       market go-INF   PRS.3SG
       'I have to go to the market'

They are also used as adjectives.

(186) sʊʈ-ek   lʊga   məɽa-l   heke
       sleep-INF   garment   keep-PFV   PRS.3SG
       'The sleeping suit has been kept'

Adjective can be derived too from infinitives by attaching the agentive participle or the adjectiviser *[ola]*
For example:

       sʊʈ-ek ola lʊga 'cloth(es) to sleep'
       betʃek ola lʊga 'cloth(es) to sell'
       ɖʰãp-ek ola lʊga 'cloth(es) to cover'

3.7.8 Non-Finite Forms

3.7.8.1.1 Imperfective Participle

The imperfective participle is of the form:

verb stem+ *[-ṯ]*

They are used as adverbs of manner and duration.

> *(187)* *u* *tʃəl-əṯ - tʃəl-əṯ* *bədʒar* *pəhõ<ɪ>tʃ* *ge-l-ək*
>
> 1SG walk-IPFV-walk- market reach<LNK> go-PST-2SG
>
> IPFV~DUR
>
> 'He reached the market by walking continuously'

3.7.8.1.2 Perfective Participle

The perfective participle is of the form:

verb stem+ *[-l]*

When the verb stem ends with a consonant, the vowel */ə/* is inserted to maintain the syllable structure that does not allow a CC cluster at the word end.

Perfective participles have both adverbial and adjectival use.

məɽa-l lʊga 'kept cloth'

kaʈ-əl amba 'cut mango'

They function as the adjectival complements of the copula.

> *(188)* *amba* *kaʈ-əl* *ahe*
>
> mango(s) cut-PFV PRS.3SG
>
> 'Mangoes have been cut'

3.7.8.1.3 Conditional Participle

Conditional participle is of the following form in Sadri:

verb stem+ [-le]

> *(189)* *ṯõj* *ge-le* *u-kər* *baḏ* *u* *a-l-ək*
>
> 2SG go-COND 3SG-GEN after 3SG come-PST-3SG
>
> 'She/he came only after you went'

3.7.8.1.4 Conjunctive Participle

Conjunctive participle is of the following form in Sadri:

verb stem –linker + [-ke]

Conjunctive participles are used to conjoin two different events/actions performed by the same subject. The verb that is marked with the participle occurs before the other

temporally. The verb marked with the non-finite form does not take any TAM marking, which is then borne by the verb of the second clause.

For example:

(190) u   gʰər   pohõ<ɪ>tʃ   ke   bʰaʈ   kʰa-l-ək
       3SG   market   reach-LNK   CVB   food   each-PST-3SG
       'He reached home and ate food'

Conjunctive participle constructions have multiple functions. They are used to form manner, temporal, causal, antithetical and concessive adverbials.

As manner adverbials, sentences with conjunctive participles can be used to signal manners of action. Note that sentences (191), (192) at the same time has a temporal or sequential meaning. The manner adverbial function is more pronounced in sentence (193). This means that in conjunctive participle constructions, the action that happened first must be described first.

(191) u   bə<ɪ>ʈʰ   ke   bʰaʈ   kʰa-l-ək
       3SG   sit-LNK   CVB   food   each-PST-3SG
       'He ate food sitting'

(192) sonʊ   bədʒar   dʒa-e   ke   ʈel   kɪn-l-ək
       3SG   market   go-LNK   CVB   oil   buy-PST-3SG
       'Sonu went to the market and bought oil'

(193) sonʊ   bəɖə<ɪ>k   ke   kʰeʈ   ge-l-ək
       3SG   hurry-LNK   CVB   field   go-PST-3SG
       'He ate food sitting'

When the main clause is negated then the construction with conjunctive participle attains a concessive meaning.

(194) u   goʈɪja   ho-ɪ   ke   bɪha   mẽ   nɪ   ge-l-ək
       3SG   relative be<LNK>   CVB   marriage   LOC   NEG   go-PST-3SG
       'You must come only after eating'

When the main verb has a verb that describes change of state, the participial construction can attain a causal meaning.

(195) sonʊ basɪ ʈɪ̯ɪ̯ən kʰa-e ke bɪmar pəɽ-l-ək
Sonu stale curry eat-LNK CVB sick lie-PST-3SG
'Sonu fell ill after eating stale curry'

Constructions with conjunctive participles can attain antithetical meaning if the subordinate clause is negated.

(196) sonʊ bədʒar nɪ dʒa -e ke kʰeʈ ge -l-ək
Sonu market NEG go-LNK CVB field go-PST-3SG
'Sonu went to the field instead of going to the market'

3.7.9 Voice

3.7.9.1 Passive

In Sadri, passive constructions are made in two ways. First and the most common method of passive construction has two steps:

1. The subject of the active sentence is followed either by the instrumental postposition *se*.

2. (a). For past tense: the perfective participle of the main verb is used with the light verb *dʒa* 'go'. The light verb bears the tense and number and person agreement.

   (b). For present progressive tense: the perfective participle of the main verb is followed by the imperfective participle of the light verb and the present tense auxiliary *ho* 'be' which takes the agreement markers.

   (c). For past progressive sense: the perfective participle of the main verb is followed by the imperfective participle of the light verb and the past tense auxiliary *rəh* 'stay' which takes the agreement markers.

Examples to show the above rules at work respectively are given below:

(197) mor-se lʊga ɖʰo-l ge-l-ək
1SG.POSS-INS cloth wash-PFV go-PST-3SG
'Cloth was washed by me'

(198) mor-se   lʊga   ɖʰo-l   dʒa-ʈ   he
      1SG.POSS-INS   cloth   wash-PFV   go-IPFV   PRS.3SG
      'Cloth is being washed by me'

(199) mor-se   lʊga   ɖʰo-l   dʒa-ʈ   rehe
      1SG.POSS-INS   cloth   wash-PFV   go-IPFV   stay.PST.3SG
      'Cloth was being washed by me'

It is important to note that since only the object is not case marked in the transitive construction, it is the only capable argument to trigger agreement. Thus, the light verb bears the 3SG mark. On the other hand, in the intransitive construction the default 3SG is visible.

Note that passive sentences in Sadri bear a connotation of capability.

Both transitive verbs and intransitive verbs can be passivized in Sadri. The examples above show the passive construction with transitive verb ɖʰo 'wash'. The sentence below shows passive construction with an intransitive verb pəʈʰ 'study'.

(200) ʊ-kər   se   pəʈʰ-əl   dʒa-el
      2SG-POSS   INS   study-PFV   go-PRS.3SG
      Lit: 'Reading happens by him'

The agents in transitive passive are dropped generally to give a passive reading rather than denoting capability. The intransitive passive denotes capability only. Compare sentence (200) with (201).

(201) lʊga   ɖʰo-l   ge-l-ək
      cloth   wash-PFV   go-PST-3SG
      'Cloth was washed by me'

For the second method see 0. Section 3.6.10 shows the process in brief.

3.7.10 Means of Decreasing the Valency of a Verb

Transitive verbs in Sadri can be turned into intransitive verbs by attaching the suffix -a to them. Only inherent effective verbs take part in this process.

Transitive Verbs	Intransitive Verb
tʰəg-ek 'to cheat'	tʰəg-a-ek 'to get cheated'

kat-ek 'to cut'   *kət-a-ek* 'to get cut'

kɪn-ek 'to buy'   *kɪn-a-ek* 'to get bought'

lɪkʰ-ek 'to write'   *lɪkʰ-a-ek* 'to get written'

3.7.11 Derivation of Verbs

3.7.11.1 Verbs from Nouns

Forming conjunct verbs and verbalization of NPs through light verbs is one of the
most productive methods of forming verbs. See section 3.7.3.7.1.

An example NP verbalization is given below:

(202)   *dʒəne-ṯəne*   *kər*   *gõɪtʰ*   *kər-ek*

      nowhere   GEN   talk   do-INF

      'to blabber/to gossip'

Adding the *-a/-ja* suffix to abstract nouns yields verbs. These then take part in
compound verb constructions.

Nouns		Verb	
pəsəɪnḏ	'liking'	*pəsəɪnḏa*	'to like'
nɪnḏ	'sleep'	*nɪnḏa*	'to sleep'
ladʒ	'shyness'	*lədʒa*	'to feel shy'
askəṯ	'laziness'	*askəṯa*	'to get lazy'

3.7.11.2 Verbs from Verbs

Causativisation using the suffix *-a* is the most productive process of forming verbs
from other verbs. See 3.7.3.6

Forming complex verbs by verb serializing is another productive way of in Sadri.
See 3.7.3.7.2

In addition, intransitive verbs are formed from transitive verbs. See 3.7.3.4

3.7.11.3 Verbs from Other Categories

Same as using nouns, Conjunct verbs can be formed using adjectives. See 3.7.3.7.1

Suffixing *-a* to adjectives yields verbs. The adjectives ending with the open vowel
don't undergo any change. These verbs thus formed take part in compound verb
constructions after being marked by the stem linker *-e/-ɪ*.

Adjectives		Verbs	
gərm	'liking'	*gərma*	'to like'
nərm	'sleep'	*nərma*	'to sleep'
tʃɪkən	'smoothness'	*tʃɪkna*	'to smoothen'
bʰəkʊa	'stupid'	*bʰəkʊa*	'to lose mind'

3.8 Adverbs

Words that function as a modifier or a classifier to an adjective, a verb and sometimes another adverb are called adverbs.

Adverbs in Sadri can be classified on the basis of their internal composition into basic adverbs, derived adverbs, phrasal adverbs, and reduplicated adverbs.

3.8.1 Basic Adverbs

These adverbs function as modifiers of a verb syntactically and are morphologically invariable. Some examples are:

Adverbs of location, such as *hɪjã* 'here', *hʊwã* 'there',

Adverbs of direction, such as *hɪne* 'this side', *hʊne* 'that side',

Temporal adverbs, such as e*kʰən* 'now', *dʒekʰən* 'whence', *ʈəkʰən* 'then', *aɪdʒ* 'today',

Adverbs of degree, such as *mʊrʊkʰ* 'many/much'

Adverbs of manner, such as *asʈe* 'slowly', *dʒʰəʈ* 'quickly', *ʈəle* 'afterwards/then', *patʃʰe* 'later', etc.

These adverbs are pure underived words that do not have root forms from other word classes.

3.8.2 Derived Adverbs

Most adverbs in Sadri are derived from other word classes such as noun, pronoun, adjective, or verb.

3.8.2.1 Adverbs Derived from Nouns and Pronouns

Some nouns are used with quantifiers as adverbs.

(203)	*mõj*	*i*	*kɪʈab*	*tʃaɪr*	*dɪn*	*pə<ɪ>ʈʰ*	*hõ*
	1SG	this	book	four	day(s)	study<LNK>	PRS.1SG

'I read this book for four days'

Postpositional phrase

Most adverbs derived from nouns are of the following form:

Noun + postposition

e.g., *bɪhan ke* 'in the evening', *bʰɪʈər mẽ* 'inside', *dʒət le* 'quickly', *ʈãŋɪ se* 'with an axe'

Postposition incorporation

Temporal adverbs formed by this process have a more assimilated form where the consonant of postposition is elided. E.g., *bɪhane* 'in the evening', *bʰɪʈre* 'inside'. However, it must be noted that this form has an element of emphasis. In situations where the emphasis must not be present consciously, the non-assimilated form is used.

Adverbs or adverbials are derived from the demonstrative, interrogative and relative pronouns. They are given in the table below:

	Time	Place	Manner	Direction
Proximal	*ekʰən*	*hɪɲã*	*i lekʰən*	*hɪne*
Distal	*ʈəkʰən*	*hʊwã*	*u lekʰən*	*hʊne*
Interrogative	*kəkʰən*	*kəhã*	*ka lekʰən*	*kəne*
Relative	*dʒəkʰən*	*dʒəhã*	*dʒe lekʰən*	*dʒəne*

Table 3.23: Adverbs derived from pronouns

There exists a corresponding directional form *ʈəne*. However, this form does occur independently and is part of fixed compound adverb *dʒəne- ʈəne* 'in all direction'.

Other adverbs derived from pronouns are emphatic relative adverbial, *kəhɪɲa* 'when(ever)', *dʒəhɪɲa* 'then(condition)', *ʈəhɪɲa* 'then (condition fulfilled)'.

3.8.2.2 Adverbs from Adjectives

Like nouns, quantitative adjectives function as adverbs in postpositional phrases with the locative postposition mẽ.

e.g., *eʈna mẽ* 'this much', *oʈna mẽ* 'that much'.

Some adjectives of quality are used adverbially without any overt derivation:

(204) u   kər   betı   mʊrʊkʰ sʊnɖər   bʰaʈ   pəka-el

      3SG   GEN   daughter very   beautiful food   cook-3SG

      'His/her daughter cooks very well'

3.8.2.3 Adverbs from Verbs

Adverbs are formed from verbs mostly through participialisation. Both present and past participles function as adverbs. Their formation has already been discussed in the previous sections. These adverbs are mainly used to express of manner, continuity, sequence, and causality. It must, however, be noted that the participles are mainly used in their reduplicated forms V-ʈ-V-ʈ.

Here are some examples of the participial forms used as adverbs.

(205) u   kər   betı   hə̃s-ʈ-hə̃s-ʈ   kəh-l-ək

      3SG   GEN   daughter laugh-IPFV-laugh-IPFV~manner   say-PST-3SG

      'Her/his daughter said laughing'

(206) u   bəɪʈʰ-əl-bəɪʈʰ-əl   əskəʈa-e   ge-l-ək

      3SG   sit-PFV-sit-PFV~durative   get lazy<LNK>   go-PST-3SG

      'He/she got bored sitting'

3.8.3 Reduplicated Adverbs

Adverbs, in Sadri exist in reduplicated form. This process is quite productive with the participle forms which are discussed earlier. Such adverbs show intensity and distribution. In addition, reduplication shows increased degree or emphasis too. For example:

asʈe-asʈe 'slowly'

bɪhane- bɪhane 'in late evening'

bɪhane- bɪhan 'in the evening itself'

3.8.4 Phrasal Adverbs

Phrasal adverbs are formed by adding a simple or a noun modified with an adjective attached to a basic adverb. For example:

ek gʰənʈa patʃʰe 'one hour later'

3.8.5 Categorisation by Function

Adverbs can be grouped into the following subclasses:

Adverbs of time/duration:

kaɪl 'tomorrow', *bɪhane* 'in the evening' *raʈɪ bera* 'at night'

Adverbs of place or direction:

bʰɪʈre 'inside', *bahre* 'outside', *ʊpre* 'on top'.

Adverbs of instrument:

ʈãŋɪ se 'with an axe', *lʊga se* 'with cloth'

Adverbs of manner:

asʈe-asʈe 'slowly', *ʊpre-ʊpre* 'superficially'

Adverbs of purpose:

dʒar-kər legɪn 'for fever'

Comitative:

sonʊ kər səŋ 'alongwith Sonu'

Adverbs of degree/intensity:

mʊrʊkʰ 'much/many', *lera* 'in abundance',

Adverbs of reason:

kaʈ-ek le 'for use in cutting', *sərɪja-ek le* 'to arrange'

3.8.6   Expressions of Time

3.8.6.1   General Time Expressions

In Sadri, general expression of time is made using nouns indicating time followed by the dative postposition *[ke]*. However, in most cases, but not mandatorily, the postposition is merged with the noun. Other nouns such as *kaɪl* 'tomorrow/yesterday', and derived adverbs of the form [*Quantifier + Noun*] discussed earlier are used without the postposition. Here the suffix *[-e]* seen sometimes is the emphasis marker. See 3.9.1 The difference is seen clearly in the example (210).

(207)   *ʈõɪ*   *bɪhan-e*   *a-b-e*
        2SG   evening-adverbialiser   come-FUT-2SG
        'You come in the evening'

(208)   *ʈõɪ*   *ḍʊsrɪ-bela*   *a-b-e*
        2SG   second part of day (afternoon)   come-FUT-2SG

'You come in the afternoon'

(209) *t̪õɪ*   *d̪ʊsrɪ-bela*   *he*   *a-b-e*

2SG   second part of day (afternoon)   EMP   come-FUT-2SG

'You must come in the afternoon only'

(210) *t̪õɪ*   *kaɪl-e*   *a-b-e*

2SG   tomorrow-EMP   come-FUT-2SG

'You must come tomorrow only'

3.8.6.2 Exact Time and Period of Time

Adverbs expressing time period or exact time taken in the action is either conveyed using the loaned Hindi subjunctive form of the verb *bəd̠ʒ* 'be time' or the following form: [*Noun+mẽ*]. The noun can be further modified with quantifiers. The verb *bəd̠ʒe* can be further modified with quantifiers. Some examples of the aforementioned processes are:

tʃəo bəd̠ʒe 'six o'clock'

d̪ʊɪ gʰənʈa mẽ 'in two hours'

3.8.6.3 Manner in Time

The manner in which an action is done with respect to time is expressed by adverbials mostly involving abstract nouns and the ablative postposition *[se]* in the following form: [*Noun + se*]. For example:

d̠erɪ se 'with lateness'

d̠ʒʰəʈ se 'with haste'

3.8.6.4 Days of the Week

The Sadri days of the week are:

Sadri days of the week	Gloss
et̪war	'Sunday'
sommar	'Monday'
məŋəl	'Tuesday'
bud̪ʰ	'Wednesday'
bɪpʰe	'Thursday'

suk^h	'Friday'
sənɪtʃər	'Saturday'

Table 3.24: Days of the week

3.8.6.5 Months of the Year

In Sadri, the influence of languages from Bihar such as Maithili and Bhojpuri can be seen clearly in the name of the months. This according to some convergence studies have been argued to have come into Sadri due to the adoption of Aryan astrology. Month names in Sadri as in all other major surrounding languages non-tribal languages are increasingly adopting the English month names due to the uses and prevalence of the Gregorian calendar for all official and formal purposes. The Sadri months are given below:

Sadri	Gloss (Hindi & English)
bəɪsak^h	*gərmɪ* 'summer'
dʒeʈ^h	(April-July)
əsaɽ^h	
saon	*bərk^{h}a* 'rainy season'
b^{h}aḓo	(July-September)
asɪn	*sərəʈ* 'autumn'
kaʈɪk	(September-November)
əg^{h}ən	*dʒaɽa* 'winter'
pus	December-February
mag^h	
p^{h}agʊa	*bəsəṇʈ* 'spring'
tʃəɪʈ	(March-April)

Table 3.25: Month of a year

The Sadri new year is called *sərhʊl*, which is celebrated on the third day of the waxing moon in *tʃəɪʈ* month. The name *sərhʊl* literally means 'the worship of the sal tree'. The *sək^{h}ʊa* 'sal' (Shorea robusta) is a tree most commonly found in the deciduous forest of the Chotanagpur plateau. It is considered very important in the tribal culture. It is a source of timber and its leaves are used to make plates, bowls and cups to make offerings to deities and also to feed guests on occasions.

The anglicized names of months are the same as in Hindi.

3.9 Particles

3.9.1 The Particle [hõ], [he], [jo] and [je]

The particle *[hõ]* is used to mark emphasis with different types of nouns. It immediately follows a noun and precedes the postposition. The noun is in the root form. When the noun stem has a stop in the final position the */h/* sound is assimilated as aspiration on the stop. In all other environments, there is a tendency to drop the /h/ sound and assimilate the particle as a suffix among the newer generation of speakers.

(211)   *sonʋ*   *(h)õ*   *kaɪl*   *(h)e*   *a-l-ək*
     2SG   EMP   tomorrow EMP come-PST-2SG
     'Sonu too has come yesterday itself'

(212)   *u*   *sonʋ*   *hõ*   *ke*   *hõka-l-ək*
     3SG 2SG EMP   ACC come-PST-2SG
     'He called Sonu too'

The particle *[hõ]* also expresses limitations and can be seen as the Sadri equivalent of the English adverb 'even'. It always occurs with the negative particle.

(213)   *u*   *bʰaʈ*   *hõ*   *nɪ*   *kʰa -l-ək*
     3SG rice/food EMP NEG eat-PST-2SG
     'He/she didn't even have rice/food'

The particle *[he]* is used to put emphasis on adverbs and pronouns. The assimilation rules discussed above for the particle *[hõ]* works for *[he]* too.

(214)   *ʈõj*   *kaɪl*   *he*   *a-b-e*
     2SG tomorrow EMP come-FUT-2SG
     'You must come tomorrow only'

When used with pronouns they follow the postposition.

(215)   *ʈo-ke*   *he*   *a-w-ek*   *ho-Ø-ɪ*
     2SG-DAT EMP come-IMP-INF be-FUT-3SG
     'You will have to come'

The particle *[ʝo]* is used to put emphasis on the concessive action in concessive constructions and the conditional action in conditional clauses. It also makes the concessive effect more pronounced and can be translated as 'though'. In all other cases the other verbal emphasis marker *[ʝe]* is found.

(216) u   goʈɪja   ho-ɪ   ʝo   ke   bɪha   mẽ   nɪ   ge-l-ək
       3SG   relative be<LNK>   although   CONJ   marriage LOC   NEG   go-PST-3SG
       'You must come only after eating'

The particle *[ʝe]* is used to emphasise on the verbs. The assimilation rule discussed above for other particles, however, do not apply in this case. The verb must be marked with the stem linker *[ɪ]* in all case. The rules concerning the stem linker applies here too. It can be translated as 'that is why'.

(217) ʈõʝ   kʰa-ɪ   ʝe   ke   a-b-e
       2SG   eat<LNK>   EMP   CONJ   come-FUT-2SG
       'You must come only after eating'

It must be noted that the emphasis only takes place followed by the conjunctive particle *[ke]*.

3.9.2 The Particle [be]

The particle used for emphasis in negative clauses is *[be]*. It does not assimilate with the verb stem in any case. The two examples (218) and (219) will clarify the difference that negation brings.

(218) mõʝ   nɪ   kʰa-m-ʊ
       1SG   NEG   eat-FUT-1SG
       'I will not eat'

(219) mõʝ   kʰa   be   nɪ   kər-m-ʊ
       1SG   eat   EMP   NEG   do-FUT-1SG
       'I will certainly not eat'

3.9.3 The Particle [ʈo]

The particle *[ʈo]* is used to mark contrast and emphasis when an alternative is inherent in the context.

(220) u   kʰa-e   t̪o   rehe
      3SG   eat<LNK>   CONT   PST.3SG
      'Let me eat'

(221) moke   kʰa-ek   t̪o   d̪e
      1SG.DAT   eat-INF   CONT   give.IMP
      'Let me eat'

3.9.4 The Particle [dʒʊn]

[dʒʊn] is a contrastive particle. However, it cannot conjoin two sentences. It gives an adversative sense. It is used interchangeably often with *t̪o*.

(222) mõj   dʒʊn   kʰa-e   rohõ
      1SG   CONT   eat-LNK   PST.1SG
      'But I had eaten'

3.9.5 The Particle [dʒəɪsən]

The particle *dʒəɪsən* is used as equative particle. It functions like a postposition.

(223) pəɽʰ-ek   mẽ   sit̪a   sonʊ   dʒəɪsən   t̪edʒ   heke
      study-INF   LOC   Sita   Sonu   like   sharp   BE
      'Sita is good in studies like Sonu'

3.10 Connectives

Sadri has at least eight connectives or conjunctions. They are given below with the respective English glosses.

Sadri	Gloss
ar	'and'
kɪ	'or'
se le	'that is why'
ka le	'because'
hole	'then'
nɪ hole	'otherwise'
t̪əb-he	'only then'
t̪əle	'then'

Table 3.26: List of connectives/conjunctions

The morpheme *[ʈəb]* is a Hindi loan. No evidence was found of its use elsewhere.
The sentences below show their use:

[ar] is used for simple conjunction. It is also used in constituent conjunction apart from clausal conjunction.

(224) *mõj bədʒar ge-l-õ   ar   sonʊ kʰet ɖəne   ge-l-ək*
       1SG   market go-PST-1SG   CONJ   Sonu field towards go-PST-3SG
       'I went to the market and Sonu went towards the field(s)'

[kɪ] is used for contrastive conjunction. It is also used in constituent conjunction apart from clausal conjunction.

(225) *mõj hʊne a-on   kɪ   ʈõj   hɪne a-b-e*
       1SG   there come-PRS.1SG   CONJ   2SG   here come-FUT-2SG
       'I come there or you will come here?'

[se le] is used when the second clause describes result of the first.

(226) *mõj bədʒar ge-l-õ   se le sonʊ kʰet ɖəne   ge-l-ək*
       1SG   market go-PST-1SG   CONJ   Sonu field towards go-PST-3SG
       'I went to the market that is why Sonu went towards the field(s)'

[ka le] is used for a similar function and can be used interchangeably with *[se le]* by the older generation of speakers.

(227) *mõj bədʒar ge-l-õ   ka le sonʊ kʰet ɖəne   ge-l-ək*
       1SG   market go-PST-1SG   CONJ   Sonu field towards go-PST-3SG
       'I went to the market because Sonu went towards the field(s)'

[ho le] is used to show that the event in clause 2 occurs subsequent to and as a result of the action in clause 1.

(228) *mõj bədʒar ge-l-õ   ho le moke   sonʊ bʰẽʈa-l-ək*
       1SG   market go-PST-   CONJ   1SG.DAT   Sonu meet-PST-
              1SG   3SG
       'I went to the market then (as a result) I met Sonu'

[nɪ hole] is used to conjoin sentences that warn of opposite outcomes.

(229) mõɟ   bədʒar   ge-l-õ   nɪ   ho le   tʃaʊr   ke   an-ʈ-ək
      1SG   market   go-PST-1SG   NEG   CONJ   rice   who   bring-IPFV-3SG

'I went to the market otherwise who would bring the rice?'

[ʈəb-he] is used to emphasise on the importance of the action in clause 1 for the occurrence described in clause 2.

(230) mõɟ   bədʒar   ge-l-õ   ʈəb-he   tʃaʊr   kɪna-l-ək
      1SG   market   go-PST-1SG   CONJ   rice   be bought-PST-3SG

'I went to the market only then rice was bought'

[ʈəle] is used to form conditional clauses. It is also used as a connective. It is made by combining the particle *[ʈo]* and conditional marker *[-le]*.

(231) u   kʰa-Ø-ɪ   ʈəle   mõɟ   kʰa-m- ʊ
      3SG   eat-FUT-3SG   CONJ   1SG   eat-FUT-1SG

'He will eat, then I will'

4 SYNTAX

4.1 Introduction

The present chapter for the most part attempts to describe the syntactic strategies in Sadri. The discussion will begin with a description of different kinds of phrases and their structure and variance. After discussing the agreement pattern in sentences and the structure of different clause types, the structure of simple sentences will be described. This section also presents a discussion in various grammatical relations that have a bearing on the argument structure sanctioned by predicators. This is followed by a syntactic and morphological discussion on the structures and morphemes employed to convey negation, questions, commands, requests, and so on. This is followed by a discussion on more complex sentences and strategies used to express anaphora, reflexivity, reciprocity, comparison, and coordination.

4.2 Structure of Phrases

Phrase as a term used "to refer to a single element of structure typically containing more than one word" that does not show a "subject-predicate structure". The absence of this structure distinguishes it from a clause. In the hierarchy of syntactic structures, it falls "between clause and word" (Crystal, 1980). It is abbreviated as P and is denoted in combinations such as NP, AdjP, VP, PP, etc. for noun phrase, adjective phrase, verb phrase and postpositional/prepositional phrase respectively. The types of phrases are not limited to this list.

4.2.1 The Noun Phrase

A noun phrase consists of a nominal as the head which is preceded or followed but not necessarily by one or more than one modifier. The nominal in Sadri is modified by a variety of modifiers such as adjectives, quantifiers, numerals, emphatic markers, etc. A noun or a pronoun can be the only constituent of a noun phrase.

The correlational feature with regards to nominal head in a noun phrase that is consistent with the verb-final languages is true for Sadri as determiners and adjectives precede the noun they modify. In some modern theories of grammar, noun phrases with determiners are seen as having the determiner as the head of the phrase. (Lehmann, 1973)

The noun phrase also forms the nucleus of a postpositional phrase. In other words, they serve as the complements of postpositional phrase. Noun phrases also function as the complements that satisfy the argument structure of a predicator in a verb phrase.

In Sadri, the NP may function as a subject or object (indirect or direct) complement of the predicate or as a direct object of a postposition. Depending upon the complexity of the NP they can be categorized as simple, complex, and compound NPs:

(1) **siṯa**   bʰa-ɪ-g   ge-l-ək
    Sita   go away<LNK>   go-PST-3SG
    'Sita's ran away'

(2) **siṯa   kər   kʊkʊr   dʒe   kərɪja   rehe   bʰa-ɪ-g   ge-l-ək**
    Sita   GEN   dog   COMP   black   PST.3SG   go   go-PST-
                                                      away<LNK>   3SG
    'Sita's dog that was black ran away'

(3) **kʊkʊr   ar   bəɪl   bʰa-ɪ-g   ge-l-ək**
    dog   and   ox   go away<LNK>   go-PST-3SG
    'The dog and ox ran away'

In (1) the complement NP of the verb is a simple NP as it consists only of a noun. A single noun or a noun preceded by a determiner, quantifier and other adjectives form a Simple NP. In (2) the NP in bold has a complex internal structure. In (3) the subject NP consists of two nouns joined by a conjunction hence it is a compound NP.

Sadri uses determiners to mark indefiniteness. Indefinite pronouns such as *kono 'some'*, the indefinite determiner *goṯek,* cardinals followed by classifiers such as *go, ṯʰo, and dʒʰən,* and approximates are used to mark indefiniteness. A noun accompanied by the clitic *=hər*, demonstratives, ordinals, and aggregatives is definite. A bare noun too is definite. See section 0

The modifiers in an NP in Sadri precede the nominal in the following scheme. The following scheme is, however, tentative and requires support of deeper research.

[Demonstrative – Approximate – Ordinal – Cardinal – Aggregative – Collective –Multiplicative – Fractional – Measure –Adverbial – Adjective – Nominal] NP

An NP with a string of all categories given above is not possible. This means that not all categories in the above scheme co-occur.

Due to semantic restrictions of definiteness, there are various combinations that are not possible. For example: This analysis is not complete and further research is required with a larger corpus of data to study these interactions. Some possible co-occurrence scenarios are given below:

(4) i   ɖosər   ɖʊ   pəɪla   səʊb   le   bəɽʰɪ̯a   tʃaʊr
    3SG.PROX   second   two   measuring bowl   all   ABL   good   rice
    'This other two bowls full of the best rice'

(5) ɖʊɪ̯o   bora   səʊb   le   bəɽʰɪ̯a   tʃaʊr
    two   sac   all   ABL   good   rice
    'Both sacks of the best rice'

(6) ɖʊɪ̯o   ɖeɽʰ   bora   tʃaʊr
    two   one and half   sack   rice
    'Both one and half sacks of rice'

(7) ləgbʰəg   ɖʊ   pəɪla   səʊb   le   bəɽʰɪ̯a   tʃaʊr
    approximately   two   measuring bowl   all   ABL   good   rice
    'Approximately two bowls full of the best rice'

The emphasis markers don't precede the noun head

(8) tʃʰõɽɪ   he   =hər   ɪskʊl   a-l-ək
    girl   EMP   DEF   school   come-PST-3SG
    'Only the girl came to school'

The definite maker =hər follows the nominal head.

(9) tʃʰõɽɪ   =hər   ɪskʊl   a-l-ək
    girl   DEF   school   come-PST-3SG
    'The girl came to school'

The relative clauses and complement clauses don't precede the noun head in Sadri as in some OV languages.

An example of a relative clause (modifier) following the noun head is given below:

(10) kʊkʊr **dʒe** **kərɪ̯a** **rehe**

     dog   COMP   black   PST.3SG

     'Sita's dog that was black'

The relative clause modifying the noun head shown in bold follows the phrase head *kʊkʊr*. The example below shows the complement clause in bold modifying the phrase head *gõɪʈʰ* follows it.

(11) ʊ   kər   gõɪʈʰ **kɪ**   **mõɪ̯** **hʊwa** **rohõ**   pʰalʈʊ heke

     3SG GEN   talk   COMP 1SG   DST   PST.1SG useless PRS.3SG

     'His saying that I was there is useless'

Participle modifiers of nominal heads in an NP in Sadri precede the noun. Only perfective participle takes part in such constructions:

(12) rakʰ-əl   ʈɪ̯ən   bəsa-ʈ   rehe

     put-PFV curry stink-IPFV PST.3SG

     'The stored curry was stinking'

Noun Clause

Infinitive noun clause act as NPs in Sadri. Examples are given below:

(13) ʊ   kər   hʊwa bəɪ̯ʈʰ-ek bes   nekʰe

     3SG GEN DST   sit-INF good PRS.3SG.NEG

     'It is not good that he sits there'

4.2.2 Postposition Phrase (PP)

A postposition phrase is a postposition as the head and an NP as its complement. Unlike Hindi, and discussed in the previous chapter, NPs do not take an oblique form to attach to postpositions. They remain in their root form in both direct case and oblique cases.

The complement NP precedes the postposition.

(14) mor ʊpər bəʈe kər   kʰeʈ se...

     1SG up   side GEN field ABL

     '…from my field on the upper side'

4.2.3 Adjectival Phrases (AdjP)

A phrase that has an adjective as the head of a phrase is called an Adjective phrase. The dependents of an adjective in Sadri are typically AdvPs and PPs. Example of an AdvP and a PP acting as complement in AdjP is given below.

(15) **mʊrʊkʰ** kərɪ̯a kʊkʊr

       very   black   dog

       'very black dog'

(16) mor   **dʒa-ek**   **se**   gʰaʈa ho-l-ək

       1SG.POSS go-INF INST loss   be-PST-3SG

       'Due to my going away, loss was incurred'

Illustrated by the examples above, adjectives usually precede the nouns they modify.

AdjP is of two types: simple and complex. Simple adjective phrases comprise of a simple or derived adjective.

(17) kərɪ̯a   kʊkʊr

       black   dog

       'black dog'

Complex adjectives are finite relative clauses and nonfinite participles used as adjectives.

AdjP can act attributively and predicatively. In Sadri, AdjP can be taken as complements to copulas.

(16) tʃõɽa-hər   mʊrʊkʰ bərɪ̯ar   heke

       boy-SG;DEF much   stubborn PRS.3SG

       'The boy is very stubborn'

4.2.4 Adverb Phrase (AdvP)

An adverb phrase consists of an adverb as the head of the phrase. The modifiers precede the head adverb. An adverb can only be modified by another adverb.

(17) mʊrʊkʰ asʈe

       very   slowly

       very slowly

Sadri has very limited basic and morphologically derived adverbs. Phrasal adverbs are however a very productive class. All simple and complex postpositions barring the accusative */ke/*are used to create adverbials.

(18)　ʈaɲɪ　se

　　　axe　INST

　　　with an axe

(19)　ʈin　mas　kər　patʃʰe

　　　three　months　GEN　back

　　　'three months ago'

AdvP is of two types: modifier AdvP and predicative AdvP. Modifier AdvP are adjuncts and optional for grammaticality. On the other hand, AdvPs can function as complements of a copula and are not optional. Sentence (20) shows the example of a modifier AdvP and sentence (21) shows the example of a predicative AdvP in bold.

(20)　*mõɪ*　**ek**　**gʰənʈa**　**mẽ**　*sʊʈ-ek*　*dʒa-m-ʊ*

　　　1SG　one　hour　LOC　sleep-INF　go-FUT-1SG

　　　'I will go to sleep in an hour'

(21)　*ʈor*　　*tʃʰegrɪ*　***ʈãʈ***　***bəʈe***　*heke*

　　　2SG.POSS　goat　highland　towards　PRS.3SG

　　　'Your goat is towards the highland'

Sadri is a verb final language that overtly expresses gender, number, case, tense, aspect and mood distinctions. Other grammatical functions come into effect periphrastically.

This section will discuss the word order restrictions, agreement rules and complement structure and clauses in Sadri.

4.3　Word Order

The possible systematic arrangement of words in clauses is called the word order. The discussion in this chapter will focus on the constituent order of a clause, namely

the relative order of subject, object, and verb. The order of modifiers and complements in phrases has been discussed in the previous section.

According to (Dryer M. , 2007) "one of the primary ways in which languages differ from one another is in the order of constituents, or, as it is most commonly termed, their word order. When people refer to the word order of a language, they often are referring specifically to the order of subject, object, and verb with respect to each other, but word order refers more generally to the order of any set of elements, either at the clause level or within phrases, such as the order of elements within a noun phrase".

Some languages rely on the syntactic order of constituents to convey semantic and grammatical information. To this effect these languages can be said to use a relatively fixed word order. On the other-hand some languages can have varying degrees of flexibility in word order. These languages often convey grammatical information through inflection. Variations or flexibility of word order is used typically to express pragmatic information, such as focus, emphasis and topicalisation. Even languages that have a flexible word order have a neutral or basic word order. To this effect, flexibility can be seen as "marking" some semantic/pragmatic function (Jeanette, 2015).

Languages that have a fixed order are called configurational languages and the ones with a relatively free order are called non-configurational languages.

Constituent word order is defined in terms of the order of a transitive finite verb (V) with respect to the two arguments, namely the subject (S), and the object (O) (Dryer M., 2013). A simple sentence with a transitive verb in Sadri shows the subject-object-verb (SOV) order:

(22) *tʃʰõɽɪ-hər*   *bʰaṱ*   *kʰa-ṱ*   *he*
       (S)   (O)   (V)
       girl-SG;DEF   food/rice   eat-IPFV   PRS.3SG
       'The girl is eating food/rice'

Sadri is mostly a head-final (Subject-Object-Verb) language, with relatively free word order. This order can be arranged to express different pragmatic information as

is the case of most non-configurational languages as discussed above. There may be stylistic reasons to shuffle the order too.

Since postpositions mark the relationship of the NP with other constituents explicitly, an NP can be moved around without much difficulty. The postpositions also fairly clearly ascribe the thematic/semantic roles and grammatical roles to the NP in Sadri, which makes it easy to move the NP to be moved around in a clause. Where the grammatical roles are not clearly marked, as in Sadri, the DO is not followed by the accusative postposition */ke/* if the DO is inanimate, the NPs can still be moved around due to this knowledge.

However, NPs cannot move out of the immediate clause boundary. In other words, an NP belonging to a subordinate clause cannot move out of the clause boundary of the subordinate clause and be positioned in the boundary of the matrix clause. To illustrate the discussion above, sentence (23) can have 14 other variants that are shown below:

(23) ləʈa   sonʋ   ke   ʧaʋr   de-l-ək
      (S)   (IO)   (DO)   (P)
      Lata   Sonu   DAT   rice   give-PST.3SG
      'Lata gave rice to Sonu'

1. *ləʈa ʧaʋr **sonʋ ke** de-l-ək*

2. ***ləʈa** de-l-ək sonʋ ke ʧaʋr*

3. *ləʈa de-l-ək **ʧaʋr** sonʋ ke*

4. *sonʋ ke ləʈa **ʧaʋr** de-l-ək*

5. *sonʋ ke ʧaʋr **ləʈa** de-l-ək*

6. *sonʋ ke de-l-ək ləʈa **ʧaʋr***

7. *sonʋ ke de-l-ək ʧaʋr **ləʈa***

8. *ʧaʋr ləʈa **sonʋ ke** de-l-ək*

9. *ʧaʋr sonʋ ke **ləʈa** de-l-ək*

10. *ʧaʋr de-l-ək ləʈa **sonʋ ke***

11. *ʧaʋr de-l-ək sonʋ ke **ləʈa***

12. **de-l-ək** ləʈa tʃaʊr sonʊ ke

13. **de-l-ək** tʃaʊr ləʈa sonʊ ke

14. **de-l-ək** tʃaʊr sonʊ ke ləʈa

The words in bold show the focus in the sentence.

The examples above also show the alterations in the position of Direct Object (DO) and Indirect Object (IO) with respect to the Subject (S) and the Predicator (P).

The examples above show the freedom in movement of the arguments in the clause. The restrictions in the word order within syntactic phrases has been discussed in the earlier segment.

4.4 Agreement

There is no modifier-head agreement in Sadri. Sadri shows only noun-verb agreement. Finite verbs agree with some noun in the sentence in number and person. Sadri has honorific pronouns. They trigger plural agreement on the verb.

The broad agreement rules are given below:

1. The finite verb agrees with the NP in the direct case. If the subject NP is case marked, the verb agrees with other NP that is not case marked. The extension of this rule that holds true is that the verb does not agree with a case-marked noun.

2. If the verb does not agree with a NP, it occurs in default agreement form, which is the 3SG form.

3. Sadri has honorific pronouns. They trigger plural agreement on the verb in spite of the number marking on the pronoun the verb agrees with.

The application of the principles detailed above are given below:

(24) ləʈa   moke   tʃaʊr   de-l-ək
      Lata   1SG.DAT   rice   give-PST.3SG
      'Lata gave rice to me'

(25) ləʈa   ke   mõɪ   tʃaʊr   de-l-õ
      Lata   DAT   1SG   rice   give-PST.1SG

'I gave rice to Lata'

The finite verb *de* 'give' is marked 3SG in 24 and 1SG in 25 as it agrees with the unmarked NP. This satisfies rule 1.

(26) *moke*   *ţoke*   *bola-ek*   *ahe*
     1SG.DAT   2.SG.ACC   call-INF   PRS.3SG
     'I have to call you'

(27) *moke*   *ţõɟ*   *bola-ek*   *ahıs*
     1SG.DAT   2SG   call-INF   PRS.2SG
     'You have come to call me'

In (26) nor 1SG neither 2SG NP could trigger the agreement on the copula. Thus, according to rule 2, the verb occurs in the default agreement form of 3SG. However, the rule does not apply on (27) as the 2SG pronoun is not case marked and successfully triggers agreement on the verb.

(28) *rəʊre*   *tıɟən*   *le-ı*   *le-wa*
     2SG.HON   curry   take-LNK   take-SUBJ.2PL
     'You (HON) take the curry'

The singular honorific pronoun triggers plural agreement in (28).

4.5 Structure of Clauses

This section will briefly discuss the structure of subordinate clauses, main clauses, adverbial clauses and relative clauses in Sadri.

4.5.1 Subordinate Clauses

Subordinate clauses involve finite infinite and non-finite forms of the verbs. These have been discussed separately in the sections below:

4.5.1.1 Finite Subordinate Clauses

Sadri finite subordinate clauses have the same structure as a main clause and are used mostly as complement clauses. The subordinate marker or complementiser comes before the subordinate clause.

(29) *mõɟ* *dʒan-t̪-e* *ahõ* *kɪ* *ʊ* *a-w-ɪ*

1SG   know-IPFV-EMP   be-PRS.1SG   COMP   3SG   come-FUT-1SG

'I have been knowing that he/she will come'

When the subordinate clause is moved to the front of the sentence for focus, the complementiser */kɪ/* is dropped and the proximal 3SG pronoun is used before the main clause.

(30) *ʊ* *a-w-ɪ* *i* *mõɟ* *dʒan-t̪-e* *ahõ*

3SG   come-FUT-1SG   3SG.PROX   1SG   know-IPFV-EMP   be-PRS.1SG

'He/she will come, that I have been knowing'

4.5.1.2 Non-finite and Infinitive Subordinate Clauses

These clauses are different from the main clause. They can be identified by:

1. the modification in the verb form,
2. lack of agreement markers on the verb form and
3. difference in the word order.

The verb in these subordinate clause undergoes participialisation or infinitivisation and does not agree with any NP in number and person. It does not show tense marking. The word order in terms of the clause's position in the matrix clause and also its internal word order is strict due to the absence of various agreement features.

Infinitive subordinate

(31) *i* *ke* *ledʒ-ek* *muskɪl* *lag-ɪ*

3SG.PROX   DAT   transport-INFV   difficult   feel-FUT.3SG

'It will be difficult to transport this'

Participle subordinate

(32) *u* *hĩʈʰ-ət̪* *tʃəʊwa* *ke* *hõka-l-ək*

3SG.DIST   walk-IPFV   boy (child)   ACC   call-PST-3SG

'He called the boy who was walking'

Literal: 'He called the walking boy'

Since the participle functions as a modifier of the NP, its order cannot be disturbed. In addition, the whole participle-NP complex cannot be moved freely to yield grammatical sentences.

4.5.2 Adjective Clauses

Adjective clauses or relative clauses can be both finite and non-finite. The structure of finite relative clauses is similar to a main clause. These are the most common forms of adjective clauses. Participial relative clauses contain the non-finite forms of the subordinate verb.

4.5.2.1 Marking the Finite/Sentential Relative Clause

Finite relative clauses are formed through the following process:

1. the relative marker *dʒe* 'which/who' precedes the element/clause that is relativized,
2. the 3SG.DIST pronoun *u* is placed before the head noun as the correlative marker,
3. the second identical and coreferential NP can be deleted optionally.

The form of the relative marker for both singular and plural, and feminine and masculine is the same.

(33) *dʒe*   *tʃəʊwa*   *hʊwa*   *bəɪʈʰ-*   *ahəẽ*   *u*   *mor*   *tʃəʊwa*   *hekəẽ*
     =mən   *əl*   *=mən*
     REL   children   there   sitting   be.3PL   COR   my   children   be.3PL
     'Children who are sitting there, those are my children'

The sentence above can have the following forms. The symbol ø indicates the presumed site of relativized and head NP prior to deletion.

(34) *dʒe*   *ø*   *=mən*   *hʊwa*   *bəɪʈʰ-əl*   *ahəẽ*   *u*   *mor*   *tʃəʊwa*   *hekəẽ*
                                                         =mən
     REL   NP   PL   there   sitting   be.3PL   COR   my   children   be.3PL
     'Who are sitting there, those are my children'

(35) *dʒe*   *tʃəʊwa=mən*   *hʊwa*   *bəɪʈʰ-əl*   *ahəẽ*   *u=* *mən*   *mor*   *ø*   *hekəẽ*
     REL   children   there   sitting   be.PL   they   my   NP   be.PL
     'Children who are sitting there, those are mine'

Notice that if the head NP or the head NP of the relativized clause is deleted under process 3 in 45, the plural clitic *=mən* is attached to the correlative marker or the relative marker respectively.

There is some mobility of constituents due to the freedom in word order. There are two other possible word orders for relative clauses:

The rule 3 can apply on the changed order too.

(i) the relative clause may follow the head noun phrase.

(36) u   tʃəʊwa   [dʒe hʊwa bəɪʈʰ-əl ahəẽ] u   mor   tʃəʊwa   hekəẽ
        =mən   =mən
     COR   children REL   there   sitting   be.PL   they   my   children   be.PL
     'Those children who are sitting there, they are my children'

(ii) the relative clause may follow the correlative clause.

 (37) u   tʃəʊwa=mən mor   hekəẽ   [dʒe   hʊwa   bəɪʈʰ-əl   ahəẽ]
      COR   children   my   be.PL   REL   there   sitting   be.PL
      'Those children are mine, who are sitting there'

The participial relative clauses are formed by the following process:

The relativized noun phrase is deleted, and the verb is changed into a participial form by adding the perfective participle suffix *-əl* or the INF marker followed by agentive particle *ola*.

For examples, refer to the section on non-finite noun clauses (**Error! Reference source not found.**).

4.5.2.2 Headless Relative Clause

Headless relative clauses do not have an antecedent. The relative clause can be headless as supported by the following examples. In the examples given below, the referent of the relative marker *dʒe* has no antecedent.

 (38) [u   dʒe   dekʰ-l-ək]   mõj   dekʰ-l-õ
      3SG   REL   see-PST-3SG   1SG   see-PST-1SG
      'What he saw, I saw'

(39) mõj dekʰ-l-õ   [u   dʒe   dekʰ-l-ək]
      1SG see-PST-1SG   3SG REL   see-PST-3SG
      'I saw what he saw'

It is not possible to place the headless relative clause right after the head NP. However, it can be placed after the main clause as in (39).

4.5.2.3 Restrictive and Non-restrictive Clause

Finite relative clauses have a restrictive function when they occur without proper noun as heads. They modify the meaning of the head noun in a way that it is essential for the meaning of the sentence. On the other hand, non-restrictive relative clauses have the function of an apposition as they give extra information about the head noun. Sentence (40) has a restrictive clause that modifies the head noun *tʃəʊwa*. (41) and (42) are the same sentence with different word orders.

(40) u   tʃəʊwa [dʒe hʊwa bəɪʈʰ-əl ahe]   mor bʰaɪ   heke
      3SG   child   REL   there sitting   be.3SG my   brother   be.3SG
      'The boy who is sitting there is my brother'

(41) dʒe   hʊwa   bəɪʈʰ-əl ahe   u   tʃəʊwa mor bʰaɪ   heke
      REL   there   sitting   be.3SG 3SG   child   my   brother   be.3SG
      Who is sitting there, that child is my brother'

(42) u   tʃəʊwa mor bʰaɪ   heke   dʒe   hʊwa   bəɪʈʰ-əl ahe
      3SG   child   my   brother   be.3SG REL   there   sitting   be.3.SG
      That child is my brother who is sitting there.

Sentence (43) has a relative clause that modifies the head noun *sonʊ*. Sentence (44) and (45) are the same sentence with different word orders.

(43) sonʊ dʒe   hʊwa   bəɪʈʰ-el   mor   bʰaɪ   heke
      3SG   REL   there   sit-PRS.3SG   1SG.POSS   brother   be.3SG
      'Sonu, who sits there, is my brother'

(44) sonʊ mor bʰaɪ   heke   dʒe   hʊwa   bəɪʈʰ-el

Sonu   my   brother   be.3SG   REL   there   sit-PRS.3SG

'Sonu is my brother, who sits there.'

(45)*   dʒe   hʊwa   bəɪʈʰ-el   sonʊ   mor   bʰaɪ   heke

REL   there   sit-PRS.3SG   Sonu   my   brother   be.3SG

'Who sits there, Sonu is my brother'

From the sentences above it is clear that while the restrictive clause's word order is flexible, the appositive clause's word order is fixed. The non-restrictive relative clause cannot follow or precede the matrix clause; they always follow the head noun. As is clear from the ungrammaticality of (45), when modifying a proper noun, the relative clause must follow the head. When not thus ungrammatical, the clause gets a non-restrictive reading as in (44).

4.5.3   Adverbial Clauses

In Sadri, the adverbial clauses are marked either by the finite verb or non-finite verb forms. These clauses are of various types depending on their semantic function.

4.5.3.1   Adverbial Clause of Time

There are three types of constructions used to express the temporal information about the verb of a subordinate clause and the action expressed by the main clause:

Finite Clauses

Sadri uses *dʒəkʰən* 'when' and its derivatives *dʒəkʰən se* 'since' and *dʒəkʰən le* 'until' as time markers. It is followed by the correlative marker *ʈəkʰən* which then takes the corresponding particle. One of them can be dropped but not both at the same time. However, when the adverbial is positioned after the main clause, *ʈəkʰən* is compulsorily dropped while *dʒəkʰən* can't be dropped.

(46)   dʒəkʰən   u   a-e   rehe   ʈəkʰən   mor   bʰaɪ   hɪɟã   rehe
       when   3SG   come-   PST.3SG   then   1SG.POSS   brother   here   PST.3SG
                    LNK

'When he had come, my brother was here'

The subordinate time clause can also follow the main clause.

(47)   mor   bʰaɪ   hɪɟã   rehe   dʒəkʰən   u   a-e   rehe

1SG.POSS   brother   here   PST.3SG   when   3SG   come-LNK   PST.3SG

'My brother was here, when he had come'

Participial (non-finite) Adverbial Constructions

The participial constructions with the conjunctive and the as soon as participle also act as time adverbials.

(48)   *sonʊ*   *ghʰər*   *pəhʊ<ɪ>tʃ*   *ke*   *bʰaṯ*   *kʰa-l- ək*

      Sonu   home   reach<LNK>   CVB   food   eat-PST.3SG

      'Sonu ate food after reaching home'

(49)   *sonʊ*   *a-ṯ-e*   *bʰaṯ*   *kʰa-l- ək*

      Sonu   come-IPFV-EMP   food   eat-PST.3SG

      'Sonu ate food as soon as he came'

Infinitival Adverbial Constructions

Time adverbials can also be formed by using a verb marked by the infinitive marker –*ek* followed by the postposition *kər* or *se*; and *pəhɪle* 'before', or *baɖ* 'after'.

(50)   *sonʊ*   *kər*   *dʒa-ek*   *se*   *pəhɪle*   *ṯõɪ*   *dʒa-b-e*

      Sonu   GEN   go-INF   from   before   2SG   go-FUT-2SG

      'You will go before Sonu'

(51)   *sonʊ*   *kər*   *dʒa-ek*   *kər*   *baɖ*   *ṯõɪ*   *dʒa-b-e*

      Sonu   GEN   go-INF   GEN   after   2SG   go-FUT-2SG

      'You will go after Sonu'

(52)   *sonʊ*   *kər*   *dʒa-ek*   *se*   *bes*   *ho-l-ək*

      Sonu   GEN   go-INF   INST   after   2SG

      'You will go after Sonu'

(53)*   *sonʊ*   *kər*   *dʒa-ek*   *kər*   *bes*   *ho-l-ək*

      Sonu   GEN   go-INF   GEN   after   2SG

      'You will go after Sonu'

The before/after information can be dropped if it is not relevant or required. However, in that case the instrumental postposition *se* is mandatory.

4.5.3.2 Manner Clauses

Manner clauses have relative-like, participial and conjunctive constructions. The relative clause-like manner markers *dʒəɪsən* 'as', and the correlative marker *ʈəɪsən* 'which way' indicates the manner reading.

(54) dʒəɪsən   sonʊ   kəh-el   ʈəɪsən   kər-b-e
     as   Sonu   say-PRS-3SG   same way   do-FUT-3SG
     'Do as Sonu says'

Participial (non-finite) Adverbial Constructions

The participial constructions using the imperfect participle and perfective participle also act as manner adverbials. These verb forms do not bear any agreement markings. The imperfect and perfective participle forms are generally reduplicated for a durative sense.

(55) sonʊ   bədk-əʈ   a-l-ək
     Sonu   run-IPFV   come-PST.3SG
     'Sonu came running'

(56) sonʊ   bəɪʈʰ-əl   bəɪʈʰ-əl   kʰa-l- ək
     Sonu   sit-IPFV   sit-IPFV   eat-PST.3SG
     'Sonu ate sitting'

(57) sonʊ   kanɖ-əʈ~kanɖ-əʈ   a-l-ək
     Sonu   weep-IPFV   come-PST.3SG
     'Sonu came crying'

The participial constructions express manner rather than time when they express a simultaneous action.

(58) sonʊ   pəkka   mẽ   bəɪʈʰ   ke   bʰaʈ   kʰa-l- ək
     Sonu   cement floor   LOC   sit   CVB   food   eat-PST.3SG
     'Sonu ate food sitting on the cement floor'

4.5.3.3 Purpose Clause

Purpose clauses are formed by the following three ways:

1. The infinitival form followed by postposition *le.* The postposition can be dropped optionally.

(59) *sonʊ dʰan kaʈ-ek le a-l-ək*
     Sonu paddy cut-INF for come-PST.3SG
     'Sonu came to harvest paddy'

2. The clause expressing purpose precedes *se le* 'therefore'

(60) *sonʊ dʰan kaʈ-ek dʒa-e rehe se le siʈa a-l-ək*
     Sonu paddy cut-INF go-LNK PST.3SG therefore Sita come-PST.3SG
     'Sonu had gone to harvest paddy, therefore Sita came'

3. The clause expressing purpose follows *ka le* 'because'

(61) *siʈa a-l-ək ka le sonʊ dʰan kat-ek dʒa-e rehe*
     Sita come-PST.3SG because Sonu paddy cut-INF go-LNK PST.3SG
     'Sita came because Sonu had gone to harvest paddy'

4.5.3.4 Cause Clause

Cause is expressed by the means of the following four constructions:

1. Finite clauses marked by *se le* 'therefore'

(62) *sonʊ dʰan kat-ek dʒa-e rehe se le siʈa a-l-ək*
     Sonu paddy cut-INF go-LNK PST.3SG therefore Sita come-PST.3SG
     'Sonu had gone to harvest paddy, therefore Sita came'

2. The reduplicated forms of the perfective participle express cause

(63) *sonʊ bəɪʈʰ-əl bəɪʈʰ-əl ʈʰə\<ɪ>k ge-l- ək*
     Sonu sit-IPFV sit-IPFV tired\<LNK> go-PST.3SG
     'Sonu got tired due to sitting'

3. Infinitival followed by the instrumental postposition *se* 'INST' signals the cause relation

(64) *sonʊ kər dʒa-ek se siʈa kanɖ-əʈ he*

Sonu GEN go-INF INST Sita weep-IPFV 3SG

'Due to Sonu going, Sita is weeping'

4. The non-finite adverbial clause using the conditional participles are used to form cause clauses.

(65) *ʈor*　　　*ge-le*　　　*u*　　　*bəhʊʈ kʰʊs ho-Φ-ɪ*

2SG.POSS go-COND 3SG.DST much happy be-FUT-3SG

'If you go, she/he will be very happy'

4.5.3.5 Condition Clause

The conditional participle of the verb *ho* 'be' is used as a conditional subordinator or in simple terms, a conjunction, that is used to link two clauses. Conditions are created by using the conditional participle of the verb *ho* 'be' as a conjunction between two clauses. The order of the clauses is fixed with the 1st clause being the condition clause. The negation of the conditional participle is possible by using the *nɪ*.

(66) *sonʊ a-w-ɪ*　　　*həl*　　*mõj dʒa-m-ʊ*

Sonu come-FUT-3SG COND 1SG go-FUT-1SG

'I will go if Sonu comes'

(67) *sonʊ a-w-ɪ*　　　*nɪ*　*həl*　　*mõj dʒa-m-ʊ*

Sonu come-FUT-3SG NEG COND 1SG go-FUT-1SG

'I will go if Sonu does not come'

4.5.3.6 Concession Clauses

Conditional participles are used to form concession clauses. The participle *ho-le* plus the particle *hõ* 'though' marks subordinate conjunction.

(68) *ɖʰənɪ ho-le*　　　*hõ*　*u*　　*kəndʒʰəɽ-e rəhɪ*

rich be-COND still 3SG miser-EMP FUT.3SG

'If he/she becomes rich, he/she will still be miser'

The conjunction *həl* + *hõ* signals concession

(69) *u*　　*pəɽʰ-el*　　　*həl*　*hõ*　*u*　　*pas nɪ*　*ho-l-ək*

3SG study-PRS.3SG COND EMP 3SG pass NEG be.FUT.3SG

'Although he studies, but he did not pass'

4.5.3.7 Successive Action Clause

The particle *ʈəle* 'afterwards' is used to form successive action clauses.

(70) sonʊ   a-w-ɪ   ʈəle   mõɪ   dʒa-m-ʊ

Sonu   come-FUT-3SG   afterwards   1SG   go-FUT-1SG

'I will go after Sonu comes'

4.5.3.8 Result Clauses

Cause clauses with *se le* 'therefore' are used as result clauses.

4.6 Sentence Construction

4.6.1 Copular Sentences

Copular sentences in Sadri use verb forms of the verb *ho* 'be' in two forms: *hek* and *ah,* and *rəh 'stay'* (see section **Error! Reference source not found.**).

The verb forms of *ho* in the *hek* and *ah* form are used for present tense and take complements that can be a predicate noun, predicate adjective, participle, or predicate adverb. *rəh* which is also an auxiliary, functions as a copula or linking verb in simple predicative sentences and takes only adverbial complements. It marks past tense in the default form.

Examples of both copulas and the type of complements they take are given below:

(71) mõɪ   kɪsan   hekõ

1SG   farmer   be.PRS.1SG

'I am a farmer'

(72) sonʊ   bəɽ   ahe

Sonu   elder   be.PRS.1SG

'Sonu is elder'

(73) sonʊ   bəɪʈʰ-əl   ahe

Sonu   sit-PFV   be.PRS.1SG

'Sonu is sitting'

(74) ʈor   tʃʰegrɪ ʈãɽ   bəʈe   heke
      2SG.POSS   goat   highland towards   be.PRS.3SG
      'Your goat is towards the highland'

(75) sonʊ   bəɪʈʰ-əl   rehe
      Sonu   sit-PFV   be.PST.1SG
      'Sonu was sitting'

(76) ʈor   tʃʰegrɪ ʈãɽ   bəʈe   rehe
      2SG.POSS   goat   highland towards   PST.3SG
      'Your goat was towards the highland'

Sentences 71 72, 73, and 74, show copula verb constructions of the *ho* verb with predicate noun, predicate adjective, participle, or predicate adverb as complements respectively. Sentences 75, and 76 show the participle and predicate adverb construction in the past tense using the verb *rəh* respectively.

The structure/word order of these sentences is fixed as:

subject – complement – copula

The adjectival complements do not change for agreement with the subject nouns they modify in the copula constructions. There is no such distinction that exists in Hindi.

The present tense copulas have corresponding negative forms. Thus, in Sadri the copulas must be retained in both affirmative as well as negative sentences. They cannot be deleted even in co-ordinate structures.

(77) sonʊ   bəɽ   ahe
      Sonu   elder be.PRS.1SG
      'Sonu is elder'

(78) sonʊ   bəɽ   nəkʰe

Sonu   elder   be.NEG.PRS.1SG

'Sonu is not elder'

4.6.2 Verbal Sentences

Based on the classification of verbs into simple, complex and compound, verbal sentences in Sadri can be divided into these three types. The verb or verb complex have been marked in bold.

The first category has one verb root.

*(79) mõɟ   bʰaʈ   **kʰa-l-õ***

    1SG   food   eat-PST-1SG

    'I ate food'

Sentences of the second category are formed using conjunct verbs. These verbs are predominantly formed by means of combining a noun/adjective/adverb with a verb called light verb. For more discussion on conjunct verbs see 3.7.3.7

*(80) ʈõɟ   dʒama   gʰər   **sapʰa   kər-b-e***

    2SG   all   house   clean   do-FUT-2SG

    'You will clean the whole house'

The last category employs a sequence of verbs or what are called compound verbs in Sadri. For more on compound verbs see section 3.7.3.7.2

*(81) Sonʊ   kaʈʰɪ   **pʰa<ɪ>r   ɖe-l- ək***

    Sonu   firewood   cut<LNK>   give-PST-3SG

    'Sonu cut the firewood into pieces'

4.6.2.1 Subject

All verbs in Sadri take subjects which are mostly overt. Subjects, both nominal as well as pronominal, can be omitted/dropped if it is derivable from the preceding discourse, pragmatically or syntactically, e.g., from agreement. Subjects also do not appear overtly in impersonal constructions. The verbs taking part in impersonal constructions are derived by passivisation.

*(82) Sonʊ   kaʈʰɪ   **pʰa<ɪ>r   ɖe-l- ək***

    Sonu   firewood   cut<LNK>   give-PST-3SG

'Sonu cut the firewood into pieces'

(83) *kaʈʰɪ*   *pʰa\<ɪ\>r*   *ɖe-l- ək*

firewood   cut\<LNK\>   give-PST-3SG

'(Sonu) cut the firewood into pieces'

The subject in (83) is deleted. However, through the context (discourse) and syntactic information on the verb that bears the 3SG agreement marking, it can be understood what the subject could be.

(84) *moke*   *ʈoke*   *bola-ek*   *ahe*

1SG.DAT 2.SG.ACC call-INF be.PRS.3SG

'I have to call you'

However, in sentence (84), since the subject is in dative case, the verb is required to bear default agreement. Thus, here the syntactic information cannot be relied upon and only the contextual evidence is available in case the subject is not mentioned.

The psyche predicates always take PP with nominal followed by the dative postposition *ke*. See section 3.7.1.1 for more discussion on psyche predicates. For example:

(85) *sonʊ* *ke*   *kʰəwas* *ləg-l-ək*

Sonu DAT hunger feel-PST-3SG

'Sonu felt hungry'

4.6.2.2 Direct Object

Verbs are classified on the basis of the number of arguments they need as objects. Broadly verbs are either transitive or intransitive. Transitive verbs take objects while intransitive verbs do not.

Some verbs function as both, in which case we must analyse the two uses as having come to effect by two different verbs with homophonous forms. For example, the verb *pəʈʰ* 'to study' is intransitive as it needs only the doer while the homophonous verb *pəʈʰ* 'to read' is transitive as it requires an object besides an agent.

The case marker *-ke* is attached to the noun phrase to mark the DO of the sentence only when the DO is an animate entity or definite inanimate entity. In other cases, it is unmarked. Compare the examples given below:

(86) *məŋra   sɪʈa-ke   mar-l-ək*
     Magra   Sita-ACC   hit-PST-3SG
     'Mangra hit Sita'

(87) *məŋra   bʰaʈ   kʰa-l-ək*
     Magra.NOM   food-ACC   eat-PST-3SG
     'Mangra ate food'

(88) *məŋra   tʃaʊr-ke   lan-l-ək*
     Magra   rice-ACC   bring-PST-3SG
     'Mangra brought the rice'

Objects can be dropped; in which case it has to be understood using the semantic and pragmatic contexts. Consider sentence (89) and (90). Notice that the object is dropped. Yet it does not make much difference as the object is generally understood.

(89) *məŋra   pʊtʃ-əʈ   rehe*
     Magra   ask-IPFV   PST.3SG
     'Mangra was asking'

(90) *məŋra   səwal   pʊtʃ-əʈ   rehe*
     Magra   question   ask-IPFV   PST.3SG
     'Mangra was asking a question'

4.6.2.3 Indirect Object

The indirect object gets is in dative case. The indirect object and the definite inanimate or animate direct object receive the same case marking. However, it is analysed as the homophonous form of the postpositions marking accusative and dative. This can be clearly seen in the example of a sentence that requires an indirect object (marked with dative *ke*) and a definite inanimate direct object/animate direct

object (marked with accusative *ke*), then both direct and indirect objects are followed by the postpositions *ke*. The sentence given below is an example of such a sentence:

(91) ajo=hər tʃəʊwa ke məɪjã ke ɖe-l-ək
  Mother=DEF infant ACC girl child DAT give-PST-3SG
  'The mother gave the infant to the little girl'

There are no restrictions on the sequence in which the direct and the indirect object can appear in a sentence as the Sadri word order is relatively free. However, when both the DO and the IO are marked, the sequence is fixed and the IO follows the DO. Where the movement of constituents is free, a shift from the non-basic word order creates a shift in focus. The movement of the IO from the basic IO-DO sequence in the following sentences shows the shift in focus to the IO in sentence (91) and (92). Focus has also been shown by the use of bold.

(92) tʃʰõɽa-hər tʃʰõɽɪ-ke **kɪʈab** ɖe-l-ək
  boy-DEF girl-DAT book.ACC give-PST-3SG
  'The boy gave the/a book to the/a girl'

(93) tʃʰõɽa-hər kɪʈab **tʃʰõɽɪ-ke** ɖe-l-ək
  boy-DEF book girl-DAT give-PST-3SG
  'The boy gave the/a book to the/a girl'

4.6.2.4 Other Types of Verb Arguments

Various postpositional phrases that include adverbials, such as locatives, instruments, benefactives, comitatives, etc., can occur as verb arguments or adjuncts (optional arguments). They are discussed in the later sections.

4.6.2.5 Combination And the Order of Constituents

The verb always occurs in the final position. The unmarked word order is:

Subject – indirect object – direct object – verb.

(94) tʃʰõɽa- tʃʰõɽɪ-ke məɪjã-le kaɪl ɪskʊl-mẽ kɪʈab ɖe-l-ək
  hər
  boy-DEF girl- little girl- yesterday school- book give-PST-
     DAT ABL LOC 3SG
  'The boy gave a book to the girl in school tomorrow for the little girl '

(95) ʧʰõɽa-   məɪɲã-le   ʧʰõɽɪ-   ɪskʊl-mẽ   kɪʈab   kaɪl   ɖe-l-ək
     hər   ke

     boy-   little girl- girl-   School-   book   yesterday give-PST-
     DEF   ABL   DAT   LOC   3SG

     'The boy gave a book to the girl in school tomorrow for the little girl '

Comparing sentences (94) and (95) it is evident that the optional arguments or adjuncts, such as adverbial (time/location) and nominal/adjectival complement are freer to move around than the main arguments of a verb.

The possible shuffle in the words order and the restrictions on the order of the main constituents and rules governing them have been discussed in the previous section.

4.6.3 Negation

4.6.3.1 Sentential Negation

Negation in Sadri is expressed by negative particles *nɪ* and *na* which precedes the main verb.

(96) ʧʰõɽa-hər ʧʰõɽɪ-ke   kɪʈab   nɪ   ɖe-l-ək
     boy-DEF   girl-DAT   book.ACC   NEG   give-PST-3SG

     'The boy did not give the book to the girl'

However, in the case of conjunct verbs the negative particle appears between the nominal and the verb.

(97) *ʈõɪ*   *dʒama*   *gʰər*   **sapʰa**   *nɪ*   **kər-l-e**
     2SG   all   house   clean   NEG   do-PST-2SG

     'You did not clean the whole house'

The negation particle appears in the preverbal position in case of the compound verbs and multi-verb compounds. Upon negation the compound verb form loses its light verb.

(98) *həme=mən*   *dʒama*   *amba*   **kʰa-e**   **sɪra-l-ɪ**
     1PL-PL   All   mango   eat-LNK   finish-PST-1PL

     'We ate up all the mangoes'

(99) həme=mən dʒama amba nɪ **kʰa-l- ɪ**

     1PL-PL   All   mango NEG eat-LNK

     'We did not eat up all the mangoes'

(100) həme=mən dʒama amba nɪ **kʰa-e sɪra-l-ɪ**

     1PL-PL   All   mango NEG eat-LNK finish-PST-1PL

     'Did we not eat up all the mangoes?'

Notice that if the light verb is not dropped, upon negation the statement turns into a question.

In multi-verb compounds the first verb is deleted upon negation.

(101) mõj ɖəʊrɪ kʰeɖ-ek tʃə\<ɪ\>l dʒa-e rohõ

     1SG   thresh grain-INF walk/go\<LNK\> go-LNK stay.PST.1SG

     'I had gone to thresh grains'

(102) mõj ɖəʊrɪ kʰeɖ-ek nɪ dʒa-e rohõ

     1SG   thresh grain-INF NEG go-LNK stay.PST.1SG

     'I had not gone to thresh grains'

(103)* mõj ɖəʊrɪ kʰeɖ-ek nɪ tʃə\<ɪ\>l dʒa-e rohõ

     1SG   thresh grain-INF NEG move-LNK go-LNK stay.PST.1SG

     'I had not gone to thresh grains (certain)'

(104)* mõj ɖəʊrɪ kʰeɖ-ek tʃə\<ɪ\>l nɪ dʒa-e rohõ

     1SG   thresh grain-INF move-LNK *NEG* go-LNK stay.PST.1SG

     'I had not gone to thresh grains (certain movement)[17]'

(105)* mõj ɖəʊrɪ kʰeɖ-ek tʃə\<ɪ\>l dʒa-e nɪ rohõ

     1SG   thresh grain-INF move-LNK go-LNK NEG stay.PST.1SG

     'I had not gone to thresh grains (certain)'

---

[17] See 3.7.3.7.2

Notice that all sentences where negation takes place and deletion of the first verb does not take place are deemed ungrammatical.

All constructions, except some copular constructions that use the negative from, use the *nɪ* negation particle.

(106) *tõɈ* *kaɪl* *nɪ* *a-b-e*
      2SG tomorrow NEG come-FUT-2SG
      'You will not come tomorrow'

(107) *tõɈ* *kaɪl* *na* *a-b-e*
      2SG tomorrow NEG.IMP come-FUT-2SG
      'You do not come tomorrow'

Notice that in the example above unlike future indicative, future imperative takes a different negation marker [*na*] as opposed to [*nɪ*]. Clearly [*na*] is modal (Ahmad, 2015). It is sensitive to neither number nor honorificity.

There are negative copular forms of identity and the copulas of location and existence in Sadri that cause sentential negation. The other constructions take the normal *nɪ* negative particle. See section for all negative copular verb forms.

(108) *mõɈ* *kʰeʈ* *mẽ* *ahõ*
      1SG field LOC be.PRS.1SG
      'I am in the field'

(109) *mõɈ* *kʰeʈ* *mẽ* *nekʰõ*
      1SG field LOC be.PRS.1SG
      'I am not in the field'

4.6.3.2 Constituent Negation

The constituent being negated is followed by the negative particle *nɪhɪ* where stress is placed on the negated constituent in sentences that present alternatives.

(110) *tõɈ* *kaɪl* *nɪhɪ* *aɪdʒʰ* *a-b-e*
      2SG tomorrow NEG today come-FUT-2SG
      'You come today not tomorrow'

The constituent being negated is stressed. The stressed constituent is shown in bold.

(111)   *mõɪ*   **aɪdʒʰ**   *ɖəʊrɪ kʰeɖ-ek*   *nɪ*   *dʒa-e*   *rohõ*
        1SG   today   thresh grain-INF   NEG   go-LNK   stay.PST.1SG
        'I had not gone to thresh grains today'

4.6.3.3 Double Negation

Double negation is not used in Sadri.

4.6.3.4 Negation and Co-ordination

In Sadri, the co-ordinate structures bear negation in the same way as simple sentences. The identical element is deleted in the coordinated clause and the negation is used with the emphasis marker *ho.*

(112)   *mõɪ*   *kaɪl*   *nɪ*   *a-m-ʊ*   *ar*   *aɪdʒʰ*   *ho*   *nɪ*   *a-m-ʊ*
        2SG   tomorrow   NEG   come-   CONJ   today   EMP   NEG   come-
                               FUT-2SG   FUT-2SG
        'I will not come tomorrow and today too'

4.6.4 Direct and Indirect Speech

Sadri does not distinguish between direct and indirect speech with any specific syntactic or morphological marker. Quoted or reported material is embedded in the sentence preceded by the complementiser *kɪ.* The quoted material is thus subordinate to the verb of the matrix clause which may bear verbs like, *kəh* 'say', *bɪtʃar* 'think', *sun* 'hear', *lɪkʰ* 'write', etc. The complementiser is optional and may be dropped easily.

(113)   *sonʊ*   *sʊn-l–ək*   *kɪ*   *si̪ʈa*   *ʊ ke*   *bola-ʈ*   *rehe*
        Sonu   hear-PST-3SG   COMP   Sita   3SG-DAT   call-IPFV   stay.PST.3SG
        'Sonu heard that Sita was calling him'

The order of the main clause and the quoted or reported material can be altered. However, if the embedded material appears first, the main clause will appear after the 3SG Proximal pronoun.

(114)   *si̪ʈa*   *ʊ ke*   *bola-ʈ*   *rehe*   *i*   *sonʊ*   *sʊn-l–ək*
        Sita   3SG-DAT   call-IPFV   stay.PST.3SG   3SG   Sonu   hear-PST-3SG
        'Sita was calling him, this Sonu heard.'

Direct speech is preferred over indirect speech in Sadri. Consider the following sentence. It may appear ambiguous as the noun *Sonu* and the pronoun *ʊ* may or may not be considered co-referential. The meaning is then derived out of the context.

(115) *sonʊ* *kəh-l–ək* *kɪ* *ʊ* *bʰaṭ* *kʰaṭ* *rehe*
Sonu say-PST-3SG COMP 3SG food eat-IPFV stay.PST.3SG
'Sonu said that he was eating food'

To get the sense derived by the noun and pronoun being co-referential, Sadri speakers would prefer direct speech instead. The sentence would be thus:

(116) *sonʊ* *kəh-l–ək* *(kɪ)* *mõj* *bʰaṭ* *kʰaṭ* *rohõ*
Sonu say-PST-3SG COMP 3SG food eat-IPFV stay.PST.1SG
'Sonu said, "I was eating food"

Nominalisation of an embedded sentence results in the interpretation that it is reported speech. Nominalised reported speech is shown in bold.

(117) *sonʊ* **mor** **dʒa-ek** **kər** **baṭ** *kəh-l-ək*
Sonu 1SG.POSS go-INF GEN talk Say-PST.3SG
'Sonu talked about my going"

4.6.5 Interrogative Sentences

There are several ways of classifying questions. One way is to look at how a question defines the set of required answers. This way questions can be categorized as polar questions, alternative questions and variable questions. Polar questions require as answers the choice between two polar values: affirmative and negative. These are also called yes-no questions. Alternative questions are those that typically require as answers a choice between two or more choices which may be explicitly given or contextually derived. The variable questions have an open range of answers. These are typically called the WH-questions. (Brown, Miller, & Miller, 1991).

The following sections will deal with the different type of sentence constructions and answers required.

4.6.5.1 Yes-No Questions

Cross-linguistically, there are various ways to form such questions. The construction of yes-no questions and various strategies have been discussed in the following sections.

Considering the expected answer to yes-no questions, two categories can be identified.

1. Neutral yes-no questions
2. Leading yes-no questions

Within the discussion of these types, various constructions in each category have been discussed.

4.6.5.1.1 Neutral Yes-No Questions

Neutral yes-no questions are formed by placing the question word *ka* 'what' in the sentence final position of a declarative sentence. The basic constituent order remains unchanged and the Q bears the stress. The question word can be placed on the sentence initial position but it is unusual.

> (118) ʈõʝ   dʒama   gʰər   sapʰa   kər-b-e   ka
>   2SG   all   house clean   do-FUT-2SG   Q
>   'Will you clean the whole house?'

Placing the Q anywhere else does not yield a yes-no question. It must be noted that the position of the question word in the sentence is significant. Placing the Q within the clause has different implications on the basis of the constituent it follows or precedes.

Neutral polar questions can also be made from declarative sentences by raising the intonation of the verb. In case of a complex verb the light verb takes the stress while the operator or the V$_1$ remains neutral like other words.

> (119) ʈõʝ   dʒama   gʰər   sapʰa   kər-b-e (rising intonation)
>   2SG   all   house clean   Do-FUT-2SG
>   'Will you clean the whole house?'

The Q is compulsorily not used in such constructions. There are pragmatic implications of forming polar questions is visible when the two questions are contrasted. Questions with the question word sound like requests and are formal. On

the other hand, the question formed by raised intonation is strict in sense and are command like. This is why they do not require an answer compulsorily.

A yes-no question from a negative declarative sentence can also be formed through the two processes mentioned above. However, the intonation rises on both the NEG and the verb.

(120) ʈõɟ   kʰeʈ   nɪ   dʒa -b-e   ka
      2SG   field   NEG   go-FUT-2SG   Q
      'Would you not go the field?'

(121) ʈõɟ   kʰeʈ   nɪ (rising intonation)   dʒa -b-e (rising intonation)
      2SG   field   NEG   go-FUT-2SG
      'Will you not go to the field?'

The negative yes-no question can have various answers. Consider the question below:

(122) ʈõɟ   bʰaʈ   nɪ   kʰa -b-e   ka
      2SG   food   NEG   eat-FUT-2SG   Q
      'Would you not eat food?'

Affirmative can be answered by the following two ways:

1. Positive-Negative Answering System

(123) nɪhɪ   mõɟ   bʰaʈ   nɪ   kʰa -m-ʊ
      yes   1SG   food   NEG   eat-FUT-1SG
      'No, I will not eat food'

2. Agreement-Disagreement Answering System

(124) hã   mõɟ   bʰaʈ   nɪ   kʰa -m-ʊ
      NEG   1SG   food   NEG   eat-FUT-1SG
      'Yes, I will not eat food'

Negative can be answered by the following two ways:

1. Positive-Negative Answering System

(125) nɪhɪ   mõɟ   bʰaʈ   kʰa -m-ʊ

NEG   1SG   food   eat-FUT-1SG

'No, I will eat food?'

2.   Agreement-Disagreement Answering System

(126)   hã   mõɟ   bʰaʈ   kʰa -m-ʊ

yes   1SG   food   eat-FUT-1SG

'Yes, I will eat food'

4.6.5.1.2 Leading Questions

Leading questions are formed in Sadri by adding the negative particles, *'ne'*, *'nɪ'*, or *'nɪhɪ'* at the end of the sentence. The distribution of the negative particle will be discussed in sections below.

Expecting an affirmative answer

Constructions with an affirmative proposition + *ne/nɪ* as a tag question shows that a positive answer is expected. The form *nɪ* is used in informal direct address to a singular person, while the form *ne* is used in plural, honorific and formal direct address.

(127)   ʈõɟ   bʰaʈ   kʰa -b-e   nɪ

2SG   food   eat-FUT-2SG   NEG?

'You (intimate) will eat food, won't you?'

(128)   ʈõɟ   bʰaʈ   kʰa -b-e   ne

2SG   food   eat-FUT-2SG   NEG?

'You (familiar) will eat food, won't you?'

(129)   ʈohre=mən   bʰaʈ   kʰa -b-a   ne

2SG-PL   food   eat-FUT-2PL   NEG?

'You (plural) will eat food, won't you?'

Expecting a negative answer

Constructions with a negative proposition + *ne/nɪ* as a tag question shows that a negative answer is expected.

(130)   ʈõɟ   bʰaʈ   nɪ   kʰa -b-e   ne

2SG   food   NEG   eat-FUT-2SG   NEG

'You (familiar) will eat food, won't you?'

Note that using *nɪ* as a tag in such questions are unusual.

4.6.5.2 Alternative Questions

The main function of such questions is to either request an affirmation or denial of one of two alternative propositions or to request a commitment to either proposition. Alternative questions are formed by adding the expression *kɪ nɪhɪ* to the declarative statement or *kɪ+nɪ+verb* to the declarative statement.

(131)   *ʈõɟ*   *bʰaʈ*   *kʰa -b-e*   *kɪ*   *nɪhɪ*
        2SG   food   eat-FUT-2SG   DIS   NEG
        'You will eat food, or not?'

(132)   *ʈõɟ*   *bʰaʈ*   *kʰa -b-e*   *kɪ*   *nɪ*   *kʰa -b-e*
        2SG   food   eat-FUT-2SG   DIS   NEG   eat-FUT-2SG
        'You will eat food, or you won't eat?'

When alternatives of the verb are not the goal, the negative particle is dropped and the alternative is presented in the form *kɪ + alternative* attached after the declarative statement. The verb can be attached after the alternative presented for reiteration; it is optional. Note that rice is the staple food and in sentences it is considered to mean 'food'. Only when contrasted with other food items the semantic distinction is used.

(133)   *ʈõɟ*   *bʰaʈ*   *kʰa -b-e*   *kɪ*   *roʈɪ*   *kʰa -b-e*
        2SG   rice   eat -FUT-2SG   DIS   bread   eat-FUT-2SG
        'You will eat food, or you won't eat?'

4.6.5.3 Question-word Questions

Interrogative sentences that have the English equivalent of the wh-question words can be called k-word questions as these words begin with that sound. Such questions are typically variable questions that require a detailed response.

The main question words are: *ka* 'what', *ke* 'who', *ka ola* 'which', *ka lekʰən* 'how' (manner), *kəɪsən* 'how' (state), *ka le* 'why', *keʈna* 'how much', *kəne* 'where'

(location), kon bəʈ 'where (direction)', kəhã 'where' (generic), kəhɪja 'when', ke kər 'whom', etc.

The constituent in the statement that is to be questioned is substituted with a question word to form interrogative sentences by this process. The stress is placed on the question word.

The statement that is transformed into a question does not undergo a word order change triggered by the question word. However, the word order can be changed subject to the flexibility that the language generally allows.

(134) ʈõʝ   kaɪl   bʰaʈ   kəhɪja   kʰa -l-e
        2SG   yesterday food   when   eat-FUT-2SG
        'When did you eat food yesterday?'

When followed by postpositions, they form adverbials like, kon bəʈ 'which direction', ka le 'why', ka lekʰən 'in what manner, etc.

(135) ʈõʝ   kaɪl   ka lekʰən a-e   rɪhɪ
        2SG   yesterday how   come-LNK stay.PST.2SG
        'How did you come yesterday?'

In case the expected answer consists of a list of items in lieu of the k-word, the k-word is reduplicated.

(136) ʈõʝ   kaɪl   ke kər ke kər səŋe a-e   rɪhɪ
        2SG   yesterday whom whom with come-LNK stay.PST.2SG
        'Who all had you come with yesterday?'

There are no oblique forms of the k-words.

The k-words in Sadri do not have any agreement pattern.

4.6.5.4 *Constituents Of The Sentence That Can Be Questioned*

All constituents of the main clause, including the verb, can be accessible for question formation. Consider the following sentence and the questions formed substituting each constituent subsequently.

(137) sonʊ siʈa ke   kaɪl   bədʒar mẽ   pəɪsa de   rehe

Sonu   Sita DAT yesterday market   LOC   money   give   stay.PST.3SG

'Sonu gave Sita money yesterday in the market?'

Subject

(138)   *ke*   *si̪ta*   *ke*   *kaɪl*   *bədʒar* *mẽ*   *pəɪsa*   *de*   *rehe*

who   Sita   DAT   yesterday   market LOC   money   give   stay.PST.3SG

'Who gave Sita money yesterday in the market?'

Direct Object

(139)   *sonʋ*   *si̪ta*   *ke*   *kaɪl*   *bədʒar* *mẽ*   *ka*   *de*   *rehe*

Sonu   Sita   DAT   yesterday   market LOC   what   give   stay.PST.3SG

'What did Sonu gave Sita yesterday in the market?'

Indirect object

(140)   *sonʋ*   *ke*   *ke*   *kaɪl*   *bədʒar* *mẽ*   *pəɪsa*   *de*   *rehe*

Sonu   who   DAT   yesterday   market LOC   money   give   stay.PST.3SG

'Sonu gave money yesterday in the market to who?'

Time adverbial

(141)   *sonʋ*   *si̪ta*   *ke*   *kəhɪja* *bədʒar* *mẽ*   *pəɪsa*   *de*   *rehe*

Sonu   Sita   DAT   when   market LOC   money   give   stay.PST.3SG

'When did Sonu give Sita money in the market?'

Location adverbial

(142)   *sonʋ*   *si̪ta*   *ke*   *kaɪl*   *kəne*   *pəɪsa*   *de*   *rehe*

Sonu   Sita   DAT   yesterday   where   money   give   stay.PST.3SG

'Where did Sonu give Sita money yesterday?'

Verb

It is not possible to question the verb in di-transitive verbs with all other constituents intact. In case of questioning the verb, the question word cannot simply replace the verb. Instead:

a. The verb phrase *ka ho-/tense-/AGR/* is used for intransitive. The question takes the form of a transitive verb.

b. The verb phrase of the form *ka kər-/tense-/AGR/* is used for transitive verb

(143) bədʒar mẽ ka ho-l-ək
market LOC what be-PST.3SG
'What happened in the market?'

(144) sonʊ kaɪl bədʒar mẽ ka kər-l-ək
Sonu yesterday market LOC what stay.PST.3SG
'What did Sonu do in the market yesterday?'

In the case of non-equational copular sentences, the verb cannot be questioned. All other elements can be questioned. The subject, the accompanier, locative, and time adverbial have been questioned. The copula cannot be deleted.

(145) t̪õj kekər sat̪ʰ ahɪs
2SG whom together be.PRS.2SG
'Who are you with?'

(146) tʃaʊr kəne heke
market LOC be.PRS.3SG
'Where is the rice?'

(147) rətʰ kəhɪ̯a heke
Rath festival when be.PRS.3SG
'When is the rath (festival)?'

In equational copular sentences, only the complements can be questioned. Consider the sentence below and the questions formed from it.

(148) siṯa sʊndər heke
Sita beautiful be.PRS.3SG
'Sita is beautiful?'

(149) ke sʊndər heke
who beautiful be.PRS.3SG
'Who is beautiful?'

(150) *siʈa   ka   heke*
      Sita   what   be.PRS.3SG
      'What is Sita?'

Demonstrative pronoun used as a subject cannot be questioned.

(151) *i   bəksa   heke*
      3SG   box   be.PRS.3SG
      'This is a box'

(152) *i   ka   heke*
      3SG   what   be.PRS.3SG
      'What is this?'

(153)* *ka   bəksa   heke*
      what   box   be.PRS.3SG
      'Who is beautiful?'

4.6.6 Imperative Sentences

"The term imperative is used in a number of ways in the linguistics literature. In one use, imperative is a semantic modality. Imperatives are directives conveying an illocutionary force of commanding, prohibiting, suggesting, permitting, or requesting by the speaker. The typical function of imperatives is to get the addressee(s) to do or not to do something" (Potsdam & Edmiston, n.d.).

In Sadri imperative sentences, the verb agrees with the second person subject in number, person and honorificity.

There are the following types of Imperatives found in Sadri:
1. the present tense imperative
2. the future imperative
3. the subjunctive imperative
4. the obligative
5. the prohibitive

4.6.6.1 Present Tense Imperative

The imperative takes second person subjects *t̪õʝ* 'you' (non-honorific singular), *t̪ohre=mən* 'you' (non-honorific plural), *rəʊre* 'you' (honorific singular). Plural of the honorific form is made by attaching the plural morpheme: *rəʊre=mən* 'you' (honorific plural).

Subject deletion is common except when the speech is formal.

The imperative is marked in the singular form depending on the level of formality. In formal speech the imperative suffix -o is added while in informal or rude speech it consists of just the verbal stem. When the verb stem ends with a consonant or any other vowel than /a/ the imperative is compulsorily unmarked. For plural and honorific forms, the suffix changes depending on the ending of the verb stem. The person and number marker *[-a]* attach with the imperative suffix to form -*oa* when the verb stem ends with the vowel /a/ and /e/. This is realized as -*wa* due to ease of articulation. Thus, involving a sound change of /o/ to /w/. In verb stems ending with a consonant or /ɪ/ or /i/ the suffix -*oa* undergoes deletion of /o/ and is realized as -*a*. The honorific singular follows the same pattern as plural.

(154) *t̪õʝ*   *goʈʰɪʝa-o*
       2SG   talk-IMP.2SG
       'You (please) talk'

(155) *t̪õʝ*   *goʈʰɪʝa*
       2SG   talk (IMP.2SG)
       'You talk'

(156) *t̪õʝ*   *pəʈʰ*
       2SG   read (IMP.2SG)
       'You read'

(157)* *t̪õʝ*   *pəʈʰ-o*
        2SG   read (IMP.2SG)
        'You read'

(158) *rəʊre*   *pɪ-a*

2SG (hon)   drink-IMP.2PL

'You drink'

(159)   *ʈohre=mən*   *le-w-a*

2PL   take-IMP-2PL

'You take'

(160)   *ʈohre=mən*   *goʈʰɪ̯a-w-a*

2PL   talk-IMP-2PL

'You talk'

(161)   *ʈohre=mən*   *pəɽʰ-a*

2PL   read (IMP.2SG)

'You read'

(162)   *ʈohre=mən*   *pɪ-a*

2PL   drink-IMP.2PL

'You drink'

(163)   *rəʊre=mən*   *pɪ-a*

2PL (hon)   drink-IMP.2PL

'You drink'

4.6.6.2 Future Imperative

The future tense imperative is homophonous to the second person indicative sentence in future tense. Just like the indicative, it inflects for number.

(164)   *ʈõɪ̯*   *bədʒar*   *dʒa-b-e*

2SG   market   eat-FUT-1SG

'You will go to the market'

(165)   *ʈohre=mən*   *bədʒar*   *dʒa-b-a*

2Pl   market   eat-FUT-1PL

'You will go to the market'

4.6.6.3 Permissive Imperative

The permissive or suggestive form is used to grant permission or make suggestions about actions on a third party. This is done using the infinitival clause to make the suggestion or permission and the main verb ḍe 'give' carries the imperative marker and agrees with the subject of the matrix clause.

(166) ṭohre=mən   u=mən   ke   bədʒar   dʒa-ek   ḍe-w-a
      2PL   3Pl   ACC   market   go-INF   give-IMP-2PL
      'You (plural) let go to the market'

(167) ṭõɟ   u=mən   ke   bədʒar   dʒa-ek   ḍe
      2SG   3-Pl   ACC   market   go-INF   give (IMP.1SG)
      'You let them go to the market'

4.6.6.4 The Obligative

The obligative imperatives are formed by infinitive subordinate/complement clauses. The main verb takes the FUT-3SG(FAM) form or the 3rd person familiar form of the copula of identity (*heke*). They are of three levels, ranging from suggestion to compulsion depending on the verb of the main/matrix clause.

Prescriptive	*x-ek*	*tʃahɪ*	'advised to do x'
Compulsive	*x-ek*	*pəɽɪ*	'compelled to do x'
Obligative	*x-ek*	*heke*	'must do x

The obligatives require the subject to be in dative form or bear dative case affix.

(168) ṭoke   bədʒar   dʒa-ek   tʃah-φ-ɪ
      1SG(DAT)   market   eat-INF   ought-FUT-3SG
      'You should go to the market'

(169) ṭoke   bədʒar   dʒa-ek   pəɽɪ-φ-ɪ
      1SG(DAT)   market   eat-INF   compel-FUT-3SG
      'You will have to go to the market'

(170) rəʊre   ke   bədʒar   dʒa-ek   heke

1SG(HON)   DAT   market   eat-INF   be.PRS.3SG

'You (HON) need to go to the market'

4.6.6.5   The Prohibitive

The prohibitive is formed by adding the Imperative negative particle *na* 'not' which is placed preverbally.

(171)   *tõɟ*   *kaɪl*   *na*   *a-b-e*
     2SG   tomorrow   NEG.IMP   come-FUT-2SG

     'You do not come tomorrow'

Prohibitive imperatives are also formed periphrastically by negating obligatives using the ordinary negative particle *nɪ* or the negative copular equivalent of *heke.*

(172)   *rəʊre*   ke   *bədʒar*   *dʒa-ek*   *nekʰe*
     1SG(HON)   DAT   market   eat-INF   NEG.PRS.3SG

     'You (HON) don't need to go to the market'

(173)   *rəʊre*   *ke*   *bədʒar*   *nɪ*   *dʒa-ek*   *heke*
     1SG(HON)   DAT   market   NEG   eat-INF   be.PRS.3SG

     'You (HON) don't need to go to the market'

(174)   *ʈoke*   *bədʒar*   *nɪ*   *dʒa-ek*   *tʃah-ɸ-ɪ*
     1SG(DAT)   market   NEG   eat-INF   ought-FUT-3SG

     'You should not go to the market'

4.6.6.6   Other Means of Expressing Imperative

The 2nd person future tense form also conveys the imperative sense which is derivable from the context and intonation.

(175)   *ʈõɟ*   *dʒama*   *gʰər*   *sapʰa*   *kər-b-e*
     2SG   all   house   clean   do-FUT-2SG

     'You will clean the whole house'

Expressions of suggestions formed using negated expressions with *ka-le* 'why' in 2nd person present tense have an imperative sense.

(176) *ţõɹ*   *u*   *ke*   *ka-le*   *nɪ*   *kəh-ɪs*

2SG   3SG   DAT   Q (why)   NEG   say-PRS.2SG

(Why don't you say it to him?) 'Say it to him'

4.6.6.7 Degree of Imperative

The imperatives in sentences with the honorific pronoun is weaker than the one with the non-honorific pronouns. The imperatives appear to be stronger when the pronoun is dropped in non-intimate contexts. In intimate contexts it signals affection. In addition, in the singular present tense imperative, when the marker is dropped the imperative appears to be stronger due to the decrease in the level of formality. The strength of the obligatives, compulsives and prescriptives are in the same order respectively. The permissive future imperative or suggestive carries the minimum imperative strength.

There are some other devices that affect the strength of the imperative:

1. Tone: A soft tone weakens the imperative and gives the impression of persuasion rather than authority as done by a hard tone which strengthens the degree of the imperative.

2. The lexical items *kəţɪk* 'little' used sentence initially or before the verb and the ordinary negative *nɪ* used after the verb decreases the weight of the imperative. They can both be used in the same sentence, and through combined effect weaken the imperative further.

(177) *ţohre=mən*   *kəţɪk*   *le-w-a*   *nɪ*

2PL   little   take-IMP-2PL   NEG

'You talk a little, won't you please?'

3. Vocative particles can be used to increase the strength of the imperative. This can be used with both *kəţɪk* and *nɪ*.

(178) *e*   *hĩjã*   *a-o*

Hey   here   come-IMP

'Hey, come here'

4. Vocative particles followed by kinship terms such as *bʰaɪ* 'brother', *bəhɪn* 'sister'; male and female familiarity particle: *na* and *ge* respectively; male and female honorific particles: *bəɾa* and *bəɾɪ* respectively; decreases the strength of the

imperative and adds affection and intimacy. This can be used with both *kəʈɪk* and *nɪ*.

(179) e   na   hĩjã   a-o
Hey   FAM   here   come-IMP.2SG
'Hey man, come here'

(180) e   bəʈɪ   tʃaʊr   ɖe
Hey   HON.F   paddy   give (IMP)
'Hey lady, please come here'

5. When the singular form is reduplicated, the impoliteness and the imperative force is strengthened.

(181) kʰa-o   kʰa-o
eat-IMP.2SG   eat-IMP.2SG
'Eat! Eat!'

6. Yes-no questions when attached to future imperative increases the strength of the imperative form.

(182) ʈohre=mən   bədʒar   dʒa-b-a   ka?
2PL   market   eat-FUT-1PL   Q
Would you go to the market?'

4.6.7 Anaphora

Anaphora is the relation between two linguistic elements, wherein the interpretation of one (called an anaphor) is in some way determined by the interpretation of the other (called the antecedent). Linguistic elements that can be employed as an anaphor include gaps (or empty categories), pronouns, reflexives, names and descriptions. (Huang, Anaphora: A Cross-linguistic Approach, 2000). Anaphora is localized and considered endophoric, which means that the antecedent or the co-referential must exist in the same segment (clause/sentence).

Anaphora is seen as a phenomenon restricted to nominal expressions within the same sentence in Binding Theory. In that case the term anaphor applies to reciprocals and

reflexives to a great extent. In addition, the antecedent necessarily then must occupy a position as a segment of text. (Haegeman, 1994)

The ambit of anaphora is not limited by sentence boundaries in discourse anaphora which is the guiding idea in non-generative studies. Anaphora is considered both within sentences and across sentence boundaries in this approach. However, bound reflexives, reciprocals, etc. are regarded as well. Anaphora and cataphora as distinguished by some linguists have been considered part of the same process in this study as anaphora and cataphora differ only in terms of the position of the antecedent. (Huang, Discourse anaphora: Four theoretical models, 1998)

In this section, we will discuss the means of expressing anaphora and the domains of anaphora.

4.6.7.1 Means of Expressing Anaphora

4.6.7.1.1 Deletion

In narrative texts or natural discourse, the anaphoric subjects and objects can be deleted (sometimes called zero anaphora) from the second sentence. In absence, the object or the subject or both (whichever is deleted) can be inferred from the first sentence.

In (184), the verb bears agreement to the subject which guides the correct inference of the deleted constituent ϕ_i. The reflexive in (184) relates to the indirect object *sonʊ* in (183); this leaves the direct object ϕ_j to clear interpretation as *dʰan,* which is the only remaining corresponding element in the second sentence.

(183) *siṯaᵢ   sonʊₖ-ke   dʰanⱼ   ḏe-l-ək*
       sita   sonu-ACC   paddy   give-PST.3SG
       'Sita gave paddy to Sonu'

(184) ϕ_j *əpənₖ gʰəre   rəkʰ* ϕ_i *kəh-l-ək*
       paddy   RFL   house   keep-INF   Sita   tell-PST-3SG
       'Keep (paddy) in your (Sonu's) own house, (Sita) said'

4.6.7.1.2 Ordinary Personal Pronouns

Often personal pronouns are used to express anaphora. In addition, often the anaphoric elements are in third person.

(185) *siṯa* *sonʋ-ke* *dʰan* *ḏe-l-ək*
      sita sonu-ACC paddy give-PST.3SG
      'Sita gave paddy to Sonu.

(186) *u* *tʃə<ɪ>l* *ge-l-ək*
      3SG go<LNK> go-PST-3SG
      He (sonu) went away'

4.6.7.1.3 Reflexive Pronouns

Emphatic reflexive pronouns and possessive reflexive pronouns can be used to express anaphora.

(187) *sonʋ$_i$* *dʰan* *əpne$_i$* *a<ɪ>n* *rehe*
      Sonu paddy RFL bring<LNK> PST.3SG
      'Sonu$_i$ brought the paddy in himself$_i$'

(188) *sonʋ$_i$* *dʰan* *əpən$_i$* *gʰəre* *rəkʰ-l-ək*
      Sonu paddy RFL house keep-INF
      'Sonu$_i$ kept the paddy in his$_i$ own house'

4.6.7.1.4 Other Means of Expressing Anaphora

səʋb 'all (animate)', *pura* 'all (inanimate)' and ordinals like *pəhɪla* 'first', etc. are also used as anaphoric elements.

(189) *sonʋ* *dʰan$_i$* *a<ɪ>n* *rehe*
      Sonu paddy bring<LNK> PST.3SG
      'Sonu brought the paddy.

(190) *pura$_i$* *pɪla$_ɪ$* *nɪkəl-l-ək*
      all empty husk come out-PST-3SG
      All was empty husk'

4.6.7.2 Domain of Anaphora

Within the clause

Personal pronouns are not employed within the clause for anaphora. Reflexive pronouns are used for this purpose.

(191) sonʋ*ᵢ*   dʰan   əpne*ᵢ*   a<ɪ>n   rehe
      Sonu   paddy   RFL   bring<LNK>   PST.3SG
      'Sonu*ᵢ* brought the paddy in himself*ᵢ*'

Anaphora between coordinate structures

Anaphora between coordinate structures is achieved either by deletion or by using pronouns. This is usually forward. However, depending on the context, backward anaphora can also be permitted.

(192) sonʋ*ᵢ*   dʰan   an-l-ək   əʋr   ɸ*ᵢ*   kʰəṭ   ge-l-ək
      Sonu   paddy   bring-PST-3SG   CONJ   Sonu   field   go-PST-3SG
      'Sonu*ᵢ* brought the paddy and ɸ*ᵢ* went to the field'

(193) sonʋ*ᵢ*   dʰan   an-l-ək   əʋr   u*ᵢ*   kʰəṭ   ge-l-ək
      Sonu   paddy   bring-PST-3SG   CONJ   3SG   field   go-PST-3SG
      'Sonu*ᵢ* brought the paddy and he*ᵢ* went to the field'

(194) ɸ*ᵢ*   dʰan   an-l-ək   əʋr   sonʋ*ᵢ*   kʰəṭ   ge-l-ək
      Sonu   paddy   bring-PST-3SG   CONJ   Sonu   field   go-PST-3SG
      '(He)*ᵢ* brought the paddy and Sonu*ᵢ* went to the field'

Coordinated noun phrases mark anaphora only through pronominalisation. This could be done to avoid postposition stranding.

(195) sonʋ*ᵢ*   əʋr   u*ᵢ*-kər   tʃõɽɪ   kʰəṭ   ge-l-əẽ
      Sonu   CONJ   3SG-GEN   girl   field   go-PST-3PL
      'Sonu*ᵢ* and his*ᵢ* daughter went to the field'

Anaphora between superordinate and subordinate clauses

Anaphora between the main clause and the subordinate clause is permitted in Sadri.

Anaphora between superordinate and a following subordinate clause

The deletion strategy is used to indicate anaphora between a superordinate and a following subordinate clause. Backward deletion is however not possible only when the context disambiguates the object in dative case.

(196) sonʋ   siṯaᵢ-ke   kəh-l-ək   kɪ   ɸᵢ   bədʒar   dʒa-ek   heke
      Sonu   to Sita   said   COMP   ɸ   market   go-INF   PRS.3SG
      'Sonu told Sitaᵢ that she has to go to the market'

(197) sonʋ   siṯaᵢ-ke   kəh-l-ək   kɪ   uᵢ-ke   bədʒar   dʒa-ek   heke
      Sonu   to Sita   said   COMP   3SG-DAT   market   go-INF   PRS.3SG
      'Sonu told Sitaᵢ that sheᵢ has to go to the market'

(198) sonʋ   ɸᵢ   kəh-l-ək   kɪ   siṯaᵢ-ke   bədʒar   dʒa-ek   heke
      Sonu   ɸ   said   COMP   Sita-DAT   market   go-INF   PRS.3SG
      'Sonu told Sitaᵢ that sheᵢ has to go to the market'

This sense is only possible when conveyed by the context as it may also mean: 'Sonu said that Sita has to go to the market' without specifying whether or not it was told to Sita.

Anaphora between superordinate and a preceding subordinate clause

In case of antecedent relative clauses, both forward as well as backward deletion and pronominalization can be used.

(199) dʒe   ɸᵢ   bəɪtʰ-əl   ahe   uᵢ   tʃõɽɪᵢ   mor   bəhɪn   heke
      COMP   ɸ   sit-PFV   PRS.3SG   3SG   girl   1SG.POSS   sister   PRS.3SG
      'The girl sitting is my sister'

(200) dʒe   tʃõɽɪᵢ   bəɪtʰ-əl   ahe   uᵢ   ɸᵢ   mor   bəhɪn   heke
      COMP   girl   sit-PFV   PRS.3SG   3SG   ɸ   1SG.POSS   sister   PRS.3SG
      'The girl sitting is my sister'

(201) dʒe   tʃõɽɪᵢ   bəɪtʰ-əl   ahe   ɸᵢ   ɸᵢ   mor   bəhɪn   heke

COMP   girl   sit-PFV   PRS.3SG   ɸ   ɸ   1SG.POSS   sister   PRS.3SG

'The girl sitting is my sister'

In case the antecedent is a finite subject complement, both forward and backward deletion is disallowed to form anaphora.

(202) *[uᵢ-ke dʒar lag-əʈ   rehe]   se le   sonʊᵢ sʊ<ɪ>t   ge-l-ək*
       3SG   fever feel-IPFV PRS.3SG therefore Sonu   sleep<LNK>   went
       'Sonu was feverish, therefore he slept"

Deletion of any anaphoric element in (202) will yield an ungrammatical sentence. There is also a preference to forward pronominalization.

Anaphora between different sentences

Anaphora between different sentences uses only deletion and pronominalization. Other strategies are disallowed.

4.6.8   Reflexives

The agentive reflexive or the non-possessive reflexive *əpne* 'self' is used to express reflexivity. There is no oblique form of this pronoun. The emphatic particle *he* can be used with *əpne* to add emphasis. The restriction in expressing reflexivity is that the antecedent must be part of the same sentence.

(203) *mõj   bʰaʈ   əpne   pəka-on*
       1SG   food   RFL   cook-PRS.1SG
       'I cook food myself'

(204) *mõj   bʰaʈ   əpne   he   pəka-on*
       1SG   food   RFL   EMP   cook-PRS.1SG
       'I surely cook my food myself'

The pronominal reflexive pronoun does not change forms for the antecedent pronoun. The verb derives the agreement information from the subject. Compare (204) and (205).

(205) *u=mən   bʰaʈ   əpne   pəka-en*
       3PL   food   RFL   cook-PRS.3PL
       'They cook food themselves'

Non-coreferential objects does not take the reflexive form.

(206) sonʋ əpən   le   lʋga   kɪn-l-ək
       Sonu RFL.POSS   for garment buy-PST-1SG
       'Sonu bought clothes for himself'

(207) sonʋ u-kər   le   lʋga   kɪn-l-ək
       Sonu 3SG-POSS   for garment buy-PST-1SG
       'Sonu bought clothes for him/her'

Backward movement in reflexivisation is allowed but only within the boundary of the same clause.

(208) əpne bʰaṭ pəka-on   mõɪ
       RFL   food cook-PRS.1SG 1SG
       'I cook food myself'

Backward reflexivization is allowed in coordinate structures too. See previous section on Anaphora for details.

In possessive constructions, əpən 'self' which is the possessive reflexive, as mentioned earlier, can be optionally used. The possessive pronouns such as mor 'my' and ṭor 'your', etc. are reflexivised in that case. The antecedent is the doer of the action/the subject. The reflexive does not show agreement with any constituent NP and retains its basic form. The well-formedness of (209) and (210) shows the optional reflexivisation with the possessive reflexive pronoun.

(209) mõɪ əpən   kʰeṭ   dʒa-ṭ   hõ
       1SG RFL.POSS   field go-IPFV   PRS.1SG
       'I am going to my field'

(210) mõɪ mor   kʰeṭ   dʒa-ṭ   hõ
       1SG 1SG.POSS   field go-IPFV   PRS.1SG
       'I am going to my field'

However, sentence (211) can be ambiguous and can both be understood as coreferential and non-coreferential depending on the context.

(211) u*i*   uj-kər / əpəni   kʰe̪t̪   dʒa-t̪   hõ
       3SG   3SG.POSS / RFL.POSS   field   go-IPFV   PRS.1SG
       'He*i* is going to his own*i*/ someone else's*j* field'

There can be reduplicated reflexives in possessive structure but its use is restricted with the plural subject.

(211) u=mən   əpən   əpən   bʰa̪t̪   pəka-en
       3PL   RFL.POSS   RFL.POSS   food   cook-PRS.3PL
       'They each cook their food themselves'

4.6.8.1 Scope of Reflexivity

Reflexivity is restricted to the clause boundary and does not go into the subordinate clause. The antecedent of the reflexive pronoun must be the subject of the clause. Exceptions to this observation could not be seen even when the finite subordinate clause is raised to the object position by making it non-finite (seen in Hindi).

(212) sonʊ   kəh-l-ək   kɪ   (u*i*)   əpən*i*   gʰəre   dʒa-t̪   he
       Sonu   said   COMP   3SG   RFL.POSS   house   go-IPFV   PRS.1SG
       'Sonu said that he*i* is going to his*i* home'

(213) sonʊ*j*   kəh-l-ək   kɪ   sit̪a*i*   əpən*i*   gʰəre   dʒa-t̪   he
       Sonu   said   COMP   Sita   RFL.POSS   house   go-IPFV   PRS.1SG
       'Sonu*j* said that Sita*i* is going to his*i* home'

In (212) the coreferential pronoun to the subject can be dropped. However, the reflexive can refer to it only as seen in (213).

Reflexive relations occur within nominalized clauses.

(214) [u*i*   kər   əpne*i*   bədʒar   dʒa-ek]   aba ke   bes   nɪ   lag-l-ək
       3SG   GEN   RFL   market   go-INF   father   good   NEG   feel-
                                                              DAT   PST.3SG
       'Father did not like Sonu*i* going to the market himself*i*'

Reflexive relations were not seen in noun phrases. However, reflexive relations can be seen in case where the antecedent has been dropped in (215) or where the antecedent can be contextually determined as in (216) where a generic antecedent is implied based on the agreement markers on the main verb.

(215) əpəni   gʰər   dʒa
       RFL.POSS   home   go (IMP)
       '(youi) Go to youri home'

(216) bəɪtʰ-ek   tʃo<ɪ>r   ke   əpəni   kam   kər-ek   tʃah-ɸ-ɪ
       sit-INF   leave<LNK> CVB   RFL.POSS work   do-INF   want-FUT-3SG
       '(onei) must stop sitting idly and do theiri work'

4.6.9   Reciprocals

4.6.9.1   Means of Expressing Reciprocity

The formation of reciprocals in discourse is generally secondary in Sadri. It is mostly pragmatically strategized along with the presence of the plural subject. For example, sentence (217) will be more readily used. Sentence (218) and (219) will be used only when specification is necessary.

(217) u=mən saʈʰe   bədʒar dʒa<e>   rəhəẽ
       3PL   together   market go<LNK>   PST.3PL
       'They had gone to the market together'

Wherever needed to be specified there are two ways to express the reciprocal relationship:

1. Using *ek-dosər* 'one another' composed of the cardinal *ek* 'one' and the ordinal numeral *dosər* 'second'. There is a tendency to either drop the postposition or use the GEN postposition *kər* in this construction.

(218) u=mən ek-dosər   kər   saʈʰe   bədʒar dʒa<e>   rəhəẽ
       3PL   one-another GEN   together   market go<LNK>   PST.3PL
       'They had gone to the market with each other'

2. Using *apse* 'among'

(219) həme=mən mɪʈʰəɪ   apse   bə̃<ɪ>t   le-l-ɪ

1PL		sweetmeat	among	divide<LNK>	take-PST-1PL

'We divided the sweetmeats amongst ourselves'

4.6.9.2 Scope of Reciprocity

Reciprocal relationship is restricted within the clause boundary. In (220) the scope of the reciprocal expression does not extend to the subject of the main clause.

(220) *mõɟ   kəh-l-õ   kɪ   u=mən   ek-dosər   saʈʰe   bədʒar   ge-l-əẽ*

1SG	said	COMP	3PL	one-another	together	market	went

'I said that they went to the market with each other'

4.6.9.3 Relation Between the Antecedent and the Reciprocal

Reciprocals in Sadri require an antecedent subject like reflexives. They cannot act as subjects. They may be used as a direct object, an indirect object, an adverb, or a possessive adjective in different types of constructions.

Direct Object

(221) *sonʊ   ar   siʈa   ek doser   ke   bʰeʈa-l-əẽ*

Sonu	CONJ	Sita	one another	ACC	PST.3PL

'Sonu and Sita met one another'

Indirect Object

(222) *həme=mən   ek doser   ke   mɪʈʰəɪ   ɖe-l-ɪ*

Sonu		one another	DAT	sweetmeat(s)	give-PST-1PL

'We gave sweetmeats to one another'

Adverb

(223) *u=mən   ek-dosər   kər   saʈʰe   bədʒar   dʒa<e>   rəhəẽ*

3PL	one-another	GEN	together	market	go<LNK>	PST.3PL

'They had gone to the market with each other'

Possessive Adjective

(224) *u=mən   ek-dosər   kər   kʰeʈ   me   hər   dʒoʈ-l-əẽ*

3PL	one-another	GEN	field	LOC	plough	plough-PST-3PL

'They ploughed one another's field'

Copular complements

(225) i gõɪʈʰ həmər apse ahe
3SG.PROX talk 1PL.POSS among PRS.3PL
'This matter is among us'

4.6.9.4 Reciprocals in Nominalized Clauses

Reciprocals do not occur in nominalized clauses.

4.6.9.5 Reciprocal Structures Without Antecedent

In most cases, the antecedent can be understood syntactically (agreement markers on the verb), and can be dropped.

4.6.10 Comparatives

4.6.10.1 Means of Expressing Comparison

Sadri uses sentential and phrasal comparative strategies. Morphological comparatives were not found. Sentential comparison is heavily borrowed from Hindi-Urdu and is not the most preferred method. Speakers largely prefer to use phrasal comparison in everyday speech.

Sentential comparison is conveyed through a set of a main clause and a relative clause. The relative clause contains the relative marker *dʒeʈna* 'as much' and the other main clause contains the correlative marker *oʈna* 'that much'. The relative clause is finite.

(226) u oʈna pəʈʰ-əl nəkʰe [dʒeʈna u-kər bəʈ- ahe]
bəhɪn
3PL that educated NEG. as much his/her elder PRS.3SG
much PRS.3SG sister
'He is not as educated as his elder sister'

All permitted relative clause positions are permitted for this construction, such as: sentence-initial relative clause, and sentence-final relative clause construction.

To express phrasal comparison the postposition *se* is added to the standard of comparison.

(227) *pəɽʰ-ek*   *mẽ*   *siṯa* *sonʊ* *se*   *ṯedʒ*   *heke*
study-INF   LOC   Sita   Sonu   than   sharp   PRS.3SG
'Sita is better in studies than Sonu'

The postposition *mẽ* preceded by two standards of comparison can also signal phrasal comparison.

(228) *sonʊ*   *ar*   *siṯa* *mẽ*   *siṯa* *ṯedʒ*   *heke*
Sonu   CONJ   Sita   LOC   Sita   sharp   PRS.3SG
'Between Sonu and Sita, Sita is more intelligent'

Adjectives used in comparison can be modified by an adverb of degree, such as: *besɪ* or *bəgra* 'more'. Most of the times this is rhetorical and does not affect the extent to the difference between the elements being compared unless there are other standards or elements in the discourse to give a relative value.

(229) *pəɽʰ-ek*   *mẽ*   *siṯa* *sonʊ* *se*   *bəgra* *ṯedʒ*   *heke*
study-INF   LOC   Sita   Sonu   than   more   sharp   PRS.3SG
'Sita is better in studies than Sonu'

4.6.11 Superlatives

Superlatives are formed by using *səʊbʰe* 'all' as the standard of comparison in the same construction used for comparatives. The adjective can be modified with comparative adverb *bəgra* 'more'.

(230) *pəɽʰ-ek*   *mẽ*   *siṯa* *səʊbʰe* *se*   *bəgra* *ṯedʒ*   *heke*
study-INF   LOC   Sita   all   than   more   sharp   PRS.3SG
'Sita is best in studies'
Lit: 'Sita is better in studies among all'

Superlative constructions are also formed using *kəʊ* 'anyone' and the negative copula. The element being projected as the superlative is made the standard by attaching it with the postposition *se.*

(231) *pəɽʰ-ek*   *mẽ*   *siṯa* *se*   *bəgra* *ṯedʒ*   *kəʊ*   *nekʰe*
study-INF   LOC   Sita   than   more   sharp   anyone   be.NEG
'Sita is best in studies"
Lit: 'No one is better in studies than Sita'

4.6.12 Equatives

4.6.12.1 Means of Expressing Equality

Equatives, like comparatives, can be formed syntactically as well as phrasaly. Like comparative sentences, syntactically an equative sentence is made of two clauses: the termed *dʒeʈna* 'as much' and *oʈna* 'that much only' clauses. However, the main clause has the neutral copula instead of the negative copula. There is a tendency to use the emphasis maker *he* with *oʈna*.

(232)

u	oʈna-he	pəɽʰ-əl	heke	[dʒeʈna	u-kər	bəhın	ahe]
3PL	that much-EMP	educated-PFV	be.NEG	as much	3PL.POSS	sister	be.PRS

'S/he is as educated as her/his sister'

All permitted relative clause positions are permitted for this construction, such as: sentence-initial relative clause, and sentence-final relative clause construction.

Equative structures can also be formed by using the *dʒəɪsən* 'as' clause and the *wəɪsən* 'like' clause.

(233)

pəɽʰ-ek	mẽ	dʒəɪsən	siʈa	ahe	u-kər	bʰaɪ	wəɪsən	heke
study-INF	LOC	as	Sita	COP	her	brother	like	COP

'The way Sita is in her studies, so is her brother'

Phrasal type equatives are formed using the equative particle *dʒəɪsən* 'like'. The adjective can be modified using non-comparative adverbs like *mʊrʊkʰ* 'a lot'.

(234)

pəɽʰ-ek	mẽ	siʈa	sonʊ	dʒəɪsən	ʈedʒ	heke
study-INF	LOC	Sita	Sonu	like	sharp	COP

'Sita is as good in studies as Sonu'

Another strategy to form an equational sentence is to join the standard of equation and the equated element with the conjunction *ar* 'and' as the subject of the clause and use the cardinal number *ek* 'one' with the equative particle *dʒəɪsən*. The copula agrees with the plural number of the subject.

(235) *pəɽʰ-ek   mẽ   siʈa   ar   sonʊ   ek   dʒəɪsən ʈedʒ   hekəẽ*

       study-INF LOC Sita CONJ Sonu one like   sharp be.PL

       'Sita and Sonu are equally good in studies'

4.6.13 Coordination

4.6.13.1 Sentence Coordination

Sentence coordination is marked mainly by the conjunction morphemes such as: *ar/əʊr* 'and', *nɪ-həl* 'or', *lekɪn* 'but. The conjunction *ar/əʊr* cannot appear before only the last conjunct. The adversive marker *lekɪn* and the disjunction marker *nɪ-həl* can occur only before the second and subsequent coordinated sentences.

(236) *mõj   kʰeʈ   mẽ   rohõ   ar   u   bədʒar dʒa-e   rehe*

       1SG   field LOC PST.1SG and 3SG market go-LNK PST.3SG

       'I was in the field and s/he had gone to the market'

(237) *mõj   kʰeʈ   dʒa-m-ʊ   nɪ-   ʈohre=mən ke   bədʒar leg-m-ʊ*

                                həl

       1SG   field go-FUT- or   3PL   DAT market take-FUT-

                   1SG   1SG

       'I will go to the field otherwise/or I will take you (PL) to the market'

(238) *mõj   sonʊ   gʰər   dʒa-e rohõ   lekɪn u   nɪ   rehe*

                               kər

       1SG   Sonu- house go-   PST.1SG but 3SG NEG PST.3SG

            POSS   LNK

       'I had gone to Sonu's house but he was not there'

The conjunctions can be dropped. The juxtaposition of the sentences and the context signals the conjunction.

4.6.13.1.1 'And' Coordination

'And' coordination is marked by the conjunction *ar*. It can be used to join two or more sentences, clauses or phrases.

The conjunction typically appears before the last conjunct. The shift in position before other clauses yields ungrammatical sentences.

(239) mõɪ bəɪʈʰ- rohõ   sonʊ a-l-ək   ar   siʈa ge-l-ək
            əl
       1SG field   PST.1SG Sonu come-PST-   and Sita go-PST-
                                    3SG   3SG

'I was sitting, Sonu came and Sita went'

The conjoining of sentences does not only mean juxtaposition of two or more independent sentences. Coordinated sentences may express various meanings. They may express cause and effect, sequential action, contingency, contrastive action, cumulative effect, etc.

Cause and effect

(240) mõɪ dəwəɪ   kʰa-l-õ   ar   bes   ho-ɪ   ge-l-õ
       1SG medicine eat-PST-1SG CONJ good be-LNK   go-PST-1SG

'I ate the medicine and I got better'

Sequential action

(241) sonʊ bəɪʈʰ-l-ək   əʊr   tʃae pɪ-l-ək
       Sonu sit-PST-3SG CONJ   tea   drink-PST-3SG

'Sonu sat and drank tea'

Contingency

(242) ketʃɪa   de   əʊr   lʊga ke   leg-ao
       money   give.IMP CONJ cloth ACC   take away-IMP

'Give money and take away the cloth'

Contrast

(243) i   tʃʰõɽa bəɽ ahe   əʊr   u   tʃʰoʈ
       this boy   big PRS.3SG CONJ that small

'This boy is elder and that boy is young'

Cumulative effect

(244) sonʊ ɖəwəɪ   kʰa-el   əʊr   sʊʈ-əl   rəh-el
       Sonu medicine eat-PRS.3SG CONJ sleep-PFV   be-PRS.3SG

'Sonu eats medicine and sleeps'

The order of the conjuncts is interchangeable if a coordinate sentence expresses contrast or cumulative effect. In other sentences the order is not interchangeable as the coordinate sentences have a subordination process in effect. The first conjunct can be interpreted as an adverbial complement of the second conjunct.

4.6.13.1.2 'But' Coordination

'But' coordination is expressed by the conjunction marker *lekɪn*. The marker is always positioned at the beginning of the second conjunct.

(245) *mõj   sonʊ   kər   gʰər   dʒa-e   rohõ   lekɪn   u   nɪ   rehe*
　　　 1SG   Sonu   GEN   house   go-LNK   PST.1SG   but   3SG   NEG   PST.3SG
　　　 'I had gone to Sonu's house but he was not there'

4.6.13.2 Means of Coordinating the Major Categories of a Sentence

4.6.13.2.1 'And' Coordination

The coordinator *ar/əʊr* can also be used to coordinate nouns (subjects, direct and indirect objects), verbs, adjectives, and adverbs.

Coordinate nominal subjects

(246) *sonʊ   əʊr   siṭa   bədʒar   dʒa-ṭ   həẽ*
　　　 Sonu   CONJ   sita   market   go-IPFV   PRS.3PL
　　　 'Sonu and Sita are going to the market'

Coordinate verbs

(247) *sonʊ   ḍəwəɪ   kʰa-l-ək   əʊr   sʊṭ-l-ək*
　　　 Sonu   medicine eat-PST-3SG   CONJ   sleep-PST-3SG
　　　 'Sonu ate medicine and slept'

Coordinate adjectives

(248) *tʃə̃ʊkɪ   bəɽ   əʊr   tʃakər   ahe*
　　　 Bed   big   CONJ   wide   PRS.3SG

'The bed is big and wide'

Coordinate adverbials

(249) mõj   sonʊ   kər   gʰər   age   əʊr   patʃʰe   dʒa-m-ʊ

      1SG   Sonu   GEN   house   before   CONJ   after   PST.3SG

      'I will go to Sonu's house before and after'

4.6.13.2.2 'But' Coordination

But coordination is generally used with adjectives and adverbials.

(250) tʃə̃ʊkɪ   bəɽ   lekɪn   pʊrna   ahe

      Bed   big   but   old   PRS.3SG

      'The bed is big but old'

(251) i   tʃʰõɽa   asʈe   lekɪn   bə̃ɽʰɪja   kam   kər-el

      this   boy   slow   but   good   work   do-PRS.3SG

      'This boy works slow but works well'

The coordination of nouns and verbs involves the addition of a negative particle following one of the adversative conjuncts.

(252) sonʊ   ɖəwəɪ   kʰa-l-ək   lekɪn   nɪ   sʊʈ-l-ək

      Sonu   medicine   eat-PST-3SG   but   NEG   sleep-PST-3SG

      'Sonu ate medicine but did not sleep'

(253) sonʊ   nɪhɪ   lekɪn   siʈa   bədʒar   dʒa   he

      Sonu   NEG   but   sita   market   go   PRS.1SG

      'Not Sonu but Sita has gone to the market'

4.6.13.2.3 'Or' Coordination

The disjunctive marker *nɪ-həl* is employed to disjoin nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and verbs.

(254) sonʊ   nɪ-həl   siʈa   bədʒar   dʒa-w-ɪ

      Sonu   or   sita   market   go-FUT-1SG

      'Sonu or Sita will go to the market'

(255) tʃə̃ʊkɪ   bəɽ   nɪ-həl   tʃakər   ho-ek   tʃah-ɸ-ɪ
     Bed   big   CONJ   wide   be-INF   want-FUT-1SG
     'The bed must be big or wide'

(256) mõɪ   aɪdʒ   nɪ-həl   kaɪl   bədʒar   dʒa-m-ʊ
     1SG   today   or   tomorrow   market   PST.3SG
     'I will go to the market today or tomorrow'

(257) mõɪ   lʊga   sɪ-ɟa-m-ʊ   nɪ-həl   kɪn-m-ʊ
     1SG   garment   sew-CAUS-FUT-1SG   or   buy-FUT-1SG
     'I will buy clothes or get them stiched'

4.6.13.3 Coordination and Accompaniment

Accompaniment is expressed differently than coordination. It is marked using the complex postposition (comitative) *kər-səŋ*.

Compare the use of coordination (258) and accompaniment (259) below:

(258) sonʊ   əʊr   siɟa   bədʒar   dʒa-ṯ   hə̃ẽ
     Sonu   CONJ   sita   market   go-IPFV   PRS.3PL
     'Sonu and Sita are going to the market'

(259) sonʊ   siɟa   kər-səŋ   bədʒar   dʒa-ṯ   he
     Sonu   sita   with   market   go-IPFV   PRS.3SG
     'Sonu is going to the market with Sita'

Notice the agreement pattern. The accompaniment involves a singular verb while coordination agrees with a plural verb. Therefore, a single unit cannot be formed using accompaniment, but can be formed by using coordination.

The conjoined phrase cannot be distorted but this is not the case with accompaniment. Notice that the variation of the sentences (260) and (261) are all grammatical. However, the comitative postposition *kər-səŋ* always follows the noun which is being accompanied. On the contrary, only a shuffle in the nouns can be allowed.

(260) siɟa   kər-səŋ   sonʊ   bədʒar   dʒa-ṯ   he

	sita	with	Sonu	market	go-IPFV	PRS.3SG

'Sonu is going to the market with Sita'

(261)	sonʊ	bədʒar	siṭa	kər-səŋ	dʒa-ṭ	he
	Sonu	market	sita	with	go-IPFV	PRS.3SG

'Sonu is going to the market with Sita'

4.6.13.4 Structural Constraints in Coordination

Generally, words from the same class can be conjoined, i.e., members of the same classes (noun, adjective, adverb etc.) can be coordinated. There are further constraints within a grammatical class.

Adjectives and participial construction

The adjectival participle, i.e., the perfective participles and the -ola construction can form a coordinate relationship with other adjectives.

(262)	sonʊ	pəʈʰ-əl	ıdʒəṭ	rəh-	ola	əʊr	sʊnḍər	tʃõɽa	ahe
		lıkʰ-əl	se	ek					
	Sonu	educated	honourable		CONJ	handsome	boy	PRS.3SG

'Sonu is an educated, honourable and handsome boy'

A finite relative clause cannot be coordinated with an adjective. This is shown in the ill-formedness of (263).

(263)*	mor	ḍos	dʒe	ḍıllı	mẽ	rəh-el	əʊr	pəʈʰ-əl lıkʰ-əl	ahe
	My friend	who	in Delhi		stays	CONJ	educated	PRS.3SG

'Sonu is an educated, honorable and handsome boy'

The relative clause can be coordinated only with another relative clause. Forming relative clauses out of the adjective and then coordinating it is one strategy. Sentence (264) is grammatical since the adjective function is used in a relative clausal structure.

(264)	mor	ḍos	[dʒe ḍıllı mẽ rəh-	əʊr	[dʒe pəʈʰ-əl lıkʰ-əl	bıha	kərəṭ	he
			el]		ahe]			

1SG   friend   who lives in Delhi   and   who is educated   is marrying

'My friend who lives in Delhi and is educated is getting married'

Nouns and nominalized construction

Nouns and nominalized constructions can be conjoined, provided the semantic and pragmatic conditions are met.

(265)   *moj*   *kɪt̪ab*   *paɽʰ-ek*   *əʊr*   *pʰʊʈbol*   *kʰel-ek*   *pəsəɪnda-on*
         1SG   book   read-INF   and   football   play-INF   like-PRS.1SG

'I like to read books and play football'

Different types of adverbials

Participial adverbials and different adverbials can be coordinated freely.

Coordinating manner and time adverbs yields ungrammatical sentences such as (266).

(266)*   *u*   *kaɪl*   *əʊr*   *mʊrʊkʰ*   *kʰel-l-ək*
          3SG   yesterday   and   very much   play-PST-3SG

'He played yesterday and very much'

When the emphasis marker is added to a participle adverbial, coordination with other adverbials yields ungrammatical sentences.

(267)*   *u*   *dʒa-t̪e*   *he*   *əʊr*   *bəɪt̪ʰ*   *ke*   *kəh-l-ək*
          3SG   go-IPFV   EMP   and   sit   CVB   play-PST-3SG

'He said as soon as he went and sat'

Active and passive verb

Active and passive verbs can be coordinated. Often the passive is negative and used to introduce an idea to contrarily qualify the active verb. The disjunction coordination is often used with *lekɪn* 'but'.

(268)   *u*   *gaɽɪ*   *kɪn-l-*   *lekɪn*   *u-*   *se*   *pɪʈrol*   *nɪ*   *bʰərwa-*   *ge-l-ək*
                        ək   *kər*   *l*

         He   car   bought   but   by   petrol   NEG   fill-   go-PST-
                                 him/her   PFV   3SG

'He bought a car but fuel couldn't be managed by him'

Other verb categories

Dative verbs and other verbs cannot be coordinated due to inconsistency of the demanded subjects.

(269)* u-ke   kʰawas lag-l-ək   əʊr ge-l-ək

3SG-DAT hunger feel-PST-3SG and eat-PST-3SG

'He felt hungry and went'

All other verbs can be coordinated provided the pragmatics and semantic constraints are followed. For example, in (270) the simple verbs and causatives can be conjoined.

(270) u   kʰa-l- ək   əʊr kʰɪ-ʝa-l- ək

3SG eat-PST-3SG and eat-CAUS-PST-3SG

'He ate and fed others'

In forms where verbal derivations are used as adjectivals, nouns, etc. the rules of the grammatical category apply.

4.6.13.5 Omission of Elements of Sentence Under Identity in Coordination

When two sentences are conjoined, any element and any number of elements, including verbs can be deleted under identity in coordinate sentences.

The preferred direction of deletion is mostly forward (see (271)), but backward deletion is not impossible (see (272)). Agreement with the subject does not put constraints on deletion. The retained verb is coded with agreement features of their clausal NP. (See (273)).

(271) sonʊ sɪŋʰaɽa kʰa-l-ək   əʊr siṱa mɪʈʰəɪ

Sonu samosa eat-PST-3SG and sita sweetmeat

'Sonu ate samosas and Sita had sweetmeats'

(272) sonʊ sɪŋʰaɽa əʊr siṱa mɪʈʰəɪ   kʰa-l-ək

Sonu samosa and sita sweetmeat eat-PST-3SG

'Sonu ate samosas and Sita had sweetmeats'

(273) sonʊ sɪŋʰaɽa kʰa-l-ək   əʊr u=mən mɪʈʰəɪ

Sonu   samosa   eat-PST-3SG   and   3-PL   sweetmeat

'Sonu ate samosas and they had sweetmeats'

Identical verbs undergo deletion only if they share their formal characteristics. Consider the following sentences:

(274)   sonʋ-ke   sɪŋʰaɽa   pəsəɪnd   ahe   əʋr   moj   mɪʈʰəɪ   pəsəɪnda-on

Sonu-   samosa   like   PRS.3SG   and   1SG   play-   like-

DAT   INF   PRS.1SG

'Sonu likes samosas and I like sweetmeats'

(275)*   sonʋ-ke   sɪŋʰaɽa   pəsəɪnd   ahe   əʋr   moke   mɪʈʰəɪ

Sonu-DAT   samosa   like   PRS.3SG   and   1SG.DAT   play-INF

'Sonu likes samosas and I like sweetmeats'

Notice that the first verb selects a dative subject and the second a non-dative subject. These verbs, though semantically identical, are syntactically different. Deletion of any of the two verbs will yield ungrammatical sentence.

Similarly, an identical subject undergoes deletion only when it meets both formal identity and coreferentiality conditions.

4.6.13.6 Omission of Elements of Major Constituents of the Sentence

Omission of subiect

(276)   sonʋ   kɪʈab   kɪn-l-ək   əʋr   φ   bəhɪ   kɪn-l-ək

Sonu   book   buy-PST-3SG   and   Sonu   notebook   buy-PST-3SG

'Sonu bought a book and a notebook'

Omission of object

(277)   sonʋ   kɪʈab   kɪn-l-ək   əʋr   φ   φ   pəɽʰ-l-ək

Sonu   book   buy-PST-3SG   and   Sonu   book   read-PST-3SG

'Sonu bought a book and read it'

Omission of adjective/verb

(278)   sonʋ   lal   kəmɪdʒ   pɪnɖʰ-l-ək   əʋr   moj   φ   ɖʰoʈɪ   φ

Sonu   red   shirt   wear   and   1SG   red   dhoti   wear

| | | | -PST-3SG | | | | | -PST-3SG |

'Sonu wore red shirt and I wore a red dhoti'

Omission of adverb/verb

(279)

sonʊ	*kaɪl*	*kɪʈab*	*pəɽʰ-l-ək*	*əʊr*	*moɪ*	*ɸ*	*bəhɪ*	*kɪn-l-õ*
Sonu	yesterday	shirt	read-PST-3SG	and	1SG		notebook	buy-PST-1SG

'Sonu read a book and I bought a notebook yesterday'

5 CONCLUSION

The Sadri speaking people are found in the geographical region known as the Chotanagpur plateau. This region is roughly the region where the states of Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Odisha share borders. Speakers belong to various tribes of Austroasiatic and Dravidian origin and the Indo-Aryan population that is believed to have come later. As the language developed as a pidgin, it is used mostly as lingua franca by most people. However, with the decreased viability of their original tribal languages and the convenience of being used in multiple contexts, coupled with its spread, Sadri has attained prominence. For most speakers in the Birugarh region the language has attained the L1 status and this is spreading fast as the tribal languages diminish and the interaction on common platforms such as marketplace, government offices and media has increased tremendously by the end of the past century.

Sadri has a weak but not totally indistinct orthographical tradition, which could be attributed to its origin as a language to be used as lingua franca in the marketplace and government offices and not so much as a medium for cultural discourses, folklore and literature. However, the Kaithi script, an ancient Brahmic script prevalent during the Mughal period and granted the status of the script of courts, was used during the initial periods. However, with the spread of Devanagari and the extinction of Kaithi, in present times Devanagari is used as the script.

There have been attempts to write sketch grammars of Sadri since the British era to facilitate formal communication between the colonial government and the tribal population, but this is the first attempt to write a descriptive grammar of the variety of Sadri spoken as L1 in the Birugarh region. Some linguistic sketches of the language exist but a detailed study was in order and the present work seeks to fulfil that gap.

Sadri is basically an SOV language. However, due to postpositions, the word order is not very strict. Variations in word order however, contain pragmatic information. Like most SOV languages of the subcontinent, Sadri too has postpositions which are preceded by nominals. Other correlational features of SOV languages as predicted by Lehmann, 1973, such as adjective and genitives preceding the noun, hold true. The determiners too precede the noun and the modifier of the adverb and verb too precedes it. In addition, the standard of comparison precedes the adjective. The adjuncts or peripheral arguments precede the verb.

Sadri very much has the same set of consonants and vowels as does Hindi. The analysis of the phonemes was based on Hindi and the approach was to find out any deviation from the description of phonemes in Hindi.

The inventory of phonemes consists of 8 vowels, 11 diphthongs and 32 consonants. Sadri does not use three vowel sequences. Vowels vary in height and frontness. Vowel length and nasalisation are phonemic but the case was not found to be true for all vowels. In most cases where minimal pairs were not found, length was found to indicate stress or emphasis and nasalisation showed generational variance or formality-based variation. Velarisation, rounding and stress were not found to be phonemic but are dialectally and generationally varied. With the exception of the long vowels /i/ and /u/, and /ə/ all vowels occur freely in word-final position. There is no restriction on the occurrence of the word-initial vowels.

The gamut of non-syllabic segments is again similar to that of Hindi. There are a total of 32 consonants in Sadri. Their length is phonemic. Word initial consonant clusters and word final consonant clusters are very rare in native speakers. Predominantly, the rural uneducated speakers break the word initial CC cluster through various epenthetic processes. Geminates are rare in root words but commonly seen in stem final consonants in verbs in perfective participles. However, this is a generational variation as younger speakers tend to not geminate the consonant. All consonant segments except approximant /w/, glottal /h/ and retroflex /ɖ/ and aspirates /ɖʰ/ and /ʈʰ/ can be found word finally. All consonant segments except nasal /ŋ/, aspirate /ʈʰ/, and approximants /w/ and /j/ can occur word initially. The retroflex /ɖ/ and its aspirate /ɖʰ/ were not found to occur word medially.

Sadri was found to have five possible syllable structures. Words mostly show a monsyllabic or disyllabic structure, but there is a clear dominance of monosyllabic words. Words of more than two syllables are seen rarely but only as inflected verbs. Intonation is syntactic rather than containing emotional information. In addition, there are some overall accent-based variations due to the effect of increased interaction with Hindi and English as speakers and these phones exist in free variation with the original phonemes.

Sadri is an agglutinating language of a high degree. Most grammatical marking is achieved through suffixing, clitics and postpositions. There are some fusional

morphemes too. There are majorly nine word-classes: Pronouns, nouns, determiners, postpositions, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, particles and connectives. The lexicon shows heavy influence of the surrounding languages related to Hindi. However, the morphosyntax shows an inclination towards the tribal languages. Further, the syntax draws a lot of its similarity and complexity (an ongoing process) from Hindi and its dialects spoken in the region. The major strategy to diversify the lexicon is loaning. The derivational morphology too shows evidence of loaning Persian and Sanskritic affixes from Hindi and Urdu. Notably, derivational affixes from different origin cannot be used with a root word. In addition, derivation is mostly limited to loan words and loaned affixes of Sanskrit and Persian origin through the influence of Hindi and Urdu. Pragmatic strategies, postpositional adjuncts and subordinate clauses are favoured ways to express complex ideas otherwise expressed through derivation. Pragmatic strategies are significantly more favoured by the older generations. There is a stronger shift towards derivational strategies among the younger speakers who have relatively higher exposure to Hindi and Urdu through formal education and media.

Sadri lacks grammatical gender. However, animate nouns show sex distinction. This can be seen as an influence of Dravidian languages. Inanimate nouns are sex neutral, while common nouns are by default male unless the female is more important and has come to represent the group. Singular is unmarked while the plural is marked by a clitic that attaches to the last constituent of the NP. There are some classifiers in Sadri, similar to other languages in the region. However, these classifiers are used to signal specificity and definiteness. The determiners such as numerals borrow heavily from Hindi numerals with slight phonological changes.

The case system is Nominative-Accusative and the transitive subject is unmarked or bears the direct case. The grammatical subject can bear other cases too. These case relations are marked by postpositions which also have semantic imports. Nominals do not have oblique forms when appearing with postpositions and always remain unchanged.

Adjectives do not inflect for number and gender and they are either simple or derived, based on their origin. However, they can also be categorised as attributive or predicative based on their morphosyntactic viability. Adjectives can be modified

themselves using sub-modifiers. Degree of an adjective is not marked by affixation but by using a standard of comparison. They are derived from various other word classes such as pronouns, nouns, verbs and other adjectives.

Verbs have been explained by categorising them semantically in oppositional types as stative, inchoative or active verbs; volitional or non-volitional; and effective vs affective. This has been done to explain some morphosyntactic behaviours exhibited by some verbs due to their inherent semantics. Apart from the usual distinction of verb stems on the basis of transitivity, it was found that Sadri verbs exhibit different reactions to causativisation. It was seen that intransitive verbs and verbs earlier described as affective that are transitive have both causal forms. Inherent effective verbs which are transitive or di-transitive have only the second causal form. Similar to some Bihari languages and dialects of Hindi, Sadri can turn transitive verbs into intransitive verbs. Complex predicated are of three types: conjunct verbs, compound verbs and tri-verb compounds. All three common tenses are morphologically marked. In Sadri the only grammatically marked aspects are imperfective and perfective. Other aspects are marked periphrastically. Sadri expresses five moods: Indicative, Imperative, Subjunctive, Counterfactual and Presumptive. Out of these only imperative and subjunctive are marked on the verb. Others are marked/marked periphrastically. Infinitives are used as abstract nouns and are used productively to form adjectives using the agentive participle. Imperfective participles are used as manner and duration adverbials while perfective participles have both adverbial and adjectival use. Conjunctive participle constructions have multiple functions. They are used to form manner, temporal, causal, antithetical and concessive adverbials. Derived verbs can come from nouns, adjectives and other verbs.

Adverbs in Sadri can be classified on the basis of their internal composition into basic adverbs, derived adverbs, phrasal adverbs, and reduplicated adverbs. Adverbs are derived from nouns, pronouns and adjectives through postpositional phrases and postposition incorporation.

The particle *hõ, he, jo* and *je* are emphasis markers used in different situations. The particle *[hõ]* is used to mark emphasis with different types of nouns. The particle *[he]* is used to put emphasis on adverbs and pronouns. The particle *[jo]* is used to put emphasis on the concessive action in concessive constructions and the conditional

action in conditional clauses. The particle *[je]* is used to emphasise on the verbs. The particle used for emphasis in negative clauses is *[be]*. The particle *[ʈo]* is used to mark contrast and emphasis when an alternative is inherent in the context. *[dʒʊn]* is a contrastive particle that is used in the adversative sense. The particle *dʒɑɪsən* is used as equative particle. It functions like a postposition. Eight connectives used in different pragmatic and semantic contexts were found in Sadri.

The chapter on syntax predominantly aims at describing the strategies employed in Sadri both through simple and complex syntax to achieve various forms of expression. Depending on their complexity NPs were seen to be of simple, complex, and compound types. NPs also were seen to serve as complements of PPs. In addition, noun clauses were seen to act as NPs if they are infinitive. The modifiers in an NP precede the head and a tentative scheme in which the different modifiers can concatenate was posited. However, in the data set some possible scenarios of cooccurrence were found and it was also determined by the speakers that various restrictions apply in the cooccurrence of some modifiers: Indefinite determiners do not occur with demonstratives, approximates and ordinals. The indefinite determiner *goʈek* does not occur with cardinals. The multiplicatives do not occur with collectives and measure. Approximate does not occur with aggregative. Aggregatives and fractionals do not occur with cardinals. This area needs further focused study with a larger dedicated data set for the purpose.

In PPs the complement NP precedes the postposition. They are mostly used to form adjuncts on sentences to relay added information. Adjectival phrases are used attributively and predicatively in which case they are taken as complements to copular constructions. Similarly, adverb phrases can be used predicatively too. They form complements of the copula. On the other hand, modifier AdvP are optional and used as adjuncts.

There is very little to no dependence on word order to express grammatical functions. There are however, restrictions to word order with regards to grammaticality but not difference in meaning. Sadri is SOV but it deviates from the SOV patterns in some respects. The language shows inconsistency in terms of the negation which precedes the verb. The subordinator precedes the subordinate clause.

It was earlier established that all finite verbs in Sadri are marked for number, person and honorificity. The default agreement pattern is 3SG. Agreement is rendered by one of the noun phrases in the clause. The first option for the verb to agree with is the subject if it is not overtly case marked. If unavailable due to a case marking, the verb must then agree with the closest unmarked noun.

Clauses are categorised as subordinate, noun clauses, relative clauses and adverb clauses based on their behaviour. Subordinate clauses were found to be both finite and non-finite. The finite ones are used as complement clauses and have similar structure to main clauses or matrix clauses. However, the complementiser is used when it follows the main clause, but dropped when it is moved to the front for focus. The non-finite form is identified through participialisation or infinitivisation of the verb and lacks tense marking. Noun clauses too can be finite and non-finite. Finite noun clauses can function as subject, direct object, and postpositional object. Non-finite noun clauses can occur as complements of copula, objects of main verb and postpositional objects. This kind is formed by using both infinitive and participial form of the verb. Apart from the perfective participle, the agentive participle can also take part in forming such clauses. In a similar fashion, adjective clauses or relative clauses too are of both finite and non-finite forms. Relative clauses can be headless too. In addition, they show both restrictive and non-restrictive function. Adverbial clauses too are of both finite and non-finite type. These clauses are used as time, manner, purpose, cause, condition, concession, successive action and result adverbials.

With regards to the construction of simple sentences, Sadri employs forms of copulas to construct copular sentences. Sadri employs complex predicates which are either noun + verb, verb + verb or two verbs + auxiliary. There are two forms of sentential negation. Imperative sentences were found to employ a different negative particle as opposed to simple assertions. There is no morphological marking to distinguish between direct and indirect speech. However, quoted or reported material is embedded in the sentence preceded by the complementiser *kɪ*. When forming questions, the expected answer determines the syntactic structure of the interrogative sentence. In addition to different types of questions, when forming questions, intonation can also mark a question. Various types of imperative sentences that can have additional semantic imports were found. Obligative, prohibitive sentences were

found to be functional types of imperative constructions in addition to the subjunctive, present tense and future tense imperatives.

Complex sentence structures were found to be used when expressing anaphora, reflexivity, reciprocity, comparison and coordination of sentences. Expressing superlative degree and equative relations too involved complex sentences. Anaphora can exist within clauses and between coordinate structures and is expressed through personal pronouns, deletion, reflexive pronouns and the use of quantifiers. The agentive reflexive is used to express reflexivity which is seen in coordinate structures readily. However, the scope of reflexivity is restricted to the clause boundary. The formation of reciprocals in discourse is generally secondary in Sadri. It is mostly pragmatically strategized along with the presence of the plural subject. Through possible constructions, reciprocity is seen to be restricted within clause boundary. Sadri uses sentential and phrasal comparative strategies. Morphological comparatives were not found. Sentential comparison is conveyed through a set of a main clause and a relative clause. To express phrasal comparison, the postposition *se* is added to the standard of comparison. Superlatives are formed by using *səʊbʰe* 'all' as the standard of comparison in the same construction used for comparatives. Equatives like comparatives can be formed syntactically as well as phrasaly. Syntactically an equative sentence is made of two clauses: the termed *dʒeʈna* 'as much' and *oʈna* 'that much only' clauses. Phrasal type equatives are formed using the equative particle *dʒəɪsən* 'like'. Sentence coordination is marked mainly by the conjunction morphemes. Coordinated sentences were seen to express various meanings such as cause and effect, sequential action, contingency, etc. Accompaniment is expressed differently than coordination in Sadri. It is marked using the complex postposition (comitative) *kər-səŋ*.

In general, it was observed that older speakers of Sadri employed pragmatic and discourse strategies to achieve more complex linguistic function otherwise achieved through syntax is more complex languages. With the rise in literacy and exposure to more complex syntactic structure used in Hindi and Urdu there is a tendency among the younger speakers to infuse it in the language. This trend is seen to be alive in the nascent but emerging literature and use of Sadri in media.

Appendix I: Word List

Human Relationship

Address	Reference	English Gloss
	goʈɪ̯a	Relative/guest
aba	*aba*	Father
aɪ̯o	*aɪ̯o*	Mother
	gʰərnɪ	Wife
	selem	Lover (male)
	gʊɪ̯a	Lover (female)
	bəhin	Sister
beʈa	*beʈa*	Son
beʈɪ	*beʈɪ*	Daughter
nana	*nana*	Elder sister
ɖəɖa	*ɖəɖa*	Elder brother
	bʰaɪ	Brother
adʒa	*adʒa*	Grandfather
adʒɪ	*adʒɪ*	Grandmother
bəɽa	*bəɽa*	Father's elder brother
bəɽɪ	*bəɽɪ*	His wife
kaka	*tʃətʃa*	Father's younger brother
kakɪ	*tʃətʃɪ*	His wife
mama	*mama*	Maternal uncle
bʰəɪgna	*bʰəɪgna*	Sister's son
bʰəɪgnɪ	*bʰəɪgnɪ*	Sister's daughter
pʰʊpʰʊ	*pʰʊpʰʊ*	Father's sister
pʰʊpʰa	*pʰʊpʰa*	Father's sister's husband
məʊsɪ	*məʊsɪ*	Mother's sister
bʰaʈʊ	*bʰaʈʊ*	Sister's husband
bʰəʊdʒɪ	*bʰəʊdʒɪ*	Brother's wife
	sala	Wife's brother
	salɪ	Wife's sister
saɽʰʊ	*saɽʰʊ*	Wife's sister's husband

	səsur	Husband's father
	sas	Husband's mother
	bʰəẽsʊr	Husband's elder brother
	goʈnɪ	Husband's brother's wife
	pʊtʰʊ	Son's wife
bʰəʈɪdʒ	bʰəʈɪdʒa	Nephew
	bʰəʈdʒɪn	Niece
	poʈa	Son's son
	poʈɪ	Son's daughter
	naʈɪ	Daughter's son
	nəʈnɪ	Daughter's daughter
	ḓʰaŋər	Servant
	gomke	Master
	gomkəɪn	Mistress/ Master's wife

Human references

Sadri	Gloss
lebʊ	Man
bʊɽʰa	Old man
bʊɽʰɪ	Old woman
tʃəʊwa	Toddler
mə̃ɪjə̃	Baby girl
bʊtʃʊ	Baby/child
saheb	Officer
əgʊa	Mediator/leader /representative
bəɽʰəɪ	Carpenter
lohra	Ironsmith
radʒmɪsʈɪrɪ	Mason
mɪsʈɪrɪ	Cook
kʊmhar	Potter
bəɪndʒ	Barren woman
bɪsaha	Wizard

bɪsahɪ	Witch
nəʊwa	Barber

Body Parts

Sadri	Gloss
gəʈər	Body (whole)
tʃʰala	Skin
mʊɽɪ	Head
kəpaɾ	Head (haired area)
maʈʰa	Forehead
tʃanɖɪ	Crown
tʃehra/ʈʰoʈʰna (derogatory)	Face
ãkʰ	Eye
bʰəõ	Eyebrow
pɪpnɪ	Eyelid/Eyelash
nak	Nose
kan/lʊʈʊr	Ear
mʊh	Mouth
ʈʰor	Lip
dʒɪbʰ	Tongue
gone/ɖaʈʰ	Tooth
hãʈʰ	Hand
sʊplɪ	Palm
ɖʊgɖʊ/gʊʈʊ	Armpit
əŋrɪ	Finger
goɽ	Leg
ʈʰehʊna	Knee
gəlpʰaɽa	Jaw
kənpəʈʈɪ	Temple
ʈʰoɽʰ	Chin
gʰetʃa	Neck
ʈʰogʈʰor	Throat

bʊkrʊ	Adam's apple
kẽs	Hair
ɖaɽʰɪ	Beard
tʃʊnɖɪ	Tuft
kənɖʰa	Shoulder
sina/tʃaʈɪ	Chest
tʃaʈɪ	Breast
tʃʰir	Nipple
ɖag	Waist
nabʰɪ	Navel
tʃʊʈʈər	buttocks
tʃopɪ	Female genital
tʃʊʈlʊ/nʊnʊ	Male genital
ãɳʊ	Testicles
pet	Abdomen
kəmər	Back
haɽ	Bone
rɪɽʰ	Spine
hə̯slɪ	Collar bone
pəndʒrɪ	Rib
gʊɖɖɪ	Brain
ɖɪl	Heart
gʊrɖa	Kidney
pətʃəʊnɪ	Intestine
poʈa	Colon
nəs	Vein
lar	Saliva
kʰəkʰar	Phlegm
neʈa	Nasal mucous
rəkʈ/kʰʊn	Blood
mʊʈ	Urine
ʈəʈʈɪ	Excrement

Body Processes (-ek, the INF marker is used to highlight verbs)

Sadri	Gloss
ãkʰ mɪtka-ek	To blink
nak tʃɪnk-ək	To blow nose
sãs le-ek	To take breath
dʒəmhaɪ le-ek	To yawn (lit: take yawn)
nak bədʒ-ek	To snore (lit: nose sound)
pʰõk-ek	To blow (with mouth)
ʈʰʊk	Spit
kʰõkʰ-ek	To cough
dʰekar	Belch
hɪtʃʰkɪ	Hiccup
tʃĩk-ek	To sneeze
mʊt-ek	To urinate
paɖ-ek	To fart
həg-ek	To defecate
tʰərtʰərɪ (noun)	Shiver
pəsena nɪkl-ek	To perspire
tʃəkkər mar-ek	To feel dizzy
behos ho-ek	To faint
nɪnɖa-ek	To sleep
səpna-ek	To dream
uʈʰ-ek	To wake up

Senses (-ek, the INF marker is used to highlight verbs)

Sadri	Gloss
ɖekʰ-ek	To see
tʃʰʊ-ek	To touch/feel (active)
sʊn-ek	To hear
gəmək-ek	To smell
pəʈɪja-ek	To feel (passive)
tʃikʰ-ek	To taste

dəra-ek	To fear
kʰɪsa-ek	To get angry
ləhər-ek	To feel (burn)/ To get angry fast

Ingestion (-ek, the INF marker is used to highlight verbs)

Sadri	Gloss
kʰa-ek	To eat
tʃab-ek	To bite
tʃiba-ek	To chew
lɪl-ek	To swallow
tʃaʈ-ek	To lick
tʃʊs-ek	To suck
pɪ-ek	To drink

Body movement (-ek, the INF marker is used to highlight verbs)

Sadri	Gloss
bəɪʈʰ-ek	To sit
uʈʰ-ek	To get up/wake up
sʊʈ-ek	To lie down
gʰʊm-ek	To turn
bʊl-ek	To walk
tʃəʈʰ-ek	To step
otəŋ-ek	To lean
gɪr-ek	To stumble
ləŋɽa-ek	To limp
gʰʊsk-ek	T crawl
bəɖk-ek	To run
dʒəʈ kər-ek	To rush/hurry
pər-ek	To swim
ɖeg-ek	To jump
lətʰɪɟa-ek	To kick
tʰopɪ mar-ek	To slap
məsməsɪ	Feeling of rigidness

Food items

Sadri	Gloss
gəhəm	Wheat
məɽʋa	Ragi
tʃaʋr	Rice
bʰata	Brinjal
ɖaŋboɖɪ	Snake beans
ləʋwa	Long gourd
kəril	Bamboo shoot
nenʋa	Sponge gourd
dʒɪŋɪ	Ridge gourd
kõhɽa	Orange pumpkin
rəksa	Grey pumpkin
bənɖa	Pork
mas	Meat
mətʃʰrɪ	Fish
tʃɪŋɽɪ	Shrimp
aɖɪ	Ginger
rəsʋn	Garlic
bɪləʋʈɪ	Tomato
mərtʃa	Chilli
mʋrəɪ	Radish
kəɽʋa ̃tel	Mustard oil
mədʰrəs	Honey
həɽɖɪ	Turmeric
non	Salt
ʋkʰ/ tʃɪnɪ	Sugar
ʈəmrəs	Guava
popɪʈa	Papaya
newa	Custard apple
keʋnɖ	A tree: leaves used for bidi (local cigarettes) and the fruit is edible

Food items

tʃar	Chiraunji fruit
tʃarməndʒɪ	Chiraunji seeds (a dry fruit)
amba	Mango
ʈeʈər	Tamarind
dəʊ	A tangy orange coloured fruit
dəmbʰa	A large citrus fruit

Tools and utensils

Sadri	Gloss
ʈaŋɪ	Axe
koɽɪ	Spade
beltʃa	Shovel
marʈʊl	Hammer
kãtɪ	Nail
gʰəɪla	Water pot
detʃkɪ	Cooking pot
kəɽahɪ	Frying pot
kərtʃʰʊl	Ladle
həɽɪja	Big pot
ʈokna	Shallow terracotta bowl
dʰəkna	Lid of cooking utensils
ʈʰepɪ	Lid of small items like bottles
tʃətka	Bamboo basket for grains
dalɪ	Basket for fruits and vegetables
ɖəʊrɪ	Big open bamboo basket
gəɽʊa	A bamboo rope carrier
mora	Big mud granary
kohɪja	Big mud container
gʰoɽɪ	Platform
matʃa	Scaffold
həsʊa	Sickle
ɖəʊlɪ	Curved knife to cut shrubs

səbəl	Crowbar
bəɪsla	A wood carving tool
tʃʊɽɪ	Knife
gə̃ɪʈa	Pickaxe
gʊlʈʰa	Catapult
pagʰa	Rope

Animals

Sadri	Gloss
tʃʰegrɪ	Goat
lʊlʊ	Kid
gorʊ	Cow
bətʃʰrʊ	Male calf
bətʃʰɪja	Female calf
bəɪl	Ox
sã̃ɽ	Bull
bʰə̃ɪs	Buffalo
kaɽa	Male buffalo
bənɖa	Pig
mʊrgɪ	Hen
kokro	Rooster
bəkkəʈ	Duck
ɖemʈa	Red tree ant (specific)
tʃʊʈʈa	Big black-ant (specific)
tʃõ̃ʈʈɪ	Small ant (generic)
ɖɪjã	White ant
bʰʊsrɪ	Mosquito
pʰenga	Grasshopper
bɪrnɪ	Wasp
nelwa	Leech
pɪllʊ	Insect (any random insect)
bɪtʃɪ	Scorpion

kʰəkʰra	Crab
barha	Wild boar
ʈeʈeŋa	Garden lizard
lambʰa	Hare
poɽoŋ	Rabbit
sahɪ	Porcupine
bəɳɖra	Monkey
həlʊman	Ape
bʰalʊ	Bear
bɪləɪ	Cat
tʃʊtɪɟa	Mouse
bʰʊs	Rat
kʊkʊr	Dog (generic)
kõʈa	Male dog
kõʈɪ	Female dog
sɪɟar	Jackal
hʊʈar	Wolf
haɽʰa	Hyena
ləkɽa	Leopard
bagʰ	Tiger
ɖʰõɽ	A rat and frog eating snake (lives in water)
dʰəmna	Rat snake
nag	Cobra
kərəɪʈ	Karait snake
bənpʰora	A big snake that lives in paddy fields
ədʒgər	Python
goɪ	Monitor lizard
gerwa	Sparrow
pəɽkɪ	Dove
perwa	Pigeon
rʊpʊ	Bulbul

Sadri	Gloss
sʊga	Parrot
kənhar	Vulture
rawən	Eagle
ʊd̪ʰ	Owl

Miscellaneous list of nouns

Sadri	Gloss
ar	Water channels in plantations
alsɪ	Chisel
arɪ	Saw
ara	Big saw
ãtʃ	Heat of the flame
ərkʰɪ	Liquor
baɟ	Frustration
baɽɪ	Backyard garden and orchard
bela	Period of day
bʰʊĩ	Ground
bəllɪ	Thick tree branch used for support
bət̪t̪a	Thin wood plank
bənsɪ	Fishing rod
bənɖowa	Storm
bəet̪ʰɪ	Foldable knife to be used sitting
bəɽ	Banyan
bəet̪ʰkɪ	Meeting/conference
bɪtʃar	Judgement
bɪtʃəʊʈɪ	Skink
bɪhən	Seed for cultivation
bɪɽa	Paddy sapling
bɪha	Marriage
bɪkʰ	Poison
bɪt̪t̪a	Length between the tips of the thumb and little finger

bʰʊʈɪ	Wage
bʰərʈɪ	Pregnant (cattle)
bokʰa	Toothless
boʈa	Log
bəkla	Tree bark
bʊɖa	Plant (a weed or a random plant)
tʃara	Fish bait/ cattle feed
tʃərwaha	Shepherd
tʃɪnha	Mark/sign
tʃokla	Peel
tʃʊɽa	Flattened rice
tʃəlka	Drainage for excess water in fields
ɖɪmag	Sense
ɖəʈwən	Twig used as toothbrush
ɖarʊ	Alcoholic drink (generic)
ɖʊʈ	Angel
ɖʊra	Door
ɖoɪn	The paddy field that is the lowest
ɖaŋ	Long stick used to reach something
dəhʊra	Leaves for cattle feed
ɖəhər	Path
ɖəmkədʒ	A type of dance
ɖã̃ɽ	Uppermost field used for drier crops
daɽɪ	Well
ɖoŋa	Boat
ɖʊbʰnɪ	Cup/bowl used for drinks
dʰẽkɪ	Wood husking machine
dʰɪbrɪ	A small uncovered wick lamp
dʰoka	Rock fragments used to lay platforms
dʰoɽa	A small stream/river
dʰʊka	Wind
dʒɪʈɪa	Pipal tree

dʒɪnɪs	Thing (generic)
dʒã̤ʈa	Stone grinder
dʒʰaɽa	Diarrhoea
dʒʰãkʰ	Tree branch used as prop for creepers
dʒʰõ̤ɽ	Bush
gənwa	Rope to tie cattle with
gaɽʰa	A pit dug on the ground
garɪ- gʊpʈa	Abuse
gɪrdʒa	Church
gohal	Cattel shed
gʰorna	Fence made of sticks
gʊŋʊ	Raincoat made of leaves
hʊlhʊl	Mutiny/rebellion
hər	Plough
həɽɪja	Rice beer
kətʃkətʃ	Inconvenience
kɪtʃəɪn	Mess
koʈʰa	Concrete roof
kowa	Silkworm pupa/Jackfruit pulp
koɹla	Charcoal
kõɪja	Well
kʰaʈɪ	Bed made with rope
kʰəpra	Mud tile for roofing
kʰɪs	Anger
lawa	Popped rice
lewa	Ash paint on pots to prevent blackening
lar	Saliva
lasa	Gum
lebʊ	Man (derogatory)
leŋgʰəɪja	Leftie
leɖra	Bedding item made from rags
ləɳʈa	Naked boy

ləŋʈɪ	Naked girl
lərəŋ	Creeper/vine
lola	Earring
loŋrɪ	Hilly land
lʊr	Manner
lʊga	Cloth/clothes
lʊga- pʰaʈa	Cloth (generic)
lʊwəŋ	Ploughshare
meɽʰ	The dividing boundary between fields
məndʒɪ	Seed
mʊrʰɪ	Puffed rice
məndʒər	Blossom on fruit trees
maɪɳɖ	Manure
mãɳɖər	Drum played from both sides
maɽ	Starch water left after rice is cooked
mʊrʊm	Gravel
nəgaɽa	Kettledrum
nəhɪjər	Married woman's parent's house
nəoʈa	Invitation
noksaɪn	Death/loss in business
okʰrɪ-səmaɽ	Big wooden mortar and pestle
paʈa	Wooden leveller for field
pãndʒ	Footprint
pə̃ɪtʃa	Loan
pəɪla	Bowl used for measurement
pədʒʰra	Natural spring
pəsga	Weight used to balance both sides
pəkka	Cement floor
pəntʃə̪ʈʈɪ	Permanent fence
poɪn	Canal leading water away from fields
pokʰra	Small tank/pond
pora	Hay

pʰɪkɪr	Trouble
pʰoŋta	Hole
pʰʋhɪ	Feather used to keep fish bait floating
pʰʋsrɪ	Pimple/boil
rəʋḍ	Sunshine
rowa	Seeds for transplanting
ropa	Transplantation
səŋtʰa	A staff used for support
səwaŋ	Physical energy
ṯasa	A bowl sized kettledrum
ṯəmakʰʋ	Tobacco
ṯəreŋən	Stars
ṯola	A small village
ṯoŋrɪ	A hillock or a small forest
ṯʋkʋ	Big boulder
ṯʋwər	Orphan
ṯʰɪha	Place (owned by someone)
ṯʰaõ	Place (to keep something or to sit)

Verbs

Sadri	Gloss
alga-ek	To lift
ãkʰʋwa-ek	To sprout
bəḍək-ek	To rush
bədʒʰa-ek	To fish/trap
bəhaɽ-ek	To sweep
bəsa-ek	To smell (INT)
bɪtʃ-ek	To pick from the ground
bɪsək-ek	To stop producing milk (INT)
bʋl-ek	To roam
bʰeṯra kər-ek	To carry on the back in a cloth cradle
bʰɪṯra-ek	To get something inside

bʰõndʒ-ek	To saute
tʃɪnh-ek	To recognise
tʃɪt-ek	To realise
tʃʊw-ek	To leak
tʃʰotʃra-ek	To lacerate
ɖɪsa-ek	To lay
dʰãnp-ek	To cover (with lid)
dʒob-ek	To poke
dʒʰãp-ek	To cover (out of sight)
dʒʰərək-ek	To no longer have water dripping
dʒʰol-ek	To burn (not to set on fire)
gərɪja-ek	To scold
gəɖra-ek	To mature
goʈʰɪja-ek	To talk
gʊl kər-ek	To make noise
gʰəm-ek	To be sufficient (of a thing)
gʰoɽtʃɪ kər-ek	To carry on the back
gʰʊr-ek	To come back
hewa-ek	To acclimatise
həbək-ek	To bite suddenly
hə̃ka-ek	To call
ɪnɖra-ek	To stare
kanɖ-ek	To cry
kəma-ek	To earn/work
kʊɖ-ek	To run
kʰed-ek	To chase
kʰɪsa-ek	To get angry
kʰʊr-ek	To shave
kʰʊr-ek	To swindle
lãgʰ-ek	To go across from above
lebɖʰa-ek	To throw
ledʒ-ek	To take away

lewa-ek	To sow seeds on plain surface
lɪp-ek	To paint
meɽʰ-ek	To spin on a reel
mesa-ek	To mix
məɽa-ek	To place/put
pɪndʰ-ek	To wear
pʰʊsek-ek	To let out a secret
randʰ-ek	To cook
sɪra-ek	To finish
ʈar-ek	To drag aside with a stick
ʈek-ek	To support
ʈʰəɽʰa-ek	To stand
ʈʰɪsa-ek	To get disappointed
ʊpəl-ek	To float

Adjectives

Sadri	Gloss
basɪ	Stale
bes	Good
bərɪɟar	Stubborn
bəɽ	Big/large
bʰəʈkʰəɪɟa	Right
bʰoʈʰər	Blunt
tʃakər	Wide
tʃokʰ	Pointy
tʃoʈ	Small
tʃʰʊtʃʰe	Without condiments/empty handed
gərəm	Hot
hõsɪɟar	Cunning
koɟa/boka	Stupid
lẽgʰəɪɟa	Left
lera	Plenty

lobʰɪ	Greedy
mə̃dʒla	Intermediate
pagəl	Mad
paʈ̪ər	Thin
pəɽʈɪ	Fallow
pʰarwəd	Active/smart
saɖa	White/bland
səkra	Narrow
semʈ̪ər	Level
sɪʈʰa	Bland/insipid
ʈ̪edʒ	Sharp/fast
ʊsʊm	Lukewarm

Adverb

Sadri	Gloss
aɪdʒʰ	Today
asʈ̪e	Slowly
ase-pase	Nearby
bəgra	More
bəhʊʈ̪	Many
bɪhan	Evening
bʰɪ̪ʈre	Inside
bʰor	Morning
dʒʰəʈ	Fast
ekla	Alone
ətʃka	Suddenly
əndʒaɖɪ	Without deliberation
kaɪl	Tomorrow/yesterday
mʊrʊkʰ	Much
səgər	Everywhere
persõ	Day after tomorrow/before yesterday

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