

Sadani / Sadri

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1. Name

Sadani / Sadri is a *lingua franca* used for inter-tribal group communication in eastern-central India. The term "Sadani" can be used in two senses. In the first, more general meaning, "Sadani" refers to the closely related linguistic varieties in Jharkhand, including forms such as Panch Parganiya, Khortha and Kurmali, which are generally considered independent languages. This term refers to the fact that these linguistic varieties are spoken by the "Sadan" (*sadān*), i.e., the non-tribal, Indo-Aryan speaking ethnic groups of Jharkhand. The second, more restricted meaning, the one used in this article, refers to the speech of central to western Jharkhand and refers to a group of more closely related dialects usually referred to locally as "Sadri" or "Nagpuri" / "Nagpuriya". The term "Sadani / Sadri" will be used in this article to refer to this one linguistic variety, which will be referred to in the following as "Sadri" only. This variety is generally referred to as "Sadani" in western studies.

The origin of Sadani / Sadri and other related terms (see below) is somewhat obscure. Nowrangi (1956: iff.) tentatively suggests deriving the term "Sadan" from OIA *niṣāda-*, referring to an ethnic group of Northeast India. Further research is required.

Sadri is known by many different names. Lewis (2009) lists the following alternate names: Chota Nagpuri, Dikku Kaji, Ganwari, Gauuari, Gawari, Goari, Jharkhandhi, Nagpuri, Nagpuria, Sadan, Sadana, Sadani, Sadari, Sadati, Sadhan, Sadhari, Sadna, Sadrik, Santri, Siddri and Sradri. Some names denote the region where it is spoken, e.g. *Jharkhandi* from *Jharkhand* with the adjectivizing marker *-i*, and *(Chota) Nagpuri(ya)*, referring to *Nagpur* or *Chota Nagpur*, alternative names for Jharkhand. Some derive from the names of the groups that speak this language (e.g. *Sadani* from *Sadan*), while some refer to the fact that this language is usually spoken in the village or *gāw*, e.g. *Gawari* (*gāwari* 'village [language]').

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2. Geographical spread

Sadri is mainly spoken in western and central Jharkhand, but also in parts of Orissa, Chattisgarh, West Bengal, Assam and Bangladesh. Lewis (2009) estimates the total number of speakers to be 1,970,000 for 1997. The Census of India 2001 provides the figure of 2,044,776 speakers.

In addition to this group of native speakers, Sadri is also used as a *lingua franca* by a large number of so-called "tribal" groups, among others the Kharia (South Munda), Mundari, Bhumij (North Munda) and Kurukh (North Dravidian), and a number of speakers of these "tribal" groups have adopted Sadri as their first language and no longer speak their traditional language.

3. Affiliation (position in genealogical classification)

Since at least Grierson (1903) there has been general consensus that Sadri belongs to the eastern group of the Indo-Aryan languages. Furthermore, Sadri is often considered a dialect of Bhojpuri in western studies (cf. Grierson, 1903; Tiwari, 1960; Jordan-Horstmann, 1969). However, this classification is not accepted by many speakers of Sadri, who tend to view Sadri either as a separate language or as a dialect of Hindi, but not of Bhojpuri. Also in the Census of India it is subsumed under Hindi.

4. Written sources

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

<http://www.southasiabibliography.de/Bibliography/Indo-European/Sadri/sadri.html>

Sadri is virtually always written in the Devanagari script.

5.0.0. Linguistic characteristics

The lexicon and morphology of Sadri closely resemble those of other eastern Indo-Aryan languages such as Bhojpuri. Some of the general, eastern Indo-Aryan traits found in Sadri include lack of grammatical gender, predominance of suffixes and enclitics for grammatical marking, numeral classifiers, which can also be used postnominally without a numeral as a kind of definite article, and unmarked and future imperatives.

5.1.0. Phonology

Much work remains to be done on the phonological system of Sadri, and the following can only give the main characteristics. Some of the complexities involved in a description of the phonology of Sadri is the fact that there is considerable regional and ethnic variation.

The consonants in Sadri

The following provides an overview of the consonant phonemes of Sadri, based on the discussion in Jordan-Horstmann (1969: 19ff.). The phonemic status of forms given in parentheses "()" is uncertain. /ɽ/ and /ɽʰ/ are probably best considered intervocalic allophones of /d/ and /dʰ/, respectively.

	Bilabial		Dental		Alveolar	Retroflex		Palatal		Velar		Glottal
Stops	p ph	b bh	t th	d dh		ɽ ɽʰ	ɖ ɖʰ			k kh	g gh	
Fricatives								c [tʃ] ch [tʃʰ]	j [dʒ] jh [dʒʰ]			
Nasals	m		n							(ŋ)		
Laterals			l									
Flaps					r	(ɽ) (ɽʰ)						
Fricatives			s									h
Semi-Vowels	w							y [j]				

The vowels in Sadri

The following gives an overview of the Sadri vowel system, based on the discussion in Jordan-Horstmann (1969: 19f.; for allophonic variation of these phonemes, see there).

Front CentralBack

High i u
Mid e ʌ o
Low a

Nasalization is phonemic and appears to be compatible with all monophthongs (and perhaps all diphthongs, see below). Cf. *uṭh-* 'arise' vs. *ũṭh* 'camel', *kha-e* [eat-SUBJ.3SG] 's/he may eat' vs. *kha-ẽ* [eat-SUBJ.3PL] 'they may eat', *choḍi* [leave-FUT.3SG] 's/he will leave' vs. *chõḍi* 'girl' (Jordan-Horstmann, 1969: 28). Vowel length, on the other hand, is not phonemic.

There are also a number of diphthongs in Sadri; their exact number is uncertain. The following list is still quite tentative. Underlined forms were found in the corpus of the second author but are either not dealt with in Jordan-Horstmann (1969) or are not treated as diphthongs there. Most diphthongs are also found nasalized in the corpus of the second author.

Second vowel	ʌ	ɒ	ɛ	ĩ	o	u
First vowel						
ʌ	–	–	<u>ʌɛ</u>	ʌĩ	–	ʌu
a	–	–	<u>aɛ</u>	aĩ	–	au
e	–	–	–	eĩ	–	<u>eu</u>
i	–	–	–	–	–	–
o	–	–	(<u>oẽ</u>)	oĩ	–	<u>ou</u>
u	–	–	–	uĩ	–	–

The status of the diphthongs as phonemes is problematic for many reasons, including the following:

- many of the examples at our disposal are from written texts and hence rather uncertain;
- some of these forms appear to be allophones of one another, e.g., one often finds /aĩ/ and /ʌĩ/ as more or less free (or perhaps speaker-/writer-dependent) variants of one another;
- it is possible to analyze syllable-initial /w/ and /y/ as /u/ and /ĩ/, respectively, which would greatly increase the number of diphthongs.

5.1.1. Syllable

The following syllabic structures are found in the native vocabulary in Sadri:

- V: *i* 'this', *u* 'that'
- CV: *ka* 'what', *ni* 'NEG'
- VC: *ek* 'one', *mē* 'in'
- CVC: *mor* 'my', *baṭ* 'way'.
- (C)VCC: This structure is found in syllables with a homorganic nasal + stop: *ant* 'end', *lamb* 'long'. Otherwise, if two consonants occur word medially they are normally separated by a syllable boundary: *hʌl.ka* 'light', *khul.la* 'open'.

Although loan words with other syllable structures do exist, there is a tendency to fit these into the (C)V(C) structure, cf. *prem* ~ *perem* 'love' (< Hindi *prem*), similarly *pyar* ~ *piyar* 'love' (< Hindi *pyār*) (Jordan-Horstmann, 1969: 36).

5.1.2. Types of alternations

Some intransitives form their transitive counterpart not by adding the causative morpheme *-a* but rather by alternating the vowel in the CVC-structure of the base, cf. *mar-* / *mor-* 'die' vs. *mar-* 'kill'; this process is not productive.

There are a few verbs with suppletive forms in their paradigms, e.g., *ja-* 'go', with the irregular past tense stem *ge-*, and the copula, with the following stems:

Present stems: Identificational copula: positive: *hek-*, negative: *nʌlag-*

Existential / locative copula: positive: *ah-*, negative: *nʌkh-*

Other stems: (the details of which cannot be dealt with here): *rʌh-* original meaning 'remain'; *ho-*

5.2.0. Morphology

5.2.1 Morphological type of the language

Sadri is generally agglutinating, and almost all grammatical marking is via suffixes, enclitics or postpositions. There is also one marker, the erstwhile converbal marker *-i/-e*, which now functions as a linker in complex verbs (cf. section 5.2.3 for an example of a complex verb, i.e., the "compound verb construction"). It appears as a suffix with stems

ending in a vowel and as an infix directly preceding the final consonant of roots ending in a consonant, cf. *le-i* 'take-LNK' vs. *be<i>c-* 'sell-<LNK>'. Only marking for TAM and person is fusional; all other grammatical marking is agglutinative.

5.2.2. Morphological categories

Sadri has two major word classes: nominals and verbs, and a number of minor classes, most notably postpositions and adverbs.

- Nominals in Sadri may function as subject, object and adjunct and mark for number and case. Nominals can be further divided into nouns, adjectives and pronouns. Adjectives may be used attributively without further marking, whereas nouns and pronouns require the genitive to appear attributively.

- Verbs have finite and non-finite forms; in their finite form, they obligatorily mark for number and above all person, tense and mood, which are their distinguishing features; in their finite form they may function as the predicate of a main clause.

- Postpositions govern an NP.

- There is also a small class of adverbs whose main function is to modify a sentence/clause, verb, adjective or other adverb.

For reasons of space, only nominals and verbs will be dealt with here.

Nominal categories

Sadri has no grammatical gender. Sex distinctions can be indicated for some noun pairs by means of derivational marking, e.g., *ghoṛa* 'horse' / *ghoṛi* 'mare', *aja* 'grandfather' / *aji* 'grandmother', *lohar* 'blacksmith' / *loharin* 'blacksmith's wife'.

Number

There are two numbers in Sadri in both nouns and verbs: singular and plural. In nominals the singular is unmarked, while the plural is formed by adding =*man* to the last element of the noun phrase, e.g., *chaluwa* 'child' – *chaluwa=man* 'children'. =*man* may also be used to express a large amount of something, e.g., *dhan=man* 'paddy', denoting a large amount of paddy. It is also found in the pronominal system in the 3rd person singular (optionally) to denote politeness (see below).

Pronouns show further distinctions: In addition to number they also denote person (1, 2, 3) and various honorific levels. The following shows the pronominal system as used by a Chik Baraik speaker (i.e., of the weaver caste, all forms in the unmarked case; data from speakers of other ethnic groups can differ considerably): (note: =go 'CLASS')

Person	Singular	Plural
1	<i>mōe</i>	<i>hāmre</i>
2		
FAMILIAR UNMARKED	<i>tōe</i>	<i>tohre</i>
FAMILIAR POLITE	<i>tohre</i>	<i>tohre=mān</i>
POLITE	<i>rāure</i>	<i>rāure=mān</i>
HONORIFIC	<i>apne</i>	<i>apne=mān</i>
3		
UNMARKED		
PROXIMAL	<i>i(=go)</i>	<i>i=mān</i>
DISTAL	<i>u(=go)</i>	<i>u=mān</i>
HONORIFIC		
PROXIMAL	<i>i(=mān)</i>	<i>i=mān</i>
DISTAL	<i>u(=mān)</i>	<i>u=mān</i>

Unlike nouns, the pronouns of the first and second persons have two stems: *mōe* / *tōe* (nominative) vs. *mo-* / *to-* (genitive and oblique stems) and *hāmre* / *tohre* / *rāure* (nominative and oblique stems) vs. *hāmār* / *tohār* / *rāur* (genitive). Nouns all have one invariable stem in Sadri.

Classifiers

Sadri possesses a small number of classifiers, the most common of which are =o, =tho, =go and =jhān. The first three do not appear to differ in meaning, whereas =jhān is restricted to humans. These classifiers occur after numerals to denote discrete entities, e.g., *cair=tho* / *cair=go kukkur* 'four dogs', *ek=jhān bhāi* 'one brother'. They may also follow the bare noun to denote specificity / definiteness, as in the following example, in which the girl has already been referred to and is hence known to the listener:

- (1) *u=kār bad dhan=mān=ke lārki=go bārka-l-ak ...*
 that=GEN after paddy=PL=OBL girl=CLASS boil-PST-3SG
 'After that, the girl boiled the rice paddy ...'

Case

There are three cases in Sadri: unmarked or "nominative", genitive, and the oblique.

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

- The enclitic oblique case, marked by =*ke*, marks indirect objects and definite / human direct objects. The following sentence illustrates these two cases: *sadi ghar=wala=man* appears in the unmarked case as it is the subject, whereas *chagri=ke* is a definite direct object and therefore appears in the oblique case.

(2) *sadi ghar=wala=man ... u chagri=ke kaṭ-l-lẽ aur kha-l-lẽ.*
wedding house=ADJVZR=PL that goat=OBL cut-PST-3PL and eat-PST-3PL
'The people of the wedding house ... cut that goat up and ate [it].'

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

(3) *bhai=har=man=ak sewa*
brother=3POSS=PL=GEN service
'his/her brothers' service'

Other "case relations" are expressed by various postpositions: *mẽ* 'LOC', *le* 'EXT' (= "extensional" – 'from/to; since/until'), *se* 'ABL', *taḱ* 'ALL', etc. These postpositions differ from the case markers referred to above in that they either require or at least may take a noun phrase in the genitive case, whereas what are referred to here as case markers may never take a noun in the genitive.

Inalienable possession

As example (3) shows, Sadri also has a marker for inalienable possession, but only for the third person. This is especially common with kinship terms, as in (3), and body parts.

Verbal categories

Finite predicates mark for the following categories: tense, aspect and mood (TAM) and person / number / honorific status of the subject.

Tense, aspect and mood

There are two predominantly aspectual markers in Sadri. One, the suffix *-at* (after consonants) / *-t* (after vowels) is clearly aspectual and denotes imperfectivity. This form is found both as a nominal in conjunction with postpositions (cf. example (18)) and also in complex predicates: *nikl-at=he* [emerge-IPFV=PRS.3SG] 's/he is emerging / emerges'

The other form, in *-al* / *-l*, with a similar distribution, is largely temporal in nature, as it is used to denote the simple past tense in finite verbs (cf. (4)). In non-finite forms, which are unmarked for person and number, it is a participial marker and is found with postpositions (cf. (19)), in attributive function (cf. (5)) and also with the auxiliary verb *ja-* 'PASS', from *ja-* 'go', to denote the passive (cf. (6)). We will consistently gloss it as 'PST' for the sake of convenience. Its exact status awaits further study.

(4) *kha-l-δ* 'I ate'
eat-PST-1SG

(5) *māṛa-l thin* 'the place where [something] was put'
put-PST place

(6) *bola-l ge-l-ak* '[s/he] was called'
call-PST PASS-PST-3SG

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

There are three moods: indicative, subjunctive and imperative, with an additional dubitative interpretation often found with the future referred to above. As is typical of eastern Indo-Aryan languages, Sadri also has a future/non-future opposition in the imperative. The future imperative is identical to the future tense, although unlike the future, which is negated by the non-modal negative marker *ni*, the future imperative is negated by the modal negative marker *nA*: *a-b-a* [come-FUT-2FAM.POL] 'come (later)!; you (FAMILIAR, POLITE) will come', negated: *nA aba!* 'do not come (later)!', *ni aba* 'you will not come'.

Person / Number / Honorific marking

The finite verb marks for the person, number and honorific status of the subject (= S / A). Agreement is with number (singular/plural), person (1, 2, 3) and honorific status: In the 3rd persons we have an honorific / unmarked opposition and in the second persons familiar, familiar polite, polite and honorific. Person / number / honorific status are marked by portmanteau morphemes which vary according to tense, aspect and mood. Unlike some of its Indo-Aryan neighbors, Sadri shows no object agreement (= P) and no morphological ergativity.

Non-finite verbs mark for one of the following categories:

- Infinitive – marked by *-ek*
- Conditional participle – marked by *-le*
- Imperfective participle – marked by *-(A)t*
- Past participle – marked by *-(A)l*
- Sequential converb ("conjunctive participle") – marked by the dependent verb form (i.e., the stem + linker *-e/-i*, previously itself the sequential converb) + the form *=ke(r)*

The following sample paradigm of the verb *kha-* 'eat', based largely on the data in Nowrangi (ca. 1956: 89ff.), shows the major categories and their respective forms. For reasons of space, it is not complete but should suffice to give the reader a general overview of the Sadri verbal system. Note that the individual honorific levels are only

given for the present tense, for the sake of space. The forms given elsewhere are for the lowest honorific category for the respective person.

Finite forms

Non-periphrastic categories

Indicative

Present

Person	Singular	Plural
1	<i>khaon(a)</i>	<i>khail(a)</i>
2		
FAMILIAR UNMARKED	<i>khaisla</i>	<i>khawal(a)</i>
FAMILIAR POLITE	<i>khawal(a)</i>	<i>khawal(a)</i>
POLITE	<i>khail(a)</i>	<i>khail(a)</i>
HONORIFIC	<i>khaen(a)</i>	<i>khaen(a)</i>
3		
UNMARKED	<i>khael(a)</i>	<i>khaen(a)</i>
HONORIFIC	<i>khaen(a)</i>	<i>khaen(a)</i>

Simple Past

Person	Singular	Plural
1	<i>khalō</i>	<i>khali</i>
2	<i>khale</i>	<i>khala</i>
3	<i>khalak</i>	<i>khalaẽ</i>

Future / Dubitative

Person	Singular	Plural
1	<i>khabō / khabũ / khamũ</i>	<i>khab(λi)</i>
2	<i>khabe</i>	<i>khaba</i>
3	<i>khai</i>	<i>khabaẽ</i>

Periphrastic (imperfective) forms

Present imperfective: *kha-t* + TAM/NUM/HON-marking for the present tense (deriving from the copula, see further below):

Person	Singular	Plural
1	= <i>hō</i>	= <i>hi</i>
2	= <i>his</i>	= <i>ha</i>
3	= <i>he</i>	= <i>haẽ</i>

Past imperfective: *kha-t* + TAM/NUM/HON-marking for the past tense:

Person	Singular	Plural
1	<i>rʌhõ</i>	<i>rʌhi</i>
2	<i>rʌhis</i>	<i>rʌha</i>
3	<i>rʌhe</i>	<i>rʌhʌẽ</i>

Future imperfective: *kha-t* + TAM/NUM/HON-marking for the future tense

Person	Singular	Plural
1	<i>rʌhbõ</i>	<i>rʌhʌb</i>
2	<i>rʌhbe</i>	<i>rʌhba</i>
3	<i>rʌhi</i>	<i>rʌhʌẽ</i>

Perfect: The perfect categories consist of the stem marked for the linker *-e / -i* (depending on the form of the stem), the erstwhile sequential converb, plus one of the TAM/PERS/NUM/HON-categories listed above for the periphrastic imperfective.

Present perfect: *kha-e=hõ*, etc.

Past perfect: *kha-e rʌhõ*, etc.

Future perfect: *kha-e rʌhbõ*, etc.

Subjunctive (present)

Person	Singular	Plural
1	<i>khaõ</i>	<i>khai</i>
2	<i>khais</i>	<i>khawa</i>
3	<i>khæ</i>	<i>khaẽ</i>

Imperative (non-future) (for forms of the future imperative, see "Future/Dubitative")

Person	Singular	Plural
1	<i>khaõ</i>	<i>khau</i>
2	<i>kha</i>	<i>khawa</i>
3	<i>khaok(a)</i>	<i>khaõk</i>

Non-finite forms

Infinitive: *kha-ek*

Conditional participle: *kha-le*

Imperfective participle: *kha-t*

Past participle: *kha-l*

Sequential converb: *kha-e=ke(r)*

Copula (Infinitive: *ho-ek*)

Present

Identificational				
Person	Affirmative		Negative	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1	<i>hekō</i>	<i>heki</i>	<i>nālagō</i>	<i>nālagi</i>
2	<i>hekis</i>	<i>heka</i>	<i>nālagis</i>	<i>nālaga</i>
3	<i>heke</i>	<i>heklāē</i>	<i>nālage</i>	<i>nālaglāē</i>

Existential / Locative				
Person	Affirmative		Negative	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1	<i>ahō</i>	<i>ahi</i>	<i>nākhō</i>	<i>nākhi</i>
2	<i>ahis</i>	<i>aha</i>	<i>nākhis</i>	<i>nākha</i>
3	<i>ahē</i>	<i>ahlāē</i>	<i>nākhe</i>	<i>nākhāē</i>

Other finite forms of the copula are generally based on the root *rāh-* 'remain'.

5.2.3. Main types of word formation

Sadri makes extensive use of suffixation, but has few prefixes (excluding Sanskrit loans). In addition to TAM marking, there is also derivational suffixation which can change the word class, e.g., *cor* 'thief' *cor-i* 'theft', *bec-* 'sell' - *bec-uwa* 'seller'. A rare example of prefixation is *nā-* in the negative copula *nā-lag-* (5.2.2).

Sadri also has compound verbs in which a relatively small number of verbs, such as *ja-* 'go', follow the lexical verb which is marked by the linker *-e / -i* (5.2.2). These verbs, often termed "vector verbs" or, as here, "V2", no longer have any lexical meaning but only grammatical meaning, e.g., *ja-*, with its suppletive past stem *ge-*, by far the most common V2, denotes telicity and/or movement away from the deictic center, cf. *bila-e ge-l-ak* [dissolve-LNK V2-PST-3SG] 'it dissolved (entirely)', *le-i ge-l-āē* [take-LNK V2-PST-3SG.HON] 'he took [me] away'. Other V2s are far less common, such as *de-*, which as a lexical morpheme means 'give' and as a V2 denotes telicity and often that the action was performed on behalf of someone else, *gira-e de-w-a* [drop-LNK V2-w-2PL] 'drop [one

piece] for me'. However, a beneficial interpretation is not always present (cf. 16). This topic awaits further study.

Repetition is quite common and has varying semantics, the details of which still remain to be worked out, cf. *doine doine* 'through the fields', *ode ode* 'there', *sapha sapha* 'clearly'.

5.3.0. Syntax

5.3.1. Simple Sentence

Sadri is a nominative/accusative language with differential object marking. A and S appear in the nominative, while the marking of P depends on its semantics/pragmatics: human/definite Ps are marked by the oblique marker =*ke*, as is the goal (G) in bitransitive clauses. There is no morphological ergativity in Sadri. Pronouns and nouns are not treated differently with respect to case.

Unmarked (= "nominative") S:

- (7) *Jharkhāṇḍ raij mē ḍhere jait rah-ena.*
 Jharkhand state LOC much ethnic.group live-PRS.3PL
 'Many ethnic groups live in the state of Jharkhand.'

Unmarked A, unmarked P:

- (8) *hamre=maṇ luga bin-l-i ...*
 1PL=PL cloth weave-PST-1PL
 'We used to weave cloth...'

Unmarked A, marked P:

- (9) *...i ... sadi=kaṛ bad mē mo=ke nebhi baṭ-e le-i ge-l-āḍ.*
 3SG wedding=GEN after 1SG=OBL Navy road-LOC take-LNK TEL-PST-3HON
 '... after the wedding he took me off to the Navy.'

Unmarked A, P, marked G:

- (10) *hamre=maṇ=ke Baṛaik=kaṛ upadhi hīyā=kaṛ raja=maṇ de-l-āḍ.*
 1PL=PL=OBL Baraik=GEN title here=GEN king=PL give-PST-PL
 'The kings from here (= Jharkhand) gave us the title of "Baraik".'

Interrogative sentences

Constituent questions

There is no special position in the clause for interrogative words. Like non-interrogative elements, these units may appear in various positions, as the two

interrogative elements in the following questions (11), once clause-initially (*ke*), once clause-internally (*ka*).

- (11) *ke hek-i? etai rait ka khoj-at=hi?*
 who COP.PRS-2HON this.much night what seek-IPFV=PRS.2HON
 'Who are you? What do you want at this late hour?' [Nowrangī, ca. 1956: 163]

Polar questions

Polar questions in the corpus of the second author are always marked by one of the following interrogative markers, all of which will be glossed here as 'Q'. These may appear clause-initially, clause-finally or clause-internally. At present, it is not known what semantic differences exist between them: *ka* (also: 'what?'), *ki* (also: 'CMPL'), *kaḥna*.

- (12) *ka macchāri khoj-at=his?*
 Q fish seek-IPFV=PRS.2SG.FAM
 'Are you looking for the fish?'

5.3.2 Complex sentences

Coordination

There are a number of coordinating conjunctions in Sadri, such as *aur / aur* 'and', *mudam / maḡar* 'but', etc., which have no influence on word order. The following provides two simple examples.

- (13) *duy-o ḡaḡha ḡeg-ek ca<i>l ge-l-āḡ aur ḡaḡha jaḡ-e pohāc-l-āḡ, ...*
 two-CLASS ditch jump-INF go-<LNK> V2-PST-3PL and ditch place-LOC arrive-PST-3PL
 'The two went off to jump over the ditch and arrived near the ditch, ...'

- (14) *baḡ=maḡn to khokhodaro ce<i>ḡ de-l-āḡ maḡar choḡka=go to*
 big=PL TOP with.difficulty ascend-<LNK> V2-PST-3PL but small=CLASS TOP

ceḡ-ek ni par-l-ak.
 ascend-INF NEG be.able-PST-3SG

'The bigger [kids] managed with difficulty, but the smaller one could not climb up.'

Subordination

There are many subordinating constructions in Sadri, far too many for this brief overview. These make use of either non-finite or finite forms. The following presents a very brief survey of some of the most common constructions.

Purposive clauses

Purposive clauses, especially those involving a verb of motion, generally mark the subordinated form by the simple infinitive, as with *degek cal gelã* in (13) above. Alternatively, the infinitive may be marked by the "extensional" marker *le*.

- (15) ... *aur u=ke utar-a-ek le saub gach mẽ ceṛ-l-ãẽ.*
and that=OBL descend-CAUS-INF EXT all tree LOC ascend-PST-3PL
'... and all climbed up the tree to take it down.'

Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses can be formed by a number of means; the protasis may be introduced by a conditional subordinator (*agar / agur, hole* 'if' (< conditional participle of *ho-* 'COP'; *agar / agur* appears clause-initially, *hole* clause-finally) with a finite verb; the subordinator may also be omitted, especially if the verb appears in the subjunctive; or the "conditional participle" may also be used, as in (16).²

- (16) ... *ek tawa dabk-a-e de-le badak-i uḥ-en*
one griddle boil-CAUS-LNK V2-COND hurry-LNK V2-PRS.3PL
'... if you boil them on a griddle, they will scatter here and there (= "hurry").'

Causal clauses

Causal clauses are formed by a clause-initial subordinator such as *kaheki* 'because' (< *kah-e ki* [say-LNK CMPL]), *kale (ki)* 'because' (< *ka* 'what' *le* 'EXT'), as in (17), or the postposed subordinator *calte* 'because', all of which take a clause with a finite verb.

- (17) *siyar kãd-ek lag-l-ak, kale qhela jaldi ni niki-at=he,*
jackal cry-INF begin-PST-3SG because dirt.clump fast NEG emerge-IPFV=PRS.3SG

² The "conditional participle" also has a number of other functions not directly related to conditionality.

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

Temporal clauses

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

- (18) *raur a-w- Δ le paka-e rah-bũ.* [Nowrangi, ca. 1956: 160]
 2POL.GEN come-w-IPFV until cook-LNK remain-FUT.1SG
 'I'll keep on baking [bread] until you return.'

To denote that one action occurred *after* another, the past participle is used, followed by *pache* 'after'. Note that in (19) the S appears in the nominative case. Further study is required.

- (19) *sikri mil- Δ pachе mor thin ghu<i>r a-b-e.*
 chain be.found-PST after 1SG.GEN place return-LNK come-FUT.IMP-2SG
 'After the chain has been found, come back to my place.' [Nowrangi, ca. 1956: 163]

For direct quotes and when reporting thoughts, the form *kaike* (< *kaihke*) or *boilke*, the sequential converbs of *kah-* 'say' and *bol-* 'say', respectively, can be used:

- (20) ... *aur "pache kha-mũ." kaike ni kha-l-ak.*
 and afterwards eat-FUT.1SG QUOT NEG eat-PST-3SG
 '... and thinking "I will eat later.", he did not eat.'

5.4. Genetic and areal characteristics of the vocabulary

A variety of languages are spoken in the region where Sadri is spoken, including several Munda languages and Kurukh (North Dravidian). While it is thus highly likely that Sadri has borrowed from its neighbors, identifying these elements is often difficult. Work in this area is currently in progress.

6. Dialects

There are many dialects of Sadri, based on geography, caste and ethnicity (§1.0), and both the pronunciation as well as certain grammatical features such as the pronominal system can vary considerably from one ethnic group to the next. Unfortunately, as no detailed work on this area has yet been undertaken, no further information can be given here. No dialect has been unanimously accepted as standard as yet.

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