

Far Western Muria (Gaita Koitor Boli) Phonology Summary

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Table of Contents

ABSTRACT

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

1 INTRODUCTION

- 1.1 THE FAR WESTERN MURIA PEOPLE
- 1.2 THE FAR WESTERN MURIA LANGUAGE
- 1.3 THE STUDY
- 1.4 SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

2 INTERPRETATION

- 2.1 Unit Phonemes
- 2.2 GLIDES
- 2.3 SYLLABIC CONSONANT CO-OCCURRING WITH NON-SYLLABIC VOWELS
- 2.4 STRESS
- 2.5 HOMORGANIC NASAL + PLOSIVE

3 THE PHONETIC CHART

- 3.1 Consonant Chart
- 3.2 VOWEL CHART

4 THE PHONEMIC INVENTORY

- 4.1 CONSONANT CHART
- 4.2 VOWEL CHART

5 DESCRIPTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE PHONEMES

- 5.1 Consonants
- 5.2 Vowels

6 EVIDENCE OF CONTRAST

- 6.1 Consonants
- 6.2 VOWELS

7 DISTRIBUTION OF PHONEMES IN WORDS

- 7.1 SINGLE CONSONANTS
- 7.2 Consonant Clusters
- 7.3 Vowels
- 7.4 VOWEL CLUSTERS

8 THE SYLLABLE

- 8.1 SYLLABLE TYPES
- 8.2 DISTRIBUTION OF PHONEMES IN SYLLABLES
- 8.3 DISTRIBUTION OF SYLLABLES IN WORDS

9 STRESS

10 PRACTICAL ALPHABET

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abstract

Far Western Muria [fmu] (Gaita Koitar Boli) has 21 consonant phonemes and 10 vowels (5 short and 5 long). Word-medial geminated (long) consonants and half-long consonants are conditioned by vowel quantity. There are no vowel clusters, but consonant clusters occur both word medially and finally. The phonetic non-syllabic high vowels that occur between some consonants are analysed as open transitions.

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1 Introduction

1.1 The Far Western Muria People

This phonological summary outlines the phonemic system of the Far Western Muria language [fmu]. The name 'Far Western Muria' refers to both the tribe as well as the language they speak. Speakers of Far Western Muria live in the northern part of Gadchiroli district and the southern part of Gondia district in Maharastra state, India. Their population is approximately 4 lakh (400,000), according to the sociolinguistic survey by NLCI, Bangalore, 2007.

The people call themselves Koitor, but others refer to them by the name Gondi. They claim their caste is Gaita and their language is Gaita Koitori Boli; thus the people are known as Gaita Koitor. The people live together in peace and harmony in homogenous villages under the leadership of a *Pujari* and *Patlal*. The Far Western Muria economy is based on agriculture and forest products. Most of the men are addicted to hashish or alcohol. The male population is gradually declining due to illness.

The literacy rate among the Far Western Muria is very low. There is no published information regarding the degree of literacy, but we estimate it at about 10 percent. Even though there is better access to schools than in the past, boys generally drop out at the High School level. The majority of students fail English language. The people show strong affinity towards their mother tongue. Their earnest desire is to have a mother tongue literacy programme available to them. Therefore, preparation of mother tongue literacy materials is one of our prominent goals. With the promotion of a language development programme we hope to help them connect to the mainstream society.

1.2 The Far Western Muria language

Far Western Muria is one of the distinct varieties of the Gondi language in central India. It has been regarded as belonging to the Central Dravidian subgroup of Dravidian. More recently, it has been classified as belonging to the South Dravidian II subgroup, or South Central Dravidian (Krishnamurti 2003:19). The name Far Western Muria applies to the geographical extension and linguistic

distinctions of this variety of Gondi. The speakers of this language call it Koitor Boli, Koitori, and Gondi Boli.

1.3 The Study

The specific local dialect studied for the analysis presented in this summary is the one spoken at Kurkheda Tehsil in Gadchiroli district. This study was undertaken following the recommendations of the Indian Institute for Cross Cultural Communication (IICCC) sociolinguistics surveys among the Far Western Muria (1991, 2005) for language development.

The analysis presented here is based on research conducted between 2004–2008. The analysis was done on a corpus of 1100 words.

1.4 Symbols and Abbreviations

[] Phonetic data

// Phonemic data

adj. Adjective

C Consonant

V Vowel

. Syllable break

Half-long consonant

Long vowel or geminated consonant

' Stress

n Noun

v Verb

All the phonetic symbols used are from the International Phonetic Alphabet (revised to 2005) except the voiced velar stop which is symbolized as [g]. In the phonemic transcriptions and lists the following non-IPA symbols are used (some are from Krishnamurti 2003:69).

/c/	[t∫]	/ţ/	[t]
/j/	[dʒ]	/ ḍ /	[d]
/y/	[j]	/ <u>r</u> /	[ៗ]
/w/	[v]	/ļ/	[[]]
/t/	[t̪]	/ n /	[ŋ]
/d/	[ď]	$/\overline{ m V}/$	[V:]
/r/	[t]		

2 Interpretation

2.1 Unit Phonemes

- 2.1.1 [t \int] and[d \Im] are interpreted as units and not sequences because
 - a. There are no univalent word-initial consonant clusters in Far Western Muria, and
 - b. If [ʃ] and [ʒ] were interpreted as separate phonemes, this would add two more phonemes to the inventory of Far Western Muria consonants. Furthermore, their distribution would be limited to following /t/ and /d/, respectively.
- 2.1.2 The velar nasal consonant [ŋ] is interpreted as a unit phoneme, $/\dot{n}$ /, and not as a consonant sequence $/\dot{n}g$ / because contrast exists between occurrences of $/\dot{n}$ / and $/\dot{n}g$ / as in the following pair of words:

/leːń/	लेङ	[le:ŋ]	sound	0363
/nu:ng/	न्ंग	[nu:ŋg]	sesame	0535

- 2.1.3 Long vowels contrast with short vowels in word-initial syllables of non-compound words and are interpreted at the segmental level as unit phonemes, not as phoneme sequences; that is, as phonemically long vowels, not as geminate vowel clusters. This we have done because no unambigous vowel clusters occur in the data. We have therefore interpreted the vowel system of Far Western Muria Gondi to consist of ten vowel phonemes, five long and five short.
- 2.1.4 Long (geminate) consonants are interpreted as units in complementary distribution with their unlengthened (non-geminate) counterparts. That is to say, long consonants occur between phonemically short vowels when the first vowel is stressed, while their unlengthened and half-lengthened counterparts occur elsewhere. Consonants /r/, /r/, and /h/ do not undergo lengthening and therefore occur following either short or long vowels.

In words of the $(C_1)V_1r_2(V_2)C_3(V_3)$ and $(C_1)V_1r_2(V_2)C_3(V_3)$ shapes, C_3 sometimes undergoes compensatory half-lengthening due to the inability of $/r_2/$ and $/r_2/$ to undergo such lengthening. At other times, as an option to C_3 undergoing compensatory half-lengthening, V_2 undergoes compensatory lengthening. This compensatory lengthening of C_3 and/or V_2 in such phonological word-patterns is not consistently marked in the phonetic transcriptions of sections 5, 6, 7 and 8.

Examples of words in which C_3 and/or V_2 following $/r_2/$ and $/r_2/$ undergo compensatory lengthening are:

/heṛami/	हेळिम	[heʈam̩ʾi]	name of a clan	0722
/poreți/	पॊरॊटि	[poreti]	name of a clan	0717
/kuruj/	कुरूज	[kuˈɾuːdʒ]	heel	0527
/haṛap/	हळप	[haˈʈaːp]	cow dung	0697
/hiṛnj/	हिळंज	[hi̪ˈr̪i̯ndʒ·]	fingernail	0007
/uṛk/	उळक	[ˈu̞r̞u̞k̞-]	urinate	0643

2.2 Glides

The approximants [v] and [j] are interpreted as consonants, not as vowels because

- a. Both [v] and [j] occur word initially followed by univalent vowels, and
- b. To interpret them as vowels would introduce vowel sequences. Since there are no univalent vowel sequences (clusters) in our data, it seemed best to interpret [v] and [j] as consonants and not as vowels.

2.3 Syllabic Consonant Co-occurring with Non-syllabic Vowels

Related to the compensatory lengthening phenomenon discussed in section 2.1.4 with respect to $/\mathbf{r}_2$ / and $/\mathbf{r}_2$ /, when consonant $/\mathbf{r}$ / occurs in the syllable nucleus as syllabic [\mathbf{r}] in the environment of a preceding unstressed short vowel $/\mathbf{i}$ / or $/\mathbf{u}$ / and when this [\mathbf{r}] is followed immediately by a plosive (stop) consonant, its occurrence following these unstressed short vowels results in $/\mathbf{i}$ / and $/\mathbf{u}$ / being reduced to non-

syllabic [\underline{i}] and, [\underline{u}], respectively. Such [$\underline{i}\underline{r}$] and, [$\underline{u}\underline{r}$], sequences are interpreted as $/i\underline{r}/$ and $/u\underline{r}/$, there being no reason to interpret [\underline{r}] as a vowel since it occurs elsewhere in our data as a unit consonant. The occurrence of [\underline{r}] as syllabic is accounted for by its flapped articulatory feature: the flapping movement of [\underline{r}] preceding a following plosive (stop) consonant reduces short unstressed vowels in the immediately preceding environment to non-syllabic vowels. It also happens that when [\underline{r}] is followed by a voiceless plosive, a preceding non-syllabic [\underline{i}] or [\underline{u}] may be echoed in the space following syllabic [\underline{r}] as a non-syllabic vowel, [\underline{i}] or [\underline{u}].

However, when [t] is followed by a sonorant, for example /m/, the preceding non-syllabic [t] or [t] is echoed following [t] in the space preceding /m/ as a *fully syllabic* [t] or [t]. In such instances [t] is not strictly syllabic since it occurs as syllable onset rather than syllable nucleus. Note the following examples and placement of word-stress. (The syllabic nucleus, /t/, in the first two examples is stressed.) The first example is pronounced as a bisyllabic word, the second, third, and fourth examples are pronounced as monosyllabic words.

/uṛpna/	उळप्ना	[ˈu̞ru̞pˈna]	remove	0879
/uṛk/	<u> उळक</u>	['u̞ɾu̞k̞ႃ	urinate	0643
/uṛm/	उळम	[uˈrumː]/[uruːm]	louse	0889
/hiṛnj/	हिळंज	[hi̪ˈr̪i̯ndʒ·]	fingernail	0007

Except for one example in section **5.1**, others in the subsection describing the vowels /i/, and /u/ in section **5.2**, and those in section **9** on **Stress**, non-syllabic vowels such as [i], [u], and [a] have not been represented in our phonetic transcription whether occurring in the environment of /r/ or /r/, or occurring at the junction of consonants within non-homorganic -CC- and -CCC- clusters.

2.4 Non-constrastive Stress

In general, words carry primary stress on the first syllable. And while this is true, in some sentence frames and for some phonological word types primary stress is carried by the final syllable. Statements in this summary regarding the conditioning environments of half-long allophones of consonant phonemes are based on this statement regarding the location of primary stress on the first syllable of words.

(See section 2.1.4 for statement of conditions under which the half-lengthening of consonants may shift, along with primary stress to the second syllable.) However, except for marking stress in sections **2.3** and **9**, stress is left unmarked in the phonetic data sections of this paper. (See Section **9 Stress**.)

2.5 Homorganic Nasal + Plosive

Phonetic sequences of homorganic nasal + plosive are interpreted as sequences of nasal consonant + plosive since there are also sequences of heterorganic nasal + plosive. For example:

/minta/	मिङता	[miŋˈt̪a]	sweet	0865
/kamka/	कमका	[kam·ka]	turmeric	0156

Note, however, that the nasal is almost always homorganic preceding voiced plosives. For example:

/nūṅg/	न्य	[nu:ŋg]	sesame	0535
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Furthermore, nasal consonants /m/, /n/, /n/ and voiced and voiceless plosive consonants /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /t/, /d/, /tf/, /d3/, /k/, /g/ occur as independent phonemes. Interpreting homorganic nasal plus plosive consonants as unit phonemes would add up to six additional consonants to the inventory. Note that unambiguous sequences of consonant plus consonant occur with the same distributions in phonological words as nasal plus homorganic plosive sequences.

3 The Phonetic Chart

3.1 Consonant Chart

	Bila	abial	Labiodental	De	ntal	Alve	eolar	Reti	oflex	Pal	latal	Ve	lar	Glottal
	p	b		ţ	ď			t	þ	t∫	d3	k	g	
Plosive	p:	b:		ţ:	ďι			ţː	d:	t∫:	dz:	k:	gː	
	p'	b·		ţ٠	ď٠			t'	ď.	t∫'	d3'	k٠	g'	
		m			ü		n		η		ŋ		ŋ	
Nasal		m:					n:							
		m'					n'				ŋ '		ŋ'	
Tap or Flap							ſ		t					
						S								h
Fricative						SI								
						S*								
			υ								j			
Approximant			υï								jː			
			υ'								j٠			
Lateral approximant							1		l					
							1:		ŀ					
							1•							

3.2 Vowel Chart

	Front		Central		Back
	i				u
Close	iː				uː
		Ĭ		Ă	
	e				O
Close-mid	e:	ă			O:
Open		a			
		aː			

4 The Phonemic Inventory

4.1 Consonant Chart

	Bila	bial	Dei	ntal	Alve	olar	Retr	oflex	Pala	atal	Ve	lar	Glottal
Plosive	p	b	t	d			ţ	ġ	c	j	k	g	
Nasal		m				n						'n	
Tap or Flap						r		ŗ					
Fricative					S								h
Approximant		W							У	7			
Lateral approximant						1		1					

4.2 Vowel Chart

	Front		Central	Back
Close	i			u
	ī			ū
Close-mid	e			О
	ē			ō
Open		a		
		ā		

5 Description and Distribution of the Phonemes

Consonant and vowel phonemes are distributed according to the following syllable patterns:

V

CV

VC

CVC

(C)VCC

(C)VCCC

5.1 Consonants

5.1.1 Plosives

/p/ the voiceless bilabial stop phoneme is realized as

[p:] voiceless geminated bilabial stop occurring between two short vowels when the first vowel is stressed, as in

/hipi/	हिपि	[hip:i]	oyster	0680
/gapa/	गपा	[gap:a]	drain	0649

[p*] voiceless half-long bilabial stop occurring as the last consonant in a syllable coda when a short stressed vowel occurs in the nucleus, as in

/popțe/	पॉप्टे	[pop'te]	pea	0745
/jupna/	जुप्ना	[dʒupˈna]	plough (n)	0750

[p] voiceless bilabial stop occurring in all other environments, as in

/pal/	पल	[pal]	tooth	0168
/pir/	पिर	[pir]	rain	0185
/ṭōpi/	टोपि	[to:pi]	hat	0158
/pēpi/	पेपि	[peːpi]	brother	0405
/nulpe/	नुलपॆ	[nul'pe]	evening	0132
/kalpanj/	कल्पंज	[kal [·] paɲdʒ]	trap	0506

/haṛap/	हळप	[haˈʈaːp]	cow dung	0697
/hāp/	हाप	[haːp]	thorn	0196

/b/ the voiced bilabial stop phoneme is realized as

[b:] voiced bilabial geminated stop occurring between two short vowels when the first vowel is stressed, as in

/ḍabi/	डबि	[dab:i]	tin	0099
/babal/	बबल	[bab:al]	father	0075

[b] voiced half-long bilabial stop occurring as the last consonant in a syllable coda when a short stressed vowel occurs in the nucleus, as in

/dobri/	डॉबरि	[dop.ti]	ditch	0892
/kobri/	कॊबरि	[kobˈɾi]	pot	0639

[b] voiced bilabial stop occurring in all other environments, as in

/bilal/	बिलल	[bil:al]	cat	0287
/bēra/	बेरा	[beːɾa]	time	0644
/bība/	बीबा	[bi:ba]	plant	0264
/sōbata/	सोबता	[soːbat̪a]	beautiful	0794
/darba/	दरबा	[darba]	paddy husk	0450
/sībla/	सीबला	[si:bla]	basket	0340

/t/ the voiceless dental stop phoneme is realized as

[tː] voiceless geminated dental stop occurring between two short vowels when the first vowel is stressed, as in

/bita/	बिता	[biţ:a]	span	0532
/nati/	नति	[naţːi]	granddau	ghter 0381

[t*] voiceless half-long dental stop occurring as the last consonant in a syllable coda when a short stressed vowel occurs in the nucleus, as in

/watna/	वतना	[vat̞ˈna]	dried up (river)	1001
/citral/	चितरल	[t(itˈral]	deer (spotte	(d) 0304

[t] voiceless dental stop occurring in all other environments, as in

/tala/	तला	[t̪alːa]	head	0085
/toḍi/	तॉडि	[t̞od̞i]	soil	0356
/hēti/	हेति	[heːt̪i]	winnower	0341
/āti/	आति	[aːt̪i]	mother-in-law	0404
/miṅta/	मिङता	[miŋˈt̪a]	sweet	0865
/puhta/	पुहता	[puht̪a]	heavy	0248
/ētna/	एतना	[eːt̪na]	buy	0907
/lāt/	लात	[laːt̪]	foot	0449

/d/ the voiced dental stop phoneme is realized as

[dː] voiced geminated dental stop occurring between two short vowels when the first vowel is stressed, as in

/muda/	मुदा	[mud̞:a]	ring	0046
/adi/	अदि	[ad̞ːi]	sunlight	0547

[d] voiced half-long dental stop occurring as the last consonant in a syllable coda when a short stressed vowel occurs in the nucleus, as in

/gudmare/	गुदमरे	[gud̞ːmaɾe]	suffocate	1000
/udna/	उदना	[ud̞ˈn̪a]	sit	0926

[d] voiced dental stop occurring in all other environments, as in

/dāṛa/	दाळा	[d̪aːr̞a]	molar	0916
/darba/	दरबा	[darba]	paddy husk	0450

/dāda/	दादा	[d̪aːd̪a]	brother	0666
/dādi/	दादि	[daːdi]	grandfather	0401
/kōnda/	कोन्दा	[koːn̞d̞a]	bullock	0003
/kānda/	कांदा	[kaːn̞d̞a]	branch (smal	<i>l</i>) 0063
/ēnd/	एन्द	[eːnd]	dance	0618
/pōrd/	पोरद	[boːt̞d]	sun	0058

/the voiceless retroflex stop phoneme is realized as

[t] voiceless geminated retroflex stop occurring between two short vowels when the first vowel is stressed, as in

/maṭa/	मटा	[matːa]	mountain	0104
/tote/	टॉट	[tot:e]	dog (female)	0127

[['] voiceless half-long retroflex stop occurring as the last consonant in a syllable coda when a short stressed vowel occurs in the nucleus, as in

/kaṭwal/	कटवल	[katˈval]	fish	0512
/dotri/	डॊटरि	[dot·ri]	hole	0150

[t] voiceless retroflex stop occurring in all other environments, as in

/ṭalal/	टलल	[tal:al]	cow	0002
/ṭoḍi/	टॉडि	[tod:i]	mouth	0030
/pāṭlal/	पाटलल	[paːtlal]	leader	0541
/wāṭna/	वाटना	[vaːʈna]	vomit	0849
/gūṭe/	गूटॆ	[gu:te]	firewood	0834
/gāṭo/	गाटॊ	[gaːto]	rice (cooked)	0027
/pāṭ/	पाट	[paːt]	song	0177
/māţ/	माट	[maːt]	we	0278

/d/ the voiced retroflex stop phoneme is realized as

[dː] voiced retroflex geminated stop occurring between two short vowels when the first vowel is stressed, as in

/koḍi/	कॉिड	[kod:i]	tip	0909
/modi/	मॉडि	[mod:i]	navel	0919

[d] voiced half-long retroflex stop occurring as the last consonant in a syllable coda when a short stressed vowel occurs in the nucleus, as in

/ladke/	लडके	[lad·ke]	hang	0798
/guḍra/	गुडरा	[gud̞̞ɾa]	hill	0498

[d] voiced retroflex stop occurring in all other environments, as in

/ḍīt̞o/	डीटॊ	[di:to]	stilts	0545
/ḍōḷi/	डोलि	[do:li]	basket	0352
/pīrḍagi/	पीरडगि	[pi:rdagi]	heap (n)	0552
/rānḍi/	रांडि	[ra:ndi]	widow	0415
/pāḍi/	पाडि	[paːdi]	name of a clan	0670
/jāḍi/	जाडि	[dʒaːdi]	grass	0654
/ḍanḍ/	डन्ड	[તુંanતું]	farm (n)	0433
/kumoḍ/	कुमॊड	[kum:od]	pumpkin	0349

/c/ the voiceless palato-alveolar affricate phoneme is realized as

[tʃː] voiceless palato-alveolar geminated affricate occurring between two short vowels when the first vowel is stressed, as in

/caceṛi/	चचेळि	[tʃatʃːeʈi]	scale (n)	0706
/hicami/	हिचमि	[hitʃ:ami]	name of a clan	0736

[tʃ] voiceless half-long palato-alveolar affricate occurring as the last consonant in a syllable coda when a short stressed vowel occurs in the nucleus, as in

/kocka/	कॊचका	[kotʃ·ka]	bag	0767
/hicki/	हिचकि	[hit(ˈki]	hiccup	0491

[tʃ] voiceless palato-alveolar affricate occurring in all other environments, as in

/cokoṭ/	चोकॊट	[tʃokot]	delivery	0637
/cara/	चरा	[t∫ara]	worm	0682
/mūhcana/	मूहच्ना	[mu:htʃana]	bark	0819
/kācna/	काचना	[kaːtʃna]	spin	0922
/gaci/	गचि	[gatʃːi]	neck	0515
/kāca/	काचा	[kaːtʃa]	spin	0627
/kūc/	क्च	[kuːtʃ]	wipe	0598
/guc/	गुच	[gutʃ]	move	0818

/j/ the voiced palato-alveolar affricate phoneme is realized as

[dʒ:] voiced palato-alveolar geminated affricate occurring between two short vowels when the first vowel is stressed, as in

/hajor/	हजॊर	[hadʒ:or]	elder	0051
/bujaṛan/	बुजळन	[budʒ:aran]	scarecrow	0781

[dʒ*] voiced half-long palato-alveolar affricate occurring as the last consonant in a syllable coda when a short stressed vowel occurs in the nucleus, as in

/anjna/	अंजना	[andʒˈna]	climb	0582
/ijgur/	इजगुर	[idʒ·gur]	lizard	0525

[dʒ] voiced palato-alveolar affricate occurring in all other environments, as in

/jāli/	जालि	[dʒa:li]	net	0335
/jāgli/	जागलि	[dʒaːgli]	watcher	0457
/wanji/	वंजि	[vandʒi]	paddy	0068

/rānji/	रांजि	[ɾaːɲdʒi]	tree	0699
/ōja/	ओजा	[o:dʒa]	weight	0427
/rājal/	राजल	[ra:dʒal]	king	0037
/ponj/	पॊन्ज	[pondz·]	chicken	0282
/hiṛnj/	हिळंज	[ˈhi̪ri̯ndʒ·]	fingernail	0007

/k/ the voiceless velar stop phoneme is realized as

[k:] voiceless geminated velar stop occurring between two short vowels when the first vowel is stressed, as in

/huko/	हुकॊ	[huk:o]	star	0060
/tokar/	तॊकर	[tok:ar]	tail	0217

[k*] voiceless half-long velar stop occurring as the last consonant in a syllable coda when a short stressed vowel occurs in the nucleus, as in

/sakṛi/	सकळि	[sak'ţi]	chain	0367
/wakna/	वकना	[vak·na]	bend	0683

[k] voiceless velar stop occurring in all other environments, as in

/kir/	किर	[kir]	abscess	0121
/kira/	किरा	[kira]	kidney	0755
/kamka/	कमका	[kam·ka]	turmeric	0156
/sawkar/	सवकर	[savkar]	rich	0676
/wīke/	वीकॆ	[vi:ke]	name of a clan	0715
/mūkal/	मूकल	[muːkal]	dumb (man)	0463
/māk/	माक	[maːk]	we	0863
/tupak/	तुपक	[t̪up:ak]	gun	0164

/g/ the voiced velar stop phoneme is realized as

[g:] voiced geminated velar stop occurring between two short vowels when the first vowel is stressed, as in

/boga/	बॊगा	[bog:a]	name of a c	clan 0720
/hoga/	होगा	[hog:a]	there	0507

[g^{*}] voiced half-long velar stop occurring as the last consonant in a syllable coda when a short stressed vowel occurs in the nucleus, as in

/cugḷi/	चुगलि	[tʃugˈli]	rumour	0792
/buṅgra/	बुंगरा	[buŋg'ɾa]	beetle	0139

[g] voiced velar stop occurring in all other environments, as in

/girne/	गिरनॆ	[girne]	lizard	0385
/gaṭa/	गटा	[gat:a]	cloth bundle	0443
/jāgli/	जागलि	[dʒa:gli]	watcher (n)	0457
/ijgur/	इजगुर	[idʒˈguɾ]	lizard	0525
/pīrḍagi/	पीरडगि	[piːɾd̞agi]	heap (n)	0552
/gāgal/	गागल	[ga:gal]	optical	0787
/deg/	देग	[deg]	separate (v)	0657
/nūṅg/	न्ंग	[nuːŋg]	sesame	0535

5.1.2 Nasals

/m/ bilabial nasal phoneme is realized as

[m:] voiced bilabial geminate nasal occurring between two short vowels when the first vowel is stressed, as in

/nima/	निमा	[nim:a]	your	0870
/kamek/	कमॆक	[kam:ek]	silent	0175

[m^{*}] voiced half-long nasal occurring as the last consonant in a syllable coda when a short stressed vowel occurs in the nucleus, as in

/gumya/	गुमया	[gum'ja]	pit	0387
/kamka/	कमका	[kam·ka]	turmeric	0156
/kurmi/	क्रमि	[kuɾm̞̞ːi]	bran	0897

[m] voiced bilabial nasal occurring in all other environments, as in

/mīn/	मीन	[mi:n]	fish (n)	0073
/mari/	मरि	[mari]	son	0224
/tāṛami/	ताळिम	[t̪aːrami]	name of a clan	0718
/hēma/	हेमा	[he:ma]	don't give	0877
/usmal/	उसमल	[us·mal]	pestle	0180

/n/ alveolar nasal phoneme is realized as

[n] voiced dental nasal occurring before or after a dental consonant, as in

/potna/	पॊत्ना	[pot̞ˈn̪a]	burn	0927
/tēdna/	तेदना	[t̪eːd̪na]	awake	0928
/pāntona/	पांन्तॊना	[paːn̪tona]	pot (big)	0343

 $[\eta']$ voiced half-long alveolar retroflexed nasal occurring before a retroflexed stop when a short stressed vowel occurs in the nucleus of the first syllable, as in

/panḍi/	पंडि	[paŋ'di]	fruit	0505
/mandil/	मंडिल	[maŋ'dil]	temple	0494

 $[\eta]$ voiced alveolar retroflexed nasal occurring before or after a retroflexed stop, as in

/panḍna/	पंडना	[pandˈna]	make	0578
/ṭanḍna/	टंडना	[tandːna]	take	0585

[n] voiced alveo-palatal nasal occurring before an alveo-palatal consonant, as in

/kalpanj/	कल्पंज	[kalˈpaɲdʒ]	trap(n)	0506
/rānji/	रांजि	[raːɲdʒi]	tree	0699

[n:] voiced alveolar geminate nasal occurring between two short vowels when the first vowel is stressed, as in

/hanum/	हनुम	[han:um]	festival	0071
/punal/	पुनल	[pun:al]	new	0237

[n^{*}] voiced half-long alveolar nasal occurring as the last consonant in a syllable coda when a short stressed vowel occurs in the nucleus, as in

/jinka/	जिन्का	[dʒin·ka]	basket	0766
/wanyar/	वनयर	[van·jar]	labour (n)	0368

[n] voiced alveolar nasal occuring in all other environments, as in

/nelenj/	नॆलेंज	[nel:endʒ]	moon	0059
/narka/	नरका	[narka]	night	0061
/kārni/	कारनि	[kaːɾni]	sin	0483
/cāwni/	चावनि	[t∫aːʊni]	roof	0176
/alhana/	अलहना	[al·hana]	desire (n)	0152
/rāni/	रानि	[ɾaːni]	queen	0041
/bān/	बान	[ba:n]	arrow	0323
/harpun/	हरपुन	[harpun]	chappal	0822

 $/\dot{n}/$ velar nasal phoneme is realized as

[ŋ] voiced half-long velar nasal occurring as the last consonant in a syllable coda when a short stressed vowel occurs in the nucleus, as in

/minta/	मिङता	[miŋˈt̪a]	sweet	0865
/iṅgo/	इंगो	[iŋˈgo]	yes	0394

[ŋ] voiced velar nasal occurring syllable finally, as in

/nāluṅ/	नालुङ	[na:luŋ]	four	0013
/darinta/	दळिङता	[darinta]	cold thing	0242

5.1.3 Flaps

/r/ voiced alveolar flap phoneme is realized as

[f] voiced alveolar flap occurring in all environments, as in

/rānḍi/	रांडि	[ɾaːŋd̞i]	widow	0415
/rāksas/	राकसस	[ra:ksas]	giant	0442
/dobri/	डॊबरि	[dop.ti]	ditch	0892
/kirkaṛ/	किरकळ	[kirkar]	kingfisher	0318
/kira/	किरा	[kira]	kidney	0755
/pera/	पेरा	[pera]	drum	0393
/hīr/	हीर	[hiːɾ]	root (tree)	0195
/nīr/	नीर	[niːɾ]	ashes	0190

/r/ voiced retroflex flap phoneme is realized as

[t] voiced retroflex flap occurring word medially and word finally, as in

/kēṛa/	केळा	[keːʈa]	forest	0105
/dāṛa/	दाळा	[d̪aːr̞a]	molar	0916
/oṛhana/	ओळहना	[orhana]	peel	0519
/kāwṛi/	कावळि	[kaːʊʈi]	stick(n)	0895
/gaṛ/	गळ	[gar]	bunch of plantains	0873
/āṛ/	आळ	[aːʈ]	wife	0113

5.1.4 Fricatives

/s/ alveolar grooved fricative phoneme is realized as

[s:] voiceless geminated alveolar grooved fricative occurring between two short vowels when the first vowel is stressed, as in

/kasur/	कसुर	[kas:ur]	bullock cart	0111
/wisi/	विसि	[vis:i]	fly	0044

[s^{*}] voiceless half-long grooved fricative occurring in the syllable coda when a short stressed vowel occurs in the nucleus, as in

/misna/	मिसना	[mis'na]	burial	0656
/masram/	मसरम	[masˈɾam]	name of a clan	0723

[s] voiceless alveolar grooved fricative occurring in all other environments, as in

/sībla/	सीबला	[siːbla]	basket	0340
/siwra/	सिवरा	[sivra]	nail	0747
/mursul/	मुरसुल	[mursul]	back	0292
/pisk/	पिसक	[pisk]	knead	0630
/pāseṛi/	पासॆळि	[paːseʈi]	rib	0225
/nas/	नस	[nas]	vein	0489
/toms/	तॊमस	[toms]	imitate	0593

/h/ voiceless glottal fricative stop phoneme is realized as

[h] voiceless glottal fricative occurring in all environments, as in

/hipi/	हिपि	[hip:i]	oyster	0680
/hamul/	हमुल	[ham:ul]	tortoise	0921
/dulhi/	दुलहि	[d̥ul·hi]	bride	0160
/wēhc/	वॆहच	[ve:ht∫]	light (n)	0851

/aha/	अहा	[aha]	name of a clo	an 0735
/puha/	पुहा	[puha]	plough!	0814
/paduh/	पदुह	[padːuh]	intestines	0759
/padih/	पदिह	[padːih]	wriggle	0238

5.1.5 Approximants

/w/ voiced labiodental approximant phoneme is realized as

[v:] voiced geminated labiodental approximant occurring between two short vowels when the first vowel is stressed, as in

/cuwa/	चुवा	[t∫uv:a]	well	0358
/kowe/	कॊवॆ	[kov:e]	monkey	0128

[v] voiced half-long labiodental approximant occurring as the last consonant in a syllable coda when a short stressed vowel occurs in the nucleus, as in

/piwsi/	पिवसि	[piʊˈsi]	purse	0306
/kawṛi/	कवळि	[kav'ri]	bird	0014

[v] voiced labiodental approximant occurring in all other environments, as in

/wāru/	वारु	[vaːɾu]	sand	0523
/wadūr/	वदूर	[vaduːɾ]	bamboo	0101
/siwra/	सिवरा	[siv'ra]	nail	0747
/julwa/	जुलवा	[dʒulva]	poem	0536
/tāwi/	तावि	[t̪aːvi]	oar	0354
/jīwa/	जीवा	[dʒiːʋa]	soul	0174
/māw/	माव	[maːʊ]	reindeer	0296
/pow/	पॊव	[pov]	split	0704

/y/ voiced palatal approximant phoneme is realized as

[jː] voiced geminated palatal approximant occurring between two short vowels when the first vowel is stressed, as in

/maya/	मया	[maj:a]	love (n)	0188
/seyun/	संयुङ	[sej:uŋ]	five	0828

[j^{*}] voiced half-long palatal approximant occurring as the last consonant in a syllable coda when a short stressed vowel occurs in the nucleus, as in

/koyna/	कॊयना	[koj·na]	reap	0923
/bayral/	बयरल	[baj·ral]	deaf(man)	0459
/naytam/	नयतम	[naj·t̪am]	name of a clar	0709

[j] voiced palatal approximant occurring in all other environments, as in

/yawo/	यवॊ	[jav:o]	mother (vocative)	0076
/yaya/	यया	[jajːa]	mother	0366
/gumya/	गुमया	[gum [,] ja]	pit	0387
/kaṭiya/	कटिया	[kaṭːija]	firewood	0833
/koḍiyar/	कॉडियर	[kodːijar]	daughter-in- law	0398
/taṛay/	तळय	[t̪araj]	lake	0004
/māney/	मानॆय	[ma:nej]	man	0222

5.1.6 Laterals

/1/ alveolar lateral approximant phoneme is realized as

[l:] voiced alveolar geminated lateral approximant occurring between two short vowels when the first vowel is stressed, as in

/bilal/	बिलल	[bil:al]	cat	0287
/pala/	पला	[pal:a]	ground	0081

[1] voiced half-long alveolar lateral approximant occurring as the last consonant in a syllable coda when a short stressed vowel occurs in the nucleus, as in

/hilwi/	हिलवि	[hil'vi]	lip	0029
/nulpe/	न्ल्पे	[nul'pe]	evening	0132

[1] voiced alveolar lateral approximant occurring in all other environments, as in

/lūli/	लूलि	[lu:li]	paralytic (woman)	0470
/lōpa/	लोपा	[lo:pa]	swallow (v)	0575
/bowla/	बॊवला	[bov·la]	verandah	0695
/pōlka/	पोलका	[po:lka]	blouse	0083
/kālo/	कालॊ	[ka:lo]	umbrella	0543
/jōli/	जोलि	[dʒo:li]	cradle	0333
/pēl/	पेल	[pe:l]	defecate	0162
/kōḍal/	कोडल	[ko:dal]	mongoose	0651

/l/ voiced retroflex lateral approxmant is realized as

[1] voiced geminated retroflex lateral approximant occurring between two short vowels when the first vowel is stressed, as in

/puḷa/	पुला	[pu[ːa]	curry	0079

[1] voiced retroflexed lateral approximant occurring elsewhere word medially, as in

/ḍōḷi/	डोलि	[do:li]	basket	0352
/saklek/	सकलॆक	[sak·]ek]	deposit	0638

5.2 Vowels

There is contrast between long and short vowels in root syllables of all word types but this contrast is neutralized beyond root syllables in non-compound words.

/i/ voiced close front vowel is realized as

[i] voiced non-syllabic close front vowel occurring before retroflex flap when its echo also occurs following the retroflex flap, as in

/pirc/	पिळच	[pi̞ri̞tʃ]	grey	0875
[i] voiced clos	e front vowel	occurring in all	other environmen	ts, as in
/idu/	इदु	[id̞ːu]	this	0258
/iṅgo/	इंगॊ	[iŋˈgo]	yes	0394
/bita/	बिता	[biţ:a]	span	0532
/miṅta/	मिङता	[miŋ't̪a]	sweet	0865
/pēpi/	पेपि	[peːpi]	brother	0405
/heṛami/	हेळिम	[heram·i]	name of a clan	0722

/1/ voiced long close front vowel is realized as

[i:] voiced long close front vowel, as in

/hīr/	हीर	[hiːɾ]	root (tree)	0195
/hīyana/	हीयना	[hiːjana]	give	0935
/pīri/	पीरि	[piːɾi]	straw	0446
/pīţo/	पीटॊ	[pi:to]	story	0206
/wīndi/	वींदि	[viːnd̪i]	ladder	0338
/wīṛsi/	वीळसि	[viːˌrsi]	pass (v)	0905

/e/ voiced close-mid front vowel is realized as

[e] voiced close-mid front vowel occurring in all environments, as in

/epur/	एपुर	[ep:ur]	sweat	0286
/eranḍi/	एरंडि	[erandi]	castor	0701
/leya/	लॆया	[lej:a]	maiden	0431
/koreţi/	कॉरेटि	[koreţ:i]	name of a c	c <mark>lan</mark> 0719

/tutre/	टुटरॆ	[tut're]	shiver	0275
/mane/	माने	[man:e]	day after	0234

/e/ voiced long close-mid front vowel is realized as

[eː] voiced long close-mid front vowel, as in

/ētna/	एतना	[eːt̪na]	buy	0907
/ēndna/	एन्दना	[eːndna]	dance (v)	0934
/ḍēṭi/	डेटि	[de:ti]	stem of leaf	0785
/mēṛa/	मेळा	[meː[a]	fence	0499

- /a/ voiced open front-central vowel is realized as
 - [ə] when followed by /r/ in some two-syllable words. (See section 9.)
 - [a] voiced open front-central vowel occurring in all other environments, as in

/awal/	अवल	[av:al]	mother	0223
/aṭwal/	अटवल	[at'val]	cook(n)	0796
/masram/	मसरम	[masˈɾam]	name of a clo	an 0723
/paṭa/	पटा	[pat:a]	plough (n)	0653
/kaywa/	कयवा	[kaj·va]	bitter	0503
/buṅgra/	बुंगरा	[buŋgˈɾa]	beetle	0139

- \overline{a} voiced long open front-central vowel is realized as
 - [a:] voiced long open front-central vowel, as in

/āsk/	आसक	[aːsk]	women	0793
/āṛiwur/	आळिवुर	[aːrivur]	couple	0117
/pāḍi/	पाडि	[paːdi]	name of a c	c <mark>lan</mark> 0670
/bāṭi/	बाटि	[baːʈi]	eye	0671

/o/ voiced close-mid back rounded vowel is realized as

[0] voiced half close-mid back rounded vowel occurring in all environments, as in

/olcana/	ऒलचना	[olt∫ana]	stitch (v)	0092
oṛhana/	ओळहना	[orhana]	peel	0519
/poreți/	पॊरॊटि	[poret·i]	name of a cl	<mark>an</mark> 0717
/bowți/	बॊवटि	[bov'ti]	verandah	0280
/wēgro/	वेगरॊ	[veigro]	divide	0471
/pōkro/	पोकरॊ	[po:kro]	tree	0100

/o/ voiced long close-mid back rounded vowel is realized as

[o:] voiced long close-mid back rounded vowel, as in

/ōja/	ओजा	[oːdʒa]	weight	0427
/ōm/	ओम	[o:m]	sing	0854
/pōlka/	पोलका	[po:lka]	blouse	0083
/ṭōḍi/	टोडि	[to:di]	group	0855

/u/ voiced short close back rounded vowel is realized as

[u] voiced non-syllabic back rounded vowel occurring before retroflex flap when its echo also occurs following the retroflex flap. In the word /urm/ the echo is realized as a fully syllabic vowel.

/uṛpna/	उळपना	[ˈu̞ru̞pˈna]	remove	0879
/uṛk/	<u> उळक</u>	[ˈu̞r̞u̞k̞-]	urinate	0643
/uṛm/	उळम	[u̞ˈrum̩·]	louse	0889

[u] voiced close back rounded vowel occurring in all other environments, as in

/uskul/	उसकुल	[uskul]	saliva	0803
/usa/	उसा	[us:a]	flood	0549

/pipuli/	पिपुलि	[pip:uli]	butterfly	0313
/mune/	मुनॆ	[mun:e]	next	0135
/hawu/	हवु	[hav:u]	those	0261
/gudu/	गुद्	[gud:u]	titillate	0661

 $/\bar{\mathbf{u}}/$ voiced long close back rounded vowel is realized as

[u:] voiced long high back rounded vowel, as in

/ūti/	ऊ ति	[uːt̪i]	bird	0604
/ūhna/	ऊह ना	[u:hna]	wear	0762
/tūri/	तूरि	[t̪uːɾi]	pea	0692
/hūṛi/	हूळि	[huːri]	bird	0664

6 Evidence of Contrast

6.1 Consonants

6.1.1 Labials

/p/ /b/				
/peḍi/	पॆडि	[ped:i]	girl	0078
/beḍi/	बॅडि	[bed:i]	belt	0751
/hipi/	हिपि	[hip:i]	oyster	0680
/ḍabi/	डबि	[dab:i]	tin	0099
/pāpe/	पापॆ	[pa:pe]	uvula	0672
/bābo/	बाबो	[ba:bo]	father	0492
/b/ /m/				
/boḍi/	बॉडि	[bodːi]	pond	0005
/moḍi/	मोडि	[mod:i]	navel	0919
/babal/	बबल	[bab:al]	father	0075
/mamal/	ममल	[mam:al]	father-in-law	0399
/dobri/	डॊबरि	[dop.ti]	ditch	0892
/tumri/	तुमरि	[t̪umˈɾi]	tree	0776
/p/ /m/				
/pala/	पला	[pal:a]	ground	0081
/mala/	मला	[mal:a]	pot	0791
/topa/	तॊपा	[top:a]	name of a clar	0713
/tamo/	तमॊ	[t̪amːo]	brother	0684

/hāp/	हाप	[haːp]	thorn	0196
/hām/	हाम	[haːm]	die!	0952
/b/ /w/				
/bona/	बौना	[bon:a]	whose	0438
/wona/	वॊना	[von:a]	their	0211
/darba/	दरबा	[darba]	paddy husk	0450
/parwa/	परवा	[parva]	sick	0419
/babal/	बबल	[bab:al]	father	0075
/mawal/	मवल	[mav:al]	our	0033
/m/ /w/				
/mari/	मरि	[mari]	son	0224
/wari/	वरि	[vari]	fear (n)	0379
/mamal/	ममल	[mam:al]	father-in-law	0399
/mawal/	मवल	[mav:al]	our	0033
/mōm/	मोम	[mo:m]	sell	0436
/māw/	माव	[maːv]	reindeer	0296
6.1.2 Coronal	s			
/t/ /d/				
/ta/	ता	[t̪a]	give	0272
/da/	दा	[d̪a]	go	0616
/muytor/	मुयतॊर	[mujˈt̪oɾ]	man	0428
/hoydel/	हॊयदॆल	[hoj·del]	fireplace	0285
/āti/	आति	[aːt̪i]	mother-in-law	0404
/dādi/	दादि	[d̞aːd̞i]	grandfather	0401

/ţ/ /ḍ/				
/ṭāḍi/	टाडि	[taːdi]	clap (v)	0689
/ḍēṭi/	डेटि	[de:ti]	stem of leaf	0785
/pēṭi/	पेटि	[peːti]	trunk	0821
/peḍi/	पॅडि	[ped:i]	girl	0078
/kūţ/	क्ट	[kuːt]	lame	0560
/ūḍ/	<u> </u>	[uːd]	comb (v)	0761
/c/ /j/				
/ciţi/	चिटि	[tʃiṭːi]	snake	0841
/jiṭi/	जिटि	[dʒiţ:i]	firewood	0840
/kāca/	काचा	[kaːtʃa]	spin	0627
/ōja/	ओजा	[o:dʒa]	weight	0427
/piṛc/	पिळच	[pi̞ri̯tʃ]	grey	0875
/piṛc/ /kurūj/	पिळच कुरूज	[pi̞ri̞tʃ] [kuˈɾuːdʒ]	grey heel	0875 0527
/kurūj/				
/kurūj/ /t/ /ṭ/	कुरूज	[kuˈruːdʒ]	heel	0527
/kurūj/ /t/ /ṭ/ /toḍi/	कुरूज	[kuˈruːdʒ]	heel soil (n)	0527 0356
/kurūj/ /t/ /ţ/ /toḍi/ /ṭoḍi/	कुरूज तॉडि टॉडि	[kuˈruːdʒ] [t̪odi] [todːi]	heel soil (n) mouth	0527 0356 0030
/kurūj/ /t/ /t/ /toḍi/ /pota/	कुरूज तॉडि टॉडि पॉता	[kuˈruːdʒ] [t̪odi] [todːi] [potːa]	heel soil (n) mouth locket	0527 0356 0030 0756
/kurūj/ /t/ /t/ /toḍi/ /toḍi/ /pota/ /poṭa/	कुरूज तॉडि टॉडि पॉता पॉटा	[kuˈruːdʒ] [todi] [todːi] [potːa] [potːa]	heel soil (n) mouth locket belly	0527 0356 0030 0756 0169
/kurūj/ /t/ /t/ /toḍi/ /toḍi/ /pota/ /poṭa/ /wat/	कुरूज तॉडि टॉडि पॉता पॉटा वत	[kuˈruːdʒ] [todi] [todːi] [potːa] [potːa] [vat̞ː]	heel soil (n) mouth locket belly dry	0527 0356 0030 0756 0169 0621
/kurūj/ /t/ /t/ /toḍi/ /toḍi/ /pota/ /poṭa/ /wat/ /waṭ/	कुरूज तॉडि टॉडि पॉता पॉटा वत	[kuˈruːdʒ] [todi] [todːi] [potːa] [potːa] [vat̞ː]	heel soil (n) mouth locket belly dry	0527 0356 0030 0756 0169 0621

/adi/	अदि	[ad̞:i]	sunlight	0547
/aḍi/	अडि	[ad̞ːi]	down	0194
/nānd/	नांद	[naːn̪d̪]	wet	0620
/nēnḍ/	नेन्ड	[ne:nd]	today	0233
/t/ /c/				
/taṛi/	तळि	[t̪ar̞i]	ring	0432
/cara/	चरा	[t∫ara]	worm	0682
/kātna/	कातना	[kaːt̪na]	dig	0929
/kācna/	काचना	[kaːtʃna]	spin	0922
/kut/	कुत	[kut̪]	break out	0570
/kuc/	कुच	[kutʃ]	slip off	0597
/d/ /j/				
/dāri/	दारि	[d̪aːɾi]	sickle's side	0345
/jāḍi/	जाडि	[dʒaːd̞i]	grass	0654
/pada/	पदा	[pad̞:a]	name of a clar	ı 0727
/paja/	पजा	[padʒːa]	after	0228
/nānd/	नान्द	[naːn̪d̪]	wet	0620
/hanj/	हन्ज	[handʒ]	went	0131
/ṭ/ /c/				
/ṭaṭi/	टटि	[tat:i]	axe	0953
/ciţi/	चिटि	[tʃiṭ:i]	snake	0841
/gaṭa/	गटा	[gat:a]	cloth bundle	0443
/gaci/	गचि	[gatʃːi]	neck	0515
/kūţ/	क्ट	[ku:t]	lame	0560
/kūc/	क्च	[ku:t∫]	wipe	0598

/d/ /j/				
/ḍōḷi/	डोलि	[do:li]	basket	0352
/jāli/	जालि	[dʒaːli]	net	0335
/paḍa/	पडा	[padːa]	calf	0852
/paja/	पजा	[padʒ:a]	after	0228
/ūḍ/	<u> </u>	[uːd]	comb (v)	0761
/ūnj/	<u> ক্র</u>	[uːɲdʒ]	extortion	0954
/t/ /s/				
/tamo/	तमॊ	[t̪amːo]	brother	0684
/sama/	समा	[sam:a]	ready	0458
/uta/	उता	[ut:a]	inhale	0497
/usa/	उसा	[us:a]	flood(n)	0549
/wīt/	वीत	[viːt̪]	sow(v)	0579
/wīs/	वीस	[vi:s]	thresh	0568
/d/ /n/				
/da/	दा	[d̪a]	go	0616
/ni/	नि	[ni]	you	0555
/adi/	अदि	[ad̞ːi]	sunlight	0547
/ani/	अनि	[an:i]	and	0038
/ad/	अद	[ad̪]	she	0277
/un/	उ न	[un]	drink (v)	0605
/d/ /r/				
/danḍ/	दंड	[d̪and]	punishment	0479
/ranḍ/	रंड	[rand]	two	0016

/dādi/	दादि	[daːdi]	grandfather	0401
/dāri/	दारि	[d̞aːɾi]	sickle's side	0345
/ad/	अद	[ad̞]	she	0277
/ar/	अर	[ar]	put	0615
/d/ /l/				
/deg/	दॆग	[deg]	separate	0657
/lak/	लक	[lak]	far	0245
/pada/	पदा	[pad̞:a]	name of a clar	0727
/pala/	पला	[pal:a]	ground	0081
/tēd/	तेद	[t̪eːd̪]	awake	0434
/pēl/	पेल	[pe:l]	defecate	0162
/r/ /l/				
/rājal/	राजल	[ra:dʒal]	king	0037
/laja/	लजा	[ladʒa]	shame	0758
/arhana/	अरहना	[arhana]	tear (v)	0887
/alhana/	अलहना	[al·hana]	desire (n)	0152
/kir/	किर	[kir]	abscess	0121
/kil/	किल	[kil]	cry	0602
/n/ /r/				
/nāṅ/	नाङ	[naːŋ]	cobra	0843
/rāṅ/	राङ	[ɾaːŋ]	quarrel	0437
/mani/	मनि	[man:i]	enough	0544
/mari/	मरि	[mari]	son	0224
/mīn/	मीन	[mi:n]	fish (n)	0073
/nīr/	नीर	[niːɾ]	ashes	0190

/n/ /l/				
/nār/	नार	[naːɾ]	village	0422
/lār/	लार	[laːɾ]	skin	0294
/kawna/	कवना	[kav'na]	laugh	0214
/bowla/	बॊवला	[bov·la]	verandah	0695
/pēn/	पेन	[peːn]	god	0757
/pēl/	पेल	[pe:l]	defecate	0162
/d/ /r/				
/moḍi/	मॉडि	[mod:i]	navel	0919
/moṛi/	मॊळि	[mori]	snoring	0910
/ūḍ/	<u> ক</u> ্ত	[uːd]	comb (v)	0761
/āṛ/	आळ	[aːr̞]	wife	0113
/r/ /ṛ/				
/wari/	वरि	[vari]	fear (v)	0379
/waṛi/	वळि	[vaŗi]	wind	0187
/hīr/	हीर	[hiːɾ]	root (tree)	0195
/hīṛ/	हीळ	[hiːr្	parrot	0373
/l/ /ṛ/				
/kila/	किला	[kil:a]	piece	0824
/kiṛa/	किळा	[kira]	fly	0938
/kuṛal/	कुळल	[kural]	spider	0221
/kudaṛ/	कुदळ	[kudːar̞	spade (n)	0357
/s/ /c/				
/siwar/	सिवर	[siv:ar]	rafter	0089
/ciwal/	चिवल	[tʃiʊːal]	chick	0281

/kāsta/	कासता	[kaːst̪a]	hot thing	0243
/kāca/	काचा	[kaːtʃa]	spin	0627
/us/	उस	[us]	sugarcane	0186
/ūc/	ऊ च	[u:tʃ]	plane wood	0599
6.1.3 Velars				
/k/ /g/				
/kar/	कर	[kar]	burn	0640
/gaṛ/	गळ	[gar]	bunch of plantains	0873
/jinka/	जिन्का	[dʒin·ka]	basket	0766
/jingi/	जिन्गि	[dʒin·gi]	life	0269
/tēk/	तेक	[t̪eːk]	fit	0968
/deg/	देग	[deg]	separate (v)	0657
/g/ /ŋ/				
/g/ /ŋ/ /mōgra/	मोगरा	[mo:gra]	jasmine	0687
	मोगरा मिङता	[mo:gra] [miŋ <u>'ṭ</u> a]	jasmine sweet	0687 0865
/mōgra/				
/mōgra/ /minta/	मिङता	[miŋ·t̪a]	sweet	0865
/mōgra/ /minta/ /deg/	मिङता देग लेङ	[miŋ'ṭa] [deg]	sweet separate (v)	0865 0657
/mōgra/ /miṅta/ /deg/ /lēṅ/	मिङता देग लेङ	[miŋ'ṭa] [deg]	sweet separate (v)	0865 0657
/mōgra/ /minta/ /deg/ /lēn/ 6.1.4 Velars a	मिङता देग लेङ	[miŋ'ṭa] [deg]	sweet separate (v)	0865 0657
/mōgra/ /minta/ /deg/ /lēn/ 6.1.4 Velars a	मिङता देग लेङ and /h/	[miŋˈt̪a] [deg] [leːŋ]	sweet separate (v) sound	0865 0657 0363
/mōgra/ /minta/ /deg/ /lēn/ 6.1.4 Velars a /k/ /h/ /kuri/	मिङता देग लेङ and /h/ कुरि	[miŋˈt̪a] [deg] [leːŋ]	sweet separate (v) sound hoof	0865 0657 0363
/mōgra/ /minta/ /deg/ /lēn/ 6.1.4 Velars a /k/ /h/ /kuri/ /hari/	मिङता देग लेङ and /h/ कुरि हरि	[miŋˈt̪a] [deg] [leːŋ] [kuɾi] [haɾi]	sweet separate (v) sound hoof road	0865 0657 0363 0290 0118
/mōgra/ /minta/ /deg/ /lēn/ 6.1.4 Velars a /k/ /h/ /kuri/ /hari/ /kocka/	मिङता देग लेङ and /h/ कुरि हरि कोचका	[miŋˈt̪a] [deg] [leːŋ] [kuɾi] [haɾi] [kotʃˈka]	sweet separate (v) sound hoof road bag	0865 0657 0363 0290 0118 0767

/g/ /h/				
/gapa/	गपा	[gap:a]	drain	0649
/hapa/	हपा	[hap:a]	brinjal	0202
/deg/	दॆग	[deg]	separate (v)	0657
/doh/	दॊह	[doh]	tie (v)	0590
/n/ /h/				
/boṅsa/	बोङसा	[boŋˈsa]	hole	0315
/behra/	बॅहरा	[behra]	big	0246
/lēń/	लेङ	[leːŋ]	sound	0363
/leh/	लेह	[leh]	untie	0591
6.1.5 Nasals				
/m/ /n/				
/mēnḍi/	मेन्डि	[meːŋdi]	sheep	0291
/nēnḍi/	नेन्डि	[neːŋdi]	tree	0686
/kamka/	कमका	[kam·ka]	turmeric	0156
/kanki/	कन्कि	[kan·ki]	rice	0899
/hām/	हाम	[haːm]	die!	0952
/han/	हन	[han]	go!	0964
/n/ /n/				
/pēn/	पेन	[pe:n]	god	0757
/poni/	पॉङ	[poŋ']	flow	0574
/pāntona/	पांन्तॊना	[paːn̪tona]	pot (big)	0343
/daṛiṅta/	दळिङता	[d̪arint̪a]	cold thing	0242

6.2 Vowels

6.2.1 Vowel Quantity

/i/ /ī/				
/hita/	हिता	[hit̞ːa]	tree	0700
/hīkna/	हीकना	[hi:kna]	tear (v)	0957
/piṭe/	पिटॆ	[piţːe]	bird	0069
/pīţo/	पीटॊ	[pi:to]	story	0206
/e/ /ē/				
/emna/	एमना	[em'na]	sift	0958
/ēndna/	एन्दना	[eːndna]	dance (v)	0934
/peḍi/	पॅडि	[pedːi]	girl	0078
/pēḍi/	पेडि	[peːdi]	situation	0652
/a/ /ā/				
/ar/	अर	[ar]	put	0615
/āŗ/	आळ	[aːr̞]	wife	0113
/pal/	पल	[pal]	tooth	0168
/pāl/	पाल	[paːl]	milk	0215
/o/ /ō/				
/oṛhana/	ओळहना	[orhana]	peel (v)	0519
/ōhna/	ओहना	[o:hna]	crash (v)	0966
/polo/	पॊलॊ	[pol:o]	word	0141
/pōlo/	पोलॊ	[po:lo]	prohibition	0675

/u/ /ū/						
/udna/	उदना	[ud̞ˈn̞a]	sit	0926		
/ūhna/	ऊह ना	[u:hna]	wear	0762		
/kuc/	कुच	[kutʃ]	slip off	0597		
/kūc/	क्च	[ku:tʃ]	wipe	0598		
6.2.2 Vowel Qua	lity					
/i/ /e/						
/ir/	इर	[ir]	put	0565		
/er/	एर	[er]	this one	0985		
/tika/	तिका	[tika]	in	0144		
/teka/	तेका	[t̪ekːa]	teak	0984		
/kunji/	कुंजि	[kuɲ'dʒi]	key	0384		
/kunje/	कुन्जे	[kuɲ'dʒe]	coppersmith	0316		
/ī/ /ē/						
/hīr/	हीर	[hiːɾ]	root (tree)	0195		
/ēr/	एर	[e:r]	water	0072		
/kīṛa/	कीळा	[kiːr̞a]	nail	0230		
/kēṛa/	केळा	[keːra]	forest	0105		
/e/ /a/	/e/ /a/					
/eni/	एनि	[en:i]	braid	0967		
/ani/	अनि	[an:i]	and	0038		
/pera/	पॅरा	[pera]	drum	0393		
/paro/	परॊ	[paro]	above	0250		

/hare/	हरे	[hare]	nanny goat	0054
/hara/	हरा	[hara]	pillar	0095
/ē/ /ā/				
/ēr/	एर	[eːɾ]	water	0072
/āṛ/	आळ	[aːr̞]	wife	0113
/wēhc/	वेहच	[ve:htʃ]	light	0851
/wāhc/	वाहच	[va:ht∫]	quarrel	0153
/a/ /o/				
/arhana/	अरहना	[arhana]	tear (v)	0887
/oṛhana/	ओळहना	[orhana]	peel (v)	0519
/tala/	तला	[t̪alːa]	head	0085
/tola/	तॊला	[t̪olːa]	skin	0172
/dupṭa/	डुपटा	[dup'ta]	shawl	0831
/sōno/	सोनॊ	[so:no]	gold	0192
/ā/ /ō/				
/ārt/	आरत	[aːɾt̪]	cold (things)	0901
/ōrt/	ओरत	[oːɾt̪]	chip (v)	0965
/jāli/	जालि	[dʒa:li]	net	0335
/jōli/	जोलि	[dʒo:li]	cradle	0333
/o/ /u/				
/olcana/	ओलचना	[oltʃana]	stitch (v)	0092
/utana/	उतना	[utːana]	inhale	0497
/koṭa/	कॊटा	[kot:a]	take	0890
/kuṭa/	कुटा	[kut:a]	measurement	0531

/kālo/	कालॊ	[ka:lo]	umbrella	0543
/kalu/	कलु	[kal:u]	stone	0070
/ō/ /ū/				
/ōhna/	ओहना	[o:hna]	crash	0966
/ūhna/	ऊहना	[u:hna]	wear	0762
/nōr/	नोर	[noːɾ]	grind	0622
/nūr/	नूर	[nuːɾ]	hundred	0018

7 Distribution of Phonemes in Words

7.1 Single Consonants

7.1.1 Word-initial Consonants

All consonants except $/\eta$ / and /r/ and /r/ occur word initially.

7.1.2 Word-medial Consonants (intervocalic)

All consonants occur intervocalically.

7.1.3 Word-final Consonants

All consonants occur word finally except /b/ and /l/.

7.2 Consonant Clusters

7.2.1 Word-medial Consonant Clusters

7.2.1.1 Word-medial CC Clusters

/pr/ /ṭepri/	टेपरि	[tep·ri]	fish (n)	0959
/pṛ/ /pipṛi/	पिपळि	[jyˈqiq]	tree	0780
/pk/ /lōpka/	लोपका	[lo:pka]	swallow (future)	1009
/ps/ /lōpsi/	लोपसि	[loːpsi]	swallowed	1010
/pw/ /kepwal/	केपवल	[kep·val]	guard (n)	1041

/tr/				
/catral/	चतरल	[tʃat̪ˈɾal]	bore	0322
/tl/				
/hātlam/	हातलम	[haːt̪lam]	slip down	1015
/tk/				
/wītka/	वीतका	[viːt̪ka]	saw (future)	1013
/tm/				
/ētma/	एतमा	[eːt̪ˈma]	don't buy	1012
/tn/				
/kātna/	कातना	[kaːt̪na]	dig	0929
/ts/				
/kātsi/	कातसि	[kaːt̪si]	dug	1014
/tw/				
/watway/	वतवय	[vat̞ˈvaj]	dry (not)	1016
/ţk/				
/ciţkuli/	चिटकुलि	[t∫iţ⁺kuli]	snap	0882
/ṭm/				
/iṭma/	इटमा	[itˈma]	don't touch	1017
/ţl/				
/keţli/	केटलि	[keţ'li]	vessel	0145
/ṭn/				
/laṭni/	लटनि	[laʈˈni]	instrument	0832

/ṭs/				
/koṭsi/	कॉटिस	[kot'si]	stitched	1018
/ţr/				
/ṭuṭre/	टुटरॆ	[tut're]	shiver	0275
/ţk/				
/ciţkuli/	चिटकुलि	[tʃiʈ·kuli]	snap	0882
/ṭw/				
/aṭwal/	अटवल	[at'val]	cook (n)	0796
/ct/				
/rīcti/	रीचति	[ɾiːtʃt̪i]	cut (question)	1020
/ck/				
/kocka/	कॊचका	[kotʃ·ka]	bag	0767
/cs/				
/kācsi/	काचसि	[kaːtʃsi]	spun (past)	1021
/cw/				
/bicwa/	बिचवा	[bitʃˈva]	knife	0788
/ch/				
/kācha/	काचहा	[kaːtʃha]	hot	0628
/cl/				
ācla/	आचला	[aːtʃla]	name (n)	1022
/kr/				
/pōkro/	पोकरॊ	[po:kro]	tree	0100

/kṛ/				
/bokṛa/	बॉकळा	[bokˈʈa]	lamb	0504
/kļ/				
/sakļek/	सकलॆक	[sak'lek]	deposit	0638
/ks/				
/rāksas/	राकसस	[raːksas]	giant	0442
/br/				
/kobri/	कॊबरि	[kob·ri]	pot	0639
/br/				
/bobṛal/	बॊबळल	[bobˈral]	toothless	1023
/bl/				
/sībla/	सीबला	[si:bla]	basket	0340
/dw/				
/kudwa/	कुदवा	[kud̞ˈva]	attack (v)	1027
/dk/				
/tēdka/	तेदका	[t̪eːd̪ka]	awake (future	1025
/ tcura/	राष्ट्रभग	[ˈcːu̯ka]	awake (juiure	1023
/dm/				
/gudmare/	गुदमरे	[gud̞·maɾe]	suffocate	1000
/ds/				
/ūdsi/	ऊदसि	[uːd̞si]	seated	1026

/dy/				
/mudyal/	मुदयल	[mud̞·jal]	man (old)	0115
/ḍk/				
/laḍke/	लडकॆ	[lad·ke]	hang	0798
/ḍn/				
/ūḍna/	ऊडना	[uːdna]	comb (v)	0956
/dw/				
/ṭāḍwa/	टाडवा	[taːdʊa]	chin	0109
/jr/				
/kijral/	किजरल	[kidʒˈɾal]	rogue	1042
/jg/				
/ijgur/	इजगुर	[idʒ·gur]	lizard	0525
/gṛ/				
/begror/	बॅगळॊर	[begror]	where	1024
/gļ/				
/cugḷi/	चुगलि	[tʃugˈli]	rumour	0792
/mb/				
/ḍāmbar/	डामबर	[daːmbar]	wedge (n)	0749
/mk/				
/kamka/	कमका	[kam·ka]	turmeric	0156
/mn/				
/mōmna/	मोमना	[mo:mna]	sell	0976

/mr/				
/jāmrun/	जामरुन	[dʒa:mrun]	tree	0770
/my/				
/gumya/	गुमया	[gum·ja]	pit	0387
/nk/				
/jinka/	जिन्का	[dʒin·ka]	basket	0766
/nt/				
/pāntona/	पांन्तोना	[paːn̞t̞ona]	pot (big)	0343
/ng/				
/pāngaṭ/	पानगट	[pa:ngat]	place (washing)	0893
/ny/			(washing)	
/my/ /wanyar/	वनयर	[van·jar]	labour (n)	0368
/nt/		2		
/daṛiṅta/	दळिङता	[d̪ar̪iŋt̪a]	cold thing	0242
/ns/		-	, and the second	
/boṅsa/	बॊङसा	[boŋˈsa]	hole	0315
/rp/		- 0 -		
/harpun/	हरपुन	[harpun]	chappal	0822
/rk/	3	•		
/kirkaṛ/	किरकळ	[kirkar]	kingfisher	0318
/rb/		- 6-	<u></u>	
/berbaţi/	बॅरबटि	[berbaţ:i]	pea	0789
• •		- t -	-	

/rd/				
/pirde/	पिरदॆ	[piɾd̞e]	winter	0550
/rm/				
/kurmi/	कुरमि	[kurm'i]	bran	0897
/rn/				
/irna/	इरना	[irna]	put	0994
/rw/				
/hirwo/	हिरवॊ	[hirvo]	green	0021
/rc/				
/mirca/	मिरचा	[mirtʃa]	chili	0203
/rḍ/				
/pīrḍagi/	पीरडगि	[pi:rdagi]	heap (n)	0552
/rh/				
/arhana/	अरहना	[arhana]	tear (n)	0887
/rṛ/				
/pārṛi/	पारळि	[paːɾʈi]	wanderer	0685
/rj/				
/burja/	बुरजा	[burdʒa]	decay (v)	0662
/ṛp/				
/hiṛpe/	हिळपॅ	[hirpe]	bark (n)	0961
/ <u>r</u> k/				
/hiṛko/	हिळकॊ	[hirko]	name of a cla	n 0737

/ṛm/				
/deṛmi/	देळिम	[dermi]	shadow	0137
/rl/				
/huṛla/	हुडला	[hurla]	small	0247
/rw/				
/paṛwa/	पळवा	[parva]	wave	0371
/ṛn/				
/huṛna/	हुळला	[huːʈna]	see	0274
/ṛh/				
/paṛha/	पळहा	[parha]	paddy	0648
/wṭ/				
/bowți/	बॊवटि	[bovti]	verandah	0280
/wṛ/				
/kāwṛi/	कावळि	[kaːvʈi]	stick	0895
/ws/				
/piwsi/	पिवसि	[piʊˈsi]	purse	0306
/wn/				
/cāwni/	चावनि	[t∫aːʊni]	roof	0176
/wh/				
/awhari/	अवहरि	[avhari]	mother	0439
/wd/				
/cawdari/	चवदरि	[t∫av·dari]	name of a cla	<mark>n</mark> 0729

/wk/				
/sawkar/	सवकर	[savkar]	rich	0676
/wr/				
/siwra/	सिवरा	[sivˈɾa]	nail	0747
/wl/				
/bowla/	बॊवला	[boʊˈla]	verandah	0695
/st/				
/pista/	पिसता	[pis·ţa]	leftover, remaining	0969
/sḍ/				
/usḍi/	उसडि	[us'di]	fish (n)	0962
/sm/				
/usmal/	उसमल	[us [·] mal]	pestle	0180
/sr/				
/masram/	मसरम	[masˈɾam]	name of a cla	n 0723
/sn/				
/usna/	उसना	[us'na]	sweep	0406
/sy/				
/husyar/	हुसयर	[hus·jar]	voice	0375
/hr/				
/behra/	बॅहरा	[behra]	big	0246
/hn/				
/pihna/	पिहना	[pihna]	close	0936

/hk/				
/hahki/	हहिक	[hahki]	mortar	0179
/hṛ/				
/johṛe/	जेहळे	[dʒohre]	millet	0201
/hm/				
/hohma/	होहमा	[hohma]	don't scratch	1033
/ht/				
/dohtan/	दॊहतन	[dohtan]	tied	1034
/yk/				
/wāyka/	वायका	[vaːjka]	come (future)	0987
/yd/				
/hoydel/	हॊयदॆल	[hoj·del]	fireplace	0285
/yn/				
/wāyna/	वायना	[vaːjna]	come	0988
/yw/				
/pāywa/	पायवा	[paːjʊa]	foundation	0035
/ym/				
/wāyma/	वायमा	[vaːjma]	don't come	1036
/yl/				
/keyla/	केयला	[kej·la]	call	1035
/yh/				
/bayhal/	बयहल	[bajhal]	mad	0421

/ys/				
/kaysūr/	कयसूर	[kajsur]	broom	0502
/yr/				
/bayri/	बयरि	[baj·ɾi]	deaf (woman)	0460
/lp/				
/kalpanj/	कल्पंज	[kal•pandʒ]	trap (n)	0506
/lk/				
/pōlka/	पोलका	[po:lka]	blouse	0083
/ls/				
/kilsi/	किलसि	[kilˈsi]	cried	1040
/lw/				
/mālwanḍ/	मालवंड	[maːlʊaŋd]	snake	0844
/lm/				
/malma/	मलमा	[mal·ma]	don't return	1038
/ln/				
/cālni/	चालनि	[tʃaːlni]	sieve	0473
/lh/				
/alhana/	अलहना	[al·hana]	desire (n)	0152
/lc/				
/olcana/	ओलचना	[oltʃana]	stitch (v)	0092
/ly/				
/halyal/	हलयल	[hal·jal]	buffalo (male)	0213

7.2.1.2 Word-medial CCC Clusters

/msn/				
/umsna/	उमस्ना	[ums'na]	pat	1006
/ndn/				
/ēndna/	एन्दना	[eːn̪dna]	dance (v)	0934
/njn/				
/anjna/	अंजना	[andʒˈna]	climb	0582
/ndr/				
/andri/	अंन्द्रि	[andri]	blind (woman	0462
/njn/				
/kēnjna/	केन्जना	[keːɲdʒˈna]	hear	0940
/nḍn/				
/ṭanḍna/	टंडना	[tandːna]	take	0585
/nḍm/				
/panḍma/	पंडमा	[pandːma]	don't make	1028
/nḍr/				
/pānḍri/	पांडरि	[paːŋd̞ɾi]	white	0019
/nḍs/				
/panḍsi/	पंडसि	[pandːsi]	made	1029
/ṛkn/				
/waṛkna/	वळकना	[vark·na]	say	0273

/njk/				
/hanjka/	हंजका	[handʒ·ka]	go (future)	1005
/nḍh/				
/ṭunḍhana/	टुंडहना	[tund'hana]	affix	0642
/ṅgr/				
/buṅgra/	बुंगरा	[buŋgˈɾa]	beetle	0139
/nḍy/				
/dondyal/	डॊन्डयल	[dondjal]	snake	0845
/skm/				
/piskma/	पिसकमा	[pisk·ma]	don't knead	1002
/skn/				
/piskna/	पिसकना	[piskˈna]	knead	1003
/skt/				
/kasktu/	कसकतु	[kask'ţu]	bit (past)	0948
/skn/				
/uskna/	उसकना	[uskˈna]	spit (v)	0802
/rsn/				
/barsna/	बरसना	[bars·na]	grow	0995
/rnḍ/				
/marnḍaṛ/	मरंडळ	[marŋḍar]	uncle's daughter	0409
/rṅg/			uungmei	
/sarṅgaṛ/	सरंगळ	[sarŋgar]	skeleton	0741
•		<i>50</i> 6 -		

/rch/				
/mirchana/	मिळचहना	[mirt∫hana]	lightning (n) (with thunder	0876
/ṛsk/				
/biṛskna/	बिळस्कना	[bɪ̞r̪ɪskˈna]	slip	0915
/ṛnj/				
/kēnjna/	केन्जना	[keːɲdʒˈna]	hear	0940
/ṛkn/				
/waṛkna/	वळकना	[vark·na]	say	0273
/ṛpn/				
/uṛpna/	उळपना	[ˈu̞ru̞pˈna]	remove	0879
/rpm/				
/uṛpma/	उळपमा	[ur̯upːma]	don't remove	1011
/ṛdn/				
/muṛdna/	मुळदना	[mur̞ḍn̞a]	immerse	0930
/ṛŋg/				
/guṛṅga/	गुळंगा	[guṛŋga]	neck	0108
/lkn/				
/talkna/	तलकना	[t̪alkˈna]	ask	0997
/hcn/				
/hehcna/	हेहचना	[hehtʃˈna]	sift	0972
/hcm/				
/hehcma/	हेहचमा	[hehtʃˈma]	don't sift	1019

/hkn/				
/huhkna/	हुहकना	[huhk'na]	launder	0382
/hṅg/				
/kohṅgi/	कोहंगि	[kohŋˈgi]	elbow	0170
7.2.1.3 Word-me	edial CCCC	Clusters		
/rksn/				
/marksna/	मरकसना	[marks·na]	search	1044
/ṛskn/				
/biṛskna/	बिळस्कना	[bɪ̞rɪ̯skˈna]	slip	0915
/ṛnjn/				
/kaṛnjna/	कळंज ना	[karndʒ·na]	dirty	1045
7.2.2 Word-fir	nal Consona	nt Clusters		
7.2.2.1 Word-fin	al CC Clusto	er		
/nj/				
/kalpanj/	कल्पंज	[kal'pandʒ]	trap (n)	0506
/hk/				
/tuhk/	तुहक	[tuhk]	sneeze	0619
/rt/				
/pirt/	पिरत	[pirt̪]	burst	0896
/r̥t/				
/kiṛt/	किळत	[kiţţ]	break	0496

/yt/				
/wiyt/	वियत	[vijt̪]	dawn (n)	0556
/ms/				
/dums/	दुमस	[dum's]	hit	0594
/nd/				
/danḍ/	दंड	[d̪and̞]	punishment	0479
/rd/				
/pōrd/	पोरद	[boːtd̞]	sun	0058
/rc/				
/piṛc/	पिळच	[pi̞ri̞tʃ]	grey	0875
/hc/				
/wēhc/	वेहच	[ve:htʃ]	light	0851
/nj/				
/gūnj/	ग्ंज	[gu:ndʒ]	bandicoot	0490
/rk/				
/ork/	ओरक	[ork [,]]	they	0279
/sk/				
/pisk/	पिसक	[pisk [,]]	knead	0630
/ṛk/				
/uṛk/	<u>उळक</u>	[ˈu̞ru̯k·]	urinate	0643
/nd/				
/and/	अंद	[and.]	blindness	0558

/ṅg/ /nūṅg/	न्ंग	[nuːŋg]	sesame	0535
/rs/	وآوا	[IIII.IJ8]	sesume	0333
/ars/	अरस	[ars]	piquancy	0786
/wt/				
/hawt/	हवत	[haʊt̪]	trap (n)	0142
/lk/ /talk/	तलक	[t̪alk]	want	0577

7.2.2.2 Word-final CCC Clusters

/rks/				
/marks/	मरकस	[marks _']	search	1061
/ṛnj/				
/hiṛnj/	हिळंज	[ˈhi̪ri̯ndʒ·]	fingernail	0007
/ṛsk/				
/hiṛsk/	हिळस्क	[hiṛsk·]	fingernails	1046
/ṛsk/				
/waṛsk/	वळस्क	[vaṛsk·]	fingers	1047

7.3 Vowels

7.3.1 Vowels in Open Syllables

All short and long vowels occur in word-initial open syllables. All vowels occur in non-initial open syllables, but there is no contrast in non-initial syllables between short and long vowels in non-compound words.

/i/				
/iṭa/	इटा	[itːa]	brick	0526
/e/				
/peḍi/	पॅडि	[pedːi]	girl	0078
/a/				
/pada/	पदा	[pad̞:a]	name of a cla	n 0727
/0/				
/boḍi/	बॉडि	[bod:i]	pond	0005
/u/				
/uda/	उदा	[ud̞ːa]	sit	0025
/1/				
/pīri/	पीरि	[piːɾi]	straw	0446
/ē/				
/ḍēṭi/	डेटि	[deːti]	stem of leaf	0785
/ ā /				
/pāṭa/	पाटा	[paːta]	piglet	0853
/ō/				
/pōlo/	पोलो	[po:lo]	prohibition	0675
/ ū /				
/tūri/	तूरि	[t̪uːɾi]	pea	0692
/i/				
/pinḍi/	पिंडि	[piŋdi]	flour	0484

/e/				
/nulpe/	नुल्पॆ	[nul'pe]	evening	0132
/a/				
/paṭa/	पटा	[pat:a]	plough (n)	0653
/0/				
/polo/	पॊलॊ	[pol:o]	word	0141
/u/				
/gudu/	गुदु	[gudːu]	titillate	0661

7.3.2 Vowels in Closed Syllables

All vowels, both short and long, occur in word-initial closed syllables. All vowels occur in non-initial closed syllables, but there is no vowel length contrast in non-initial syllables in non-compound words.

/i/				
/irna/	इरना	[irna]	put	0994
/e/				
/berbați/	बेरबटि	[berbaţ:i]	pea	0789
/a/				
	•			
/anjna/	अंजना	[andʒˈna]	climb	0582
/0/				
/olna/	ऒलना	[olˈna]	hide	0508
11				
/u/				
/umsna/	उमसना	[ums [*] na]	pat	1006

/ ī /				
/pīkna/	पीकना	[pi:kna]	fart	0937
/ē/				
/ēr/	एर	[eːr]	water	0072
/ā/				
/ācla/	आचला	[aːtʃla]	name (n)	1022
/ō/				
/pōkro/	पोकरो	[po:kro]	tree	0100
/ū/				
/ūnjna/	<u>.</u> जना	[uːɲdʒˈna]	extort	0955
/i/				
/harcim/	हरचिम	[hartʃim]	pelt (v)	0425
/e/				
/koṛwenj/	कॊळवॆन्ज	[korvendʒ]	fat	0209
/a/				
/kapar/	कपर	[kap:ar]	forehead	0320
/0/				
/molol/	मॊमॊल	[mol:ol]	rabbit	0305
/u/				
/garcul/	गरचुल	[gartʃ·ul]	necklace	0359

7.4 Vowel Clusters

There are no vowel clusters in the data. Sequences of vowels plus semi-vowels $[\upsilon]$ and [j] occur. These might have been interpreted as vowel clusters. But since both

[υ] and [j] occur word initially and there pattern as initial consonants, and since syllable finally following vowels, [υ] and [j] also pattern as consonants, we have interpreted them as consonants and not as vowels.

/watna/	वतना	[vat̞ˈna]	dry (adj.) (river)	1001
/kawi/	कवि	[kav:i]	ear	0031
/kāwṛe/	कावळे	[kaːʋʈe]	name of a c	<mark>lan</mark> 0726
/yawo/	यवॊ	[javːo]	mother	0076
/kāya/	काया	[ka:ja]	fruit	0197
/maytur/	मयतुर	[majt̪ˈuɾ]	lost	0806

8 The Syllable

The syllable nucleus is realized by a single vowel and is obligatory. The onset and the coda are optional and are realized by consonants.

8.1 Syllable Types

There are seven syllable types in Far Western Muria. The syllable types are as follows:

V				
/uda/	उदा	[ud̞:a]	sit	0025
CV				
/ta/	ता	[t̪a]	give	0272
VC				
/ad/	अद	[ad̪]	she	0277
CVC				
/pal/	पल	[pal]	tooth	0168
VCC				
/and/	अंद	[aṇḍ·]	blindness	0558
CVCC				
/pisk/	पिसक	[pisk [,]]	knead	0630
CVCCC				
/waṛnj/	वळंज	[varndz·]	finger	0008

8.2 Distribution of Phonemes in Syllables

All consonant phonemes occur in syllable onsets and as syllable codas in the CVC syllable pattern. In the CVCC syllable pattern, only /m/, /n/, /n/,

/s/, /r/, /r/, /l/, and /h/ occur as initial consonants in the CC coda sequence. In the CVCCC syllable pattern only /r/ and /r/ occur as initial consonants in the CCC coda sequence. (See section 7.2 for examples of distribution of consonants in syllables.)

All vowel phonemes occur as syllable nuclei. (See section 7.3 for examples of distribution of vowels in syllables.)

8.3 Distribution of Syllables in Words

Far Western Muria words can have one to four syllables. Following are possible syllable combinations in words:

8.3.1 Monosyllabic Words

VC

VC, CV, and CVC, VCC, CVCC, and CVCCC syllable patterns occur in monosyllabic words.

VC				
/iw/	इव	[iv [*]]	these	0524
CV				
/pu/	पु	[pu]	know	0595
CVC				
/pir/	पिर	[pir]	rain (n)	0185
VCC				
/and/	अंद	[andː]	blindness	0558
CVCC				
/mēnj/	मेज	[me:ndʒ]	egg	0212
CVCCC				
/marks/	मरकस	[mark's]	search (v)	1061

8.3.2 Disyllabic Words

All seven syllable types in Muria Far Western occur in disyllabic words.

T 7		T 7
V	٠.	V

/uda/	उदा	[ud̞:a]	sit	0025
VC.CV				
/ācla/	आचला	[aːtʃla]	name (n)	1022
VCC.CV				
/ūnjna/	जना	[uːɲdʒˈna]	extort	0955
CV.CV				
/piṭe/	पिटॆ	[pit:e]	bird	0069
CV.CVC				
/piyal/	पियल	[pij:al]	day	0062
CVC.CV				
/pinḍi/	पिंडि	[pind'i]	flour	0484
CVC.CVC				
/pāṭlal/	पाटलल	[paːtlal]	leader	0541
CVCC.CV				
/piskma/	पिस्कमा	[pisk·ma]	don't knead	1002
CVCC.CVC				
/marnḍaṛ/	मरंडळ	[marŋḍaʈ]	uncle's daughter	0409
CVCCC.CV				
/biṛskna/	बिळस्कना	[bɪ̞r̪ɪskˈna]	slip (v)	0915

8.3.3 Trisyllabic Words

Syllable types CV, CVC, and CVCC occur in trisyllabic words.

CV.CV.CV

/pipuli/	पिपुलि	[pip:uli]	butterfly	0313
CVC.CV.CV				
/morhana/	मोरहना	[morhana]	crack (v)	0883
CV.CVCC.CV				
/kaniskna/	कनिसकना	[kaniskna]	dream (v)	0862

9 Stress

Stress is not contrastive in Far Western Muria. Stress is phonetically realized by loudness, a rise in pitch and a slight lengthening of the vowel of the stressed syllable. Words can carry primary stress on the first syllable. And while this is particularly true for words whose first syllable nucleus is filled by a long vowel, in some sentence frames word-final syllables can carry the primary stress. In particular, with words whose first syllable nuclei are filled by short vowels and whose second syllable onset is phonetically a tap or a flap, primary stress is not only (a) carried by the word-final syllable, but also (b) the word-initial syllable loses its syllabicity and (c) the second syllable vowel is lengthened. The result in such cases is that two-syllable words are virtually reduced to a single syllable, as the following illustrate:

/uṛm/	उळम	[u̞ˈrumː]/[u̯ˈruːm] <i>louse</i>	0889
/taras/	तरस	[t̪əˈras]/[t̪əˈraːs] snake	0218

This being the case, the rule that in non-compound words contrastive vowel length does not reach beyond the first syllable is preserved. Words such as 'louse' and 'snake' are effectively reduced to a single syllable, and when the result of this reduction is a long vowel in that syllable, that long vowel occurs in what has, by virtue of that reduction, become the first syllable of such words. (At the current stage, the pronunciation of such words is variable, sometimes being pronounced as two syllables with no lengthening of the second syllable vowel, and sometimes being pronounced as a single syllable with occasional lengthening of the vowel. If such words eventually are pronounced only as monosyllables with long vowels, this will introduce word-initial consonant clusters. Elsewhere in this paper, first-syllable vowel reduction from /a/ to / [a] and resultant lengthening of the second syllable has not been noted in the phonetic transcription, such words being phonologically interpreted as examples of a (C)VCVC pattern.)

10 Practical Alphabet

A few matters need to be taken into consideration regarding the practical alphabet that is recommended for writing Far Western Muria. Far Western Muria being a Dravidian language should ideally be represented by a Dravidian script. But the native speakers live in a state where the linguistic background is Indo-Aryan. Marathi is the state language. Using an Indo-Aryan language script for a Dravidian language can be quite uncomfortable. The consonants do not present much of a problem since Devanagari has a rich inventory of consonant symbols. However, if the alveolar lateral approximant /1/ and the retroflex lateral approximant /1/ are taken as distinct phonemes, we have a problem because the state language has no separate symbol for the retroflex approximant /1/. We have recommended writing the latter with the Devanagari symbol for /1/ together with a subscript dot, \(\overline{A} \).

The representation of vowels presents a bigger challenge as Devanagari does not have such a clear orthographic division into short and long vowels as required by Far Western Muria phonemes. We have recommended representing long vowel /ē/ and long vowel /ō/ by Devanagari ऎ and औ, respectively. While there is no phonemic vowel length contrast beyond the first syllable in non-compound words, word-final vowels are nevertheless pronounced with a degree of length. Therefore, we have accommodated this length by writing word-final long matras of Devanagari script to express word-final vowels in Far Western Muria. So, for example, Muria words such as /kōnda/ meaning 'bullock' will be represented in Devanagari as कोन्दा.

We also find some borrowed aspirated sounds used by the Far Western Muria speakers due to the influence of Marathi, e.g., [pharsi] 'floor'. These, of course, are easily represented using Devanagari script.

While long consonants do not contrast phonemically with unlengthened consonants, we recommend writing them as geminates in Devanagari since Marathi writes long consonants as geminates.

	Labial	Dental/Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops/Affricates						
Voiceless	p प	t त	ţ C	c च	k क	
Voiced	b ब	d द	<mark>d</mark> ਼ ਤ	j ज	g ग	
Nasals	m म	n न			<u>n</u> ਂ. ਤ	
Fricatives		s स				h ह
Laterals		1 ਜ	1਼ ਕ਼			
Flaps		r र	i. 👁			
Approximants	w व			y य		

	Front unrounded					Ce	entral	unro	ounde	d	Ва	ack ro	ound	ed			
	i	इ	ি	ī	ई	ी						u	3	ু	ū	<u>ক</u>	્
Half- close		Ŧ	ঠ	5	П	Δ¥.						_	भ्रा	·3	5	भ	ो
close	-	4	O	E	4	M						U	3 11	ØI.	U	311	VI.
Open							a	3T	ā	ЭТ	ा						

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