Varli Phonology and Grammar Sketches

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and
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SIL International®

2012
SIL Language and Culture Documentation and Description
20

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ISSN 1939-0785

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Abstract

Varli is an Indo-Aryan language spoken by some 600,000 people in India. The sketch of Varli phonology features the analysis of nasalised vowels and homorganic nasal-plosive sequences. The sketch of Varli grammar is followed by an illustrative text with interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses.

Varli is a split-ergative SOV language with inflectional suffixes. Clauses in the simple past and perfective tenses have ergative-absolutive morphosyntax, while those in other tenses have nominative-accusative. Constituents in the noun phrase agree with the head in gender and number. Finite verbs agree with the head of one noun phrase in person—and usually in gender and number.
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Introduction

1. The language

The Varli language belongs to the Indo-Aryan, Southern zone, Kankani branch of the Indo-European family (Lewis 2009:406). It is a split-ergative SOV language with inflectional suffixes; modifiers precede the head noun. Clauses in the simple past and perfective tenses have ergative-absolutive morphosyntax; those in other tenses have nominative-accusative.

Varli is spoken in the Indian states of Maharastra (Nashik and north Thane Districts) and Gujarat (Valsad District) and in Union Territory (Dadra Nagar Haveli and Damen). It is related to the state languages, Marathi and Gujarati. It is also related to the Kukna (Dangi) language of Dangs District of Gujarat. Varli has sixty percent lexical similarity with Marathi, forty percent with Gujarati, and sixty-five percent with Kukna. According to the 1991 statistics given by the Tribal Research Centre in Pune, the number of Varli speakers is six lakhs (600,000). Ponraj (1996:67) estimates the population at 916,252.

There are three dialects of Varli, namely Davri, Dogri, and Nihiri. Dogri and Nihiri are very close. Davri is seventy percent intelligible with them. The Davar live mainly in the Pardi, Dharampur and Umergam Taluks (sub-districts) of Valsad District and some parts of Dadra Nagar Haveli in Union Territory. The main inhabitants of the mountains of Dadra Nagar Haveli are the Dogri. The Nihiri speak the Nihiri dialect. Kukna, Koli, Takore, Kathodies and Katkaris are the neighbouring ethnic groups. Their languages are different from Varli.

2. Cultural notes

At one time the Varli formed part of the Bhil people group. They are associated with the Bhil in various ways on the basis of culture and customs. The Bhil of Khandesh are known as Varli (Satpura area) but do not speak the Varli language. The origin of the Bhil of Khandesh is the north and northeast India. They later migrated to their present location. According to Save (1945), the Varli speakers migrated from Khandesh in Satpura Hills and settled first in Dharampur Taluk and Silvassa and later in Thane District.

When Varlis go to market or some other work they talk among themselves in the Varli language. When men go to work as wage labourers they speak Gujarati or Marathi, but women tend to be less fluent in the state languages. The literacy rates of the Varli are very low, four to eight percent for men and two to four percent for women. Only five percent of the children go to school. Usually the older children are responsible for caring for their younger siblings and their aging parents, but often children are not cared for properly. Men and women share equally in the work, both field work and wage labour. Children join the work force (including working in the factories) from the age of thirteen upwards. Nevertheless, the Varli receive low wages and are very poor.

The Varli live in nearly 2000 villages. Each village may have two to fifteen hamlets, each of which contains fifteen to forty huts. The huts are small, made of thatch, mud and wattle. The cattle shed is part of the house since the cattle, as well as people, need to be protected from tigers and leopards, which have caused many deaths. Electricity is still unknown in most of the villages. For drinking water they depend upon streams, so water is a scarce resource in summer.

The majority of Varlis live in remote thick jungle and hilly areas. In Dharampur Taluk, they live on both sides of the Daman Ganga River as well as the Par River. In the western coastal area they live on the plains. People living on the plains have more access to transport and trains while the people who live in hill and forest areas travel on foot. They use rafts to cross the rivers. During the rainy season it is difficult to reach the interior villages.

The Varli are cultivators, growing their crops mainly in the monsoon (July to October). Rice, ragi, and maize are their staple foods. They work very hard during the time of cultivation and store
up produce such as rice, ragi, dhal, and beans for the whole year. Normally they do not like to sell these commodities, but they also grow groundnuts and Bengal gram which they do sell in the market in order to buy clothing. They are an industrious people and most of them, when the agricultural activities are over, keep themselves busy by making things like baskets, mats, brooms, and rope from locally available raw materials. Fishing and hunting are popular free time activities. Drinking alcoholic beverages is common among men and women, old and young.

During the summer many people go out of their villages to urban areas to work for daily wages if they do not have sufficient grain for food for the whole year. From the industrial areas, the factory owners send trucks to take these people to work in the factories. Both men and women engage in factory work (mainly chemical, pharmaceutical, sugar, button or cloth production). Other kinds of work they do include road making, building houses, making household materials, truck driving, coal mining and timber cutting.

The Varli attribute their occupation as cultivators to the way in which God distributed gifts to five original people. From the one given a book came the Brahmin. From the one given a spade came malis (gardeners). From the one given bamboo came duplas (basket-makers). From the one given bellows came blacksmiths. From the one given a plough came cultivators of the land; these are the Varli. A sadhu came from the heavens and lived in the forest interior. The Varli reasoned that if a heavenly being chose to live in the interior, then they would do so also.

The Varli are basically animists and worship a tiger god called Vaghdev; they believe that he will come in the form of a tiger and kill them if they do not worship him. (Tigers are commonly found in the jungle and the people are afraid of them.) When there is sickness the people immediately turn to the local shaman, who claims to have contact with and control of the spirits. With the help of the supernatural spirits, the shaman brings healing. However, many are not fully healed and it is becoming more common for people to receive modern medical treatment from the nearby hospitals also.

Varli animism is now heavily influenced by Hinduism. They display Hindu gods and goddesses on their walls. They worship Gansaridev, Gavdev, Malcheda, Dhan Cheda, and also trees like the pipal, in addition to other tribal gods such as Narayan Dev, Hirva and Himay. They celebrate the Hindu festivals Dipavali and Holi. Some are attracted to religious sects such as Moksha Margi, Dandvat, Satipati and Malkari.

3. The present research and acknowledgements

Study of the Varli language was begun by the authors December 26, 1995 under the auspices of the Friends Missionary Prayer Board. Mr. Laksu bhai (age 40), Mrs. Rasmi ben (age 35), Mr. Gulab bhai (age 35) and Mrs. Sayki ben (age 32) were our main language consultants, although several other people in the village helped us learn to speak the language and provided us with text materials for analysis.

We are grateful to many friends whose inspiration, good will and support made it possible for us to undertake this study. Also we acknowledge the help in speaking and analysing the language which we received from the people of Khedpa village of Dadra Nagar Haveli. We are also grateful to Miss Charlotte Gibson, who taught us phonology. We are grateful to Dr. Ross Caughley for his help in writing the first draft of the grammar sketch and to Mrs. Omana Soundararaj and Mr. Robert Young, who taught us grammar during general and advanced courses offered by the Indian Institute of Cross Cultural Communication (IICCC). Dr. Mary Ruth Wise, Mrs. Swapna Anna Alexander and Mrs. Joanna Penny revised the papers for publication. Miss Kathy Bergman and Mrs. Margaret González were the compositors.
0. Introduction

The phonological summary presented in this study is based primarily on a corpus of 2500 words. The FindPhone computer program was used to facilitate the analysis (see Bevan 1995). The analysis is presented in “classical phonemics” terminology.

There are twenty-eight consonant phonemes in Varli and six short oral vowels. Each of the vowels has a nasalised counterpart and three have long oral and long nasalised counterparts. When a nasalised vowel precedes a plosive, the plosive is realised with a nasal onglide at the same point of articulation. For example, /kõ:b|Ɂi/ ‘hen’ is pronounced [kõ:mb|Ɂi]. This interpretation eliminates the necessity of positing syllable-final consonant clusters. It is also in accord with the reaction of native speakers of Varli who write such a sequence as nasalised vowel, plosive (VC) rather than nasalised or oral vowel, nasal consonant, plosive (VNC/VNC).

The phonemes of Varli are summarised in the following tables.1

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Vowels</th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back rounded</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>i, i; i; í; í; e [e, e], ŵ</td>
<td>a, ŵ</td>
<td>a ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close-mid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>u, u, ũ, ŵ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>o, o; ŵ, ŵ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1 Since there is no contrast between dental and alveolar phones, the dental consonants [t, tʰ, d, dʰ] are written simply as t, tʰ, d, dʰ throughout this volume except in the second table.
### Consonants

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Labiodental</th>
<th>Dental/Alveolar</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>(Alveo-palatal)</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
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<td><strong>Plosives:</strong></td>
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<tr>
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<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>c†</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[p, m(p)]</td>
<td>[t, ʰt]</td>
<td>[t, ʰt]</td>
<td>[tʃ, ʰtʃ]</td>
<td>[k, ʰk]</td>
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<td>pʰ</td>
<td>ʰt</td>
<td>ʰt</td>
<td>ʰtʃ</td>
<td>ʰk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[pʰ, ŋ]</td>
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<td>[tʰ, ʰtʰ]</td>
<td>[tʃʰ, ʰtʃʰ]</td>
<td>[kʰ, ʰkʰ]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vd.</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>g*</td>
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<td>[g, ʰg]</td>
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<td>[gʰ, ʰgʰ]</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
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</table>

†For convenience, the palatal symbols “c” and “j” are used throughout this volume for the alveo-palatal affricates [tʃ] and [dʃ] respectively, except in phonetic transcriptions. Note the gap in the plosives: there is no voiceless aspirated alveo-palatal plosive, nor do all of the plosives have prenasalised allophones.

*The symbol g is used throughout this study, rather than the IPA /g/, for a voiced velar plosive.

**In some areas only [l] is heard rather than [l]. Similarly, there is dialectal variation in some words between [g] and [gʰ].

The phonemes of Varli are described in section 1; contrasts are given in section 2, and interpretation of prenasalised plosives is discussed there also; distribution is discussed in section 3; syllables in section 4; and morphophonemics in section 5.

### 1. Description of phonemes

In this section the phonetic realisations of the phonemes are described using IPA symbols and terminology. Examples follow the descriptions. All of the phones of Varli are pronounced with egressive lung air.

#### 1.1. Consonants

/p/ has two allophones, [m\(p\)] and [p]. [m\(p\)] is a prenasalised voiceless bilabial plosive. It occurs following a nasalised vowel. [p] is a voiceless unaspirated bilabial plosive. It occurs elsewhere.

- /pɪɾ/ [pir] ‘sow (v)’
- /pɪl/ [pil] ‘twist’
- /tæp\(a\)z/ [tap\(a\)z] ‘inquire’
- /sær\(pa\)l\(a\)/ [sær\(pa\)l\(a\)] ‘crawled (a snake)’
- /a\(p\)l/ [a\(p\)l] ‘we’
- /pa\(p\)/ [pa\(p\)] ‘sin’
- /kep/ [kep] ‘cut’
- /ɕa\(p\)l/ [tʃa\(p\)l] ‘chapel’
/\(p^h\)/ has two allophones, \([p^h]\) and \(\phi\). \([p^h]\) is a voiceless aspirated bilabial plosive. It occurs word initially. \(\phi\) is a voiceless bilabial fricative. It occurs elsewhere.²

/\(p^h\)un//  \([p^h]\)un  ‘winnower’
/\(p^h\)ɔʃ//  \([p^h]\)ɔʃ  ‘break’
/\(d\(u^h\)p\)ar//  \([d\(u^h\)φ]\)ar  ‘noon’
/\(g^h\)upa//  \([g\(u^h\)φ]\)a  ‘cave’
/\(b\(a^h\)uv//  \([b\(a^h\)φ]\)uv  ‘boil’
/\(b\(a^h\)p\)//  \([b\(a^h\)φ]\)  ‘ice’

/\(b\)// has two allophones, \([\text{mb}]\) and [b]. \([\text{mb}]\) is a pre-nasalised voiced bilabial plosive. It occurs following a nasalised vowel. [b] is a voiced unaspirated bilabial plosive. It occurs elsewhere.

/\(b\)/  \([b]\) ‘seed’
/\(b\)(i:\)  \([b\(i^h\)]\) ‘cause to wet’
/\(b\)(a\(h\))  \([b\(a^h\)]\) ’close’
/\(b\)(e:\)  \([b\(e^h\)]\) ’rubber’
/\(b\)(r\(h\))  \([b\(r^h\)]\) ’grass plot’
/\(b\)(i:\b)  \([b\(i^h\)\b]\) ’tongue’
/\(b\)(e:\\b)  \([b\(e^h\)\b]\) ’navel’
/\(d\(a^h\))/  \([d\(a^h\)\b]\) ’brand (v)’

/\(b^h\)/ \(b^h\)/ is a voiced aspirated bilabial plosive.

/\(b^h\)(u:\t)  \([b^h]\)u\(t\)  ‘devil’
/\(b^h\)(u:\\b\k)  \([b^h]\)u\(\k\)  ‘bark’
/\(a\(n\)u:\\b\uv)  \([a\(n\)u\b\uv]\) ‘experience’
/\(a\(b^h\)es\)  \([a\(b^h\)es]\) ‘study’

/m/  \(m\) is a voiced bilabial nasal.

/m\(i\)/  \(m\(i\)\) ‘pepper’
/m\(u\)(\(a\))/  \(m\(u\)\(a\)\) ‘pebble’
/k\(a\)mi/  \(k\(a\)mi\) ‘less’
/k\(a\)(m\(a\))/  \(k\(a\)(m\(a\)) ‘earn’
/t\(a\)(l\(i\))/  \(t\(a\)(l\(i\)) ‘training’
/k\(a\)/  \(k\(a\)\) ‘work’

/v/  \(v\) is a voiced labio-dental frictionless approximant.

/v\(i\)/  \(v\(i\)\) ‘sell’
/v\(e:\)/  \(v\(e:\)\) ‘pick’
/i\(t\)(\(v\)ar\))/  \(i\(t\)(\(v\)ar\)\) ‘Sunday’
/n\(i\)(\(o\)\(a\))/  \(n\(i\)(\(o\)\(a\)) ‘collect’
/p\(o\)/  \(p\(o\)\) ‘swim’
/d\(e\)/  \(d\(e\)\) ‘God’

/t/ has two allophones, \([\text{nt}]\) and [t]. \([\text{nt}]\) is a pre-nasalised voiceless unaspirated dental plosive. It occurs following a nasalised vowel. [t] is a voiceless unaspirated dental plosive. It occurs elsewhere.

/t\(a\)/  \(t\(a\)\) ‘palm tree’
/t\(a:\)/  \(t\(a:\)\) ‘even though’
/\(k\(a\)(t\(a\))/  \(k\(a\)(t\(a\)) ‘scissors’
/p\(a\)/  \(p\(a\)\) ‘blade’

² The word /\(p^h\)ul\//  \(\phi^h\)ul\ ‘flower’ is an exception. It is always pronounced with the voiceless bilabial fricative in Varli; this pronunciation may be borrowed from the state language.
³ Some people pronounce ‘tongue’ and ‘brand’ with word-final [b\(h\)] rather than [b] due to influence of the state language, Gujarati.
/mut/ [mut] ‘urine’
/sâti/ [sädâ] ‘peace’

/tʰ/ [tʰ] is a voiceless aspirated dental plosive.
/tʰûk/ [tʰûk] ‘spit’
/tʰ'o:xâ/ [tʰ'o:xâ] ‘little’
/metʰi:/ [metʰi:] ‘fenugreek’
/ultʰi:/ [ultʰi:] ‘ladle’

/d/ has two allophones, [d̪] and [d]. [d̪] is a pre-nasalised voiced unaspirated dental plosive. It occurs following a nasalised vowel. [d] is a voiced unaspirated dental plosive. It occurs elsewhere.
/di:/ [di:] ‘sun’
/des/ [des] ‘country’
/baldi:/ [baldi:] ‘bucket’
/ekdám/ [ekdám] ‘totally’
/kâd/ [kâd] ‘yam’
/gôd/ [gôd] ‘paste’

/dʰ/ has two allophones, [dʰ] and [d̪]. [dʰ] is a pre-nasalised voiced aspirated dental plosive. It occurs following a nasalised vowel. [d̪] is a voiced unaspirated dental plosive. It occurs elsewhere.
/dʰoka/ [dʰoka] ‘worry’
/dʰo:n/ [dʰo:n] ‘wealth’
/ûdʰa/ [ûdʰa] ‘contrary position’
/râdʰa/ [râdʰa] ‘to cook’
/bâdʰ/ [bâdʰ] ‘build’
/kâdʰ/ [kâdʰ] ‘shoulder’

/n/ [n] is a voiced alveolar nasal.
/ne/ [ne] ‘take’
/nahî/ [nahî] ‘no’
/pahna/ [pahna] ‘guest’
/laðnî/ [laðnî] ‘roller’
/pan/ [pan] ‘also’
/man/ [man] ‘obey’

/s/ [s] is a voiceless alveolar fricative.
/set/ [set] ‘field’
/seʃ/ [seʃ] ‘owner’
/mansâ/ [mansâ] ‘people’
/posê/ [posê] ‘child, children’
/bes/ [bes] ‘good’
/nes/ [nes] ‘wear’

/l/ [l] is a voiced alveolar lateral approximant.
/lad/ [lad] ‘fight’
/lo:kʰïd/ [lo:kʰïd] ‘iron’
/tô:pli:/ [tô:pli:] ‘basket’
/kâcla/ [kâcla] ‘tiles’
/sal/ [sal] ‘bark’
/bâl/ [bâl] ‘ox’

/r/ [ɾ] is a voiced alveolar flapped vibrant.
/rat/ [rat] ‘night’
/rëg/ [rëg] ‘angry’
/kutra/  [kutra]  ‘dog’
/harī:/  [harī:]  ‘with’
/bʰar/  [bʰar]  ‘fill’
/məɾ/  [məɾ]  ‘die’

/t/ has two allophones, [ʈʰ] and [ʈ]. [ʈʰ] is a pre-nasalised voiceless unaspirated retroflex plosive. It occurs following a nasalised vowel. [ʈ] is a voiceless unaspirated retroflex plosive. It occurs elsewhere.

/vāt/  [vāt]  ‘way’
/goṭ/  [goṭ]  ‘word, story’
/septi:/  [septi:]  ‘tail’
/paḷa/  [paḷa]  ‘fit’
/bʰet/  [bʰet]  ‘meet’
/ūt/  [ūt]  ‘camel’

/tʰ/ has two allophones, [ʈʰ] and [ʈ]. [ʈʰ] is a pre-nasalised voiceless aspirated retroflex plosive. It occurs following a nasalised vowel. [ʈ] is a voiceless aspirated retroflex plosive. It occurs elsewhere.

/tʰev/  [tʰev]  ‘keep’
/tʰok/  [tʰok]  ‘knock’
/teṭʰa/  [teṭʰa]  ‘there’
/saṭʰi:/  [saṭʰi:]  ‘for’
/bōṭʰi:/  [bōṭʰi:]  ‘seed (mango)’

/d/ has three allophones, [ɖ], [ɖ] and [ʈ]. [ɖ] is a pre-nasalised voiced unaspirated retroflex plosive. It occurs following a nasalised vowel. [ɖ] is a voiceless unaspirated retroflex plosive. It occurs word initially. [ʈ] is a voiced retroflex flap. It occurs intervocalically and syllable or word finally following oral vowels. Both the plosive and flap allophones occur in consonant clusters but no contrasts have been found. In the practical orthography, both [ɖ] and [ʈ] are symbolized.

/ɖal/  [ɖal]  ‘dhal’
/ɖala/  [ɖala]  ‘big lid’
/kaḍi:/  [kaṛi:]  ‘matchstick’
/gaḍi:/  [gaṛi:]  ‘train’
/gaḍa/  [gaṛa]  ‘cart’
/vaḍ/  [vaṛ]  ‘banyan tree’
/kʰud/  [kʰur]  ‘break’
/səḍ/  [səṛ]  ‘leave’
/gaḍa/  [gaḍa]  ‘mad’
/hāḍa/  [hāḍa]  ‘pot’
/baḍi:/  [baḍi:]  ‘cloth’
/kʰāḍ/  [kʰāḍ]  ‘pound’
/hiḍ/  [hiḍ]  ‘wander’
/səḍ/  [səḍ]  ‘ivory’

/ɖʱ/ has two allophones, [ɖʱ] and [ɖ]. [ɖʱ] is a pre-nasalised voiced aspirated retroflex plosive. It occurs following a nasalised vowel. [ɖʱ] is a voiced aspirated retroflex plosive. It occurs elsewhere.

/ɖʱag/  [ɖʱag]  ‘cloud’
/ɖʱolkī:/  [ɖʱolkī:]  ‘dolki (musical instrument)’
/uḍʱal/  [uḍʱal]  ‘able to do a long jump’
/kadcʱ/  [kadcʱ]  ‘open, draw’
/meḍʱ/  [meḍʱ]  ‘pillars’
/mɛdʱa/  [mɛdʱa]  ‘ram’
/l/ [l] is a voiced retroflex lateral approximant.

/sa/ [sa] ‘schools’
/ka/ [ka] ‘black’
/pa/ [pa] ‘grow’
/kəɭ/ [kəɭ] ‘play (v)’

/c/ has two allophones, [tʃ] and [tʃ]. [tʃ] is a pre-nasalised voiceless unaspirated alveo-palatal affricate. It occurs following a nasalised vowel. [tʃ] is a voiceless unaspirated alveo-palatal affricate. It occurs elsewhere.

/cao/ [tʃɑu] ‘bite’
/cal/ [tʃal] ‘walk’
/vicar/ [vɪfɑr] ‘think’
/cəmci:/ [tʃəmtʃi:] ‘spoon’
/pæc/ [pæɡʃ] ‘five’
/cəc/ [væɡʃ] ‘read’

/y/ has two allophones, [dʒ] and [dʒ]. [dʒ] is a pre-nasalised voiceless unaspirated alveo-palatal affricate. It occurs following a nasalised vowel. [dʒ] is a voiceless unaspirated alveo-palatal affricate. It occurs elsewhere.

/ʃa/ [dʒa] ‘go’
/ʃug/ [dʒug] ‘sky’
/ʃaʃa/ [taʃa] ‘fresh’
/moʃa/ [moʃa] ‘socks’
/peʃ/ [peʃ] ‘cruel’
/aʃ/ [aʃ] ‘today’
/saʃ/ [sæɡʃ] ‘evening’

/ʃh/ has two allophones, [dʒh] and [dʒh]. [dʒh] is a pre-nasalised voice aspirated alveo-palatal affricate. It occurs following a nasalised vowel. [dʒh] is a voiced aspirated alveo-palatal affricate. It occurs elsewhere.

/ʃad/ [dʒhæt] ‘tree’
/ʃaʃa/ [dʒhæɾa] ‘stool’
/ʃuʃuʃ/ [dʒhulʃul] ‘clear (weather)’
/ʃaʃa/ [maʃhæt] ‘my’
/ʃaʃ/ [dʒhæɡʃ] ‘cymbals’

/j/ [j] is a voiced palatal approximant.

/jel/ [jel] ‘evening’
/jer/ [jer] ‘simply’
/maja/ [maʃa] ‘love’
/aja/ [aja] ‘mother’
/gaj/ [gaj] ‘cow’
/kaj/ [kaj] ‘what’

In words of more than one syllable a nonphonemic palatal approximant [j], or palatalization of the preceding consonant, often occurs preceding an /e/ in the final syllable.

/əbʃes/ [əbʃes] ~ [əbʃes] ‘study’
/pɔɾɟe/ [pɔɾɡʃɛ] ~ [pɔɾɡʃɛ] ‘girls’
/majɛ/ [majɛ] ‘enjoyment’

Note that, with this interpretation of the [ʃ] transitional phone, /j/ never occurs as the second member of a consonant cluster.
/k/ has two allophones, [%k] and [k]. [%k] is a pre-nasalised voiceless unaspirated velar plosive. It occurs following a nasalised vowel. [k] is a voiceless unaspirated velar plosive. It occurs elsewhere.

/kʊkum/ ['kũkum] ‘red powder’
/kʊsik/ ['kũsik] ‘how’
/ko/ [kʊ] ‘who’
/k/ [k] ‘how’
/ko/ [kʊ] ‘don’t’
/ko/ [kʊ] ‘frying in fire’
/k/ [k] ‘dried fish’
/k/ [k] ‘small’
/k/ [k] ‘small’

/kʰ/ has two allophones, [%kʰ] and [kʰ]. [%kʰ] is a pre-nasalised voiceless aspirated plosive. It occurs following a nasalised vowel. [kʰ] is a voiceless aspirated velar plosive. It occurs elsewhere.

/kʰus/ [kʰus] ‘happy’
/kʰan/ [kʰan] ‘dig’
/sarkʰa/ [sarkʰa] ‘like’
/dukʰ/ [dukʰ] ‘pain’
/vaʃkʰ/ [vaʃkʰ] ‘know’
/pɔkʰa/ [pɔkʰa] ‘fan’

/g/ has two allophones, [%g] and [g]. [%g] is a pre-nasalised voiced unaspirated velar plosive. It occurs following a nasalised vowel. [g] is a voiced unaspirated velar plosive. It occurs elsewhere.

/ga/ [ga] ‘like’
/ga/ [ga] ‘like’
/ga/ [ga] ‘fan’
/ga/ [ga] ‘fire’
/ga/ [ga] ‘body’

/gʰ/ has two allophones, [%gʰ] and [gʰ]. [%gʰ] is a pre-nasalised voiced aspirated velar plosive. It occurs following a nasalised vowel. [gʰ] is a voiced aspirated velar plosive. It occurs elsewhere.

/ga/ [ga] ‘like’
/ga/ [ga] ‘like’
/ga/ [ga] ‘fan’
/ga/ [ga] ‘fire’
/ga/ [ga] ‘body’

/h/ [h] is a voiceless flat glottal fricative.

/has/ [has] ‘laugh’
/hava/ [hava] ‘air’
/kuhel/ [kuhel] ‘rotten’
/gohle/ [gohle] ‘husband’
/sa/ [sa] ‘flow’
/sa/ [sa] ‘lion’

1.2. Vowels

All vowels are voiced in Varli. Long and short vowels contrast. In the practical alphabet (using either Gujarati or Marathi script) the Varli people prefer to distinguish [i] and [i] and [u] and [u], but to write [o] and [o] as o since the state languages do not distinguish [o] and [o]. There are also clear contrasts between nasal and oral vowels. In the following examples the vowels contrast in length as well as nasalisation.
/siːva/ [siva] ‘god’
/siːvə/ [siva] ‘stitch’
/siːkʰ/ [sikʰ] ‘learn’
/siːh/ [sih] ‘lion’

/i/ [i] is a short high close front spread vowel. It does not occur word finally.

/iːt/ [iːt] ‘shame’
/piːk/ [pikel] ‘ripen’
/laiɡin/ [lągin] ‘marriage’
/miɾiː/ [miriː] ‘pepper’
/mit/ [mit] ‘solve’

/iː/ [iː] is a long high close front spread vowel. It occurs word initially (in two words out of 2000), medially and finally.

/iːsəɾ/ [isəɾ] ‘God’
/ɡiː/ [giː] ‘life,, heart’
/baɦanis/ [baɦanis] ‘sister’
/ɡiː/ [giː] ‘day’
/paɾiː/ [pariː] ‘water’

/e/ has two allophones, [e] and [ɛ].⁴ [e] is a short open mid front spread vowel. It occurs in word-final position in a few words. [ɛ] is a short close mid front spread vowel. It occurs elsewhere. No contrasts have been found between [e] and [ɛ].

/pe/ [pe] ‘drink’
/ekɛ/ [ekɛ] ‘one’
/ahe/ [ahɛ] ‘is’
/ekɔala/ [ekɔala] ‘alone’
/vela/ [vela] ‘plant’
/rake/ [rake] ‘kerosene’

/ə/ [a] is a short mid central spread vowel.

/akal/ [akal] ‘wisdom’
/paka/ [paka] ‘much’
/âbə/ [âbə] ‘mangos’

/a/ [a] is a short open central spread vowel.

/avɔɾ/ [avɔɾ] ‘get ready’
/pala/ [pala] ‘leaves’
/baldĩː/ [baldĩː] ‘bucket’
/mama/ [mama] ‘uncle’

/u/ [u] is a short high close back rounded vowel. It occurs in all positions.

/upɔɾ/ [upɔɾ] ‘creation’
/kʰus/ [kʰus] ‘joy’
/tumĩː/ [tumĩː] ‘you (pl)’

/uː/ [uː] is a high long close back rounded vowel.

/um/ [um] ‘heat’
/kʰuna/ [kʰuna] ‘corner’
/reɾul/ [ɾeɾul] ‘flower’
/vastʉː/ [vastʉː] ‘things’

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⁴ Some speakers pronounce [æ] rather than [e] or [ɛ] in a few words. For example, /vet/ [væt] ‘bad’ and /bes/ [bæs] ‘good’.
/ɔ/ [o] is a short close mid back rounded vowel.
/ɔlɔc/  [ɔlɔc]  ‘quench’
/gohe/  [gohe]  ‘husband’
/nokɔ:/  [nokɔ:]  ‘don’t’

/ɔː/ [ɔː] is a long close mid back rounded vowel.
/ɔcla/  [ɔcla]  ‘wet’
/kolsa/  [kolsa]  ‘coal’
/pɔpət/  [pɔpət]  ‘parrot’
/pɔrɡiːiː/  [pɔrɡiːiː]  ‘girl’
/tos/  [tos]  ‘he’

Nasalised vowels

Each of the nasalised vowels contrasts with its oral counterpart. /ĩ/, /ũ/ and /õ/ have long counterparts: /ĩː/, /ũː/ and /õː/. When the nasalised vowels occur before plosives (except [pʰ] and [tʰ]) a nasal transition at the same point of articulation precedes the plosive.

/ĩ/ [ĩ] is a short close front spread nasalised vowel.
/ĩɡoː/  [ĩɡoː]  ‘fire sparks’
/ʊiːd/  [ʊiːd]  ‘shoot’
/ɕiː/  [ɕiː]  ‘tamarind’
/siŋa/  [siŋa]  ‘horns’
/siːh/  [siːh]  ‘lion’

/ĩː/ [ĩː] is a long close front spread nasalised vowel.
/biːt/  [biːt]  ‘wall’
/piːsa/  [piːsa]  ‘feather’

/ẽ/ [ẽ] is a short close mid front spread nasalised vowel. Note that this vowel is always pronounced as close mid [ẽ], that is, it does not have an open mid allophone as does its oral counterpart.
/ẽɡɛt/  [ẽɡɛt]  ‘near’
/bɛb/  [bɛb]  ‘navel’
/sɛɡa/  [sɛɡa]  ‘ground nut’
/pɔsɛ/  [pɔsɛ]  ‘child, children’

/ã/ [ã] is a short mid central spread nasalised vowel.
/bɑːdiː/  [bɑːdiː]  ‘cloth’
/ɔʋɔdə/  [ɔʋɔdə]  ‘this year’

/ãː/ [ãː] is a short open central spread nasalised vowel.
/ãbaːdːiː/  [ãbaːdːiː]  ‘sorrel’
/ãɡ/  [ãɡ]  ‘body’
/paːkaː/  [paːkaː]  ‘cripple’
/maːdːu/  [maːdːu]  ‘shed’
/panaː/  [panaː]  ‘leaves’

/ũ/ [ũ] is a short close back rounded nasalised vowel.
/ũdir/  [ũdir]  ‘rat’
/kũku/  [kũku]  ‘red powder’
/gũdar/  [gũdar]  ‘gum’

/ũː/ [ũː] is a long close back rounded nasalised long vowel.
/ũːt/  [ũːt]  ‘camel’
2. Contrasts and interpretation

In this section contrasts in identical and in analogous environments are presented for pairs of phonemes which share some phonetic features such that they might be allophones of a single phoneme in some languages.

2.1. Consonants

/p/ vs. /pʰ/

/paɬ/ ‘run’
/pʰaɬ/ ‘fruit’
/upaɬ/ ‘uproot’
/dupaɬɿ/ [duφar] ‘noon’
/papi/ ‘sinner’
/mappiɿ/ [maφi] ‘forgiveness’
/saɬ/ ‘snake’
/saɬʰ/ [saʃ] ‘clean’
/paɬ/ ‘sin’
/baɬ/ ‘boil’

/p/ vs. /b/

/paɬ/ ‘run’
/baɬ/ ‘strength’
/upaɬ/ ‘uproot’
/ubaɬ/ ‘close’
/tarba/ ‘kind of dance’
/gaɬba/ ‘kind of dance’
/saɬ/ ‘snake’
/rab/ ‘grass plot’

/p/ vs. /u/

/paɬu/ ‘feed’
/vaɬu/ ‘play’
### /b/ vs. /b̩/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/boːl/</td>
<td>‘speak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b̩uːl/</td>
<td>‘forget’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/baːɡ/</td>
<td>‘crane’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b̩aɡ/</td>
<td>‘part’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t̊abaːa/</td>
<td>‘red’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/j̊aab̩a/</td>
<td>‘blue’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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### /p̩/ vs. /b̩/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p̩uːk/</td>
<td>‘blow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b̩uːk/</td>
<td>‘bark’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dup̩ar/ [duʃar]</td>
<td>‘noon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k̊ub̩ar/ [k̊u̯b̩ar]</td>
<td>‘potter’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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### /b/ vs. /m/  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/bas/</td>
<td>‘enough’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mas/</td>
<td>‘flesh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/rab/</td>
<td>‘field’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ram/</td>
<td>‘person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jab/</td>
<td>‘answer, reply’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kam/</td>
<td>‘work’</td>
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### /b/ vs. /v/  

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>/bara/</td>
<td>‘twelve’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/vara/</td>
<td>‘air’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bəɾɔs/</td>
<td>‘brush’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/vəɾɔs/</td>
<td>‘year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/daba/</td>
<td>‘press’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dəca/</td>
<td>‘left’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jab/</td>
<td>‘answer, reply’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/cao/</td>
<td>‘bite’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/j̊āb/</td>
<td>‘roseapple’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/j̊āo/</td>
<td>‘(we) will go’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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### /m/ vs. /c/  

<table>
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<th>Sound</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<td>/mal/</td>
<td>‘thing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/val/</td>
<td>‘bean’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/meʃ/</td>
<td>‘table’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/veʃ/</td>
<td>‘interest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k̊am[a]/</td>
<td>‘jaundice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k̊ɔla/</td>
<td>‘tile’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/goːma/</td>
<td>‘mucous (eye)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hoːca/</td>
<td>‘might have’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k̊armat/</td>
<td>‘like’</td>
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<tr>
<td>/k̊arvɔt/</td>
<td>‘saw’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k̊am/</td>
<td>‘work’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k̊ɔːv/</td>
<td>‘(we) will eat’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
/m/ vs. /n/

/māg/ ‘ask’
/nāg/ ‘see’
/mås/ ‘coal’
/nås/ ‘nerve’
/gərmı:/ ‘heat’
/gərnı:/ ‘funnel’
/kam/ ‘work’
/kan/ ‘ear’
/kam/ ‘work’
/kən/ ‘dig’

/t/ vs. /tʰ/

/tær/ ‘coil’
/tʰær/ ‘snow’
/utær/ ‘swelling decreased’
/ätʰær/ ‘spread’
/retni:/ ‘sand’
/metni:/ ‘fenugreek’

/t/ vs. /d/

/taeva/ ‘griddle’
/dəeva/ ‘medicine’
/tær/ ‘coil’
/dær/ ‘door’
/səti:/ ‘peace’
/cədi:/ ‘silver’
/kojəta/ ‘sickle’
/kərvəda/ ‘corinda (a fruit)’
/duːt/ ‘angel’
/duːd/ ‘milk’
/sat/ ‘seven’
/cəd/ ‘moon’

/d/ vs. /dʰ/

/dana/ ‘seed’
/dʰana/ ‘coriander’
/dan/ ‘offering’
/dʰən/ ‘wealth’
/dakəla/ ‘certificate’
/dʰakəla/ ‘small (brother)’
/kəda/ ‘onion’
/kədʰa/ ‘shoulders’
/kəd/ ‘any edible tuber’
/kədʰ/ ‘shoulder’
//t/ vs. /t/
//tak/ 'put'
//tak/ 'buttermilk'
//set/ 'field'
//set/ 'owner'
//vat/ 'wick'
//vat/ 'ways'

//ṭ/ vs. /ṭ/
//ṭar/ 'snow'
//ṭaḷa/ 'hand grinder'
//saṭi:/ 'chest'
//saṭi:/ 'for'
//saṭi:/ 'chest'
//gãṭi:/ 'necklace'

//d/ vs. /d/
//dɔva/ 'medicine'
//dɔva/ 'left'
//dɔl/ 'grind'
//dɔl/ 'dhal'
//kãda/ 'onion'
//gãdã/ 'mad'
//kãd/ 'any edible tuber'
//kɔd/ 'shoulder'
//kɔd/ 'pound grains, cut'
//sãd/ 'joint'
//sõd/ 'ivory'

//t/ vs. /ṭ/
//teu/ 'habit'
//ṭẹu/ 'keep'
//ṭikau/ 'pickaxe'
//ṭikau/ 'know'
//taḷu/ 'crown of head'
//taḷa/ 'lock'
//ṭạḷa/ 'big plate'
//ṭak/ 'put away'
//ṭak/ 'lie down'
//pạṭi:/ 'slate'
//saṭi:/ 'for'

//t/ vs. /d/
//tal/ 'bald head'
//dal/ 'dhal'
//taḷa/ 'lock'
//tala/ 'lids'
| /aṭlə/ | ‘become dry’ |
| /aḍlə/ | ‘become lean’ |
| /sāṭa/ | ‘fishing rod’ |
| /hāḍa/ | ‘pot’ |
| /kərāt/ | ‘spinal cord’ |
| /kurād/ | ‘axe’ |

/tʰ/ vs. /dʰ/  
| /tʰər/ | ‘decide’ |
| /dʰər/ | ‘catch’ |
| /tʰəv/ | ‘keep’ |
| /dʰəv/ | ‘wash’ |
| /tʰəgla/ | ‘cheated’ |
| /dʰəgla/ | ‘boiled’ |

/tʰ/ vs. /dʰ/  
| /tʰəg/ | ‘cheater, deceiver’ |
| /dʰəg/ | ‘cloud’ |
| /tʰək/ | ‘knock’ |
| /dʰəl/ | ‘drum’ |
| /kəṭʰe/ | ‘sticks’ |
| /kədʰe/ | ‘frying pan’ |

/d/ vs. /dʰ/  
| /dəl/ | ‘dhali’ |
| /dʰəl/ | ‘drum’ |
| /gʰoḍa/ | ‘horse’ |
| /oḍa/ | ‘this much’ |
| /hāḍa/ | ‘pot’ |
| /kəḍʰa/ | ‘open, draw’ |
| /ōḍa/ | ‘deep’ |
| /oḍbʰa/ | ‘this much’ |
| /soḍ/ [soːt] | ‘leave’ |
| /oḍʰ/ | ‘pull’ |

/d/ vs. /l/  
| /tadːiː/ | ‘toddy’ |
| /tʰalːiː/ | ‘plate’ |
| /pʰauḍa/ [pʰauɾə] | ‘hoe’ |
| /kaʊlːa/ | ‘crow’ |
| /kʰəḍa/ [kʰəɾə] | ‘cut’ |
| /kaɾə/ | ‘black’ |
| /hoːdːiː [hoɾiː] | ‘boat’ |
| /gɔːlːiː [ɡɔːɾiː] | ‘tablet’ |
| /ɡoːɾ/ [ɡoːɾ] | ‘sweet’ |
| /ɡoːl/ | ‘round’ |
| /ad/ | [aɾt] | ‘pet’ |
| /al/ | [al] | ‘saliva’ |
| /sɔːd/ | [sɔːɾd] | ‘ivory’ |
| /sɔ/ | ‘sixteen’ |
| /kɔd/ | [tʃɔːɾd] | ‘parts of body’ |
| /col/ | ‘rub with oil or ointment’ |

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<th>/r/ vs. /d/</th>
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<tr>
<td>/kʰara/</td>
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<td>/kʰaɖa/</td>
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<th>/l/ vs. /ɾ/</th>
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<td>/kaolã/</td>
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<td>/sapla/</td>
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<td>/sɑp[ə]/</td>
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<td>/vel/</td>
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<th>/c/ vs. /ʃ/</th>
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<td>/coɾr/</td>
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<td>/ʃɔɾ/</td>
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<td>/ʃaɾ/</td>
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<td>/ʃaɾ/</td>
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<tr>
<td>/maɾi/</td>
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<tr>
<td>/moɾa/</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
/ləc/ [ləŋ] ‘bribe’
/laŋ/ [laŋ] ‘shame’

/c/ vs. /j/
/cal/ [tʃal] ‘walk’
/jel/ [jel] ‘(he) will come’
/car/ [tʃəɾ] ‘graze (intransitive)’
/jeɾ/ [jeɾ] ‘simply’
/kʰəɾca/ [kʰəɾʃa] ‘expense’
/qəɾja/ [qəɾja] ‘sea’
/kəɾc/ [kaɾʃ] ‘glass’
/kaj/ [kaʃ] ‘what’
/pəc/ [pəɾʃ] ‘five’
/pəj/ [pəj] ‘leg’

/c/ vs. /s/
/carəo/ [tʃəɾəo] ‘graze (transitive)’
/sarəo/ [sarəo] ‘wash’
/kəce/ [kəʧə] ‘which’
/kase/ [kəse] ‘why’
/viɾəɾ/ [viɾəɾ] ‘ask’
/viɾə/ [viɾə] ‘forget’
/nəc/ [naɾʃ] ‘dance’
/nas/ [nas] ‘destruction’
/vəc/ [vəɾʃ] ‘read’
/vəʃ/ [vəʃ] ‘bamboo’

/j/ vs. /ʒ/3
/jaŋa/ [ʒaɾa] ‘thick’
/jaŋa/ [ʒaɾa] ‘stool’
/jəɾa/ [ʒəɾa] ‘fever’
/jəɾa/ [ʒəɾa] ‘filter’
/məʃa/ [maʃa] ‘joy’
/məʃa/ [maʃa] ‘my’

/c/ vs. /t/
/cəd/ ‘climb up’
/təd/ ‘sound of ox (ono)’
/vəc/ ‘read’
/vət/ ‘wick’

/j/ vs. /j/5
/jəl/ ‘(he) will go’
/jel/ ‘(he) will come’
/məja kəɾ/ ‘enjoy’
/məja kəɾ/ ‘love (v)’
| /vælə/ | ‘play music’ |
| /vələ/ | ‘separate’ |
| /pɛl/ | ‘cruel’ |
| /pɛl/ | ‘(he) drinks’ |
| /bəʊl/ | ‘roast’ |
| /pəʊl/ | ‘mother-in-law’ |

/k/ vs. /kʰ/

| /kal/ | ‘yesterday’ |
| /kəl/ | ‘under’ |
| /kəd/ | ‘any edible tuber’ |
| /kəd/ | ‘cut’ |
| /kola/ | ‘fox’ |
| /kələ/ | ‘open’ |
| /ukəl/ | ‘boiling stage’ |
| /ukʰəl/ | ‘mortar’ |
| /dəkələ/ | ‘small (brother)’ |
| /dakʰələ/ | ‘certificate’ |
| /sika/ | ‘sling’ |
| /sikʰə/ | ‘learn’ |
| /kaki:/ | ‘mother’s sister’ |
| /kəkʰi:/ | ‘khaki’ |
| /cakəɾ/ | ‘servant’ |
| /sakʰəɾ/ | ‘sugar’ |
| /nak/ | ‘nose’ |
| /nakʰ/ | ‘fingernail, toenail’ |
| /cuk/ | ‘nail’ |
| /sukʰ/ | ‘happiness’ |

/k/ vs. /g/

| /kɔnə:/ | ‘anyone’ |
| /gonə:/ | ‘sack’ |
| /kadeː/ | ‘small stick’ |
| /gadeː/ | ‘train’ |
| /siko/ | ‘sling’ |
| /siga/ | ‘horns’ |
| /bəkɔrə/ | ‘bread (small)’ |
| /magəɾi:/ | ‘crocodile (f)’ |
| /lak/ | ‘wart’ |
| /lag/ | ‘begin (necessity)’ |
| /sak/ | ‘curry’ |
| /sag/ | ‘teak’ |

/g/ vs. /gʰ/

| /gal/ | ‘cheek’ |
| /gʰal/ | ‘put’ |
/got/  ‘word story’
/got/  ‘sip’
/dɔgɔd/  ‘stone’
/ugɔd/  ‘open’
/mɔgari:/  ‘crocodile (f)’
/mɔg’ari:/  ‘back’
/baŋ/  ‘part’
/vaŋ/  ‘tiger’

/kʰ/ vs. /h/
/kʰal/  ‘under’
/hal/  ‘torment’
/kʰun/  ‘murder’
/hun/  ‘from’
/ukʰal/  ‘lift’
/ohɔl/  ‘spring’
/akʰe/  ‘all (f.pl)’
/ahɛ/  ‘is’
/nakʰ/  ‘fingernail, toenail’
/vɔh/  ‘flow’
/sikʰ/  ‘learn’
/bih/  ‘be afraid (you sg.)’

/kʰ/ vs. /gʰ/
/kʰal/  ‘under’
/gʰal/  ‘put’
/akʰa/  ‘all (mas.sg.)’
/ągʰal/  ‘bathe’
/cąkʰ/  ‘taste’
/jąg’h/  ‘thigh’
/makʰ/  ‘cause to be muddy’
/vaŋʰ/  ‘tiger’

/h/ vs. /k/
/hal/  ‘torment’
/kal/  ‘yesterday’
/hɔdʒi:/  ‘boat’
/kadʒi:/  ‘matchstick’
/kahi:/  ‘anything’
/kaki:/  ‘mother’s sister’
/bahɔɾ/  ‘sweep’
/baŋakɔɾ/  ‘bread’
/bih/  ‘be afraid (you sg.)’
/vik/  ‘sell’
/h/ vs. /s/

/hal/ ‘torment’
/sal/ ‘bark’
/hat/ ‘hand’
/sat/ ‘seven’
/lahã/ ‘quickly’
/tasã/ ‘thus’
/sih/ ‘lion’
/pis/ ‘feather’

2.2. Vowels

/i/ vs. /i: /

/mit/ ‘solve’
/mi:t/ ‘salt’
/visu:/ ‘place between graveyard and home’
/vi:s/ ‘twenties’
/vis:a/ ‘faith’
/vi:s/ ‘twenty’

/i/ vs. /e/

/ikda:/ ‘here’
/ekala: ‘only’
/siva/ ‘a god’s name’
/seva/ ‘service’

/i:/ vs. /e/

/di:/ ‘sun, day’
/de/ ‘give’
/ti:/ ‘she’
/te/ ‘they’
/di:s/ ‘sun, day’
/des/ ‘country’

/e/ vs. /a/

/ekad/ ‘one’
/akad/ ‘short’
/cerd/ ‘four’
/car/ ‘grass’
/set/ ‘field’
/sat/ ‘seven’
/nes/ ‘wear’
/nas/ ‘destruction’
/de/ ‘give’
/da/ ‘(one) time’
/a/ vs. /o/

/adj/: ‘two and a half’
/boli/: ‘speech’

/a/ vs. /ɔ/:

/mar/: ‘die’
/moːr/: ‘peacock’
/ta/: ‘emphatic marker’
/to/: ‘he’
/maka/: ‘maize’
/noko/: ‘don’t’

/e/ vs. /ə/:

/bes/: ‘good’
/bəs/: ‘sit’
/cer/: ‘four’
/car/: ‘graze (intransitive)’
/hed/: ‘a tree’
/had/: ‘territory’
/te/: ‘they’
/ta/: ‘emphatic marker’

/ə/ vs. /a/:

/atar/: ‘scent’
/atər/: ‘spread’
/aj/: ‘hurrah (emotive)’
/aj/: ‘mother’
/dawa/: ‘medicene’
/daːca/: ‘penalty’
/man/: ‘twenty kilos’
/man/: ‘obey’
/dar/: ‘pit’
/dar/: ‘door’
/cokə/: ‘rice’
/cokə/: ‘pure’
/äba/: ‘mangos’
/äba/: ‘mango’
/kara/: ‘does’
/kəra/: ‘right’

/a/ vs. /o/:

/ala/: ‘came’
/ola/: ‘wet’
/ajun/: ‘again’
/ojum/: ‘pen’
/a/ vs. /o/:

/tʰak/ ‘lie down, lay down life/die’
/tʰɔːk/ ‘knock’
/dan/ ‘offering’
/dɔːn/ ‘two’
/ga/ ‘sing’
/go/ ‘exclamation marker’

/o/ vs. /u/:

/ohəl/ ‘spring’
/ukʰəl/ ‘lift’
/go/ ‘exclamation’
/gu/ ‘feces’

/oː/ vs. /u/:

/oːtʰun/ ‘pouring’
/utʰun/ ‘getting up’
/soːna/ ‘gold’
/suna/ ‘empty’
/toː/ ‘he’
/tu/ ‘you’

/o/ vs. /oː/:

/ohanis/ ‘elder brother’s wife’
/oɡanis/ ‘nineteen’
/odʰa/ ‘pull’
/ɔdʰa/ ‘this much’
/ɔɡə/ ‘slowly’
/ɔtʃə/ ‘bundle’
/kɔj/ ‘inner part of mango seed’
/hɔj/ ‘it happens’
/goniː/ ‘sack’
/konːiː/ ‘anyone’
/kʰoːd/ ‘shaking the cloth’
/goːd/ ‘jaggery’

/u/ vs. /uː/:

/pʰut/ ‘burst’
/pʰul/ ‘flower’
/tur/ ‘dhala’
/dutʃ/ ‘distant’
/kʰutʃ/ [kʰuɾ] ‘pluck’
/kutʃ/ [kuɾ] ‘wall’
/muː/ ‘fist’
/muːt/ ‘urine’
24

/or/ ‘breast’
/ûr/ ‘hat’
/pûr/ ‘evidence’
/pûr:û/ ‘fill (causative)

**Oral versus nasalised vowels**

/a/ vs. /ã/

/hãs/ ‘laugh’
/hãs/ ‘swan’
/rãg/ ‘angry’
/rãg/ ‘colour’

/ã/ vs. /ã/

/ag/ [ag] ‘fire’
/ãg/ [ãg] ‘body’
/ætl/ ‘dried up’
/æt/ [æt] ‘in’
/jæ/ ‘reply’
/jæb/ ‘roseapple’
/sæg/ ‘teak’
/sæg/ ‘tell’
/næg/ ‘snake’
/næg/ ‘see’
/sæt/ ‘fishing rod’
/sæt/ ‘maize stalk’
/oxd/ ‘this much’
/oxd/ ‘just like’
/j aːda/ ‘stool’
/j aːda/ ‘trees’
/paː/ ‘spanner’
/paː/ ‘leaves’

/û/ vs. /ũ/

/ubad/ [ubɔɾ] ‘close’
/ûbar/ [ũbɔɾ] ‘fig tree’
/caku/ ‘knife’
/sakũ/ ‘egg’

/uː/ vs. /ũ/ù/

/buːk/ [bʊːk] ‘hunger’
/buːk/ [bũːk:] ‘bark’

/u/ vs. /ũ/ù/

/ʊt/ [ʊt] ‘get up’
/ût/ [ũt] ‘camel’
/sutː/ ‘delivered’
/suːt/ [sũːt] ‘dry ginger’
2.3. Interpretation of homorganic nasal and plosive clusters

The homorganic nasal and plosive combinations [mp], [mb], [nt], [nd], [ndʰ], [ŋt], [ŋd], [ŋdʰ], [ŋp], [ŋd], [ŋdʰ], [ŋk], [ŋkʰ] and [ŋg] are always preceded by a nasalised vowel in Varli. (Note that [pʰ] and [tʰ] do not have pre-nasalised counterparts or sequences of homorganic nasal and plosive.) The nasal phones [ŋ], [n], [ŋ] and [ŋ] occur only preceding homorganic plosives. Sometimes the vowel nasalisation is stronger than the pre-nasalisation of the plosive. This is especially true preceding voiceless plosives. No contrasts of Źc versus ŹNC versus ŹC have been found. There are four different ways of interpreting these sequences:

- As a sequence of nasal consonant and homorganic plosive preceded by a nasal vowel, i.e. ŹNC.
- As a sequence of nasal consonant and homorganic plosive preceded by an oral vowel, i.e. ŹNC.
- As a unit, where the nasal and homorganic plosive are interpreted as a pre-nasalised plosive following a nasalised vowel, i.e. ŹNC.
- As a unit, a pre-nasalised plosive following an oral vowel, i.e. ŹNC.

Interpreting these as a sequence introduces word-final consonant clusters and word-medial three consonant clusters.

[bēmb] ‘navel’
[kōmbɾiː] ‘chicken’

Interpreting the nasal and homorganic plosive as a pre-nasalised plosive eliminates these possibilities.
However, interpreting these sequences as a pre-nasalised plosive following an oral vowel would add sixteen phonemes to the consonant inventory. Furthermore, it would be counter to native reaction. The Varli prefer to write the sequences as a nasalised vowel followed by a plosive (with no indication of nasalisation on the consonant). Note that oral and nasalised vowels contrast in Varli.

/pana/ ‘spanner’
/panâ/ ‘leaves’

Furthermore, there are oral vowels followed by a nasal consonant, as in

/temka/ ‘stick’

which eliminates the possibility of the nasal consonant causing the oral vowel to be nasalised. So, the vowel before the homorganic nasal and plosive is interpreted as a nasalised vowel.

In the previous example, the nasal is followed by a non-homorganic plosive within a single morpheme. Across morpheme boundaries, there is no assimilation of place of articulation of nasal and plosive.

/kãp\bãt\i/ ‘head scarf (covering the ears)’
/kan/ ‘ear’
/pank\obi/ [pank\obi] ‘cabbage’
/pan/ [pan] ‘leaf’

The pre-nasalised plosives are in allophonic variation with the non pre-nasalised plosives. The pre-nasalised plosives occur following a nasalised vowel and the non pre-nasalised plosives occur elsewhere.

[bɛ\b] ‘good’
[bɛ\m\b] ‘navel’
[ra\b] ‘grass plot’

Considering all the above arguments, the homorganic nasal and plosive combinations are interpreted as a unit, i.e. pre-nasalised plosive allophones of their non pre-nasalised counterparts, preceded by a nasalised vowel.

3. Distribution

There are no vowel clusters. There are word-medial consonant clusters, as seen in section 3.4. Consonant distribution in syllables is exemplified beginning with word-initial position.

3.1. Word-initial consonants

/p/ /pani:/ ‘water’
/p\b/ /p\b\adj\ka/ ‘cloth’
/b/ /b\d\b/ ‘build’
/b\b/ /b\b\ú\k/ ‘bark (v)’
/m/ /mar/ ‘beat’
/c/ /c\as\ar\u/ ‘calf’
/t/ /tap\u\v/ ‘warm up’
/t\b/ /t\b\ar/ ‘snow’
/d/ /deo/ ‘God’
/d\b/ /d\b\an/ ‘wealth’
/n/ /nag/ ‘snake’
/s/ /sek/ ‘fry’
/l/ \l̥\l̥\l̥\l̥\l̥\l̥/ ‘a vessel’
/s/ \s̥\s̥\s̥\s̥\s̥\s̥/ ‘blood’
/t/ \t̥\t̥\t̥\t̥\t̥\t̥/ ‘basket’
/t̩/ \t̩\t̩\t̩\t̩\t̩\t̩/ ‘keep’
/d/ \d̪\d̪\d̪\d̪\d̪\d̪/ ‘pig’
/t̪/ \t̪\t̪\t̪\t̪\t̪\t̪/ ‘drum (leather on both sides)’
/c/ \c̪\c̪\c̪\c̪\c̪\c̪/ ‘bite’
/j/ \j̪\j̪\j̪\j̪\j̪\j̪/ ‘eat’
/j̪/ \j̪\j̪\j̪\j̪\j̪\j̪/ ‘tree’
/k/ \k̪\k̪\k̪\k̪\k̪\k̪/ ‘who’
/k̩/ \k̩\k̩\k̩\k̩\k̩\k̩/ ‘happy’
/g/ \g̪\g̪\g̪\g̪\g̪\g̪/ ‘search’
/g̩/ \g̩\g̩\g̩\g̩\g̩\g̩/ ‘house’
/h/ \h̪\h̪\h̪\h̪\h̪\h̪/ ‘see’

All consonants except /l/ occur in word-initial position.

3.2. Word-medial consonants

/p/ \p̪\p̪\p̪\p̪\p̪\p̪/ ‘gate’
/p̩/ \p̩\p̩\p̩\p̩\p̩\p̩/ ‘noon’
/b/ \b̪\b̪\b̪\b̪\b̪\b̪/ ‘cruel’
/b̩/ \b̩\b̩\b̩\b̩\b̩\b̩/ ‘experience’
/m/ \m̪\m̪\m̪\m̪\m̪\m̪/ ‘eye matter’
/o/ \o̪\o̪\o̪\o̪\o̪\o̪/ ‘service’
/t/ \t̪\t̪\t̪\t̪\t̪\t̪/ ‘scissors’
/t̩/ \t̩\t̩\t̩\t̩\t̩\t̩/ ‘spread’
/d/ \d̪\d̪\d̪\d̪\d̪\d̪/ ‘gong’
/d̩/ \d̩\d̩\d̩\d̩\d̩\d̩/ ‘white ant’
/n/ \n̪\n̪\n̪\n̪\n̪\n̪/ ‘queen’
/s/ \s̪\s̪\s̪\s̪\s̪\s̪/ ‘forget’
/æ/ \æ̪\æ̪\æ̪\æ̪\æ̪\æ̪/ ‘alone’
/c/ \c̪\c̪\c̪\c̪\c̪\c̪/ ‘guava’
/t/ \t̪\t̪\t̪\t̪\t̪\t̪/ ‘burn’
/t̩/ \t̩\t̩\t̩\t̩\t̩\t̩/ ‘there’
/d̪/ \d̪\d̪\d̪\d̪\d̪\d̪/ ‘deep’
/d̩/ \d̩\d̩\d̩\d̩\d̩\d̩/ ‘garden’
/d̪/ \d̪\d̪\d̪\d̪\d̪\d̪/ ‘this much’
/ʌ/ \ʌ̪\ʌ̪\ʌ̪\ʌ̪\ʌ̪\ʌ̪/ ‘wife’
/c̪/ \c̪\c̪\c̪\c̪\c̪\c̪/ ‘thought, ask’
/æ̪/ \æ̪\æ̪\æ̪\æ̪\æ̪\æ̪/ ‘fresh’
/æ̪/ \æ̪\æ̪\æ̪\æ̪\æ̪\æ̪/ ‘my’
/æ̪/ \æ̪\æ̪\æ̪\æ̪\æ̪\æ̪/ ‘love (n)’
/k/ \k̪\k̪\k̪\k̪\k̪\k̪/ ‘dried fish’
/k̩/ \k̩\k̩\k̩\k̩\k̩\k̩/ ‘all’
/g/ \g̪\g̪\g̪\g̪\g̪\g̪/ ‘place’
/g̩/ \g̩\g̩\g̩\g̩\g̩\g̩/ ‘bathe’
/h/ \h̪\h̪\h̪\h̪\h̪\h̪/ ‘be afraid (you pl.)’

All consonants occur in intervocalic position.

3.3. Word-final consonants

/p/ /kap/ ‘cut’
/pʰ/ /bərapʰ/ ‘ice’
/b/ /rab/ ‘grass plot’
/m/ /kam/ ‘work’
/o/ /kalɔ/ ‘mix’
/t/ /gɔt/ ‘grass’
/d/ /sabað/ ‘word’
/dʱ/ /bâdʱ/ ‘build’
/n/ /bʱan/ ‘study’
/s/ /bas/ ‘sit’
/l/ /bod/ ‘speak’
/t/ /dɔr/ ‘distance’
/u/ /uŋ/ ‘camel’
/d/ /kəd/ ‘pound’
/dʱ/ /kadʣ/ ‘open, draw’
/l/ /dɔl/ ‘grind’
/c/ /nac/ ‘dance’
/z/ /pej/ ‘gruel’
/i/ /kaj/ ‘what’
/k/ /ek/ ‘one’
/kʱ/ /sukʱ/ ‘happiness’
/g/ /tʰɔɡ/ ‘cheat’
/gʱ/ /sɑɡʱ/ ‘thigh’
/h/ /sɨh/ ‘lion’

All consonants except /bʱ/, /tʱ/, /dʱ/ and Ḫ/ occur in word-final position. Note that /goɬ/ ‘story’ is /goɬʱ/ when followed by /iː/ ‘plural’ – /goɬʱiː/ ‘stories’. (See section 5.5 for discussion.)

3.4. Word-medial CC clusters

There is a slight vocalic transition between some consonant clusters alternating with no transition. For example: /kõːbdj/: [kõːbʱɬjː] ~ [kõːbʱɬː] ‘hen’.

3.4.1. First member of word-medial CC clusters

/p/ /tɔːpli/ ‘basket’
/b/ /abru/ ‘shame’
/bʱ/ /ubʱəjla/ ‘overflow’
/m/ /temka/ ‘stick’
/o/ /nɔrə/ ‘bridegroom’
/t/ /tiːr/ ‘Sunday’
/t/ /setkəɾiː/ ‘farmers’
/d/ /cᵃdnɪ/ ‘star’
/dʱ/ /vədʱɬa/ ‘increased’
/n/ /mansã/ ‘men’
/s/ /cesma/ ‘specks’
/s/ /esˈtʲiː/ ‘bus’
/l/ /kodɔa/ ‘coal’
/c/ /cərbiː/ ‘fat’
/c/ /k∞ɜɾiː/ ‘chair’
/t/ /tʃka/ ‘pot (small)’
/tʱ/ /uʃʰla/ ‘got up’
3.4.2. Second member of word-medial CC clusters

All consonants except /pʰ/, /tʰ/, /kʰ/ and /gʰ/ occur as the first member of word-medial CC clusters.

3.4.3. Additional examples of word-medial CC clusters

All consonants except /j/ occur as the second member of a word-medial CC cluster.

3.4.3. Additional examples of word-medial CC clusters
/pd/ /læpˈdɑː/ 'problem'
/bri/ /ʃəbriː/ 'trouble'
/bk/ /rækɔr/ 'making paddy plot'
/ml/ /kɔɾmла/ 'like'
/mc/ /kʌmʃi:/ 'spoon'
/ml/ /kəmла/ 'jaundice'
/mk/ /tɪmkiː/ 'drum'
/ct/ /sãʊta/ 'self'
/vs/ /paʊslə/ 'rainy season'
/vl/ /kɔʊlə/ 'tile'
/vr/ /kɔvriː/ 'pain'
/vc/ /kɪvca/ 'firefly'
/vd/ /pəvˈdɑː/ 'spade'
/vl/ /kəʊlə/ 'crow (n)'
/ck/ /sækɔr/ 'rich man'
/tl/ /g̪hˈetla/ 'took'
/tr/ /kʊtra/ 'dog'
/tn/ /gʊtvəˈla/ 'twisted'
/dʰa/ /g̪o̞dˈtɑː/ 'spot'
/dʰə/ /mædˈrəkər/ 'creating problems'
/nu/ /pəpənuː/ 'eyelid'
/nk/ /pæŋkəbɪ/ 'cabbage'
/sv/ /ˈɛisvəs/ 'faith'
/st/ /ˈɛʃtiː/ 'bus'
/skʰ/ /ˈvɑskʰaˌlɛ/ 'bamboo seedling'
/sk/ /mɑskiː/ 'housefly'
/tə/ /uɬˈtᵊiː/ 'ladle'
/ld/ /kəldiː/ 'yesterday'
/sl/ /koˌlə/ 'coal'
/lt/ /pəl̥tɬiː/ 'turn over'
/lk/ /ˈbɛlkəd/ 'crabs'
/lt/ /təˈhɑt/ 'palm of hand'
/rp/ /ˈtɑrpa/ 'a dance'
/rbʰ/ /kərbʰəˈriː/ 'village leader'
/rb/ /ˈɡɑrba/ 'a dance'
/rp/ /sɑrˈpɑt/ 'crawl'
/rp/ /ˈkʰurpa/ 'scrape'
/rt/ /ˈkɑrtə/ 'than'
/rdʰ/ /ˈpɑrdʰiː/ 'hunter'
/rd/ /ˈɡardɪː/ 'crowd'
/rc/ /ˈkʰarca/ 'expense'
/ʈʂ/ /ˈpaʃə/ 'people'
/rs/ /ˈkʰʊɾɔnəniː/ 'edible oil'
/rl/ /ˈhɑrla/ 'defeated'
/rdʒ/ /sɑɾdʒə/ 'lizard'
/rdʒ/ /ˈkɑrdʒiː/ 'trousers'
/rk/ /ˈmʌrkʊtʃ/ 'mosquito'
/ɐɾ/ /ˈpɔrtʃiː/ 'girl'
/ʈp/ /pʰtʰpəˈtʃiː/ 'ruler'
/ʈv/ /ˈtʃtɔiː/ 'lapwing'
/ʈʃ/ /ˈkɔtʃiː/ 'from where'
/ʈk/ /ˈloʊtka/ 'pot'
/ʈʰ/ /uʈʰla/ 'got up'
/qb/ /ˈhɑdʒbiː/ 'chin'
4. Syllables

There are four syllable types: V, CV, CVC, and VC. In each type the onset, the nucleus, and the coda may be realized by a single phoneme – a consonant in the onset or the coda, a vowel in the nucleus. The nucleus of a syllable is obligatory; the onset and the coda are optional. V and VC syllables occur word-initially only. (A full stop (.) represents a syllable break in the examples in this section.)

4.1. Syllable consisting of nucleus only

/ã.gʰəl/ ‘bath’
/a.tã/ ‘now’
/ũ.dɛ/ ‘tomorrow’
/ũ.ca/ ‘height’
/oc.dʰi:/ ‘this much’
/ō.dʰa/ ‘deep’
4.2. Syllable consisting of onset and nucleus (CV)

/pʰə.ni:/  ‘comb’
/pe.ru:/  ‘guava’
/pe.la/  ‘cup’
/pa.ni:/  ‘water’
/pa.na/  ‘spanner’
/pa.ta/  ‘bandage’
/pa.qa/  ‘hamlet’
/pa.ka/  ‘much’
/po.se/  ‘child, children’
/pa.pa.ali:/  ‘bean’
/pa.lo.li:/  ‘lizard’
/pa.ka.la/  ‘cripple’
/ku.ta.ra/  ‘dog’
/ku.da.la/  ‘mattock’
/ba.ka.qa/  ‘bench’
/ba.na.va.ti:/  ‘duplicate (adj)’
/da.da.gi.ri:/  ‘trouble’
/no.kö.ri:va.la/  ‘one who has a job’
/ba.da.la/  ‘reward (n)’

4.3. Syllable consisting of onset, nucleus, and coda (CVC)

/pa.lə.go.ta.val/  ‘sit in cross-legged position’
/dar.so.nə.kər/  ‘visit’
/p²əu.qa/  ‘spade’
/pəo.də.kə/  ‘cloth’
/pi pérdi:/  ‘bag’
/pah.na/  ‘guest’
/pa.lə.ti:/  ‘overturn’
/pa.hə.la/  ‘first’
/b²ər.vaq/  ‘shepherd’
/bel.kaq/  ‘crabs’
/mas.tar/  ‘teacher’
/vis.vas/  ‘faith’
/ham.ca/  ‘our’

4.4. Syllable consisting of nucleus and coda (VC)

/es.tə/  ‘bus’
/ap.le/  ‘we’
/ap.da/  ‘difficulty’
/aq.la/  ‘lean’
/oq.li/  ‘ripen’
/ul.ti:/  ‘vomit’
/ak.ə/  ‘eleven’

4.5. Stress

Stress is not contrastive in Varli. In disyllabic and trisyllabic words it falls on the first syllable; in four syllable words on the second syllable and in five syllable words on the first with secondary stress on the penultimate syllable.
5. Morphophonemics

5.1. Syllable reduction

When two- or three-syllable roots with final consonants are suffixed by a vowel-initial morpheme, the vowel of the root-final syllable is lost. In a few cases the root-final consonant is deleted along with the vowel, as in the case of ‘chicken’ in the examples below. This effectively reduces the number of syllables in the word.

- $\text{/bəka} + \text{-el} \rightarrow \text{boel}$
- $\text{call-\text{PERF}}$ becomes called
- $\text{sa} + \text{-i} \rightarrow \text{saki}$
- $\text{way-\text{PL}}$ becomes ways
- $\text{cad} + \text{-i} \rightarrow \text{cadri}$
- $\text{blanket-\text{PL}}$ becomes blankets
- $\text{ka} + \text{-ã} \rightarrow \text{kaã}$
- $\text{tile-\text{PL}}$ becomes tiles
- $\text{pi} + \text{-ã} \rightarrow \text{piã}$
- $\text{chicken-\text{PL}}$ becomes chickens

5.2. Epenthesis

In some words additional phonemes are epenthesised between the root and the plural suffix or within the root.

- $\text{bal + ã} \rightarrow \text{bajlã}$
- $\text{bull-\text{PL}}$ becomes bulls

When a vowel-initial morpheme is suffixed to a monosyllabic root ending in $u/ũ$ the consonant $v$ is inserted.

- $\text{ã} + \text{-ã} \rightarrow \text{vã}$
- $\text{louse-\text{PL}}$ becomes lice

5.3. Resyllabification and movement of nasalisation

When a vowel-initial morpheme is suffixed to a root ending in $u/ũ$, the final vowel becomes the consonant $v$ and the nasalization moves to the following vowel.

- $\text{sak} + \text{-ã} \rightarrow \text{sakvã}$
- $\text{egg-\text{PL}}$ becomes eggs

When the morpheme $-ũ$ is suffixed to a vowel-final root, it becomes $v$ and the nasalization moves to the preceding vowel.

- $\text{ã} + \text{-ã} \rightarrow \text{jãv}$
- $\text{go-we}$ becomes we go
- $\text{de} + \text{-ã} \rightarrow \text{dẽv}$
- $\text{give-we}$ becomes we give
ne+ -ũ → nëv take-we we take
kʰa + -ũ → kʰav eat-we we eat

5.4. Morphophonemics of pronouns

mĩː + -j³a → maʃ³a
I-POSS my
tũ + -j³a → tuʃ³a you-POSS your
tοː + -ca → teca he-POSS his
tε + -ca → tehænca they-POSS their
tumĩː + -ca → tumca you.PL-POSS yours
hamĩː + -ca → hamca we.POSS ours

Nasalisation moves from the final root syllable to word-final position when some suffixes are added.

tũ + -hú → tuhũ you.also you.also
you.PL-also you.also (plural)

hamĩː + -hú → hamihũ we.also

5.5. Underlying aspiration

The plosives /bʰ/, /tʰ/, /dʱ/ and /jʱ/ do not occur in word-final position (see 3.3.). However, when a morpheme-initial vowel follows morpheme-final /b/, /t/, /d/ and /j/ in certain stems, the consonants are aspirated. That is, those stems end in an underlyingly aspirated consonant. Compare the following pairs of examples.

/set/ [set] ‘field’ + /-aʃər/ ‘on’ → /setaʃər/ ‘on/in the field’
/hat/ ‘hand’ + /-aʃər/ ‘on’ → /hatʰaʃər/ ‘on (my) hand’
/set/ [set] ‘owner’ + /-aʃər/ ‘on’ → /setaʃər/ ‘to the owner’
/got/ ‘story’ + /-iː/ ‘plural’ → /goqʰiː/ ‘stories’

There are also alternations between some morpheme-final /d/ [t] and /dʱ/.

/med/ [med] ‘pillar (of a house)’
/medʰiːʃər/ [medʰiːʃər] ‘on the pillar’

These and other phenomena related to morpheme-final and word-final aspiration of plosives need further research.
A Sketch of Varli Grammar

0. Introduction
Varli is an SOV language with split ergativity. There is agreement in gender and number between the constituents of the noun phrase; and agreement in person, number, and gender between a noun phrase and the verb phrase.

This sketch of Varli grammar is non-formal and functional. Independent clauses are described in section 1, the noun phrase in section 2, the verb phrase in section 3, roles and case markers in section 4, pragmatically marked structures in section 5, and cohesive devices and logical relations in section 6.

1. Independent clauses
Independent clauses include stative and active types. Active clauses involve movement or change over time while the stative ones do not.

1.1. Stative clauses
Stative clauses include existential, attributive or descriptive, emotive, equative, possessive and comparative constructions. The subject is in a statant role.

In existential clauses the statement is made that a participant exists, as in (1). A locative phrase may occur to indicate that the participant exists in a certain location, as in (2–4). The verb ‘to be’ or the verb *rah*- ‘to exist’ functions as the predicate.

(1) ek təãv rəh-ə
one pond exist-3.S.PR
NP VP
There was/is a pond.

(2) ham-cã g^ãr dəhanu-ĩ ah-e
we-POSS.SN house Dahanu-DAT be-3.S.PR
NP NPLC VP
Our house is in Dahanu.

(3) ham-ce gau-ãt setkəɛi rəh-ə
we-POSS.PF village-in farmers exist-3.P.PR
NPLC NP VP
There are farmers in our village.

(4) ma-^ãhã g^ãr dôgər-aʋər ah-e
I-POSS.SN house mountain-on be-3.S.PR
NP NPLC VP
My house is on the mountain.

In attributive or descriptive clauses a quality or attribute of some participant is described. The verb ‘to be’ functions as the predicate.

(5) to: bes ah-e
he good be-3.S.PR
NP ADJ VP
He is good.

1 When the gender of a form may be masculine, feminine, or neuter (*M/F/M*) or masculine or feminine (*M/F*) it is unspecified in the morpheme-by-morpheme gloss.
Emotive clauses may be personal or impersonal. In personal emotive clauses the experiencer is the subject, as in examples (7–9). The predicate may be a verb such as ‘fear’ or the verb ‘to be’. In impersonal emotive clauses, on the other hand, the experiencer has the dative case marker -l, and the thing lacked or wanted can be considered the subject, as in (10–12).

Note that the verb agreement is with the experiencer in (7–9) and the thing lacked or wanted in (10–12). However, the experiencer in constructions such as those in (10–12) is often called the “dative subject” (see, for example, Masica 1991:346–356). One (of several) arguments for considering the experiencer to be the subject is that it occurs in first position and the basic word order in Varli is SOV.

Equative clauses identify or characterise a participant. An equative clause has topic and comment noun phrases. The verb ‘to be’ functions as predicate.
Possessive clauses are similar to existential clauses. The possessor NP may be a possessive pronoun (example 19), or a noun or pronoun with the suffix -apã/-pã ‘with, having’, as in (17–18).

In comparative clauses a comparative form, kartã ‘than’ or sarkã ‘like’, occurs. The standard usually precedes the comparative marker, as in (20) and (22). The subject may precede the standard, as in (20), but it may follow as shown in (21).

1.2. Active clauses

Active clauses include intransitive and transitive types. In intransitive clauses the action does not affect, create or move a second participant while in transitive clauses it does.

In intransitive clauses only one participant, or argument, is involved in the action, as in examples (23–25).
In semitransitive clauses there is an intransitive motion verb and a locative noun phrase occurs.

(26) mĩ:  uadj:-t  ja-n
I  garden-to  go-1.S.FU
NP  NPLC  ADJ  VP
I will go to the garden.

(27) ti:  ran-ãt  ja-j
she  forest-to  go-3.S.PR
NP  NPLC  ADJ  VP
She goes to the forest.

(28) tũ  naj-i:-l  ja-s
you  river-SF-DAT  go-2.S.PR
NP  NPLC  ADJ  VP
You go to the river.

In inchoative intransitive clauses the subject changes from one state to another. These clauses are like equative and descriptive clauses in that a participant is identified or characterised. They differ, however, in that they are dynamic rather than static and the verb jh’a ‘to become’ occurs rather than the verb ‘to be’. Compare, for example, (16) and (31).

(29) to:  pas  jh’a-la
he  passed  become-3SM.PA
NP  ADJ  ADJ  VP
He became a passed [student], i.e. he passed.

(30) to:  bes  jh’a-la
he  healed  become-3SM.PA
NP  ADJ  ADJ  VP
He was healed.

(31) to:  mast  jh’a-la
he  teacher  become-3SM.PA
NP  NP  ADJ  VP
He became a teacher.

Transitive clauses include ditransitive constructions, i.e. those with three participants. In transitive clauses with two noun phrases, the object may be marked with the dative -l if it is the intended goal of the action, as in example (33). Or it may be marked only by its position preceding the verb.

(32) to:  g’hәr  bәd’hә
he  house  build-3S.PR
NP  NPO  ADJ  VP
He builds a house.
In ditransitive clauses the recipient, i.e. indirect object, is marked with -la.

In locative transitive clauses, the location or direction is indicated by the appropriate locative marker.

1.3. Order of clause elements

The normal order of elements in a clause is SOV, as in (34); however, it may vary according to discourse factors such as givenness and topicality. In example (42) the verb occurs between the quantifier and the head noun of a phrase.
The subject normally precedes the object or recipient and follows temporal phrases as in (43a). It may precede these phrases, however, when it is more topical, as in (43b).

(43) a. ek di/uni02D0s m/uni0259g/uni0259/uni027E-a/uni02D0-ce m/uni0259n-ãt /uni028Be/uni0288 /uni028Bica/uni027E je-j
   one day crocodile-F-POSS.PF mind-in bad thinking come-3S.PR
   One day a bad thought came to Crocodile's mind.

b. mak/uni0259/uni0256 d/uni0259/uni027E/uni027Eo/uni02D0/uni025F m/uni0259g/uni0259/uni027E-a/uni02D0-l/uni0259 /uni028Be/uni0288 /uni025Fãb-ã k/uni02B0a-t-ã nãg-/uni0259
   monkey every.day crocodile-F-DAT not.good.PN roseapple-PN eat-PROG-while see-3S.PR
   Monkey every day used to see that Crocodile was eating the bad roseapples.

The object normally follows the subject and precedes the verb.

(44) me-hê kam ke-lã/k/uni0259/uni027E-l
I-AG work do-3S.PA
NP NPO VP
I worked.

(45) te-nĩ/uni02D0 k/uni0259p/uni0256/uni0259 g/uni02B0et-l/uni0259
he-AG cloth purchase-3SM.PA
NP NPO VP
He purchased cloth.

The indirect object occurs between the subject and direct object.

(46) te-nĩ/uni02D0 ma-l/uni0259 k/uni0259p/uni0256/uni0259 di/uni02D0-d/uni02B0el
he-AG I-DAT cloth give-PERF
NP NPO(INDIR) NPO(DIR) VP
He gave me cloth.

Locative and goal phrases normally occur between the object and verb.

(47) d/uni02B0/uni025Fu-nĩ/uni02D0 te-ca g/uni02B0/uni0259/uni0256e/uni026D pe/uni0288-ĩ/uni02D0t t/uni02B0e/uni028B-el ho/uni02D0-ta
Danju-AG he-POSS.SM watch box-in keep-PERF be-3SM.PA
NP NPO NPLC VP
Danju put his watch in his box.

Temporal adverbs and phrases usually precede other elements in the clause.

(48) te-ce mahahun mĩ/uni02D0 sik/uni02B0-/uni0259t ah-ũ/ah-ĩ/uni02D0
that-POSS.SF after I study-PROG be-1PR
After that I am studying.

2. The noun phrase

The noun phrase may include (in addition to a head noun) demonstratives, possessors, relative clauses, quantifiers and adjectives. Noun phrases with adjectives occur primarily in attributive rather than active clauses. Relative clauses and possessives precede quantifiers and the head noun. They do not occur with indefinite quantifiers. A pronoun may function as a noun phrase.

2.1. Simple and complex noun phrases

Noun phrases may be simple, i.e. with a single head, or complex with two or more participants listed or linked as a compound participant. Examples (49–52) are simple noun phrases.

(49) mo/uni02D0/uni0288/uni02B0-a ba
big-SM father
ADJ N
uncle (father’s elder brother)
The bolded phrases in examples (53–54) are lists of nouns and noun phrases which function as a single compound phrase. The bold italics phrase in (53) functions as an appositive to the compound phrase.

(53) tī: kaki: kaka pujuj mama baji:Vinu akhī: that aunty uncle aunty uncle sister Veenu all
    pak-ī: jon-ā ja-ja-cī: ah-ā
    many-PM people-PM go-IRR-INF be-3P.PR
    That father’s brother’s wife, father’s brother, mother’s brother’s wife, mother’s brother, sister and Veenu – many people – are about to go.

(54) kansari: himaj hirva vaghdev ham-ce
    Kansari Himay Hirva Vaghdev we-POSS.PF
    lok-ā-cī: deu-ā ah-ā
    people-PM-POSS.PN goddess-POSS be-3P.PR
    The goddesses of our people are Kansari, Himay, Hirva and Vaghdev.

Coordinate noun phrases are linked by nā, as in examples (55–57). Example (58) illustrates both lists and coordinate phrases; they are in apposition to hē ‘this’.

(55) vansi: nā Vinu hatāt ja-dāel
    Vansi and Veenu market-DAT go-PERF
    Vansi and Veenu went to the market.

(56) te bāgol-ēt majji: nā p’adār rāh-āt
    that bungalow-in sister and father be-3P.PR
    In that bungalow there are a (Catholic) sister and a (Catholic) father.

(57) tī: pośg-b-ī: nā tī: vadg’in jēv-aj bas-le
    that child-F and that grandmother eat-IRR sit-3P.PA
    That girl and her grandmother both sat to eat.

(58) hē-c b’at nagli: varī: nā jorak jorak
    this.SN-EMP rice millet grain and little little
    udjid tur cōlā: k’ursani: hamī: kaṭh-āt ahāv
    black.gram dhal beans oil.seed we take-3P.PR be.1P.PR
    We are taking from the field rice, a millet-like grain, little black gram, dhal, beans and oil seeds.

Comitative or associative phrases are marked by -haĩ ‘with’ following the accompanying noun or pronoun plus the possessive marker. The particle hū ‘also’ can occur, as in (60). Notice that the verbal agreement is with the subject only and does not include the comitative phrase.
(59) tú mā-he-harī: je-s
you I-POSS.PF-with come-2S.PR
NP NPCOM VP
You come with me.

(60) sonu nāji-l̄a ge-la te-ce-harī: te-ca
Sonu river-DAT go-3SM.PA he-POSS.PF-with he-POSS.SM
kuṭra- hū ge-la
dog also go-3SM.PA
Sonu went to the river with his dog.

(61) tú te-ce-harī: rōh-o-s
you she-POSS.PF-with be-IMP.POLITE-RESP
NP NPCOM VP
You be with her/Stay with her.

2.2. Noun phrase constituents

2.2.1. Noun classes

Noun classes include masculine, feminine and neuter nouns. Other elements in the noun phrase, as well as certain verb suffixes (see section 3.3), agree with the noun in gender and number.

There are four classes of masculine noun stems determined by the suffixes with which they occur. These classes are illustrated in table 1.

Class I consists of singular nouns ending in -a; the plural ends in -ā. Final vowel a → ē in the plural preceding a case marker.

Class II consists of nouns with no singular or plural marker. Note in table 1, however, that the singular and plural forms are different when followed by a case marker.

Class III consists of singular nouns ending in a consonant; the plural ends in -ā.

Class IV consists of singular and plural nouns ending in -ē.

Table 1. Masculine nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>With case marker (sg)</th>
<th>With case marker (pl)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class I: a final root</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mād̄-a ‘ram’</td>
<td>mād̄-e</td>
<td>-al̄/-al̄ ‘to’</td>
<td>mēd̄-e-l̄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āb-a ‘mango’</td>
<td>āb-e</td>
<td>ābe-l̄</td>
<td>ābē-l̄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class II: Not changing</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pose ‘boy’</td>
<td>pose-ā</td>
<td>pose-l̄</td>
<td>pose-l̄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gohlē ‘husband’</td>
<td>gohlē-ā</td>
<td>gohlē-l̄</td>
<td>gohlē-l̄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class III: Consonant final</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bal ‘ox’</td>
<td>bajl-ā</td>
<td>bajl-āl̄</td>
<td>bajl-āl̄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lock ‘people’</td>
<td>lock-ā</td>
<td>lock-āl̄</td>
<td>lock-āl̄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makaq ‘monkey’</td>
<td>makaq-ā</td>
<td>makaq-āl̄</td>
<td>makaq-āl̄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class IV: -i final</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dōob-i ‘washerman’</td>
<td>dōob-i</td>
<td>dōob-e-l̄</td>
<td>dōob-e-l̄</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are three classes of feminine noun stems. These classes are illustrated in table 2.

Class I consists of singular nouns ending in a consonant; the plural ends in -i/uni02D0.

Class II consists of singular nouns ending in a consonant; the plural ends in -a.

Class III consists of singular nouns ending in -i/uni02D0; the plural ends in -e.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2. Feminine nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class I: Consonant final</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaj ‘cow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goĩ ‘story’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rat ‘night’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class II: Consonant final</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cic ‘tamarind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saĩ ‘school’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class III: -i/uni02D0 final</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poğič⁻i: ‘girl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gad⁻i: ‘train’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>köbd⁻i: ‘hen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peţi: ‘box’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are two classes of neuter noun stems. These classes are illustrated in table 3.

Class I consists of singular nouns ending in -ũ; the plural ends in -ã.

Class II consists of singular nouns ending in a consonant; the plural ends in -ã.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3. Neuter nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class I: -ũ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pãk⁻ar-ũ ‘insect’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sak⁻ũ ‘egg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vasar⁻ũ ‘calf’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class II: consonant ending</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>majař ‘cat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰ⁻ul ‘flower’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gʰ⁻ar ‘house’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note that the ũ in the singular form has been resyllabified when followed by a vowel-initial suffix.

In the case of a few nouns the feminine ending -i/uni02D0 indicates small things and the masculine ending -a or Ø indicates big things, as shown in (62).

(62) Small things Big things
    camci: camca ‘spoon’
    copdį: copdĮa ‘book’
    bʰakari: bʰakar ‘rice chapati’
    roṭli: roṭla ‘wheat chapati’
    ṭoṗli: ṭoṗla ‘basket’

2.2.2. Noun derivation

Nouns may be derived from another noun, a verb, an adjective or two nouns. The following exemplify some of the derivational possibilities:
Verb + nominalising suffix

sādₘ-a  
cal-ni:  
connect-NOM  
filter-NOM  
get.down-NOM  
joint  
filter/sieve  
downward slope  
bo-i:  
cød-ti:  
speak-NOM  
climb-NOM  
language  
upward slope

Adjective + nominalising suffix

takó-t-vaₘ-a  
strong-person-M  
strong man

Nominalising prefix + noun

du-kaₘ  
sam-bōdₘ  
PRE-time  
PRE-close  
famine  
connection

Noun + general nominal/nominalising suffix

bₘ-ut-aₘ-i:  
gₘ-ār-āt-li:  
devil-NOM-SF  
house-at-NOM.F  
demon-possessed woman  
a woman from the house  
bₘ-ut-aₘ-a  
gₘ-er-āt-la  
devil-NOM-SM  
house-at-NOM.M  
demon-possessed man  
a man from the house  
cād-ni:  
pajse-vaₘ-a  
moon-NOM  
piece-NOM-M  
star  
rich man

Adjective + noun

pāram-i:swar  
great-god

Noun + noun

kam-vaₘ-a  
work-person-M  
male servant  
mate-ca-gₘ-ār  
soil-of-house  
house made of sod
2.2.3. **Personal pronouns**

Personal pronouns distinguish singular and plural in first, second and third persons. There is also a first person inclusive pronoun; first person plural is exclusive unless marked inclusive. Masculine, feminine and neuter genders are distinguished in the third person singular. The neuter plural is used for referring to a mixed group, as well as plural neuter. The personal pronoun forms are summarized in table 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>With dative/oblique markers</th>
<th>With possessive marker</th>
<th>Agentive/Ergative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I we excl.</td>
<td>mǐ: hamī:</td>
<td>ma-hama-</td>
<td>me-hē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we incl.</td>
<td>aple</td>
<td>aple-ma-</td>
<td>aple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you S</td>
<td>tū</td>
<td>tu-</td>
<td>tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you P</td>
<td>tumī:</td>
<td>tuma-</td>
<td>tuma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>to:</td>
<td>te-</td>
<td>te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she</td>
<td>tī:</td>
<td>tē</td>
<td>tē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it</td>
<td>tē</td>
<td>tē-</td>
<td>tē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they M</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>te-</td>
<td>te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they F</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>te-</td>
<td>te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they N</td>
<td>tī</td>
<td>tī-</td>
<td>tī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.4. **Demonstratives**

Demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adjectives distinguish proximal and medial degrees; they are shown in table 5. Their adverbial counterparts, i.e. deictic adverbs, distinguish proximal, medial and distal degrees. (See section 3.8.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proximal ‘this’</th>
<th>Medial ‘that’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>ho:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>hi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>hē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ho: bal
this.SM bull
hē kam
this.SN work
hi: gorf
this.SF story
tī: j’aq-ā
that.PN tree-PN
‘those trees’

---

2 Note that the first person plural verb suffixes are used to agree with both first person plural exclusive and first person plural inclusive pronouns.
2.2.5. Co-relative pronouns

Co-relative pronouns occur with medial demonstrative pronouns in a co-relative construction to specify the participants more definitely. They are listed in table 6 and illustrated in (63).

Table 6. Co-relative pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>jo:</td>
<td>je</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>jì:</td>
<td>je</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>jë</td>
<td>jì:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(63) jo: ma-la j-el to: de
what.SM I-DAT come-PERF that.SM give.IMP
Give my (share) to me/Give me that which comes to me.

2.2.6. Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns occur in content questions and are comprised of an interrogative stem and – usually – an agreement suffix. Some examples follow.

ko/uni02D0n/ko/uni02D0nĩ/uni02D0 ‘who’ If repeated, it means ‘who of many’, as in 64b. The form ko/uni02D0nĩ is ergative, as in (64c).

(64) a. ho: ko/uni02D0n ah-e
this who.M be-3S.PR
Who is he?

b. ko/uni02D0n ko/uni02D0n dōgar-alə ji-ja-ca ah-ã
who who mountain-DAT come-IRR-INF.SM be-3P.PR
Who all are coming to the mountain?

c. a/uni025F epa/uni027E ko/uni02D0n-ã/uni02D0 ke-lã
today cooking who-AG do-3N.PA
Who did the cooking today?

ko/uni02D0na ‘whom’

(65) a. ko/uni02D0na-lə vahar-lã
whom-DAT call-3SM.PA
Whom/to whom did he call?

b. ko/na-ce-harĩ: to: ji-dʰel
whom-PF-with he come-PERF
With whom did he come?

ko/uni02D0na-ca ‘whose (M)’

(66) pot ko/uni02D0na-ca
stomach who-POSS.SM
Whose stomach is it?

Note that ko/uni02D0n, ko/uni02D0na and ko/uni02D0na-ca could be analysed as the animate interrogative pronoun ko/uni02D0n with the appropriate case marker.

kaj ‘what’

(67) ran-ãt ja-n kaj kaj an-ãs
wilderness-in go-LK what what bring-2S.PR
What are the (things) you bring from the wilderness?
Other interrogatives and the gender and number suffixes which occur with them are listed in table 7; examples are given in (68) and (69). The table also gives the suffixes which occur with indefinite pronouns such as \( \text{toq}^h \) ‘however much’ (see section 2.2.7).

Table 7. Interrogatives and indefinite pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interrogative</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \text{koq}^h )</td>
<td>‘how much/how many’</td>
<td>-ak</td>
<td>-i:k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{kas} )</td>
<td>‘how’</td>
<td>-ak</td>
<td>-i:k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{koq}^h )</td>
<td>‘where from (origin)’</td>
<td>-la</td>
<td>-li:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{kq}^h )</td>
<td>‘where’</td>
<td>-ca</td>
<td>-ci:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{kac} )</td>
<td>‘which’</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{toq}^h ), etc.</td>
<td>‘however much’</td>
<td>-a/</td>
<td>-i:/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(68) \( \text{koq}^h \cdot \text{i:k} \) \text{mang:i lag:ã}
how.much-SF pay-SF begin-3.S.PR
INTER NP VP
How much pay do you need?

(69) \( \text{jimi} \) \text{kas-i:k ah-e}
land how-SF be-3.S.PR
NP VP INTER VP
How is the land?

2.2.7. Indefinite pronouns and negative pronouns

Indefinite pronouns include:

\( \text{toq}^h \) + -a ‘that much/however much’
\( \text{oxq}^h \) + -a ‘this much/however much’
\( \text{joxq}^h \) + -a/ \( \text{toq}^h \) + -a ‘co-relative’

The suffixes with which they occur are listed in the last row of table 7.

(70) \( \text{joxq}^h \cdot \text{ãk} \) \text{k3a-va:} \( \text{toq}^h \) \text{ãk} \text{g3i-jo:}
how.much-SN eat-ABIL that.much-SN take-IMP.POLITE
As much as (you) can eat, that much you should take.

The negative pronoun is \( \text{koq}^h \); it is probably derived from the interrogative but is unchanging in form (see section 5.2).

2.2.8. Modifiers

Modifiers in the noun phrase include adjectives, adjective phrases and numerals or other quantifiers. Example (71) is a compound adjective phrase in a noun phrase which functions as an exclamation. In (72) the noun is modified by a possessive pronoun and adjectives; in (73) the noun is modified by a possessive phrase, a quantifier and an adjective; in (74) the noun is modified by a quantifier phrase. Note that in (74) the repetition of the quantifier adds emphasis, as do the two semantically similar adjectives in (75).

(71) \( \text{oxq}^h \cdot \text{i} \) \text{bes na goq} \text{jab:ã}
how.much.PN good and sweet roseapple-PN
QFR ADJ CONJ ADJ NOUN
What good, sweet roseapples!
Adjectives may be derived from other adjectives or nouns by the addition of prefixes (76), or they may be derived from verbs by the addition of the perfective suffix (77), in which case they may be described as participles. Participial forms may also function as the head of the noun phrase, as in (216).

A noun may modify the head noun in a phrase, as in (78–79). The result is a compound noun, case suffixes occur on the second noun in such compounds (as in example 80) so that the two nouns are sometimes written as a single word.

Number system

Normally ordinal numbers agree with the noun in gender and number. The ordinal numbers are pahla, dusra, tisra, cavta, pacva... ‘first, second, third, fourth, fifth...’. Example phrases are shown in (81).
The cardinal numbers are *ek*, *don*, *tin*, *cer*, *pāc*,... *visa* 'one, two, three, four, five,...twenty'. In examples (82–84) combinations of numbers are shown for numbers above twenty.

(82) *tīn visa* *na ogānǐs*
three twenty and nineteen
seventy nine

(83) *ek sēbar* *na nāv*
one hundred and nine
one hundred and nine

(84) *nāv visa*
nine twenty
one hundred and eighty

### 2.3. Relative clauses

In a relative clause a participant is identified by some situation in which he or she was, is or will be involved. Relativisation can be on almost any role in the clause, as shown in examples (87–108). In co-relative constructions a co-relative pronoun and a medial demonstrative occur and function as the relative pronouns, as in examples (85–86). In other relative constructions a medial demonstrative functions as the relative pronoun (87) or there may be no relativiser, as in (88). (Compare 88 with 5–6. Note that, the verb ‘to be’ is final in equative clauses.) Note in (90) that deictic adverbs can also function as relativisers (see section 3.8). The verb in relative clauses is often the perfective form without an auxiliary, as in (89).

#### Co-relative clause

(85) \[ \text{jē} \quad \text{jʰā-lā} \quad \text{tē} \quad \text{būhū} \quad \text{veṭ} \quad \text{jʰā-lā} \]
what.SN happen-3SN.PA that.SN very bad happen-3SN.PA

cO-REL DEM ADJ ADJ

Whatever happened it was very bad.

(86) \[ \text{jo:} \quad \text{ma-la} \quad \text{j-el} \quad \text{to:} \quad \text{de} \]
what.SM I-DAT come-PERF that.SM give.IMP

What will come to me that give/give me what is coming to me/give my share to me.

#### Statant

(87) \[ \text{gʰər-āt} \quad \text{ah-e} \quad \text{tō:} \]
house-in be-3ADJ that.ADJ

NPLC VP DEM

he who is in the house

(88) \[ \text{uŋa} \quad \text{ah-e} \quad \text{tē} \quad \text{pʰu:l} \]
white be-3S.PR that.SN flower

that flower (which) is white

(89) \[ \text{rikama-dʰel} \quad \text{vaɗgʰo} \]
no.work-PERF grandfather

grandfather who has no work
Locative

(90) mĩ: paq-el teqë
I fall-PERF there
NP VP ADV
there where I had fallen

(91) to: ja-dël te gë
he go-PERF that house
NP VP DEM NP
that house to which he had gone

Possessor

(92) to: nəvsu je-lə dən pose ah-ā
that-SM Navsu him-DAT two child.M be-3P.PR
DEM NOUM NP NP VP
that Navsu who has two children

Possessed

(93) ma-që ah-e te
I-POSS,SN be-3S.PR that
POSSR VP DEM
that which is mine

(94) ma-pə ah-e ti-ga
I-with be-3S.PR that-SF cow
NPCOM VP DEM NP
that cow which is with me/the cow which I have

Comparative

(95) nəvsu-ce kərtə moqë ah-e to: pose
Navsu-POSS.PF than big-SM be-3SPR that-SM boy
NP COMP ADJ VP DEM NP
that boy who is bigger than Navsu

Actor (realised)

(96) jam-el hoc-tə te lok
gather-PERF be-3PM.PA that.pm people
VP DEM NP
the men who gathered

(97) həs-ə to:
laugh-3S.PR that-SM
VP DEM
he who laughs

Actor (unrealised)

(98) udə jɪ:-ja-ca ah-e na to:
tomorrow come-IRR-INF.SM be-3S.PR QUES that-S.M
ADV VP DEM
he who is to come tomorrow/he is the one that is coming tomorrow, isn't he?..., no?
(99) pəɾoːa aple ja-ja-cə na tə
day after we(INCL) go-IRR-INF QUES that.SN
ADV NP VP DEM
(the village) to which we will go day after tomorrow, no?

Recipient (relative clause, recipient)

(100) te poʃe-ʃə ãb-ə diː-dəel na to:
that.PF boy-DAT mango-PM give-PERF QUES that.SM
NP(REC) NP(PAT) VP DEM
(He is) the boy who was given the mangos, isn’t he?/… mangos, no?

(101) je-lə me-hə paniː an-lə toː
who-DAT I-AG water bring-3SN.PA he
NP NP NP VP PRON
he to whom I brought water

Patient

(102) me-hə her-əl toː kutr-ə
I-AG see-PERF that.SM dog-SM
NP VP DEM NP
that/the dog which I saw

Agent

(103) toː kutr-əɫə mar-ə toː
that.SM dog-SM-DAT beat-3S. that.SM
NP NP VP DEM
he who beats that dog

(104) kutr-əɫə her-əl toː bablu
dog-DAT see-PERF that.SM Bablu
NP(PAT) VP DEM NP
that Bablu who saw the dog

(105) ma-lə kōbəːjːiː diː-dəel toː sonu
I-DAT chicken-SF give-PERF that.SM Sonu
NP(REC) NP VP DEM NP
that Sonu who gave me a hen

Benefactive

(106) a. je-ce-satʰiː me-hə kam kər-əl
this-POS.SPF-for I-AG work do-PERF
NP NP NP VP
the man for whom I did the work/the man for whom I worked

b. sonu-niː ma-lə diː-liː tiː kōbəːjːiː
Sonu-AG I-DAT give-3PN that-SF chicken-SF
that hen which Sonu gave me

c. me-hə tum-ələ kapel tiː
I-AG you-DAT cut that-SF
that I cut for you
Comitative

(107) ma-ʒe-hari: a-la to:
I-PF-with come-3SM.PA that.SM
NP VP DEM
he who came with me

(108) somka-hari: ja-d'el to:
Sonka-with go-PERF that.SM
NP VP DEM
he who went along with Sonka

2.4. The genitive construction

A possessive suffix occurs on the possessor in a genitive construction. The suffixes are summarized in table 8.

Table 8. Possessive suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Possessed</th>
<th>Singular noun</th>
<th>Plural noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1, 2</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>-ja</td>
<td>-ji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Incl.</td>
<td>-la</td>
<td>-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1, 2</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>-ca</td>
<td>-ci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3*</td>
<td>S and P</td>
<td>-ca</td>
<td>-ci</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The third person suffixes occur on nouns as well as pronouns.

Genitive constructions indicate possession, source and belongingness.

(109) ma-ʒa hat
I-POSS.SM hand
POSSR POSSD
my hand

(110) ham-ce gau-ät setkari: rah-at
we-POSS.PF village-in farmers exist-3P.PR
POSSR POSSD NP VP
Farmers are in our village/There are farmers in our village.

(111) āba-cå jådå
mango-POSS.SN tree
POSSR POSSS
tree of mango/mango tree

(112) naglē-ci: b'akår
ragi-POSS.SF bread
POSSR POSSS
bread of ragi/ragi bread

(113) ma-ʒi: seva
I-POSS.SF work
POSSR POSSS
my work
2.5. Agreement in the noun phrase

There is agreement in the noun phrase between modifiers (unless they end in a consonant) and the noun head with respect to gender and number. The adjective *lal* ‘red’ is unchanging while the adjective *ta/uni025Fa* ‘fresh’ (115a) ends in a vowel which changes according to gender and number. Table 9 summarizes the agreement using *ak/uni02B0* ‘all’ as a quantifier. Examples of consonant-final adjectives and quantifiers are given in (115b and 115c). Examples (115d) and (115e) illustrate agreement between the adjective and neuter and masculine nouns, respectively.

Table 9. Agreement in the noun phrase

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Poss</th>
<th>Qfr ‘all’</th>
<th>Adj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen</td>
<td>Num</td>
<td>Proximal</td>
<td>Medial</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>ho:</td>
<td>to:</td>
<td>-j^a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>he:</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>-j^a</td>
<td>-ca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>hi:</td>
<td>ti:</td>
<td>-j^i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>he</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>-j^i</td>
<td>-ce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>hé</td>
<td>tê</td>
<td>-j^ã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>hi:</td>
<td>ti:</td>
<td>-j^ã</td>
<td>-ci:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(115) a. *ta/uni025F-ĩ/uni02D0 go/uni02D0/uni0256 go/uni02D0/uni0256 /uni025Fãb-ã* fresh-PN sweet sweet roseapple-PN

b. */uni025F/uni0259/uni027Eak bes* somewhat nice

c. *ekd/uni0259m ba/uni027Eik po/uni02D0se* very small boy

d. *ni/uni02D0/uni026D-ã mi/uni027Ecũ* green-SN chili

e. *ni/uni02D0/uni026D-ã popa†* green-SM parrot

Comments on the noun phrase

Demonstratives, relative clauses, and possessives always occur before quantifiers.

If there is an adjective in the noun phrase, an indefinite quantifier before the adjective intensifies the adjective, as in (115b).

Numerals and indefinite quantifiers like *bes, jarak, and barik* do not show agreement since they end in a consonant.

Quantifiers may appear without the noun head but are still in agreement with it.

Examples of noun phrases follow. Note that (125) is a possessive noun phrase within a possessive noun phrase, as indicated by the brackets.
(116) **Adjective and noun**

a. kal-uni026D kut/uni027E-a
   black-SM dog-SM

b. kal-i/uni02D0 kut/uni027E-i/uni02D0
   black-SF dog-SF

c. mo:t-i/uni02D0 g^h:o:gaq-i;
   big-SF leaf.umbrella-SF
   big umbrella made of leaves

d. bes goqt
   nice story.SF
   ADJ NOUN

(117) **Quantifier and noun**

ak^b-e po:rg^h-e
all-PF girl-PF
all girls

(118) **Demonstrative and noun**

he goqt^h-i:
this.PF story-PF
these stories (Note: t is unaspirated in the singular (example 116d) but aspirated in the plural.)

hi: gaq-i:
this.SF train-SF

(119) **Demonstrative, adjective and noun**

tẽ paeqel jâb
that.SN not.good roseapple.PN
That fallen roseapple.

(120) **Demonstrative, numeral, adjective and noun**

te do:n moqt^h-e po:rg^h-e
that.PF two big-PF girls-PF
DEM QFR ADJ NOUN
those two big girls

(121) **Demonstrative, quantifier, adjective and noun**

ti: ak^b-i: moqt^h-i: loq-ã
that.PN all-PN big-PN people-PN
DEM QFR ADJ NOUN
all those big people

(122) **Possessive, adjective and noun**

ma-^q’a kal-uni026D g^o:qaq-uni0259-uni0256-a
I-POSS.SM black-SM horse-SM
my black horse
(123) **Quantifier, adjective and noun**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ek} & \quad \text{bes} \quad \text{go:t} \\
\text{NUM} & \quad \text{ADJ} \quad \text{NOUN}
\end{align*}
\]

a/one nice story

(124) **Possessor, quantifier and noun**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ma-}^\text{h} & \quad \text{t}^\text{o}^\text{t} & \quad \text{a} \\
\text{I-POSS.SN} & \quad \text{some-SN} \quad \text{work}
\end{align*}
\]

POSSR QFR NOUN

some of my work

(125) **[Possessor, [possessor, quantifier, adjective and noun]**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ma-}^\text{h} & \quad \text{ba} & \quad \text{h} & \quad \text{ani} & \quad \text{ce} & \quad \text{do} & \quad \text{m} & \quad \text{h} & \quad \text{e} & \quad \text{p} & \quad \text{o} & \quad \text{r} & \quad \text{g} & \quad \text{e} \\
\text{I-POSS.PF} & \quad \text{sister-POSS.PF} & \quad \text{two} & \quad \text{big-PF} & \quad \text{girl-PF}
\end{align*}
\]

POSSR QFR ADJ NOUN

my sister's two big girls

(126) **Interrogative and noun**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kona-} & \quad \text{ca} \\
\text{who-POSS.SM} & \quad \text{child-SM}
\end{align*}
\]

whose son

(127) **Ordinal and noun**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{p} & \quad \text{h} & \quad \text{l} & \quad \text{a} \\
\text{first-SM} & \quad \text{child-SM}
\end{align*}
\]

the first boy

When the head noun has a case marker such as -l or -ät, the agreement suffix changes. In such a case, demonstratives, interrogative heads of relative clauses, possessives and quantifiers all require the plural feminine ending -ce preceding the head noun, as in (128) and (65b). The examples in (129) are without a case marker except possessive which functions differently.

(128) **ham-ce ran-ät jənəvər ah-e**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{we-POSS.PF} & \quad \text{wilderness-in} & \quad \text{snake be-3S.PR} \\
\text{POSSR} & \quad \text{NP} & \quad \text{VP}
\end{align*}
\]

In our wilderness there is a snake.

(129) a. **ham-ca ran**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{we-POSS.SM} & \quad \text{wilderness} \\
\text{our wilderness}
\end{align*}
\]

b. **rama-ci: moṭh-i: bahənəs a-li:**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Rama-POSS.PF} & \quad \text{eldest-SF} & \quad \text{sister} & \quad \text{come-3SF.PA} \\
\text{POSSR} & \quad \text{NP} & \quad \text{VP}
\end{align*}
\]

Rama's eldest sister came.

c. **ham-ce doxg:h:i: gəɾvəl:j-nh:i:-ca vicar**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{we-POSS.PF} & \quad \text{both.POSS.PF} & \quad \text{wife-PL.POSS.SM} & \quad \text{advice} \\
\text{both of our wife's advice}
\end{align*}
\]

d. **ham-ce dada-cã laʃi:n**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{we-POSS.PF} & \quad \text{brother-POSS.SN} & \quad \text{marriage} \\
\text{our brother's marriage}
\end{align*}
\]
3. The verb phrase

The head of a verb phrase is normally a verb, a compound verb or a main verb followed by an auxiliary verb. Negatives and adverbs of manner may also occur in the verb phrase.

The citation form of verbs can be the unaffixed root or stem, but the perfective form is also used as the citation form.

3.1. Verb derivation

Verbs may be derived from a noun or adjective followed by a verb root such as tēev 'keep' (example 130) or kār 'do' (131) or by a verbaliser such as -el (132).

(130) bʰorosa tēev
      NOUN keep
      trust

(131) a. vicar kār
      NOUN do
      think

b. māja kār
   love do
   love

c. vajala kār
   separation do
   separate

d. sapʰ kār
   clean do
   clean

(132) oŋ-el
      ripe-VBLR
      ripen

Some adjectives such as kʰus 'happy' may be followed by hōc- 'to be' to form a compound verb, as in (133) and (311). Note that in such cases the verb 'to be' is conjugated like a regular verb. Compare, for example, (5) and (133).

(133) māgaŋ ekdam kʰus hōc-j
    crocodile much happy be-3S.PR
    Crocodile is very happy.

Some roots can function as either a noun or a verb without a derivational suffix or additional verb root.

vīcār ‘ask’ (V), ‘thinking/thought’ (N) (cf. 131a)
maŋ ‘consider’ (V), ‘honour’ (N)
kʰel ‘play’ (V), ‘games’ (N)

3.2. Tense and Agreement

Finite verbs agree with one of the participants in the clause in person – and usually in gender and number. That is, there is a suffix in every finite verb which cross-references one of the arguments of the verb. (Person is always indicated by the verb ending but gender and number are sometimes
The suffix also indicates tense. The tense and agreement suffix varies according to whether the verb stem is consonant final (CF) or vowel final (VF).

The simple tenses are present, past and future. There are also progressive and perfective tenses formed with the verb 'to be' as auxiliary. Perfective and progressive constructions could be described as aspects but are included in this section since the perfective tenses pattern like the simple past in agreement with one of the participants. The progressive tenses pattern like the simple present and simple future in agreement.

3.2.1 Conjugation of the verb 'to be'

The conjugation of the irregular verb 'to be' is given in table 10. Note that in this verb \(t\) can be analysed as marking past tense, and \(v\) as marking future subjunctive. Since present, past and future tense markers cannot always be separated from the person markers in the conjugation of regular verbs, \(t\) and \(v\) are not isolated in the morpheme by morpheme glosses of examples with the verb 'to be'. The future of the verb 'to be' often means 'subjunctive' rather than 'future' but it is glossed as future (\(\text{fu}\)) in the examples.

### Table 10. Conjugation of the irregular verb 'to be'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>ahū/ahī</td>
<td>ahāvo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>ahes</td>
<td>ahās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>ahe</td>
<td>ahā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>hotū</td>
<td>hotū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>hotas</td>
<td>hotas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>hotīs</td>
<td>hotīs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M and F</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>hota</td>
<td>hota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>hotī:</td>
<td>hote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>hotā</td>
<td>hotī:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>hovū</td>
<td>hovū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>hovas</td>
<td>hovas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>hovīs</td>
<td>hovēs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M and F</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>hov:a</td>
<td>hov:a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>hov:i</td>
<td>hove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>hovā</td>
<td>hov:i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*A mixed group of masculine and feminine third persons has the same verb ending as that of the neuter plural in all of the conjugations of regular and irregular verbs.

3.2.2 Conjugation of other verbs

Except for past and perfective tenses (see discussion in section 3.3), verb suffixes agree with the actor/agent in the active forms and with the patient in the passive forms, i.e. the suffixes agree with the subject of both intransitive and transitive verbs. The simple present tense suffixes are listed in table 11 and those of the simple past in table 12. Examples of verbs in the present tense are given in (134) and of verbs in the simple past tense in (135).
Table 11. Conjugation of regular verbs in the simple present

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>-ō</td>
<td>-ū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>-əs</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>-ə</td>
<td>-ət</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12. Conjugation of regular verbs in the simple past

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>-li/uni02D0s</td>
<td>-li/uni02D0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>-li/uni02D0s</td>
<td>-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>-li/uni02D0s</td>
<td>-li/uni02D0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*In first person singular and plural of vowel-final roots the nasalisation moves to the preceding vowel. In first singular the consonant j follows the nasalised vowel in the present tense; in first person plural the consonant is v in both present and future tenses.

(134) a. te kər-ət
    they do-3P.PR

    b. hamĩ: kʰã-ʊ
    we eat-1P.PR

    c. mi: kʰə-j
    I eat-1S.PR

    d. tumĩ: kʰa
    you(P) eat-2P.PR

Table 12. Conjugation of regular verbs in the simple past

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>-lů</td>
<td>-lů</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>-lás</td>
<td>-lás</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>-lɔ</td>
<td>-lɔ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(135) a. to: bəs-la
    he sit-3S.M.PA
    he sat

    b. tũ bəs-ləs
    you sit-2S.M.PA
    you sat

The conjugation of regular verbs in the simple future tense is shown in table 13; examples are given in (136). (Note: the verb ‘to go’ is regular in the simple future tense.)
Table 13. Conjugation of regular verbs in the simple future

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>With CF verb roots</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>-än</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>-siː(l)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>-ãl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With VF verb roots</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>-siː(l)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>-l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(136) a. to/uni02D0 sãg-/uni0259l
he say-3S.FU
he will say

b. mĩ: ja-n
I go-1S.FU
I will go.

c. hamĩ: ja-n
we go-1P.FU
we will go

3.2.3 Progressive tenses
The progressive tenses are formed by suffixing -t (VF) or -at (CF) ‘progressive’ to the verb root. The appropriate form of the verb ‘to be’ follows as auxiliary.

(137) tě kam kɔr-at ah-ã
they work do-PROG be-3P.PR
They are working.

(138) hamĩ: ja-t hoː-tũ
we go-PROG be-1P.PA
We were going.

(139) tumĩ: ja-t hoːtũs
you.P go-PROG be-2P.FU
You will be going/You may be going.

3.2.4 Perfective tenses
The perfective tenses are formed by suffixing -dʰel/-el to the root of the main verb. This is followed by the appropriate form of the verb ‘to be’ as shown in table 14. When the person, number and gender is understood from the context the verb ‘to be’ can be omitted. Some examples follow the table. (See section 3.3 for explanation of the agreement suffixes.)
Table 14. Conjugation of verbs in the perfective tenses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Gender and Number</th>
<th>Main verb suffix</th>
<th>Auxiliary verb ‘to be’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(VF) verb root</td>
<td>(CF) verb root</td>
<td>Present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>SM, SF</td>
<td>-dᵇel -el</td>
<td>ahū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PM, PF</td>
<td>-dᵇel -el</td>
<td>ahāo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>SM</td>
<td>-dᵇel -el</td>
<td>ahēs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SF</td>
<td>-dᵇel -el</td>
<td>ahās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PM</td>
<td>-dᵇel -el</td>
<td>ahās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>-dᵇel -el</td>
<td>ahās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>-dᵇel -el</td>
<td>ahāh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>SM</td>
<td>-dᵇel -el</td>
<td>ahē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SF</td>
<td>-dᵇel -el</td>
<td>ahē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SN</td>
<td>-dᵇel -el</td>
<td>ahē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PM</td>
<td>-dᵇel -el</td>
<td>ahē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>-dᵇel -el</td>
<td>ahāh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>-dᵇel -el</td>
<td>ahāh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(140) mī: utᵇ-el ho:tū
I get.up-PERF be-1.S.PA
I have gotten up.

(141) mī: utᵇ-el ho-uū
I get.up-PERF be-1.S.FU
I might get up/I will get up.

(142) te-nī: car kap-el ho:ta
he-AG grass cut-PERF be-3.S.PA
He has cut the grass.

(143) me-hē pʰa[l]-ā kʰa-dᵇel ho-uū:
I-AG fruit-PN eat-PERF be-3PN.FU
I might have eaten the fruit/I will have eaten the fruit.

3.2.5 Infinitive

The infinitive suffixes agree with the noun in gender and number but are not marked for person. The infinitive endings are shown in table 15.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg</th>
<th>Pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>-cā</td>
<td>-cə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>-cī:</td>
<td>-ce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>-cā</td>
<td>-cī:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(144) vik-aj-ca ah-es
sell-IRR-INF.SM be-2S.PR
You are about to sell.

The infinitive forms occur primarily in imminent and possibility aspects (see section 3.6). The appropriate form of the verb ‘to be’ follows the infinitive in these constructions.
3.2.6 Vowel-final verb roots

Most verb roots have the form CVC or VC. There are, however, seven vowel-final verb roots which have somewhat different forms in some of the tenses than those presented. These verbs are:

- k'ba ‘eat’
- ja ‘go’
- je ‘come’
- de ‘give’
- g'b 'take’
- ne ‘take’
- pe ‘drink’

The conjugations are the same as those of verbs ending in consonants except the irregular forms listed below and those of the verb ja ‘go’ in the simple past, as shown in table 16.

Fusion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fusion Form</th>
<th>New Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jajaca ahũ/ahĩ</td>
<td>jajacah/ũhĩ</td>
<td>‘I am about to go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jajaca ahes</td>
<td>jajacahes</td>
<td>‘you were about to go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja + aja</td>
<td>jaja</td>
<td>‘in order to go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'ba + an</td>
<td>k'ban</td>
<td>(I) will eat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de + an</td>
<td>den</td>
<td>‘(I) will give’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Addition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Addition Form</th>
<th>New Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k'ba + jos</td>
<td>k'ba jos</td>
<td>‘eat (imp.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja + jos</td>
<td>ja jos</td>
<td>‘go (imp.)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Metathesis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metathesis Form</th>
<th>New Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ja + ajca</td>
<td>jajaca</td>
<td>‘in order to go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>je + ajca</td>
<td>jejaca</td>
<td>‘in order to come’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other changes in the verb root

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Other Form</th>
<th>New Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ja + -la</td>
<td>gela</td>
<td>‘(he) went’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe + -aja</td>
<td>pija</td>
<td>‘in order to drink’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following are the irregular third person masculine singular simple past forms of je, de, ne, pe.

- je ‘come’ — ala ‘(he) came’
- de ‘give’ — diila ‘(he) gave’
- ne ‘take’ — niila ‘(he) took’
- pe ‘drink’ — pila ‘(he) drank’

Table 16. Conjugation of ja ‘go’* in the irregular simple past

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>ge-lũ</td>
<td>ge-lũ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>ge-lũ</td>
<td>ge-lũ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>ge-lũ</td>
<td>ge-lũ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>ge-las</td>
<td>ge-las</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>ge-лин</td>
<td>ge-лин</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>ge-las</td>
<td>ge-las</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>pila</td>
<td>ge-lã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>ge-li:</td>
<td>ge-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>ge-lã</td>
<td>ge-lã</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The past tense of the transitive verb k'ar ‘do’ is conjugated like ja ‘go’, that is ke- followed by an agreement tense suffix, as shown in the table.
Auxiliary verb

The auxiliary verb *sək*- ‘to be able’ is conjugated as in table 17.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Gender-Number</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>-s̓</td>
<td>-l̓ũ</td>
<td>-ən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P</td>
<td>-ũ̓</td>
<td>-ũ̓</td>
<td>-un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>SM</td>
<td>-əs̓</td>
<td>-λ̓s̓</td>
<td>-s̓i(l)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SF</td>
<td>-əs̓</td>
<td>-l̓s̓</td>
<td>-s̓i(l)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PM</td>
<td>-a̓</td>
<td>-λ̓s̓</td>
<td>-s̓a(l)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>-a̓</td>
<td>-λ̓s̓</td>
<td>-s̓a(l)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>-a̓</td>
<td>-λ̓s̓</td>
<td>-s̓a(l)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>SM</td>
<td>-ə̓</td>
<td>-λ̓a</td>
<td>-ə̓l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SF</td>
<td>-ə̓</td>
<td>-l̓i̓</td>
<td>-ə̓l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SN</td>
<td>-ə̓</td>
<td>-l̓a</td>
<td>-ə̓l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PM</td>
<td>-ať̓</td>
<td>-l̓a</td>
<td>-thi(l)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>-ať̓</td>
<td>-l̓e</td>
<td>-thi(l)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>-ať̓</td>
<td>-l̓i</td>
<td>-thi(l)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3. Agreement with the noun phrase

There is agreement within the clause with respect to person, gender and number between a noun phrase and the verb phrase. In stative and intransitive clauses, verb agreement is between the subject and the verb (see also section 3.2). Table 18 summarizes the third person suffixes of the head of the noun phrase and of the verb phrase (only the vowel of each suffix is shown) when the noun is, for example, *āba* ‘mango’ (M), *gadũ* ‘train’ (F), *pākũrũ* ‘insect’ (N). The example in (145) shows agreement between the subject and the verb in the past progressive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender-Number</th>
<th>NP</th>
<th>VP-past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SM</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SF</td>
<td>-i:</td>
<td>-i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SN</td>
<td>-ē</td>
<td>-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PM</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PN</td>
<td>-i:</td>
<td>-i:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(145) a. to: *ja-t* *ho:ta*

he go-PROG be-3SM.PA

He was going.

b. *tũ* *ra-at* *ho:ti:*

they.M/F cry-PROG be-3PN.PA

They were crying.

In transitive clauses in the simple past and perfective tenses the agreement is between the object and the verb and the subject NP is marked by *-nũ/-hũ* ‘agent (ergative)’ or the ergative form of the pronoun. In other tenses agreement is with the subject. Compare for example, present and past constructions in (146) and (147), respectively.
Table 19. Agreement between the object and the verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agent</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>NP</th>
<th>VP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rama-nĩː</td>
<td>SM ţiːpla ‘big basket’</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rama-nĩː</td>
<td>SF ţiːpli: ‘small basket’</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rama-nĩː</td>
<td>SN vasaŕū ‘calf’</td>
<td>-ū</td>
<td>-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rama-nĩː</td>
<td>PM ţiːplo ‘big baskets’</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rama-nĩː</td>
<td>PF ţiːple ‘small baskets’</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rama-nĩː</td>
<td>PN vasaŕā ‘calves’</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>-ī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 The verb kã ‘do’ is irregular; the form of the root is usually ke in the past tense.
This is true also for the reflexive in the past tense since the reflexive pronoun padar is suffixed by -la.

(154) te-nǐ: padar-la-c kap-lā
he-AG self-DAT-EMP cut-3SN.PA
He cut himself.

(155) me-hē padar-la kap-lā
I-AG self-DAT cut-3SN.PA
I cut myself.

(156) te-nǐ: padar-la nahī: kap-lā
he-AG self-DAT not cut-3SN.PA
He did not cut himself.

Personal pronouns function as patient only if they are marked with -la; the verb, then, always has the third person singular neuter suffix.

3.4. Causative verbs

Causative verbs are formed by suffixation or changes in the form of the verb root. The forms of the causative are listed below.

Causative suffixes

The causative suffix -av occurs after consonants; -av occurs after vowels, as shown in (157).

(157) peṭ, ‘set fire’ peṭ-av ‘cause to set fire’
kʰa ‘eat’ kʰa-av ‘cause to eat’
sik ‘study’ sik-av ‘cause to study’

(158) Vansi-nǐ: posē-la kʰe]-av-lā
Vansi-AG boy-DAT play-CAUS-3SM.PA
NP NP
Vansi made the boy play.

(159) lo̱kā-hī: ran-āt pet-av-li;
people-AG forest-in fire set.fire-CAUS-3PN.PA
NP NPLC NP
People set the fire in the forest.

(160) guruji-nǐ: posē-lā bes sik-av-lā
teacher-AG boy-DAT nicely study-CAUS-PERF
The teacher caused the student to study well/
The teacher taught the student well.

Changes in the form of the verb root include:

av becomes a:

(161) paḍ ‘fall’ paḍ ‘cause to fall, drop’
utar ‘get down’ utar ‘cause to get down, take down’

(162) mī: mā-jʰā kal[ī] paḍ-un de-n
I I-POSS.SF liver fall.CAUS-LK give-1S.FU
I will cause my liver to fall and will give (it to you)/
I will drop my liver down (to you).
\( t \) becomes \( d \):

(163) \( \text{p}^h \text{at} \) ‘tear’ \( \text{p}^h \text{ad} \) ‘cause to tear, tear (transitive)’

(164) \( \text{te-}n\text{i} \: \text{kagоd} \: \text{p}^h \text{ad-} \text{un} \: \text{tak-la} \)
he paper tear.CAUS-LK to.be-3SM.PA
He tore the paper out.

\( u \) becomes \( o \) and \( t \) becomes \( d \):

(165) \( \text{p}^h \text{ut} \) ‘burst’ \( \text{p}^h \text{oxd} \) ‘cause to burst/break’

(166) \( \text{u} \text{tka} \: \text{p}^h \text{oxd-la} \)
saucer burst.CAUS-3SM.PA
(He) caused the saucer to break./He broke the saucer.

The verb root changes and a causative suffix is added:

(167) \( \text{pe} \) ‘drink’ \( \text{pa} \text{ju} \) ‘cause to drink’

(168) \( \text{te-}n\text{i} \: \text{te-la} \: \text{caha} \: \text{pa} \text{ju-li} \)
she-AG he-DAT tea drink.CAUS-3SF.PA
She caused him to drink tea.

**Indirect causatives**

The indirect causative is formed by a causative suffix followed by a future tense marker, as shown in (171) in contrast with the direct causative in (170).

(169) \( \text{mи} \: \text{k}^h \text{el-} \text{at} \: \text{ah-} \text{у}/\text{ahи} \)
I play-PROG be-1S.PR
I am playing.

(170) \( \text{mи} \: \text{k}^h \text{el-} \text{u-} \text{at} \: \text{ah-e} \)
I play-CAUS-PROG be-3S.PR
I make (him) play.

(171) \( \text{mи} \: \text{k}^h \text{el-} \text{u-} \text{an} \)
I play-CAUS-1S.FU
I make someone else make (him) play.

Some non-causative and causative forms are summarised in table 20. Columns 1 and 2 are progressive forms without the auxiliary verb, and column 3 is first person singular future.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stative/intransitive</th>
<th>Causative</th>
<th>Indirect causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bih-\text{at} ‘afraid’</td>
<td>bih-\text{at}</td>
<td>bih-\text{an}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k\text{h}el-\text{at} ‘play’</td>
<td>k\text{h}el-\text{at}</td>
<td>k\text{h}el-\text{an}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niж-\text{at} ‘sleep’</td>
<td>niж-\text{at}</td>
<td>niж-\text{an}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k\text{h}а-\text{t} ‘eat’</td>
<td>k\text{h}а-\text{at}</td>
<td>k\text{h}а-\text{an}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.5. Passive voice

Present, future and progressive tenses, and inchoative, abilitative and contrary-to-fact modes or aspects can have passive forms. An explicit agent cannot be referred to in the clause. The passive suffix \(-\text{a}/\text{a}-\) occurs before the tense or modal suffix. Agreement is with the subject (patient).

The patient, which becomes the subject, is unmarked and can only be third person. Personal pronouns cannot function as patients without being marked with \(-\text{a}\) so they do not occur in passive constructions. Not all verbs have passive forms, but verbs like ‘give’, ‘do’, ‘bring’, ‘cut’ do have. (See
3.6.8 (examples 196–197) for inchoative passive forms, (200) for an obligation/necessity passive form. See (212–214) for abilitative impersonal passives. Examples of contrary-to-fact passives are given in (428–430).

(172) tel diː-ːˌtə
    oil give-PAS-3S.PR
    NP  VP
    The oil is being given.

(173) tel diː-ːˌtə  ho-ːva
    oil give-PAS-PROG be-3SM.FU
    NP  VP
    The oil will be given.

(174) ham-ːal kɔːbdːiː diː-ːˌlə
    us-DAT chicken-F give-PAS-3S.FU
    NP(REC) NP  VP
    A hen will be given to us.

(175) ham-ːal tel diː-ːˌtə  ho-ːva
    us-DAT oil give-PAS-PROG be-3SM.FU
    Oil may be given for us/Oil will be given to us.

The past and perfective tenses can function as a passive, i.e. the agent is unnamed but the form is active as in (176).

(176) maːlə  ámbə di-ːdəl ah-ː
    I-DAT mango give-PERF be-3SM.PA
    (Someone) gave the mango to me/I was given the mango.

Passive forms are summarized in table 21. The past and perfective forms are for the verb ‘to give.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Num-Gen</th>
<th>Patient</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Pr.prog</th>
<th>Pa.prog</th>
<th>Fu.prog</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SM</td>
<td>ámbə ‘mango’</td>
<td>-jə</td>
<td>-jəl</td>
<td>-jət ahe</td>
<td>-jət hoːta</td>
<td>-jət hoːva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SF</td>
<td>kɔːbdːiː ‘hen’</td>
<td>-jə</td>
<td>-jəl</td>
<td>-jət ahe</td>
<td>-jət hoːtːiː</td>
<td>-jət hoːvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SN</td>
<td>pʰuːl ‘flower’</td>
<td>-jə</td>
<td>-jəl</td>
<td>-jət ahe</td>
<td>-jət hoːtə</td>
<td>-jət hoːvə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PM</td>
<td>ámbə</td>
<td>-jət</td>
<td>-jətʰiːl</td>
<td>-jət ahə</td>
<td>-jət hoːtə</td>
<td>-jət hoːvə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF</td>
<td>kɔːbdːe</td>
<td>-jət</td>
<td>-jətʰiːl</td>
<td>-jət ahə</td>
<td>-jət hoːtːe</td>
<td>-jət hoːve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PN</td>
<td>pʰuːlə</td>
<td>-jət</td>
<td>-jətʰiːl</td>
<td>-jət ahə</td>
<td>-jət hoːtːiː</td>
<td>-jət hoːvːi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Num-Gen</th>
<th>Contrary-to-fact</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Pr.perf</th>
<th>Pa.perf</th>
<th>Fu.perf</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SM</td>
<td>-jə-ːtə</td>
<td>diːla</td>
<td>diːdʰel ahe</td>
<td>diːdʰel hoːta</td>
<td>diːdʰel hoːva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SF</td>
<td>-jə-ːtːiː</td>
<td>diːli</td>
<td>diːdʰel ahe</td>
<td>diːdʰel hoːtːiː</td>
<td>diːdʰel hoːvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SN</td>
<td>-jə-ːtː ā</td>
<td>diːlːa</td>
<td>diːdʰel ahe</td>
<td>diːdʰel hoːtə</td>
<td>diːdʰel hoːvə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PM</td>
<td>-jə-ːtə</td>
<td>diːla</td>
<td>diːdʰel ahə</td>
<td>diːdʰel hoːtə</td>
<td>diːdʰel hoːvə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF</td>
<td>-jə-ːtᵉ</td>
<td>diːle</td>
<td>diːdʰel ahə</td>
<td>diːdʰel hoːtːe</td>
<td>diːdʰel hoːve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PN</td>
<td>-jə-ːtʰiː</td>
<td>diːli</td>
<td>diːdʰel ahə</td>
<td>diːdʰel hoːtːiː</td>
<td>diːdʰel hoːvi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.6. Aspect and mode

Aspects and modes distinguished in Varli include imminent, inceptive, continuative, durative, possibility, habitual, inchoative, obligation or necessity, abilitative and contrary-to-fact. Several of them are formed with an auxiliary verb following the main verb stem and an appropriate suffix.

3.6.1 Irrealis

The irrealis suffix -aj (after CF) or -ja (after VF) occurs in imminent, inceptive, obligation or necessity, purposive and desiderative constructions. The irrealis suffix always occurs on the main verb which is followed by an auxiliary.

3.6.2 Imminent

In the imminent aspect the action is about to begin. The irrealis suffix and the infinitive marker follow the main verb root. The auxiliary verb ‘to be’ occurs after the main verb.

(177) tũ VOKE vik-aj-ca ah-es you millet sell-IRR-INF-SM be-2S.PR
     You are about to sell millet.

(178) ho g̱ar vik-aj-cã ho:-ta this house sell-IRR-INF-SN be-3SN.PA
     This house was about to sell.

(179) pani: pãq-aj-ca ah-e water fall-IRR-INF be-3S.PR
     The rain is about to come.

Imminent forms are summarized in table 22.

Table 22. Imminent forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Gender-Number</th>
<th>Inf. suffix</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>SM</td>
<td>-ca</td>
<td>ahũi/ahũ</td>
<td>hotũ</td>
<td>hovũ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SF</td>
<td>-ci:</td>
<td>ahũi/ahũ</td>
<td>hotũ</td>
<td>hovũ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PM</td>
<td>-cə</td>
<td>ahã</td>
<td>hotũ</td>
<td>hovũ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>-ce</td>
<td>ahã</td>
<td>hotũ</td>
<td>hovũ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PM&amp;F</td>
<td>-cĩ:</td>
<td>ahã</td>
<td>hotũ</td>
<td>hovũ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>SM</td>
<td>-ca</td>
<td>ahes</td>
<td>hotas</td>
<td>hovas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SF</td>
<td>-ci:</td>
<td>ahes</td>
<td>hotis</td>
<td>hovis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PM</td>
<td>-cə</td>
<td>ahãs</td>
<td>hotas</td>
<td>hovas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>-ce</td>
<td>ahãs</td>
<td>hotes</td>
<td>hoves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PM&amp;F</td>
<td>-cĩ:</td>
<td>ahãs</td>
<td>hotis</td>
<td>hovis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>SM</td>
<td>-ca</td>
<td>ahe</td>
<td>hota</td>
<td>hova</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SF</td>
<td>-ci:</td>
<td>ahe</td>
<td>hoti:</td>
<td>hovi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SN</td>
<td>-cã</td>
<td>ahe</td>
<td>hotã</td>
<td>hovã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PM</td>
<td>-cã</td>
<td>ahã</td>
<td>hotã</td>
<td>hovã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>-ce</td>
<td>ahã</td>
<td>hote</td>
<td>hove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>-cĩ:</td>
<td>ahã</td>
<td>hotĩ:</td>
<td>hovĩ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The gloss ‘irrealis’ is not ideal but fits as well as any other in most of the constructions in which it occurs. In another dialect the irrealis suffix is -je.
3.6.3 Inceptive

In the inceptive aspect the action has just begun. The irrealis suffix follows the main verb root. The auxiliary verb is ɗadj ‘begin’.

(180) kap-aj ɗadj-la
      cut-IRR begin-3M.PA
      (He) began to cut.

(181) ɗadj-li: vad-b-aj ɗadj-li:
      church grow-IRR begin-3PN.PA
      The church began to grow.

3.6.4 Continuative

The continuative aspect marker is -jã following the verb root. The auxiliary is ɗar ‘to do’. The continuative aspect and progressive tenses differ not only in form (they have different auxiliaries) but also in that the progressive refers to an action in progress while the continuative is more of an unceasing or iterative action.

(182) lok tum-al ɗer-jã ɗar-at
      people you-DAT see-CON do-3P.PR
      People keep on seeing you.

(183) to: ɗa-a-jã ɗar-a
      he eat-CON do-3S.PR
      He keeps on eating.

(184) pani: je-jã ɗar-a
      water come-CON do-3S.PR
      The rain is coming.

3.6.5 Durative

The durative aspect is formed by reduplication of the verb root suffixed by -un ‘link’ or -ta ‘durative’. In (185–186) the durative occurs in an adverbial reduced clause which modifies the main verb.

(185) bol-un bol-un to: ɗa-ta
      speak-LK speak-LK he tire-3SM.PA
      By speaking and speaking he became tired/he tired.

(186) ja-ta ja-ta ja-ta te-la lag-la cik-b-al
      go-DUR go-DUR go-DUR that-DAT begin-3S mud
      While going and going and going, he got muddy.

3.6.6 Possibility

The possibility mode is formed with the subjunctive/future of the auxiliary verb ‘to be’ following the main verb. Note that the main verb can have a tense-agreement suffix (187), or it may be suffixed by the irrealis and infinitive markers (188).

(187) to: ge-la ho-c-a
      he go-3SM.PA be-3SM.FU
      He might have gone.

(188) to: ji-ja-ca ho-c-a
      he come-IRR-INF.SM be-3SM.FU
      He may come.
3.6.7 Habitual

The habitual aspect is reinforced by a temporal word such as *dinaj* ‘everyday’. The tense may be present, as in (189); past, as in (190–192) or future, as in (193). Although the habitual is not marked in the verb, we have included it here to give a more complete picture of aspect-like structures. Example (304) is a habitual construction without a temporal adverb.

(189) *makad* darroj *taj-ĩ*: *taj-ĩ*: *pik-el* jāb-ā *kʰa-j*

monkey daily fresh-PN fresh-PN ripen-PERF roseapple-PN eat-3S.PRT

Monkey eats really freshly ripened roseapples every day.

(190) *dinaj* to: bājarār-la *ja-j*
every.day he market-DAT go-3S.PA

He went to the bazaar every day.

(191) mī: *dinaj-ce* ganā sāg-ôt hoc-tū
I every.day-POSS song sing-PROG be-1PA

I used to sing a song every day.

(192) hamī: *dinaj-ce* bʰakar *kʰa-t* hoc-tū
we every.day-POSS bread eat-PROG be-1PA

We used to eat bread every day.

(193) hamī: roq hūd-ū
we every.day wander-1P.FUT

We will go wandering every day.

3.6.8 Inchoative

The inchoative, in which there is a simple change from one state to another, is formed with the verb *jʰa* ‘become’ (see examples 29–31). There are also forms in which something else (unspecified) causes the change. Active forms are made by adding *-vaj/-aj* ‘impersonal’ before the tense suffix, as in (194–195). In passive (or middle) forms the verb root is suffixed by *-an* ‘inchoative’ and followed by the auxiliary verb ‘go’, as in (196–197).

(194) to: rāg-vaj-la
he angry-IMPER-3SM.PA

He became angry (because of what someone did).

(195) tētʰo ja-vaj-lā
there go-IMPER-3SN.PA

There (we could) go/we became able to go (because of what someone did).

(196) baldi: bʰər-an ge-li:
bucket fill-INCH go-3SF.PA

The bucket became filled.

(197) dep-an ge-la
press-INCH go-3SM.PA

(it) became pressed (by itself).

3.6.9 Obligation/necessity

Obligation/Necessity is expressed by necessitative clauses which may be personal or impersonal. The irrealis suffix *-aj/-ja* occurs in the main verb of personal clauses; the verb ‘to be’ is the auxiliary, as in (198). In the active impersonal a third person form of the auxiliary verb *lag* ‘begin’ occurs as in (199–202). The forms of *lag* are shown in table 23.
Table 23. Forms of lag in obligation/necessity constructions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>lag-ə</td>
<td>lag-la, -li, -lā</td>
<td>lag-əl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>lag-ət</td>
<td>lag-li, -le, -li</td>
<td>lag-təːl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(198) mĩː dōgər-ala jə-ja ah-ũ/ah-ũː I mountain-to go-IRR be-1.S.PR
I must go to the mountain.

(199) ma-la dahanu-la jə-ja lag-ə
I-DAT Dahanu-to go-IRR begin-3.S.PR
It is necessary for me to go to Dahanu.

(200) tu-lə kapə-ə di-ja lag-ət
you-DAT cloth-PM give-IRR begin-3.P.PR
The cloth should be given to you (by me).

(201) ham-ala bəl di-ja lag-ə
us-DAT bull give-IRR begin-S.PR
It is necessary to give us the bull.

(202) ma-la tu-lə kapə-ə di-ja lag-ət
I-DAT you-DAT cloth give-IRR begin-3.S.PR
(I) want/need to give you the cloth/It is necessary for me to give the cloth to you.

The main verb in impersonal forms may be emphasised, as in (203).

(203) ek pajəli: majuri: di-ja-c lag-əl
one measure cooli give-IRR-EMP begin-3.S.FU
A measure of cooli (payment for a day’s work) must be given/A measure of cooli will be given.

In another kind of personal necessitative construction the irrealis suffix is followed by the auxiliary verb pajə ‘must’.

(204) te-lə bes nokari: mil-aj pajə
he-DAT good job get-IRR must-3.S.PR
He must get a good job.

(205) ham-ala ek baṭli: daru mil-aj pajə
we-to one bottle arrack get-IRR must-3.S.PR
We must get a bottle of arrack.

3.6.10 Desiderative

In desiderative constructions the irrealis suffix is followed by the auxiliary verb lag ‘begin’ in the future tense.

(206) ram-ala he gəː r vik-aj lag-əl
Rama-DAT this house sell-IRR begin-3.S.FU
Rama wants to sell this house.

(207) ham-ala bəːt kap-aj lag-əl
we-DAT paddy cut-IRR begin-3.S.FU
We want to cut the paddy/It is necessary to cut the rice for us.
3.6.11 Abilitative

In active forms the abilitative indicates the ability or capability of the subject to perform the action. The abilitative suffix -al/-val occurs in active verbs and there is no agreement marker in the verb (see examples 208 and 209). Or it may be formed with the durative suffix -tā on the main verb followed by the auxiliary ‘to come’, as in (210). The passive is formed with the impersonal suffix -vaj/-aj, as in (211–213). In the past tense the impersonal marker may be followed by a tense-agreement marker, as in (214). See also the abilitative constructions with sēk ‘able in (245–246).

(208) tu-lə kər-al
   you-DAT do-ABIL
   You can do.

(209) kʰa-val
   eat-ABIL
   (You) can eat.

(210) tu-lə bōl-tā je-j
   you-DAT speak-DUR come-3S.PR
   You can speak.

(211) əsā sāg-aj
   thus say-IMPER
   (It) can be said/told like this.

(212) əsā ja-vaj
   thus go-IMPER
   One can go this way/thus.

(213) soŋka-la kʰa-vaj
   Sonka-DAT eat-IMPER
   Sonka can eat/ (It) can be eaten by Sonka.

(214) kʰa-vaj-la
   eat-IMPER-3SM.PA
   It was eaten (by someone).

3.7 Negation in the verb phrase

The negative marker nahi: normally precedes the verb, as in (215). When it follows the main verb, negation is emphasized, as in (216). (See also section 5.3.)

(215) hamĩ: nahi: kʰuq-el ho-tā
   we.AG not pluck-PERF be-3S.N.PA
   We have not plucked.

(216) komĩ: sīkʰ-el nahi: ho-ta
   no.one learn-PERF not be-3SM.PA
   There is not even one learned/educated person.

Examples follow of negation in various tenses, aspects or modes.

Simple present

(217) to: nahi: sāg-ə
   he not tell-3S.PR
   He won’t tell.
(218) to: ja-j nahī:
he go-3s.PR not
He won't go.

Equative
(219) to: nahī: ah-e
he not be-3s.PR
He is not (there).
(220) ma-lə bərocsa nahī:
I-DAT hope not
I do not have hope.

Simple past
(221) ti: nahī: a-li:
she not come-3sf.pa
She did not come.
(222) hamī: di-lā nahī:
we.ag give-3sn.pa not
We never gave/We did not give (it).

Simple future
(223) tumī: nahī: ja-sal
you(p) not go-2p.fu
You will not go.
(224) to: jokb-al nahī:
he weigh-3s will not
He will not weigh.

Progressive
(225) to: nahī: pe-t ho:ta
he not drink-prog be.3sm.pa
He was not drinking.

Imminent
(226) tumī: nahī: kəa-ja-cī:
you not eat-IRR-INF.sf
You are not about to eat.
(227) tumī: ja-ja-cī: nahī:
you go-IRR-INF.sf not
You are not about to go.

Obligation
(228) pani: nahī: pəq-aj pajj-ə
water not fall-IRR must-3s.PR
Water must not fall.
(229) miḷ-aj nahī: pajj-ə
get-IRR not must-3s.PR
He must not get (it).
**Emphasis**

(230) a. tũ ji-d\(b\)el-uc nahĩ: na
   you come-PERF-EMP not QUES
   You did not come, no?

   b. tũ nahĩ: ji-d\(b\)el-uc kaj
   you not come-PERF-EMP what
   Have you not come?

**Yes/No Question**

(231) to: nahĩ: je-l kaj
   he not come-3S.FU INTER
   Will he not come?

(232) to: je-l kaj nahĩ:
   he come-3S.FU INTER not
   Will he come or not?

**Interrogative**

(233) a. kase nahĩ: a-la
   why not come-3SM.PA
   Why didn’t he come?

   b. kase a-la nahĩ:
   why come-3SM.PA not
   Why did he not come?

**Command**

(234) a. duk\(b\) nahĩ: de-s
   pain not give-2S.PR
   Don’t give pain.

   b. nahĩ: duk\(b\) de-s
   not pain give-2S.PR
   Don’t give pain.

**Abilitative**

(235) ma-l\(a\) nahĩ: ja-\(c\)
   I-DAT not go-ABIL
   I can’t go.

(236) nahĩ: ma-l\(a\) ja-\(c\)?
   not I-DAT go-ABIL
   Am I not able to go?

3.8. **Adverbial modifiers in the verb phrase**

Adverbs normally precede the verbs they modify (examples 237–238) and may be repeated for emphasis, as in (239). Onomatopoetic forms also function as adverbs, as in (240).

(237) pê\(d\)\(a\) kami: je-j
   straw less come-3S.PR
   NP ADV.QFR VP
   There is/will be little straw (because it didn’t grow well).
He cried a lot.

Do (the work) very slowly (when it’s hard work).

Come quickly!

The fox went by running tad tad.

Always (he) murmurs thus pit, pit, pit.

Deictic adverbs, the counterparts of demonstrative pronouns, distinguish three degrees of distance. They are shown in table 24.

Table 24. Deictic adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proximal</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Distal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>etₐ-a ‘here’</td>
<td>tetₐ-a ‘there’</td>
<td>te tetₐ-a ‘away over there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikadₐ ‘here’</td>
<td>tikaₐ-d ‘there’</td>
<td>(te: [rising intonation] tetₐ-a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ena ‘this side’</td>
<td>tena ‘that side’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikaq-un ‘by/from this’</td>
<td>tikaq-un ‘by that/from there’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The people are here.

(You) sit there.

The bull is in the very far distance.

She came from there.
Other adverbs include locative and temporal words and phrases. Some temporal adverbs are listed below.

**Temporal adverbs**

**Past**

- pohle vakat ‘ancient time’
- ekdis ‘one day’
- ekda ‘one time’
- pordis ‘last year’
- tervacedis ‘4 days ago’
- arvacedis ‘3 days ago’
- parvacedis ‘2 days ago’
- kaldis ‘yesterday’
- ratdis ‘last night’
- niirta ‘a little while ago’

**Present**

- a ‘today’
- ata ‘now’

**Future**

- gadek ‘a little later’
- ekadis ‘some day’
- dusre varis ‘next year’
- tera ‘after 4 days’
- arva ‘after 3 days’
- parva ‘after 2 days’
- sakal ‘morning’
- ud ‘tomorrow’
- magahun ‘later’

3.9. **Complex verb phrase**

Two or more verbs may be linked together with -un or -n. Complex phrases with auxiliaries give various aspectual/modal meanings, for example, abilitative as in (245–246). Compare the abilitative constructions in 3.6.

(245) nag kahi: kar-un nahi: sak-o
    snake anything do-LK not able-3S.PR
    Snake cannot do anything.

(246) sati: anad mil-un sak-o
    peace happy get-LK able-3S.PR
    (We) can have peace and joy.

There are many compound verbs in which two verbs combine to make one verb, either having the same meaning or a completely different meaning of one of the verbs.

Forms with the same meaning of the first verb but emphasis or completeness added are given in (247).

(247) a. tev-un de
    keep-LK give
    keep
b. de-n tak
give-LK take
give

c. visər-un ja
forget-LK go
forget completely

A form with completely different meanings of both verbs is exemplified in (248).

(248) soxə-un de
loosen-LK give
leave

In (249) both verbs keep their separate meaning.

(249) a. kaqʰ-un tʰəv
take-LK keep
take and keep

b. gʰe-n ja
take-LK go
take and go

In (250) the meaning of the first verb is restricted.

(250) her-un kaqʰ
see-LK take.out
find out thoroughly

Reduced clauses (see section 6.2.1) may function as verb modifiers, as in (251).

(251) a. ti po:rgʰ-i: kʰa-t ge-li:
that girl-SF eat-PROG go-3SF.PA
The girl went along eating.

b. to: kʰe]-ɑt kʰe]-ɑt ge-la
he play-PROG play-PROG go-3SM.PA
He went along playing around.

4. Roles and case markers of participants

Nuclear roles are those required to be present (at least implicitly) in a given clause type. The number of participants or arguments in a clause is increased in causative (see section 3.4) and benefactive constructions. The number is reduced in reflexive, reciprocal, and passive constructions.

4.1 Reflexive and reciprocal

In the reflexive construction one participant has two roles: agent/actor and patient/recipient. The reflexive with agent and patient roles is formed by using the reflexive pronoun padar plus -lə. Notice that the construction is ergative and that (252) does not differ in form from the transitive clause in (263), i.e. the number of participants is not reduced except semantically when the same participant is agent and patient.

(252) te-ni: padar-lə mar-un ṭak-la
he-AG self-DAT kill-LK take-3SM.PA
VP
He killed himself/he committed suicide.
A reflexive recipient is always marked with the benefactive \(-e\text{-sa}^h\) or \(-ce\text{-sa}^h\) and not with \(-la\). The non-ergative form of \(mi\) in (253) shows that the number of participants is reduced when the subject (actor) and recipient refer to the same participant.

(253) \(mi\): \(ma\text{-}e\text{-sa}^h\): an-el
I me-POSS-for bring-PERF
NP NP VP
I brought (it) for myself.

(254) \(tumi\): \(tum\text{-ce-sa}^h\): noko: \(j\text{og-a}\)
you you-POSS-for NEGIMP live-2P.PR
Don’t live for yourselves (alone).

In the reciprocal construction there are two or more participants each of which is both the subject and the object. One of the noun phrases is \(ek\ dusre\-la\) ‘one another’. Again, in the perfect (as in 255) the ergative construction shows that the number of participants is not reduced except semantically.

(255) \(te\text{-hi}\): \(ek\ dusre\-la\) ku\text{-}t-el
they-AG one another-DAT beat-PERF
They beat one another.

(256) \(ek\ dusre\-la\) man-aj lag-\(a\)
one another-DAT obey-IRR begin-3S.PR
We need to listen to one another.

4.2. Nuclear roles

In the following paragraphs, the nuclear roles are discussed.

Statant: The statant occurs in stative clauses. The verb (usually ‘to be’) agrees with it in person, number and gender in the same way that the verb of an intransitive clause agrees with the subject. The statant is not marked.

(257) \(vansi\): \(ta\) bes po\text{-}rg\(a\)-i: ah-e
Vansi EMP nice girl-SF be-3S.PR
NP(STA) NP VP
Vansi is a nice girl.

Actor: The actor is the subject of intransitive clauses. The actor is not marked.

(258) \(poe\) kam-al\(a\) ja-\(j\)
child-SN work-DAT go-3S.PR
NP(AC) NP VP
The child goes to work.

Experiencer: The experiencer occurs in emotive stative clauses and in some inchoative clauses. The experiencer is the subject and agrees with the verb if another participant is present, that is, in personal emotive constructions, as in (259). It is marked by \(-la\) if another participant is not present, that is in impersonal constructions, as in (260). (See also examples 10–12, in which the experiencer is marked by \(-la\).

(259) \(ti\): \(sapa\-la\) bih-\(a\)
she snake-DAT fear-3S.PR
NP(EXP) NP VP
She fears snakes.
(260) sonka-la bih-vaj
Sonka-DAT fear-IMPER
NP(EXP) VP
Sonka becomes afraid/feels afraid (something caused him to be afraid).

Agent: The agent is the participant affecting another in transitive clauses. It is marked with -nĩ/-hĩ/-ĩ: or is an agentive personal pronoun (example 261) with transitive verbs in the simple past and the perfective tenses, i.e. in ergative constructions. Compare, for example, vansi: in sentences (262) and (263).

(261) me-hē ek āba kep-la
I-AG one mango-M cut-SM.PA
NP(AG) NP(PAT) VP
I cut one mango.

(262) vansi: pani: an-ā
Vansi water bring-3S.PR
NP(AG) NP
Vansi brings water.

(263) vansi-nĩ: posē-lā kē-le-ν-lā
Vansi-AG child-DAT play-CAUS-3SN.PA
NP(AG) NP(PAT) VP
Vansi made the child play.

Patient: the patient is the participant that is affected by the action of the verb. The patient is marked with -l/uni0259 if it is the intended goal of the action.

(264) kādī-nĩ: gaj-lā dēr-lē
tiger-AG cow-DAT catch-PERF
NP(AG) NP(PAT) VP
The tiger caught the cow.

(265) to: cor-a-lā kuṭ-ā
he thief-SM-DAT beat-3S.PR
NP(AG) NP(PAT) VP
He beats the thief.

Recipient: the recipient is the participant that receives something. It occurs in ditransitive clauses and is marked with -la.

(266) a. to: posē-lā bākār de-j
he child.P-DAT bread give-3S.PR
NP(AG) NP(REC) NP(PAT) VP
He gives bread to children.

b. te-lā des
him-DAT give.IMP
Give (it) to him.

Locative: The allative and locative suffixes -la/-al ‘to, towards, dative’, -ē ‘to’, -āt/-ā ‘to’ (267) and -var ‘on’ occur with the noun phrase in semitransitive clauses and in location or direction transitive clauses to mark the goal or location of the action. Note that -la may occur on patient (268–269), recipient (270), locative (274), and experiencer (271–272) noun phrases. It indicates that the participant is the intended goal or end point of an action. Specific inanimates and animate participants are commonly – but not always – marked with -la. In a ditransitive clause only one participant can be marked by -la.
He went (to) that village.

Catch the snake.

Vansi lifts him.

He gives me water.

The masala seems hot for Sonka.

The bread seems too sweet for Sonka.

In (273) j'adj is not marked with -la although it is a specific big tree (and therefore masculine). On the other hand, in (274) dōgor is marked with -la since it is specific and also the goal of the action, although it is inanimate.

Cut this tree.

Come to the mountain.

4.3 Non-nuclear roles

Non-nuclear roles are optional and always have a case marker. They include instrument, directional, locative and benefactive roles.

Instrument: The instrument phrase is marked with -kɔl.

She is washing the house with cow dung.

The cow butts with its horns.

Write with (your) hand.
**Benefactive:** The benefactive, that is the person or things benefitted by the action, is marked by -sa\text{hi}.

(278) mĩ: vānsi-sa\text{hi}: cok\text{hə} dē-j
I Vansi-for rice give-1S.PR
NP NP(BEN) NP(PAT) VP
I give rice for Vansi.

(279) ti: ma-\text{y}e-sa\text{hi}: ĕuvən bənu-ə
she I-POSS.PF-for food make-3S.PR
She makes/cooks food for me.

(280) te-nĩ: ham-ce-sa\text{hi}: cok\text{hə} rā-d\text{hə}el
she-AG we-POSS.PF-for rice cook-PERF
NP NP(BEN) NP(PAT) VP
She cooked rice for us.

(281) rama-nĩ: te-ce bahānis-sa\text{hi}: kō:bq-i: kap-el
Rama-AG he-POSS.PF sister-for hen-SF cut-PERF
NP(AG) NP(BEN) NP(PAT) VP
Rama cut the hen for his sister.

The benefactive may also occur in stative clauses, as in (282).

(282) so\text{n}ka-sa\text{hi}: l\text{h}ali-t ĕuvən ah-e
Sonka-for plate-in food be-3S.PR
(There) is food in the plate for Sonka.

There is also an equative construction of stative verbs such as lag 'begin' in which the role of the noun phrase marked by -l is experiencer although it can be translated as a benefactive, as in (271).

### 4.4. Summary of roles and case markers

The case, or role markers, described thus far are summarized in table 25.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case marker</th>
<th>Null Ø</th>
<th>-nĩ/-hĩ/-t ‘agentive’</th>
<th>-la/-alə ‘dative’</th>
<th>-k\text{h}əl</th>
<th>-sa\text{hi}:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Role</td>
<td>Statant</td>
<td>Agent in ergative constructions</td>
<td>Recipient Patient</td>
<td>Instrument</td>
<td>Benefactive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Actor</td>
<td>Agent in non-ergative Patient</td>
<td>Locative (direction/goal) Experiencer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of the most frequently occurring directional and locative suffixes and postpositions, as well as other roles and case markers are summarized in table 26.
Table 26. Some directional and locative suffixes and postpositions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix/Postpos.</th>
<th>Use/Comments</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ĩ/uni02D0 ‘to’</td>
<td>a specific place</td>
<td>.Expressions-ĩ/uni02D0  ‘to specific place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ãt/-t* ‘inside, into, in’</td>
<td>any place</td>
<td>To: IFICATIONS-ãt/uni02D0  ‘he house to go’ 3SM.PA  ‘He went into the house.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-e ‘in’</td>
<td>to a specific place/person</td>
<td>.Expressions-e  ‘in any place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-la ‘to’</td>
<td>to a specific place/person</td>
<td>.Expressions-la  ‘Silvassa to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hun/-un ‘from’</td>
<td>from any place</td>
<td>To: IFICATIONS-hun/uni02D0  ‘he house to come’ 3SM.PA  ‘He came from the house.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-værhun/ -aværhun ‘from above’</td>
<td>from above</td>
<td>Jâdq-værhun  ‘tree above from’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pásun ‘away from’</td>
<td>from speaker</td>
<td>Ma-pásun  ‘me from’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ãřun ‘out of’</td>
<td>from out of the place</td>
<td>To IFICATIONS-ãřun  ‘he house out of drag’ 1K  ‘He drags (her) out from the house.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ce kadl towards</td>
<td>Chikli-ce kadl  ‘Chikli towards’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ce ‘to’</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>Lekis-ce  ‘daughter (house) to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ce/-ace samur near a person/place</td>
<td>Dev-ace samur  ‘near to God’s presence’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ce magahun after that</td>
<td>Te-ce magahun  ‘after that’  (especially in narrative)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ce patři: after a person</td>
<td>Te-ce patři-variants  ‘after him’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ce meralα near objects</td>
<td>Naj-ce meralα  ‘near the river’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ce buj down</td>
<td>Tēbāl-ce buj  ‘under the table’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
-ce pʰirtʰun | around the person | te-ce pʰirtʰun ‘around him’
-ce baher | out | gʰar-CE baher ‘outside of the house’
-ce ât | inside | vaqiti-CE ât ‘inside of the garden’
-ce puqʰã | before | te-ce puqʰã ‘before that’
-ce vêgat | near | te-ce vêgat ‘near him’
-vaʔ/-aʔar | ‘on top of, on, to’ | gaqiti-vaʔ ‘cart’
-dogar-avar | ‘on the mountain’
-auˈru:j- sal-vaʔ jɑ-j teacher school-to go-3pr ‘the teacher goes to school’
-kʰal/-akʰal | under, by | jʰaqi-akʰal ‘under the tree’
-hatʰ-akʰal ‘by hand’
-asû | near a person/place | dar-asû ‘near the tree’
-pasï | with some person | tü-pasï ‘with you’
-pâ/-apâ | owned by some person. with, having | ma-pâ ‘I have/owned by me’

*The underlying form of this suffix is -ât, but after a vowel-final morpheme it nasalises the vowel and â is deleted. For example taʔi: ‘small pond’ plus -ât → taʔtä ‘in the small pond’.

4.5. Vocative

The vocative is another set of nominal suffixes. A vocative marker occurs on nouns in direct address. The suffixes are: -a ‘masculine singular’, -i ‘feminine singular’, -Ø ‘neuter singular’.

(283) posē kase tũ rãd-ìs
child.voc.sn why you cry-2s.pr
Child, why are you crying?

(284) makãq-ã makãq-ã tũ roj oqì:i:
monkey-voc.sm monkey-voc.sm you daily this.much
bes na god jãb-ã kʰa-s
well then sweet roseapple-pn eat-2s.pr
Monkey, Monkey, you daily are eating good and sweet roseapples.

(285) makãq-ì: tũ ma-lã pãrat gʰe-n jã
crocodile-voc.sf you I-dat again take-lk go.imp
Crocodile, take me back.
4.6. Other nominal suffixes and particles

Other nominal suffixes and particles are listed in table 27.

Table 27. Other suffixes and particles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix/Post</th>
<th>Use/Comments</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Similitative</td>
<td>like</td>
<td>cakar-ce jasã ‘like the servant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ce jasã</td>
<td>like</td>
<td>bahas-ce sãrkñä ‘like his father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ce sãrkñä</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-oqñã</td>
<td>just like</td>
<td>cãd-oqñã ‘just like moon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporal</td>
<td>for days of week/ for division of day</td>
<td>sukvar-i: ‘on Friday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i ‘on, in’</td>
<td></td>
<td>rat-i ‘in the night’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a/-sa</td>
<td>for the year</td>
<td>gele vãr-sa ‘last year – in last year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dñor</td>
<td>still</td>
<td>atññ-dññor ‘still now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>with, -harñã</td>
<td>aji ti: te-ce harñã: jej today she he-F OS.PF with come-3S.PR Today she comes with him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ce harñã: /harñã</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sometimes written as postposition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative</td>
<td>than</td>
<td>te-ce kortã nilesh barik ah-e he-to than Neelesh small be-3S.PR Neelesh is smaller than he (Mahesh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ce kortã</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Pragmatically marked structures

Statements, i.e. declarative speech acts, may be pragmatically marked for emphasis and negation. Non-declarative speech acts include questions and commands. Exclamations or emotive expressions are also described in this section.

5.1. Emphasis

Statements are expressed by declarative clauses, which are amply exemplified throughout this document. They may be marked to indicate emphasis, uncertainty or negation.

Emphasis on a participant indicates that it was this particular participant and no other and is marked by the emphatic -t or -c/-ñc.

(286) vanita-lô mic kñjju-el Vanita-DAT I-EMP irritate-PERF I only irritated Vanita.

(287) toc-c de-j na toc-c ne-j he-EMP give-3S.PR and he-EMP take-3S.PR He only gives and he only takes.
(288) mĩ-ta te-ci: cakãri: kar-ã
I-EMP she-POSS.SF work do-1S.PR
I only do her work/I am the only one who does her work.

The actor can also be emphasised by adding pãdar ‘self’.

(289) to: pãdar/pãdaruc ja-âel
he self go-PERF
He himself went.

The emphatic to is used in general conversations and narrations.

(290) dur to ah-e
far EMP be-3.S.PR
It is way far.

(291) gãar to bes ah-e
house EMP nice be-3.S.PR
The house is very nice.

Emphasis on a situation is marked by -uc. The auxiliary verb with the appropriate tense and agreement marker is often omitted, as in the following examples.

(292) teni: ma-lã di-dâel uc nahã:
he me-DAT give-PERF-EMP not
He really did not give me (joy).

(293) vadãhã in-ci piṭ piṭ cal-uc
grandmother-POSS.PF murmur murmur go.on-EMP
Grandmother is murmuring (about someone).

Emphasis may vary with the gender of the hearer: re is used for a masculine hearer and vo for a feminine hearer.

(294) kaj vo: tũ ja-s
what EMP(F) you go-2.S.PR
What? you are going!

(295) kaj vo: ge-la
what EMP(F) go-3.M.PA
What? [he] went!

(296) ma-yãe laḍk-e diṅkãra je re
I-POSS.SM beloved-M son come.IMP EMP(M)
My beloved son, come!

(297) nahã: re nahã:
no EMP(M) no
No!

5.2. Uncertainty

Uncertainty of reference is marked by adding ekhãdeval before the participant, as in (298).

(298) ekhãdeval to: aj je-l
perhaps he today come-3S.FU
Perhaps he will come today.
Uncertainty of a situation is marked by adding $ek^badeval-ac$ before the verb.

(299) mĩ: $ek^badeval-ac$ ja-n
    I perhaps-EMP go-1S.FU
    I may go.

5.3. Negation

Negation is indicated by the negativiser $nahĩ$ before the verb, as in (217), or between the main verb and the auxiliary (300). To emphasise the negation, the negativiser follows the verb, as in (302). The negative pronoun occurs along with $nahĩ$ if the noun phrase is negativised, as in (300) and (302).

(300) kɔnĩ: sik$^b$-el $nahĩ$: hoc-ta
    no.one learn-PERF not be-3SM.PA
    No one was learned/educated.

(301) hamĩ: pan-ã $nahĩ$: k$^b$u$^c$-el ah-ã
    we(AG) leaf-P not pluck-PERF be-3P.PR
    We have not plucked the leaves.

(302) kɔnã: kahĩ: di-lã $nahĩ$: 
    no.one anything give-3SM.PA not
    No one gave anything at all.

    When the verb is emphasised also, the negativiser comes after the verb which is suffixed by $-uc$ ‘emphasis’.

(303) mĩ: ja-d$^b$el-uc $nahĩ$: 
    I go-PERF-EMP not
    I did not go.

    In the habitual aspect the negativiser comes before or after the verb; the verb is always in the simple present tense.

(304) possẽ dud $nahĩ$: pe-t
    child milk not drink-3P.PR
    Children do not drink milk.

    In relative and co-relative clauses the negativiser is $nahĩ$.

(305) jo: manus $nahĩ$: a-la te-lã bodu-a
    which man not come-3SM.PA he-DAT call-2P.PR
    Call the man who did not come.

(306) je kɔnã: $nahĩ$: k$^b$a-lã te-lã di-jà
    who who not eat-3SM.PA he-DAT give-IMP
    Give [the food] to whomever has not eaten.

    In reduced clauses $b$$^g$$^a$$^r$ ‘without’ occurs after the reduced verb (without an auxiliary) which is suffixed with $-aj/-ja$ ‘irrealis’.

(307) jev-aj $b$$^g$$^a$$^r$ to: a-la
    eat-IRR without he come-3SM.PA
    Not having eaten he came/He came without eating.

(308) raju karpã $b^b$$^a$$^r$-aj $b$$^g$$^a$$^r$ a-la
    Raju dress wear-IRR without come-3SM.PA
    Not wearing a dress Raju came.

    See (215–236) for additional examples of negation.
5.4. Questions

An interrogative pronoun, adjective or adverb – such as kaj ‘what’ (309), kāj ‘when’ (311), kọ́t̩-ca ‘from where’ (313), kọ́t̩-un ‘from where’ (314), kọ́t̩-la ‘where’ (315), kọ́sa ‘in which’, kasıvər ‘in which’ (317), kas-ak ‘how’ (319), or kọ́t̩-ə ‘where’ (312) – occurs in content or wh-questions. (See also section 2.2.6.)

(309) ran-āt ja-n kaj kaj an-ās
wilderness-in go-LK what what bring-2.S.PR
What will you bring from the wilderness?

(310) te:-lə kọ́t̩-ə g̣e-n ge-li:
she-DAT where bring-LK go-3.PA
Where did they bring her?

(311) seti:-cā kam kōj ca:lu ho:
field-POSS.SN work when start be.3SG.FU
When will the field work start?

(312) te-lə kọ́t̩-ə g̣e-n ge-li
she-DAT where bring-LK go-3.PA
Where did they bring her?

(313) kọ́t̩-ca du:d mil-əl
where-from(SM) milk get-3.S.FU
From where will one get milk?

(314) to: kọ́t̩-un a-la
he where-from come-3SM.PA
Where did he come from?

(315) to: kọ́t̩-la ho:ta
he where-off(SM) be.3SM.PA
Where is he from?

(316) tum-ci: gaj kac-i: ah-e
you-POSS.SF cow which-SF be-3.S.PR
Which is your cow?

(317) kasevər bas-el
in.which sit-PERF
In which did you sit?

(318) kọ́d-ak vej de-si:
how.much(SM) interest give-2.S.FU
How much interest will you give?

(319) to: kəs-ak ḳe-lət ah-e
he how play-PROG be-3.S.PR
How is he playing?

(320) kəs-ak karun pa]-si:
How manner grow-2.S.FU
How will you grow?


(321) to: kaciə́də ja-ḍe:l
he which.place go-PERF
Which place did he go to?
(322) kācen ge-li:
which.(direction) go-3P.PA
Which direction did they go?

(323) gaḍi: kaciḍ̣un je-l
train which.direction come-3S.FU
From which direction will the train come?

(324) kase tū a-las
why you come-2SM.PA
Why did you come?

(325) kaselō tū ja-s
why you go-2S.PR
Why are you going?

(326) kase saṭ̣i: a-las
why for come-2SM.PA
Why did you come?/For what purpose did (you) come?

Polar or Yes-No questions are marked either by the clause-final question word kaj (examples 327a and b) or by rising intonation (328). Tag questions are marked by the particle na, as in (329).

(327) a. bes ah-e kaj⁵
well be-3S.PR INTER
Are (you) well?

b. ma-la daḳa-si: kaj
I-DAT show-2S.FU INTER
Will you show me?

(328) cal-si:
walk-2S.FU[rising intonation]
Will you walk?

(329) tū ji-ja-ci: hoc-tis na
you come-IRR-INF.SF be-3SF.PA TAG
You were about to come, weren’t you?

5.5. Commands

Commands include direct and indirect commands, hortatory (first person) sentences, prohibitions and admonitions. Agreement with the subject noun phrase is often null (Ø) in the singular of direct commands to persons of the same age. The plural is -a.

Direct (Now, immediate)

(330) tū nac
you(sg) dance.IMP
Dance!

(331) tumī: ḳar-a
you(pl) do-2P.PR
Do it (you pl)!

Polite requests or a command to be carried out later are formed by verb plus -jə: ‘polite singular’ or -ja ‘polite plural’. The optional s is a mark of respect.

This idiomatic expression always has the form ahe of the verb ‘to be’. 
Indirect commands or jussive constructions ('let') use de from the root di: ‘give’.

First person declarative

(334) mĩ: têv-ô
I keep-1.S.PR
I keep it.

First person indirect command

(335) ma-lâ têv-ô de
I-DAT keep-1.S.PR give
Let me keep it.

Second person declarative

(336) tu-lâ nōkari: mîl-ô
you-DAT job get-3.S.FU
You will get a good job/Get a good job.

Second person indirect command

(337) tu-lâ mîl-ô de
you-DAT get-2.S.PR give
Let you receive it/Receive it.

Third person indirect command

(338) te-lô sāg-ô de
he-DAT say-3.S.PR give
Let him say.

The first person plural hortative is the same in form as the second person plural imperative.

(339) ca-lô
go-2P.PR
Let us go/You (pl) may go.

Prohibitions are formed with the prohibitive or negative imperative noko: before or after the verb.

(340) noko: têv-ô
NEG.IMP keep-IMP.POLITE
Do not keep (it).

(341) b'ajî: k'aj-ô
sauce eat-IMP.POLITE.RESP NEG.IMP
Do not eat sauce.

(342) sâmaj-ô
understand-IMP.POLITE.RESP NEG.IMP
Do not understand.

(343) dêv noko:
give.IMP NEG.IMP
Do not give it.
Cessative commands are formed with the negative imperative noko: and the simple present tense verb, as in (345–346). Or the verb may be the imperative form, i.e. unaffixed stem, as in (344).

(344) kajja noko:
    fight.IMP NEG.IMP
Stop fighting.

(345) avaj noko: kar-a
    noise NEG.IMP do-2P.PR
Stop making noise.

(346) ja-s noko:
    go-2S.PR NEG.IMP
Stop going.

Admonitions usually conclude with the emphatic to and bes ‘good’.

(347) tü nahi: ja-s to bes
    you not go-2S.PR EMP good
It will be good if you don’t go/
It would be better for you not to go.

(348) mi: nahi: ja-n to bes
    I not go-1S.FU EMP good
It will be good if I won’t go (there)/
It would be good if I didn’t go (there).

5.6. Exclamations

Exclamations or emotive expressions may occur in statements. They include the following:

ajage: indicates that a person will be in pain.

(349) ajage: por-a-la koq¡-ak lag-el ah-e
    ayayay child-DAT how.much-SM begin-PERF be-3S.PR
A yayay (Oh my)! how much the boy is wounded?

are indicates surprise.

(350) are a-las kaj
    my.goodness come-2SM.PA what
My goodness! did you really come?

arera indicates a person is in trouble.

(351) arera buhù vet j¡a-là
    oh.dear very bad become-3SN.PA
Oh dear! it became very bad.

va indicates a person is happy.

(352) va bes j¡a-là vaansi-ca jara ge-la
    va good become-3SN.PA Vansi-POSS.3M fever go-3SM.PA
Wow! she’s healed. Vansi’s fever cooled/went down.

bapre indicates surprise in a time of fear.

(353) bapre koq¡-ak moq¡-a janaʊar
    ooh how.much-SM big-SM snake
Ooh! how big the snake is!/Ooh! the snake is huge!
The expression *ho* is used when people say goodbye.

(354) j-aj ja ho:  
go-IRR go okay  
Goodbye!

The hesitation words are *mən* and *vaj*. The expression for ‘yes’ is *hã*.

(355) mī kər-ən vaj  
I do-2S.FU huh  
I will do (it)...huh, huh...

(356) tu mən jesi?  
you huh come.2S.FU  
Will you come? (lit. you...huh...will come)

### 6. Cohesive devices

Cohesive devices in Varli which are discussed here are: anaphoric reference, embedding and linking of clauses.

#### 6.1. Anaphoric reference

Previously identified participants are referred to anaphorically by pronouns and demonstratives, as in (357) and by verbal agreement suffixes or cross-reference, as in (360–362).

(357) he bāgalī:t maği: na pʰadər rəh-at tī:  
this bungalow-in sister and father exist-3PL.PR they  
aple lok-ā-lā bes kər-at tī: pose  
our(INCL) people-PM-DAT well do-3P.PR they child.M  
pərɡʰ-e-lā nāg-at  
child-F-DAT see-3.PR  
In this bungalow there are a Catholic father and sister. They do good for our people. They care for the boys and girls.

In (357) once the father and sister are introduced they are definite participants. When they are referred to again the demonstrative or third person plural pronoun *tī* is used. Similarly in (358) the participants have already been named and are referred to by a third person plural pronoun. A pronoun is also used in (359) for the second reference to God.

(358) te dogʰ-e hīd-aj ge-lā  
they both wander-IRR go-3PM.PA  
They both went to wander around.

(359) pərməsər de-j na toː-c ne-j  
God give-3S.PR and he-EMP take-3S.PR  
God gives and he takes away.

(360) toː teʃʰ-a ge-lā na dar-əsī: ubʰ-a rəh-lə  
he there go-3SM.PA and door-near stand exist-3SM.PA  
He went there and stood near the door.

(361) pərɡʰ-i: ran-āt hīd-liː na hət-liː  
child-F jungle-in wander-3SF.PA and tire-3SF.PA  
A girl wandered in the jungle and got tired.

(362) goːt sāg-ət hoː-tiː  
story tell-PROG be-3SF.PA  
She was telling the story.
There may also be zero reference to a participant. In (363), for example, ‘we’ is understood from
the context but there is no explicit reference at all.

(363) pah-li: jaga bes nag-un, dagad vē-un tak-un,
first place well till-LK stone take.out-LK put-LK
pan-ã pāsar-vun, gāvat tak-un, sãrkã ḱar-un,
leaf-PN spread-LK straw put-LK level do-LK
mai: tak-un peṭ-u-aj-ca
soil put-LK burn-CAUS-IRR-INF(IMMIN)
First (we) till the land well, removing the stones, spreading the leaves and putting the straw
around; (after) leveling and putting the soil (on the leaves), (we) are ready to burn (them)
up.

Demonstratives also contribute to cohesion and indicate definiteness of reference. Participants
already referred to may be represented by a noun phrase with a demonstrative at the beginning of
the clause, as is the case with the second occurrences of telav ‘pond’ and jābi: ‘roseapple’ in the
following example.

(364) ek tala rāh-ã te tala-ce kāt-a-āgar ek
one pond exist-3S.PR that pond-POS.PF shore-on one
jābi-cā jādã rāh-ã te jābi-ce
roseapple-POS.PF tree exist-3S.PR that roseapple-POS.PF
jād-āgar ek makad rāh-ã na tal-ētle
tree-on one monkey exist-3S.PR and pond-inside
panē-t ek mōt-b-a māgar rāh-ã
water-in one big-SF crocodile exist-3S.PR
There is a pond. On that pond’s shore there is a roseapple tree. In that roseapple tree there
was a monkey and in that pond’s water there is a big crocodile.

6.2. Embedding

Embedding one clause in another is also a cohesive device. In simple embedding an independent
clause functions as a constituent within another, usually as complement of a verb such as ‘see’ or
‘think’. The embedded clause may be complete, as in (366), or the auxiliary verb may be omitted in
the otherwise complete clause, as in (365).

(365) makad daraj māgar-a-lā pâqel
monkey every.day crocodile-F-DAT not.good
jāb-ã kāt-a-ā nāg-ã
roseapple-PN eat-PROG-while see-3S.PR
Every day Monkey sees Crocodile eating the fallen roseapples.

(366) te-lā āsā aṭv-u-ā kāj makad-aca kāliq
he-DAT thus think-3S.PR that monkey-POS.M liver
to koṭ-i-āk goq ho-vā
that how.much-SN sweet be-3S.FU
He is thinking that monkey’s liver must be really sweet.

An embedded clause functioning as the verbal complement may be marked by ta ‘that’. In (367)
the clause ‘that Sonu had climbed’ is the complement of ‘saw’.

(367) sonu var caq-el to me-hē her-el
Sonu on climb-PERF that I-AG see-PERF
I saw that Sonu had climbed [the tree].
When relative clauses are embedded, the relativiser is always a demonstrative pronoun, as in (368), or adverbial demonstrative. Note that embedded full clauses functioning as nominals always occur in the beginning of another clause.

(368) kutar-eni: ji: b’akar me-hē k’a-ja g’i:d’el ti: teni: k’i:l:i:
dog-AG which bread I-AG eat take-PERF that that eat-3SF.PA
The bread that I had taken to eat was eaten by the dog.

6.2.1. Reduced clauses

Nominal clauses

Nominal clauses such as purpose, necessity or obligation, and desiderative are marked by -aj/-ja ‘irrealis’ and function as complements. The subject is not repeated in the complement clause.

In purposive embedding, the irrealis suffix is followed by a verb such as ja ‘go’.

(369) mĩ: tu-la nāg-aj je-n
I you-DAT see-IRR go-1S.FU
I will go to see you.

(370) kvecda k’h’-ja jā-v
karvanda eat-IRR go-1P.FU
We will go to eat karvanda (fruit).

Fully reduced nominals function as any other noun.

(371) d’obi: a-la
washerman come-3SM.PA
The man who washes clothes came/The washerman came.

6.2.2. Speech Embedding

Direct speech

In direct speech a full clause may be embedded in another. The speech is introduced by the speech introducer sāg ‘he/she says’ in its simple present form after the speaker is named and precedes the speech itself, as in (372). Or after the speech, a concluder such as asā karun sāglā can occur, as in (373).

(372) magar makoal-a sāg-ā kaj cāl ma-jhe
crocodile monkey-DAT tell-3S.PR that go.IMP I-POSS.PF
pat’h:i-var bās
back-on sit.IMP
Crocodile said to Monkey, “Come and sit on my back.”

(373) hamī: kon-al-a pān ek sābād sāg-ū nahi: asā
we who-DAT even one word say-1P.FU not thus
kar-ūn te-l’a mē-he sāg-lā
do-LK he-DAT I-AG tell-3S.PA
“We won’t say even one word,” thus I told him.

A word such as asā ‘thus’ occurs after reported direct speech, as in (374–375).

(374) ti: a-lī: asā te-nē sāg-lā
she come-3SF.PA thus he-AG tell-3S.PA
“She came,” thus he said/He said that she came.
We went," thus it was told/Someone said that we had gone.

**Indirect speech**

In indirect speech first and second person pronouns become third person.

(376) te-lo bes kam mi-[aj-sa̱:h]i: parartana kar-aj sāg-el he-DAT good work get-IRR-for prayer do-IRR tell-PERF
(He) told him to pray to get a good job.

(377) te-ca duǩ dur ho-l ta vistas kar-ən he-POSS pain go.away be-3S.FU EMP faith do-1S.FU

Asā te-ni: sāg-lā thus he-AG tell-3S.PA

He said that if his pain would go away then he would believe (have faith).

### 6.3. Linking of clauses

Independent clauses may be conjoined by connectives such as māgā ‘then’, nā ‘and’ or hū ‘also’.

(378) makα̱l-alα daja je-j makα̱l māgā jābā monkey-DAT pity come-3S.PR monkey then roseapple

paď-un de-j fall.CAUS-LK give-3S.PR

Monkey shows pity and gives a roseapple to crocodile by making it fall down.

(379) te-ni: sāg-lā daru sox̌-aj-ci: tadǰ: he-AG tell-3N.PA arrack leave-IRR-INF.SF toddy

sox̌-aj-ci: na tābα̱-hū sox̌-un di-ja-ci: leave-IRR-INF.SF and tobacco-also leave-LK give-IRR-INF.SF

He told (him) (that he) must give up arrack toddy and must also quit taking tobacco.

(380) jēvan di-ja lag-ə daru-hū di-ja lag-ə food give-IRR fall-3S.PR arrack-also give-IRR begin-3S.PR
[We] need to give food and also (we) need to give arrack (to the magician/shaman).

**Adverbial reduced clauses**

A partly reduced clause occurs non-finally and is linked by -un/-n to a main or independent final clause to add detail to it, in a manner similar to that of adverbs. Several reduced clauses can precede the final clause.

(381) maṭi: kα̱an-un, kache karvi-ci: b̌i:iit banav-un na soil dig-LK rough stick-POSS wall make-LK and

tip-un na maṭi-kα̱l lip-un sa̱l banav-li: shape-LK and soil-by/with wash-LK school make-3SF.FU

Digging the soil, making a wall, shaping and washing the floor, (we) make a school.

(382) daru pe-n, na daru pe-n topa̱n kar-ət ho-tū arrack drink-LK and arrack drink-LK trouble do-PROG be-1P.PA

We were troubled because we drank arrack repeatedly.
While I was in the road mosquitos came, bit (me), drank (my) blood and left.

Reduced clauses are not marked for past, present and future tenses, but they may show a time relation to the following main verb.

A reduced clause which precedes the main verb in time is linked by -un/-n.

Having loosened (it), we saw.

Having eaten, he went/left.

Having gargled, he spat.

A reduced clause which is simultaneous with the main verb in time is linked by the progressive -vat/-at/-t.

He came playing.

He came eating.

How they are laughing and playing.

Understanding he did it.

6.4. Settings

Time (examples 391–393) and location (example 394) settings are cohesive in that they relate the clause to the wider speech setting or to the previous clauses. Manner (example 395) and connective particles (examples 396–400) also function as cohesive devices.

One day a bad thought came to crocodile’s mind.

One day a bad thought came to crocodile’s mind.

I had this disease last year.
(393) nirtāc hamī: ‘jev-el
now.only we eat-PERF
Now only we ate/We just finished eating.

(394) te ta[le-c]e panē-t ek moqʰ-a məɣar rəh-ə
that pond-POSS.PF water-in one big-M crocodile exist-3S.PR
In that pond’s water there was a crocodile.

(395) asi: kar-un te-ci: dosti: vadqʰ-ə
thus do-LK she-POSS friendship grow-3S.PR
Thus the friendship grew.

(396) māgā sāg-aj lag-la
then say-IRR begin-3SM.PA
Then he started to say.

Phrases such as tāj, tāv tā, tāv tēj ‘at that time’ and māg tāj ‘then afterwards’ function both as
temporal settings in the clause and as connectives.

(397) tāj sāg-ə
therefore say-3S.PR
Therefore he says...

(398) ajʰun sāg-ə
again say-3S.PR
Again he [started to] say...

(399) ma-la ajʰun tasā-c jʰa-la
I-DAT again like.that-EMP happen-3SM.PA
Again I am feeling the same.

(400) haṭ-si: tāj
tire-2S.FU then
[When you become] tired, then...

(401) mī daru pet ho:-tū tāv tō maʃʰa jiːwān
I arrack drink be-1S.PA at.that time I.POSS life
bes nahiː hoːtā pan atā mīː bes ahːū
good not be-3SN.PA but now I good be-1SG.PR
I was drinking arrack. At that time my life was not good. Now I am happy (my life is good).

(402) hamīː hat-āt ja-dʰel māg tāj teqʰun
we market-in go-PERF then after from.there
kaka-ce gʰar-iː ge-lū
uncle-POSS.PF house-to go-3S.PA
We went to the market, and from there we went to uncle’s house.

Sometimes a clause is repeated in full, as in (403) and (406), or in a reduced form, as in (404)
and (405), to provide the setting for the next.

(403) puḍʰa bokdē dʰar-at ho:-ta. bokdē dʰar-un atā
first sheep catch-PROG be-3SM.PA sheep catch-LK now
First [the tiger] was catching the sheep. Having caught a sheep...

(404) asā kar-un mehē maʃʰa kaljiː jaq-avr tāg-un di-la
like do-LK LAG I.POSS.PF liver tree-on hang-LK keep-1S.PA
Having done like this, I have kept my liver on the tree.
We were eating. After eating…

They were grazing the bulls. While they were grazing and grazing them…

6.5 Logical relations

Simple unreduced clauses may be joined by a conjunction which indicates some logical relationship between the clauses. Some types of conjunctive linking are described below.

Simple conjunction. The conjunction nā connects two unreduced clauses:

na te /uni027Eo/uni02D0g ho/uni02D0-ti/uni02D0 t/uni01DD̃j /uni025F h ṭa/uni02D0-un pi-ja-ca
so [It] will cause disease; so drink after filtering.

Situation-Consequence. The conjunction tāj means ‘when’ if it is closely linked with the first verb or it can mean ‘therefore/so’. The conjunction tecen ‘so’ can mark the consequence.

Reason-Result or Result-Reason. Reason-result clauses are linked by karān ‘because’, tej ‘therefore’, or tecen ‘therefore, so’.

Adversative/Contra-expectancy. When the second situation is unexpected, pān ‘but’ occurs between the two clauses.
Conditional clauses are marked by the conjunctions ta or tāj between the clauses. The condition may be hypothetical (416a) or non-hypothetical (416b).

In present (example 416a) and past (417) conditions, ta occurs after the hypothetical condition clause.

(416) a. raju je-j ta k³a-j
Raju come-3S.PR if eat-3S.PR
If Raju comes, he will eat.

b. raju jēj je-j tāj k³a-j
Raju when come-3S.PR then eat-3S.PR
Whenever Raju comes, he eats

(417) koni: tu-j³e harǐ: a-la ta lokā arād-t³i:l
who you-poss.PF with come-3S.PA if people-PM shout.do-3P.FU
If anyone comes with me, then people will shout.

(418) mi-c bes rāh-tū ta kon ma-j³e āgala-hat lau-āl
I-EMP good exist-CONTR if who I-poss.PF body-to touch-3S.FU
If I am good, who will touch my body.

In future hypothetical conditions, both verbs are in the future tense (or past for the main verb and future for the auxiliary) and ta or tāj follows the first clause.

(419) mī: kad³-un t³ev-ān ta mī: macān
I take-LK keep-1S.FU if I die.1S.FU
If I take out my (liver), I will die.

(420) tū hōt-si: tāj cal-si:
you tire-2S.FU then walk-2S.FU
If you get tired, will you walk?

(421) tū dev-āavar b³orosa t³ev-si:l, niti: nijām pāl-si:l
you God-on faith keep-2S.FU law rule obey-2S.FU
tā dev tu-lā sāb³a-āl
if God you-DAT protect-3S.FU
If you keep having faith in God and obeying His rule, He will protect you.

(422) to: je-l tāj k³a-l
he come-3S.FU then eat-3S.FU
If he comes, he will eat.

(423) raju a-la ho-ca ta k³a-lā ho-va
Raju come-3SM.PA be-3SM.FU if eat-3SN.PA be-3SM.FU
If Raju has come home, he will have eaten.

Contrafactual. Contrafactual statements have a contrary-to-fact verbal suffix both in the protasis clause (which occurs first in the sentence) and in the apodosis. The conjunction tāj ‘then (unrealized result)’ or ta ‘then, if’ joins the two clauses, as in (424).
The contrary-to-fact active verb suffixes are listed in table 28.

Table 28. Contrary-to-fact conjugation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-tũ</td>
<td>-tũ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2M</td>
<td>-tas</td>
<td>-tas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>-ti:s</td>
<td>-tes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>-tĩs</td>
<td>-tĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M</td>
<td>-ta</td>
<td>-tā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>-ti</td>
<td>-te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M/F/M</td>
<td>-tã</td>
<td>-ti:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(424) raũ je-ta tũ kʰa-ta
Raju come-3SM.CONTR if eat-3SM.CONTR
If Raj had come, he would have eaten.

(425) hamĩ: sãg-tũ tũ tumĩ: an-tas
we tell-1P.CONTR if you bring-2PM.CONTR
If we had told (you), you would have brought (it).

(426) mĩ: bes sîk-tũ tũ ma-lə bes no:kordinator: mi.lsti:
I well study-1S.CONTR then(unrealized) I-DAT nice work-PF get-3F.CONTR
If I had studied well, I would have gotten a good job.

(427) tũ sãg-tas tũ mĩ: an-tũ
you tell-2SM.CONTR then I bring-1S.CONTR
If you had told me, I would have brought it.

The contrary-to-fact passive occurs with a third person patient (subject) only. It is formed by adding -ŋ before the contrary-to-fact suffixes.

(428) āb-ə di-jə-ti: tāj kap-jə-ti:
mango-PM give-PAS-3 конт CONTR then cut-PAS-3.CONTR
If mangos would have been given, they would have been cut.

(429) ek kōbd-i: di-jə-ti: tāj hamĩ: kap-tũ
one chicken-F give-PAS-3F.CONTR then(unrealized) we cut-1P.CONTR
If one hen would have been given we would have cut it up.

Passive contrary-to-fact forms are summarized in table 29.⁶

⁶ Editor's note: The forms in this table seem to be contradicted by some of the examples.
Table 29. Passive contrary-to-fact forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject (Patient)</th>
<th>Passive V suffix</th>
<th>Protasis</th>
<th>Person of agent</th>
<th>Conj</th>
<th>V suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One mango (3SM)</td>
<td>-jã-ta</td>
<td>1S</td>
<td>-tũ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One hen (3SF)</td>
<td>-jã-ti</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>-tũ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One calf (3SN)</td>
<td>-jã-tã</td>
<td>2SM</td>
<td>-tas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two mangos (3SM)</td>
<td>-jã-tã</td>
<td>SF</td>
<td>-ti:s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two hens (3SF)</td>
<td>-jã-te</td>
<td>PM</td>
<td>-tas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two calves (3SN)</td>
<td>-jã-tũ</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>-tes</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>PN</td>
<td>-tũ:s</td>
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<td>3SM</td>
<td>-ta</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>SF</td>
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<td>SN</td>
<td>-tã</td>
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<td>PM</td>
<td>-t</td>
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<td>-te</td>
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<td>PN</td>
<td>-tĩ</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
**A Varli Text:**

**Crocodile and Monkey**

Line one in the following text is a Varli story about Monkey and Crocodile\(^*\) with most morpheme breaks indicated. Line two is a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss. Line three is a free translation.

makəd na magər-i-ci: goṭ
monkey and crocodile-F-POSS.PL story
The story about Crocodile and Monkey.

ek tala rah-a
one pond exist-3S.PR
There was a pond.

tele tala-ce kāt-b-a-vər ek jābi-cā jəd jəd rah-a
that pond-POSS.3F margin-on one roseapple-POSS.PL tree exist-3S.PR
On that pond's shore there was a roseapple tree.

tele jābi-cē jəd jəd-a-vər ek makəd rah-a na
that roseapple-POSS.PL tree-on one monkey exist-3S.PR and
In that there was a monkey,
tal-ētle panē-t ek moṯ-b-i: magər rah-a
pond-inside water-in one big-SF crocodile exist-3S.PR
and a big crocodile was in the water of the pond.

makəd dəroj taj-i: taj-i: pik-el jābā kə-a-j
monkey every.day fresh-PL fresh-PL ripen-PERF roseapple-PL eat-3P.PR
Monkey eats very fresh ripe roseapples every day.

na magər ah-e tə kə-al paq-el te
and crocodile be-3S.PR COMP under fall-PERF that

ọet jāb-a kə-a-t
not.good-PL roseapple-PL eat-3P.PR
And that crocodile was eating the roseapples which had fallen down.

makəd dəroj magər-i-i-lə oet jāb-a
monkey every.day crocodile-F-DAT not.good.PL roseapple-PL

kə-a-t-ā nāg-a
eat-PROG-while see-3S.PR
Monkey every day used to see that Crocodile was eating the fallen roseapples.

makədələ te-ci: pakı: daja je-j makəd māgā
monkey-DAT that-SF much pity come-3S.PR monkey then

taj-i: taj-i: jāb-a paq-un de-j
fresh-PL fresh-PL roseapple-PL fall.CAUS-LK give.3S.PR
Monkey took pity on Crocodile. Then Monkey gave him fresh roseapples by making the fruit fall.

magər ekdam kə-us ho-j
crocodile much happy be-3S.PR
Crocodile was very happy.

\(^*\) In this folktale, Crocodile is treated as feminine.
Thus the friendship grew.

One day a bad thought came to Crocodile's mind.

One day Crocodile says to Monkey, “Come. Sit on my back and I will take you on a trip in the pond.”

Crocodile took Monkey in deep water.

Then [Crocodile] started to say to that monkey, “Monkey you are eating good and sweet roseapples daily; so your liver will be very delicious.”
EMP you-POSS.SM liver eat-IRR-INF-SM
I [emp] am going to eat your liver.

therefore tell-3S I-AG you-DAT pond-in wander-IMPER bring-3SM.PA
That’s why I brought you to wander around in the pond.”

But Monkey was very clever.

He told Crocodile, “I left my liver on the tree.”

But Monkey was very clever.

If I were to fall down my liver would burst and I would die.

Crocodile took Monkey back.

Monkey climbed the tree

If I were to take it out then how would I live?”
Crocodile, having been cheated, slipped away into the pond.
References


