Varli Phonology
and Grammar Sketches

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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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A Varli Text: Crocodile and Monkey

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Abbreviations

ABIL	abilitative		NPCOM	comitative noun phrase
AC	actor		NPLC	locative noun phrase
ADJ, adj	adjective		NPO	object noun phrase
ADJP	adjective phrase		NPT	topic noun phrase
ADV	adverb, adverbial		NUM	numeral, number
AG	agent, agent marker		ONO/ono	onomatopoetic
BEN	benefactive		P/Pl/pl	plural
C	consonant		PA/Pa	past tense
CAUS	causative		PAS	passive
CF	consonant final		PAT	patient
COMP	comparative		PERF/perf	perfective
CON	continuative		PF	plural feminine
CONJ, Conj	conjunction		PM	plural masculine
CONTR	contrary-to-fact		PN	plural neuter
CO-REL	co-relative		POSS	possessive
DAT	dative		POSSD	possessed
DEM	demonstrative		POSSR	possessor
DUR	durative		PR, Pr	present tense
EMP	emphasis		PRE	prefix
excl	exclusive		PROG/prog	progressive
EXP	experiencer		PRON	pronoun
F/Fem/f	feminine		QFR	quantifier
FU/Fu	future or indefinite		QUES	question marker,
IMMIN	imminent			tag question
IMP/imp	imperative		REC	recipient
IMPER	impersonal passive		RESP	respectful
INCH	inchoative passive		S/Sing./Sg/sg	singular
INCL/incl	inclusive		SF	singular feminine
IND	indefinite		SM	singular masculine
INDIR	indirect object		SN	singular neuter
INF	infinitive		SOV	subject-object-verb
INST	instrument		STA	statant
INT	intransitive		V/v	verb
INTER	interrogative		V	vowel
IRR	irrealis		VBLR	verbaliser
LC	locative, location		VF	vowel final
LK	link		VOC	vocative
M/mas	masculine		VP	verb phrase
N/N	nasal, neuter, noun		VS.	versus
NEG	negative		1	first person
NOM	nominaliser, nominal		2	second person
NP	noun phrase		3	third person
			Ø	zero, null

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.

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Varli Phonological Summary

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, /kõːbɖiː/ 'hen' is pronounced [kõːᵐbɽiː]. 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 (ṼC) rather than nasalised or oral vowel, nasal consonant, plosive (ṼNC/VNC).

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

Vowels

	Front	Central	Back rounded
Close	i, iː, ĩ, ĩː		u, uː, ũ,ũː
Close-mid	e [e, ɛ], ẽ	ə, ə̃	o, oː õ, õː
Open		a ã	

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

Consonants

	Labial	Labio-dental	Dental/ Alveolar	Retroflex	(Alveo-) palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives:							
Vl.	p [p, ᵐp]		ṭ [ṭ, ⁿṭ]	ʈ [ʈ, ⁿʈ]	c† [tʃ, ᶮtʃ]	k [k, ᵑk]	
Vl.asp.	pʰ [pʰ, ɸ]		ṭʰ [ṭʰ, ⁿṭʰ]	ʈʰ [ʈʰ, ⁿʈʰ]		kʰ [kʰ, ᵑkʰ]	
Vd.	b [b, ᵐb]		ḍ [ḍ, ⁿḍ]	ɖ [ɖ, ɽ, ⁿɖ]	ɟ [dʒ, ᶮdʒ]	g* [g, ᵑg]	
Vd.asp.	bʰ		ḍʰ [ḍʰ, ⁿḍʰ]	ɖʰ [ɖʰ, ⁿɖʰ]	ɟʰ [dʒʰ ᶮdʒʰ]	gʰ [gʰ, ᵑgʰ]	
Fricatives			s				h
Nasals	m		n				
Laterals			l	ɭ**			
Flap			ɾ				
Approximants		ʋ			j		

†For convenience, the palatal symbols "c" and "ɟ" are used throughout this volume for the alveo-palatal affricates tʃ and dʒ 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 ɡ, for a voiced velar plosive.

**In some areas only [l] is heard rather than [ɭ]. 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 pre-nasalised 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, [ᵐp] and [p]. [ᵐp] is a pre-nasalised voiceless bilabial plosive. It occurs following a nasalised vowel. [p] is a voiceless unaspirated bilabial plosive. It occurs elsewhere.

/piɾ/	[piɾ]	'sow (v)'
/piɭ/	[piɭ]	'twist'
/təpas/	[təpas]	'inquire'
/sərpəʈla/	[sərpəʈla]	'crawled (a snake)'
/aple/	[aple]	'we'
/pap/	[pap]	'sin'
/kep/	[kep]	'cut'
/cãpəl/	[tʃãᵐpəl]	'chapel'

/pʰ/ has two allophones, [pʰ] and [ɸ]. [pʰ] is a voiceless aspirated bilabial plosive. It occurs word initially. [ɸ] is a voiceless bilabial fricative. It occurs elsewhere.[2]

/pʰun/	[pʰun]	'winnow'
/pʰoːɖ/	[pʰoːɽ]	'break'
/dupʰaɾ/	[duɸaɾ]	'noon'
/gupʰa/	[guɸa]	'cave'
/bapʰəʊ/	[baɸəʊ]	'boil'
/bəɾəpʰ/	[bəɾəɸ]	'ice'

/b/ has two allophones, [ᵐb] amd [b]. [ᵐb] is a [pre-nasalised voiced bilabial plosive. It occurs following a nasalised vowel. [b] is a voiced unaspirated bilabial plosive. It occurs elsewhere.

/biː/	[biː]	'seed'
/buɖəʊ/	[buɽəʊ]	'cause to wet'
/ubəd/	[ubəɽ]	'close'
/ɾebəd/	[ɾebəɽ]	'rubber'
/ɾab/	[ɾab]	'grass plot'
/ɟiːb/	[ʤiːb][3]	'tongue'
/bẽb/	[bẽᵐb]	'navel'
/ɖãb/	[ɖãᵐb]	'brand (v)'

/bʰ/ [bʰ] is a voiced aspirated bilabial plosive.

/bʰuːt/	[bʰuːt]	'devil'
/bʰũːk/	[bʰũːŋk]	'bark'
/ənubʰəʊ/	[ənubʰəʊ]	'experience'
/əbʰes/	[əbʰes]	'study'

/m/ [m] is a voiced bilabial nasal.

/miɾi/	[miɾi]	'pepper'
/musəɭ/	[musəɭ]	'pestle'
/kəmiː/	[kəmiː]	'less'
/kəmaʊ/	[kəmaʊ]	'earn'
/taliːm/	[taliːm]	'training'
/kam/	[kam]	'work'

/ʋ/ [ʋ] is a voiced labio-dental frictionless approximant.

/ʋik/	[ʋik]	'sell'
/ʋẽs/	[ʋẽs]	'pick'
/itʋaɾ/	[itʋaɾ]	'Sunday'
/niʋəd/	[niʋəɽ]	'collect'
/poːʋ/	[poːʋ]	'swim'
/deʋ/	[deʋ]	'God'

/t/ has two allophones, [ⁿt] and [t]. [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.

/taɖ/	[taɽ]	'palm tree'
/təɾiː/	[təɾiː]	'even though'
/katəɾ/	[katəɾ]	'scissors'
/pat/	[pat]	'blade'

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[2] The word /pʰuːl/ [ɸʰuːl] '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 [bʰ] rather than [b] due to influence of the state language, Gujarati.

/muːt/	[muːt]	'urine'
/sãtiː/	[sãⁿtiː]	'peace'

/tʰ/ [tʰ] is a voiceless aspirated dental plosive.

/tʰũk/	[tʰũⁿk]	'spit'
/tʰoːɖa/	[tʰoːɽa]	'little'
/metʰiː/	[metʰiː]	'fenugreek'
/ultʰiː/	[ultʰiː]	'ladle'

/d/ has two allophones, [ⁿd] and [d]. [ⁿd] is a pre-nasalised voiced unaspirated dental plosive. It occurs following a nasalised vowel. [d] is a voiced unaspirated dental plosive. It occurs elsewhere.

/diːs/	[diːs]	'sun'
/des/	[des]	'country'
/baldiː/	[baldiː]	'bucket'
/ekdəm/	[ekdəm]	'totally'
/kãd/	[kãⁿd]	'yam'
/gõːd/	[gõːⁿd]	'paste'

/dʰ/ has two allophones, [ⁿdʰ] and [dʰ]. [ⁿdʰ] is a pre-nasalised voiced aspirated dental plosive. It occurs following a nasalised vowel. [dʰ] is a voiced aspirated dental plosive. It occurs elsewhere.

/dʰoka/	[dʰoka]	'worry'
/dʰən/	[dʰən]	'wealth'
/ũdʰa/	[ũⁿdʰa]	'contrary position'
/ɾãdʰa/	[ɾãⁿdʰa]	'to cook'
/bãdʰ/	[bãⁿdʰ]	'build'
/kʰãdʰ/	[kʰãⁿdʰ]	'shoulder'

/n/ [n] is a voiced alveolar nasal.

/ne/	[ne]	'take'
/nahĩː/	[nahĩː]	'no'
/pahna/	[pahna]	'guest'
/laʈniː/	[laʈniː]	'roller'
/pən/	[pən]	'also'
/man/	[man]	'obey'

/s/ [s] is a voiceless alveolar fricative.

/set/	[set]	'field'
/seʈ/	[seʈ]	'owner'
/mansã/	[mansã]	'people'
/poːsẽ/	[poːsẽ]	'child, children'
/bes/	[bes]	'good'
/nes/	[nes]	'wear'

/l/ [l] is a voiced alveolar lateral approximant.

/ləɖ/	[ləɽ]	'fight'
/loːkʰĩɖ/	[loːkʰĩⁿɖ]	'iron'
/ʈoːpliː/	[ʈoːpliː]	'basket'
/kəʋla/	[kəʋla]	'tiles'
/sal/	[sal]	'bark'
/bəl/	[bəl]	'ox'

/ɾ/ [ɾ] is a voiced alveolar flapped vibrant.

/ɾat/	[ɾat]	'night'
/ɾəg/	[ɾəg]	angry'

/kutɾa/	[kutɾa]	'dog'
/haɾĩː/	[haɾĩː]	'with'
/bʰəɾ/	[bʰəɾ]	'fill'
/məɾ/	[məɾ]	'die'

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

/ʋaʈ/	[ʋaʈ]	'way'
/goːʈ/	[goːʈ]	'word, story'
/sepʈiː/	[sepʈiː]	'tail'
/pəʈla/	[pəʈla]	'fit'
/bʰeʈ/	[bʰeʈ]	'meet'
/ũːʈ/	[ũːⁿʈ]	'camel'

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

/ʈʰeʋ/	[ʈʰeʋ]	'keep'
/ʈʰoːk/	[ʈʰoːk]	'knock'
/teʈʰə/	[teʈʰə]	'there'
/saʈʰiː/	[saʈʰiː]	'for'
/bõʈʰiː/	[bõⁿʈʰiː]	'seed (mango)'

/ɖ/ has three allophones, [ⁿɖ], [ɖ] and [ɽ]. [ⁿɖ] is a pre-nasalised voiced unaspirated retroflex plosive. It occurs following a nasalised vowel. [ɖ] is a voiced unaspirated retroflex plosive. It occurs word initially. [ɽ] 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 [ɽ] are symbolized.

/ɖaʈ/	[ɖaʈ]	'dhal'
/ɖala/	[ɖala]	'big lid'
/kaɖiː/	[kaɽiː]	'matchstick'
/gaɖiː/	[gaɽiː]	'train'
/gaɖa/	[gaɽa]	'cart'
/ʋəɖ/	[ʋəɽ]	'banyan tree'
/kʰuɖ/	[kʰuɽ]	'break'
/soːɖ/	[soːɽ]	'leave'
/gãɖa/	[gãⁿɖa]	'mad'
/hãɖa/	[hãⁿɖa]	'pot'
/bə̃ɖiː/	[bə̃ⁿɖiː]	'cloth'
/kʰãɖ/	[kʰãⁿɖ]	'pound'
/hĩɖ/	[hĩⁿɖ]	'wander'
/sõːɖ/	[sõːⁿɖ]	'ivory'

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

/ɖʰəg/	[ɖʰəg]	'cloud'
/ɖʰoːlkiː/	[ɖʰoːlkiː]	'dolki (musical instrument)'
/uɖʰal/	[uɖʰal]	'able to do a long jump'
/kaɖʰ/	[kaɖʰ]	'open, draw'
/meɖʰ/	[meɖʰ]	'pillars'
/mẽɖʰa/	[mẽⁿɖʰa]	'ram'

/ɭ/ [ɭ] is a voiced retroflex lateral approximant.

/saɭa/	[saɭa]	'schools'
/kaɭa/	[kaɭa]	'black'
/paɭ/	[paɭ]	'grow'
/kʰeɭ/	[kʰeɭ]	'play (v)'

/c/ has two allophones, [ⁿtʃ] and [tʃ]. [ⁿtʃ] 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.

/caʋ/	[tʃaʋ]	'bite'
/cal/	[tʃal]	'walk'
/ʋicaɾ/	[ʋitʃaɾ]	'think'
/cəmci:/	[tʃəmtʃi:]	'spoon'
/pãc/	[pãⁿtʃ]	'five'
/ʋãc/	[ʋãⁿtʃ]	'read'

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

/ɟa/	[dʒa]	'go'
/ɟug/	[dʒug]	'sky'
/taɟa/	[tadʒa]	'fresh'
/moːɟa/	[moːdʒa]	'socks'
/peɟ/	[pedʒ]	'cruel'
/aɟ/	[adʒ]	'today'
/sãɟ/	[sãⁿdʒ]	'evening'

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

/ɟʰaɖ/	[dʒʰaɽ]	'tree'
/ɟʰaɖa/	[dʒʰaɽa]	'stool'
/ɟʰuɟʰuɭ/	[dʒʰuɭdʒʰuɭ]	'clear (weather)'
/maɟʰa/	[madʒʰa]	'my'
/ɟʰãɟʰ/	[dʒʰãⁿdʒʰ]	'cymbals'

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

/jeɭ/	[jeɭ]	'evening'
/jeɾ/	[jeɾ]	'simply'
/məja/	[məja]	'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.

/əbʰes/	[əbʰjes] ~ [əbʰes]	'study'
/poːrge/	[poːrgʰjɛ] ~ [poːrgʰɛ]	'girls'
/məɟe/	[məɟʲɛ]	'enjoyment'

Note that, with this interpretation of the [ʲ] transitional phone, /j/ never occurs as the second member of a consonant cluster.

/k/ has two allophones, [ⁿk] and [k]. [ⁿk] is a pre-nasalised voiceless unaspirated velar plosive. It occurs following a nasalised vowel. [k] is a voiceless unaspirated velar plosive. It occurs elsewhere.

/koːn/	[koːn]	'who'
/kəsik/	[kəsik]	'how'
/sukəʈ/	[sukəʈ]	'dried fish'
/nokoː/	[nokoː]	'don't'
/baɾik/	[baɾik]	'small'
/sek/	[sek]	'frying in fire'
/kũkum/	[kũ̃ŋkum]	'red powder'

/kʰ/ has two allophones, [ⁿkʰ] and [kʰ]. [ⁿkʰ] 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'
/kʰən/	[kʰən]	'dig'
/səɾkʰa/	[səɾkʰa]	'like'
/dukʰ/	[dukʰ]	'pain'
/ʋələkʰ/	[ʋələkʰ]	'know'
/pə̃kʰa/	[pə̃ŋkʰa]	'fan'

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

/guna/	[guna]	'mistake'
/goːtʰa/	[goːtʰa]	'stall'
/ləgin/	[ləgin]	'marriage'
/məgəɾ/	[məgəɾ]	'crocodile'
/sag/	[sag]	'teak'
/ag/	[ag]	'fire'
/ãg/	[ã̃ŋg]	'body'

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

/gʰəɾ/	[gʰəɾ]	'house'
/gʰoːɖa/	[gʰoːɽa]	'horse'
/doːgʰə/	[doːgʰə]	'both'
/ãgʰəl/	[ã̃ŋgʰəl̥]	'bathe'
/nĩːgʰ/	[nĩ̃ːŋgʰ]	'depart'

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

/həs/	[həs]	'laugh'
/həʋa/	[həʋa]	'air'
/kuhel/	[kuhel]	'rotten'
/gohle/	[gohle]	'husband'
/ʋəh/	[ʋəh]	'flow'
/sĩh/	[sĩh]	'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 [iː] and [u] and [uː], but to write [o] and [oː] as o since the state languages do not distinguish [o] and [oː]. There are also clear contrasts between nasal and oral vowels. In the following examples the vowels contrast in length as well as nasalisation.

/siʋa/	[siʋa]	'god'
/sĩːʋa/	[sĩːʋa]	'stitch'
/siːkʰ/	[siːkʰ]	'learn'
/sĩh/	[sĩh]	'lion'

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

/iɟət/	[iʤət]	'shame'
/pikel/	[pikel]	'ripen'
/ləgin/	[ləgin]	'marriage'
/miɾiː/	[miɾiː]	'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.

/iːsʋər/	[iːsʋər]	'God'
/ɟiːʋ/	[ʤiːʋ]	'life,, heart'
/bəhəniːs/	[bəhəniːs]	'sister'
/diː/	[diː]	'day'
/paniː/	[paniː]	'water'

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

/pe/	[pɛ]	'drink'
/eke/	[ekɛ]	'one'
/ahe/	[ahɛ]	'is'
/ekʰəla/	[ekʰəla]	'alone'
/ʋela/	[ʋela]	'plant'
/ɾakel/	[ɾakel]	'kerosene'

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

/əkəl/	[əkəl]	'wisdom'
/pəka/	[pəka]	'much'
/ãbə/	[ãᵐbə]	'mangos'

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

/aʋər/	[aʋər]	'get ready'
/pala/	[pala]	'leaves'
/baldiː/	[baldiː]	'bucket'
/mama/	[mama]	'uncle'

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

/upəɟ/	[upəʤ]	'creation'
/kʰus/	[kʰus]	'joy'
/tumĩː/	[tumĩː]	'you (pl)'

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

/uːn/	[uːn]	'heat'
/kʰuːna/	[kʰuːna]	'corner'
/pʰuːl/	[ɸʰuːl]	'flower'
/ʋəstuː/	[ʋəstuː]	'things'

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[4] Some speakers pronounce [æ] rather than [e] or [ɛ] in a few words. For example, /ʋet/ [ʋæt] 'bad' and /bes/ [bæs] 'good'.

/o/ [o] is a short close mid back rounded vowel.

/oləʊ/	[oləʊ]	'quench'
/gohle/	[gohle]	'husband'
/noko:/	[noko:]	'don't'

/o:/ [o:] is a long close mid back rounded vowel.

/o:la/	[o:la]	'wet'
/ko:lsa/	[ko:lsa]	'coal'
/po:pət/	[po:pət]	'parrot'
/po:ɾgʰi:/	[po:ɾgʰi:]	'girl'
/to:/	[to:]	'he'

Nasalised vowels

Each of the nasalised vowels contrasts with its oral counterpart. /ĩ/, /ũ/ and /õ/ have long counterparts: /ĩ:/, /ũ:/ and /õ:/. 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.

/ĩgo:ɭ/	[ĩⁿgo:ɭ]	'fire sparks'
/ʋĩdʰ/	[ʋĩⁿdʰ]	'shoot'
/cĩc/	[tʃĩⁿtʃ]	'tamarind'
/sĩgã/	[sĩⁿgã]	'horns'
/sĩh/	[sĩh]	'lion'

/ĩ:/ [ĩ:] is a long close front spread nasalised vowel.

/bʰĩ:t/	[bʰĩ:ⁿt]	'wall'
/pĩ:sa/	[pĩ:sa]	'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.

/ʋẽgət/	[ʋẽⁿgət]	'near'
/bẽb/	[bẽᵐb]	'navel'
/sẽga/	[sẽⁿga]	'ground nut'
/po:sẽ/	[po:sẽ]	'child, children'

/ə̃/ [ə̃] is a short mid central spread nasalised vowel.

/bə̃ɖi:/	[bə̃ⁿɖi:]	'cloth'
/əʋə̃də/	[əʋə̃ⁿdə]	'this year'

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

/ãbaɖi:/	[ãᵐbaɾi:]	'sorrel'
/ãg/	[ãⁿg]	'body'
/pãkəɭa/	[pãⁿkəɭa]	'cripple'
/mãɖəʊ/	[mãⁿɖəʊ]	'shed'
/panã/	[panã]	'leaves'

/ũ/ [ũ] is a short close back rounded nasalised vowel.

/ũdiɾ/	[ũⁿdiɾ]	'rat'
/kũku/	[kũⁿku]	'red powder'
/gũdəɾ/	[gũⁿdəɾ]	'gum'

/ũ: [ũ:] is a long close back rounded nasalised long vowel.

/ũ:ʈ/	[ũ:ⁿʈ]	'camel'

/gəhũː/	[gəhũː]	'wheat'
/kiɾɖũː/	[kiɾɖũː]	'insects'
/pũːɟa/	[pũːⁿʤa]	'worship'
/bʰũːj/	[bʰũːj]	'land'
/ũːca/	[ũːⁿʧa]	'height'
/ʋasərũː/	[ʋasərũː]	'calf'

/õ/ [õ] is a short close mid back rounded nasalised vowel. In our data it occurs only in a few words.

/õɖa/	[õⁿɖa]	'deep'
/ɖõgər/	[ɖõⁿgər]	'mountain'

/õː/ [õː] is a long close mid back rounded nasalised vowel.

/kõːbɖi ː/	[kõːᵐbɽiː]	'hen'
/gõːⁿdʰ/	[gõːⁿdʰ]	'paste'
/sõːhpã/	[sõːhpã]	'easy'

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/

/pəl/		'run'
/pʰəl/		'fruit'
/upəɖ/		'uproot'
/dupʰaɾ/	[duɸaɾ]	'noon'
/papiː/		'sinner'
/mapʰiː/	[maɸiː]	'forgiveness'
/sap/		'snake'
/sapʰ/	[saɸ]	'clean'
/pap/		'sin'
/bapʰ/	[baɸ]	'boil'

/p/ vs. /b/

/pəl/		'run'
/bəl/		'strength'
/upəɖ/		'uproot'
/ubəɖ/		'close'
/taɾpa/		'kind of dance'
/gərba/		'kind of dance'
/sap/		'snake'
/ɾab/		'grass plot'

/p/ vs. /ʋ/

/paɟəʋ/		'feed'
/ʋaɟəʋ/		'play'

/b/ vs. /bʰ/

/boːl/	'speak'	
/bʰuːl/	'forget'	
/bəg/	'crane'	
/bʰag/	'part'	
/tãbəɖa/	'red'	
/ɟãbʰəɭa/	'blue'	

/pʰ/ vs. /bʰ/

/pʰuːk/	'blow'	
/bʰũːk/	'bark'	
/dupʰaɾ/ [duɸaɾ]	'noon'	
/kũbʰaɾ/ [kũᵐbʰaɾ]	'potter'	

/b/ vs. /m/

/bas/	'enough'	
/mas/	'flesh'	
/ɾab/	'field'	
/ɾam/	'person'	
/ɟab/	'answer, reply'	
/kam/	'work'	

/b/ vs. /ʋ/

/baɾa/	'twelve'	
/ʋaɾa/	'air'	
/bəɾəs/	'brush'	
/ʋəɾəs/	'year'	
/daba/	'press'	
/ɖaʋa/	'left'	
/ɟab/	'answer, reply'	
/caʋ/	'bite'	
/ɟãb/	'roseapple'	
/ɟãʋ/	'(we) will go'	

/m/ vs. /ʋ/

/mal/	'thing'	
/ʋal/	'bean'	
/meɟ/	'table'	
/ʋeɟ/	'interest'	
/kəmɭa/	'jaundice'	
/kəʋla/	'tile'	
/goːma/	'mucous (eye)'	
/hoʋa/	'might have'	
/kəɾmət/	'like'	
/kəɾʋət/	'saw'	
/kam/	'work'	
/kʰãʋ/	'(we) will eat'	

/m/ vs. /n/

/mãg/   'ask'
/nãg/   'see'

/məs/   'coal'
/nəs/   'nerve'

/gərmiː/   'heat'
/gərniː/   'funnel'

/kam/   'work'
/kan/   'ear'

/kam/   'work'
/kʰən/   'dig'

/t/ vs. /tʰ/

/taɾ/   'coil'
/tʰaɾ/   'snow'

/utər/   'swelling decreased'
/ãtʰər/   'spread'

/ɾetiː/   'sand'
/metʰiː/   'fenugreek'

/t/ vs. /d/

/təʋa/   'griddle'
/dəʋa/   'medicine'

/taɾ/   'coil'
/daɾ/   'door'

/sãtiː/   'peace'
/cãdiː/   'silver'

/kojəta/   'sickle'
/kərʋãda/   'corinda (a fruit)'

/duːt/   'angel'
/duːd/   'milk'

/sat/   'seven'
/cãd/   'moon'

/d/ vs. /dʰ/

/dana/   'seed'
/dʰana/   'coriander'

/dan/   'offering'
/dʰən/   'wealth'

/dakʰəla/   'certificate'
/dʰakəla/   'small (brother)'

/kãda/   'onion'
/kʰãdʰa/   'shoulders'

/kãd/   'any edible tuber'
/kʰãdʰ/   'shoulder'

/t/ vs. /ʈ/

/tak/	'buttermilk'
/ʈak/	'put'
/set/	'field'
/seʈ/	'owner'
/ʋat/	'wick'
/ʋaʈ/	'ways'

/tʰ/ vs. /ʈʰ/

/tʰaɾ/	'snow'
/ʈʰaɭa/	'hand grinder'
/satʰiː/	'chest'
/saʈʰiː/	'for'
/satʰiː/	'chest'
/gãʈʰiː/	'necklace'

/d/ vs. /ɖ/

/dəʋa/	'medicine'
/ɖaʋa/	'left'
/dəɭ/	'grind'
/ɖaɭ/	'dhal'
/kãda/	'onion'
/gãɖa/	'mad'
/kãd/	'any edible tuber'
/kʰãd/	'shoulder'
/kʰãɖ/	'pound grains, cut'
/sãd/	'joint'
/sõɖ/	'ivory'

/ʈ/ vs. ʈʰ/

/ʈeʋ/	'habit'
/ʈʰeʋ/	'keep'
/ʈikaʋ/	'pickaxe'
/ʈʰikaʋ/	'know'
/taɭu/	'crown of head'
/taɭa/	'lock'
/ʈʰaɭa/	'big plate'
/ʈak/	'put away'
/ʈʰak/	'lie down'
/paʈiː/	'slate'
/saʈʰiː/	'for'

/ʈ/ vs. /ɖ/

/ʈaɭ/	'bald head'
/ɖaɭ/	'dhal'
/ʈaɭa/	'lock'
/ɖala/	'lids'

/aʈla/	'become dry'
/əd̪la/	'become lean'
/sã̪ʈa/	'fishing rod'
/hã̪ɖa/	'pot'
/kərã̪ʈ/	'spinal cord'
/kuɾaɖ/	'axe'

/ʈʰ/ vs. /d̪ʰ/

/ʈʰəɾ/	'decide'
/d̪ʰəɾ/	'catch'
/ʈʰeʋ/	'keep'
/d̪ʰoʋ/	'wash'
/ʈʰəgla/	'cheated'
/d̪ʰəgla/	'boiled'

ʈʰ/ vs. /ɖʰ/

/ʈʰəg/	'cheater, deceiver'
/ɖʰəg/	'cloud'
/ʈʰoːk/	'knock'
/ɖʰoːl/	'drum'
/kaʈʰe/	'sticks'
/kəɖʰe/	'frying pan'

/ɖ/ vs. /ɖʰ/

/ɖal/	'dhal'
/ɖʰoːl/	'drum'
/gʰoːɖa/	'horse'
/oːɖʰa/	'this much'
/hã̪ɖa/	'pot'
/kaɖʰa/	'open, draw'
/õɖa/	'deep'
/oːɖʰa/	'this much'
/soːɖ/ [soːɽ]	'leave'
/oɖʰ/	'pull'

/ɖ/ vs. /ɭ/

/taɖiː/	'toddy'
/ʈʰaɭiː/	'plate'
/pʰaʋɖa/ [pʰaʋɽa]	'hoe'
/kaʋɭa/	'crow'
/kʰã̪ɖa/ [kʰaⁿɖa]	'cut'
/kaɭa/	'black'
/hoːɖiː/ [hoːɽiː]	'boat'
/goːɭiː/ [goːɭiː]	'tablet'
/goːɖ/ [goːɽ]	'sweet'
/goɭ/	'round'

/l̪ad̪/ [l̪aɽ] 'pet'
/lal̪/ [lal̪] 'saliva'

/sõːd̪/ [sõːⁿd̪] 'ivory'
/sol̪/ 'sixteen'

/cõːd̪/ [ʧõːⁿd̪] 'parts of body'
/coːl̪/ 'rub with oil or ointment'

/ɾ/ vs. /ɖ/

/kʰaɾa/ 'salty'
/kʰaɖa/ [kʰaɽa] 'pit'

/gaɾa/ 'salt'
/gaɖa/ [gaɽa] 'cart'

/gʰəɾ/ 'house'
/gʰəɖ/ [gʰəɽ] 'mould'

/moːɾ/ 'peacock'
/moɖ/ [moɽ] 'break'

/l/ vs. /l̪/

/kelã/ 'did'
/kel̪ã/ 'banana'

/kəʊlã/ 'tile'
/kaʊl̪a/ 'crow'

/sapla/ 'injected'
/sãpl̪a/ 'skelton'

/ʋel/ 'climbing plant'
/ʋel̪/ 'evening'

/ɾ/ vs. /l/

/ɾəd̪/ 'cry'
/ləd̪/ 'fight'

/ɾoːg/ 'disease'
/loːk/ 'people'

/piɾa/ 'sow'
/pela/ 'cup'

/puɾ/ 'flood'
/pul/ 'bridge'

/caɾ/ 'grass'
/cal/ 'walk'

/c/ vs. /ɟ/

/coːr/ [ʧoːɾ] 'thief'
/ɟoɾ/ [ʤoɾ] 'attack'

/cəd̪/ [ʧəɽ] 'climb up'
/ɟəd̪/ [ʤəɽ] 'heavy'

/maciː/ [maʧiː] 'upstairs'
/moːɟa/ [moːʤa] 'sock'

| | /lãc/ | [lãⁿʧ] | 'bribe' |
| | /laɟ/ | [laʤ] | 'shame' |

/c/ vs. /j/

	/cal/	[ʧal]	'walk'
	/jel/	[jel]	'(he) will come'
	/cəɾ/	[ʧəɾ]	'graze (intransitive)'
	/jeɾ/	[jeɾ]	'simply'
	/kʰəɾca/	[kʰəɾʧa]	'expense'
	/ɖərja/	[ɖərja]	'sea'
	/kac/	[kaʧ]	'glass'
	/kaj/	[kaj]	'what'
	/pãc/	[pãⁿʧ]	'five'
	/pãj/	[pãj]	'leg'

/c/ vs. /s/

	/caɾəʋ/	[ʧaɾəʋ]	'graze (transitive)'
	/saɾəʋ/	[saɾəʋ]	'wash'
	/kəce/	[kəʧe]	'which'
	/kəse/	[kəse]	'why'
	/ʋicaɾ/	[ʋiʧaɾ]	'ask'
	/ʋisəɾ/	[ʋisəɾ]	'forget'
	/nac/	[naʧ]	'dance'
	/nas/	[nas]	'destruction'
	/ʋãc/	[ʋãⁿʧ]	'read'
	/ʋãs/	[ʋãs]	'bamboo'

/ɟ/ vs. /ɟʰ/

	/ɟaɖa/	[ʤaɽa]	'thick'
	/ɟʰaɖa/	[ʤʰaɽa]	'stool'
	/ɟəɾa/	[ʤəɾa]	'fever'
	/ɟʰaɾa/	[ʤʰaɾa]	'filter'
	/məɟa/	[məʤa]	'joy'
	/maɟʰa/	[maʤʰa]	'my'

/c/ vs. /t/

	/cəɖ/	'climb up'
	/təɖ/	'sound of ox (ono)'
	/ʋãc/	'read'
	/ʋat/	'wick'

/ɟ/ vs. /j/

	/ɟal/	'(he) will go'
	/jel/	'(he) will come'
	/məɟa kəɾ/	'enjoy'
	/məja kəɾ/	'love (v)'

/ʋaɟla/	'play music'	
/ʋajla/	'separate'	
/peɟ/	'cruel'	
/pej/	'(he) drinks'	
/bʰuɟ/	'roast'	
/pʰuj/	'mother-in-law'	

/k/ vs. /kʰ/

/kal/	'yesterday'
/kʰal/	'under'
/kãd/	'any edible tuber'
/kʰãd/	'cut'
/kola/	'fox'
/kʰola	'open'
/ukeɭ/	'boiling stage'
/ukʰəɭ/	'mortar'
/dʰakəla/	'small (brother)
/dakʰəla/	'certificate'
/sika/	'sling'
/sikʰa/	'learn'
/kakiː/	'mother's sister'
/kʰakʰiː/	'khaki'
/cakəɾ/	'servant'
/sakʰəɾ/	'sugar'
/nak/	'nose'
/nəkʰ/	'fingernail, toenail'
/cuk/	'nail'
/sukʰ/	'happiness'

/k/ vs. /g/

/koːniː/	'anyone'
/ɣoniː/	'sack'
/kaɖiː/	'small stick'
/gaɖiː/	'train'
/sĩka/	'sling'
/sĩga/	'horns'
/bʰakəɾiː/	'bread (small)'
/məgəɾiː/	'crocodile (f)'
/lak/	'wart'
/lag/	'begin (necessity)'
/sak/	'curry'
/sag/	'teak'

/g/ vs. /gʰ/

/gal/	'cheek'
/gʰal/	'put'

/goːʈ/   'word story'
/gʰoːʈ/   'sip'

/dəgəɖ/   'stone'
/ugʰəɖ/   'open'

/məgəɾiː/   'crocodile (f)'
/məgʰaɾiː/   'back'

/bʰag/   'part'
/ʋagʰ/   'tiger'

/kʰ/ vs. /h/

/kʰal/   'under'
/hal/   'torment'

/kʰun/   'murder'
/hun/   'from'

/ukʰəl/   'lift'
/ohəl/   'spring'

/akʰe/   'all (f.pl)'
/ahe/   'is'

/nəkʰ/   'fingernail, toenail'
/ʋəh/   'flow'

/sikʰ/   'learn'
/bih/   'be afraid (you sg.)'

/kʰ/ vs. /gʰ/

/kʰal/   'under'
/gʰal/   'put'

/akʰa/   'all (mas.sg.)'
/ãgʰəl/   'bathe'

/cãkʰ/   'taste'
/ɟãgʰ/   'thigh'

/makʰ/   'cause to be muddy'
/ʋagʰ/   'tiger'

/h/ vs. /k/

/hal/   'torment'
/kal/   'yesterday'

/hoːɖiː/   'boat'
/kaɖiː/   'matchstick'

/kahiː/   'anything'
/kakiː/   'mother's sister'

/bahəɾ/   'sweep'
/bʰakəɾ/   'bread'

/bih/   'be afraid (you sg.)'
/ʋik/   'sell'

/h/ vs. /s/

/hal/	'torment'
/sal/	'bark'
/hat/	'hand'
/sat/	'seven'
/ləhã/	'quickly'
/təsã/	'thus'
/sĩh/	'lion'
/pĩs/	'feather'

2.2.   Vowels

/i/ vs. /iː/

/mit/	'solve'
/miːt/	'salt'
/ʋisaʋa/	'place between graveyard and home'
/ʋiːsa/	'twenties'
/ʋisʋas/	'faith'
/ʋiːs/	'twenty'

/i/ vs. /e/

/ikəɖə/	'here'
/ekʰəla/	'only'
/siʋa/	'a god's name'
/seʋa/	'service'

/iː/ vs. /e/

/diː/	'sun, day'
/de/	'give'
/tiː/	'she'
/te/	'they'
/diːs/	'sun, day'
/des/	'country'

/e/ vs. /a/

/ekʰad/	'one'
/akʰuɖ/	'short'
/ceɾ/	'four'
/caɾ/	'grass'
/set/	'field'
/sat/	'seven'
/nes/	'wear'
/nas/	'destruction'
/de/	'give'
/da/	'(one) time'

/ə/ vs. /o/

/ədiː/	'two and a half'
/boliː/	'speech'

/ə/ vs. /oː/

/məɾ/	'die'
/moːɾ/	'peacock'
/tə/	'emphatic marker'
/toː/	'he'
/məkə/	'maize'
/nokoː/	'don't'

/e/ vs. /ə/

/bes/	'good'
/bəs/	'sit'
/ceɾ/	'four'
/cəɾ/	'graze (intransitive)
/hed/	'a tree'
/həd/	'territory'
/te/	'they'
/tə/	'emphatic marker'

/ə/ vs. /a/

/ətəɾ/	'scent'
/atəɾ/	'spread'
/əj/	'hurrah (emotive)'
/aj/	'mother'
/dəʋa/	'medicene'
/daʋa/	'penalty'
/mən/	'twenty kilos'
/man/	'obey'
/dəɾ/	'pit'
/daɾ/	'door'
/cokʰə/	'rice'
/cokʰa/	'pure'
/ãbə/	'mangos'
/ãba/	'mango'
/kəɾə/	'does'
/kʰəɾa/	'right'

/a/ vs. /o/

/ala/	'came'
/ola/	'wet'
/aɟʰun/	'again'
/oɟun/	'pen'

/a/ vs. /oː/

      /ʈʰak/   'lie down, lay down life/die'
      /ʈʰoːk/   'knock'

      /dan/   'offering'
      /doːn/   'two'

      /ga/   'sing'
      /goː/   'exclamation marker'

/o/ vs. /u/

      /ohəɭ/   'spring'
      /ukʰəɭ/   'lift'

      /go/   'exclamation'
      /gu/   'feces'

/oː/ vs. /u/

      /oːtʰun/   'pouring'
      /utʰun/   'getting up'

      /soːna/   'gold'
      /suna/   'empty'

      /toː/   'he'
      /tu/   'you'

/o/ vs. /oː/

      /ohaniːs/   'elder brother's wife'
      /oːganiːs/   'nineteen'

      /odʰa/   'pull'
      /oːdʰa/   'this much'

      /oɟə/   'slowly'
      /oːɟʰa/   'bundle'

      /koj/   'inner part of mango seed'
      /hoːj/   'it happens'

      /goniː/   'sack'
      /koːniː/   'anyone'

      /kʰoɖ/   'shaking the cloth'
      /goːɖ/   'jaggery'

/u/ vs. /uː/

      /pʰut/   'burst'
      /pʰuːl/   'flower'

      /tuɾ/   'dhal'
      /duːɾ/   'distant'

      /kʰuɖ/ [kʰuɽ]   'pluck'
      /kuːɖ/ [kuːɽ]   'wall'

      /muʈ/   'fist'
      /muːt/   'urine'

/uɾ/		'breast'
/uːn/		'hat'
/puɾaʊ/		'evidence'
/puːɾəʊ/		'fill (causative)

Oral versus nasalised vowels

/ə/ vs. /ə̃/

/həs/		'laugh'
/hə̃s/		'swan'
/ɾəg/	[ɾəg]	'angry'
/ɾə̃g/	[ɾə̃ᵑg]	'colour'

/a/ vs. /ã/

/ag/	[ag]	'fire'
/ãg/	[ãᵑg]	'body'
/aʈla/		'dried up'
/ãt/	[ãⁿt]	'in'
/ɟab/	[ɟab]	'reply'
/ɟãb/	[ɟãᵐb]	'roseapple'
/sag/	[sag]	'teak'
/sãg/	[sãᵑg]	'tell'
/nag/	[nag]	'snake'
/nãg/	[nãᵑg]	'see'
/sãta/		'fishing rod'
/sãtã/		'maize stalk'
/oːdʰa/		'this much'
/oːdʰã/		'just like'
/ɟʰaɖa/		'stool'
/ɟʰaɖã/		'trees'
/pana/		'spanner'
/panã/		'leaves'

/u/ vs. /ũ/

/ubəɖ/	[ubəɾ]	'close'
/ũbər/	[ũᵐbəɾ]	'fig tree'
/caku/		'knife'
/sakʰũ/		'egg'

/uː/ vs. /ũː/

/bʰuːk/	[bʰuːk]	'hunger'
/bʰũːk/	[bʰũːᵑka]	'bark'

/u/ vs. /ũː/

/uʈ/	[uʈ]	'get up'
/ũːʈ/	[ũːⁿʈ]	'camel'
/sutla/		'delivered'
/sũːt/	[sũːⁿt]	'dry ginger'

/oː/ vs. /õ/

/ʈʰoːk/	[ʈʰok]	'dash'
/ʈõk/	[ʈõⁿk]	'beak'

/oː/ vs. /õ/

/oːɖʰa/	'this much'
/õɖʰa/	'deep'

/iː/ vs. /ĩː/

/hoːti/	[hoːti]	'was (f)'
/hoːtĩ/	[hoːtĩ]	'were (N)'
/tiː/		'she'
/tĩː/		'they (N)'
/hoʋiːs/	[hoʋiːs]	'might have (you f.sg.)'
/hoʋĩːs/	[hoʋĩːs]	'might have (you pl.)'

/e/ vs. /ẽ/

/te/		'they'
/tẽ/		'that'
/bes/		'good'
/bẽb/	[bẽᵐb]	'navel'
/he/		'these'
/hẽ/		'this'
/medʰiː/		'pillars'
/mẽdʰiː/	[mẽⁿdʰiː]	'sheep'

2.3.   Interpretation of homorganic nasal and plosive clusters

The homorganic nasal and plosive combinations [mp], [mb], [n̪t], [n̪d], [n̪dʰ], [ɳʈ], [ɳɖ], [ɳɖʰ], [ɲtʃ], [ɲdʒ], [ɲdʒʰ], [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 [n̪], [ɳ], [ɲ] 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 ṼC versus ṼᴺC versus VᴺC 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. ṼNC.
- As a sequence of nasal consonant and homorganic plosive preceded by an oral vowel, i.e. VNC.
- As a unit, where the nasal and homorganic plosive are intrepreted as a pre-nasalised plosive following a nasalised vowel, i.e. ṼᴺC.
- As a unit, a pre-nasalised plosive following an oral vowel, i.e. VᴺC.

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

[bẽmb]	'navel'
[kõːmbɽiː]	'chicken'

Interpreting the nasal and homorganic plosive as a pre-nasalised plosive eliminates these possibilities.

*/bẽ^mb/   'navel' CVC
*/kõ:ᵐbɖi:/ [ko:ᵐbʈi:] 'chicken' CVC.CV

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'
/panã/   'leaves'

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

/ʈemka/ '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.

/kanpʰəti:/   'head scarf (covering the ears)'
/kan/   'ear'

/panko:bi/ [panko:bi] '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.

[bes]   'good'
[bẽ^mb]   'navel'
[ɾab]   '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'
/pʰ/   /pʰəɖka/ 'cloth'
/b/   /bādʰ/ 'build'
/bʰ/   /bʰũk/ 'bark (v)'
/m/   /maɾ/ 'beat'
/ʋ/   /ʋasəɾũ/ 'calf'
/t/   /tapaʋ/ 'warm up'
/tʰ/   /tʰaɾ/ 'snow'
/d/   /deʋ/ 'God'
/dʰ/   /dʰən/ 'wealth'
/n/   /nag/ 'snake'
/s/   /sek/ 'fry'

/l/	/loːʈa/	'a vessel'
/ɾ/	/ɾəgət/	'blood'
/ʈ/	/ʈoːpla/	'basket'
/ʈʰ/	/ʈʰeʋ/	'keep'
/ɖ/	/ɖukəɾ/	'pig'
/ɖʰ/	/ɖʰoːl/	'drum (leather on both sides)'
/c/	/caʋ/	'bite'
/ɟ/	/ɟeʋ/	'eat'
/ɟʰ/	/ɟʰaɖ/	'tree'
/j/	/jeɾ/	'simply'
/k/	/koːn/	'who'
/kʰ/	/kʰus/	'happy'
/g/	/gəʋəs/	'search'
/gʰ/	/gʰəɾ/	'house'
/h/	/heɾ/	'see'

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

3.2. Word-medial consonants

/p/	/ɟʰãpa/	'gate'
/pʰ/	/dupʰaɾ/	'noon'
/b/	/ãbil/	'cruel'
/bʰ/	/anubʰəʋ/	'experience'
/m/	/goːma/	'eye matter'
/ʋ/	/seʋa/	'service'
/t/	/katəɾ/	'scissors'
/tʰ/	/ãtʰəɾ/	'spread'
/d/	/aduː/	'ginger'
/dʰ/	/udʰəj/	'white ant'
/n/	/ɾaniː/	'queen'
/s/	/ʋisəɾ/	'forget'
/l/	/ekʰəla/	'alone'
/ɾ/	/peɾuː/	'guava'
/ʈ/	/peʈəʋ/	'burn'
/ʈʰ/	/teʈʰə/	'there'
/ɖ/	/õɖa/ [õⁿɖa]	'deep'
/ɖ/	/ʋaɖiː/ [ʋaɽiː]	'garden'
/ɖʰ/	/oːɖʰak/	'this much'
/ɭ/	/gʰəɾʋaɭiː/	'wife'
/c/	/ʋicaɾ/	'thought, ask'
/ɟ/	/taɟa/	'fresh'
/ɟʰ/	/maɟʰa/	'my'
/j/	/məja/	'love (n)'
/k/	/sukəʈ/	'dried fish'
/kʰ/	/akʰa/	'all'
/g/	/ɟaga/	'place'
/gʰ/	/ãgʰoːɭ/	'bathe'
/h/	/biha/	'be afraid (you pl.)'

All consonants occur in intervocalic position.

3.3. Word-final consonants

/p/	/kap/	'cut'
/pʰ/	/bərəpʰ/	'ice'
/b/	/ɾab/	'grass plot'
/m/	/kam/	'work'
/ʋ/	/kaləʋ/	'mix'
/t/	/gəʋət/	'grass'
/d/	/səbəd/	'word'
/dʰ/	/bãdʰ/	'build'
/n/	/bʰən/	'study'
/s/	/bəs/	'sit'
/l/	/boːl/	'speak'
/ɾ/	/duːɾ/	'distance'
/ʈ/	/ũʈ/	'camel'
/ɖ/	/kʰãɖ/	'pound'
/ɖʰ/	/kaɖʰ/	'open, draw'
/ɭ/	/dəɭ/	'grind'
/c/	/nac/	'dance'
/ɟ/	/peɟ/	'gruel'
/j/	/kaj/	'what'
/k/	/ek/	'one'
/kʰ/	/sukʰ/	'happiness'
/g/	/ʈʰəg/	'cheat'
/gʰ/	/ɟãgʰ/	'thigh'
/h/	/sĩh/	'lion'

All consonants except /bʰ/, /tʰ/, /ʈʰ/ and ɟʰ/ occur in word-final position. Note that /goːʈ/ 'story' is /goːʈʰ/ when followed by /-iː/ 'plural' – /goːʈʰiː/ '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: /kõːbɖiː/ [kõːᵐbᵊɽiː] ~ [kõːᵐbɽiː] 'hen'.

3.4.1. First member of word-medial CC clusters

/p/	/ʈoːpli/	'basket'
/b/	/abɾu/	'shame'
/bʰ/	/ubʰʋajla/	'overflow'
/m/	/ʈemka/	'stick'
/ʋ/	/nəʋra/	'bridegroom'
/t/	/itʋaɾ/	'Sunday'
/t/	/setkəɾiː/	'farmers'
/d/	/cãdniː/	'star'
/dʰ/	/ʋədʰla/	'increased'
/n/	/mansã/	'men'
/s/	/cesma/	'specks'
/s/	/esʈiː/	'bus'
/l/	/koːlsa/	'coal'
/ɾ/	/cəɾbiː/	'fat'
/ɾ/	/kʰuɾsiː/	'chair'
/ʈ/	/ɭoʈka/	'pot (small)'
/ʈʰ/	/uʈʰla/	'got up'

/ɖ/	/aɖʋa/	'horizontal'
/ɖʰ/	/oɖʰla/	'pull'
/ɭ/	/təɭməɭla/	'suffering much (because of disease)'
/ʎ/	/kaʎɟi/	'care'
/c/	/bõcka/	'bundle'
/c/	/kəcɾa/	'dust'
/ɟ/	/oɟliː/	'ripen'
/j/	/ubʰʋajla/	'overflow'
/k/	/ekdəm/	'totally'
/kʰ/	/ɾakʰʋaɭiː/	'protector'
/g/	/nagliː/	'ragi'
/h/	/bahɾa/	'broom'

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

3.4.2. Second member of word-medial CC clusters

/p/	/ɟʰəɖpa/	'winnow'
/pʰ/	/kanpʰətiː/	'head scarf (covering the ears)'
/b/	/dəɾbaɾ/	'palace'
/bʰ/	/kaɾbʰaɾiː/	'village leader'
/m/	/gəɾmiː/	'heat'
/ʋ/	/pəɾʋã/	'day before yesterday'
/t/	/doːstaɾ/	'friend'
/tʰ/	/ultʰiː/	'ladle'
/d/	/pəɖda/	'screen'
/dʰ/	/deʋdʰənu/	'rainbow'
/n/	/dʰamna/	'fruit of a tree'
/s/	/tuɭsiː/	'basil'
/l/	/aple/	'we (incl)'
/l/	/calla/	'walked'
/ɾ/	/ɟəbriː/	'trouble'
/ʈ/	/sepʈiː/	'tail'
/ʈ/	/pəlʈiː/	'turn over'
/ʈʰ/	/ãgʈʰa/	'thumb'
/ɖ/	/pʰaʋɖa/	'spade'
/ɖʰ/	/ɖʰoːɾɖʰãk/	'cattle'
/ʎ/	/cəʋʎiː/	'bean'
/c/	/cəmciː/	'spoon'
/ɟ/	/kaʎɟiː/	'care'
/ɟʰ/	/ɟʰulɟʰuʎ/	'weather (bright and shining)'
/k/	/saʋkaɾ/	'rich man'
/k/	/səɾkaɾ/	'government'
/kʰ/	/səɾkʰa/	'like'
/g/	/siɾguɖ/	'wing'
/gʰ/	/bʰujgʰəɾ/	'cave house'
/h/	/təɭhat/	'palm'

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/	/apda/	'difficulty'
/pl/	/lipla/	'smeared'
/pc/	/gəpcup/	'silent'
/pʈ/	/sepʈiː/	'tail'

/pɖ/	/ləpɖa/	'problem'
/bɾ/	/ɟəbɾiː/	'trouble'
/bk/	/ɾabkər/	'making paddy plot'
/ml/	/kərəmla/	'like'
/mc/	/cəmciː/	'spoon'
/mɭ/	/kəmɭa/	'jaundice'
/mk/	/ʈimkiː/	'drum'
/ʋt/	/sə̃ʋta/	'self'
/ʋs/	/paʋsaɭa/	'rainy season'
/ʋl/	/kaʋlã/	'tile'
/ʋɾ/	/caʋriː/	'pain'
/ʋc/	/kiʋca/	'firefly'
/ʋɖ/	/pʰaʋɖa/	'spade'
/ʋɭ/	/kaʋɭa/	'crow (n)'
/ʋk/	/saʋkaɾ/	'rich man'
/tl/	/gʰetla/	'took'
/tɾ/	/kutɾa/	'dog'
/tʋ/	/gūtʋajla/	'twisted'
/dʰʋ/	/gõdʰʋa/	'spot'
/dʰɾ/	/mədʰɾakər/	'creating problems'
/nʋ/	/pãpənʋã/	'eyelid'
/nk/	/pankoːbi/	'cabbage'
/sʋ/	/ʋisʋas/	'faith'
/sʈ/	/esʈiː/	'bus'
/skʰ/	/ʋãskʰəl/	'bamboo seedling'
/sk/	/maskiː/	'housefly'
/ltʰ/	/ultʰiː/	'ladle'
/ld/	/kaldiː/	'yesterday'
/ls/	/koːlsa/	'coal'
/lʈ/	/pəlʈiː/	'turn over'
/lk/	/belkəɖ/	'crabs'
/ɭh/	/təɭhat/	'palm of hand'
/ɾp/	/taɾpa/	'a dance'
/ɾbʰ/	/kaɾbʰaɾiː/	'village leader'
/ɾb/	/gəɾba/	'a dance'
/ɾp/	/səɾpəʈ/	'crawl'
/ɾp/	/kʰuɾpa/	'scrape'
/ɾt/	/kəɾta/	'than'
/ɾdʰ/	/paɾdʰiː/	'hunter'
/ɾd/	/gəɾdiː/	'crowd'
/ɾc/	/kʰəɾca/	'expense'
/ɾɟ/	/pəɾɟa/	'people'
/ɾs/	/kʰuɾsaniː/	'edible oil'
/ɾl/	/həɾla/	'defeated'
/ɾɖʰ/	/səɾɖʰa/	'lizard'
/ɾɖ/	/cəɾɖiː/	'trousers'
/ɾk/	/muɾkuʈ/	'mosquito'
/ɾgʰ/	/poːɾgʰiː/	'girl'
/ʈp/	/pʰuʈpəʈiː/	'ruler'
/ʈʋ/	/ʈiʈʋiː/	'lapwing'
/ʈc/	/koːʈciː/	'from where'
/ʈk/	/ɭoʈka/	'pot'
/ʈʰl/	/uʈʰla/	'got up'
/ɖb/	/həɖbiː/	'chin'

/ɖʋ/	/gãɖʋəl/	'earthworm'
/ɖt/	/tãbəɖtoːɖ/	'quickly'
/ɖɖ/	/pəɖda/	'screen'
/ɖs/	/moːɖsətəriː/	'folding umbrella'
/ɖl/	/ʈõɖliː/	'alibanum (a vegetable)'
/ɖk/	/pʰəɖka/	'cloth'
/ɭm/	/təɭməɭla/	'suffering badly by disease'
/ɭn/	/caɭniː/	'sieve'
/ɭs/	/tuɭsiː/	'basil'
/ɭɟ/	/kaɭɟiː/	'care'
/ɭg/	/paɭgəʈʋaɭ/	'sit'
/cl/	/pohə̃cla/	'reached'
/cɾ/	/kəcra/	'dust'
/ck/	/bõcka/	'bundle'
/ɟl/	/oːɟliː/	'ripen'
/jt/	/ɟãjtə̃j/	'whenever'
/jɟ/	/pajɟə/	'want'
/jk/	/sajkəɭ/	'cycle'
/jgʰ/	/bʰujgʰəɾ/	'cave house'
/kp/	/nakpuɖiː/	'nostril'
/kʋ/	/məkʋəl/	'flower'
/kt/	/bʰəktiː/	'praise'
/kd/	/ekdəm/	'totally'
/kn/	/pʰukniː/	'blow pipe'
/kl/	/cukla/	'missed'
/kɾ/	/əkra/	'eleven'
/ks/	/ɾiksa/	'auto'
/gʋ/	/ɟəgʋaj/	'sloth'
/gtʰ/	/ãgtʰiː/	'ring'
/gl/	/nagliː/	'ragi'
/hʋ/	/uhʋasa/	'younger brother's wife'
/hn/	/bəhniːs/	'sister'
/hn/	/sehna/	'clever'
/hɾ/	/bahra/	'broom'
/hl/	/pəhla/	'first'

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.gʰəɭ/	'bath'
/a.tã/	'now'
/ũ.dẽ/	'tomorrow'
/ũ.ca/	'height'
/oː.ɖʰiː/	'this much'
/õ.ɖʰa/	'deep'

4.2. Syllable consisting of onset and nucleus (CV)

/pʰə.niː/	'comb'
/pe.ɾuː/	'guava'
/pe.la/	'cup'
/pa.niː/	'water'
/pa.na/	'spanner'
/pa.ʈa/	'bandage'
/pa.ɖa/	'hamlet'
/pə.ka/	'much'
/poː.sẽ/	'child, children
/pa.pə.ɖiː/	'bean'
/pa.loː.liː/	'lizard'
/pã.kə.ɭa/	'cripple'
/ku.tə.ra/	'dog'
/ku.də.ɭiː/	'mattock'
/ba.kə.ɖa/	'bench'
/bə.na.ʋə.ʈiː/	'duplicate (adj)'
/da.da.gi.ɾiː/	'trouble'
/noː.kə.ɾiː.ʋa.ɭa/	'one who has a job'
/bə.də.la/	'reward (n)'

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

/paɭ.gəʈ.ʋaɭ/	'sit in cross-legged position'
/dər.sən.kəɾ/	'visit'
/pʰaʊ.ɖa/	'spade'
/pʰəɖ.ka/	'cloth'
/piːs.ʋiː/	'bag'
/pah.na/	'guest'
/pəl.ʈiː/	'overturn'
/pəh.la/	'first'
/bʰəɾ.ʋaɖ/	'shepherd'
/bel.kəɖ/	'crabs'
/mas.təɾ/	'teacher'
/ʋis.ʋas/	'faith'
/ham.ca/	'our'

4.4. Syllable consisting of nucleus and coda (VC)

/es.ʈiː/	'bus'
/ap.le/	'we'
/əp.da/	'difficulty'
/əɖ.la/	'lean'
/oɟ.liː/	'ripen'
/ul.ʈiː/	'vomit'
/ək.ɾa/	'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.

/oː.ɖʰiː/	[ˈoː.ɖʰiː]	'this much'
/bʰa.kə.ɾiː/	[ˈbʰa.kə.ɾiː]	'bread'
/da.da.gi.ɾiː/	[da.ˈda.gi.ɾiː]	'trouble'
/no.kə.ɾiː.ʋa.ɭa/	[ˈno.kə.ɾiː.ˈʋa.ɭa]	'one who has a job'

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.

| boːləʋ + -el | → | boːlʋel |
| call-PERF | | called |

| səɖək + -iː | → | səɖkiː |
| way-PL | | ways |

| cədəɾ + -iː | → | cədɾiː |
| blanket-PL | | blankets |

| kəʋul + -ã | → | kəʋlã |
| tile-PL | | tiles |

| piːluk + -ã | → | piːlã |
| chicken-PL | | chickens |

5.2. Epenthesis

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

| bəl + ã | → | bəjlã |
| bull-PL | | bulls |

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

| ɟu + -ã | → | ɟuʋã |
| louse-PL | | 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 *ʋ* and the nasalization moves to the following vowel.

| sakʰũ + -ã | → | sakʰʋã |
| egg-PL | | eggs |

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

| ɟa + -ũ | → | ɟãʋ |
| go-we | | we go |

| de + -ũ | → | dẽʋ |
| give-we | | we give |

ne + -ũ   →   nẽʋ
take-we   we take

kʰa + -ũ   →   kʰãʋ
eat-we   we eat

5.4. Morphophonemics of pronouns

mĩː + -ɟʰa   →   maɟʰa
I-POSS   my

tũ + -ɟʰa   →   tuɟʰa
you-POSS   your

toː + -ca   →   teca
he-POSS   his

te + -ca   →   tehənca
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 + -hu   →   tuhũ
you-also   you.also

tumĩː + -hu   →   tumiːhũ
you.PL-also   you.also (plural)

hamĩː + -hu   →   hamiːhũ
we-also   we.also

5.5. Underlying aspiration

The plosives /bʰ/, /tʰ/, /ʈʰ/ and /ɟʰ/ do not occur in word-final position (see 3.3.). However, when a morpheme-initial vowel follows morpheme-final /b/, /t/, /ʈ/ and /ɟ/ 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' + /-aʋəɾ/ 'on'   →   /setaʋəɾ/ 'on/in the field'
/hat/ 'hand' + /-aʋəɾ/ 'on'   →   /hatʰaʋəɾ/ 'on (my) hand'

/seʈ/ [seʈ] 'owner' + /-alə/ 'dative'   →   /seʈalə/ 'to the owner'
/goːʈ/ 'story' + /-iː/ 'plural'   →   /goːʈʰiː/ 'stories'

There are also alternations between some morpheme-final /ɖ/ [ɽ] and /ɖʰ/. For example:

/meɖ/ [meɽ] 'pillar (of a house)'
/meɖʰiʋəɾ/ [meɖʰiʋəɾ] '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 *rəh-* 'to exist' functions as the predicate.

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

(2)　ham-cã　　　 gʰər　　ḍəhanu-lə　　ah-e
　　　we-POSS.SN　 house　 Dahanu-DAT　 be-3S.PR[1]
　　　NP　　　　　　　　　 NPLC　　　　　 VP
　　　Our house is in Dahanu.

(3)　ham-ce　　　 gaʊ-ãt　　setkəri:　 rəh-ət
　　　we-POSS.PF　 village-in　 farmers　 exist-3P.PR
　　　NPLC　　　　　　　　　　 NP　　　　 VP
　　　There are farmers in our village.

(4)　ma-ɟʰã　　　gʰər　　ḍõgər-aʊər　　ah-e
　　　I-POSS.SN　 house　 mountain-on　 be-3S.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-3S.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.

(6) to: bəɾ-ã   ũ:c-a   ah-e
     He   very-SN tall-SM be-3PR
     NP   ADJP   VP
     He is very tall (superlative).

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 -*lə*, 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.

(7) ti: nəɖəg-lə   bih-ə
     she   bear-DAT   fear-3S.PR
     NP   NPLC   VP
     She is afraid of bears.

(8) mĩ: taneɟ-el   ho:-tũ
     I   thirsty-PERF be-1S.PA
     NP   VP
     I have been thirsty/I was thirsty.

(9) mĩ: bih-ə̃
     I   fear-1S.PR
     NP   VP(INT)
     I fear/I am afraid.

(10) ma-lə bəɾ-i: tan   lag-li:
     I-DAT very-SF thirst begin-3SP.PA
     NP-DAT VP
     I was very thirsty/I felt very thirsty.

(11) ma-lə kõ:bɖ-a   pajɟ-ə
     I-DAT chicken-M must-3S.PR
     NP-DAT NP   VP
     I want a cock.

(12) ma-lə gəm-ə
     I-DAT like-3S.PR
     NP-DAT VP
     I like (it).

Equative clauses identify or characterise a participant. An equative clause has topic and comment noun phrases. The verb 'to be' functions as predicate.

(13) udʋa baɾik gãʋ   ah-e
     Udva small village be-3S.PR
     NPT   NP   VP
     Udva is a small village.

(14) hi: pen   ah-e
     this pen   be-3S.PR
     NPT   NP   VP
     This is a pen.

(15) to: te-ca   gohle   ah-e
      he   she-POSS.SM   husband   be-3S.PR
      NPT   NP   VP
      He is her husband.

(16) ma-ɟʰa   bəhas   mastəɾ   ah-e
      I-POSS.SM   father   teacher   be-3S.PR
      NPT   NP   VP
      My father is a teacher.

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).

(17) ḍəʋəɾ-apã   so:nã   ho:-tã
      old man-with   gold   be-3S.PA
      NPLC   NP   VP
      The old man had gold. (Lit. 'Gold was with the old man')

(18) ma-pã   pəjs-ə   nahĩ: ho:-tə
      I-with   money-NP   no   be-3PM.PA
      NPLC   NP   VP
      I had no money.

(19) ma-ɟʰa   ek   po:se   ah-e
      I-POSS.SM   one   boy   be-3S.PR
      NP(POSSR)   NP(POSSD)   VP
      I have one boy/son.

In comparative clauses a comparative form, *kəɾtã* 'than' or *səɾkʰa* '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).

(20) ɾama   ʋənsi: kəɾtã   mo:ʈʰ-a   ah-e
      Rama   Vansi   than   big-SM   be-3S.PR
      NP   NP   COMP   ADJ   VP
      Rama is bigger than Vansi.

(21) ma-ɟʰe   kəɾtã   to: mo:ʈʰ-a   ah-e
      I-POSS.PF than   he   big-M   be-3S.PR
      NP   COMP   NP   ADJ   VP
      He is bigger than I.

(22) to: bahas   səɾkʰa   ah-e
      he   father   like   be-3S.PR
      NP   NP   COMP   VP
      He is like (his) father.

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).

(23) pãkʰəɾ-ã   uḍ-ət
      insect-PN   fly-3P.PR
      NP   VP
      Insects fly.

(24)   pani: paḍ-lã
          rain   fall-3SN.PA
          NP   VP
          It rained.

(25)   di:s   nĩgʰ-la
          sun   arise-3SM.PA
          NP   VP
          The sun rose.

In semitransitive clauses there is an intransitive motion verb and a locative noun phrase occurs.

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

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

(28)   tũ   naj-i:-lə   ɟa-s
          you   river-SF-DAT   go-2S.PR
          NP   NPLC   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 ɟʰa 'to become' occurs rather than the verb 'to be'. Compare, for example, (16) and (31).

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

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

(31)   to: mastəɾ   ɟʰa-la
          he   teacher   become-3SM.PA
          NP   NP   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 -lə 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: gʰəɾ   bãdʰ-ə
          he   house   build-3S.PR
          NP   NPO   VP
          He builds a house.

(33)   to: te-lə   ʋahər-ə
           he   he-DAT   call-3S.PR
           NP   NPO   VP
           He calls him.

(34)   ti: ãbil   pe-j
           she   gruel   drink-3S.PR
           NP   NPO   VP
           She drinks gruel.

(35)   ɟasti: kərun lo:k-ã   bʰat   seti: kər-ət
           much most   people-PM paddy field do-3P.PR
           NP   NP   VP
           Mostly people cultivate paddy fields. / Most people are paddy cultivators.

In ditransitive clauses the recipient, i.e. indirect object, is marked with *-lə*.

(36)   ti: ma-lə   pani: de-j
           she   me-DAT   water give-3C
           NP   NPO(INDIR) NPO   VP
           She gives me water.

(37)   ti: ʋənsi:-lə   go:ʈʰ-i: sãg-ə
           she   Vansi-DAT story-PF tell-3S.PR
           NP   NPO(INDIR) NPO   VP
           She tells stories to Vansi.

(38)   mĩ: te-lə   cokʰə   dẽ-j
           I   she-DAT   rice   give-1S.PR
           NP   NPO(INDIR) NPO   VP
           I give her rice.

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

(39)   ti: meɟ-ʋər co:pəɖ-i: ʈʰeʋ-ə
           she   table-on book-small   keep-3S.PR
           NP   NPLC   NPO   VP
           She keeps the little book on the table.

(40)   to: kutɾe-lə gʰər-ĩ: gʰe-n   ɟa-j
           he   dog-DAT house-to take-LK go-3S.PR
           NP   NPO   NPLC   VP
           He takes the dog to the house.

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.

(41)   po:sẽ kam-alə ɟa-t
           child work-to   go-3P.PR
           The children go to work.

(42)   ek   ho:-ta   həti:
           one be-3SF.PA elephant
           There was an elephant.

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   diːs   məgəɾ-aː-ce   mən-āt veʈ vicaɾ 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.   makəɖ dəɾɾoːɟ məgəɾ-aː-lə veʈ   ɟāb-ã   kʰa-t-ã   nãg-ə
               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-hẽ kam   ke-lã/kəɾ-lã
       I-AG   work   do-3S.PA
       NP   NPO   VP
       I worked.

(45)   te-nĩː kəpɖə   gʰet-lə
       he-AG   cloth   purchase-3SM.PA
       NP   NPO   VP
       He purchased cloth.

The indirect object occurs between the subject and direct object.

(46)   te-nĩː ma-lə   kəpɖə   diː-dʰel
       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)   dʰənɟu-nĩː te-ca   gʰəɖel peʈ-ĩːt   tʰev-el   hoː-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 mĩː sikʰ-ət   ah-ũ/ah-ĩː
       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)   moːʈʰ-a ba
       big-SM   father
       ADJ   N
       uncle (father's elder brother)

(50)   baɾik   bahəni:s
        small   sister
        ADJ   N
        younger sister

(51)   tẽ   ɟun-ã   gʰəɾ
        that   old-SN   house
        DEM   ADJ   N
        that old house

(52)   nəʋsu-ca   po:se
        Navsu-POSS.SM   boy
        son of Navsu/Navsu's son

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)   **tĩ:**   **kaki:**   **kaka**   **pʰuj**   **mama**   **baji:**   **ʋi:nu**   **akhĩ:**
        that   aunty   uncle   aunty   uncle   sister   Veenu   all

        pak-ĩ: ***ɟən-ã***   ɟa-ɟa-cĩ: ah-ã
        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)   **kənsəri:**   **himaj**   **hirva**   **ʋagʰdev**   **ham-ce**
        Kansari   Himay   Hirva   Vaghdev   we-POSS.PF

        lok-ã-cĩ: dev-ã   ah-ã
        people-PM-POSS.PN   goddess-PF   be-3P.PR
        The goddesses of our people are Kansari, Himay, Hirva and Vaghdev.

Coordinate noun phrases are linked by *nã*, as in examples (55–57). Example (58) illustrates both lists and coordinate phrases; they are in apposition to *hẽ* 'this'.

(55)   **ʋənsi:**   **nã**   **ʋi:nu**   hatãt   ɟa-dʰel
        Vansi   and   Veenu   market-DAT   go-PERF
        Vansi and Veenu went to the market.

(56)   te   bə̃gəl-ẽt   **majɟi:**   **nã**   **pʰadər**   ɾəh-ət
        that   bungalow-in   sister   and   father   be-3P.PR
        NPLC   NP   CONJ   NP   VP
        In that bungalow there are a (Catholic) sister and a (Catholic) father.

(57)   **ti:**   **po:ɾgʰ-i:**   **nã**   **ti:**   **ʋaɖgʰi:n**   ɟẽʋ-aj   bəs-le
        that   child-F   and   that   grandmother   eat-IRR   sit-3P.PA
        NP   CONJ   NP   VP
        That girl and her grandmother both sat to eat.

(58)   hẽ-c   **bʰat**   **nagli:**   **ʋəri:**   **nã**   **ɟəɾak**   **ɟəɾak**
        this.SN-EMP   rice   millet   grain   and   little   little

        uɖi:d   **tuɾ**   **cə̃ʋɭə:**   **kʰuɾsani:**   hamĩ: kaɖh-ət   ahãʋ
        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 *-haɾĩ:* 'with' following the accompanying noun or pronoun plus the possessive marker. The particle *hũ* 'also' can occur, as in (60). Notice that the verbal agreement is with the subject only and does not include the comitative phrase.

(59) tũ **ma-ɟʰe-harĩː** je-s
you I-POSS.PF-with come-2S.PR
NP NPCOM VP
You come with me.

(60) sonu nəji-lə ge-la **te-ce-harĩː** te-ca
Sonu river-DAT go-3SM.PA he-POSS.PF-with he-POSS.SM

kutɾa- **hũ** ge-la
dog also go-3SM.PA
Sonu went to the river with his dog.

(61) tũ **te-ce-harĩː** ɾəh-ɟoː-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 -*ə*. Final vowel *ə* → *ẽ* 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 -*ã*.

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

Table 1. Masculine nouns

Singular	Plural	With case marker (sg)	With case marker (pl)
Class I: a final root mɛ̃ɖʰ-a 'ram' ãb-a 'mango'	ə mɛ̃ɖʰ-ə ãb-ə	-alə/-lə 'to' mẽɖʰe-lə ãbe-lə	mẽɖʰẽ-lə ãbẽ-lə
Class II: Not changing poːse 'boy' gohlẽ 'husband'	poːse gohlẽ	poːse-lə gohle-lə	poːsẽ-lə gohlẽ-lə
Class III: Consonsnt final bəl 'ox' loːk 'people' makəɖ 'monkey'	ã bəjl-ã loːk-ã makəɖ-ã	bəjl-alə loːk-alə makəɖ-alə	bəjl-ã-lə loːk-ã-lə makəɖ-ã-lə
Class IV: -iː final dʰoːb-i 'washerman'	iː dʰoːb-iː	dʰoːb-e-lə	dʰoːb-e-lə

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 *iː*.

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

Class III consists of singular nouns ending in *iː*; the plural ends in -*e*.

Table 2. Feminine nouns

Singular	Plural	With case marker (sg)	With case marker (pl)
Class I: Consonant final gaj 'cow' goːʈ 'story' ɾat 'night'	-*iː* gaj-iː goːʈʰ-iː ɾat-iː	 gaj-lə goʈ-lə ɾat-lə	 gajĩː-lə goʈʰĩː-lə ɾatĩː-lə
Class II: Consonant final cĩc 'tamarind' saḷ 'school'	-*a* cĩc-a saḷ-a	 cĩc-lə saḷ-lə	 cĩcãlə saḷãlə
Class III: -iː final poːɾgʰ-iː 'girl' gaḍ-iː 'train' kõːbḍ-iː 'hen' peʈ-iː 'box'	-*e* poːɾgʰ-e gaḍ-e kõːbḍ-e peʈ-e	 poːɾgʰiː-lə gaḍiː-lə kõbḍĩː-lə peʈiː-lə	 poːɾgʰẽ-lə gaḍẽ-lə kõbḍẽ-lə peʈẽ-lə

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 3. Neuter nouns

Singular	Plural	With case marker (sg)	With case marker (pl)
Class I: -ũ pãkʰəɾ-ũ 'insect' sakʰ-ũ 'egg' ʋasəɾ-ũ 'calf'	-*ã* pãkʰəɾ-ã sakʰʋ-ã* ʋasəɾ-ã	 pãkʰəɾ-alə sakʋ-alə ʋasəɾ-alə	 pãkʰəɾ-ã-lə sakʋ-ã-lə ʋasəɾ-ã-lə
Class II: consonant ending mãɟəɾ 'cat' pʰuːl 'flower' gʰəɾ 'house'	-*ã* mãɟəɾ-ã pʰuːl-ã gʰəɾ-ã	 mãɟəɾ-alə pʰuːl-alə gʰəɾ-alə	 mãɟəɾ-ã-lə pʰuːl-ã-lə gʰəɾ-ã-lə

*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 -*iː* indicates small things and the masculine ending -*a* or Ø indicates big things, as shown in (62).

(62)　　Small things　　Big things
　　　　cəmciː　　　　cəmca　　　　　'spoon'
　　　　coːpḍiː　　　　coːpḍa　　　　　'book'
　　　　bʰakəɾi　　　　bʰakəɾ　　　　　'rice chapati'
　　　　ɾoːʈliː　　　　ɾoːʈla　　　　　'wheat chapati'
　　　　ʈoːpliː　　　　ʈoːpla　　　　　'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

sãdʰ-a	caɭ-niː	utər-ən
connect-NOM	filter-NOM	get.down-NOM
joint	filter/sieve	downward slope

boːl-iː	cəɖ-tiː
speak-NOM	climb-NOM
language	upward slope

Adjective + nominalising suffix

takət-ʋaɭ-a
strong-person-M
strong man

Nominalising prefix + noun

du-kaɭ	səm-bə̃dʰ
PRE-time	PRE-close
famine	connection

Noun + general nominal/nominalising suffix

bʰuːt-aɭ-iː	gʰər-ãt-liː
devil-NOM-SF	house-at-NOM.F
demon-possessed woman	a woman from the house

bʰuːt-aɭ-a	gʰeɾ-ãt-la
devil-NOM-SM	house-at-NOM.M
demon-possessed man	a man from the house

cãd-niː	pajsẽ-ʋaɭ-a
moon-NOM	piece-NOM-M
star	rich man

Adjective + noun

pərəm-iːsʋəɾ
great-god

Noun + noun

kam-ʋaɭ-a
work-person-M
male servant

mate-ca-gʰəɾ
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.[2] 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 4. Personal pronouns

	Subject	With dative/ oblique markers	With possessive marker	Agentive/ Ergative
I	mĩː	ma-	ma-	me-hẽ
we excl.	hamĩː	hama-	ham-	hamĩː
we incl.	aple	aple-	aple-	aple
you S	tũ	tu-	tu-	tu-he
you P	tumĩː	tuma-	tum-	tumĩː
he	toː	te-	te-	te-nĩː
she	tiː	te-	te-	te-nĩː
it	tẽ	tẽ	tẽ	te-nĩː
they M	te	tẽh-	tẽh-	te-hĩː
they F	te	tẽh-	tẽh-	te-hĩː
they N	tĩː	tẽh-	tẽh-	te-hĩː

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 5. Demonstrative pronouns

	Proximal 'this'		Medial 'that'	
	S	P	S	P
M	hoː	he	toː	te
F	hiː	he	tiː	te
N	hẽ	hĩː	tẽ	tĩː

ho: bəl
this.SM   bull

hẽ   kam
this.SN   work

hi: go:ʈ
this.SF   story

tĩ: ɟʰaɖ-ã̃
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

	Singular	Plural
M	ɉoː	ɉe
F	ɉiː	ɉe
N	ɉẽ	ɉĩː

(63) ɉoː   ma-lə   ɉ-el   toː   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.

koːn/koːnĩː 'who' If repeated, it means 'who of many', as in 64b. The form *koːnãː* is ergative, as in (64c).

(64) a. hoː   **koːn**   ah-e
          this who.M   be-3S.PR
          Who is he?

      b. **koːn** **koːn** dõɡəɾ-alə   ɉĩ-ɉa-ca   ah-ã
          who   who   mountain-DAT   come-IRR-INF.SM   be-3P.PR
          Who all are coming to the mountain?

      c. aɉ   epaɾ   **koːn-ãː**   ke-lã
          today cooking   who-AG   do-3N.PA
          Who did the cooking today?

koːna 'whom'

(65) a. **koːna-lə**   ʋahəɾ-lã
          whom-DAT   call-3SM.PA
          Whom/to whom did he call?

      b. koːna-ce-haɾĩː   toː   ɉi-dʰel
          whom-PF-with   he   come-PERF
          With whom did he come?

koːnaca 'whose (M)'

(66) poʈ   **koːna-ca**
      stomach   who-POSS.SM
      Whose stomach is it?

   Note that *koːn, koːna* and *koːnaca* could be analised as the animate interrogative pronoun *koːn* with the appropriate case marker.

kaj 'what'

(67) ɾan-ãt   ɉa-n   **kaj**   **kaj**   an-əs
      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 *to:ɖʰ* 'however much' (see section 2.2.7).

Table 7. Interrogatives and indefinite pronouns

Interrog-ative	Gloss	Singular			Plural		
		M	F	N	M	F	N
ko:ɖʰ- kəs- koʈʰ- koʈʰ- kəc- to:ɖʰ, etc.	'how much/how many' 'how' 'where from (origin)' 'where' 'which' 'however much'	-ak -ak -la -ca -a -a/ -ak	-i:k -i:k -li: -ci: -i: -i:/ -i:k	-ãk -ãk -lã -cã -ã -ã/ -ãk	-ək -ək -lə -cə -ə -ə/ -ək	-ek -ek -le -ce -e -e/ -ek	-ĩ:k -ĩ:k -lĩ: -cĩ: -ĩ: -ĩ:/ -ĩ:k

(68) ko:ɖʰ-i:k   məɟɾ-i: lag-ə
      how.much-SF   pay-SF   begin-3S.PR
      INTER   NP   VP
      How much pay do you need?

(69) ɟəmi:n   kəs-i:k   ah-e
      land   how-SF   be-3S.PR
      NP VP   INTER   VP
      How is the land?

2.2.7. Indefinite pronouns and negative pronouns

Indefinite pronouns include:

to:ɖʰ + *-a* 'that much/however much'
o:ɖʰ + *-a* 'this much/however much'
ɟo:ɖʰ + *-a/ to:ɖʰ*+ *-a* 'co-relative'

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

(70) ɟo:ɖʰ-ãk   kʰa-ʋal   to:ɖʰ-ãk   gʰi-ɟo:
      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 *ko:nĩ:*; 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) o:ɖʰ-ĩ: bes   na   go:ɖ   ɟãb-ã
      how.much.PN   good   and   sweet   roseapple-PN
      QFR   ADJ   CONJ   ADJ   NOUN
      What good, sweet roseapples!

(72) ma-ɟʰa   goːɾ-a   goːɾ-a   dada
      I-POSS.SM   fair-M   fair-M   brother
      POSS   ADJ   ADJ   NOUN
      my extremely fair brother

(73) ma-ɟʰe   bahəniːs-ce   don   motʰ-e   poːɾgʰ-e
      I-POSS.PF   sister-POSS.PF   two   big-PF   girl-PF
      my sister's two big girls

(74) ɟərak   ɟərak   uɖiːd
      little   little   black.gram
      QFR   QFR   NOUN
      a very small amount of black gram

(75) baɾik   kʰeɖ-a   gãʋ
      small   small-M   village
      ADJ   ADJ   NOUN
      a very small village

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).

(76) na-lajək   nis-pʰəɭ
      PRE-capable   PRE-fruit
      not capable/incapacitated   fruitless

(77) pik-el   ɟãb-ã
      ripen-PERF   roseapple-PN
      ripened roseapples

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.

(78) as   bahas
      mother   father
      NOUN   NOUN
      parents

(79) pan   koːbiː
      leaf   cabbage
      NOUN   NOUN
      cabbage

(80) a. ɖəʋəɾba
         old.man.father
         NOUN
         grandfather

(80) b. te-nĩː   ɖəʋəɾba-lə   bʰat   diː-la
         he-AG   grandfather-DAT   rice   give-3SM.PA
         He gave the rice to grandfather.

Number system

Normally ordinal numbers agree with the noun in gender and number. The ordinal numbers are *pəhla, dusɾa, tisɾa, cəʋta, pãcʋa…* 'first, second, third, fourth, fifth…'. Example phrases are shown in (81).

(81) pəhl-a   poːse   dusɾ-iː   poːrgʰ-iː
      first-SM   boy-SM   second-SF   girl-SF

The cardinal numbers are *ek, doːn, tin, cer, pãc,… viːsa* 'one, two, three, four, five,…twenty'. In examples (82–84) combinations of numbers are shown for numbers above twenty.

(82) tiːn   ʋiːsa   na   ogəniːs
      three   twenty   and   nineteen
      seventy nine

(83) ek   sẽbəɾ   na   nəʋ
      one   hundred and   nine
      one hundred and nine

(84) nəʋ   ʋiːsa
      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) **ɟẽ**   ɟʰa-lã   **tẽ**   būhū   ʋeʈ   ɟʰa-lã
      what.SN   happen-3SN.PA   that.SN   very   bad   happen-3SN.PA
      CO-REL   DEM   ADJ   ADJ
      Whatever happened it was very bad.

(86) **ɟoː**   ma-lə   ɟ-el   **toː**   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) gʰəɾ-ãt   ah-e   toː
      house-in   be-3ADJ   that.ADJ
      NPLC   VP   DEM
      he who is in the house

(88) uɟəɭa   ah-e   tẽ   pʰuːl
      white   be-3S.PR that.SN   flower
      that flower (which) is white

(89) ɾikama-dʰel   ʋaɖʰgʰo
      no.work-PERF   grandfather
      grandfather who has no work

Locative

(90) mĩː   paɖ-el   teʈʰə
      I   fall-PERF there
      NP   VP   ADV
      there where I had fallen

(91) toː   ɟa-dʰel   tẽ   gʰəɾ
      he   go-PERF   that.SN   house
      NP   VP   DEM   NP
      that house to which he had gone

Possessor

(92) toː   nəʋsu   ɟe-lə   doːn   poːse   ah-ã
      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-ɟʰã   ah-e   tẽ
      I-POSS.SN   be-3S.PR   that.SN
      POSSR   VP   DEM
      that which is mine

(94) ma-pã   ah-e   tiː   gaj
      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) nəʋsu-ce   kərtã   moːʈʰ-a   ah-e   toː   poːse
      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) ɟam-el   hoː-tə   te   loːk
      gather-PERF   be-3PM.PA   that.PM   people
      VP   DEM   NP
      the men who gathered

(97) hə̃s-ə   toː
      laugh-3S.PR   that.SM
      VP   DEM
      he who laughs

Actor (unrealised)

(98) udẽ   ɟiː-ɟa-ca   ah-e   na   toː
      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)   pərʋã   aple   ɟa-ja-cã   na   tẽ
         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   po:se-lə   ãb-ə   di:-dʰel   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)   ɟe-lə   me-hẽ   pani: an-lã   to:
         who-DAT   I-AG   water   bring-3SN.PA he
         NP   NP   NP   VP   PRON
         he to whom I brought water

Patient

(102)   me-hẽ   her-el   to: kutɾ-a
         I-AG   see-PERF that.SM   dog-SM
         NP   VP   DEM   NP
         that/the dog which I saw

Agent

(103)   to: kutɾ-ẽ-lə   maɾ-ə   to:
         that.SM   dog-SM-DAT   beat-3s.   that.SM
         NP   NP   VP   DEM
         he who beats that dog

(104)   kutɾ-ẽ-lə her-el   to: bablu
         dog-DAT   see-PERF that.SM   Bablu
         NP(PAT)   VP   DEM   NP
         that Bablu who saw the dog

(105)   mə-lə   kõ:bɖ-i: di:-dʰel   to: so:nu
         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.   ɟe-ce-satʰi: me-hẽ kam   kəɾ-el
             this-POSS.PF-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-nĩ: ma-la   di:-li: ti: kõbɖ-i:
             Sonu-AG   I-DAT   give-3PN that-SF   chicken-SF
             that hen which Sonu gave me

         c.   me-hẽ tum-alə   kapel   ti:
             I-AG   you-DAT   cut   that-SF
             that I cut for you

Comitative

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

(108) so:nka-haɾĩ: ɟa-dʰel   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

		Possessed					
		Singular noun			Plural noun		
Possessor		M	F	N	M	F	N
1, 2 1	S Incl.	-ɟʰa -la	-ɟʰi: -li:	-ɟʰã -lã	-ɟʰə -lə	-ɟʰe -le	-ɟʰĩ: -lĩ:
1, 2	P	-ca	-ci:	-cã	-cə	-ce	-cĩ:
3*	S and P	-ca	-ci:	-cã	-cə	-ce	-cĩ:

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

Genitive constructions indicate possession, source and belongingness.

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

(110) ham-ce   gaʋ-ãt   setkəri: ɾəh-ət
       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) ãba-cã   ɟʰaɖ
       mango-POSS.SN   tree
       POSSR   POSSD
       tree of mango/mango tree

(112) naglẽ:-ci: bʰakəɾ
       ragi-POSS.SF   bread
       POSSR   POSSD
       bread of ragi/ragi bread

(113) ma-ɟʰi: seʋa
       I-POSS.SF   work
       POSSR   POSSD
       my work

(114)   ma-ɟʰa   kajda
       I-POSS.SM   rule
       POSSR   POSSD
       my rule (i.e. regulation which I made)

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 *taɟa* 'fresh' (115a) ends in a vowel which changes according to gender and number. Table 9 summarizes the agreement using *akʰ-* '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

Noun		Dem		Poss		Qfr 'all'	Adj
Gen	Num	Proximal	Medial	S	P		
M	S	ho:	to:	-ɟʰa	-ca	akʰ-a	-a
	P	he:	te	-ɟʰə	-cə	akʰ-ə	-ə
F	S	hi:	ti:	-ɟʰi:	-ci:	akʰ-i:	-i:
	P	he	te	-ɟʰe	-ce	akʰ-e	-e
N	S	hẽ	tẽ	-ɟʰã	-cã	akʰ-ã	-ã
	P	hĩ:	tĩ:	-ɟʰĩ:	-cĩ:	akʰ-ĩ:	-ĩ:

(115) a. taɟ-ĩ: go:ɖ   go:ɖ   ɟãb-ã
           fresh-PN   sweet   sweet   roseapple-PN
           ADJ   ADJ   ADJ   NOUN
           very sweet, fresh roseapples

      b. ɟərak   bes
           somewhat   nice
           IND.QFR   ADJ

      c. ekdəm   baɾik   po:se
           very   small   boy
           IND.QFR   ADJ   NOUN

      d. ni:ɭ-ã   miɾcũ
           green-SN   chili

      e. ni:ɭ-a   popəʈ
           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, ɟərak,* and *baɾik* 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.   kaɭ-a   kutɾ-a
        black-SM dog-SM

    b.   kal-i: kutɾ-i:
        black-SF   dog-SF

    c.   moːtʰ-i: gʰõːgəɖ-i:
        big-SF   leaf.umbrella-SF
        big umbrella made of leaves

    d.   bes   goːʈ
        nice   story.SF
        ADJ   NOUN

(117) *Quantifier and noun*

    akʰ-e   poːɾgʰ-e
    all-PF   girl-PF
    all girls

(118) *Demonstrative and noun*

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

    hi: gaɖ-i:
    this.SF   train-SF

(119) *Demonstrative, adjective and noun*

    tẽ   pəɖel   ɟãb
    that.SN   not.good   roseapple.PN
    That fallen roseapple.

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

    te   doːn   moːʈʰ-e   poːɾgʰ-e
    that.PF   two   big-PF   girls-PF
    DEM   QFR   ADJ   NOUN
    those two big girls

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

    tĩ: akʰ-ĩ: moːʈʰ-ĩ: loːk-ã
    that.PN   all-PN   big-PN   people-PN
    DEM   QFR   ADJ   NOUN
    all those big people

(122) *Possessive, adjective and noun*

    ma-ɟʰa   kaɭ-a   gʰoːɖ-a
    I-POSS.SM black-SM horse-SM
    my black horse

(123) *Quantifier, adjective and noun*

ek　　　bes　　　go:ʈ
one　　　nice　　　story
NUM　　　ADJ　　　NOUN
a/one nice story

(124) *Possessor, quantifier and noun*

ma-ɟʰã̄　　　tʰo:ɖ-ã̄　　　kam
I-POSS.SN　　some-SN　　work
POSSR　　　QFR　　　NOUN
some of my work

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

ma-ɟʰe　　bahəni:s-ce　　do:n　　mo:ʈʰ-e　　po:rɡʰ-e
I-POSS.PF　sister-POSS.PF　two　　big-PF　　girl-PF
POSSR　　　POSSR　　　QFR　　ADJ　　　NOUN
my sister's two big girls

(126) *Interrogative and noun*

ko:na-ca　　　po:se
who-POSS.SM　　child-SM
whose son

(127) Ordinal *and noun*

pəhl-a　　po:se
first-SM　　child-SM
the first boy

　　　When the head noun has a case marker such as *-lə* or *-āt*, 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-**āt**　　　ɟənavər　　ah-e
we-POSS.PF　　wilderness-in　snake　　be-3S.PR
POSSR　　　　　　　　　NP　　　VP
In our wilderness there is a snake.

(129) a.　ham-ca　　　ran
　　　　we-POSS.SM　　wilderness
　　　　our wilderness

　　　b.　rama-ci:　　　moʈʰ-i:　　bahəni:s　　a-li:
　　　　Rama-POSS.PF　eldest-SF　sister　　come-3SF.PA
　　　　POSSR　　　　　　　NP　　　VP
　　　　Rama's eldest sister came.

　　　c.　ham-ce　　　do:gʰi:　　　gʰərvaɭi:-nhi:-ca　vicar
　　　　we-POSS.PF　both.POSS.PF　wife-PL-POSS.SM　advice
　　　　both of our wive's advice

　　　d.　ham-ce　　　dada-cã　　　ləgi:n
　　　　we-POSS.PF　brother-POSS.SN　marriage
　　　　our brother's marriage

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 *tʰeʋ* 'keep' (example 130) or *kəɾ* 'do' (131) or by a verbaliser such as *-el* (132).

(130) bʰoɾosa   tʰeʋ
       confidence   keep
       NOUN   V
       trust

(131) a. ʋicaɾ   kəɾ
           thought   do
           NOUN   V
           think

       b. məɟa   kəɾ
           love   do
           love

       c. ʋajəla   kəɾ
           separation do
           separate

       d. sapʰ   kəɾ
           clean   do
           clean

(132) oːɟ-el
       ripe-VBLR
       ripen

Some adjectives such as *kʰus* 'happy' may be followed by *hoː-* '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) məgəɾ   ekdəm   kʰus   hoː-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.

> *ʋicaɾ* 'ask' (V), 'thinking/thought' (N) (cf. 131a)
> *man* 'consider (V), 'honour' (N)
> *kʰeɭ* '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

ambiguous in finite verbs.) 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 analised 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 (FU) in the examples.

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

Person	Gender	Singular	Plural*
Present			
1	M/F	ahũ/ahĩ:	ahãʋ
2	M/F	ahes	ahãs
3	N	ahe	ahã
Past			
1	M/F	ho:tũ	ho:tũ
2	M	ho:tas	ho:təs
	F	ho:ti:s	ho:tes
	M and F		ho:tĩ:s
3	M	ho:ta	ho:tə
	F	ho:ti:	ho:te
	N	ho:tã	ho:tĩ:
Future			
1	M/F	hoʋũ	hoʋũ
2	M	hoʋas	hoʋəs
	F	hoʋi:s	hoʋes
	M and F		hoʋĩ:s
3	M	hoʋa	hoʋə
	F	hoʋi:	hoʋe
	N	hoʋã	hoʋĩ:

*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

	Person	Gender	Singular	Plural
With CF verb roots	1 2 3	M/F M/F	-ə̃ -əs -ə	-ũ -a -ət
With VF verb roots	1 2 3	M/F M/F	-~j -s -j	-~ʋ* Ø -t

*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 *ʋ* in both present and future tenses.

(134) a. te   kəɾ-ət
            they   do-3P.PR

       b. hamĩː   kʰã-ʋ
           we   eat-1P.PR

       c. miː   kʰã-j
           I   eat-1S.PR

       d. tumĩː   kʰa
           you(P)   eat-2P.PR

Table 12. Conjugation of regular verbs in the simple past

Person	Gender	Singular	Plural
1	M/F	-lũ	-lũ
2	M F M/F	-las -liːs	-ləs -les -lĩs
3	M F N	-la -liː -lã	-lə -le -lĩː

(135) a. toː   bəs-la
           he   sit-3SM.PA
           he sat

       b. tũ   bəs-las
           you   sit-2SM.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

	Person	Gender	Singular	Plural
With CF verb roots	1 2 3	M/F M/F	-ən -si:(l) -əl	-un -sa(l) -tʰi:(l)
With VF verb roots	1 2 3	M/F M/F	-n -si:(l) -l	-n -sa(l) -tʰi:(l)

(136) a. to: sãg-əl
      he   say-3s.FU
      he will say

 b. mĩ: ɟa-n
    I   go-1s.FU
    I will go.

 c. hamĩ: ɟa-n
    we   go-1P.FU
    we will go

3.2.3 Progressive tenses

The progressive tenses are formed by suffixing *-t* (VF) or *-ət* (CF) 'progressive' to the verb root. The appropriate form of the verb 'to be' follows as auxiliary.

(137) tẽ   kam   kəɾ-ət   ah-ã
      they work do-PROG be-3P.PR
      They are working.

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

(139) tumĩ: ɟa-t   ho-ʋĩːs
      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

| Person | Gender and Number | Main verb suffix | | Auxiliary verb 'to be' | | |
		(VF) verb root	(CF) verb root	Present	Past	Subjunctive/ Future
1	SM.SF	-dʰel	-el	ahũ	ho:tũ	hoʋũ
	PM.PF	-dʰel	-el	ahãʋ	ho:tũ	hoʋũ
2	SM	-dʰel	-el	ahes	ho:tas	hoʋas
	SF	-dʰel	-el	ahes	ho:ti:s	hoʋi:s
	PM	-dʰel	-el	ahãs	ho:təs	hoʋəs
	PF	-dʰel	-el	ahãs	ho:tes	hoʋes
	PN	-dʰel	-el	ahãs	ho:tĩ:s	hoʋĩ:s
3	SM	-dʰel	-el	ahe	ho:ta	hoʋa
	SF	-dʰel	-el	ahe	ho:ti	hoʋi
	SN	-dʰel	-el	ahe	ho:tã	hoʋã
	PM	-dʰel	-el	ahã	ho:tə	hoʋə
	PF	-dʰel	-el	ahã	ho:te	hoʋe
	PN	-dʰel	-el	ahã	ho:tĩ:	hoʋĩ:

(140) mĩ: utʰ-el   ho:-tũ
      I   get.up-PERF   be-1S.PA
      I have gotten up.

(141) mĩ: utʰ-el   ho-ʋũ
      I   get.up-PERF   be-1S.FU
      I might get up/I will get up.

(142) te-nĩ: caɾ   kap-el   ho:-ta
      he-AG   grass   cut-PERF be-3SF.PA
      He has cut the grass.

(143) me-hẽ   pʰaɭ-ã   kʰa-dʰel   ho-ʋĩ:
      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 15. Infinitive suffixes

	Sg	Pl
M	-ca	-cə
F	-ci:	-ce
N	-cã	-cĩ:

(144) ʋik-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:

kʰa	'eat'
ɟa	'go'
je	'come'
de	'give'
gʰe	'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 *ɟa* 'go' in the simple past, as shown in table 16.

Fusion

ɟajaca ahũ/ahĭː	→	ɟajacahũ/hĭː	'I am about to go'
ɟajaca ahes	→	ɟajacahes	'you were about to go'
ɟa + aja	→	ɟaja	'in order to go'
kʰa + ən	→	kʰan	'(I) will eat'
de + ən	→	den	'(I) will give'

Addition

kʰa + ɟoːs	→	kʰajɟoːs	'eat (imp.)'
ɟa + ɟoːs	→	ɟajɟoːs	'go (imp.)'

Metathesis

ɟa + ajca	→	ɟajaca	'in order to go'
je + ajca	→	jejaca	'in order to come'

Other changes in the verb root

ɟa + -la	→	gela	'(he) went'
pe + -aja	→	piːja	'in order to drink'

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

je	'come'	—	ala	'(he) came'
de	'give'	—	diːla	'(he) gave'
ne	'take'	—	niːla	'(he) took'
pe	'drink'	—	piːla	'(he) drank'

Table 16. Conjugation of *ɟa* 'go'* in the irregular simple past

Person	Gender	Singular	Plural
1	M	ge-lũ	ge-lũ
	F	ge-lũ	ge-lũ
	M/F		ge-lũ
2	M	ge-las	ge-ləs
	F	ge-liːs	ge-les
	M/F		ge-lĩːs
3	M	gela	ge-lə
	F	ge-liː	ge-le
	N	ge-lã	ge-lĩː

*The past tense of the transitive verb *kər* 'do' is conjugated like *ɟa* '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 17. The auxiliary verb *sək-*

Person	Gender-Number	Present	Past	Future
1	S	-ə̃	-lũ	-ən
	P	-ũ	-lũ	-un
2	SM	-əs	-las	-si:(l)
	SF	-əs	-li:s	-si:(l)
	PM	-a	-ləs	-sa(l)
	PF	-a	-les	-sa(l)
	PN	-a	-lĩ:s	-sa(l)
3	SM	-ə	-la	-əl
	SF	-ə	-li:	-əl
	SN	-ə	-lã	-əl
	PM	-ət	-lə	-thi:(l)
	PF	-ət	-le	-thi:(l)
	PN	-ət	-lĩ	-thi:(l)

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, *ãba-* 'mango' (M), *gaɖi:* 'train' (F), *pãkʰurũ* 'insect' (N). The example in (145) shows agreement between the subject and the verb in the past progressive.

Table 18. Third person agreement between
the noun phrase and the verb phrase

Gender-Number	NP	VP-past
SM	-o	-a
SF	-i:	-i:
SN	-ẽ	-ã
PM	-e	-ə
PF	-e	-e
PN	-ĩ:	-ĩ:

(145)　a.　to:　　ɟa-t　　　　ho:-ta
　　　　　　he　　go-PROG　　be-3SM.PA
　　　　　　He was going.

　　　b.　tĩ:　　　　ɾa-ət　　　ho:-tĩ:
　　　　　　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 *-nĩ/-hĩ* '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.

(146) mĩː   kam   kəɾ-ə́
      I   work   do-1S.PR
      I do the work.

(147) me-hẽ   kam   ke-lã/kəɾ-lã³
      I-AG   work   do-3S.PA
      I did the work.

Table 19 summarizes the agreement between the object and the verb in ergative constructions and examples are given in (148–152). Note that when relativisation is on the agent in a past or perfective tense, the agent/ergative case marker does not occur. (See, for example, 104 and 105.)

Table 19. Agreement between the object and the verb

Agent	Object	NP	VP
ɾama-nĩː	SM ʈoːpla 'big basket'	-a	-a
ɾama-nĩː	SF ʈoːpliː 'small basket'	-iː	-iː
ɾama-nĩː	SN ʋasəɾũ 'calf'	-ũ	-ã
ɾama-nĩː	PM ʈoːplə 'big baskets'	-ə	-ə
ɾama-nĩː	PF ʈoːple 'small baskets'	-e	-e
ɾama-nĩː	PN ʋasəɾã 'calves'	-ã	-ĩː

(148) a. ɾama-nĩː   ʈoːpl-a   an-la
          Rama-AG   basket(big)-M   bring-3SM.PA
          Rama brought the basket.

      b. ɾama-nĩː   ʋasəɾ-ã   an-lĩː
          Rama-AG   calf-PN   bring-3PN.PA
          Rama brought the calves.

(149) me-hẽ   bes   kam   ke-lã/kəɾ-lã
      I-AG   good   work   do-3SN.PA
      I did good work.

(150) me-hẽ   sãg-lã
      I-AG   tell-3SN.PA
      I told (it).

(151) te-nĩː   pək-ã   kʰa-lã
      he-AG   much-SN   eat-3SN.PA
      NP   ADJ   VP
      He ate a lot.

(152) me-hẽ   te-lə   pʰuːl-ã   diː-lĩː
      I-AG   he-DAT   flower-PN   give-3PN.PA
      NP-AG   NP-BEN   NP   VP
      I gave flowers to him.

In the simple past and perfective tenses when the patient is marked with -lə or -alə, the verb is always suffixed by the third person singular neuter suffix, as in (153).

(153) ʋənsa-nĩː   coːɾ-alə   kuːʈ-lã
      Vansa-AG   thief-DAT   beat-3SN.PA
      NP-AG   NP-PAT   VP
      Vansa beat the thief.

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³ The verb *kəɾ* '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 *pədər* is suffixed by *-lə*.

(154) te-nĩː   pədər-lə-c   kap-lã
       he-AG   self-DAT-EMP   cut-3SN.PA
       He cut himself.

(155) me-hẽ   pədər-lə   kap-lã
       I-AG   self-DAT   cut-3SN.PA
       I cut myself.

(156) te-nĩː   pədər-lə   nahĩː   kap-lã
       he-AG   self-DAT   not   cut-3SN.PA
       He did not cut himself.

Personal pronouns function as patient only if they are marked with *-lə*; 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 *-əʊ* occurs after consonants; *-ʊəʊ* occurs after vowels, as shown in (157).

(157) peʈ,   'set fire'   peʈ-əʊ   'cause to set fire'
       kʰa   'eat'   kʰa-ʊəʊ   'cause to eat'
       siːk   'study'   siːk-əʊ   'cause to study'

(158) ʊənsiː-nĩː   poːsẽ-lə   kʰeʈ-əʊ-lã
       Vansi-AG   boy-DAT   play-CAUS-3SM.PA
       NP   NP
       Vansi made the boy play.

(159) loːkã-hĩː   ran-ãt   pet-əʊ-liː
       people-AG   forest-in   fire set.fire-CAUS-3PN.PA
       NP   NPLC   NP
       People set the fire in the forest.

(160) guɾuʝi-nĩː   posẽ-lə   bes   sik-əʊ-lã
       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:

ə becomes aː

(161) pəɖ   'fall'   paɖ   'cause to fall, drop'
       utəɾ   'get down'   utaɾ   'cause to get down, take down'

(162) mĩː   mã-ɟʰã   kaʈiːɟ   paɖ-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).

ţ becomes *ḍ:*

(163)   pʰaţ   'tear'   pʰaḍ   'cause to tear, tear (transitive)'

(164)   te-nĩː   kagəd   pʰaḍ-un   ţak-la
        he   paper   tear.CAUS-LK to.be-3SM.PA
        He tore the paper out.

u becomes *oː* and *ţ* becomes *ḍ:*

(165)   pʰuţ   'burst'   pʰoːḍ   'cause to burst/break'

(166)   vaţka   pʰoːḍ-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)   pe   'drink'   paɟ-əʋ   'cause to drink'

(168)   te-nĩː   te-lə   cəha   paɟ-əʋ-liː
        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)   mĩː   kʰel-ət   ah-ũ/ahĩ
        I   play-PROG   be-1S.PR
        I am playing.

(170)   mĩː   kʰel-ʋ-ət   ah-e
        I   play-CAUS-PROG   be-3S.PR
        I make (him) play.

(171)   mĩː   kʰel-ʋ-ən
        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 20. Non-causative and causative forms

Stative/intransitive	Causative	Indirect causative
bih-ət 'afraid'	bih-ʋət	bih-ʋən
kʰeɭ-ət 'play'	kʰeɭ-ʋət	kʰeɭ-ʋən
niːɟ-ət 'sleep'	niːɟ-ʋət	niːɟ-ʋən
kʰa-t 'eat'	kʰəʋ-ʋət	kʰə-ʋaʋən

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 *-ɟə/-ɟ* 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 *-lə* 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   di:-ɟ-ə
       oil   give-PAS-3S.PR
       NP   VP
       The oil is being given.

(173) tel   di:-ɟ-ət   ho-ʋa
       oil   give-PAS-PROG be-3SM.FU
       NP   VP
       The oil will be given.

(174) ham-alə   kõ:bɖ-i: di-ɟ-əl
       us-DAT   chicken-F   give-PAS-3S.FU
       NP(REC)   NP   VP
       A hen will be given to us.

(175) ham-alə   tel   di-ɟ-ət   ho-ʋa
       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) ma-lə   ãba   di-dʰel   ah-e
       I-DAT   mango give-PERF be-SM.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 21. Passive forms

Num-Gen	Patient	Present	Future	Pr.prog	Pa.prog	Fu.prog
SM	ãba 'mango'	-ɟə	-ɟəl	-ɟət ahe	-ɟət ho:ta	-ɟət hoʋa
SF	kõ:bɖi: 'hen'	-ɟə	-ɟəl	-ɟət ahe	-ɟət ho:ti:	-ɟət hoʋi
SN	pʰu:l 'flower'	-ɟə	-ɟəl	-ɟət ahe	-ɟət ho:tã	-ɟət hoʋã
PM	ãbə	-ɟət	-ɟətʰi:l	-ɟət ahã	-ɟət ho:tə	-ɟət hoʋə
PF	kõ:bɖe	-ɟət	-ɟətʰi:l	-ɟət ahã	-ɟət ho:te	-ɟət hoʋe
PN	pʰu:lã	-ɟət	-ɟətʰi:l	-ɟət ahã	-ɟət ho:tĩ:	-ɟət hoʋĩ:

Num-Gen	Contrary-to-fact	Past	Pr.perf	Pa.perf	Fu.perf
SM	-ɟə-ta	di:la	di:dʰel ahe	di:dʰel hota	di:dʰel hoʋa
SF	-ɟə-ti:	di:li:	di:dʰel ahe	di:dʰel hoti:	di:dʰel hoʋi:
SN	-ɟə-tã	di:lã	di:dʰel ahe	di:dʰel hotã	di:dʰel hoʋã
PM	-ɟə-tə	di:lə	di:dʰel ahã	di:dʰel hotə	di:dʰel hoʋə
PF	-ɟə-te	di:le	di:dʰel ahã	di:dʰel hote	di:dʰel hoʋe
PN	-ɟə-tʰĩ:	di:lĩ:	di:dʰel ahã	di:dʰel hotĩ:	di:dʰel hoʋĩ:

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.[4] 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   ʋəɾiː   **ʋik-aj-ca**   ah-es
       you   millet sell-IRR-INF-SM be-2S.PR
       You are about to sell millet.

(178) ho   gʰəɾ   **ʋik-aj-cã**   hoː-ta
       this house   sell-IRR-INF-SN be-3SN.PA
       This house was about to sell.

(179) paniː **pəɖ-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

Person	Gender-Number	Inf. suffix	Auxiliary verb		
			Present	Past	Future
1	SM	-ca	ahĩː/ahũ	hotũ	hoʋũ
	SF	-ciː	ahĩː/ahũ	hotũ	hoʋũ
	PM	-cə	ahã	hotũ	hoʋũ
	PF	-ce	ahã	hotũ	hoʋũ
	PM&F	-cĩː	ahã	hotũ	hoʋũ
2	SM	-ca	ahes	hotas	hoʋas
	SF	-ciː	ahes	hotiːs	hoʋiːs
	PM	-cə	ahãs	hotəs	hoʋəs
	PF	-ce	ahãs	hotes	hoʋes
	PM&F	-cĩː	ahãs	hotĩːs	hoʋĩːs
3	SM	-ca	ahe	hota	hoʋa
	SF	-ciː	ahe	hotiː	hoʋiː
	SN	-cã	ahe	hotã	hoʋã
	PM	-cə	ahã	hotə	hoʋtə
	PF	-ce	ahã	hote	hoʋe
	PN	-cĩː	ahã	hotĩː	hoʋĩ

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[4] 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 *mə̃ɖ* 'begin'.

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

(181) mə̃ɖəli: **vəd^h-aj** mə̃ɖ-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 *kəɾ* '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) lo:k tum-alə heɾ-**jã** kəɾ-ət
people you-DAT see-CON do-3P.PR
People keep on seeing you.

(183) to: k^ha-**jã** kəɾ-ə
he eat-CON do-3S.PR
He keeps on eating.

(184) pani: je-**jã** kəɾ-ə
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) bo:l-**un** bo:l-**un** to: həʈ-la
speak-LK speak-LK he tire-3SM.PA
By speaking and speaking he became tired/he tired.

(186) ɟa-**ta** ɟa-**ta** ɟa-**ta** te-lə lag-la cik^həl
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:-va**
he go-3SM.PA be-3SM.FU
He might have gone.

(188) to: ji-ja-ca **ho:-va**
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) makəɖ **dərro:ɟ** taɟ-ĩ: taɟ-ĩ: pik-el ɟãb-ã kʰa-j
      monkey daily fresh-PN fresh-PN ripen-PERF roseapple-PN eat-3S.PR
      Monkey eats really freshly ripened roseapples every day.

(190) **di:naj** to: baɟarar-lə ɟa-j
      every.day he market-DAT go-3S.PA
      He went to the bazaar every day.

(191) mĩ: **di:naj-ce** ganã sãg-ət ho:-tũ
      I every.day-POSS song sing-PROG be-1PA
      I used to sing a song every day.

(192) hamĩ: **di:naj-ce** bʰakər kʰa-t ho:-tũ
      we every.day-POSS bread eat-PROG be-1PA
      We used to eat bread every day.

(193) hamĩ: **ro:ɟ** hĩ:ɖ-ũ
      we every.day wander-1P.FU
      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 *ɟʰa* '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: rəg-ʋaj-la
      he angry-IMPER-3SM.PA
      He became angry (because of what someone did).

(195) teʈʰə ɟa-ʋaj-lã
      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

Object	Present	Past	Future
Singular	lag-ə	lag-la, -liː, -lã	lag-əl
Plural	lag-ət	lag-li, -le, -lĩː	lag-tʰiːl

(198) mĩː   dõgəɾ-alə   **ɟa-ja**   ah-ũ/ahĩː
      I   mountain-to   go-IRR   be-1S.PR
      I must go to the mountain.

(199) ma-lə   ḍəhanu-lə   **ɟa-ja**   **lag-ə**
      I-DAT   Dahanu-to   go-IRR   begin-3S.PR
      It is necessary for me to go to Dahanu.

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

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

(202) ma-lə   tu-lə   kəpḍ-ə   **diː-ja**   **lag-ət**
      I-DAT   you-DAT   cloth   give-IRR   begin-3S.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: maɟuɾi: **diː-ja-c**   **lag-əl**
      one   measure   cooli   give-IRR-EMP   begin-3S.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 *pajɟə* 'must'.

(204) te-lə   bes   noːkəɾi: **miḷ-aj**   **pajɟ-ə**
      he-DAT   good   job   get-IRR   must-3S.PR
      He must get a good job.

(205) həm-alə   ek   baʈli: daɾu   **miḷ-aj**   **pajɟ-ə**
      we-to   one   bottle   arrack   get-IRR   must-3S.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) **ɾam-alə**   he   gʰəɾ   ʋik-aj   **lag-əl**
      Rama-DAT   this   house   sell-IRR   begin-3S.FU
      Rama wants to sell this house.

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

In active forms the abilitative indicates the ability or capability of the subject to perform the action. The abilitative suffix *-al/-ʋal* 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 *-tã* on the main verb followed by the auxiliary 'to come', as in (210). The passive is formed with the impersonal suffix *-ʋaj/-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 *sək* 'able in (245–246).

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

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

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

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

(212) əsã   ɟa-ʋaj
       thus   go-IMPER
       One can go this way/thus.

(213) soːnka-lə   kʰa-ʋaj
       Sonka-DAT   eat-IMPER
       Sonka can eat/ (It) can be eaten by Sonka.

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

3.7   Negation in the verb phrase

The negative marker *nahĩ:* 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: **nahĩ:** kʰuḍ-el   hoː-tã
       we.AG   not   pluck-PERF   be-3SN.PA
       We have not plucked (it).

(216) koːni: si:kʰ-el   **nahĩ:**   hoː-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) toː   nahĩ: sãg-ə
       he   not   tell-3S.PR
       He won't tell.

(218) to: ɟa-j   nahĩ:
       he   go-3S.PR   not
       He won't go.

Equative

(219) to: nahĩ: ah-e
       he   not   be-3S.PR
       He is not (there).

(220) ma-lə   bʰoroːsa   nahĩ:
       I-DAT   hope   not
       I do not have hope.

Simple past

(221) ti: nahĩ: a-li:
       she   not   come-3SF.PA
       She did not come.

(222) hamĩ: di:-lã   nahĩ:
       we.AG   give-3SN.PA   not
       We never gave/We did not give (it).

Simple future

(223) tumĩ: nahĩ: ɟa-sal
       you(P)   not   go-2P.FU
       You will not go.

(224) to: ɟokʰ-əl   nahĩ:
       he   weigh-3S   will not
       He will not weigh.

Progressive

(225) to: nahĩ: pe-t   ho:ta
       he   not   drink-PROG   be.3SM.PA
       He was not drinking.

Imminent

(226) tumĩ: nahĩ: kʰa-ja-cĩ:
       you   not   eat-IRR-INF.SF
       You are not about to eat.

(227) tumĩ: ɟa-ja-cĩ: nahĩ:
       you   go-IRR-INF.SF   not
       You are not about to go.

Obligation

(228) pani: nahĩ: pəɖ-aj   paɟɟ-ə
       water   not   fall-IRR   must-3S.PR
       Water must not fall.

(229) miɭ-aj   nahĩ: paɟɟ-ə
       get-IRR   not   must-3S.PR
       He must not get (it).

Emphasis

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

     b. tũ   nahĩ: ji:-dʰel-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. kəse   nahĩ: a-la
         why   not   come-3SM.PA
         Why didn't he come?

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

Command

(234) a. dukʰ   nahĩ: de-s
         pain   not   give-2S.PR
         Don't give pain.

     b. nahĩ: dukʰ   de-s
         not   pain   give-2S.PR
         Don't give pain.

Abilitative

(235) ma-lə   nahĩ: ɟa-ʋal
      I-DAT   not   go-ABIL
      I can't go.

(236) nahĩ: ma-lə   ɟa-ʋal?
      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) pẽɖʰa   kəmi: je-j
      straw   less   come-3S.PR
      NP   ADV.QFR VP
      There is/will be little straw (because it didn't grow well).

(238) to: ɟasti   rəɖ-la
      he   much   cry-3SM.PA
      NP   ADV.QFR VP
      He cried a lot.

(239) a. dʰiːɾe   dʰiːɾe   lag
           slowly   slowly   fall.IMP
           ADV   ADV   VP
           Do (the work) very slowly (when it's hard work).

      b. laha   laha   je
           quickly   quickly   come.IMP
           ADV   ADV   VP
           Come quickly!

(240) a. koːla   ge-la   təɖ   təɖ   uɖ-un
           fox   go-3SM.PA ONO ONO fly-LK
           The fox went by running *təɖ təɖ*.

      b. kaɟim   piʈ   piʈ   piʈ   kəɾ-ə
           always   ONO   ONO   ONO   murmur-3S.PR
           ADV   VP
           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

Proximal	Medial	Distal
etʰə 'here'	teʈʰə 'there'	te teʈʰə 'away over there'
ikəɖə 'here' (loan word)	tikəɖə 'there' (loan word)	(teː [rising intonation] teʈʰə)
ena 'this side'	tena 'that side'	
ikəɖ-un 'by/from this'	tikəɖ-un 'by that/ from there' (loan word)	

(241) etʰə   loːk-ã   ah-ã
      here   people-P be-3P.PR
      ADV   NP   VP
      The people are here.

(242) teʈʰə   bəs-a
      there   sit-2P.PR
      ADV   VP
      (You) sit there.

(243) bəl   te teʈʰə   ah-e
      bull   away.over.there be-3S.PR
      NP   ADV   VP
      The bull is in the very far distance.

(244) tiː   teʈʰ-un   a-liː
      she   there-from come-3SF.PA
      NP   ADV   VP
      She came from there.

Other adverbs include locative and temporal words and phrases. Some temporal adverbs are listed below.

Temporal adverbs

Past

pəhle ʋəkʰət	'ancient time'
ekdiːs	'one day'
ekda	'one time'
poɾdiːs	'last year'
teɾʋãcediːs	'4 days ago'
əɾʋãcediːs	'3 days ago'
pəɾʋãcediːs	'2 days ago'
kaldiːs	'yesterday'
ɾatdiːs	'last night'
niːɾtã	'a little while ago'

Present

aɟ	'today'
atã	'now'

Future

gʰəɖek	'a little later'
ekadiːs	'some day'
dusɾe ʋəɾis	'next year'
teɾʋã	'after 4 days'
əɾʋã	'after 3 days'
pəɾʋã	'after 2 days'
səkal	'morning'
udẽ	'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 kãhiː **kəɾ-un nahĩː sək-ə**
snake anything do-LK not able-3s.PR
Snake cannot do anything.

(246) sãtiː anə̃d **miʟ-un sək-ə**
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. tʰeʋ-un de
keep-LK give
keep

b. de-n   tak
   give-LK   take
   give

c. ʋisəɾ-un   ɟa
   forget-LK   go
   forget completely

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

(248) soːɖ-un   de
      loosen-LK   give
      leave

In (249) both verbs keep their separate meaning.

(249) a. kaɖʰ-un   tʰeʋ
         take-LK   keep
         take and keep

      b. gʰe-n   ɟa
         take-LK   go
         take and go

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

(250) heɾ-un   kaɖʰ
      see-LK   take.out
      find out thoroughly

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

(251) a. tiː   poːɾgʰ-iː   kʰa-t   ge-liː
         that girl-SF   eat-PROG   go-3SF.PA
         The girl went along eating.

      b. toː   kʰeɭ-ət   kʰeɭ-ət   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 *pədər* 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-nĩː   **pədər-lə**   maɾ-un   ʈak-la
      he-AG   self-DAT   kill-LK   take-3SM.PA
      NP(AG)   NP(PAT)   VP
      He killed himself/he committed suicide.

A *reflexive recipient* is always marked with the benefactive -ɟʰe-saʈʰi or -ce-saʈʰi and not with -lə. 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-ɟʰe-saʈʰi: an-el
　　　 I   me-POSS-for   bring-PERF
　　　 NP   NP   VP
　　　 I brought (it) for myself.

(254) tumi: tum-ce-saʈʰi: noko: ɟəg-a
　　　 you   you-POSS-for   NEG.IMP   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-lə* '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-hĩ: **ek   dusre-lə**   ku:ʈ-el
　　　 they-AG   one   another-DAT   beat-PERF
　　　 They beat one another.

(256) **ek   dusre-lə**   man-aj   lag-ə
　　　 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) vənsi: tə   bes   po:rgʰ-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) po:sẽ   kam-alə   ɟa-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 -lə if another participant is not present, that is in impersonal constructions, as in (260). (See also examples 10–12, in which the exeriencer is marked by -lə.)

(259) ti: sapa-lə   bih-ə
　　　 she   snake-DAT   fear-3S.PR
　　　 NP(EXP)   NP   VP
　　　 She fears snakes.

(260) soːnka-lə   bih-ʋaj
     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 *-nĩː/-hũː/-iː* 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, *ʋənsiː* in sentences (262) and (263).

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

(262) ʋənsiː paniː   an-ə
     Vansi   water   bring-3S.PR
     NP(AG) NP
     Vansi brings water.

(263) ʋənsiː-nĩː   poːsẽ-lə   kʰeɭ-əʋ-lã
     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 *-lə* if it is the intended goal of the action.

(264) kʰəɖe-nĩː gaj-lə   dʰəɾ-el
     tiger-AG   cow-SF.DAT   catch-PERF
     NP(AG)   NP(PAT)   VP
     The tiger caught the cow.

(265) toː   coːɾ-a-lə   kuʈ-ə
     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 *-lə*.

(266) a. toː   poːsẽ-lə   bʰakəɾ   de-j
        he   child.P-DAT bread   give-3S.PR
        NP(AG) NP(REC)   NP(PAT)   VP
        He gives bread to children.

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

Locative: The allative and locative suffixes *-lə/-alə* 'to, towards, dative', *-ĩː* 'to', *-ãt/-˜t* 'to' (267) and *-ʋəɾ* '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 *-lə* 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 *-lə*. In a ditransitive clause only one participant can be marked by *-lə*.

(267)   to: te   gaʋ-ãt   ge-la
           he   that   village-in   go-3SM.PA
           He went (to) that village.

(268)   sap-alə   dʰər
           snake-DAT   catch.IMP
           NP(PAT)   VP
           Catch the snake.

(269)   te-lə   ʋənsi: hucəl-ə
           he-DAT   Vansi   lift-3S.PR
           NP(PAT)   NP(AG)   VP
           Vansi lifts him.

(270)   to: ma-lə   pani: de-j
           he   I-DAT   water   give-3S.PR
           NP(AG)   NP(REC)   NP(PAT)   VP
           He gives me water.

(271)   so:nka-lə   məsala   tikəʈ   lag-ə
           Sonka-DAT   masala   hot   begin-3S.PR
           NP(EXP)   NP   ADJ   VP
           The masala seems hot for Sonka.

(272)   so:nka-lə   bʰəkəɾ   go:ɖ   lag-ə
           Sonka-DAT   bread   sweet   begin-3S.PR
           NP(EXP)   NP   ADJ   VP
           The bread seems too sweet for Sonka.

In (273) *ɟʰaɖ* is not marked with *-lə* although it is a specific big tree (and therefore masculine). On the other hand, in (274) *ɖõ:gəɾ* is marked with *-lə* since it is specific and also the goal of the action, although it is inanimate.

(273)   ho: ɟʰaɖ   to:ɖ
           this   tree   cut.IMP
           Cut this tree.

(274)   ɖõ:gəɾ-alə   cəl
           mountain-DAT   come.IMP
           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 *-kʰəl*.

(275)   ti: sena-**kʰəl**   gʰəɾ   saɾʋ-ət   ah-e
           she   cow.dung-with   house   wash-PROG   be-3S.PR
           NP   NP(INST)   NP(PAT)   VP
           She is washing the house with cow dung.

(276)   gaj   sĩgã-**kʰəl**   maɾ-ə
           cow   horns-with   beat-3S.PR
           The cow butts with its horns.

(277)   hatʰa-**kʰəl**   li:kʰ
           hand-with   write.IMP
           Write with (your) hand.

Benefactive: The benefactive, that is the person or things benefitted by the action, is marked by *-saʈʰi:*.

(278) mĩ: ʋənsi:-saʈʰi: cokʰə dẽ-j
I Vansi-for rice give-1s.PR
NP NP(BEN) NP(PAT) VP
I give rice for Vansi.

(279) ti: ma-ɟʰe-saʈʰi: ɟeʋən bənʋ-ə
she I-POSS.PF-for food make-3s.PR
She makes/cooks food for me.

(280) te-nĩ: ham-ce-saʈʰi: cokʰə ɾã-dʰel
she-AG we-POSS.PF-for rice cook-PERF
NP NP(BEN) NP(PAT) VP
She cooked rice for us.

(281) ɾama-nĩ: te-ce bahəni:s-saʈʰi: kõ:bɖ-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:nka-saʈʰi: ʈʰalĩ:-t ɟeʋən 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 *-lə* 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 25. Case markers indicating the role of participants

Case marker	Null Ø	*-nĩ/-hĩ/-i* 'agentive'	*-lə/-alə* 'dative'	*-kʰəl*	*-saʈʰi:*
Role	Statant Actor Agent in non-ergative Patient	Agent in ergative constructions	Recipient Patient Locative (direction/goal) Experiencer	Instrument	Benefactive

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

Suffix/Postpos.	Use/Comments	Example
-ĩː 'to'	a specific place	gʰər-**ĩː** 'to the house'
-ãt/-t* 'inside, into, in' -e 'in'	any place	to: gʰər-**ãt** ge-la he house-into go-3SM.PA 'He went into the house.' gaʋ-**ãt** 'in the village' eke-e one-in 'in' one
-lə 'to'	to a specific place/ person	selʋas-**lə** Silvassa-to 'to Silvassa' hama-**lə** we -to 'to us'
-hun/-un 'from'	from any place	to: gʰər-ĩː-**hun** a-la he house-to-from come-3SM.PA He came from the house.
-ʋərhun/ -aʋərhun 'from above'		ɟʰaɖ-**aʋərhun** tree-above.from 'above from the tree'
-pãsun 'away from'	from speaker	ma-**pãsun** me-from
-ãtʰun 'out of'	from out of the place	to gʰər-**ãtʰun** kaɖʰ-un ʈak-ə he house-out.of drag-LK to.be-3P.PR He drags (her) out from the house.
-ce kəɖ	towards	chikʰli-**ce kəɖ** 'Chikli-towards'
-ce 'to'	to	lekiːs-**ce** daughter (house) to to daughter's house
-ce/-ace samuɾ	near a person/place	deʋ-**ace** samuɾ 'near God's presence'
-ce magahun	after that	te-**ce magahun** 'after that' (especially in narrative)
-ce patʰiː	after a person	te-**ce patʰiː**-ʋər 'after him'
-ce merələ	near objects	nəj-**ce merələ** 'near the river'
-ce bʰuj	down	ʈebəl-**ce bʰuj** 'under the table'

-ce pʰirtʰun	around the person	te-**ce pʰirtʰun** 'around him'
-ce baheɾ	out	gʰəɾã-**ce baheɾ** 'outside of the house'
-ce ãt	inside	ʋaɖiː-**ce ãt** 'inside of the garden'
-ce puɖʰã	before	te-**ce puɖʰã** 'before that'
-ce ʋẽgət	near	te-**ce ʋẽgət** 'near him'
-ʋəɾ/-aʋəɾ 'on top of, on, to'		gaɖiː-**ʋəɾ** 'cart' dõgəɾ-**aʋəɾ** 'on the mountain' auɾuɟiː sal-**ʋəɾ** ɟa-j teacher school-to go-3pr 'the teacher goes to school'
-kʰəl/-akʰəl	under, by	ɟʰaɖ-**akʰəl** 'under the tree' hatʰ-**akʰəl** 'by hand'
-asĩ̄ː	near a person/place	daɾ-**asĩ̄ː** 'near the door'
-pasĩ	with some person	tũ-**pasĩ** 'with you'
-pã/-apã	owned by some person. with, having	ma-**pã** 'I have/owned by me'

*The underlying form of this suffix is *-ãt,* but after a vowel-final morpheme it nasalises the vowel and *ã* is deleted. For example *taɭiː* 'small pond' plus *-ãt* → *taɭĩ̄ːt* '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', *-iː* 'feminine singular', *-Ø* 'neuter singular'.

(283)   posẽ   kase   tũ   ɾəɖ-əs
        child.VOC.SN   why   you   cry-2S.PR
        Child, why are you crying?

(284)   makəɖ-a   makəɖ-a   tũ   ɾoɟ   oːɖʰiː
        monkey-VOC.SM   monkey-VOC.SM   you   daily   this.much

        bes   na   goɖ   ɟãb-ã   kʰa-s
        well   then   sweet   roseapple-PN   eat-2S.PR
        Monkey, Monkey, you daily are eating good and sweet roseapples.

(285)   məgəɾ-iː   tũ   ma-lə   pəɾət   gʰe-n   ɟa
        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

Suffix/Post	Use/Comments	Example
Similitative		
-ce ɟəsã	like	cakəɾ-**ce ɟəsã** 'like the servant'
-ce səɾkʰa/ səɾkʰa	like	bahas-**ce səɾkʰa** 'like his father'
-oːɖʰã	just like	cãd-**oːɖʰã** 'just like moon'
Temporal		
-ĩ 'on, in'	for days of week/ for division of day	sukuɾʋaɾ-**ĩ** 'on Friday' ɾat-**ĩ** 'in the night'
-a/-sa	for the year	gele ʋəɾ-**sa** 'last year – in last year'
-dʰəɾ	still	atʰã-**dʰəɾ** 'still now'
Comitative		
-ce haɾĩː /haɾĩː	with, *-haɾĩː* sometimes written as postposition	aɟ ti: te-**ce** **haɾĩː** jej today she he-POSS.PF with come-3S.PR Today she comes with him.
Comparative		
-ce kəɾta	than	te-**ce kəɾtã** niːlesh baɾik ah-e he-to than Neelesh small be-3S.PR Neelesh is smaller than he (Mahesh).

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 *-tə or -c/-əc*.

(286)   ʋəniːta-lə   **miːc**   kʰiːɟʋ-el
       Vanita-DAT   I-EMP   irritate-PERF
       I only irritated Vanita.

(287)   **toːc**   de-j   na   **toːc**   ne-j
       he-EMP   give-3S.PR   and   he-EMP   take-3S.PR
       He only gives and **he only** takes.

(288) **mĩː-tə** te-ciː   cakəriː   kəɾ-ə̃
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 *pədər* 'self'.

(289) toː   **pədər**/pədəɾuc   ɟa-dʰel
he   self   go-PERF
He himself went.

The emphatic *tə* is used in general conversations and narrations.

(290) duɾ   **tə**   ah-e
far   EMP   be-3S.PR
It is way far.

(291) gʰəɾ   **tə**   bes   ah-e
house   EMP   nice   be-3S.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) tenĩː   ma-lə   diː-dʰel-**uc**   nahĩː
he   me-DAT   give-PERF-EMP   not
He really did not give me (joy).

(293) ʋaɖgʰin-ci   piʈ   piʈ   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 *ʋo* for a feminine hearer.

(294) kaɟ   **ʋoː**   tũ   ɟa-s
what   EMP(F)   you   go-2S.PR
What? you are going!

(295) kaɟ   **ʋoː**   ge-la
what   EMP(F)   go-3M.PA
What? [he] went!

(296) ma-ɟʰe   laɖk-e   dĩːkəɾa   je   **re**
I-POSS.SM   beloved-M   son   come.IMP   EMP(M)
My beloved son, come!

(297) nahĩː   **re**   nahĩː
no   EMP(M)   no
No!

5.2.   Uncertainty

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

(298) **ekʰadeʋaɭ** toː   aɟ   je-ɭ
perhaps   he   today   come-3S.FU
Perhaps he will come today.

Uncertainty of a situation is marked by adding *ekʰadevaḷ-əc* before the verb.

(299) mĩː **ekʰadevaḷ-əc** ɟa-n
      I perhaps-EMP go-1S.FU
      I may go.

5.3. Negation

Negation is indicated by the negativiser *nahĩː* 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 *nahĩː* if the noun phrase is negativised, as in (300) and (302).

(300) koːnĩː sikʰ-el **nahĩː** hoː-ta
      no.one learn-PERF not be-3SM.PA
      No one was learned/educated.

(301) hamĩː pan-ã **nahĩː** kʰuḍ-el ah-ã
      we(AG) leaf-P not pluck-PERF be-3P.PR
      We have not plucked the leaves.

(302) koːnã kahĩː diː-lã **nahĩː**
      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) mĩː ɟa-dʰel-**uc** **nahĩː**
      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) poːsẽ duːd **nahĩː** pe-t
      child milk not drink-3P.PR
      Children do not drink milk.

In relative and co-relative clauses the negativiser is *nahĩː*.

(305) ɟoː manus **nahĩː** a-la te-lə boːlʋ-a
      which man not come-3SM.PA he-DAT call-2P.PR
      Call the man who did not come.

(306) ɟe koːnã **nahĩː** kʰa-lã te-lə diː-ɟa
      who who not eat-3SM.PA he-DAT give-IMP
      Give [the food] to whomever has not eaten.

In reduced clauses *bəgər* 'without' occurs after the reduced verb (without an auxiliary) which is suffixed with *-aj/-ja* 'irrealis'.

(307) **ɟeʋ-aj** **bəgər** toː a-la
      eat-IRR without he come-3SM.PA
      Not having eaten he came/He came without eating.

(308) ɾaɟu kəpḍə **bʰəɾ-aj** **bəgər** 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), *kə̃j* 'when' (311), *koʈʰ-ca* 'from where' (313), *koʈʰ-un* 'from where' (314), *koʈʰ-la* 'where' (315), *kəca* 'in which', *kasʋər* 'in which' (317), *kəs-ak* 'how' (319), or *koʈʰə* 'where' (312) – occurs in content or *wh*-questions. (See also section 2.2.6.)

(309) ɾan-ãt   ɟa-n   **kaj**   **kaj**   an-əs
       wilderness-in go-LK   what   what   bring-2S.PR
       What will you bring from the wilderness?

(310) teː-lə   **koʈʰə**   gʰe-n   ge-lĩː
       she-DAT   where   bring-LK   go-3P.PA
       Where did they bring her?

(311) setiː-cã   kam   **kə̃j**   caːlu   hoːl
       field-POSS.SN   work   when   start   be.3SG.FU
       When will the field work start?

(312) te-lə   **koʈʰə**   gʰe-n   ge-lĩ
       she-DAT   where   bring-LK   go-3P.PA
       Where did they bring her?

(313) **koʈʰ-ca**   duːd   mil-əl
       where-from(SM)   milk   get-3S.FU
       From where will one get milk?

(314) toː   **koʈʰ-un**   a-la
       he   where-from   come-3SM.PA
       Where did he come from?

(315) toː   **koʈʰ-la**   hoːta
       he   where-of(SM)   be.3SM.PA
       Where is he from?

(316) tum-ciː   gaj   **kəc-iː**   ah-e
       you-POSS.SF   cow   which-SF   be-3S.PR
       Which is your cow?

(317) **kəseʋər**   bəs-el
       in.which   sit-PERF
       In which did you sit?

(318) **koːɖ-ak**   ʋeɟ   de-siː
       how.much(SM)   interest   give-2S.FU
       How much interest will you give?

(319) toː   **kəs-ak**   kʰeɭ-ət   ah-e
       he   how   play-PROG   be-3S.PR
       How is he playing?

(320) **kəs-ak**   **kəɾun**   paɭ-siː
       How   manner   grow-2S.FU
       How will you grow?

   Direction, reason and purpose interrogatives include *kəciːɖə* 'which', *kənãk* 'which', *kəce ʋaʈʰun* 'which', *kəse* 'why', *kəselə* 'why', *kəse saʈʰiː* 'why', *kase saʈʰiː* 'for what', as in (321–326).

(321) toː   **kəciːɖə**   ɟa-ɖʰel
       he   which.place   go-PERF
       Which place did he go to?

(322) **kəcen** ge-lĩː
which.(direction) go-3P.PA
Which direction did they go?

(323) gaɖiː **kaciːɖʰun** je-l
train which.direction come-3S.FU
From which direction will the train come?

(324) **kəse** tũ a-las
why you come-2SM.PA
Why did you come?

(325) **kəselə** tũ ɟa-s
why you go-2S.PR
Why are you going?

(326) kəse **saʈʰiː** 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 **kaj**[5]
well be-3S.PR INTER
Are (you) well?

   b. ma-lə dakʰəʊ-siː **kaj**
   I-DAT show-2S.FU INTER
   Will you show me?

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

(329) tũ ji-ja-ciː hoː-tiːs **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) tũ nac
you(sg) dance.IMP
Dance!

(331) tumĩː kəɾ-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 *-ɟoː* 'polite singular' or *-ɟa* 'polite plural'. The optional *s* is a mark of respect.

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[5] This idiomatic expression always has the form *ahe* of the verb 'to be'.

(332) tũ   kʰaj-ɟoː
you(sg)   eats-IMP.POLITE.SG
Eat (later)!

(333) tumĩː   kʰaj-ɟa(s)
you(pl)   eat-P.IMP.POLITE.PL(RESP)
Please eat.

Indirect commands or jussive constructions ('let') use *de* from the root *diː* 'give'.

First person declarative

(334) mĩː   tʰeʋ-ə̃
I   keep-1S.PR
I keep it.

First person indirect command

(335) ma-lə   tʰeʋ-ũ   **de**
I-DAT   keep-1S.PR   give
Let me keep it.

Second person declarative

(336) tu-lə   noːkəɾiː   miɭ-**əl**
you-DAT   job   get-3S.FU
You will get a good job/Get a good job.

Second person indirect command

(337) tu-lə   miɭ-**ũ**   **de**
you-DAT   get-2S.PR   give
Let you receive it/Receive it.

Third person indirect command

(338) te-lə   **sãg-ũ**   **de**
he-DAT   say-3S.PR   give
Let him say.

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

(339) cəl-a
go-2P.PR
Let us go/You (pl) may go.

Prohibitions are formed with the prohibitive or negative imperative *nokoː* before or after the verb.

(340) nokoː   tʰeʋ-ɟoː
NEG.IMP   keep-IMP.POLITE
Do not keep (it).

(341) bʰaɟi: kʰaj-ɟoːs   **nokoː**
sauce   eat-IMP.POLITE.RESP   NEG.IMP
Do not eat sauce.

(342) səmaɟ-ɟoːs   **nokoː**
understand-IMP.POLITE.RESP   NEG.IMP
Do not understand.

(343) dẽʋ   **nokoː**
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) kəɟja **noko:**
fight.IMP   NEG.IMP
Stop fighting.

(345) aʋaɟ **noko:** kəɾ-a
noise   NEG.IMP   do-2P.PR
Stop making noise.

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

Admonitions usually conclude with the emphatic *tə* and *bes* 'good'.

(347) tũ nahĩ: ɟa-s **tə** **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) mĩ: nahĩ: ɟa-n **tə** **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:** po:ɾ-alə ko:ɖʰ-ak lag-el ah-e
ayayay   child-DAT   how.much-SM   begin-PERF   be-3S.PR
Ayayay (Oh my)! how much the boy is wounded?

əɾe indicates surprise.

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

əɾeɾə indicates a person is in trouble.

(351) **əɾeɾə** būhũ ʋeʈ ɟʰa-lã
oh.dear   very   bad   become-3SN.PA
Oh dear! it became very bad.

ʋa indicates a person is happy.

(352) **ʋa** bes ɟʰa-lã ʋənsi:-ca ɟəɾa ge-la
ʋa   good   become-3SN.PA   Vansi-POSS.3M   fever   go-3SM.PA
Wow! she's healed. Vansi's fever cooled/went down.

baprе indicates surprise in a time of fear.

(353) **baprе** ko:ɖʰ-ak mo:ʈʰ-a ɟənaʋər
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) ɟ-aj   ɟa   **ho:**
      go-IRR go   okay
      Goodbye!

The hesitation words are *mən* and *ʋəɟ*. The expression for 'yes' is *hã*.

(355) mĩ   kəɾ-ən   **ʋəɟ**
      I   do-2S.FU   huh
      I will do (it)…huh, huh…

(356) tu   **mən** ɟesi?
      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   bə̃gəlĩ:-t   **maɟɟi:**   **na** **pʰadər** ɾəh-ət   **tĩ:**
      this bungalow-in   sister   and   father   exist-3PL.PR they

      aple   lok-ã-lə   bes   kəɾ-ət   **tĩ:**   po:se
      our(INCL)   people-PM-DAT   well do-3P.PR   they   child.M

      po:ɾgʰ-e-lə   nãg-ət
      child-F-DAT   see-3P.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 *tĩ:* 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**   dogʰe hĩɖ-aj   ge-lə
      they   both   wander-IRR go-3PM.PA
      They both went to wander around.

(359) **pəɾmesər** de-ɟ   na   **to:-c**   ne-ɟ
      God   give-3S.PR and he-EMP   take-3S.PR
      God gives and he takes away.

(360) to: teʈʰə ge-la   na   daɾ-asĩ: ubʰa   ɾəh-**la**
      he   there go-3SM.PA   and door-near   stand exist-3SM.PA
      He went there and stood near the door.

(361) po:ɾgʰ-i: ɾan-ãt   hĩɖ-li: na   həʈ-**li:**
      child-F   jungle-in   wander-3SF.PA and tire-3SF.PA
      A girl wandered in the jungle and got tired.

(362) go:ʈ   sãg-ət   ho:-**ti:**
      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) pəh-li: ɟaga bes **nãg-un**, dəgəɖ **ʋẽ-un** ʈak-un,
first place well till-LK stone take.out-LK put-LK

pan-ã **pəsər-ʋun**, gəʋət ʈak-un, sərkʰa **kər-un**,
leaf-PN spread-LK straw put-LK level do-LK

maʈi: **ʈak-un** peʈ-ʋ-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 *teɭaʋ* 'pond' and *ɟãbi:* 'roseapple' in the following example.

(364) **ek təɭa** rəh-ə **te təɭe-ce** kãʈʰ-aʋər **ek**
one pond exist-3S.PR that pond-POSS.PF shore-on one

ɟãbi:-cã ɟʰaɖ rəh-ə **te ɟãbi:-ce**
roseapple-POSS.PF tree exist-3S.PR that roseapple-POSS.PF

ɟʰaɖ-aʋər ek makəɖ rəh-ə na təɭ-ẽtle
tree-on one monkey exist-3S.PR and pond-inside

panẽ:-t ek mo:ʈʰ-a məgər rəh-ə
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) makəɖ dərroɟ **məgər-a-lə pəɖel**
monkey every.day crocodile-F-DAT not.good

ɟãb-ã kʰa-t-ã nãg-ə
roseapple-PN eat-PROG-while see-3S.PR
Every day Monkey sees Crocodile eating the fallen roseapples.

(366) te-lə əsã aʈʰʋ-ə **kaj makəɖ-aca kaɭi:ɟ**
he-DAT thus think-3S.PR that monkey-POSS.M liver

tə **ko:ɖʰ-ãk go:ɖ** ho-ʋã
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 *tə* 'that'. In (367) the clause 'that Sonu had climbed' is the complement of 'saw'.

(367) so:nu ʋər cəɖ-el **tə** me-hẽ 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) kutaɾ-enĭ: ɟi: bʰakər me-hẽ kʰa-ja gʰi:-dʰel ti: tenĭ: kʰa-li:
       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 *ɟa* 'go'.

(369) mĭ: tu-lə **nãg-aj** ɟe-n
       I you-DAT see-IRR go-1S.FU
       I will go to see you.

(370) kəɾʋə̃da **kʰa-ja** ɟã-ʋ
       karvanda eat-IRR go-1P.FU
       We will go to eat karvanda (fruit).

Fully reduced nominals function as any other noun.

(371) **dʰo:bi:** 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 *sãgə* '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 *əsã kəɾun sãglã* can occur, as in (373).

(372) məgər makəɖ-alə **sãg-ə** kaj cəl ma-ɟʰe
       crocodile monkey-DAT tell-3S.PR that go.IMP I-POSS.PF

       paʈʰi:-ʋər bəs
       back-on sit.IMP
       Crocodile said to Monkey, "Come and sit on my back."

(373) hamĭ: ko:n-alə pən ek səbəd sãg-ũ nahĭ: **əsã**
       we who-DAT even one word say-1P.FU not thus

       kəɾ-un te-lə mẽ-he **sãg-lã**
       do-LK he-DAT I-AG tell-3S.PA
       "We won't say even one word," thus I told him.

A word such as *əsã* 'thus' occurs after reported direct speech, as in (374–375).

(374) tĭ: a-lĭ: **əsã** te-nĭ: sãg-lã
       she come-3SF.PA thus he-AG tell-3S.PA
       "She came," thus he said/He said that she came.

(375) hamĩː   ɟa-dʰel   **əsã**   sãg-lã
       We   go-PERF   thus   tell-3s.PA
       "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-lə   bes   kam   miːɭ-aj-saʈʰiː   pəɾaɾtəna   kəɾ-aj   sãg-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   dukʰ   duɾ   ho-l   tə   ʋisʋas   kəɾ-ən
       he-POSS pain   go.away   be-3S.FU   EMP   faith   do-1S.FU

       əsã   te-nĩː   sãg-lã
       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 *mə̃gã* 'then', *nã* 'and' or *hũ* 'also'.

(378) makəɖ-alə   dəja   je-j   makəɖ   **mə̃gã**   ɟãbã
       monkey-DAT pity   come-3s.PR   monkey then   roseapple

       paɖ-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: sãg-lã   daɾu   soːɖ-aj-ci: taɖiː
       he-AG   tell-3N.PA arrack leave-IRR-INF.SF   toddy

       soːɖ-aj-ci: **na**   tə̃bakʰu-**hũ**   soːɖ-un   diː-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) ɟeʋən   diː-ja   lag-ə   daɾu-**hũ**   diː-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) maʈiː   kʰən-**un**, kache   kaɾviː-ci: bʰiːt   bənaʋ-**un**   na
       soil   dig-LK   rough   stick-POSS   wall   make-LK   and

       ʈip-**un**   na   maʈiː-kʰəl   lip-**un**   saɭ   bənaʋ-liː
       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) daɾu   pe-**n**,   na   daɾu   pe-**n**   toːpʰan   kəɾ-ət   hoː-tũ
       arrack drink-LK   and   arrack drink-LK   trouble   do-PROG   be-1P.PA
       We were troubled because we drank arrack repeatedly.

(383) ʋaʈ-lə   ɟa-t-ãna   muɾkutã,   je-**n**   caʋ-**un**,
      way-DAT go-PROG-while mosquito   come-LK   bite-LK

      ɾəgət   pe-**n**,   ɟa-**n**   ɾəh-ət   hoː-tə
      blood   drink-LK go.away-LK   exist-PROG be-3S.PA
      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*.

(384) hamĩː   **soːɖ-un**   heɾ-lã
      we-(AG) loose-LK   see-3SN.PA
      Having loosened (it), we saw.

(385) **kʰa-n**   ge-la
      eat-LK   go-3SM.PA
      Having eaten, he went/left.

(386) guɾ̩a   **kəɾ-un**   tʰuk-la
      gargle do-LK   spit-3SM.PA
      Having gargled, he spat.

A reduced clause which is simultaneous with the main verb in time is linked by the progressive *-ʋət/-ət/-t.*

(387) **ʋaɟ-ʋət**   **ʋaɟ-ʋət**   a-la
      play-PROG   play-PROG   come-3S.PA
      He came playing.

(388) toː **kʰa-t**   a-la
      he eat-PROG   come-3S.PA
      He came eating.

(389) tĩː   kəs-ĩːk   **həs-ət**   **kʰeɭ-ət**   ah-ã
      they how-3PF   laugh-PROG   play-PROG   be-3S.PA
      How they are laughing and playing.

When the reduced verb is emphasised with *-uc* it shows that both actions are completely simultaneous, as shown in the following example.

(390) tenĩː   **səmɟ-un-uc**   ke-lã
      he   understand-LK-EMP   do-3S.PA
      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.

(391) **ek   diːs** məgəɾ-a-ce   mən-ãt   ʋeʈ   ʋicaɾ   je-j
      one day crocodile-F-POSS.PF   mind-in   bad   thought come-3S.PR
      One day a bad thought came to crocodile's mind.

(392) **gele ʋərsĩː** ma-lə   hũ   biːmaɾi: lag-el
      last year   I-DAT   this disease   begin-3S.PERF
      I had this disease last year.

(393) **nirtəc** hamĩː ɟeʋ-el
now.only we eat-PERF
Now only we ate/We just finished eating.

(394) **te** təɭe-ce **panẽ-t** ek moʈʰ-a məgər 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) **əsiː** kər-un te-ciː dostiː ʋaɖʰ-ə
thus do-LK she-POSS friendship grow-3S.PR
Thus the friendship grew.

(396) **mə̃gã** sãg-aj lag-la
then say-IRR begin-3SM.PA
Then he started to say.

Phrases such as *tə̃j, tãʋ tã̃, tãʋ tẽj* 'at that time' and *məg tə̃j* 'then afterwards' function both as temporal settings in the clause and as connectives.

(397) **tə̃j** sãg-ə
therefore say-3S.PR
Therefore he says…

(398) **aɟʰun** sãg-ə
again say-3S.PR
Again he [started to] say…

(399) ma-lə **aɟʰun** təsã̃-c ɟʰa-la
I-DAT again like.that-EMP happen-3SM.PA
Again I am feeling the same.

(400) həʈ-siː **tə̃j**
tire-2S.FU then
[When you become] tired, then…

(401) mĩ daru pet hoː-tũ **tãʋ** **tã̃** maɟʰa ɟiːʋən
I arrack drink be-1S.PA at.that time I.POSS life

bes nahĩː hoː-tã pən atã mĩː bes ah-ũ
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) hamĩː hat-ãt ɟa-dʰel **məg** **tə̃j** teʈʰun
we market-in go-PERF then after from.there

kaka-ce gʰər-ĩː ge-lũ
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) puɖʰã boːkɖe dʰər-ət hoː-ta. **boːkɖe** **ɖʰər-un** atã
first sheep catch-PROG be-3SM.PA sheep catch-LK now
First [the tiger] was catching the sheep. Having caught a sheep…

(404) **əsã** **kər-un** mehẽ ma-ɟʰa kaɭiːɟ ɟaɖ-aʋər tãg-un diː-la
like do-LK I.AG I-POSS.PF liver tree-on hang-LK keep-1S.PA
Having done like this, I have kept my liver on the tree.

(405) hamĩ: ɉeʊ-ət   ho:-tũ   ɉeʊ-əl   mə̃gã
      we   eat-PROG be-1P.PA eat-PERF   after
      We were eating. After eating…

(406) tĩ: bəjl-ã   caɾ-ət   ho:-tĩ:.   **tĩ: bəjl-ã   caɾ-tã**   caɾ-tã
      they bull-PM graze-PROG be-3PM.PA   they bull-PM graze-DUR   graze-DUR
      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 *nã* connects two unreduced clauses:

(407) te   ɉãbi:-ce   ɉʰaɖ-aʊər   ek   makəɖ   ɾəh-ə
      that roseapple-POSS.PF tree-on   one   monkey exist-3s.PR

      na   təɭeʊ-ce   panẽ:-t   ek   mo:ʈʰ-a   məgəɾ   ɾəh-ə
      and   pond-POSS.PF   water-in   one   big-M   crocodile exist-3s.PR
      In that tree there is a monkey, and in the pond there is a crocodile.

Situation-Consequence. The conjunction **tə̃j** 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.

(408) ɾo:g   ho:-ti: **tə̃j**   ɉʰaɾ-un   pi-ja-ca
      disease create-3P.PA so   filter-LK   drink-IRR-INF
      [It] will cause disease; so drink after filtering.

(409) te-nĩ: kãhĩ: ke-lã   ho-ʊã   **tecen**   ham-alə   ek   səɾkʰã   dukʰ
      he-AG   something   do-3s.PA be-3SN.F   so   we-DAT   one   like   pain
      Maybe he did something, and that's why we're having difficulties.

Reason-Result or Result-Reason. Reason-result clauses are linked by *karən* 'because', *tej* 'therefore', or *tecen* 'therefore, so'.

(410) aɉ   ɾadʰe:-nĩ: akʰã   kam   ke-lã   **karən**   ʊənsi:
      today Radhi-AG   all   work   do-3s.PA because   Vansi

      bi:mar pəɖ-el   ah-e
      sick   fall-PERF   be-3s.PR
      Today Radhi did the work because Vansi is sick.

(411) ti: bi:mar pəɖ-el   ah-e   **tecen**   aɉ   ɾadʰi:-nĩ: epaɾ   ke-lã
      she   sick   fall-PERF be-3s.PR   therefore   today Radhi-AG   cook   do-3s.PA
      She is sick today; therefore Radhi cooked.

Adversative/Contra-expectancy. When the second situation is unexpected, *pən* 'but' occurs between the two clauses.

(412) pahneɾa   ji:-ja-ca   ho:-ta   **pən**   a-la   nahĩ:
      guest   come-IRR-INF   be-3SM.PA   but   come-3SM.PA   not
      The guest was about to come but did not.

(413) te-nĩ: gə:ʊəs-la   **pən**   nahĩ: sapəɖ-lã
      he-AG   search-3SM.PA   but   not   get-3SM.PA
      He searched [for the cow] but did not find it.

   If the first clause is an intention but not carried out, the second clause is in the future tense.

(414) mĩː   kʰa-ja-ca   hoːtũ **pən** na   kʰa-t
        I   eat-IRR-INF be-1S.PA but not eat-1S.FU
        I was going to eat, but I won't.

(415) mĩː   kəɾ-aj-ca   hoːtũ **pən** ma-lə nahĩː   kəɾ-al
        I   do-IRR-INF be-1S.PA but I-DAT not   do-3S.FU
        I was going to do it, but I could not.

Conditional clauses are marked by the conjunctions *tə* or *tə̃j* between the clauses. The condition may be hypothetical (416a) or non-hypothetical (416b).

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

(416) a. ɾaɟu   je-j   **tə** kʰa-j
           Raju   come-3S.PR if eat-3S.PR
           If Raju comes, he will eat.

      b. ɾaɟu   ɟẽj   je-j   tə̃j kʰa-j
           Raju   when come-3S.PR then eat-3S.PR
           Whenever Raju comes, he eats

(417) koːni   tu-ɟʰe   haɾĩː a-la   **tə** loːkã   aɾəɖ-tʰiːl
        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   ɾəh-tũ   **tə** koːn   ma-ɟʰe   ãgalə-hat   lav-əl
        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 *tə* or *tə̃j* follows the first clause.

(419) mĩː   kaɖʰ-un **tʰev-ən**   **tə** mĩː **məɾən**
        I   take-LK   keep-1S.FU if I   die.1S.FU
        If I take out my (liver), I will die.

(420) tũ   **həʈ-siː**   **tə̃j**   **cal-siː**
        you tire-2S.FU   then   walk-2S.FU
        If you get tired, will you walk?

(421) tũ   dev-avəɾ bʰoɾoːsa tʰev-siːl,   niːti   nijəm paʈ-siːl
        you God-on faith   keep-2S.FU   law   rule   obey-2S.FU

        tə dev tu-lə   sə̃bʰaʈ-əl
        if   God you-DAT protect-3S.FU
        If you keep having faith in God and obeying His rule, He will protect you.

(422) toː **je-l**   **tə̃j**   **kʰa-l**
        he   come-3S.FU then   eat-3S.FU
        If he comes, he will eat.

(423) ɾaɟu **a-la**   **ho-va**   **tə** kʰa-lã   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 *tə̃j* 'then (unrealized result)' or *tə* '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

	S	P
1	-tũ	-tũ
2M	-tas	-təs
F	-ti:s	-tes
M/F		-tĩ:s
3M	-ta	-tə
F	-ti:	-te
M/F/M	-tã	-tĩ:

(424) ɾaɟu **je-ta** tə **kʰa-ta**
Raju come-3SM.CONTR if eat-3SM.CONTR
If Raj had come, he would have eaten.

(425) hamĩː **sãg-tũ** tə tumĩː **an-təs**
we tell-1P.CONTR if you bring-2PM.CONTR
If we had told (you), you would have brought (it).

(426) mĩː bes **si:k-tũ** tə ma-lə bes no:kəɾ-i: **miḻ-ti:**
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** tə mĩː **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 -ɟə before the contrary-to-fact suffixes.

(428) ãb-ə **di-ɟə-ti:** tə̃j **kap-ɟə-ti:**
mango-PM give-PAS-3.CONTR then cut-PAS-3.CONTR
If mangos would have been given, they would have been cut.

(429) ek kõːbɖ-i: **di:-ɟə-ti:** tə̃j hamĩː **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]

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[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

Protasis		Apodosis		
Subject (Patient)	Passive V suffix	Person of agent	Conj	V suffix
One mango (3sm)	-ɟə-ta	1s		-tũ
One hen (3sf)	-ɟə-tiː	P		-tũ
One calf (3sn)	-ɟə-tã	2sm		-tas
Two mangos (3sm)	-ɟə-tə	sf		-tiːs
Two hens (3sf)	-ɟə-te	pm		-təs
Two calves (3sn)	-ɟə-tʰĩː	pf		-tes
		pn		-tĩːs
		3sm	tə̃j	-ta
		sf	tə̃j	-tiː
		sn		-tã
		pm	tə̃j	-t
		pf	tə̃j	-te
		pn		-tĩː

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.

makəḍ   na   məgər-iː-ciː   goṭ
monkey   and   crocodile-F-POSS.SF story
The story about Crocodile and Monkey.

ek   təɭa   rəh-ə
one   pond   exist-3S.PR
There was a pond.

te   təɭa-ce   kãtʰ-aʋər   ek   ɟãbiː-cã   ɟʰaḍ   rəh-ə
that pond-POSS.3F margin-on   one   roseapple-POSS.SN tree   exist-3S.PR
On that pond's shore there was a roseapple tree.

te   ɟãbiː-ce   ɟʰaḍ-aʋər   ek   makəḍ   rəh-ə   na
that roseapple-POSS.PF tree-on   one   monkey   exist-3S.PR and
In that tree there was a monkey,

təɭ-ẽtle   panẽː-t   ek   moːṭʰ-i: məgər   rəh-ə
pond-inside water-in   one   big-SF   crocodile exist-3S.PR
and a big crocodile was in the water of the pond.

makəḍ   dərroɟ   taɟ-ĩː   taɟ-ĩː   pik-el   ɟãb-ã   kʰa-ɟ
monkey   every.day fresh-PN   fresh-PN   ripen-PERF   roseapple-PN eat-3P.PR
Monkey eats very fresh ripe roseapples every day.

na   məgər   ah-e   tə   kʰal   pəḍ-el   te
and   crocodile be-3S.PR   COMP   under   fall-PERF   that

ʋet   ɟãb-ã   kʰa-t
not.good-PN   roseapple-PN   eat-3P.PR
And that crocodile was eating the roseapples which had fallen down.

makəḍ   dərroɟ   məgər-ĩː-lə   ʋet   ɟãb-ã
monkey   every.day crocodile-F-DAT   not.good.PN roseapple-PN

kʰa-t-ã   nãg-ə
eat-PROG-while see-3S.PR
Monkey every day used to see that Crocodile was eating the fallen roseapples.

makəḍ-alə   te-ciː   pəkiː   dəja je-ɟ   makəḍ   mãgã
monkey-DAT   that-SF   much   pity come-3S.PR   monkey   then

taɟ-ĩː   taɟ-ĩː   ɟãb-ã   paḍ-un   de-ɟ
fresh-PN   fresh-PN   roseapple-PN   fall.CAUS-LK give.3S.PR
Monkey took pity on Crocodile. Then Monkey gave him fresh roseapples by making the fruit fall.

məgər   ekdəm kʰus   ho-ɟ
crocodile much   happy   be-3S.PR
Crocodile was very happy.

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[*] In this folktale, Crocodile is treated as feminine.

əsi: kər-un te-ci: dosti: ʋaḍʰ-ə
thus do-LK it-POSS.SF friendship grow-3S.PR
Thus the friendship grew.

ek diːs məgər-iː-ce mən-ãt ʋeʈ ʋicaɾ je-j
one day crocodile-F-POSS.PF mind-in bad thought come-3S.PR
One day a bad thought came to Crocodile's mind.

te-lə əsã aʈʰʋ-ə kaj taɟ-ã goɾ goɾ
that-DAT thus think.3S.PR what fresh-PN sweet sweet

ɟãb-ã oḍʰi: bes lag-ət tə makəḍ-aca
roseapple-PN this.much well fall-3P.PR that monkey-POSS.SM

kaɭiːɟ koḍʰ-āk goḍ ho-ʋã
liver how.much-SN sweet be-3S.FU
And he was thinking that, with all those fresh very sweet roseapples thus it will be nice. Monkey's liver how very sweet it will be.

məgər ek diːs makəḍ-alə sãg-ə kaj cəl
crocodile one day monkey-DAT tell-3S.PR that walk.IMP
One day Crocodile says to Monkey, "Come.

ma-ɟʰe paʈʰi:-ʋəɾ bəs na mĩ: tu-lə təɭẽ:-t hĩḍ-ʋun an-ə̃
I-POSS.PF back-on sit and I you-DAT pond-in wander bring-1S.PR
Sit on my back and I will take you on a trip in the pond."

makəḍ-alə pakã bes aʈʰəʋ-la
monkey-DAT much well feel-3SM.PA
Monkey felt it was very good.

ləgec təjaɾ ɟʰa-la
at.once ready become-3SM.PA
At once he got ready.

məgər-iː-ce paʈʰi:-ʋəɾ ɟa-n bəs-la
crocodile-F-3PF back-on go-LK sit-3SM.PA
And sat on the back of Crocodile.

dogʰ-ə hĩḍ-aj ge-lə
both-PM wander-IRR go-3PM.PA
They both went to wander (here and there in the pond).

panẽ:-t məgər-iː-nĩ: makəḍ-alə ni:-la
water-in crocodile-F-AG monkey-DAT take-3SM.PA
Crocodile took Monkey in deep water.

mə̃gã sãg-aj lag-la kaj makəḍ-a makəḍ-a
then say-IRR fall-3SM.PA what monkey-VOC monkey-VOC

tũ ɾoɟ oḍʰi: bes na goɾ ɟãb-ã kʰa-s
you daily this.much well then sweet roseapple-PN eat-2S.PR
Then [Crocodile] started to say to that monkey, "Monkey you are eating good and sweet roseapples daily;

tə tu-ɟʰa kaɭi:ɟ koḍʰ-āk bes ho-ʋã mĩ:
then you-POSS.SM liver how.much-SM well be-3SM.FU I
so your liver will be very delicious.

tə   tu-ɟʰa   kaɭi:ɉ   kʰa-ja-ca
EMP   you-POSS.SM   liver   eat-IRR-INF-SM
I [emp] am going to eat your liver.

tə̃j   sãg-ə   me-hẽ tu-lə   təlẽ:-t   hĩɖ-ʋaj   an-lã
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."

pən   makəɖ   ekdəm cətuɾ   nigʰ-la
but   monkey   much   clever depart-3SM.PA
But Monkey was very clever.

te-nĩ: sãg-lã   kaj   məgəɾ-i: mĩ: ma-ɟʰa   kaɭi:ɉ
he-AG   tell-3SM.PA   what crocodile-F   I   I-POSS.SM liver

ɟʰaɾ-aʋəɾ kaɖʰ-un   tʰeʋ-el   ah-e
tree-on   take-LK   keep-PERF   be-3S.PR
He told Crocodile, "I left my liver on the tree."

ma-lə   bih-ʋaj   mĩ: pəɖ-ən
I-DAT   fear-IMPER   I   fall-1S.FU
I was afraid I would fall.

kaj   ma-ɟʰa   kaɭi:ɉ   pʰuʈ-əl   tə   mĩ: məɾ-ən
what   I-POSS.SM liver   burst-3S.FU   EMP   I   die-1S.FU
If I were to fall down my liver would burst and I would die.

əsa   kəɾ-un   me-hẽ ma-ɟʰa   kaɭi:ɉ   ɟʰaɖ-aʋəɾ   ʈãg-un
thus   do-LK   I-AG   I-POSS.SM   liver   tree-on   keep-LK

tʰeʋ-lã
keep-3SN.PA
So I left my liver on the tree.

məgəɾ-i: tũ   ma-lə   pəɾət   gʰe-n   ɉa
crocodile-VOC.F   you   I-DAT   again   take-LK   go.VOC.F
"Crocodile, take me back.

mə̃gã   tu-lə   mĩ: ma-ɟʰa   kaɭi:ɉ   paɖ-un   de-n
then   you-to   I   I-POSS.SM   liver   fall.CAUS-LK   give-1S.FU
Then I will give my liver to you after making it fall."

məgəɾ   makəɖ-alə   gʰe-n   pəɾət   a-la
crocodile monkey-DAT take-LK   again   come-3SM.PA
Crocodile took Monkey back.

makəɖ   ɟʰaɖ-aʋəɾ   cəɖ-la
monkey   tree-on   climb-3SM.PA
Monkey climbed the tree

na   mə̃gã   məgəɾ-i:-lə   sãg-ə   kaɉ   me-hẽ tu-lə   pʰəsəʋ-lã
and then   crocodile-SF-DAT tell-3S.PR that I-AG   you-DAT   cheat-3S.PA
and [Monkey] said to Crocodile, "I cheated you;

ma-ɟʰa   kaɭi:ɉ   tə   ma-ɟʰe   poʈ-ãt-uc   ah-e
I-POSS.SM liver   EMP   I-POSS.PM stomach-in-EMP   be-3S.PR
my liver is in my stomach only.

mĩ: kaɖʰ-un   tʰeʋ-ən   tə   mĩ: ɉəg-ən   kəs-ak
I   take.out-LK keep-1S.FU EMP   I   live-1S.FU   how
If I were to take it out then how would I live?"

məgər-ĩː   pʰəs-liː   na   gəpcup   təɭẽː-t   nĩgʰ-un   ge-liː
crocodile.SF   cheat-3SF.PA   and   silently   pond(small)-in   depart-LK   go-3SF.PA
Crocodile, having been cheated, slipped away into the pond.

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