



A write-up on
KHANDSHI BHILI
Phonology

2005

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Vd.	Voiced
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1.3 Phoneme Chart

1.3.1 Consonant Chart

	Labial	Coronal	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives & Affricates Vl.	p p ^h	t̪ t̪ ^h	t t ^h	tʃ	k k ^h	
Vd.	b b ^h	ɖ ɖ ^h	ɗ ɗ ^h	ɟ ɟ ^h	g g ^h	
Pre-nasalized Plosives		ɲɖ	ɲɗ	ɲɟ	ɲg	
Fricatives		s ʃ				h
Nasals	m	n				
Lateral		l	ɭ			
Flaps		r	ɾ			
Approximants	w			j		

1.3.2 Vowel Chart

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Mid	e	ə	o
Open	a	ɐ	

2. Interpretation

2.1 Consonant or Vowel

Since there is no VV cluster in Bhili words, [j] and [w] are interpreted as consonants and [i] and [u] are interpreted as vowels.

/paj/	{ ɓ ɓ ɓ }	[paj]	'leg'	0020
/pawɾa/	{ ɓ ɓ ɓ }	[pawɾa]	'razor'	0084
/uɖi/	β | ɓ = ɓ v }	[uɖi]	'white ant'	0387

2.2 Unit or Sequence

Since there are no univalent CC clusters within a syllable, the aspirated sounds like [p^h] [b^h] [t^h] [d^h] [t̪^h] [d̪^h] [k^h] [g^h] and [d͡ʒ^h] are interpreted as units.

/p ^h en/	ᚢᚦᚰ	[p ^h en]	'hoop'	0385
/b ^h aṭ/	fᚩᚩᚩ	[b ^h aṭ]	'paddy'	0198
/t̪ ^h uk/	λᚩ√Eᚦ	[t̪ ^h uk]	'saliva'	0054
/d̪ ^h ukul/	ᚩᚩ√E√ᚦ	[d̪ ^h ukul]	'smoke'	0147
	ᚩᚩ			
/mit ^h /	ᚩᚩᚩ ᚦ	[mit ^h]	'salt'	0223
/d ^h eg/	ᚩ/Mᚩ	[d ^h eg]	'cloud'	0103
/t̪̺ik ^h ul/	ᚩᚩᚩᚩᚩ	[t̪̺ik ^h ul]	'mud'	0149
	√ᚩᚩ			
/g ^h am/	ᚩᚩᚩᚩ	[g ^h am]	'sweat'	0053
	ᚩ			
/d͡ʒ ^h irula/	ᚩᚩᚩᚩᚩᚩ	[d͡ʒ ^h irula]	'cockroach'	0386
	ᚩᚩ			

Since there are no univalent CC clusters word initially and word finally, the homorganic sounds like [ᚩᚩᚩ], [ᚩᚩᚩ], [ᚩᚩᚩᚩ], [ᚩᚩᚩ] are interpreted as units.

/k ^h aᚩᚩᚩ/	ᚩᚩᚩᚩᚩ	[k ^h aᚩᚩᚩ]	'soldier'	0031
	ᚩ			
/d ^h uᚩᚩᚩ/	ᚩᚩᚩ√ᚩᚩᚩ	[d ^h uᚩᚩᚩ]	'gridlines'	1203
/maᚩᚩᚩi/	ᚩᚩᚩᚩᚩ	[maᚩᚩᚩi]	'thigh'	0051
	ᚩᚩᚩ			
/baᚩᚩᚩ/	ᚩᚩᚩᚩᚩ	[baᚩᚩᚩ]	'arrow'	0908
/gaᚩᚩᚩᚩᚩi/	ᚩᚩᚩᚩᚩᚩᚩᚩ	[gaᚩᚩᚩᚩᚩi]	'big bee'	1232
	ᚩᚩᚩᚩᚩ			
	ᚩᚩᚩᚩᚩ			
/waᚩᚩᚩᚩ/	ᚩᚩᚩᚩᚩᚩᚩᚩ	[waᚩᚩᚩᚩ]	'barren'	0313

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/leŋga/	±DØM	[leŋga]	'petticoat'	1007
	D			
/aŋg/	+DØM	[aŋg]	'body'	0001
	D			

The plosives like [n̥t̥], [nt̥], [mb], [st̥] are interpreted as sequences for the sake of economy of phonemes. Note that a syllable break comes between them.

/nen̥t̥er/	ξDξD	[nen̥.t̥er]	'after'	0850
	→ ∏			
/pan̥ta/	{Dξ}J	[pan̥.ta]	'leaf'	0171
	D |			
/ambet̥/	+D♦/D]	[am.bet̥]	'sour'	0728
	J			
/ist̥u/	≡D√	[is.t̥u]	'fire'	0145

The Affricates like [t̥ʃ] and [d̥ʒ] are interpreted as units since there are no initial and final CC clusters.

/t̥ʃit̥ʃ/	≥ΣDΣD	[t̥ʃit̥ʃ]	'tamarind'	0187
	∏			
/nid̥ʒ/	≥ξDζD |	[nid̥ʒ]	'sleep'	1454

Since there is no univalent VV pattern in Bhili language, the vowel glides are interpreted as VC.

/paj/	{D♠D	[pai]	'leg'	0020
	∏			
/bajko/	/D<E]	[baiko]	'wife'	0310
	D TM |			
/ajpet̥/	+D♠D{	[aipet̥]	'status'	1043
	D			
/gaw/	MDDX	[gau]	'village'	0055
/pawɽi/	{D=D	[pawɽi]	'hoe'	0079
	β |			
/awkat̥/	+D=E]D	[aukat̥]	'status'	1270

↳

[pp] [bb] [t̥t̥] [d̥d̥] [tt] [dd] [kk] [gg] [t̥ʃt̥ʃ]
 [d̥ʒd̥ʒ] [mm] [nn] [ss] [rr] and [ll] are interpreted as CC
 sequences according to the principle of economy of phonemes. There
 is a syllable break between the geminates. Also each sound in the
 pairs occurs as phonemes elsewhere.

/appa/	+↳{	[ap.pa]	'father'	0276
	↳			
/d̥əbbi/	β |↳/↳	[d̥əb.bi]	'small box'	1003
/p̥ət̥t̥a/	{↳u↳	[p̥ət̥.t̥a]	'address'	0898
	↳			
/b̥əp̥p̥əl/	↳v̥v̥]±	[b̥əp̥.p̥əl]	'about'	0849
	↳			
/w̥ət̥t̥a/	x↳LJ	[w̥ət̥.t̥a]	'floor'	0520
	↳			
/k̥ʰədd̥a/	ʰ↳δ↳	[k̥ʰəd̥.da]	'pit'	1186
/d̥ukk̥ər/	β√ |EE	[d̥uk̥.k̥ər]	'pig'	0337
]→			
/aggar̥i/	+MM	[ag.gar̥i]	'train'	0902
	↳↳β |			
	®			
/nit̥ʃt̥ʃa/	↳ξ↳Σ	[nit̥ʃ.t̥ʃa]	'short'	1247
	Σ↳↳			
/ud̥ʒd̥ʒet/	=ςς↳]	[ud̥ʒ.d̥ʒet]	'bright'	1172
	J			
/kimm̥ət̥/	↳E]◆	[kim̥.m̥ət̥]	'price'	0891
	◆↳↳			
/t̥ʃanni/	Σ↳↳ξ	[t̥ʃan.ni]	'star'	0098

/gussa/	ξ⊃ [®] M⊃√≡	[gus.sa]	'angry'	0732
/kurrət/	≡⊃⊃ E√]→|	[kur.rət]	'miser'	0981
/gəllas/	→|]J M⊃±± ⊃⊃≡⊃	[gəl.las]	'tumbler'	0542

3. Description and Distribution of the phonemes

All the phonemes and their allophones are listed and described. In the descriptions “all environments” means word initially, word medially and word finally. In the examples the phonemes are laid out in the same positions.

3.1 Consonants

3.1.1 Labial consonants:

Plosives or stops are sounds produced with a complete closure in the vocal apparatus.

/p/ [p] is a voiceless unaspirated bilabial plosive which occurs in all environments.

/paj/	{⊃⊃♠⊃	[paj]	'leg'	0020
/kopra/	E]⊃ TM {⊃	[kopra]	'corner'	1179
/kulup/	→|⊃ E√]±⊃√ {⊃	[kulup]	'lock'	0539

/p^h/ has two allophones [f] and [p^h] :

[f] is a voiceless labio-dental fricative which occurs word medially and word finally and only in loan words.

/kap ^h i/	E]⊃⊃ Υ]	[kafi]	'photo'	1134
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/gop ^h en/	מבּוּ טמריִס	[gofen]	'sling'	1204
/dæp ^h /	בּוּ βריִפ	[dæf]	'A musical instrument'	1078

[p^h] is a voiceless aspirated bilabial plosive which occurs word initially, word medially and only one borrowed word is found word finally.

/p ^h et̪a/	רמריִבּוּ	[p ^h et̪a]	'turban'	0157
/nɛp ^h a/	סריִבּוּ	[nɛp ^h a]	'profit'	0904
/gup ^h /	מבּוּרִפ	[gup ^h]	'weave'	1425

/b/ [b] is a voiced unaspirated bilabial plosive which occurs in all environments.

/bubuɫ/	בּוּבּוּז	[bubuɫ]	'eyeball'	0036
/dɔbæɾ/	בּוּבּוּרִפ	[dɔbæɾ]	'buffalo'	0349
/dʒib/	בּוּזִפ	[dʒib]	'tongue'	0011

/b^h/ [b^h] is a voiced aspirated bilabial plosive which occurs only word initially. Even the borrowed words are pronounced word medially and word finally as unaspirated.

/b ^h aɫ̪/	בּוּבּוּרִפ	[b ^h aɫ̪]	'paddy'	0198
/b ^h iŋg/	בּוּבּוּרִפ	[b ^h iŋg]	'scales'	0405
/b ^h ewəjɪ/	בּוּבּוּרִפ	[b ^h ewəjɪ]	'eyebrow'	0034



/w/ has two allophones [v] and [w]:

[w] is a voiced approximant which occurs in all environments and in free variation with [v], a voiced labio-dental approximant which occurs only word medially and word finally.

/wara/	x▷▷→ |	[wara]	'wind'	0107
	▷			
/nɛwra/	ξ▷▷→	[nɛwra]	'husband'	0309
	▷			
/gaw/	M▷▷x▷	[gaw]	'village'	0055
/rɛwan/	→ |x▷ξ	[rɛvɛn]	'game'	1114
	▷			
/ɖɛw/	v TM |x▷	[ɖɛv]	'god'	0482

3.1.2 Coronal Consonants

/t̥/ [t̥] is a voiceless unaspirated dental plosive which occurs in all environments.

/t̥on̄ɖ/	ɪ▷▷ TM ξ	[t̥on̄ɖ]	'face'	0005
	β |			
/ist̥u/	<≡ɪ▷√	[ist̥u]	'fire'	0145
/b ^h it̥/	≡f▷ɪ▷	[b ^h it̥]	'wall'	0512

/t̥^h/ [t̥^h] is a voiceless aspirated dental plosive which occurs only word initially and word medially. Even the borrowed words are pronounced word finally as unaspirated.

/t̥ ^h uk/	λ▷√E]	[t̥ ^h uk]	'saliva'	0054
/at̥ ^h ɛr/	+▷λ▷→	[at̥ ^h ɛr]	'spreading bed'	1456

/tʃit ^h eri/	⊃Σ⊃λ⊃ ⊃→	[tʃit ^h eri]	'bat'	0376
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/d̥/ [d̥] is a voiced unaspirated dental plosive which occurs in all environments.

/d̥uʃer/	v√|θ⊃™ →|	[d̥uʃer]	'yoke'	0091
/aguɖar/	+⊃M⊃√ v|⊃→|	[aguɖar]	'before'	0795
/haɭeɖ/	|J⊃≥Jv |	[haɭeɖ]	'turmeric'	0221

/d^h/ [d^h] is a voiced aspirated dental plosive which occurs only word initially. Even the borrowed words are pronounced word medially and word finally as unaspirated.

/d ^h ar/	⊃⊃β|	[d ^h ar]	'send'	1463
/d ^h ejɽija/	⊃♠⊃β |®♠⊃⊃	[d ^h ejɽija]	'old man'	0239
/d ^h uari/	⊃√+⊃ ⊃→|	[d ^h uari]	'fog'	0137

/n̥d̥/ [n̥d̥] is a voiced dental homorganic plosive which occurs only word medially and word finally.

/mun̥d̥i/	◆⊃√ξv ®	[mun̥d̥i]	'ring'	0074
/ran̥d̥/	+⊃M⊃√ v ⊃→	[ran̥d̥]	'cook'	1430

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/s/	[s] is a voiceless alveolar grooved fricative which occurs in all environments.			
/sakru/	≡▷▷E↓	[sakru]	'sweet potato'	0205
	↓			
/sasra/	≡▷▷≡▷	[sasra]	'father-in-law'	0301
	→ ▷			
/was/	×▷≡▷	[was]	'dew'	0141
/ʃ/	[ʃ] is a voiceless post-alveolar grooved fricative which occurs only word initially and word medially. We have found only one borrowed word in word final position.			
/ʃemti/	▷▷ TM ◆▷	[ʃemti]	'stick'	0159
	▷]J			
/duʃer/	v√|▷▷TM	[duʃer]	'yoke'	0091
	→			
/reʃ/	→ TM|▷	[reʃ]	'line on note'	0913
/r/	[r] is a voiced alveolar flapped vibrant which occurs in all environments.			
/rikama/	▷→|E]	[rikama]	'empty'	0727
	▷◆▷▷			
/d ^h uari/	⊞▷√+▷	[d ^h uari]	'fog'	0137
	▷→			
/kopər/	E]▷ TM {▷	[kopər]	'elbow'	0014
	→			
/l/	[l] is a voiced alveolar lateral approximant which occurs in all environments .			
/lakuɾ/	±▷▷E√]	[lakuɾ]	'fire wood'	0060
	β|			

/kola/	E]⊃™±⊃	[kola]	'fox'	0324
/d ^h ukul/	⊃ ⊃ ⊃ ⊃	[d ^h ukul]	'smoke'	0147

3.1.3 Retroflex Consonant

/ɖ/ has two allophones [ɖ] and [ɖ̠]:

[ɖ̠] is a voiceless unaspirated retroflex plosive which occurs in free variation with [ɖ], a voiceless alveolar unaspirated plosive which occurs in all environments.

/ɖaklija/	]J⊃E]⊃	[ɖaklija]	'bald headed'	0269
/buɖka/	±⊃♠⊃⊃ /√]J E]	[buɖka]	'short'	0254
/abuɖ/	⊃ +⊃/√]	[abuɖ]	'cloud'	0104
/ɖopli/	J]J⊃™{	[ɖopli]	'small basket'	1138
/b ^h amɖa/	⊃⊃±⊃ f⊃⊃◆⊃	[b ^h amɖa]	'thief'	0438
/wet/	]J⊃ x⊃]J	[wet]	'lip'	0038

/ɖ^h/ has two allophones [ɖ^h] and [ɖ̠^h]:

[ɖ̠^h] is a voiceless aspirated retroflex plosive which occurs only word medially and word finally and in free variation with [ɖ^h], a voiceless aspirated alveolar plosive.

/at ^h i/	+⊃⊃ √	[at ^h i]	'here'	0784
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/bet ^h /	⊃ ̄	[bet ^h]	'sit'	1409
/t ^h ajka/	̄ ⊃ ♠ ⊃ E	[t ^h ajka]	'silent'	1193
/got ^h ari/	⊃ M ⊃ ⊃ TM ̄	[got ^h ari]	'spider'	0400
/mit ^h/	̄ ⊃ ⊃ → | ⊃ ♠ ⊃ ̄	[mit ^h]	'salt'	0223

/d/ has two allophones [ɖ] and [d]:

[ɖ] is a voiced unaspirated retroflex plosive which occurs only word initially and word medially and in free variation with [d], a voiced unaspirated alveolar plosive which occurs only word initially and word medially.

/ɖoka/	β | ⊃TM E |	[ɖoka]	'head'	0002
/g ^h ɛdɛjaɭ/	⊃ Π ⊃ β | ♠	[g ^h ɛdɛjaɭ]	'clock'	0546
/ɖobɛɾ/	⊃ ⊃ ⊃ | β | ⊃TM ⊃	[ɖobɛɾ]	'buffalo'	0349
/wɛɖaj/	β | x ⊃ β | ⊃ ♠	[wɛɖaj]	'thief'	0440
	⊃			

/d^h/ has two allophones [ɖ^h] and [d^h]:

[d^h] is a voiced aspirated retroflex plosive which occurs only word initially and in free variation with [d^h], a voiced aspirated alveolar plosive which occurs only word initially.

/d ^h illa/	⊃ϕ/±±⊃	[d ^h illa]	'loose'	0743
	⊃			
/d ^h as/	ϕ/⊃≡⊃	[d ^h as]	'cough'	0920
/d ^h eg/	ϕ/M⊃	[d ^h eg]	'cloud'	0103
/d ^h ekun/	ϕ TM /E√/ξ	[d ^h ekun]	'bug'	0390
	⊃			

/ŋḍ/ [ŋḍ] is a voiced retroflex homorganic plosive which occurs only word medially and word finally.

/maŋḍi/	◆⊃⊃ξβ|	[maŋḍi]	'thigh'	0051
	Ⓜ			
/soŋḍ/	+⊃M⊃√	[soŋḍ]	'trunk'	0354
	v|⊃→|			

/ɽ/ [ɽ] is a voiced retroflex flapped vibrant occurs only word medially and word finally.

/haɽuk/	| |⊃β√|	[haɽuk]	'bone'	0026
	E|			
/ḍɛaɽa/	ζ⊃⊃β|⊃	[ḍɛaɽa]	'fat'	0243
/goɽ/	M⊃⊃ TM β	[goɽ]	'sweet'	0609
/lakuɽ/	±⊃⊃E√/|	[lakuɽ]	'fire wood'	0060
	β|			

/ɭ/ [ɭ] is a voiced retroflex lateral which occurs only word medially and word finally.

/haɭəɖ/	⊃≥ v	[haɭəɖ]	'turmeric'	0221
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	𑄢			
/sɛjaɭ/	𑄢𑄣𑄤𑄥𑄦𑄧	[sɛjaɭ]	'crow-bar'	1206
	𑄨			

3.1.4 Palatal Consonants

/tʃ̥/ [tʃ̥] is a voiceless unaspirated palatal affricate which occurs in all environments.

/tʃ̥ik ^h ul/	𑄩𑄪𑄫𑄬𑄭	[tʃ̥ik ^h ul]	'mud'	0149
	𑄮			
/getʃ̥al/	𑄯𑄰𑄱𑄲	[getʃ̥al]	'push'	1005
	𑄳			
/tʃ̥itʃ̥/	𑄴𑄵𑄶𑄷	[tʃ̥itʃ̥]	'tamarind'	0187

/dʒ/ [dʒ] is a voiced unaspirated palatal affricate which occurs in all environments.

/dʒɛg/	𑄸𑄹	[dʒɛg]	'world'	0131
/kɛdʒə/	𑄺𑄻𑄼	[kɛdʒə]	'why'	0786
/nidʒ/	𑄽𑄾𑄿	[nidʒ]	'sleep'	1454

/dʒ^h/ [dʒ^h] is a voiced aspirated palatal affricate which occurs only word initially. Even the borrowed words are pronounced word medially and word finally as unaspirated.

/dʒ ^h ɛp/	𑄿𑅀	[dʒ ^h ɛp]	'swim'	1381
/dʒ ^h akɛn/	𑅁𑅂𑅃	[dʒ ^h akɛn]	'lid'	0559
	𑅄			
/dʒ ^h irula/	𑅅𑅆𑅇𑅈	[dʒ ^h irula]	'cockroach'	0386
	𑅉			

/ɳdʒ/ [ɳdʒ] is a voiced palatal homorganic plosive which occurs only word medially and word finally.

/gaṅḍʒi/	ᄠᄡᄢᄣᄤ	[gaṅḍʒi]	'a kind of bird'	1242
/buṅḍʒ/	ᄡᄢᄣᄤᄥᄧᄨᄩ	[buṅḍʒ]	'bury'	1378

/j/ [j] is a voiced unrounded palatal approximant which occurs in all environments.

/jɛr/	ᄡᄢᄣᄤ	[jɛr]	'well'	0112
/bajko/	ᄡᄢᄣᄤᄥᄧᄨᄩ	[bajko]	'wife'	0310
/paj/	{ᄡᄢᄣᄤᄥᄧᄨᄩ	[paj]	'leg'	0020

3.1.5 Velar Consonants

/k/ [k] is a voiceless unaspirated velar plosive which occurs in all environments.

/kuraɾ/	ᄡᄢᄣᄤᄥᄧᄨᄩ	[kuraɾ]	'axe'	0068
/tokɛr/	ᄡᄢᄣᄤᄥᄧᄨᄩ	[tokɛr]	'bamboo'	0161
/haɾuk/	ᄡᄢᄣᄤᄥᄧᄨᄩ	[haɾuk]	'bone'	0026

/k^h/ [k^h] is a voiceless aspirated velar plosive which occurs in all environments.

/k ^h ɛɾɛk/	ᄡᄢᄣᄤᄥᄧᄨᄩ	[k ^h ɛɾɛk]	'stone'	0143
/ak ^h uɾ/	ᄡᄢᄣᄤᄥᄧᄨᄩ	[ak ^h uɾ]	'short'	0253
/tʃok ^h /	ᄡᄢᄣᄤᄥᄧᄨᄩ	[tʃok ^h]	'suck'	1456

/g/ [g] is a voiced unaspirated velar plosive which occurs in all environments.

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/gurəga/	M▷√β	[gurəga]	'knee'	0049
/ləgin/	M▷▷ ±▷▷M▷	[ləgin]	'marriage'	0869
/wag/	ξ▷ x▷▷M▷	[wag]	'tiger'	0347
/g ^h /	[g ^h] is a voiced aspirated velar plosive which occurs only word initially.			
/g ^h am/	Π▷▷◆	[g ^h am]	'sweat'	0053
/g ^h ubɛɾ/	▷ Π▷√▷β	[g ^h ubɛɾ]	'kite'	0366
/g ^h ɛr/	| Π▷→|	[g ^h ɛr]	'house'	0056
/ŋg/	[ŋg] is a voiced velar homorganic plosive which occurs only in word medially and word finally.			
/maŋgə/	◆▷▷∅	[maŋgə]	'behind'	0846
/d͡ʒaŋg/	M▷∅ | ζ▷▷∅M▷ ▷ |	[d͡ʒaŋg]	'thigh'	0050

3.1.6 Glottal Consonants

/h/ [h] is a voiceless glottal fricative which occurs in all environments.

/hɪɾi/	▷ | ]▷β |	[hɪɾi]	'gum'	0039
/d͡ʒɛhɛr/	ζ▷ | ]→ |	[d͡ʒɛhɛr]	'poison'	1028
/jɛh/	♠▷ | ]	[jɛh]	'these'	0829

3.1.7 Nasal consonants

/m/ [m] is a voiced bilabial nasal which occurs in all environments.

/man/	◆▷▷ξ▷	[maṅ]	'neck'	0044
/koma.j/	E]▷™◆	[koma.j]	'wither'	1420
	▷▷♠▷			
/g ^h am/	Π▷▷◆	[g ^h am]	'sweat'	0053
	▷			

/n/ has three allophones [n], [ṅ], and [ṇ]:

[ṅ] is a voiced dental nasal which occurs only in loan words.

/nak/	ξ▷▷E]	[ṅak]	'nose'	0008
/anəṅṅ/	+▷ξ▷ξv	[anəṅṅ]	'joy'	0503
/sən/	≡▷ξ▷	[sən]	'festival'	0709

[ṇ] is a voiced retroflex nasal which occurs preceding only retroflex plosives. It is not found word initially and word finally.

/paṅṅa/	{▷▷ξ]J	[paṅṅa]	'leaf'	0171
	▷			
/goṅṅa/	M▷▷™ξ	[goṅṅa]	'sack'	0531
	]J▷			
/g ^h əṅṅa/	Π▷ξ]J	[g ^h əṅṅa]	'bell'	0543
	▷			

[n] is a voiced alveolar nasal which occurs in all environments.

/nager/	ξ▷▷M▷	[nager]	'plough'	0087
	→			
/tʃəwna/	Σ▷x▷ξ	[tʃəwna]	'ugly'	0259
	▷▷			
/ʃen/	▷▷™ξ▷	[ʃen]	'cow dung'	0548

3.2 Vowels

3.2.1 Vowel Quality

All the vowels are laid out in the following order of syllable types in the examples whenever they occur: V, CV, VC and CVC

/i/ varies between [i], [i:] and [ɪ]:

[i] is a voiced close front unrounded vowel which occurs in both open and closed syllables and in free variation with [i:], a long voiced close front unrounded vowel which occurs in both open and closed syllables and with [ɪ], a near close front unrounded slightly lowered vowel which occurs in both open and closed syllables and especially preceding and following only a palatal approximant.

/i.tʃu/	<ΣD√	[itʃu]	'scorpion'	0382
/mi/	◆D®|	[mi]	'I'	0807
/is.tu/	<≡D√\	[istʃu]	'fire'	0145
/tʃis/	1D®≡D	[tʃis]	'thirsty'	0688
/i.ja/	<♠D>	[i:ja]	'sickle'	0080
/ik/	<E|	[i:k]	'sell'	1418
/mis.nə/	◆D®≡D	[mi:snə]	'together'	1112
	ξD∅			
/kub.ɾi.ja/	E√|D>β	[kubɾɪja]	'hump backed'	0264
	|♠D>			
/be.jin/	▷™D>♠	[bejin]	'sister'	0279
	DξD			
/ni.jari/	>ξD♠D	[nijari]	'tiffin'	0594
	D>→|			

/e/ varies between [e] and [ɛ]:

[e] is a voiced closed front unrounded vowel which occurs in both open and closed syllables and in free variation with [ɛ], a voiced half open front unrounded vowel which occurs in both open and closed syllables.

/t̥e/	⊔ TM	[t̥e]	'they'	0820
/sep. t̥i/	≡⊔ TM {⊔	[sept̥i]	'tail'	0352
/t̥ ^h ew/	⊔ TM ⊔	[t̥ ^h ew]	'keep'	1344
/je/	♠⊔ TM	[jɛ]	'come'	1269
/pæ. er/	{⊔B→|	[pæɛr]	'sow'	1410
/t̥ej/	⊔♠⊔|	[t̥ɛj]	'there'	0803

/ə/ [ə] is a voiced mid central unrounded vowel which occurs both in open and closed syllables.

/a. nə/	+⊔ξ⊔	[anə]	'and'	0855
/kə. t̥i/	E|⊔β|	[kət̥i]	'door chain'	1085
/rəh/	→|||	[rəh]	'stay'	0759

/ɐ/ [ɐ] is a voiced near-open central unrounded vowel which occurs both in open and closed syllables.

/wɐ/	x⊔J	[wɐ]	'happen'	1305
/jɛr/	♠⊔→	[jɛr]	'well'	0112
/wɛs. t̥ɛ. rɛ/	x⊔≡⊔⊔ → ⊔	[wɛst̥ɛrɛ]	'razor'	0083

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/a/ varies between [a], [a:], [ã] and [æ]:

[a] is a voiced open front unrounded vowel which occurs both in open and closed syllables and in free variation with [a:], a long voiced open front unrounded vowel which occurs both in open and closed syllables, with [ã], a nasalized voiced open front unrounded vowel which occurs both in open and closed syllables and we found this phone only in two word and with [æ], a voiced near open front unrounded vowel which occurs both in open and closed syllables.

/a. buɽ/	+ɔɔ√]	[abuɽ]	'cloud'	0104
	J			
/ba. ba/	ɔɔɔɔ	[baba]	'father'	0275
/am. la/	+ɔ♦ɔ±	[amla]	'us'	0810
	ɔɔ			
/waɽ/	xɔɔ]J	[waɽ]	'way'	0127
/aɽ/	+ɔβ|	[a:ɽ]	'small well'	0113
/tʃa/	Σɔɔ	[tʃa:]	'tea'	0999
/gaɽ/	Mɔɔβ|	[ga:ɽ]	'back teeth'	1239
/has/	||ɔ≡ɔ	[hās]	'laugh'	1465
/ha. saɽ/	||ɔ≡ɔ	[hāsaɽ]	'make laugh'	1449
	ɔβ|			
/tʃa. ra/	Σɔɔ→|	[tʃæra]	'owl'	0374
	ɔ			
/hu. ʃar/	|√|ðɔɔ	[huʃær]	'clever'	0675
	→			
/kə. dʒa/	E|ʒɔɔ	[kədʒæ]	'quarrel'	0666

/u/ varies between [u] and [u:]:

[u] is a voiced close back rounded vowel which occurs both in open and closed syllables and in free variation with [u:], a long voiced close back rounded vowel which occurs only in closed syllable and we found this phone only in one word.

/u. di/	= v^{v}	[u d^{v} i]	'white ant'	0387
/t u . na/	$\text{v}^{\text{v}}\text{v}^{\text{v}}\text{v}^{\text{v}}$	[t u na]	'your'	0816
/un/	= v^{v}	[un]	'sunshine'	0989
/kut/	$\text{v}^{\text{v}}\text{v}^{\text{v}}\text{v}^{\text{v}}$	[kut]	'family'	0271
/hut/	$\text{v}^{\text{v}}\text{v}^{\text{v}}\text{v}^{\text{v}}$	[hu $^{\text{v}}$ t]	'camel'	0328

/o/ [o] is a voiced close-mid back rounded vowel which occurs both in open and closed syllables.

/t o /	$\text{v}^{\text{v}}\text{v}^{\text{v}}\text{v}^{\text{v}}$	[t o]	'he'	0818
/pot/	{ $\text{v}^{\text{v}}\text{v}^{\text{v}}\text{v}^{\text{v}}$ }	[pot]	'belly'	0013
	v^{v}			
/ko. la/	$\text{v}^{\text{v}}\text{v}^{\text{v}}\text{v}^{\text{v}}\text{v}^{\text{v}}$	[kola]	'fox'	0324
	v^{v}			

4. Evidence for Contrast

4.1 Consonants

4.1.1 Labials

/p/	/b/			
	/pot/	{ $\text{v}^{\text{v}}\text{v}^{\text{v}}\text{v}^{\text{v}}$ }	[pot]	'belly' 0013
		v^{v}		
	/bot/	$\text{v}^{\text{v}}\text{v}^{\text{v}}\text{v}^{\text{v}}\text{v}^{\text{v}}$	[bot]	'finger' 0018
		v^{v}		
	/ɖapɑr/	$\text{v}^{\text{v}}\text{v}^{\text{v}}\text{v}^{\text{v}}\text{v}^{\text{v}}$	[ɖapɑr]	'hide' 1474
		v^{v}		

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	/dɔbɛɾ/	β ɔ TM ɾ β	[dɔbɛɾ]	'buffalo'	0349
	/d̥ɪp/	ɔ̥ɟ { ɔ	[d̥ɪp]	'nib'	0637
	/d̥ɪb/	ɔ̥ɟ ɾ	[d̥ɪb]	'tongue'	0011
/p/	/p ^h /				
	/pat/	{ ɔ ɟ }	[pat]	'back'	0046
	/p ^h at/	ɾ { ɔ ɟ }	[p ^h at]	'crack'	1472
	/d̥ɪ ^h ɔpɾi/	ɔ̥ɟ TM { ɔ̥ɟ β |	[d̥ɪ ^h ɔpɾi]	'hut'	0511
	/dɛp ^h ɾa/	β | ɾ { β | ɾ }	[dɛp ^h ɾa]	'a musical instrument'	1021
	/hup/	| √ } { ɔ	[hup]	'heat'	1173
	/gup ^h /	M ɔ √ ɾ }	[gup ^h]	'weave'	1425
/p ^h /	/b ^h /				
	/p ^h uk/	ɾ √ { E }	[p ^h uk]	'blow'	1400
	/b ^h uk/	f ɔ √ { E }	[b ^h uk]	'hungry'	0671
	/p ^h it/	ɔ̥ ɾ]] }	[p ^h it]	'tight'	0724
	/b ^h it/	ɔ̥ f ɔ ɾ }	[b ^h it]	'wall'	0512

	/p ^h atək/	Υ]⊃]E]	[p ^h atək]	'gate'	0527
	/b ^h etək/	f⊃]E]	[b ^h etək]	'miss'	1469
/b/	/b ^h /				
	/beṭ/	⊃ TM ⊃	[beṭ]	'plan'	1119
	/b ^h eṭ/	f⊃ TM ⊃	[b ^h eṭ]	'get'	1383
	/bor/	⊃⊃ TM →	[bor]	'a kind of fruit'	1135
	/b ^h er/	| f⊃→|	[b ^h er]	'fill'	1373
	/baŋg/	⊃⊃∅M	[baŋg]	'towards'	0781
	/b ^h iŋg/	⊃ ϕf⊃M⊃	[b ^h iŋg]	'scales'	0405
/b/	/m/				
	/basa/	⊃⊃≡⊃	[basa]	'old food'	1238
	/masa/	◆⊃≡⊃ ⊃	[masa]	'fish'	0323
	/ṭibak/	⊃⊃⊃ E]	[ṭibak]	'there'	0576
	/ḍimak/	⊃v]◆⊃ ⊃E]	[ḍimak]	'anger'	0733
	/gərib/	M⊃⊃→ ⊃	[gərib]	'poor'	1096
	/gərəm/	M⊃→ ◆⊃	[gərəm]	'heat'	0950

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/b/	/w/				
	/bas/	ᵇᵇᵇ	[bas]	'sit'	1408
	/was/	ᵇᵇᵇ	[was]	'dew'	0141
	/ᵗaba/	ᵗᵇᵇᵇ	[ᵗaba]	'control'	1177
	/ᵇawa/	ᵇᵗᵇᵇᵇ	[ᵇawa]	'tether'	0567
	/ᵇᵗib/	ᵇᵗᵇᵇ	[ᵇᵗib]	'tongue'	0011
	/ᵇᵗiw/	ᵇᵗᵇᵇᵇ	[ᵇᵗiw]	'louse'	0388

4.1.2 Coronals

/ᵗ/	/ᵇ/				
	/ᵗar/	ᵗᵇᵇᵇ→|	[ᵗar]	'wire'	0167
	/ᵇar/	ᵇᵗᵇᵇ→|	[ᵇar]	'door'	0058
	/naᵗu/	ᵗᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇ	[naᵗu]	'grand son'	0305
	/nəᵇi/	ᵇᵗᵇᵇᵗ	[nəᵇi]	'river'	0102
	/ᵇaᵗ/	ᵇᵗᵇᵇᵇ	[ᵇaᵗ]	'tooth'	0010
	/ᵇuᵇ/	ᵇᵗᵇᵇᵇ	[ᵇuᵇ]	'milk'	0601
/ᵗ/	/ᵗ ^h /				
	/ᵗak/	ᵗᵇᵇᵇE]	[ᵗak]	'a kind of drink'	1066
	/ᵗ ^h uk/	ᵗᵇᵇᵇᵇE]	[ᵗ ^h uk]	'saliva'	0054
	/poᵗa/	{ᵗᵇᵇᵇᵗ	[poᵗa]	'sack'	0530
	/poᵗ ^h i/	{ᵗᵇᵇᵇᵗᵗ ᵗᵇᵇᵇᵗ	[poᵗ ^h i]	'old religious book'	1132
/ᵗ/	/ᵗ/				
	/ᵗak/	ᵗᵇᵇᵇE]	[ᵗak]	'a kind of drink'	1066

	/tak/	⌋⌋⊃E⌋	[tak]	'pour'	1280
	/moṭi/	◆⊃⊃ TM ⌋	[moṭi]	'pearl'	1230
	/moṭi/	⊃Ⓜ ◆⊃⊃ TM ⌋ ⌋Ⓜ	[moti]	'big (fem)'	1484
	/ḍatṭ/	v⌋⊃⌋	[ḍatṭ]	'tooth'	0010
	/ḍat/	v⌋⊃⌋⌋	[ḍat]	'messy'	1202
/ṭ/	/r/				
	/ṭə/	⌋∅	[ṭə]	'then'	1094
	/rə/	→∅⌋	[rə]	'live'	1401
	/moṭi/	◆⊃⊃ TM ⌋	[moṭi]	'pearl'	1230
	/mori/	⊃Ⓜ ◆⊃⊃ TM ⌋ →⌋Ⓜ	[mori]	'bath room'	0518
	/ḍʒəṭ/	ζ⊃⌋	[ḍʒəṭ]	'worm'	0926
	/ḍʒər/	ζ⊃→⌋	[ḍʒər]	'if'	0857
/ṭ/	/ṭʃ/				
	/ṭula/	⌋√⊃⊃⌋	[ṭula]	'to you'	0815
	/ṭʃula/	Σ⊃√⊃⌋ ⊃	[ṭʃula]	'cooking fire'	1106

/d̥/	/d̥ ^h /				
	/d̥ejra/	v̄|♠▷β|	[d̥ejra]	'pit'	1187
		▷			
	/d̥ ^h ejri/	⊖▷♠▷β	[d̥ejri]	'old woman'	0240
		Ⓜ			
/d/	/d/				
	/d̥awɛr/	v̄|x▷β|	[d̥awɛr]	'run'	1346
	/d̥obɛr/	β|▷TM ▷	[d̥obɛr]	'buffalo'	0349
		β|			
	/d̥ek ^h ar/	v̄|h▷▷β	[d̥ek ^h ar]	'show'	1348
	/d̥okar/	β|▷TM E|	[d̥okar]	'intimidate'	1454
		▷β|			
/d̥/	/t/				
	/bed̥ək/	▷v̄|E|	[bed̥ək]	'duck'	0373
	/b ^h et̥ək/	f▷|J|E|	[b ^h et̥ək]	'miss'	1486
	/bad̥li/	▷▷v̄|±	[bad̥li]	'bucket'	0975
		▷Ⓜ			
	/bat̥li/	▷▷ J ±	[bat̥li]	'bottle'	0573
		▷Ⓜ			
	/kud̥/	E√ v̄	[kud̥]	'jump'	1308
	/kut̥/	E√ J	[kut̥]	'husk'	1307
/d̥/	/r/				
	/d̥at̥/	v̄ ▷t̥▷	[d̥at̥]	'tooth'	0010

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	/raṭ/	→ ɓɓ	[raṭ]	'night'	1207
	/gəḍa/	Mɓv ɓ	[gəḍa]	'club'	0910
	/gora/	Mɓɓ™ → ɓ	[gora]	'fair'	1131
	/məḍ/	◆ɓv	[məḍ]	'honey'	0607
	/məɾ/	◆ɓ→ |	[məɾ]	'die'	1437
/ḍ/	/ḍḍ/				
	/uḍar/	=v |ɓ→ |	[uḍar]	'credit'	0971
	/uḍḍir/	=ξv |® → |	[uḍḍir]	'rat'	0339
	/ḍuḍ/	v√ |v |	[ḍuḍ]	'milk'	0601
	/ḍ ^h uḍḍ/	⊖√ξv | |	[ḍ ^h uḍḍ]	'drowsiness'	1203
/ḍ ^h /	/t ^h /				
	/ḍ ^h ew/	⊖xɓ	[ḍ ^h ew]	'wash'	1370
	/t ^h ew/	™)xɓ	[t ^h ew]	'keep'	1362
/ḍ ^h /	/ḍ ^h /				
	/ḍ ^h es/	⊖≡ɓ	[ḍ ^h es]	'collapse'	1434
	/ḍ ^h as/	⊖)ɓ≡ɓ	[ḍ ^h as]	'cough'	0920
/r/	/l/				
	/rew/	→ |xɓ	[rew]	'play'	1316
	/lew/	±xɓ	[lew]	'bring'	1284
	/ḍʒira/	≡ξɓ→ |	[ḍʒira]	'cumin'	0231

	/dʒilla/	ㄷ ㄷㄹㅈㅈㅈ ㄷㄷ	[dʒilla]	'district'	0123
	/gar/	ㅁㄷㄷ→	[gar]	'hailstone'	0140
	/gal/	| ㅁㄷㄷㅈ	[gal]	'cheek'	0040
/s/	/ʃ/				
	/sap/	≡ㄷㄷ{ㄷ	[sap]	'snake'	0380
	/ʃap/	ㅁㄷㄷ{ㄷ	[ʃap]	'print'	1338
	/asu/	ㅈㄷ≡ㄷ√	[asu]	'tear'	0037
	/aʃa/	ㅈㄷㅁㄷㄷ	[aʃa]	'like this'	1489
	/res/	→|≡ㄷ	[res]	'soup'	0596
	/reʃ/	→™|ㅁㄷ	[reʃ]	'line on note'	0913
/s/	/tʃ/				
	/suk/	≡ㄷ√Eㅈ	[suk]	'dry'	1452
	/tʃuk/	Σㄷ√Eㅈ	[tʃuk]	'mistake'	0699
	/asu/	ㅈㄷ≡ㄷ√	[asu]	'tear'	0037
	/itʃu/	<Σㄷ√	[itʃu]	'scorpion'	0382
	/was/	×ㄷㄷ≡ㄷ	[was]	'smell'	0674
	/watʃ/	×ㄷㄷΣㄷ	[watʃ]	'read'	1378
/s/	/dʒ/				
	/sarɪ/	≡ㄷㄷβ	[sarɪ]	'sari'	1092
	/dʒarɪ/	® ㄹㄷㄷβ ®	[dʒarɪ]	'fat (fem)'	0244

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	/asa/	+⊃≡⊃	[asa]	'hope'	0502
	/adʒa/	+⊃ζ⊃	[adʒa]	'grand father'	0303
	/p ^h es/	Υ TM]≡⊃	[p ^h es]	'foam'	1118
	/p ^h edʒ/	Υ TM]ζ⊃	[p ^h edʒ]	'rice water'	0599
/ʃ/	/tʃ/				
	/ʃak/	⊃⊃E]	[ʃak]	'curry'	0598
	/tʃak/	Σ⊃E]	[tʃak]	'wheel'	1063
	/uʃi/	=⊃⊃®	[uʃi]	'pillow'	0561
/ʃ/	/utʃi/	=Σ⊃®	[utʃi]	'high (fem)'	1490
	/dʒ/				
	/ʃik/	⊃⊃E]	[ʃik]	'sneeze'	1341
	/dʒik/	⊃ζE]	[dʒik]	'win'	1345
	/aʃa/	+⊃⊃	[aʃa]	'like this'	1489
	/adʒa/	+⊃ζ⊃	[adʒa]	'grand father'	0303

4.1.3 Retroflex

/t/	/d/				
	/tokər/	]J ⊃ TM E]	[tokər]	'bamboo'	0161
		→			
	/dokaɾ/	β |⊃TM E]	[dokaɾ]	'intimidate'	1454
		⊃β]			
	/k ^h edda/	⊃ββ |⊃	[k ^h edda]	'pit'	1186
	/k ^h oɾa/	⊃⊃ TM]	[k ^h oɾa]	'lie'	0769
		J⊃			
/t/	/t ^h /				
	/tak/	]J ⊃E]	[tak]	'pour'	1280

	/t ^h ok/	⌈⊃ TM E⌋	[t ^h ok]	'knock'	1485
	/paṭa/	{⊃⊃]J⊃	[paṭa]	'grinding stone'	0969
	/paṭ ^h a/	{⊃⊃ ⌈⊃	[paṭ ^h a]	'early morning'	1210
	/ṭat/	⊃⊃]J	[ṭat]	'plate'	1064
	/ṭat ^h /	⊃⊃ ⌈	[ṭat ^h]	'tight'	0722
/t/	/r/				
	/ṭikam/	⊃]J E⊃	[ṭikam]	'crow-bar'	0081
	/rikama/	◆⊃ ⊃→|E⊃ ⊃◆⊃⊃	[rikama]	'empty'	0727
	/goṭa/	M⊃⊃ TM	[goṭa]	'rounded stone'	0657
	/gora/	J⊃ M⊃⊃ TM →|⊃	[gora]	'fair'	1131
	/poṭ/	{⊃⊃ TM	[poṭ]	'belly'	0013
	/por/	J {⊃⊃ TM →|	[por]	'daughter'	0298
/d/	/ḍ ^h /				
	/ḍas/	β ⊃≡⊃	[ḍas]	'mosquito'	1487
	/ḍ ^h as/	ϕ/⊃≡⊃	[ḍ ^h as]	'cough'	0920
/d/	/ṇḍ/				
	/ṭṣṇḍpḍi/	Σ⊃β β ®	[ṭṣṇḍpḍi]	'pant'	0985

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	/tʃeŋɖu/	Σ⊃™ξβ√ J	[tʃeŋɖu]	'ball'	0568
/d/	/r/				
	/ɖag/	β ⊃ M ⊃	[dag]	'scar'	0680
	/rag/	→ ⊃ M ⊃	[rag]	'anger'	0665
	/kʰeɖɖa/	ʈ⊃ββ ⊃	[kʰeɖɖa]	'pit'	1186
	/kʰəra/	ʈ⊃→ ⊃	[kʰəra]	'true'	0702
/r/	/ɽ/				
	/wara/	x⊃→ | ⊃	[wara]	'wind'	0107
	/waɽa/	x⊃β ⊃	[waɽa]	'cow shed'	0517
	/gʰer/	π⊃→ |	[gʰer]	'house'	0056
	/gʰeɽ/	π⊃β |	[gʰeɽ]	'make'	1444
/d/	/ɽ/				
	/kʰeɖɖa/	ʈ⊃ββ ⊃	[kʰeɖɖa]	'pit'	1186
	/kʰeɽu/	ʈ⊃β√ |	[kʰeɽu]	'chalk'	0641
/t/	/ɽ/				
	/weta/	x⊃J ⊃	[weta]	'outside of house'	1233
	/waɽa/	x⊃β ⊃	[waɽa]	'cow shed'	0517
	/wet/	x⊃J	[wet]	'lip'	0038
	/waɽ/	x⊃β |	[waɽ]	'banyan tree'	1016

/d̥ɛja/	v]♠כ	[d̥ɛja]	'pity'	0951
/d̥awa/	v]כאכ	[d̥awa]	'tether'	0567
/gaj/	Mכ♠	[gaj]	'cow'	0334
/gaw/	כ Mכאכ	[gaw]	'village'	0055

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4.1.5 Velars

/k/	/g/				
	/kot/	E]⊃ TM]J	[kot]	'fort'	1130
	/got/	M⊃⊃ TM]J	[got]	'story'	0651
	/baki/	↘⊃E]Ⓢ	[baki]	'credit'	1491
	/bage/	↘⊃M⊃ ∅	[bage]	'slow'	0745
	/rak/	→|⊃E]	[rak]	'ash'	0148
	/rag/	→|⊃M ⊃	[rag]	'anger'	0665
/k/	/k ^h /				
	/kor/	E]⊃ TM β|	[kor]	'leprosy'	1259
	/k ^h or/	θ⊃⊃ TM β| |	[k ^h or]	'defect'	1192
	/mekki/	◆⊃EE]Ⓢ Ⓢ	[mekki]	'maize'	0199
	/mak ^h i/	◆⊃⊃θ⊃ Ⓢ	[mak ^h i]	'fly'	0402
	/ɖuk/	v√|E]	[ɖuk]	'pain'	0697
	/ɖuk ^h /	v√|θ⊃	[ɖuk ^h]	'sorrow'	0693
/g/	/g ^h /				
	/gal/	M⊃⊃⊃	[gal]	'cheek'	0040
	/g ^h al/	Π⊃⊃⊃	[g ^h al]	'wear'	1389

	/gar/	Mᄁ→	[gar]	'hailstone'	0114
	/g ^h ar/	| Πᄁ→|	[g ^h ar]	'kite'	0365
/g/	/ŋg/				
	/pəgar/	{ᄁM	[pəgar]	'salary'	0897
		ᄁᄁ→ |			
	/paŋgəŋ/	{ᄁᄁ	[paŋgəŋ]	'cover the bed sheet'	1326
		ØMᄁ →|			
	/dʒəg/	ᄁMᄁ	[dʒəg]	'live'	1402
	/dʒəŋg/	ᄁØMᄁ	[dʒəŋg]	'rust'	0862
/k ^h /	/g ^h /				
	/k ^h am/	ᄁᄁ◆ᄁ	[k ^h am]	'pillar'	0515
	/g ^h am/	Πᄁ◆ ᄁ	[g ^h am]	'sweat'	0053
	/k ^h al/	ᄁᄁᄁ	[k ^h al]	'under'	0845
	/g ^h al/	Πᄁᄁᄁ	[g ^h al]	'wear'	1371
4.1.6 Glottal					
/k/	/h/				
	/kaj/	E]ᄁ♠ᄁ	[kaj]	'what'	0838
	/haj/]ᄁ♠ᄁ	[haj]	'this'	0719

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	/pikaɾ/	⊃{⊃E}⊃ β	[pikaɾ]	'make ripe'	1385
	/pahaɾ/	{⊃⊃ ⊃β	[pahaɾ]	'mountain'	0120
	/jek/	♠⊃ TM E]	[jek]	'one'	1492
	/jeh/	♠⊃ TM||	[jɛh]	'these'	0829
/g/	/h/				
	/gar/	M⊃⊃→ |	[gar]	'Hailstone'	0140
	/har/	||⊃→|	[har]	'garland'	1467
	/pɛgar/	{⊃M⊃⊃ →|	[pɛgar]	'salary'	0897
	/pahaɾ/	{⊃⊃|| ⊃β|	[pahaɾ]	'mountain'	0120
	/rɛg/	→|M⊃	[rɛg]	'blanket'	0537
	/rɛh/	→||	[rɛh]	'stay'	1493

4.1.7 Nasals

/m/	/n/				
	/miɭa/	⊃◆⊃≥| ⊃	[miɭa]	'fair'	1120
	/niɭa/	⊃ξ⊃≥| ⊃	[niɭa]	'blue'	0617
	/amə/	+⊃◆⊃∅	[amə]	'we'	0808
	/anə/	+⊃ξ⊃∅	[anə]	'and'	0855

	/gum/	Mᄃ√ᄃᄃ [gum]	'busy'	0721
	/gun/	Mᄃ√ᄃᄃ [gun]	'quality'	0673
/m/	/w/			
	/mag/	ᄃᄃM [mag]	'foot step'	1110
	/wag/	ᄃᄃMᄃ [wag]	'tiger'	0347
	/ᄃᄃemaj/	ᄃᄃᄃᄃ [ᄃᄃemaj]	'yawning'	1038
	/ᄃᄃewaj/	ᄃᄃᄃᄃ [ᄃᄃewaj]	'son-in-law'	0300
	/k ^h am/	ᄃᄃᄃᄃ [k ^h am]	'pillar'	0515
	/k ^h aw/	ᄃᄃᄃᄃ [k ^h aw]	'eatable'	1104
/n/	/ᄃᄃᄃ/			
	/ᄃᄃ ^h enə/	ᄃᄃᄃᄃ [ᄃᄃ ^h enə]	'coriander'	0233
	/ᄃᄃ ^h enᄃᄃa/	ᄃᄃᄃᄃ [ᄃᄃ ^h enᄃᄃa]	'business'	0883
	/ᄃᄃ ^h en/	ᄃᄃᄃᄃ [ᄃᄃ ^h en]	'wealth'	1022
	/ᄃᄃ ^h unᄃᄃ/	ᄃᄃᄃᄃ [ᄃᄃ ^h unᄃᄃ]	'drowsiness'	1203
/n/	/ᄃᄃᄃᄃ/			
	/gana/	Mᄃᄃᄃᄃ [gana]	'song'	0946
	/gaᄃᄃᄃᄃi/	ᄃᄃMᄃᄃᄃᄃ [gaᄃᄃᄃᄃi]	'a kind of bird'	1242

Bhili Phonology

		▷ [Ⓡ]			
	/man/	◆▷ξ▷	[man]	'neck'	0044
	/waṅḍɜ/	×▷ξ▷ |	[waṅḍɜ]	'barren'	0313
/n/	/ṅḍ/				
	/kona/	E|▷TM ξ▷	[kona]	'whose'	0835
	/koṅḍa/	▷ E|▷TM ξβ |▷	[koṅḍa]	'paddy dust'	0586
	/man/	◆▷ξ▷	[man]	'neck'	0044
	/maṅḍ/	◆▷ξβ |	[maṅḍ]	'put'	1470
/n/	/ṅg/				
	/anə/	+▷ξ▷∅	[anə]	'and'	0855
	/aṅgi/	+▷∅ ^M	[aṅgi]	'frock'	0998
		▷ [Ⓡ]			
	/man/	◆▷ξ▷	[man]	'neck'	0044
	/maṅg/	◆▷∅ M▷	[maṅg]	'beg'	1438
/ṅḍ/	/ṅḍɜ/				
	/uṅḍir/	=ξv [Ⓡ] →	[uṅḍir]	'rat'	0339
	/aṅḍɜir/	+▷ξ▷ Ⓡ→ |	[aṅḍɜir]	'fig'	0208

	/baṅḡ/	ᄁᄃᄆᄃ	[baṅḡ]	'bind'	1416
	/buṅḡᄃ/	ᄁᄃᄆᄃᄃ	[buṅḡᄃ]	'bury'	1395
/ṅḡ/	/ṅḡ/				
	/kaṅḡa/	Eᄃᄆᄃ	[kaṅḡa]	'onion'	0210
	/koṅḡa/	Eᄃᄆᄃᄃᄃ ᄃ	[koṅḡa]	'paddy dust'	0586
	/baṅḡ/	ᄁᄃᄆᄃ	[baṅḡ]	'bind'	1416
	/baṅḡ/	ᄁᄃᄆᄃᄃ	[baṅḡ]	'arrow'	0908
/ṅḡ/	/ṅḡ/				
	/muṅḡi/	ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ ᄃ	[muṅḡi]	'ring'	0074
	/muṅḡi/	ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃ	[muṅḡi]	'ant'	0397
	/baṅḡ/	ᄁᄃᄆᄃ	[baṅḡ]	'bind'	1416
	/baṅḡ/	ᄁᄃᄃᄃᄃ ᄃ	[baṅḡ]	'towards'	0781
/ṅḡᄃ/	/ṅḡ/				
	/gaṅḡᄃi/	ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃ	[gaṅḡᄃi]	'a kind of bird'	1242
	/guṅḡi/	ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃ	[guṅḡi]	'button'	0162

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	/buṅḍi/	ᄁᄂᄃᄄᄅᄆ	[buṅḍi]	'bury'	1378
	/baṅḍi/	ᄁᄂᄃᄄᄅᄆ	[baṅḍi]	'arrow'	0908
/ṅḍi/	/ṅg/				
	/waṅḍi/	ᄁᄂᄃᄄᄅᄆ	[waṅḍi]	'barren'	0313
	/baṅg/	ᄁᄂᄃᄄᄅᄆ	[baṅg]	'towards'	0781
/ṅg/	/ṅḍi/				
	/muṅgi/	ᄁᄂᄃᄄᄅᄆ	[muṅgi]	'ant'	0397
	/maṅḍi/	ᄁᄂᄃᄄᄅᄆ	[maṅḍi]	'lap'	0051
	/maṅg/	ᄁᄂᄃᄄᄅᄆ	[maṅg]	'beg'	1438
	/maṅḍi/	ᄁᄂᄃᄄᄅᄆ	[maṅḍi]	'put'	1470

4.2 Vowels

4.2.1 Vowel Quality

/i/ /e/

	/dʒiw/	ㄷㄷㄷ	[dʒiw]	'louse'	0388
	/dʒew/	ㄷㄷ TM ㄷ	[dʒew]	'eat'	1313
	/tʃi/	ㄷㄷ [®]	[tʃi]	'she'	0819
	/tʃe/	ㄷㄷ TM	[tʃe]	'they'	0820
/i/	/ə/				
	/sidʒaɹ/	ㄷㄷㄷㄷ	[sidʒaɹ]	'boil'	1292
	/səpʒaɹ/	ㄷβ ㄷㄷㄷㄷ β	[səpʒaɹ]	'decorate'	1459
	/mori/	◆ㄷㄷ TM	[mori]	'bath room'	0518
	/more/	→ [®] ◆ㄷㄷ TM → ∅	[more]	'front'	0879

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/i/	/e/				
	/niɭa/	ξ▷Ⓡ]	[niɭa]	'blue'	0617
	/nəɭa/	▷ ξ▷]▷	[nəɭa]	'hole'	1234
	/d̥ʰɛni/	⊞ξ▷Ⓡ	[d̥ʰɛni]	'master'	0479
	/d̥ʰɛnə/	⊞ξ▷∅	[d̥ʰɛnə]	'coriander'	0233
/e/	/a/				
	/pɛta/	{▷ TM] |	[pɛta]	'a kind of tree'	1292
	/pata/	▷ {▷▷] | ▷	[pata]	'grinding stone'	1459
	/t̥e/	▷ TM	[t̥e]	'they'	0820
	/t̥a/	▷▷	[t̥a]	'that'	0804
/e/	/ə/				
	/g ^h er/	Π▷ TM→ |	[g ^h er]	'surround'	1428
	/g ^h ər/	Π▷→ |	[g ^h ər]	'house'	0056
	/t̥e/	▷ TM	[t̥e]	'they'	0820
	/t̥ə/	▷∅	[t̥ə]	'then'	1094
/a/	/ə/				
	/was/	×▷▷⇒▷	[was]	'smell'	0674
	/saw/	×▷⇒▷	[saw]	'dew'	0141

	/t̥a/	ⱱⱱ	[t̥a]	'that'	0804
	/t̥ə/	ⱱ∅	[t̥ə]	'then'	1094
/a/	/ə/				
	/kaɾi/	Eʃβ |®	[kaɾi]	'match stick'	0563
	/kəɾi/	Eʃβ |®	[kəɾi]	'door chain'	1085
	/pawna/	{ⱱⱱⱱ	[pawna]	'brother-in law	0293
	/pawne/	ξⱱⱱ {ⱱⱱⱱ ξⱱ∅	[pawne]	'guest'	0413
/a/	/o/				
	/pat/	{ⱱⱱ]J	[pat]	'back'	0046
	/pot/	{ⱱⱱ™] J	[pot]	'belly'	0013
	/t̥a/	ⱱⱱ	[t̥a]	'that'	0804
	/t̥o/	ⱱⱱ™	[t̥o]	'he'	0818
/ə/	/ə/				
	/kəɾi/	Eʃβ |®	[kəɾi]	'kind of curry'	1082
	/kəɾi/	Eʃβ ®	[kəɾi]	'door chain'	1085
	/t̥eme/	Eʃβ ®	[t̥eme]	'so'	0859
	/t̥ume/	Eʃβ ®	[t̥ume]	'you (pl)'	0814
/u/	/o/				
	/p ^h uk/	ɽʃ√E]	[p ^h uk]	'blow'	1383

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	/p ^h ok/	ʁ]⊃ TM E]	[p ^h ok]	'sow'	1411
	/ṭu/	ɪ⊃√	[ṭu]	'you'	0813
	/ṭo/	ɪ⊃ TM	[ṭo]	'he'	0818
/u/	/ə/				
	/ḍuk ^h /	v√ θ⊃	[ḍuk ^h]	'pain'	1405
	/ḍek ^h /	v|θ⊃	[ḍek ^h]	'see'	1365
	/ṭu/	ɪ⊃√	[ṭu]	'you'	0813
	/ṭə/	ɪ⊃∅	[ṭə]	'then'	1094
/u/	/ə/				
	/pulaja/	{⊃√±⊃	[pulaja]	'early morning'	1209
		⊃♠⊃⊃			
	/pələja/	{⊃±⊃⊃	[pələja]	'paddy straw'	0580
		♠⊃⊃			
	/kəɾu/	E]β√|	[kəɾu]	'bitter'	0706
	/kəɾə/	E]β∅|	[kəɾə]	'towards'	0780
/o/	/ə/				
	/kor/	E]⊃ TM →	[kor]	'eye corner'	1405
	/kəɾ/	E]→|	[kəɾ]	'do'	1365
	/ṭo/	ɪ⊃ TM	[ṭo]	'he'	0818
	/ṭə/	ɪ⊃∅	[ṭə]	'then'	1094

/o/	/ə/				
	/kɔtʃa/	E]D™Σ	[kɔtʃa]	'one eyed'	0261
	/kətʃa/	D E]ΣDD	[kətʃa]	'unripe'	0725

5. Syllable structure

5.1 Syllable types

Bhili has four distinct syllable types. They are V, CV, VC and CVC. There are no word initial or word final CC clusters and no CCC and VV clusters in Bhili words

5.2 Distribution of syllables in words

5.2.1 Monosyllabic words

All of these syllables types can occur as monosyllabic words:

V	/abuɾ/	+D/√]	[a. buɾ]	'cloud'	0104
	/itʃu/	J <ΣD√]	[i. tʃu]	'scorpion'	0382
CV	/le/	±D™	[le]	'take'	1373
	/ɾo/	ɪDD™	[ɾo]	'he'	0818
VC	/uɾ ^h /	= √	[uɾ ^h]	'arise'	1288
	/aɾ/	+Dβ|	[a:ɾ]	'small well'	0113
CVC	/poɾ/	{DD™] J	[poɾ]	'belly'	0013
	/man/	◆DDξD	[man]	'neck'	0044

5.2.2 Disyllabic words

V.CV	/u. na/	=ξDD	[una]	'heat'	0689
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V.CVC	/a.pun/	+⊃{⊃√ξ	[apun]	'we'	1036
		⊃			
VC.CV	/am.ba/	+⊃◆/⊃	[amba]	'mango'	0176
VC.CVC	/aj.pet̥/	+⊃♠⊃{⊃	[ajpet̥]	'status'	1043
		⊃			
CV.VC	/wo.us/	×⊃⊃™≡	[wous]	'daughter-in-law'	0299
		⊃			
CV.CV	/wa.ɾa/	×⊃⊃β|⊃	[waɾa]	'cow shed'	0517
CV.CVC	/pi.kel/	⊃{⊃E™]	[pikel]	'ripen'	0753
		±⊃			
CVC.CV	/por.ja/	{⊃⊃™♠	[porja]	'boy'	0236
		⊃⊃⊃			
CVC.CVC	/nas.nar/	ξ⊃⊃≡ξ	[nasnar]	'dancer'	0450
		⊃⊃→			

5.2.3 Three Syllable words

V.CV.CV	/a.ɖ̥ʒa.ri/	+⊃ξ⊃⊃	[aɖ̥ʒari]	'sick'	0241
		→ Ⓜ			
V.CV.CVC	/a.gu.ɖ̥ar/	+⊃M⊃√	[aguɖ̥ar]	'before'	0795
		v|⊃→|			
VC.CV.VC	/aɾ.ɖ̥ʒu.an/	+⊃β|ξ⊃	[aɾɖ̥ʒuan]	'tin aged'	0452
		√+⊃ξ⊃			
V.CVC.CV	/a.ʃek.t̥ə/	+⊃⊃⊃E|	[aʃekt̥ə]	'weak'	0249
		⊃∅			
CV.CV.CV	/go.t ^h a.ri/	M⊃⊃™ [—]	[got ^h ari]	'spider'	0400
		\⊃→ Ⓜ			
CV.CVC.CV	/mo.səm.bi/	◆⊃⊃™≡	[mosəmbi]	'orange'	0182
		⊃◆/⊃Ⓜ			
CVC.CV.CV	/ɖ̥ ^h ej.ɾi.ja/	⊃♠⊃⊃	[ɖ̥ ^h ejɾija]	'old man'	0239

CV.CV.CVC	/dʒa.na.wer/	β | ♠ ㄱ ㄱㄱㄱ	[dʒanawer]	'animal'	0320
CV.CVC.CVC	/go.gəl.gaj/	ㄱㄱ→ | Mㄱ™	[gogəlɡaj]	'snail'	0407
CVC.CV.CVC	/pek.ʃi.waḏ/	Mㄱ±M ㄱㄱ♠	[pekʃiwad]	'paralysis'	0930
CVC.CVC.CV	/k ^h aw.gul.ja/	{ㄱEㄱ Ⓧㄱㄱv | ㄱㄱㄱ Mㄱ√± ♠ㄱ	[k ^h awgulja]	'greedy'	1044

5.2.4 Four syllable words

V.CV.CV.CV	/a.ja.pi.ja/	+ㄱ♠ㄱㄱ{	[ajapija]	'sprain'	1255
V.CVC.CV.CV	/a.gen.ga.ɾi/	ㄱⓍ♠ㄱㄱ +ㄱMㄱξ	[agengaɾi]	'train'	1250
V.CVC.CVC.CV	/a.ger.beṭ.ṭi/	ㄱMㄱ→	[agerbeṭṭi]	'incense'	0182
VC.CVC.CV.CV	/aŋg.bej.li.ja/	|uㄱⓍ +ㄱ∅M√	[aŋgbejlija]	'partner'	0420
CV.CV.CV.CV	/ḏa.ru.ba.dʒa/	ㄱ♠ㄱㄱ v | ㄱ↓ | ㄱ	[ḏarubadʒa]	'drunkard'	0466
CVC.CV.CV.CV	/gaḏ.ḏa.ko.bi/	ㄱㄱ Mㄱβ | β | ㄱE | ㄱ™/	[gaḏḏakobi]	'cabbage'	0213
CV.CV.CVC.CV	/k ^h e.ra.dʒiw.na/	ㄱⓍ ㄱ→ | ㄱ	[k ^h eradʒiwna]	'honest'	1167

Bhili Phonology

		⊃⊃x⊃ξ		
		⊃⊃		
CV.CV.CV.CVC	/k ^h ɛ.ɾi.sa.kɛr/	ʈ⊃β | ⊃⊃	[k ^h ɛɾisakɛr]	'sugar candy' 0608
		⊃⊃E|→ |		
CV.CVC.CV.CV	/la.k ^h ɛɾ.ki.ja/	±⊃⊃E|β |	[lak ^h ɛɾkiɟa]	'wood cutter' 0422
		E|⊃♠⊃⊃		

5.2.5 Five syllable word

CV.CV.CV.CV.CV	/ma.sə.ma.ri.ja/	◆⊃⊃≡⊃	[masəmarɪja]	'fisher man' 0429
		◆⊃⊃⊃→		
		♠⊃⊃		

6. Distribution of Phonemes in words

6.1 Consonants

6.1.1 Word initial consonants

All the consonant except /ṅḁ/ /ṅḁz/ /ṅḁ/ /ṅg/ /ɽ/ and /ɺ/ occur word initially.

/p/	/por/	{▷▷ TM →	[por]	'girl'	0237
/p ^h /	/p ^h ok/	Υ▷ TM E]	[p ^h ok]	'sow'	1427
/b/	/bajko/	▷▷♠▷E]	[bajko]	'wife'	0310
		▷ TM			
/b ^h /	/b ^h ari/	f▷▷→|	[b ^h ari]	'beautiful'	0256
		®			
/t̥/	/t̥ap/	ɪ▷{▷	[t̥ap]	'fever'	0916
/t̥ ^h /	/t̥ ^h am/	λ▷▷♦▷	[t̥ ^h am]	'stop'	1281
/d̥/	/d̥ar/	v|▷→|	[d̥ar]	'door'	0058
/d̥ ^h /	/d̥ ^h ukul/	ω▷√E√|±	[d̥ ^h ukul]	'smoke'	0147
		▷			
/t/	/tak/	]J▷E]	[tak]	'pour'	1280
/t ^h /	/t ^h ok/	Υ▷ TM E]	[t ^h ok]	'knock'	1485
/d/	/doka/	β|▷TM E]▷	[doka]	'head'	0002
/d ^h /	/d ^h ekun/	φ TM]E√|ξ	[d ^h ekun]	'bug'	0390
		▷			
/k/	/kola/	E]▷ TM ±▷	[kola]	'fox'	0324
		▷			
/k ^h /	/k ^h erək/	θ▷β E]	[k ^h erək]	'stone'	0143
/g/	/gekra/	M▷ TM β E	[gekra]	'tree ant'	0389
]▷			

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/g ^h /	/g ^h ar/	Π▷▷→	[g ^h ar]	'kite (bird)'	0365
/tʃ/	/tʃaj/	Σ▷▷♠▷	[tʃaj]	'bite (dog)'	1304
/dʒ/	/dʒeg/	ϣM▷	[dʒeg]	'world'	0131
/dʒ ^h /	/dʒ ^h ep/	Z▷ TM {▷	[dʒ ^h ep]	'swim'	1381
/m/	/maj/	◆▷▷♠▷	[maj]	'mother'	0277
/n/	/naga/	ξ▷▷M▷	[naga]	'naked'	0747
		▷			
/s/	/sopa/	≡▷▷ TM {▷	[sopa]	'easy'	0775
		▷			
/ʃ/	/ʃen/	∂▷ TM ξ▷	[ʃen]	'cow dung'	0548
/h/	/hareṇ/	|)▷→|ξ	[hareṇ]	'deer'	0329
		▷			
/r/	/rewen/	→|x▷ξ▷	[rewen]	'game'	1114
/w/	/weṭ/	x▷w▷	[weṭ]	'pour'	1279
/l/	/lakuɾ/	±▷▷E√|β	[lakuɾ]	'fire wood'	0060
/j/	/jek/	♠▷ TM E|	[jek]	'one'	1492

6.1.2 Word medial consonants

All the consonants except /b^h/ /d^h/ /g^h/ and /dʒ^h/ occur word medially.

/p/	/kopra/	E|▷TM {▷	[kopra]	'corner'	1179
		→ ▷			
/p ^h /	/nep ^h a/	ξ▷Y|▷	[nep ^h a]	'profit'	0904
/b/	/abuɾ/	+▷▷√|	[abuɾ]	'cloud'	0104
		J			
/ṭ/	/naɾni/	ξ▷▷w▷ξ	[naɾni]	'grand daughter'	0306
		▷ [®]			
/ṭ ^h /	/aɾ ^h er/	+▷λ▷→	[aɾ ^h er]	'spread (bed)'	1281

/d̥/	/uḍi/	=v ǀ®	[uḍi]	'white ant'	0387
/d̥ʰ/	/paḍʰi/	{ḍḍ→ |	[paḍʰi]	'hunter'	0474
		ḍḍ®			
/t/	/bʰamta/	fḍḍ♦ḍ	[bʰamta]	'thief'	0438
		ǀǀḍ			
/tʰ/	/patʰa/	{ḍḍ ǀḍ	[patʰa]	'early morning'	1210
/d/	/wedaɟ/	xḍβ |ḍ♠	[wedaɟ]	'thief'	0440
		ḍ			
/k/	/bajko/	ʌḍ♠ḍE	[bajko]	'wife'	0310
		ǀḍ™			
/kʰ/	/akʰuɾ/	+ḍḍḍ√	[akʰuɾ]	'short'	0253
		β |			
/g/	/nager/	ξḍḍMḍ	[nager]	'plough'	0087
		→			
/tʃ/	/kotʃa/	Eǀḍ™Σḍ	[kotʃa]	'one eyed'	0261
		ḍ			
/d̥ʒ/	/ad̥ʒun/	+ḍḍḍ√ξ	[ad̥ʒun]	'again'	0973
		ḍ			
/m/	/ʃemti/	ḍḍ™♦ḍ	[ʃemti]	'stick'	0159
		ǀǀ®			
/n/	/uni/	=ξḍ®	[uni]	'hot'	0734
/ḅḍ/	/kʰaḅḍa/	ḍḍḍξv ǀ	[kʰaḅḍa]	'soldier'	0031
		ḍ			
/ḅḍʒ/	/peḅḍʒa/	{ḍḍξḍḍ	[peḅḍʒa]	'palm'	0016
/ḅḍ/	/koḅḍa/	Eǀḍ™ξβ	[koḅḍa]	'paddy dust'	0586
		ḍ			
/ŋg/	/d̥uŋga/	β√ ØM	[d̥uŋga]	'boat'	1149
		ḍḍ			
/s/	/musəɭ/	♦ḍ√≡ḍ	[musəɭ]	'pestle'	0063

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/ʃ/	/dʊʃer/	♠ v√ d TM	[dʊʃer]	'yoke'	0091
/h/	/dʒehər/	→ ɣ →	[dʒehər]	'poison'	1028
/r/	/porja/	{d TM →	[porja]	'boy'	0236
/ɾ/	/tʃira/	| ♠ Σ ⊗ β |	[tʃira]	'bird'	0321
/w/	/kawɛɾ/	d E | x ⊗ β	[kawɛɾ]	'door'	0059
/l/	/pala/	| {d ⊕ d	[pala]	'leaf'	0169
/ʌ/	/waʌu/	d x ⊗ ≥ √ |	[waʌu]	'sand'	0144
/j/	/mukja/	| ◆ ⊗ √ E | ♠	[mukja]	'dumb'	0255
		d			

6.1.3 Word final consonants

All the consonants except /b^h/ /t^h/ /d^h/ /d/ /d^h/ /g^h/ /dʒ^h/ occur word finally.

/p/	/dʒ ^h ep/	Z TM {d	[dʒ ^h ep]	'swim'	1381
/p ^h /	/gup ^h /	M b √ γ |	[gup ^h]	'weave'	1425
/b/	/dʒib/	≥ ɣ /	[dʒib]	'tongue'	0011
/ṭ/	/məjɪṭ/	◆ ⊗ ≥ ♠ ⊗ ɪ	[məjɪṭ]	'death'	0508
/ḍ/	/haʌɛḍ/	d | | ⊗ ♠ ⊗ v	[haʌɛḍ]	'turmeric'	0221
/ṭ/	/poṭ/	| {d TM |	[poṭ]	'belly'	0013
/ṭ ^h /	/muṭ ^h/	◆ ⊗ √ |	[muṭ ^h]	'fist'	1108
/k/	/nɛk/	ξ ⊗ E |	[nɛk]	'finger nail'	0324
/k ^h /	/nik ^h /	≥ ξ ⊗ ɸ	[nik ^h]	'nit'	0395

/g/	/wag/	×⊃M⊃	[wag]	'tiger'	0347
/tʃ/	/tʃitʃ/	⊃Σ⊃Σ⊃	[tʃitʃ]	'tamarind'	0187
/dʒ/	/p ^h edʒ/	Υ TM ʃ⊃	[p ^h edʒ]	'rice water'	0599
/m/	/g ^h am/	Π⊃⊃◆⊃	[g ^h am]	'sweat'	0053
/n/	/bejin/	↗ TM ⊃♠⊃	[bejin]	'sister'	0279
		ξ⊃			
/ṅḍ/	/d ^h uṅḍ/	⊃√ξv |	[d ^h uṅḍ]	'drowsiness'	1203
/ṅḍʒ/	/buṅḍʒ/	↗√ξ⊃	[buṅḍʒ]	'bury'	1395
/ṅḍ/	/baṅḍ/	↗⊃ξβ |	[baṅḍ]	'arrow'	0908
/ŋg/	/aŋg/	+⊃∅M⊃	[aŋg]	'body'	0001
/s/	/wes/	×⊃≡⊃	[wes]	'dew'	0141
/ʃ/	/reʃ/	→ TM |⊃	[reʃ]	'line (note)'	0913
/h/	/jeh/	♠⊃ TM | |	[jeh]	'these'	0829
/r/	/koper/	E |⊃TM {⊃	[koper]	'elbow'	0014
		→			
/ɾ/	/kuraɾ/	E√ | → |⊃	[kuraɾ]	'axe'	0068
		β |			
/w/	/dʒiw/	⊃⊃×⊃	[dʒiw]	'louse'	0388
/l/	/d ^h ukul/	⊃√E√ | ±	[d ^h ukul]	'smoke'	0147
		⊃			
/ʌ/	/muʌ/	◆⊃√ ≥ |	[muʌ]	'root'	0172
/j/	/tɛj/	↳ TM ♠⊃	[tɛj]	'there'	0803

6.2 The Frequency of Consonant Phonemes

The following table shows the number of occurrences of the Bhili consonant phonemes in word initial, medial and final position.

Phonemes	Word Initial	Word Medial	Word Final
/p/	112	56	21
/p ^h /	34	8	2

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/b/	87	49	6
/b ^h /	41	-	-
/t̪/	67	79	27
/t̪ ^h /	9	9	-
/d̪/	58	42	13
/d̪ ^h /	23	-	-
/t̪ʰ/	19	86	40
/t̪ ^h /	6	10	7
/d̪/	24	8	-
/d̪ ^h /	8	-	-
/k/	123	127	60
/k ^h /	49	30	11
/g/	73	62	19
/g ^h /	21	-	-
/t̪ʃ/	70	22	5
/d̪ʒ/	55	45	23
/d̪ʒ ^h /	12	-	-
/m/	100	70	24
/n/	60	106	77
/ṇḍ/	-	26	6
/ṇḍʒ/	-	7	2
/ṇḍ/	-	22	7
/ṅḡ/	-	32	18
/s/	100	81	44
/ʃ/	17	22	1
/h/	35	3	2
/r/	34	194	115
/ɽ/	-	115	83
/w/	68	113	29

/l/	35	102	46
/ɺ/	-	51	47
/j/	18	141	41

6.3 Consonant clusters

6.3.1 Chart of word-medial clusters.

There are no word initial and word final consonant cluster in Bhili words. The following table shows the distribution of consonants in word medial consonant clusters.

Bhili Phonology

Second Member																
	p	p ^h	b	b ^h	ṭ	ṭ ^h	ḍ	ḍ ^h	t	t ^h	d	d ^h	k	k ^h	g	g ^h
p	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
p ^h	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
b	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
b ^h	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ṭ	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
ṭ ^h	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ḍ	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ḍ ^h	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
t	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	3	1	-	-
t ^h	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
d	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-
d ^h	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
k	-	-	-	-	3	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	9	-	-	-
k ^h	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
g	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
g ^h	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ṭ̂	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ḍ̂	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
ḍ̂ ^h	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
m	1	-	9	-	1	1	-	-	3	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
n	1	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	2	1	3	-
n̂	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
n̂̂	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
n̂̂̂	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
n̂̂̂̂	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
s	1	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
ʃ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

h	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
r	-	1	5	-	3	1	6	-	1	-	-	-	4	3	2	-
ɾ	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	1	1	-
w	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	3	-	-	-	2	-	1	-
l	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	4	-	-	-	4	2	2	-
ɭ	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
j	1	-	2	-	1	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	2	1	-	-

	tʃ	dʒ	dʒ ^h	m	n	ɲɔ	ɲɔʒ	ɲɔ	ɲg	s	ʃ	h	r	ɾ	w	l	ɭ	j
p	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4	-	4	-	-
p ^h	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
b	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-
b ^h	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ṭ	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	1	-	1	-	2
ṭ ^h	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	-
ḍ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	2	1	1	1
ḍ ^h	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
t	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	2	-	2
t ^h	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
d	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
d ^h	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
k	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	3	5	-	3	4	-	2	1	1
k ^h	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-
g	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2	3	1	2	2
g ^h	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
tʃ	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
dʒ	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
dʒ ^h	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
m	1	-	-	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-

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n	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1
$\widehat{n}\underset{\text{d}}{\text{d}}$	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
$\widehat{n}\underset{\text{d}}{\text{d}}\underset{\text{z}}{\text{z}}$	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
$\widehat{n}\underset{\text{d}}{\text{d}}$	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
\widehat{ng}	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
s	-	-	-	3	6	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	4	-	-	5	-	1
\int	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
h	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
r	3	1	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	1	-	4	1	-	3
r	1	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
w	-	1	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	5	5	-	3	1	-
l	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	7	-	1
l	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
j	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	4	6	-	4	-	-

Here some examples are given below of the word-medial consonant clusters in the Bhili language.

/pn/	/papni/	$\{ \text{d} \text{d} \{ \text{d}$	[papni]	'eyelid'	0035
/rg/	/gurga/	ξd^{R}}$ |\text{M} \text{b} \sqrt{\beta} |$	[gurga]	'knee'	0049
/pr/	/səprija/	$\text{M} \text{d} \text{d}$ $\equiv \{ \text{d} \text{z}$	[səprija]	'roof'	0057
/ɾn/	/dʒ ^h aɾni/	$\rightarrow | \spadesuit \text{d} \text{d}$ $\text{Z} \text{d} \text{d} \beta | \xi$	[dʒ ^h aɾni]	'broom'	0061
/wɖ/	/wawɖen/	d^{R} $\times \text{d} \text{d} \times \text{d} \text{v}$	[wawɖen]	'storm'	0138
/stɿ/	/istɿu/	$\text{I} \xi \text{d}$ $\leftarrow \equiv \text{I} \text{d} \sqrt{\text{v}}$	[istɿu]	'fire'	0145
/mɿ/	/ʃemɿi/	$\text{d} \text{d}^{\text{TM}} \blacklozenge \text{d}$	[ʃemɿi]	'stick'	0159
/nɿ/	/panɿa/	J^{R} $\{ \text{d} \text{d} \xi \} \text{J}$	[panɿa]	'leaf'	0171

/rɫ/	/karla/	⊃ E]⊃→ |±	[karla]	'bitter gourd'	0206
/d̥r/	/ad̥rək/	⊃⊃ +⊃v ]→ |	[ad̥rək]	'ginger'	0229
/rj/	/porja/	E] {⊃⊃™♠	[porja]	'boy'	0236
/jɾ/	/d̥hɛjɾi/	⊃⊃⊃ ⊃⊃♠⊃β |	[d̥hɛjɾi]	'old woman'	0240
/tk/	/buɾka/	Ⓜ ↘√]J E]	[buɾka]	'short'	0254
/kj/	/mukja/	⊃ ◆⊃√E]♠	[mukja]	'dumb'	0255
/wn/	/tʃɛwna/	⊃⊃ Σ⊃×⊃ξ⊃	[tʃɛwna]	'ugly'	0259
/jr/	/bejra/	⊃ ↘™♠⊃	[bejra]	'deaf'	0263
/t̥ɫ/	/naɫleg/	→ |⊃ ξ⊃⊃⊃±	[naɫleg]	'relative'	0274
/pɫ/	/sopt̥i/	⊃M⊃ ≡⊃⊃™{ɫ	[sopt̥i]	'friend'	0317
/sr/	/wasru/	⊃Ⓜ ×⊃⊃≡⊃↓	[wasru]	'calf'	0326
/pt/	/septi/	⊃ ≡⊃™{]J	[septi]	'tail'	0352
/d̥ɾ/	/sed̥ɾija/	Ⓜ ≡⊃™v]β	[sed̥ɾija]	'earth worm'	0383
/kɾ/	/gekɾa/	Ⓜ♠⊃⊃ M⊃™E]β ⊃	[gekɾa]	'tree ant'	0389

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/br/	/babrija/	↘↘↘→	[babrija]	'winged ant'	0392
		Ⓡ♠↘↘			
/gj/	/wagja/	×↘↘M↘	[wagja]	'spider'	0399
		♠↘↘			
/pl/	/sipla/	≡↘Ⓡ{±↘	[sipla]	'conch'	0412
		↘			
/sn/	/nasnar/	ξ↘↘≡↘ξ	[nasnar]	'dancer'	0450
		↘↘→			
/rd ^h /	/pard ^h i/	{↘↘→ |	[pard ^h i]	'hunter'	0474
		⊞↘Ⓡ			
/rs/	/arsa/	+↘→ |≡↘	[arsa]	'mirror'	0529
		↘			
/jt/	/tʃajti/	Σ↘↘♠↘]	[tʃajti]	'spoon'	0550
		JⓇ			
/pɾ/	/papɾi/	{↘↘{↘β	[papɾi]	'pancake'	0603
		Ⓡ			
/mb/	/ambet/	+↘◆↘]J	[ambet]	'sour'	0728

6.4 Vowels

6.4.1 Distribution of Vowels in V syllables

/itʃu/	<Σ↘√	[i.tʃu]	'scorpion'	0382
/abuɾ/	+↘↘√]J	[a.buɾ]	'cloud'	0104
/uʃi/	=∂↘Ⓡ	[u.ʃi]	'pillow'	0561

6.4.2 Distribution of Vowels in CV syllables.

/mi/	◆↘Ⓡ	[mi]	'I'	0807
/le/	±↘ TM	[le]	'take'	1373
/pala/	{↘↘±↘	[pa.la]	'leaf'	0561
	↘			

/bagə/	⊂⊃M⊃ ∅	[ba. gə]	'slow'	0745
/d̥zəwə/	⊂⊃x⊃∅	[d̥zə. wə]	'while'	0860
/naɽu/	ξ⊃⊃√	[na. ɽu]	'grand son'	0305
/noko/	ξ⊃⊃ TM E]] ⊃ TM	[no. ko]	'no'	1048

6.4.3 Distribution of Vowels in VC syllables.

/istɹu/	⊂⊃≡⊃√	[is. ɹu]	'fire'	0145
/aŋg/	+⊃∅M⊃	[aŋg]	'body'	0001
/un/	=ξ⊃ |	[un]	'sunshine'	0989

6.4.4 Distribution of Vowels in CVC syllables.

/nid̥z/	ξ⊃⊃⊃	[nid̥z]	'sleep'	1454
/ʃen/	⊃ TM ξ⊃	[ʃen]	'cow dung'	1373
/d̥z ^h aɽnar/	Z⊃⊃β | ξ⊃⊃→ |	[d̥z ^h aɽ. nar]	'sweeper'	0442
/pambər/	{⊃⊃◆/ ⊃→ |	[pam. bər]	'plough'	0089
/lɛwkər/	±⊃x⊃E] ] → |	[lɛw. kər]	'quick'	0686
/b ^h uj/	f⊃√♠⊃	[b ^h uj]	'floor'	0519
/por/	{⊃⊃ TM → |	[por]	'girl'	0237

7. Stress

In Bhili, Stress is not phonemic and not found to be contrastive. Bhili is a syllable timed language so the syllables are evenly stressed.

8. Practical alphabet

- There are no different scripts in Marathi for [d] and [ɖ] so in Bhili also we have used only one script (β) for both of them. But for our analysis in our data we have shown both as phonemes.

A list of the phonemes with their corresponding orthographic symbols is given below.

8.1 Vowels

e	a	i	u	e	ə	o
+	+▷	<	=	B	+	+▷ TM

8.2 Consonants

k	k ^h	g	g ^h	
Eʃ	θ▷	M▷	Π▷	
tʃ		dʒ	dʒ ^h	
Σ▷		ζ▷	Z▷	
ṭ	ṭ ^h	ɖ	ɖ ^h	n
ɽ▷	λ▷	v|	ω▷	ξ▷
t	t ^h	d	d ^h	
ʃ	ʃ	β|	φ|	
p	p ^h	b	b ^h	m
{▷	ɽʃ	/▷	f▷	◆▷
	j	r	ɭ	l
	♠▷	→	≥	‡▷
s	ʃ		h	
≡▷	ð▷		||	

w		ɾ		
×ɔ		β |		

We are using the half 'ξɔ' to symbolize the homorganic nasals to help transfer to Marathi.

ṅḁ	ṅḁɜ	ṅḁ	ṅḁ
ξv	ξɔ	ξβ	ξMɔ

9. Bibliography

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◆ɔ | |ɔ → |ɔ≠]J ɕ → |ɔɔ®±ɔ +ξɔ√≡ɔ√ɔΣɔɔ Iɔ™φɔ +ɔ
 ηɔ® +ξɔ√≡ɔ√ɔΣɔɔ (+ɔɔv |xɔɔ≡ɔ®) ɔɔ◆ɔɔɔ®, 2003,
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