PART II

DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS
CHAPTER II

Phonology

2.1. The study of the several idiolects representing the different sub-dialects of the various regions shows some differences with regard to allophonic features, but the general phonemic system of the dialect is uniform. The overall phonemic pattern of the dialect may be stated as follows:

Vowels: i i: i u u:

Consonants: p t t o k

b d d j g

s s h

m n n n

Nasalization: ~

Extra length: ....

Vowels

2.2. Vowels are distinguished as short or long. They contrast in such pairs as the following:
2.1. /a/ is a short front vowel, as in *a bangle*; *a leaf*.

2.2. /i/ and /iː/ are high-front unrounded vowels: *to keep, to place*, *to leave*, *to catch*; *a prop.*, *to cry*, *simply*.

2.2.2. /iː/ is a short high central unrounded vowel. It occurs in the sequence /rː/ representing the syllabic /r/ in Sanskrit loan words. viz. *rāṣṭṛ* 'the sages', *rājya* 'obligation'.

But this symbol here mainly represents a very short vocalic release which is one of the peculiarities of the dialect as also found in standard colloquial Kannada. The phonemic status of the vocalic release is indisputably established by the following minimal pairs:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
/a/: & \text{baːl} 'a bangle'; \text{baːlɛ} 'a plaintain leaf'. \\
/i/: & \text{biːgi} 'to tighten'; \text{biːɡi} 'having swollen'. \\
/u/: & \text{uːri} 'to burn'; \text{uːri} 'having planted'. \\
/e/: & \text{bɛːrɛ} 'to mix oneself'; \text{bɛːrɛ} 'different'. \\
/o/: & \text{koːɡs} 'a pot'; \text{koːɡs} 'a monkey'. \\
\end{array}
\]
bidiru 'bamboo', bidru 'he (hon. pl.) fell';
anis 'to feel', ansu 'to make one say'; sig 'he split', sigde 'he felt ashamed'; mug 'to end',
mugsu 'to allow to become musty'.

2.2.3. /u/ and /u:/ are high back rounded vowels:
uggu 'to stammer', kusi 'to collapse', ji:ru 'thin, lean'; u:ta 'a meal', ku:su 'a young daughter',
karu: 'milching' (vbl. adj)

2.2.4. /e/ and /e:/ are higher mid front unrounded vowels:
heru 'to give birth to', he:ru 'to place a load',
noide: 'having seen only'.

2.2.5. /æ/ and /æ:/ are higher mid central unrounded vowels:
akku 'all right', mä:isu 'to fold', ma:dö:le 'to do (inf.)'.

/æ/ is in contrast with /a/ in the following minimal pairs: appa 'he may become', appa 'calf'; ñara 'calf', kara 'tax'.

2.2.6. /o/ and /o:/ are higher mid back rounded vowels:
hori 'to fry', hori: 'a bull', yello: 'some where'.

1.3.5. - P.3.
Also Dr. R.C. Hiremath, The Structure of Kannada, /§/ -3.2.
2.2.7. /e/ and /ɛː/ are lower-mid front unrounded vowels:
bele 'price', bele 'seashore'.
/e/ is in contrast with /o/ in the following minimal pairs: hera 'outside', here 'may not give birth to';
ete 'straight', nete 'cracking the fingers';
tetcu 'to be frightened', tetcu 'a scarecrow'.
In YK sub-dialect /e/ is phonetically [ɛ] i.e. lower
and more central. In YM, YK sub-dialects /e/ after
/n/ in the initial syllable of a word is pronounced as
/ye/ viz. nyelilu 'shadow', nyela 'the ground'.
Similarly /ɛː/ after bilabials /p b m/ in the initial
syllable followed by /s ɔ r a/ in the next syllable is
pronounced as /yeː/ viz. pyestc 'the market', tyetse
'soon', myetse 'above' (ref. 2.9.4.).

2.2.8. /a/ and /aː/ are lower-mid central unrounded vowels:
ant 'to prick', har 'to crawl', sera 'a garland, a
necklace'; antc 'an anna, an oath', haz 'a crow-bar',
gana: 'a good one' (adj.).

2.2.9. /ɔ/ and /ɔː/ are lower-mid back rounded vowels:
sorc 'to flow down', bidɔ 'should give up'; scorn 'pump-
kin'.
/ɔ/ is in contrast with /o/ in the minimal pairs such
as the following: kodli 'an axe', modli 'let one give';
ksbtfc, *a kind of eatable*, koṭṭu 'I gave'; holisu 'dirty', holisu 'to get stitched'.

/a/ is phonetically lower and less rounded in the YM sub-dialect.

In YM sub-dialect /ɔː/ after velar, palatal and dental stops in the initial syllable, before retroflex consonants in the next syllable followed by /ə/ is pronounced as /ɔːː/ viz. kvːːsa 'he-buffaloes', ḫːːtːa 'a wall', ḫːːtːa 'a garden', ḫːːla 'jawar'. (ref. 2.9.4.)

Consonants

2.3. The first 3 rows of the consonant chart show the obstruents and the last 3 the sonorants. The former show contrasts between voiceless and voiced sounds or are only voiceless or voiced. The voiceless sounds are fortis and the voiced ones lenis. The latter are all voiced and lenis except one which is voiceless fortis.

2.3.1. The consonants of the first row are voiceless unaspirated oclusives.

/p/ is a bilabial stop: palli 'a house-lizard', tampu 'cold', sappu 'foliage'.

/t/ is a dental stop: tukku 'to loaf about', kastlē 'darkness', kītī 'a slice'.

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/* is a post-alveolar retroflex stop; tislu 'branch',
kọṭge 'a cow-shed',ṣṭṭa 'a loft'.
/* is a blade-alveolar affricate; ecẹpē 'a mat',
kọreṭṭe 'complicated affair'. Geminated /c/ is
pronounced with a lengthened stop element: kẹcọu 'to
bite'. In the cluster /cn/ optionally after a long
vowel or a release and invariably elsewhere, both the
elements are pronounced as palatal stop and nasal
respectively: ẹdọnẹ~[ẹdọnẹ]~ẹdọnẹ 'difficulty',
fẹlọnẹ~[fẹlọnẹ] 'idea', vecẹnẹ~vecẹnẹ 'a
promise'.

/k/ is a velar stop: kẹkẹ 'a crow', vaklu 'tenants',
oọkka 'clean'. It has a fronted allophone [K<]
before front vowels: kiri 'young', kịlu 'to
uproot', kẹdị 'a spark', kẹri 'a lane', kẹppe 'a
deaf person', kẹrẹ 'a water-serpent'.

2.3.2. The second row shows the voiced unaspirated occlusives
made in the same positions as the voiceless ones stated
above.

/b/ : binjlu 'a cob-web', habtu 'it spread'; jọbbu
'shrunken and dry'

/d/ : denepē 'a gate-opening', mẹdụ 'at xirut',

2. Cf. T.N.Sreekontaiya, Affricates in Kannada Speech,
suddi 'news'.

/d/ is a stop after pause or /ŋ/, before /ŋ l/ and when in gemination: donku 'curved', bändi 'a frying pen', medlu 'a palm-leaf', baddu 'blunt'. Elsewhere it is a retroflex flap [r]: hidd 'to hold', dəndi 'a pie', no:də 'see it for yourself'.

/j/ is a blade-alveolar stop when in gemination: ajja 'grand-father', kajjəya 'a special dish'. In the cluster /jn/ both the elements are pronounced as palatal stop end nasal respectively: jnə:nə 'knowledge', yo:jna 'a plan'. Elsewhere it is a blade-alveolar affricate: jəgəli 'a veranda', bəjka 'for the seed'.

/g/ : gibəru 'to scratch', mugda 'musty', agga 'cheap'.

/s/ is a voiceless blade-alveolar sibilant: śalu 'to sneeze', mamuśya 'a man'. It has a retroflex allophone [ʂ] before voiceless retroflex stop and after voiceless velar stop: niṣṭe 'loyalty, devotion'; lakṣa 'attention'.

/h/ is a voiced glottal spirant: hilla 'a child', behala 'very much'.

2.3.4. The fourth row contains the voiced nasals.

/m/ is bilabial: marē 'to forget', ta:na 'a place', kambli 'a blanket', ámma 'coughing (n.)'.

/n/ is dental before and after /t d/: kenta 'opth', ma:dtma: 'doing (prog.-ger.)'; sāndu 'an aperture', mudnalli 'with fondness'. Before a palatal or affricate stop /n/ is its homorganic nasal: o:naci 'a sack', junji 'a torch'. Elsewhere it is apico-alveolar: nādē 'to walk', kānē 'a cheek', ounu 'to make one say'.

/n/ is retroflex: hūni 'to throw down with force', gundī 'a pool', mante 'a relation', sennō 'small'.

\(/\text{n}/\) is velar: \(\text{ængdi} 'a \text{ shop}', \text{ kuúkma} '\text{saffron (n.)}',\)
\(\text{sānti} '\text{ company, going together}'.\)

The following minimal pairs to distinguish \(/m, n, n, \text{n}/\) may be noted: \(\text{mēr} '\text{ to show off}', \text{nērc} '\text{ a flood}', \text{kēmou} '\text{ to place upside down}', \text{kēmou} '\text{ bronze}', \text{ tēmme} '\text{ a younger brother}', \text{ tēnne} '\text{ one's (refl.)}', \text{ śāntu} '\text{ she coughs}', \text{ śāntu} '\text{ a small one}', \text{ āmme} '\text{ a grand-mother}', \text{ ānna} '\text{ an elder brother}', \text{ hāni} '\text{ a drop}', \text{ hāni} '\text{ to throw down with force}', \text{ kēnnu} '\text{ a hole}', \text{ kēnnu} '\text{ the eye}', \text{ pānti} '\text{ an oil lamp}', \text{ pānti-pānti} '\text{ a row}'.\)

2.5.5. The fifth row consists of oral sonorants of which the first one is voiceless and all the rest voiced.

\(/\text{v}/\) is a voiceless labiodental before front vowels: 
\(\text{vica:ra} '\text{ an idea, a thought}', \text{ vēlē} '\text{ pretense}'.\)

It is a bilabial [\\text{w}] with slight lip-rounding before central vowels and consonants: \(\text{vēli} '\text{ to stay}', \text{ vēlē:} '\text{ inside}', \text{ sēvdi} '\text{ fire-wood}'.\) It is bilabial also before back vowels with stronger lip-rounding: \(\text{vēbba} '\text{ one person}', \text{ vōli 'e row}'.\)

\(/\text{l}/\) is an alveolar lateral: \(\text{lāddu} '\text{ decaying (adj.)}', \text{ soli} '\text{ to peel}', \text{ mēlēk} '\text{ a garland}', \text{ kēllu 'a stone}'.\)
Before or after /t d/ however it is dental: kelt 'I learnt', kelš 'darkness'; ald 'besides', madlu 'at first'.

/l/ is a retroflex lateral: belš 'a bangle', talsu 'to cause to be driven away', belli 'silver'.

/y/ is palatal: yavdu 'which', yanici 'a squirrel', baysu 'to desire', nitya 'daily', koyyu 'to pluck'.

2.3.6. The sixth row has /r/ a voiced alveolar tap:
ronš 'hair on the body', tarš 'to scrape off'. It is a short trill before velars and bilabials and after all consonants. Before /c j/ and in gemination it is a long trill: areu 'to be jammed', areji 'an application', terri 'you (hon. pl.) please bring!'. It is a retroflex before retroflex consonants: gortš 'a coconut-shell', hordu 'to start', harlu 'a piece of stone'. After /t d/ however it is dental: hatš 'near', nidrš 'sleep'.

Nasalization

2.4. Vowels are slightly nasalized before and after nasals or nasalized consonants. /y v/ singly or in gemination are optionally nasalized before and after nasals or nasalized
(5) vowels. But */v/* is phonemic in the following instances:
  ta: 'bring !'(imp.), ta: 'self (refl.)';
  a: 'that (adj.)', a: = Interjection respond-
  ing to a call or expressing wonder; ava 'she',
  avā 'he' (in SEK sub-dialect).

2.4.1. Besides long vowels after h and followed by /t t/ always
  occur with nasalisation. viz. hēite 'a moth', hēite
  'a squint-eyed person', hēite 'a hen'.

2.4.2. Similarly the palatal /y/ and labiodental /v/ occur with
  nasalization in the following examples: kṓyka 'a
  crooked fellow', hōyge 'sand', suhī 'to separate into
  bare parts'; jāyta 'a gong', saṅtā 'cucumber',
  kāvṣu 'to place upside down'.

The following minimal pairs illustrate the contrast
between /y v/ and /y ū/ : kāyli 'a hand', kāyli
'bitter'; saṃrsu 'to cause to clear off', saṃrsu 'to
make preparations'.

Extra length

2.5. Extra length /.../ also should be considered as a
  separate phoneme as it makes a difference in the meaning

Also Dr. R.C. Hiremath, The Structure of Kannada
Allophonio variations IIC-P.9.
of words by way of special emphasis. The length of the syllable final phoneme, both vowel or consonant in the following examples may be noted:

adu...va:gi 'fully compactly' KB.30.
g:gad...du very soundly.

Free alternation

2.6. There are many phonemes which alternate freely with others in certain positions in almost all the areas. But some of them are frequent in particular sub-regions.

2.6.1. After /g c j d n y s/ in the initial syllable of a word /ɛ/ is sometimes replaced by /e/ as in the following:

ɛ/e: gantlu~gantu 'a knot', cambu~sembu 'a cooper pot', jappu~jeppu 'to hit', deni~dendi 'a voice', nedigu~nedigu 'to tremble', yeti~yeti 'an ascetic', ʃekti~şekti 'strength'.

2.6.2. After /g c j n y s/ in the initial syllable of a word /a/ may be replaced by /ɛ/. Also after /c m/ in a similar position /a/ is replaced by /ɔ/. viz.

ɛ/a: gantlu~gantlu 'the throat', canda~conde 'pretty',

7. Cf. ibid, 1.3.8–P.3.
2.6.3. Reversely /j/ is replaced optionally by /v/ after /p b m/ in the initial syllable. Similarly /w/ is optionally replaced by /a:/ in the same environments.

\[ /a:/ \text{cobb-cabb 'a cane basket', potla-potla 'a packet', boksa-baksa 'a box', masu-maru 'curds'.} \]

\[ /a:/ \text{carr-ke-ke 'a centriped', pirmo-mire 'a boy', bali-bele 'simpletonish', miro-ire 'the face'.} \]

2.6.4. /t/ and /s/ are optionally replaced by /ç/ and /ç/ respectively after /c j y å/ in the initial syllable.

\[ /ç/ \text{colo-calo 'nice', janiku-ji-niku 'complicated',} \]
\[ \text{yico-ya-co 'conscious state', si-mu-ha 'to cough'.} \]

\[ /ç/ \text{cellu-cellu 'to spill', jeyna-jeyne 'o J.in',} \]
\[ \text{yestu-yestu 'how much', sekku-dake 'to ask u}'. \]
2.6.5. The following phonemes show free alternation under conditions stated below:

$hVv/hV\tilde{\nu}$ - i.e. Long vowel after /h/ and before /v/ is optionally nasalized viz. $havu\cdot hva\tilde{\nu}$ 'a snake', $hav\cdot hav\tilde{\nu}$ 'moss'.

Long vowels / a : u : / in the initial syllable after /s/ and followed by / c j / are optionally nasalized viz. saicu\cdot saou 'to place so as to lean', suji\cdot sliji 'a needle'.

$\tilde{v}/m$ i.e. /v/ preceded by /i/ or followed by /i/ is alternately pronounced as /œ/ and this in turn freely varies with /m/ viz. $ji\cdot va\cdot ji\tilde{\nu}\cdot ji\cdot ma$ 'like', $sci\cdot se\tilde{v}\cdot si\cdot ma$ 'sweet taste'. $sa\cdot se\cdot sai\cdot ma$ 'to wear out'; $hav\tilde{\nu}\cdot ma\cdot hav\cdot ma$ 'a plate', $sa\tilde{v}\cdot sa\cdot mtu$ 'ladle', $sa\tilde{v}\cdot sa\cdot m\cdot ma$ 'cucumber', $ky\tilde{\nu}\cdot k\cdot ma\cdot ma$ 'to place upside down'.

2.6.6. /œ/ followed by /g/ is optionally changed to the homorganic nasal viz. $h\tilde{\nu}\cdot st\cdot ha\cdot nge$ 'so, that way'.

2.6.7. A particular stylistic variation is found in rapid speech namely, inter vocalic identical consonant clusters are reduced to single consonants in vocatives,

8. Cf. Kāshīrāja, Shabda-mani-darpana. Chap.III-114. Example: tāmāra\cdot tāvāra = a lotus. In the case stated above the position is exactly reversed. i.e. /v/ alternates with /m/ instead of vice versa.
imperatives and past tenses of verbs, viz. enn^yya:~
ennya: 'O brother!', adill: adilk 'no objection!'
ka'lu ka'tu 'tie up, please', kotta-kota 'he gave'.

Juncture

2.7. Of the supra segmental phonemes nasalization is already
dealt with. The intonational pattern as a whole could
not be worked out in the condition in which the opera-
tion of the collection of material took place. But
the consideration of juncture is absolutely necessary
as it has a pertinent bearing on the morpho-phonemics
of the dialect.

The dialect shows 4 degrees of phonemic junctures -

The fully open juncture, of course, occurs at the end
of a sentence and all the others within the sentence.
The following examples will illustrate the contrasts in
the latter 3 junctures respectively: /sanna ku:Su/
'The child is young', /sann ku:Su/ 'a young child',
/san-ku:Su/ 'younger daughter'; /adik mail idu/
'(I say) you keep that above', /adik mail idu/ 'keep
that above', /adik-mail idu/ 'keep (this) on it'.

9.q.v. BH. Krishnamurti, Sandhi in Modern Colloquial Telugu,
Indian Linguistics, Vol.17. P.179:
"Close juncture is the feature of transition from one
segmental phoneme to the immediately following one with-
out any distinctive pause. This has no relation to the
fact that the phonemes in question are parts of the
same morpheme or different morphemes. An open juncture
is the feature of transition from one segmental phoneme
to the next with definite pause in between. Some times,
the pause is bridged by an intonational pattern."
Distribution of Phonemes

2.8. Since the syllable structure of words - meaning minimum free forms - is very much like that of the standard Kannada, with a few changes only (for features differing from St. Kan. ref. Chap. 9.5.2.) the same is not attempted here. But the distribution of vowels and consonants as it occurs in actual speech is stated below more or less on the lines followed by William Bright, taking the SYLLABLE as a unit. The minimum form of the syllable is a vowel, short or long. It may be preceded by one or two consonants only and/or followed by one to three consonants.

2.8.1. No vowel clusters are found in any syllable. Single vowels occurring after juncture include all but /e e: Ϋ e: Ϋ e: o o:/ and those before, all but /ɔ e o/.

2.8.2. Single consonants occurring as syllable onsets after juncture include all but /ʊ i ɪ/ and all but /ʌ/ elsewhere.


11. William Bright, An outline of colloquial Kannada 1.9.1-P.6. In addition, it may be noted that the syllable onsets with /t d/ after juncture are very much limited.
The list of two consonant onsets show the following differences as noted from the texts collected. The periods or hyphens mark the syllable division.

1. Any consonant plus a sonorant:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word-initial</th>
<th>Word-medial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kyélėgš</td>
<td>maːd-kyəndu 'having done'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kriya</td>
<td>'funeral ceremonies'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kvːna</td>
<td>'a he-buffalo'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiːrɔ-gyɔmbɔ</td>
<td>'let us have it out'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>greːma</td>
<td>'a village'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gvoːds</td>
<td>'a wall'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>treːsu</td>
<td>'trouble'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyaːya</td>
<td>'justice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyːle</td>
<td>'a stand, an adode'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pyːtːə</td>
<td>'the market'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>praːya</td>
<td>'age, adolescence'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>byːda</td>
<td>'do not want'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>braːmmna</td>
<td>'a Brahmin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myːle</td>
<td>'above'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mrətyu</td>
<td>'death'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vyaːdi</td>
<td>'decease'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12. Most of these are found in loan words from Sanskrit. The under-scored ones are due to palatalization and labialization (ref.2.9.4.) evidenced in particular sub-regions.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word-initial</th>
<th>Word-medial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sr</td>
<td>śrama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sn</td>
<td>snaːna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sm</td>
<td>smaːna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sv</td>
<td>svalpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hv</td>
<td>byːinge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Sibilant plus a stop:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>at</th>
<th>stale (O.T.)</th>
<th>'a place'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RV</td>
<td>dːːv-staːna</td>
<td>'a temple'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.8.3. No single consonant usually occurs as a coda before pause. Exceptions noted are the following: say 'all right' = an interjection and the obligative affix -av in some sub-dialects. viz. heːlːv SHM 22. 'I must say'. Elsewhere, any single consonant can occur as a coda.

Identical consonant clusters are found to occur as codas in other than pre-pausal position when the following phoneme is /h/. viz. muːtːhoːyːdu 'it is covered up', biddːhoːtːu 'it has fallen down'.

(ref. Chap. 3.9.1. Exceptions.)

Non-identical two-consonant codas in similar position show the following differences between word-medial and word-final position:

(1) A stop plus any consonant:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word-medial</th>
<th>Word-final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kt ha:kt.na:</td>
<td>putting or pouring* (ppnf. ger.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gn</td>
<td>i:gn-ka:likkø 'these days'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gr</td>
<td>hanjigr-jasti 'the community of merchants'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gl</td>
<td>ha:gl-ka:yi 'the bitter gourd'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gs moligs.do</td>
<td>'they made (her) or (him) sleep, laid down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jr</td>
<td>rajn-mang 'the king's palace'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>kats-kotta 'he got it built'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dd no:dd.vada</td>
<td>'they saw (it is said !)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dn</td>
<td>hitle: kadn-baglu 'the back door'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dl (~dl) bellit-</td>
<td>'even the silversn axe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ds</td>
<td>kuds-kyendu 'having made one sit'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Word-medial

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ds a:ds.da</th>
<th>'he made someone play'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tk</td>
<td>jə:tk-pala 'the planetary consequences'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tn</td>
<td>hotn-mːːlɛ 'after a long time'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ty</td>
<td>nity-neːmi 'daily routine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tr</td>
<td>cɪtɪr-kalɛ 'the art of painting'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tl</td>
<td>kəl-təːnika 'till darkness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>həts-kodu 'to make one climb'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðn</td>
<td>mudn-maga 'a fond son'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðr heːdr-tane 'adultery'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pt</td>
<td>gupt-caːra 'a secret messenger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pd</td>
<td>səmiːpəː-ːmɛ 'a nearby house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pn</td>
<td>epn-ːmɛ 'the father's house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pu</td>
<td>epn-ːəːgli 'let there be orders'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bd</td>
<td>tsːbd-tsːpu 'immediately'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Sonorant plus any consonant:

<p>| ðk kuːk-ːma | 'saffron (n.)' |
| ðɡ ænɡːdi | 'a shop' |
| no həno-kəli | 'you (pl.) share' |
| nj kuːt-kəŋːri | 'you (pl.) have sat' |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word-medial</th>
<th>Word-Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nt nent.ru</td>
<td>'relations'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nd bandti</td>
<td>'the wife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ps kains.tu</td>
<td>'it appeared'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nt aut.riks</td>
<td>'the sky'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nd band.re</td>
<td>'if (you)come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mp damp.ti</td>
<td>'a couple'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbsemb.la</td>
<td>'wages'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yj wajy.dya</td>
<td>'a medical man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yd vayd.ya</td>
<td>'five people'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yu re:yu-ku:de</td>
<td>'be a wife with husband living.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yv dayv-gati</td>
<td>'the fate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ys ay'ayrve</td>
<td>'wealth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ys beys-ha:ku</td>
<td>'to roast up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rg margv.dalle</td>
<td>'on the way'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rt hirt-bute</td>
<td>'he hurried away.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rd yard-jene</td>
<td>'two people'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rt irt.y-apa:</td>
<td>'of course, you will be.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rd bangar-rog-ru:</td>
<td>'the root of gold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rn marn-migel</td>
<td>'on the tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rm darm-se:lel</td>
<td>'an asylum for the poor'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ry a:scary.ye:</td>
<td>'(it is) a surprise!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(addressed to a female)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Word-medial | Word-final
---|---
rs | harš.do | 'they blessed'.
rs | toɪr.s.da | 'he showed'.
Ik | nəl.k.jena | 'four people'.
ld | aɪld.mare | 'the benison tree'.
lp | səl.p-divse | 'for some days'.
ls-ɪ | nils-bidu | 'you stop (it)!'.
vॉ | oɔʋˀ.yɔ́ | 'whether a spirit?'
vɔ | aːvt.le | 'it is not possible'.
vd | ya:vd.ku: | 'for anything'.
vn | be:vn-kəyli | 'with the brother-in-law'.
vr | dəvr-pu:je | 'worship of God'.
ʋr | səvr.su | 'to make preparations'.
vɔ | aʋ.s.cl | 'medicine'.
vs | diːn.a.nida | 'from the day'.
vl | aːvl.n(a) | 'her (acc.)'.
lɡ | aːlg.lu | 'servants'.
lɪt | heːlt.ri | 'you (pl) say'.
ld | keːld.ru | 'he (hon.pl.) asked'.
lr | kaɪr-raːjya | 'the kingdom of the thieves'.

Three consonant codas show the following differences:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word-medial</th>
<th>Word-final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) Nasal plus homorganic stop plus a stop other than the one which occurs as a second member:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñgs heṅgs.ru</td>
<td>'women'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gandn-kuyli</td>
<td>'to the husband'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ntr mantr.yu:</td>
<td>'the minister also'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nty anty-he:li</td>
<td>'for . . . reason'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndy nandy-ho:tu</td>
<td>'it was put out'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbd dimbd-mi:lu</td>
<td>'on the bench'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Stop plus any of the two-consonant codas:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gsd maṅga:Śd.vda</td>
<td>'they laid (her) down (it is said)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dtn ma:dt:n-kunta</td>
<td>'he set doing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dsd ma:ds:ya</td>
<td>'he got it done'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Sonorant plus any of the two consonant codas:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rds (~r̥) hurs-gyen:du</td>
<td>'having got started'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rst arst.na:</td>
<td>'searching (pəng-ger.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vtl a:vtl.yo:</td>
<td>'O! it is not possible'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vsd divsd-mi:lu</td>
<td>'after some days'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lgl s:lgl-metṛ:</td>
<td>'to the servants'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Word-medial | Word-final
--- | ---
(4) Sibilant plus homorganic stop plus trill : | 
\[ \text{by that time} \]

2.8.4. Since the codas are restricted to 5 and the onsets to 3 consonants only, the largest cluster occurring as interludes would consist of only five consonants viz. hár̄₄-gyêndu 'having got started'.

**Phonemic solutions**

2.9. Lastly it is necessary to explain certain phonemicizations and non-phonemicizations - namely, the initial / \( yɛ \)-ye:-ye-ye:-va-vo:-/ , the assigning of \( s \) to \( ʃ \) , the writing of the double palatal nasal and palatalized and labialized consonants as / ny p̣ỵsỵg \( υ� \) : / and the exclusion of aspirated consonants from the phonemic chart.

2.9.1. The initial / \( yɛ\)-ye:-ye:-va-vo:-/ are not represented as allophonic realizations of / \( ɛ \)-\( ɛ \) : -\( ɛ \) -\( ɛ \) : - (15) \( ɔ \) -\( ɔ \) -\( ɔ \) : -/ for the following reasons: (1) The glides in these cases are found to be phonetically

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15. The Sanskrit and Hindi loan words Škädæsi 'the eleventh day of the Hindu month' & Škdam 'immediately' respectively are sometimes pronounced by some alternately as / ye:kädæsi-ēkädæsi / and / ye:škäm-e:škäm /. The letter pronunciations can be ignored as imperfect transcription of those words.
identical with the independent / y v / in, for instance, ya:vdu 'which', and varc 'a year'.

(2) Words with / ye- ye- / have allomorphs with / ye - ye- / (ref.2.6.4.) while independent / e / and / e/ cannot be replaced by /a/ and /o/ respectively. With regard to /ye- ye-/, they are replaceable by /va- vo- / respectively, but not always, viz. vayga:vayga: 'to throw', vappu:vappu 'to consent'; vara = 'a boon', vastra = 'cloth'.

2.9.2. The retroflexed sibilant [s] could have been assigned to [s] as well. But the phone is conveniently assigned to [s] only, because of its blade-alveolar quality.

2.9.3. The independent palatal nasal [n] occurs in the dialect not singly but only in doubles and that too as an alternative to particular morphs : (1) ninn 'yesterday', minn 'the day before' are pronounced in BMG and YK sub-dialects as [nin] [n] and [min] [n]. It is clear that it is the result of double palatalization in the morphs concerned.

(2) The cluster -njn- is alternately pronounced as

14. It may also be noted that /s/ in SK. loan words even without the contiguous retroflex consonant but retroflex by its own right becomes /a/ in the dialect. (ref. 9.5.1.vi)
[-m-] viz, bañjna: ~[baṉna:] 'has he come?'. Since the use of the phoneme is very much restricted and an alternate way of transcription was possible, the phoneme has not been included in the list for the sake of economy. As palatalized consonants are written as C'y (C = consonant) as explained in 2.9.4., the morphs stated above are written with /mNy/ as it would be phonetically also almost identical.

2.9.4. There are clear cases of palatalization and labialization in YM and YK subdialects (ref. 2.2.7 and 2.2.8). But no contrasts are found between /CV/ = a palatalized consonant or /CV/ = a labialized consonant and /Cy/ = A consonant cluster with /y/ as a second member or /Cy/ = A consonant cluster with /y/ as a second member respectively. Besides the processes actually form a full /yv/ in the dialect. Hence the phonemic notation as /yvtæ/, /gvmiɛ/ etc.

2.9.5. The normal allophones of stops in the dialect are un-aspirated and the aspirated consonants in loan words are invariably deaspirated in the dialect (ref. 9.5.1.vii(a)). The only one native word which shows an aspirated consonant

in the Text is "thief" expression of contempt, disrespect. Even this is pronounced as 'toː iː' normally. Hence aspiration is completely excluded from the chart of normal phonemes.