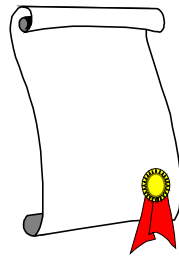


PHONEMIC ANALYSIS
OF
SOUTHERN GONDI



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1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction to Language

This phonological summary outlines the phonemic system of the *Southern Gondi* language. Gondi is the language spoken by the *Gond* tribals. It belongs to the Dravidian family of languages. They live in the central part of India. Five dialects have been identified as being spoken by them. *Southern Gondi* is spoken by the Gonds living in Gadchiroli and Chandrapur districts of Maharashtra State and Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh.

The people call themselves Koitor but others refer to them by the name *Gond*. The total number of speakers is estimated to be approx. 1.5 lakhs. For the purpose of this study we have chosen the name Southern Gonds to describe the people and their language. In short, they are being referred to as the Gonds.

The authors of this paper started their study of this language in the year 1998 and have continued up to the present time, June 2000. This paper is based on a list of 855 words.

1.2 Acknowledgements

We wish to thank all the many people who made it possible for us to study the Southern Gondi language and analyze its phonological structure.

Particular thanks is due to our Gondi friends, especially Ramesh Gattu Gedam who sat with us and taught us the intricacies of his mother tongue.

We want to express our gratitude to Mr. Bruce Symons from SIL for the consultation and guidance he gave us at various stages of the analysis. We are also grateful to Mr. Mark Penny for typesetting the paper. Finally, thanks to the Indian Institute of Cross-Cultural Communication for providing the facilities which enabled us to do the analysis and to write this paper.

1.3 Phoneme chart

Consonant chart

	Labials	Coronals	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive vl	p	t	ʈ	tʃ	k	
Plosive vd	b	d	ɖ	dʒ	g	
Nasal	m	n				
Fricative	v	s				h
Lateral		l				
Trill		r				
Approxima				j		

Vowel chart

i	i:	ĩ		u	u:	ũ
e	e:	ẽ		o	o:	õ
			ə			
			a	ã		

1.4 Symbols and Abbreviations

The symbols used for the phonetic transcription in this paper follow the conventions of the I.P.A., International Phonetic Alphabet.

[]	Phonetic data
/ /	Phonemic data
:	Full length
.	Syllable break between consonants
~	Nasalisation
imp.	Imperative
Masc.	Masculine
Non masc.	Non-masculine
C	Consonant
V	Vowel
sg.	Singular
pl.	Plural

2 Interpretation

The syllable types in the data are V, VC, CV, CVC, CVCC. There are no word initial CC clusters. Also, there are no univalent VV clusters in the data.

2.1 Unit or Sequence

/tʃ/, /dʒ/ **Affricate** phonemes are interpreted as units since there are no univalent word initial CC clusters. Also, they are grouped together with plosives since they pattern in exactly the same way.

/p^j/, /t^j/, /tʃ^j/, /s^j/, /v^j/, /k^j/ Since there are no initial CC clusters the **palatalised consonants** are interpreted as units.

/nt/, /nd/, /n̩t/, /n̩d/, /ntʃ/, /ndʒ/, /ŋk/, /ŋg/ **Nasal and homorganic plosives** are interpreted as sequences for the sake of economy of phonemes.

2.2 Consonant or Vowel

/v/, /j/, /h/ Since there are no univalent VV clusters these **segments** are interpreted as consonants when they occur next to vowels.

3 Identification of Phonemes

All the phonemes are laid out in the following order of positions in the examples wherever possible:

- word initial
- word medial
- word final

3.1 Consonant Phonemes

Consonant phonemes are 18 in number and they fall into six groups based on the point of articulation – Labial, Coronal, Retroflex, Palatal, Velar and Glottal. A distinctive feature of Gondi is found, in that some speakers tend to palatalize the consonants. These palatalized consonants are being considered as consonants that are in free variation with their non palatalized counterparts.

3.1.1 Bilabials

/p/	[p]	Voiceless unaspirated bilabial plosive	
/pe:dəl/	पेडल	[pe:dəl]	‘baby’
/pehətʃantən/	पेहचांतन	[pehətʃ ^j antən]	‘split/chop’
/kəpəɖi/	कपडि	[kəpəɖi]	‘clothes’

/b/ Realised by the following two labials in conditioned variation

[β] Voiced bilabial fricative occurring after lengthened high vowels

/dʒi:bili/	जीबिलि	[dʒi:βili]	‘ear wax’
/gədu:bə/	गदूब	[gəɖu:βə]	‘chin’

[b] Voiced unaspirated bilabial plosive occurring elsewhere

/bələha/	बलहा	[bələha]	‘how’
/babəl/	बाबल	[babəl]	‘father’
/kəbəɖ/	कबड	[kəbəɖ]	‘work’

/m/	[m]	Voiced bilabial nasal		
/mime:tʊ/	मिमेऽटु	[mime:tʊ]		'you'
/mərəmī/	मरमि	[mərəmī]		'marriage'
/velum/	वेलुम	[vɛlum]		'boundary'

3.1.2 Labio-dentals

/v/ Realised by the following two variants.

[ʋ] Voiceless labio-dental approximant occurring syllable finally except in geminate clusters where [v] occurs.

/həvksantən/	हवक्सांतन	[həvksaŋt̪ən]		'I kill'
/əvtir/	एवतिर	[ɛv̪tir]		'arrive'
/dav/	दाव	[d̪av]		'father's elder brother'

[v] voiced labio-dental fricative occurring elsewhere

/ve:ste/	वेऽस्ते	[vɛ:st̪ɛ]		'if layed'
/nava/	नावा	[nava]		'my'
/əvvu/	अध्वु	[əvvu]		'those, they (nonmasc)'

3.1.3 Dental

/t/ Realised by the following two variants.

[t̪] Voiceless dental unaspirated plosive

/terahtor/	तेराहतोर	[t̪ɛraht̪or]		'he fought'
/teha/	तेहा	[t̪ɛha]		'lift'
/ve:rərtāka/	वेऽररतांका	[vɛ:rərt̪āka]		'after getting separated'

/d/	[d̪]	Voiced dental unaspirated plosive		
/darə/	दार	[d̪arə]		'outside courtyard'
/pədi/	पदि	[pəd̪i]		'ten'
/əsvont̪əd/	असवोंटद	[əsvont̪əd̪]		'like that'

3.1.4 Alveolar

/n/ Realised by the following five variants in conditioned variation

[n̪] Voiced dental nasal occurring before dental plosives.

/anta/	आंता	[an̪t̪a]		'enough'
/andu/	आंदु	[an̪d̪u]		'is'
/intor/	इंतोर	[in̪t̪or]		'he said'

[ɳ] Voiced retroflex nasal occurring before retroflex plosives.

/mi:ɳda/	मींडा	[mi:ɳda]		'sleep'
/tɳda/	तेंडा	[t̪ɳda]		'open'
/kɳt̪e/	कंटे	[kɳt̪ɳ]		'ring-silver worn on neck'

[ɲ] Voiced palatal nasal occurring before post alveolar affricates

/int̪ʃi/	इंचि	[int̪ʃi]		'after saying'
/ke:ɳd̪ʒa/	कें जा	[kɛ:ɳd̪ʒa]		'hear'
/gund̪ʒa/	गुंजा	[gund̪ʒa]		'pillar'

	[ŋ]	Voiced velar nasal occurring before velar plosives		
	/bɒŋgu/	बोंगु	[bɒŋgu]	'bamboo (thick)'
	/dɒŋgə/	दोंग	[dɒŋgə]	'liar'
	/hɔːŋgu/	होंगु	[hɔːŋgu]	'anger'
	[n]	Voiced alveolar nasal occurring elsewhere		
	/nar/	नार	[nar]	'village'
	/nava/	नावा	[nava]	'my'
	/puːnə/	पून	[puːnə]	'new'
/s/	[s]	Voiceless alveolar grooved fricative		
	/soːŋgə/	सोंग	[soːŋgə]	'cigar'
	/vaseːmənta/	वासेमंता	[vaseːmənta]	'she is coming'
	/təras/	तरास	[təras]	'snake'
/l/	[l]	Voiced alveolar lateral		
	/loːn/	लोन	[loːn]	'house'
	/nalū/	नालुं	[nalū]	'four (non.masc.)'
	/porol/	पोरोल	[porol]	'name'
/r/		Realised by the following variants in conditioned variation		
	[r]	Voiced alveolar flap occurring word initially		
	/rimmə/	रिम्म	[rimmə]	'drunk (liquor)'
	/reppā/	रेप्पां	[reppā]	'feathers'
	/reja/	रेया	[reja]	'get down (imp.)'

[r] Voiced alveolar trill occurring word finally

/bo:r/	बोर	[bo:r]	'anyone'
/hillor/	हिल्लोर	[hillor]	'didnot give'
/hu:ɖur/	हूडुर	[hu:ɖur]	'they (masc) won't see'

Both the above variants of /r/ occur in free variation in word medial positions.

/he:ndəreɖ/	हेंडरड	[he:ndəreɖ]	'wife's younger sisters'
/dumareɪm/	दुमारम	[ɖumareɪm]	'wind'

3.1.5 Retroflex

/t/ [ɖ] Voiceless retroflex plosive

/tərrə/	टर	[tərrə]	'call to scare (goat)'
/e:ɖi/	एडि	[e:ɖi]	'goat'
/hi:kəɖ/	हीकट	[hi:kəɖ]	'darkness'

/ɖ/ Realised by the following two variants.

[ɽ] Voiced retroflex flap varying freely with [ɖ] inter
vocalically

/hiɽu/	हिडु	[hiɽu]	'under'
/hiɖu/	हिडु	[hiɖu]	'under'
/muɽi/	मुडि	[muɽi]	'knot'
/muɖi/	मुडि	[muɖi]	'knot'

[ɖ] Voiced retroflex plosive occurring elsewhere

/mondiguttə/	मोंडिगुट्टा	[mondiguttə]	'Mondigutta'
/toɖɖi/	तोड्डि	[toɖɖi]	'mouth'

3.1.6 Post alveolar

/tʃ/	[tʃ]	Voiceless post alveolar affricate	
/tʃɛddə/	चेड्ड	[tʃɛddə]	'bad'
/lehtʃantən/	लेहचांतन	[lehtʃantən]	'I untie'
/ətʃor/	अचोर	[ətʃor]	'that much'

We note that with some speakers a non contrastive voiceless alveolar grooved fricative [s] occurs between [h] and [tʃ] as can be seen in the example above.

/dʒ/	[dʒ]	Voiced post alveolar affricate	
/dʒi:bili/	जीबिलि	[dʒi:βili]	'ear wax'
/dʒi:dʒi/	जीजि	[dʒi:dʒi]	'call to (cow)'
/pəɖʒo/	पजो	[pəɖʒo]	'after/behind'

3.1.7 Palatal

/j/	[j]	Voiced palatal approximant	
/je:ru/	येऽरु	[je:ru]	'water'
/reja/	रेया	[reja]	'get down (imp.)'
/nalpəj/	नालपय	[nalpəj]	'forty'

3.1.8 Velar

/k/	[k]	Voiceless velar plosive	
/ke:lku/	के ल्कु	[ke:lku]	'hair'
/həker/	हकेर	[həkɛr]	'early morning'
/pe:ɖɛk/	पेऽडेक	[pe:ɖɛk]	'seeds'

/g/ Realised by the following two variants in conditioned variation

[ɣ]	Voiced velar fricative occurring [g] inter vocally		
/pɔ:gu/	पोऽगु	[pɔ:ɣu]	'ring'
/pɔ:gu/	पोऽगु	[pɔ:gu]	'ear ring'
/pulleɣə/	पुल्लग	[pulleɣə]	'sour'
/pulleɣə/	पुल्लग	[pulleɣə]	'sour'
[g]	Voiced velar plosive occurring elsewhere		
/godətʃɔ/	गोडचो	[godətʃɔ]	'some'
/pu:lgu/	पूलगु	[pu:lgu]	'marrow'

3.1.9 Glottal

/h/	[h]	Voiceless glottal fricative	
/hi:m/	हीम	[hi:m]	'give'
/lo:ha/	लोऽहा	[lo:ha]	'send'
/pəhka/	पहका	[pəhka]	'search'

3.2 Vowels

The vowels occur in six contrasting positions of articulation and they are explained below.

/i/	[i]	Voiced close front unrounded vowel.	
/itti:n/	इत्तीन	[it̪ti:n]	'you said'
/pitɛ/	पिटे	[pitɛ]	'bird'
/kəri:go:t̪i/	करीगोऽति	[kəri:go:t̪i]	'should learn'
/e/	[ɛ]	Open mid front unrounded vowel	
/elli/	एल्लि	[ɛlli]	'rat'
/pet̪ta/	पेट्टा	[pet̪ta]	'hen (before laying eggs)'
/həɖɛ/	हडे	[həɖɛ]	'younger sister's husband'
/a/	[a]	Open front unrounded vowel	
/asi/	आसि	[asi]	'after happening'
/marta/	मारता	[mart̪a]	'finished'
/e:ta/	एऽता	[e:t̪a]	'take'
/ə/	[ə]	Mid central unrounded vowel	
/əsvont̪əd/	असवोंटद	[əsvont̪əd̪]	'like that'
/ku:sməd̪/	कूस्मड	[ku:sməd̪]	'crowing of cock'
/nəhagə/	नहाग	[nəhagə]	'with me'

/o/	[ɔ]	Open-mid back rounded vowel	
/orre/	ओरे	[ɔrɛ]	‘small river’
/korru/	कोरु	[kɔrru]	‘chicken’
/loppo/	लोप्पो	[lɔppɔ]	‘in’

/u/	[u]	Voiced close back rounded vowel.	
/usmantən/	उस्मांतन	[usmantən]	‘I am wiping’
/kure:d/	कुरेड	[kure:ɽ]	‘small river’
/kəɖuku/	कडुकु	[kəɽuku]	‘eyes’

3.2.1 Nasalised vowels

Nasalisation of vowels is a feature found in Southern Gondi. Nasalised vowels contrast with the non nasalised ones, the evidence of which is provided in section 4.2.2 below.

Nasalised vowels found in the language are as follows:

/ĩ/	[ĩ]	Voiced close front nasalised unrounded vowel occurring word finally.	
/akĩ/	आकिं	[akĩ]	‘leaves’
/harĩ/	हारिं	[harĩ]	‘chappathies’
/mərəmĩ/	मरमिं	[mərəmĩ]	‘marriage’
/ẽ/	[ẽ]	Voiced open-mid front nasalised unrounded vowel occurring word finally.	
/hillẽ/	हिल्ले	[hillẽ]	‘no (pl)’
/pitẽ/	पिटे	[pitẽ]	‘birds’
/ho:dẽ/	होडे	[ho:dẽ]	‘magic’

/ā/	[ā]	Voiced open front nasalised unrounded vowel	
/ke:jāta/	के यांता	[kɛ:jāṭa]	‘she is calling’
/martā/	मारतां	[marṭā]	‘finished’
/pu:sā/	पूसां	[pu:sā]	‘beads’
/ō/	[ō]	Voiced open-mid back nasalised rounded vowel	
/itʃōre/	इचोरे	[itʃōrɛ]	‘only this much’
/tinnō/	तिन्नो	[ṭinnō]	‘they (non masc) won't eat’
/hu:dō/	हूडो	[hu:dō]	‘they (pl) will not see’
/ū/	[ū]	Voiced close back nasalised rounded vowel	
/mo:pūku/	मोऽपुंकु	[mo:pūku]	‘during season’
/nalū/	नालुं	[nalū]	‘four (non.masc.)’
/hejjū/	हेय्युं	[hejjū]	‘five’

3.2.2 Lengthened vowels

Vowel length is contrastive for the following vowel phonemes. Evidence for this is shown in section 3.2.3.

/i:/	[i:]	Voiced close front unrounded long vowel		
/mi:n/	मीन	[mi:n]		'fish'
/hi:kət/	हीकट	[hi:kət]		'darkness'
/mi:ndməd/	मीडमड	[mi:ndməd]		'to sleep'
/e:/	[ɛ:]	Open mid front unrounded long vowel		
/e:ti/	एडटि	[ɛ:ti]		'goat'
/pe:dəl/	पेडल	[pɛ:dəl]		'child'
/te:/	तेड	[tɛ:]		'rise up'
/o:/	[ɔ:]	Open mid back rounded long vowel		
/o:nəd/	ओडनद	[ɔ:nəd]		'his'
/no:ndɛ/	नोडडे	[no:ndɛ]		'rope'
/ko:jtɔr/	कोडयतोर	[ko:jtɔr]		'Gond tribals'
/u:/	[u:]	Close back rounded long vowel		
/u:sa/	ऊसा	[u:sa]		'plaster (imp)'
/gədu:βə/	गदूब	[gədu:βə]		'chin'
/hu:dʒi/	हूडसि	[hu:dʒi]		'since it saw'

4 Evidence of Contrast

4.1 Consonants

4.1.1 Bilabial

/p/	/b/			
	/pal/	पाल	[pal]	'milk'
	/bal/	बाल	[bal]	'father (to address)'
	/pədi/	पदि	[pəɖi]	'ten'
	/bədu/	बदु	[bəɖu]	'who (non masc)'
	/duppi/	दुप्पि	[ɖuppi]	'deer'
	/dubbə/	दुबब	[ɖubbə]	'dirt'
/p/	/m/			
	/pi:m/	पीम	[pi:m]	'to catch'
	/mi:n/	मीन	[mi:n]	'fish'
	/pɔkkə/	पोक	[pɔkkə]	'hole'
	/mɔkku/	मोकु	[mɔkku]	'offering/sacrifi ce'
	/pidupu/	पिडुपु	[pidupu]	'bamboo woven door'
	/hinumu/	हिनुमु	[hinumu]	'bangle (iron)'
/b/	/m/			
	/baɔo/	बाटो	[baɔo]	'elder sister's husband'
	/maku/	माकु	[maku]	'to/for us'
	/bejjər/	बेय्यर	[bejjər]	'open'
	/meddur/	मेदुर	[medɖur]	'brain'

Evidence of Contrast

	/mɛbbu/	मबबु	[mɛbbu]	'cloud'
	/rɛmbə/	रमब	[rɛmbə]	'parrot'
/m/	/n/			
	/maku/	माकु	[maku]	'to/for us'
	/naku/	नाकु	[naku]	'to me'
	/nidʒəma/	निजमा	[nidʒəma]	'is it true'
	/tinəna/	तिनना	[tinəna]	'eatable'
	/pi:m/	पीम	[pi:m]	'to catch'
	/mi:n/	मीन	[mi:n]	'fish'
/b/	/v/			
	/baɽo/	बाटो	[baɽo]	'elder sister's husband'
	/vaɽa/	वाटा	[vaɽa]	'pour'
	/bətʃor/	बचोर	[bətʃor]	'how many'
	/vɛror/	वरोर	[vɛror]	'alone (masc)'
	/babəl/	बाबल	[babəl]	'father'
	/navəd/	नावद	[navəd]	'mine'

4.1.2 Dental

/d/	/ɖ/			
	/toɖɖi/	तोड्डि	[t̪oɖɖi]	'mouth'
	/doɖɖu/	दोड्डु	[ɖoɖɖu]	'thick'
	/məti/	मति	[mət̪i]	'memory'
	/pədi/	पदि	[pəɖi]	'ten'
	/dantā/	दांतां	[ɖant̪ā]	'they (non masc) will go'
	/ko:ndā/	कोंऽदां	[ko:ɖdā]	'bull (pl)'
/t/	/t̪/			
	/t̪ət̪ə/	तट्ट	[t̪ət̪ə]	'bamboo basket (for cow dung)'
	/t̪ərrə/	टर	[t̪ərrə]	'call to scare (goat)'
	/məti/	मति	[mət̪i]	'memory'
	/taɖi/	ताटि	[t̪aɖi]	'palm tree'
	/pette:/	पेत्तेऽ	[pet̪t̪ɛ:]	'ant'
	/pi:t̪e/	पीटे	[pi:t̪ɛ]	'pregnant (local)'

/d/	/d̪/			
	/pədi/	पदि	[pəd̪i]	'ten'
	/vədi/	वडि	[vəd̪i]	'wind; air'
	/te:dsi/	तेऽदसि	[t̪ɛ:ds̪i]	'after rising up'
	/ve:dsi/	वेऽडसि	[vɛ:ds̪i]	'moon'
	/pəðənəd/	पडनद	[pəðənəd̪]	'old'
	/put̪uməd/	पुटुमड	[put̪uməd̪]	'birth'
/d/	/n/			
	/danəd/	दानद	[d̪anəd̪]	'her's'
	/navəd/	नावद	[navəd̪]	'mine'
	/dadə/	दाद	[d̪ad̪ə]	'brother (elder)'
	/nanə/	नान	[nanə]	'father's younger brother'
	/əsvont̪əd/	असवोंटद	[əsvont̪əd̪]	'like that'
	/usmant̪ən/	उस्मांतन	[usmant̪ən]	'I am wiping'
/t/	/r/			
	/teha/	तेहा	[t̪ɛha]	'lift'
	/reha/	रेहा	[rɛha]	'take it down'
	/tasa/	तासा	[t̪asa]	'close'
	/rasa/	रासा	[rasa]	'apply (oil)'
	/lo:tu/	लोऽतु	[lo:t̪u]	'depth'
	/go:ru/	गोऽरु	[go:ru]	'nail'

/d/	/r/			
	/dadə/	दाद	[ɖadə]	'brother (elder)'
	/rasa/	रासा	[rasa]	'apply (oil)'
	/do:do/	दोऽदो	[ɖo:ɖo]	'call to hen'
	/ro:tə/	रोऽत	[ro:tə]	'dirty'
	/dadə/	दाद	[ɖadə]	'brother (elder)'
	/darə/	दार	[ɖarə]	'outside courtyard'
/t/	/tʃ/			
	/tinma/	तिनमा	[tʃinma]	'don't eat'
	/tʃinnə/	चिन्न	[tʃinnə]	'small'
	/tɛnda/	तेंडा	[tʃɛnda]	'open'
	/tʃɛddə/	चेडु	[tʃɛddə]	'bad'
	/məti/	मति	[mətʃi]	'memory'
	/pətʃi/	पचि	[pətʃi]	'wet'
/d/	/ɖʒ/			
	/dadə/	दाद	[ɖadə]	'brother (elder)'
	/ɖʒavə/	जाव	[ɖʒavə]	'rice porridge'
	/darə/	दार	[ɖarə]	'outside courtyard'
	/ɖʒaɖi/	जाडि	[ɖʒaɖi]	'grass'
	/səndi/	संदि	[səndʒi]	'since'
	/vəndʒi/	वंजि	[vəndʒi]	'paddy'

4.1.3 Alveolar

/l/	/r/			
	/nalũ/	नालुं	[nalũ]	'four (non.masc.)'
	/harũ/	हारुं	[harũ]	'six'
	/bal/	बाल	[bal]	'father (a form of addressing)'
	/nar/	नार	[nar]	'village'
	/porol/	पोरोल	[pɔrɔl]	'name'
	/vɔror/	वरोर	[vɔrɔr]	'alone (masc)'
/n/	/d/			
	/navəd/	नावद	[navəd̪]	'mine'
	/danəd/	दानद	[danəd̪]	'her's'
	/nanə/	नान	[nanə]	'father's younger brother'
	/dadə/	दाद	[dad̪ə]	'brother (elder)'
	/mənu/	मनु	[mənu]	'please wait'
	/bədu/	बदु	[bəd̪u]	'who (non masc)'
/s/	/tʃ/			
	/sitku/	सितकु	[sit̪ku]	'rubbish'
	/tʃinnə/	चिन्न	[tʃinnə]	'small'
	/sev̪ti/	सेवटि	[sev̪ti]	'deaf'
	/tʃeddə/	चेडु	[tʃeddə]	'bad'

/s/	/d͡ʒ/			
	/səplaka/	सपलाका	[səplaka]	'quiet (be)'
	/d͡ʒəppənə/	जप्पन	[d͡ʒəppənə]	'fast'
	/ki:si/	कीसि	[ki:si]	'as (as a small one)'
	/d͡ʒi:d͡ʒi/	जीजि	[d͡ʒi:d͡ʒi]	'call to (cow)'
	/hu:dsəntən/	हूडसंतन	[hu:dsəntən]	'I see'
	/tind͡ʒantən/	तिंजांतन	[tind͡ʒantən]	'1.present.sg I eat'

4.1.4 Retroflex

/t/	/d/			
	/gətka/	गटका	[gətka]	'jowar'
	/vədka/	वडका	[vədka]	'speak'
	/ət̪məd/	अटमड	[ət̪məd]	'to cook'
	/əd̪məd/	अडमड	[əd̪məd]	'crying'
	/hi:kət/	हीकट	[hi:kət]	'darkness'
	/mi:jəd/	मीयड	[mi:jəd]	'daughter'
/t/	/t̪̣/			
	/ho:nt̪u/	होंऽटु	[ho:nt̪u]	'go (imp-pl)'
	/ho:nt̪̣i/	होंऽचि	[ho:nt̪̣i]	'after going'
	/ant̪ur/	आंटुर	[ant̪ur]	'all (masc)'
	/mənt̪̣i/	मंचि	[mənt̪̣i]	'after staying together'
	/kənt̪ɛ/	कंटे	[kənt̪ɛ]	'ring-silver worn on neck'
	/mənt̪̣i/	मंचि	[mənt̪̣i]	'after staying together'

Evidence of Contrast

/d̪/	/d̪ʒ/			
	/tɛnd̪a/	तेँडा	[t̪ɛnd̪a]	‘open’
	/kɛnd̪ʒa/	केँजा	[k̪ɛnd̪ʒa]	‘hear’
	/pɛ:nd̪ə/	पेँड	[pɛ:nd̪ə]	‘bowel’
	/kɛ:nd̪ʒa/	केँ जा	[kɛ:nd̪ʒa]	‘hear’
	/pɛnd̪i/	पंडि	[pɛnd̪i]	‘fruit’
	/vɛnd̪ʒi/	वंजि	[vɛnd̪ʒi]	‘paddy’
/d̪/	/r/			
	/o:ɖu/	ओऽडु	[o:ɖu]	‘bet’
	/o:ru/	ओऽरु	[o:ru]	‘they’
	/d̪ʒad̪i/	जाडि	[d̪ʒad̪i]	‘grass’
	/bari/	बारि	[bari]	‘why’
	/gu:ɖə/	गूड	[gu:ɖə]	‘nest’
	/mu:rə/	मूर	[mu:rə]	‘measure (elbow to hand)’
/t̪/	/r/			
	/nat̪ɛ/	नाटे	[nat̪ɛ]	‘in our village’
	/bari/	बारि	[bari]	‘why’
	/het̪ɛɖ/	हेटेड	[het̪ɛɖ]	‘knife’
	/berɛ:ɖ/	बेरेऽड	[berɛ:ɖ]	‘river’
	/gət̪ka/	गटका	[gət̪ka]	‘jowar’
	/nərka/	नरका	[nərka]	‘night’

4.1.5 Palatal

/dʒ/	/j/			
/dʒavə/		जाव	[dʒavə]	'rice porridge'
/javə/		याव	[javə]	'mother'
/pədʒo/		पजो	[pədʒo]	'after/behind'
/ajo/		आयो	[ajo]	'won't happen'
/kɛndʒa/		केंजा	[k ^j ɛndʒa]	'hear'
/pejjə/		पेय्य	[pejjə]	'calf'
/vedɪdʒu/		वेडिजु	[vedɪdʒu]	'bear'
/verɪjuməd/		वेरियुमड	[verɪjuməd]	'to be afraid'

4.1.6 Velar

/k/	/g/			
/kərsa/		करसा	[kərsa]	'learn'
/gərse/		गरसे	[gərse]	'stand to store'
/kɛnkə/		कंक	[kɛnkə]	'bamboo (thick)'
/pɛŋgə/		पंग	[pɛŋgə]	'branch'
/kəɽuku/		कडुकु	[kəɽuku]	'eyes'
/pɔɽugu/		पोडुगु	[pɔɽugu]	'height'

/g/	/h/			
	/gu:ɖə/	गूड	[gu:ɖə]	'nest'
	/hu:ɖə/	हूड	[hu:ɖə]	'see'
	/gəɖsu/	गडसु	[gəɖsu]	'cruel'
	/həɖpi/	हडपि	[həɖpi]	'cow dung'
	/bəgə/	बग	[bəgə]	'where'
	/doha/	दोहा	[ɖoha]	'to build'
/k/	/h/			
	/kurmi/	कुरमि	[kurmi]	'husk (paddy)'
	/hurve/	हुरवे	[hurvɛ]	'honey'
	/pəkkə/	पक्क	[pəkkə]	'side'
	/pəhka/	पहका	[pəhka]	'search'
	/hi:jəka/	हीयका	[hi:jəka]	'because noone helped'
	/gi:ləha/	गीलहा	[gi:ləha]	'like this'

4.1.7 Glottal

/h/	/g/			
	/hu:ɖə/	हूड	[hu:ɖə]	'see'
	/gu:ɖə/	गूड	[gu:ɖə]	'nest'
	/həɖpi/	हडपि	[həɖpi]	'cow dung'
	/gəɖsu/	गडसु	[gəɖsu]	'cruel'
	/doha/	दोहा	[ɖoha]	'to build'
	/bəgə/	बग	[bəgə]	'where'

4.2 Vowels

4.2.1 Short vowels

The contrast between short vowels is shown below.

/i/	/e/			
	/tiha/	तिहा	[t̪iha]	'feed'
	/teha/	तेहा	[t̪ɛha]	'lift'
	/pitte/	पिट्टे	[pittɛ]	'bird'
	/petta/	पेट्टा	[pɛtta]	'hen (before laying eggs)'
	/mɛnni/	मन्नि	[mɛnni]	'no'
	/munne/	मुन्ने	[munnɛ]	'in front'
/e/	/a/			
	/lo:te/	लोऽते	[lo:t̪ɛ]	'in house'
	/ve:ta/	वेऽता	[v ^j ɛ:t̪a]	'burn'
	/kase/	कासे	[kase]	'heat'
	/rasa/	रासा	[rasa]	'apply (oil)'
	/kase/	कासे	[kase]	'heat'
	/tasa/	तासा	[t̪asa]	'close'

/a/	/ə/			
	/martā/	मारतां	[marṭā]	'finished'
	/mərsu/	मरसु	[mərsu]	'axe'
	/vatəna/	वातना	[vaṭəna]	'did it (non masc) come'
	/vətutə/	वतुत	[vətutə]	'dry'
	/hu:ḍa/	हूडा	[hu:ḍa]	'see'
	/gu:ḍə/	गूड	[gu:ḍə]	'nest'
/a/	/o/			
	/hu:ḍa/	हूडा	[hu:ḍa]	'see'
	/hu:ḍo/	हूडो	[hu:ḍo]	'She will not see'
	/taka/	ताका	[ṭaka]	'walk'
	/tako/	ताको	[ṭako]	'not feasible'
	/dako:m/	दाकोऽम	[ḍako:m]	'let us go'
	/dohməḍ/	दोहमड	[ḍohməḍ]	'to tie'
/u/	/o/			
	/tinnur/	तिन्नुर	[ṭinnur]	'They won't eat'
	/tinnor/	तिन्नोर	[ṭinnor]	'He won't eat'
	/kəri:jur/	करीयुर	[kəri:jur]	'they won't learn'
	/kəri:jor/	करीयोर	[kəri:jor]	'he won't learn'
	/mu:ḍu/	मूडु	[mu:ḍu]	'three'
	/hu:ḍo/	हूडो	[hu:ḍo]	'She will not see'

/e/	/ə/			
	/pɛd̪di/	पेद्दि	[pɛd̪di]	‘mother's elder sister’
	/pəd̪di/	पद्दि	[pəd̪di]	‘pig’
	/loːtɛ/	लोऽते	[loːt̪ɛ]	‘in house’
	/roːtə/	रोऽत	[roːt̪ə]	‘dirty’
	/hɛːkɛ/	हेऽके	[hɛːkɛ]	‘there’
	/lɛːkə/	लेऽक	[lɛːkə]	‘like’

4.2.2 Nasalised vowels

/i/	/ī/			
	/pənd̪i/	पंडि	[pənd̪i]	‘fruit’
	/pənd̪ī/	पंडि	[pənd̪ī]	‘fruit’
	/kurmi/	कुरमि	[kurmi]	‘husk (paddy)’
	/məɾəmī/	मरमि	[məɾəmī]	‘marriage’
	/kavəɖi/	कावडि	[kavəɖi]	‘bamboo pole’
	/kəpəɖī/	कपडि	[kəpəɖī]	‘clothes’
/e/	/ē/			
	/hille/	हिल्ले	[hille]	‘no’
	/hillē/	हिल्लें	[hillē]	‘no (pl)’
	/loːtɛ/	लोऽते	[loːt̪ɛ]	‘in house’
	/hoːd̪ē/	होऽदे	[hoːd̪ē]	‘magic’
	/pitɛ/	पिटे	[pitɛ]	‘bird’
	/pitē/	पिटें	[pitē]	‘birds’

/a/	/ā/			
	/hajanə/	हायान	[hajanə]	'about to die'
	/ke:jāta/	के यांता	[ke:jāɽa]	'she is calling'
	/mənta/	मंता	[məɽɽa]	'is (non masc)'
	/məntā/	मंतां	[məɽɽā]	'is (pl)'
	/kərsa/	करसा	[kərsa]	'learn'
	/vərsā/	वरसां	[vərsā]	'years'
/u/	/ū/			
	/kuɽukē/	कुडुकें	[kuɽukē]	'bare (naked)'
	/mo:pūku/	मोऽपुंकु	[mo:pūku]	'during season'
	/velu/	वेलु	[vɛlu]	'finger'
	/nalū/	नालुं	[nalū]	'four (non.masc.)'
	/nejju/	नेय्यु	[nɛjju]	'ghee'
	/hejjū/	हेय्युं	[hɛjjū]	'five'
/o/	/ō/			
	/intor/	इंतोर	[inɽɽor]	'he said'
	/itʃōre/	इचोरे	[itʃōrɛ]	'only this much'
	/tinno/	तिन्नो	[ɽinno]	'She won't eat'
	/tinnō/	तिन्नोँ	[ɽinnō]	'they (non masc) won't eat'
	/kəri:jo/	करीयो	[kəri:jo]	'she won't learn'
	/kəri:jō/	करीयोँ	[kəri:jō]	'they (non masc) won't learn'

4.2.3 Lengthened vowels

/i/	/i:/			
	/pitɛ/	पिटे	[pitɛ]	'bird'
	/pi:tɛ/	पीटे	[pi:tɛ]	'pregnant (local)'
	/tirija/	तिरिया	[ṭirija]	'turn'
	/kəri:ja/	करीया	[kəri:ja]	'learn'
	/hi:ntin/	हींतिन	[hi:ṅṅin]	'you are giving'
	/titti:n/	तित्तीन	[ṭitṭi:n]	'you ate'
/u/	/u:/			
	/uso/	उसो	[uso]	'scare off (goats and hens)'
	/u:sa/	ऊसा	[u:sa]	'plaster (imp)'
	/muḍi/	मुडि	[muḍi]	'knot'
	/mu:ḍu/	मूडु	[mu:ḍu]	'three'
	/kurmi/	कुरमि	[kurmi]	'husk (paddy)'
	/ku:rkə/	कूरक	[ku:rkə]	'sleep'

/o/	/o: /			
	/kojtor/	कोयतोर	[kɔj̥t̪ɔr]	'he had cut'
	/ko: jtor/	कोऽयतोर	[kɔ: j̥t̪ɔr]	'Gond tribals'
	/norsantən/	नोरसांतन	[nɔrsant̪ən]	'I wash (my hands)'
	/no: rsantən/	नोऽरसांतन	[nɔ: rsant̪ən]	'I am pounding'
	/pongsantəna/	पोंगसांतना	[pɔŋgsant̪əna]	'Is it dripping (after boiling)'
	/po: ngsantəna/	पोंऽगसांतना	[pɔ: ngsant̪əna]	'is it dripping'
/e/	/e: /			
	/edki/	एडकि	[ɛdki]	'fever'
	/e: dū/	एऽदुं	[ɛ: r̥ū]	'seven'
	/netur/	नेतुर	[nɛt̪ur]	'blood'
	/he: pur/	हेऽपुर	[hɛ: pur]	'broom'
	/meddur/	मेदुर	[mɛdd̪ur]	'brain'
	/me: ndul/	मेंऽदुल	[mɛ: nd̪ul]	'body'

5 Syllable structure

5.1 Syllable types

Southern Gondi has 5 distinct syllable types. They are the following:

5.1.1 Syllables represented by the shape V

/a.si/	आसि	[a.si]	'after happening'
/a.tən/	आतन	[a.tən]	'I became'
/o:.nəd/	ओऽनद	[o:.nəd]	'his'

5.1.2 Syllables represented by the shape CV

/na.va/	नावा	[na.va]	'my'
/ve:.ste/	वेऽस्ते	[ve:.stɛ]	'if layed'
/ko:.di.jad/	कोऽडियाड	[ko:.ɽi.jaɽ]	'daughter-in-law'

5.1.3 Syllables represented by the shape VC

/ev.tir/	एवतिर	[ɛv.tir]	'arrive'
/əl.va.tə/	अलवाट	[əl.va.tə]	'habbit'
/ən.tɔ:.rəm/	अंटोऽरम	[ən.tɔ:.rəm]	'all of us'

5.1.4 Syllables represented by the shape CVC

/lo:n/	लोऽन	[lo:n]	'house'
/ə.nug.məd/	अनुगमड	[ə.nug.məd]	'to be pressed'
/səv.ritʃ̣.məd/	सवरिचमड	[səv.ritʃ̣.məd]	'to be repaired'

5.1.5 Syllables represented by the shape CVCC

/məks.məd/	मक्समड	[məks.məɽ]	'to hide'
/je:r.tung.məd/	येऽरतुंगमड	[je:r.tʊŋg.məd]	'bath'
/tə.lahk/	तलाहक	[tə.lahk]	'pregnant)

5.2 Distribution of syllables in words

5.2.1 Monosyllabic words

Three of the five syllable types can occur as monosyllabic words, examples of which are shown below.

VC	/o:m/	[ɔ:m]	'take it away'	865
CV	/te:/	[t̥ɛ:]	'rise up'	385
CVC	/lo:n/	[lɔ:n]	'house'	001

5.2.2 Disyllabic words

The distribution of syllables in disyllabic words are as shown in the examples below.

V.CV	/a.si/	[a.si]	'after happening'	014
V.CVC	/a.tən/	[a.t̥ən]	'I became'	045
CV.CV	/ma.ku/	[ma.ku]	'to/for us'	018
CV.CVC	/ba.bəl/	[ba.bəl]	'father'	029
CV.CVCC	/tə.lahk/	[t̥ə.lahk]	'pregnant(with respect)'	964
CVC.CV	/ve:s.te/	[vɛ:s.t̥ɛ]	'if layed'	058
CVC.CVC	/mən.kel/	[mən.kɛl]	'man.masc'	032
CV.CVC.CV	/və.dək.ma/	[və.dək.ma]	'don't speak'	344
CVCC.CVC	/məks.məd/	[məks.mɛɾ]	'to hide'	196
CVC.CV	/hət̥.tə/	[hət̥.tə]	'shoulder'	995
VC.CVC	/ev.tir/	[ɛv.t̥ir]	'arrive'	353

5.2.3 Trisyllabic words

Various patterns of distribution of syllables in trisyllabic words are as shown in the examples below.

V.CV.CV	/e.ru.vu/	[ε.ru.vu]	'manure'	0 1 7
V.CV.CVC	/u: . pu . mɛd/	[u: . pu . mɛd]	'to swing'	3 1 2
V.CVC.CVC	/a.tən.ga/	[a.t̪ən.ga]	'Is it over (pl)'	3 5 9
V.CVC.CVC	/ə.nug.mɛd/	[ə.nug.mɛd]	'to be pressed'	0 5 1
CV.CV.CV	/mə.rə.mī/	[mə.rə.mī]	'marriage'	0 0 3
CV.CV.CVC	/kɔ: . di . jɑd/	[kɔ: . ri . jɑɾ]	'daughter-in- law'	0 4 4
CV.CVC.CV	/pi.lal.ku/	[pi.lal.ku]	'children'	0 7 9
CV.CVC.CVC	/te.rah.tor/	[t̪ɛ.rah.t̪ɔr]	'he fought'	1 3 3
VC.CV.CV	/en.mi.di/	[ɛn.mi.ɖi]	'eight'	1 2 7
VC.CV.CVC	/ən.tɔ: . rɛm/	[ən.tɔ: . rɛm]	'all of us'	1 5 7
VC.CVC.CV	/ɛd.sən.ta/	[ɛɾ.sən̪.t̪a]	'she cries'	3 9 9
VC.CVC.CVC	/us.man.tən/	[us.man̪.t̪ən]	'I am wiping'	3 2 1
CVC.CV.CV	/kɛr.su.ma/	[kɛr.su.ma]	'don't play'	1 5 5
CVC.CV.CVC	/kɛs.ku.mɛd/	[kɛs.ku.mɛɾ]	'be bitten'	0 7 8
CVC.CVC.CV	/bɛs.ke:ɖ.ku/	[bɛs.kɛ:ɖ.ku]	'always'	0 7 3
CVC.CVC.CVC	/sɛv.rɪtʃ̩.mɛd/	[sɛv.rɪtʃ̩.mɛd]	'to be repaired'	0 7 5
CVC.CVCC.CVC	/je:r.tung.mɛd/	[jɛ:r.t̪ung.mɛd]	'bath'	5 2 9
CVCC.CVC.CV	/tɛng.mɛr.ri/	[t̪ɛng.mɛr.ri]	'grandchild'	1 8 3
CVCC.CVC.CVC	/tɛnd̪.sən.tən/	[t̪ɛnd̪.sən̪.t̪ən]	'I draw(water from well)'	3 2 2

5.2.4 Polysyllabic words

Some of the words with four and more than four syllables are given below.

CV.CV.CVC.CV	/bə.ɡə.nən.nə/	[bə.ɡə.nən.nə]	'anywhere'	494
CVC.CV.CVC.CVC	/bɒd.sə.mən.tɒm/	[bɒd.s ^ɪ a.mən.tɒm]	'we are cookinge'	700
VC.CVC.CVC.CVC	/en.bɛj.rɒn.dʌn/	[ɛn.bɛj.rɒn.dʌn]	'in year eightytwo'	004
CV.CVC.CV.CV	/ɡə.ləm.pu.ɔːdi/	[ɡə.ləm.pu.ɔːdi]	'earth worm'	123
CV.CV.CV.CV	/hə.lə.pə.rə/	[hə.lə.pə.rə]	'enough'	053
CVC.CV.CVC.CV	/hɪl.lə.kʌn.tɪ/	[hɪl.lə.kʌn.tɪ]	'if it is not'	821
CVC.CV.CV.CV	/hʌr.viː.viː.sɪ/	[hʌr.viː.viː.sɪ]	'honey bee'	200
CV.CV.CVC.CVC	/kə.rɪː.jən.tən/	[kə.rɪː.jən.tən]	'I will learn'	225
CVC.CV.CV.CVC.CVC	/hʌ:d.se.ke.mən.tən/	[hʌ:d.se.ke.mən.tən]	'I am seeing'	249
CV.CV.CV.CVC.CV	/mɛ.ɔːzi.li.kər.su/	[mɛ.ɔːzi.li.kər.su]	'brideprice'	598
CV.CV.CV.CVC.CV.CV	/ki.jə.pə.ræn.ti.nə/	[ki.jə.pə.ræn.ti.nə]	'can(you) fix it'	401
CV.CVC.CV.CV.CVC.CVC	/kə.rɪːj.se.ke.mən.tən/	[kə.rɪːj.se.ke.mən.tən]	'I am learning'	217

5.2.5 Significant restrictions

The syllable types V and VC occur in word initial position only. They are not found in word medial and word final positions.

6 Distribution of Phonemes

6.1 Consonants

6.1.1 Word-initial consonants

All consonants occur in the word-initial position.

p	/pohtʃim/	पोहचिम	[pohtʃim]	'throw'
b	/babəl/	बाबल	[babəl]	'father'
m	/mərəmī/	मरमिं	[mərəmī]	'marriage'
v	/vəɖka/	वडका	[vəɖka]	'speak'
t	/təhtʃi/	तहचि	[təhtʃi]	'after bringing'
d	/dohəttən/	दोहत्तन	[dohəttən]	'made'
n	/navəd/	नावद	[navəd]	'mine'
s	/səllətə/	सल्लट	[səllətə]	'cold (water)'
l	/loppo/	लोप्पो	[loppo]	'in'
r	/rasa/	रासा	[rasa]	'apply (oil)'
t	/tərre/	टर	[tərre]	'call to scare (goat)'
ɖ	/ɖekkə/	डेक	[ɖekkə]	'hoof'
tʃ	/tʃinnəɣə/	चिन्नग	[tʃinnəɣə]	'small'
dʒ	/dʒadi/	जाडि	[dʒadi]	'grass'
j	/javə/	याव	[javə]	'mother'
k	/ko:ɖijad/	कोऽडियाड	[ko:ɖijaɽ]	'daughter-in- law'
g	/gudə/	गुड	[gudə]	'together'
h	/hille/	हिल्ले	[hille]	'no'

6.1.2 Word-medial consonants

All consonants occur word medially in the intervocalic position.

p	/u:puməɖ/	ऊपुमड	[u:puməɖ]	'to swing'
b	/kəbəɖ/	कबड	[kəbəɖ]	'work'
m	/kəɾsuma/	करसुमा	[kəɾsuma]	'don't play'
v	/hovɔr/	होवोर	[hovɔr]	'salt'
t	/ki:tɔm/	कीतोम	[ki:tɔm]	'we did'
d	/bəɖu/	बडु	[bəɖu]	'who (non masc)'
n	/mənəkɔm/	मनकोम	[mənəkɔm]	'we stay'
s	/usuma/	उसुमा	[usuma]	'erase (imp)'
l	/pilalku/	पिलाल्कु	[pilalku]	'children'
r	/pɔrɔ/	पोरो	[pɔrɔ]	'above'
t	/momo:tɔ/	मोमोऽटु	[momo:tɔ]	'we'
ɖ	/dʒaɖi/	जाडि	[dʒaɖi]	'grass'
tʃ	/itʃɔrɛ/	इचोरे	[itʃɔrɛ]	'only this much'
ɖʒ	/vedidʒu/	वेडिजु	[vedidʒu]	'bear'
j	/tirija/	तिरिया	[tirija]	'turn'
k	/ki:kɔ:m/	कीकोऽम	[ki:kɔ:m]	'let us do'
g	/pɛ:gidɪ/	पेऽगिडि	[pɛ:gidɪ]	'girl child'
h	/nəhagə/	नहाग	[nəhagə]	'with me'

6.1.3 Word-final consonants

Consonants /m/, /d/, /n/, /l/, /r/, /t/, /d/, /j/, /k/ occur as single segments word finally.

m	/dumərəm/	दुमारम	[d̪umərəm]	'wind'
d	/pəɖənəd/	पडनद	[pəɖənəd̪]	'old'
n	/atən/	आतन	[at̪ən]	'I became'
l	/porol/	पोरोल	[porol]	'name'
r	/bo:r/	बोर	[bo:r]	'anyone'
t	/hi:kət/	हीकट	[hi:kət]	'darkness'
d̪	/kəskuməd̪/	कस्कुमड	[kəskuməd̪]	'to be bitten (dog)'
j	/kundəkəj/	कुंडकय	[kundəkəj]	'elbow'
k	/pe:dek/	पेडेक	[pe:dek]	'seeds'

6.2 Consonant Clusters

There are no word initial consonant clusters but clusters are found word medially and word finally.

6.2.1 Word-medial consonant clusters

	p	b	m	v	t	d	n	s	l	r	ʈ	ɖ	tʃ	dʒ	j	k	g	h
p	7							1										
b		3																
m	1		12		2													
v				5						1								
t					28					2						3		
d						13												
n			8		104	9	30			7	21	6	14		10	17		
s			8	1	6			2								12		
l	2								13							10		
r	2		4	3	6	1		9		9						14		
ʈ			3					1			9					2		
ɖ	1		3		1	3	1	15				8					2	
tʃ									1							1		
dʒ																		
j			4					27							9	3		1
k			9		1			7	1							12		
g																	9	
h														8		15		

Examples of word medial consonant clusters are given below. Out of the word list of 850 words that the authors had collected, only those clusters that were found more than 10 times are being included here.

mm	/gummi/	गुम्मि	[gummi]	'bamboo basket (for paddy)'
tt	/mætte/	मत्ते	[mæt̪t̪ɛ]	'after being'
dd	/peddi/	पेद्दि	[pɛd̪d̪i]	'mother's elder sister'
nt	/no:rsantən/	नोऽरसांतन	[no:rsant̪n]	'I am pounding'
nn	/honnu/	होनु	[hɔnnu]	'go'
nd	/pəndi/	पंडि	[pənd̪i]	'fruit'
nd̪i	/vənd̪i/	वंजि	[vənd̪i]	'paddy'
nk	/barinku/	बारिंकु	[bariŋku]	'why'
ng	/ho:ngu/	होऽगु	[ho:ŋgu]	'anger'
sk	/mesku/	मेस्कु	[mesku]	'egg'
ll	/hille/	हिल्ले	[hillɛ]	'no'
lk	/po:gulke/	पोऽगुल्के	[po:ɣulke]	'ear ring'
rk	/ku:rkə/	कूरक	[ku:rkə]	'sleep'
ɖs	/hɔɖsa/	होडसा	[hɔɖsa]	'leave it'
js	/kojsi/	कोयसि	[kojsi]	'after cutting'
kk	/ləkku/	लक्कु	[ləkku]	'distance/far'
hk	/dako:m/	दाकोऽम	[ɖako:m]	'let us go'

6.2.2 Word-final consonant clusters

Only one cluster - /hk/ is found word finally.

hk	/təlahk/	तलाहक	[t̪ələhk]	'pregnant (with respect)'
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6.3 Vowels

All vowels occur in open and closed syllables. Exceptions are the nasalised vowels which do not occur word initially.

7 Practical Alphabet

Regarding the practical alphabet that should be used to write Southern Gondi, few matters need to be taken into consideration.

The Southern Gonds are spread over in two states - Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh. In Maharashtra, Marathi is being promoted using the Devanagri script. In Andhra Pradesh, the medium used is Telugu, which uses the Telugu script. It means that two alphabets 'Devanagri' and 'Telugu' need to be used so as to reach all the Gonds living in the two states.

The Gonds have also developed a script of their own and are trying to promote it among themselves. They seem to be happy about it. So the third option of using the Gondi script to write their language can also be considered

In this paper Devanagri and Telugu scripts are being assigned to write Gondi.

7.1 Devanagari Script

Devanagari script assigned to each phoneme for the sake of Gondi spoken in Maharashtra is as shown in the table below.

7.1.1 Consonants

The Devanagari script character assigned to each consonant phoneme as follows.

p प	t त	t ट	t̪ च	k क
b ब	d द	d̪ ड	d̪ʒ ज	g ग
m म	n न			
v व	s स			h ह
	l ल			
	r र	.		
			j य	

The Devanagari script character assigned to each vowel phoneme as follows.

i इ	i: ई	ī इं	u उ	u: ऊ	ū उं
e ए	e: एऽ	ē एं	o ओ	o: ओऽ	ō ओं
		ə अ			
		a आ			ā आं

7.2 Telugu script

Telugu script assigned to each phoneme for the Gondi speakers in Andhra Pradesh is as shown below.

7.2.1 Consonants

The Telugu script character assigned to each consonant phoneme as follows

p ప	t త	t̪ ట	tʃ చ	k క
b బ	d ద	d̪ డ	dʒ జ	g గ
m మ	n న			
v వ	s స			h హ
	l ల			
	r ర			
			j య	

The Telugu script character assigned to each vowel phoneme as follows

i ఇ	i: ఈ	ī ఇం	u ఉ	u: ఊ	ū ఉం
e ఎ	e: ఏ	ē ఎం	o ఒ	o: ఓ	ō ఒం
		ə అ			
		a ఆ	ã	అం	

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