



# LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

## SPECIAL STUDIES

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### DADRA AND NAGAR HAVELI

GENERAL DIRECTION

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REGISTRAR GENERAL & CENSUS COMMISSIONER, INDIA

GENERAL SUPERVISION  
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INVESTIGATION & REPORT  
DR. M. K. KOUL &  
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LANGUAGE DIVISION  
OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR GENERAL, INDIA

**LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA  
SPECIAL STUDIES**



सत्यमेव जयते

FOREWORD  
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INDIAN ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE  
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&  
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HAVELI**

**LANGUAGE DIVISION  
OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR  
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KOLKATA  
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## Foreword

I feel immense pleasure in presenting this second volume on Linguistic Survey of India—Dadra & Nagar Haveli (Special Study Series) after the publication of L.S.I. volume – Orissa, This, infact, is the part of our continuous presentation of Language profile of the country – state by state. Our third volume on the State of Sikkim is in the line. Like wise, the volumes on several other states are under preparation and would come out in due course of time.

The present volume deals with the linguistic situation of Dadra & Nagar Haveli in its entirety, imbibing the features, facts and realities established through earlier researches made on Varli, the most tricklish and complex language of this union territory of Dadra and Nagar Haveli, spoken by the most heterogenous tribe. Language Division of the Registrar General India, Kolkata had been assiduously pursuing the studies on Varli since May – June 1969 first of all, for a suitable and widely acceptable classification in tune with the Census tradition of India. This complex issue of classification of Varli was finally decided by putting Varli under Bhili on the strength of an extensive and indepth research work, from all possible linguistic as well as socio-linguistic angles, carried out by Dr. M.R. Ranganatha, the then Linguist of Language Division. This commendable work was published in 1976 as series 1 Language Monograph 1961 Series as Survey of Varli in Dadra & Nagar Haveli, Census of India 1971, Monograph No. 6.

Further, during 1988, Varli was studied under L.S.I. scheme by Dr. M.K. Koul, the then researcher in Language Division, who prepared a structural Grammar of Varli. Finally, in the year 2000, Dr. Ranjita Pattanaik, the Linguist of Language Division was assigned the job for updating the information and data by a fresh investigation with a view to presenting an over all view of the Linguistic Situation of Dadra & Nagar Haveli, the Union territory of India. This present compendium would, undoubtedly be useful for educational planning by the local administration as well as provide further insights for future researchers.

I offer my thanks to Dr. B.P. Mahapatra, Ex-Deputy Registrar General (L) who had intimate the survey work and Shri S.S. Bhattacharya, SRO(L) for his continued supervision and completion of the work. My thanks are due to Dr. S.P. Datta, R.O(L) also for his painstaking scrutiny work and improvement of the write up. The researchers of Language Division engaged in this project deserve my thanks in their own right for their dedicated work.

**J. K. BANTHIA**  
Registrar General &  
Census Commissioner of India

## PREFACE

The present volume is the study of language situation in the Union Territory of Dadra Nagar Haveli under the Linguistic Survey of India Scheme launched afresh after about one hundred years of Sir George Abraham Grierson's monumental Survey of Indian languages. The sole objective was to present an up-to-dated picture of language situation, taking accounts for the changes in our society as well as in our language resources, thereby making it imperative on the part of the linguists to see what changes have taken place in Indian languages after Grierson's study and also to provide the necessary inputs to the educational planners in the respective states for their planning for perceptibly effective outcomes pertinent to their envisaged goals. Indeed languages as vehicle of thoughts acquire social and cultural significance and many a time become the symbol of social and cultural identities. The majority population of the Union Territory of Dadra Nagar Haveli speak Varli the most prominent form of speech of the widely dispersed heterogeneous tribe. For the first time, a very comprehensive study on Varli is presented with wider coverage of their spread, varieties, and their present actual status. Actually in this regions Marathi and Gujarati have been playing very important roles as the languages of contact and languages of education and media of inter-group communication. In other words these two languages viz. Marathi & Gujarati are superposed varieties for these tribal languages like Varli and others, in the Dadra and Nagar Haveli.

This volume contains—1. Introduction covering the history of the Union Territory and its people, their linguistic composition, ethnicity and sociolinguistic information etc. 2. A Grammar of Varli speech consisting of (a) Phonology and an exhaustive comparative vocabulary list. Five maps depicting the Union Territory with administrative units and villages, major languages and dialectal differences of Varli also have been provided. This grammatical description of Varli will hopefully cater to the needs of different section of populace for their different purposes in education, mass media etc. The institution like Central Institute of Indian languages, Mysore have already produced primers for basic education for the illiterates.

The Sociolinguistic descriptions included in the Survey in general, give a glimpse of the dynamics of the sociolinguistic situation as found in Dadra & Nagar Haveli. Moreover, the description of the bi-lingual situation (in Tabular forms) prevailing in the Union Territory throw some light on the linguistic mobility of the people especially the tribal communities inhabiting this Union Territory. It may be pertinent to mention here that two sets of data have been presented one

for language and other for mother tongue. So far as the statistical and geographical data are concerned in the census, the dichotomy language / mother tongue is co-terminus and as such both mother tongue data which is exclusive and language data which is inclusive of its variants are shown.

In this survey a questionnaire containing the exhaustive word list, sentence list and story specifically developed by Language Division for this linguistic Survey of India Scheme was canvassed here in this Union Territory of Dadra & Nagar Haveli.

The survey was initiated by Dr. B.P. Mahapatra Ex-Deputy Registrar General (language) in year 1988 and following his retirement in January 1997 the work was taken over by Shri S.S.Bhattacharya, Senior Research Officer (language) for finalisation of the volume.

The reports on the survey were finalized with the constant help and encouragement and under the directions of the Registrar Generals who joined the organization successively. Shri P.Padmanava was the initiator of the project and Shri V.S.Verma, Shri A.R.Nanda, Dr. M.Vijayaunni patronized the scheme. Shri Jayant Kumar Banthia the present Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India has been a regular source of inspiration and because of his constant monitoring this volume on Dadra & Nagar Haveli has taken the final shape. Shri B.Mallik, Joint Registrar General, Shri R.G.Mitra Deputy Registrar General (C&T) encouraged constantly and their interest in this work is duly acknowledged.

The collection of data on the language spoken in Dadra & Nagar Haveli would not have been possible without kind co-operation and help from the administration of the Union Territory of Dadra & Nagar Haveli and the Directorate of Census Operation of Gujarat.

The informants extended their co-operation in providing copious data. We constantly received co-operation and encouragement from the Director and other officials of the Directorate of Census Operation, West Bengal and we express our sincere sense of gratitude to them.

The co-operation and understanding that we received from the members of staff of Language Division during the survey, writing of reports & finalization of the volume need special mention. Dr. S.P. Datta, Research Officer(L), who is the chief co-ordinator for L.S.I. scheme, and Sri. S.P. Ahirwal, SRO(L) have taken all the pains in scrutinizing the data and the report for its improvement. Dr. S.P.Srivastava, Research Officer (language) who went through the manuscript has tried his best to improve the write up by his valuable suggestions and Dr. Sibasis Mukherjee, Investigator (L) extended his time to time help to him regarding this.

The contribution made by Dr. R.P.Singh, Deputy Registrar General, Map and his colleagues in Map Division for drawing the map is duly acknowledged. Further

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The finalization & completion of this volume couldn't have been possible without the sincere & dedicated efforts of Shri Bibhas Kanti Hira, DEO Grade (B) of DCO, West Bengal. He deserves our sincere thanks in his own right.

List of A  
C  
V

List of

V: l  
~ n  
V  
[] p  
D v  
E l  
N r  
T v  
O l

MAPS

1. Da  
199  
2. Dis  
3. Sch  
4. Dis  
5. D  
te

## ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

### List of Abbreviations :

C	Consonant	Sg.	Singular
V	Vowel	Pl.	Plural

### List of Symbol Used:

V:	long vowel	V	vowel – short – long
~	nasalised vowel	/	phonemic representation
[ ]	phonetic representation	A	high mid central vowel
D	voiced reroetroflex	Dh	voiced retroflex aspirated
E	low mid front vowel	iu	lax high front high back vowel lateral retroflex
N	retroflex nasal	s	voiceless dental fricative
T	voiceless retroflex	Th	voiceless retroflex aspirated
O	low – mid back vowel	R	retroflex flap
		Rh	retroflex flap aspirated
		M	velar nasal
		S	voiceless palatal fricative

### MAPS AND FACING PAGES

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Shri Selvin Anand	Research Officer (L)
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## REFERENCES

### Comparative Vocabulary List

Davar Varli

Dungar Varli

Dhodia

Kokna / Kokni / Kukna

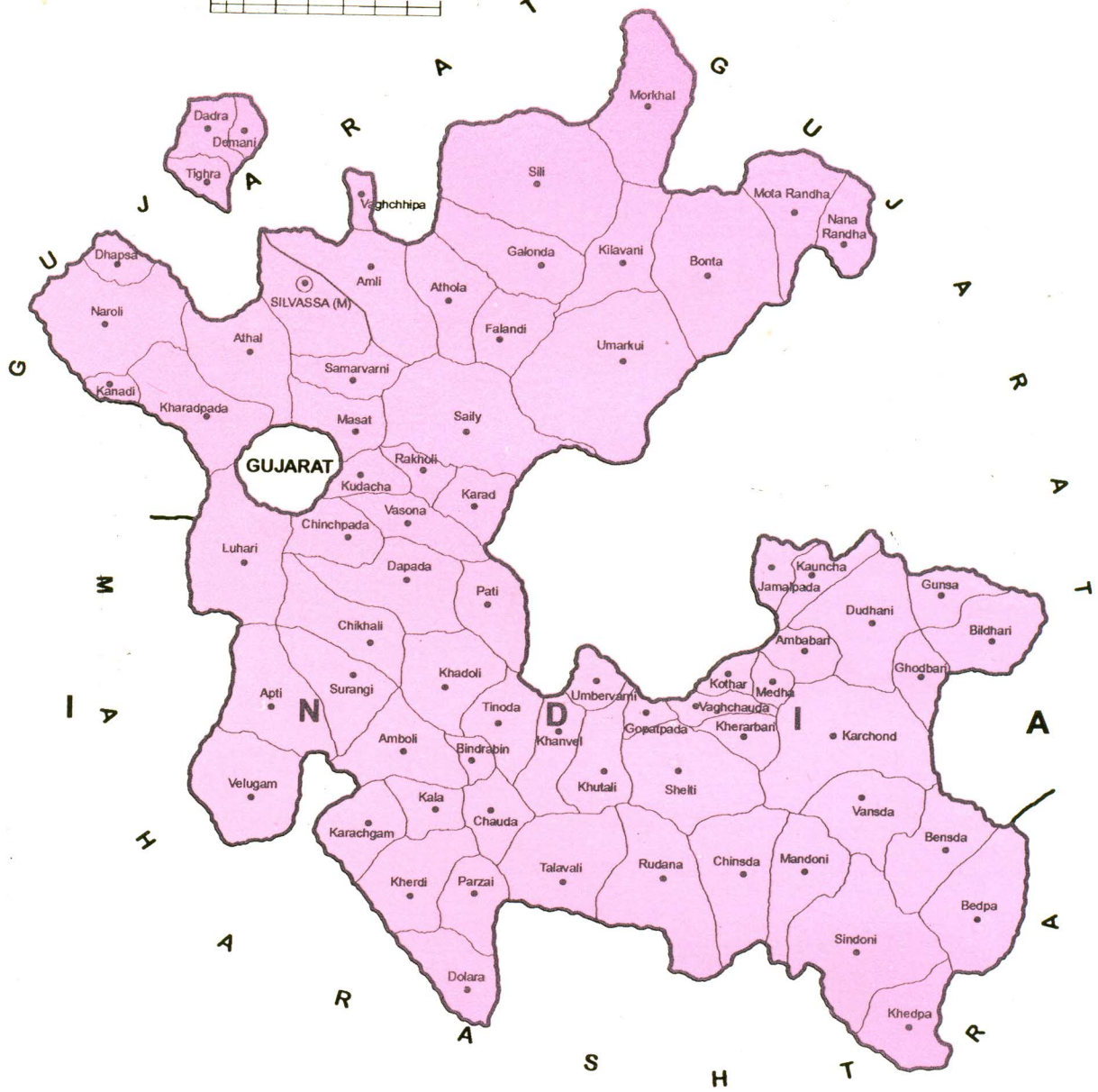
Gujarati

Marathi

Map 1

**DADRA AND NAGAR HAVELI  
ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS  
1991**

BOUNDARIES:  
STATE/UNION TERRITORY.....  
VILLAGE .....



HEADQUARTERS, UNION TERRITORY.....  
" " VILLAGE .....

Based upon Survey of India Map with the permission of the Surveyor General of India.

## INTRODUCTION

The Union Territory of Dadra and Nagar Haveli is situated on the Western Coast of India. The Territory is surrounded by Valsad district of Gujarat on the West, North and East and Thane district of Maharashtra on the South and South East.

Dadra and Nagar Haveli came under Portuguese rule in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century and remained under their control for nearly 170 years. In fact under the treaty of Poona, Nagar Haveli was gifted to the Portuguese in 1783 and Dadra was ceded to them by a treaty in 1785. Before it was ceded to the Portuguese Dadra and Nagar Haveli was part of the then Dharampur State under the Marathas. Dadra was liberated on 22<sup>nd</sup> July 1954 while Nagar Haveli was liberated on 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1954 and both were brought under Free Dadra and Nagar Haveli Administration till it was merged with the Indian Union on 11<sup>th</sup> August 1961. The first elected Administrative – cum-Legislative Council of Dadra and Nagar Haveli unanimously resolved for merger with the Indian Union on June, 1961 and finally Dadra and Nagar Haveli was integrated with the Union of India on August 11, 1961. Subsequently, after being integrated with the Union of India Dadra and Nagar Haveli was declared as a separate Union Territory with Administrator of Goa, Daman and Diu as the Administrative head. The Territory comprises two pockets namely Dadra with 3 villages and Nagar Haveli with 68 villages and one town Silvassa, the headquarter of the Union Territory, which is located between Bombay and Surat and is being linked with National Highway No. 8, situated about fifteen kilometers of Vapi railway station in Gujarat. The Union Territory is bounded by Umargaon taluka of Valsad District of Gujarat and Dahanu or Dahanu taluka of Thane district of Maharashtra on the West,

Pardi and Dharampur talukas of Valsad district on the North, Dahanu taluka of Thane district on the south and Dharampur taluka of Valsad district and Jawhar taluka of Thane district on the east. The landscape of Dadra is an extension of the green plains of South Gujarat while the area of Nagar Haveli is a hilly terrain and is surrounded by the range of Sahyadri mountain of the Western Ghat.

### **The Communities, their ethnic composition and their Speeches:**

There are 14 major communities spread all over the Union Territory of Dadra and Nagar Haveli. These are Agri, Bharwad, Chamar, Dhodia, Dubla, Kahar, Kapadia, Kathodi, Kokna, Koli Dhar, Makrana, Mauri Rajput, Parsi and Varli.

Traditionally, the people follow the life and culture of Gujarat and ancient Konkan region. More than 75% of the total population consists of the tribals. The economic, social and cultural affinities of the inhabitants are at par with those of adjacent and contiguous Gujarat and Maharashtra bordering areas. As a result, both socially and economically, they are in no way different from their brethren of Gujarat and Maharashtra.

The ethnic composition of Dadra and Nagar Haveli comprises of Hindus (Viz. the Mauri Rajput, Kahar, Kapadia, Agri, Bharwad, Chamar) the colourful tribals (Viz. Varli, Kokna, Kathodi, Dhodia, Dubla, Koli Dhar, the Parsi, the Khoja, the Makrana) and the Catholic Christians. The Varli, Kokna, Koli Dhar are said to be the original inhabitants of the Territory before the Sisodias conquered the region. The Christians settled down after



Portuguese occupied the Territory and only a few Christian landlord continued to live in their settlements even after the fall of Dadra and Nagar Haveli.

As regards different tribal speeches of U.T., 'The people of India,' Vol. VIII mentions as "The dialect spoken by the various tribals within the community members are Dhodi by the Dhodias, Dubli by the Dublas, Kathodi by the kathodis, Kokni by the Koknas and Koli Dhars. Davar and Dungar Valis speak Varli with the influence of Gujarati and Marathi and Chamari by the Chamars. The Makranas speak Makrani which is similar to Baluchi. The Christians speak Portuguese. The Major scripts used are Gujarati, Roman, Devanagari and Arbi. The non – tribals are also conversant with Hindi and English".

The language – profile prepared on the basis of the mother tongue returns of 1991 Census of India, is presented in tabular forms. The bilingualism i.e., the first subsidiary language return in Census and trilingualism, the second subsidiary language return in Census are also presented. It also includes the mother tongue, bilingualism trilingualism of the scheduled tribe communities of U.T.

**LANGUAGES OF THE UNION TERRITORY  
(IN 1991 Census)**

LANGUAGES	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE TO STATE TOTAL POPULATION
1. BHILI/BHILODI	76,207	55.03
2. GUJARATI	30,346	21.91
3. KONKANI	17,062	12.32
4. HINDI	6,992	5.05
5. MARATHI	4,936	3.56
6. MALAYALAM	803	0.58
7. KANNADA	521	0.38
8. TAMIL	199	0.14
9. URDU	198	0.14
10. BENGALI	145	0.11
11. SINDHI	122	0.09
12. TELUGU	112	0.08
13. ORIYA	80	0.06
14. NEPALI	78	0.06
15. KHANDESHI	61	0.04
16. ENGLISH	55	0.04
17. DOGRI	7	0.01
18. MANIPURI	5	0
19. ARABIC/ARBI	2	0
20. KURUKH/ORAOON	1	0
21. TULU	1	0
TOTAL OF OTHER LANGUAGES	514	0.37
ALL LANGUAGES TOTAL	1,38,477	100.00

**MOTHER TONGUES OF THE UNION TERRITORY  
(IN 1991 CENSUS)**

MOTHER TONGUE	TOTAL	PERCENT TO STATE TOTAL POPULATION
1. VARLI	67,678	48.87
2. GUJARATI	30,346	21.91
3. KONKANI	17,062	12.32
4. DHODIA	6,430	4.64
5. HINDI	6,338	4.58
6. MARATHI	4,032	2.91
7. MALAYALAM	776	0.56
8. KANNADA	511	0.37
9. MARWARI	234	0.17
10. TAMIL	199	0.14
11. URDU	194	0.14
12. BENGALI	145	0.11
13. BHOJPURI	132	0.10
14. TELUGU	108	0.08
15. KACHCHHI	82	0.06
16. ORIYA	80	0.06
17. NEPALI	78	0.06
18. RAJASTHANI	70	0.05
19. KOKNA/KOKNI/KUKNA	55	0.04
20. ENGLISH	55	0.04
21. SINDHI	37	0.03
22. MAITHILI	32	0.02
23. AHIRANI	32	0.02
24. PUNJABI	30	0.02
25. KHANDESHI	29	0.02
26. WAGDI	11	0.01
27. DOGRI	7	0.01
28. MANIPURI	5	0.00
29. VADARI	4	0.00
30. ARABIC/ARBI	2	0.00
31. MALVI	2	0.00
32. TULU	1	0.00
33. KUMAUNI	1	0.00
34. HARYANVI	1	0.00
35. BAGHELI/BAGHEL KHANDI	1	0.00
TOTAL OF OTHER MOTHER TONGUES	3,677	2.66
ALL MOTHER TONGUES TOTAL	1,38,477	100.00

### BILINGUALISM - 1991

SL. NO.	LANGUAGE	BILINGUALISM		TRILINGUALISM	
		STRENGTH	FIRST SUBSIDIARY LANGUAGE	STRENGTH	SECOND SUBSIDIARY LANGUAGE
1	ARABIC/ARBI	2	1.HINDI	2	1.URDU
2	BENGALI	145	1.ENGLISH	25	1.HINDI
			2.GUJARATI	7	1.HINDI
			3.HINDI	80	1.ENGLISH
					2.GUJARATI
					3.MARATHI
				1	1.HINDI
3	BHILI/BHILODI	76,207	4.MARATHI	25,855	1.HINDI
			1. GUJARATI		2.MARATHI
				376	
			2.HINDI	5,325	1.GUJARATI
			3.MARATHI	2	1. HINDI
4	DOGRI	7	1.ENGLISH	3	1.ENGLISH
			2.HINDI	14	1.HINDI
5	ENGLISH	55	1.GUJARATI	21	1.GUJARATI
			2.HINDI		2.MARATHI
					3.OTHER LANGUAGES
			3.OTHER LANGUAGES	1	1.HINDI
6	GUJARATI	30,346	1.ENGLISH	763	1.HINDI
			2.HINDI	10,537	1.ENGLISH
					2.MARATHI
			3.MARATHI	303	
7	HINDI	6,992	1.ENGLISH	845	1.GUJARATI
			2.GUJARATI		2.MARATHI
				1,841	1.ENGLISH
					2.MARATHI
			3.MARATHI	70	
			4.URDU	47	
8	KANNADA	521	1.ENGLISH	91	1.GUJARATI
			2.GUJARATI		2.HINDI
				20	1.ENGLISH
			3.HINDI		2.HINDI
				228	1.ENGLISH
					2.GUJARATI
					3.MARATHI
					4.TELUGU
			4.MARATHI	5	1.HINDI
			5.TAMIL	2	1.HINDI
			6.TELUGU	2	1.MARATHI
9	KHANDESHI	61	1.ENGLISH	3	1.HINDI
			2.GUJARATI	14	1.HINDI
			3.HINDI		1.ENGLISH
				13	1.ENGLISH
					2.GUJARATI
					3.MARATHI
			4.MARATHI	2	1.GUJARATI
10	KONKANI	17,062	1.GUJARATI	11,731	1.HINDI
					2.MARATHI
11	KURUKH/ORAOON	1	-		191
12	MALAYALAM	803	1.ENGLISH		1.GUJARATI
			2.GUJARATI		2.HINDI
			3.HINDI		1.HINDI
				412	1.ENGLISH
					2.GUJARATI
13	MANIPURI	5	-		-

### BILINGUALISM - 1991

SL. NO.	LANGUAGE	STRENGTH	FIRST SUBSIDIARY LANGUAGE	STRENGTH	SECOND SUBSIDIARY LANGUAGE	STRENGTH
14	MARATHI	4,936	1.BHILI/BHILODI	49	-	-
			2.ENGLISH	104	1.HINDI	77
			3.GUJARATI	1,244	1.ENGLISH	55
					2.HINDI	531
			4.HINDI	1,211	1.ENGLISH	334
					2.GUJARATI	328
15	NEPALI	78	1.ENGLISH	2	1.HINDI	1
			2.GUJARATI	2	1.HINDI	2
			3.HINDI	48	1.ASSAMESE	1
					2.ENGLISH	1
					3.GUJARATI	4
					4.MARATHI	2
			4.MARATHI	1	1.GUJARATI	1
16	ORIIYA	80	1.ENGLISH	7	1.HINDI	7
			2.GUJARATI	3	1.ENGLISH	1
					2.HINDI	1
					3.MARATHI	1
			3.HINDI	52	1.ENGLISH	9
					2.GUJARATI	4
					3.TELUGU	1
17	PUNJABI	30	1.ENGLISH	5	1.HINDI	5
			2.GUJARATI	4	1.HINDI	1
			3.HINDI	19	1.ENGLISH	13
					2.GUJARATI	3
					3.MARATHI	1
18	SINDHI	122	1.ENGLISH	13	1.GUJARATI	5
					2.HINDI	7
			2.GUJARATI	47	1.ENGLISH	3
					2.HINDI	27
					3.MARATHI	3
			3.HINDI	33	1.ENGLISH	17
					2.GUJARATI	7
					3.MARATHI	2
			4.MARATHI	1	1.HINDI	1
			5.OTHER LANGUAGE		1.HINDI	1
19	TAMIL	199	1.ENGLISH	24	1.GUJARATI	2
					2.HINDI	15
			2.GUJARATI	11	1.ENGLISH	1
					2.HINDI	7
			3.HINDI	92	1.ENGLISH	32
					2.GUJARATI	12
					3.KANNADA	1
					4.MARATHI	5
			4.MARATHI	3	1.HINDI	3
			5.TELUGU	2	1.HINDI	2
20	TELUGU	1,131	1.ENGLISH	467	1.HINDI	389
					2.PUNJABI	11
					3.TAMIL	5
			2.HINDI	350	1.ENGLISH	251
					2.KANNADA	5
					3.PUNJABI	6
					4.TAMIL	5
			3.KANNADA	6	-	
			4.ORIYA	5	-	
21	TULU	1	1.HINDI	1	-	

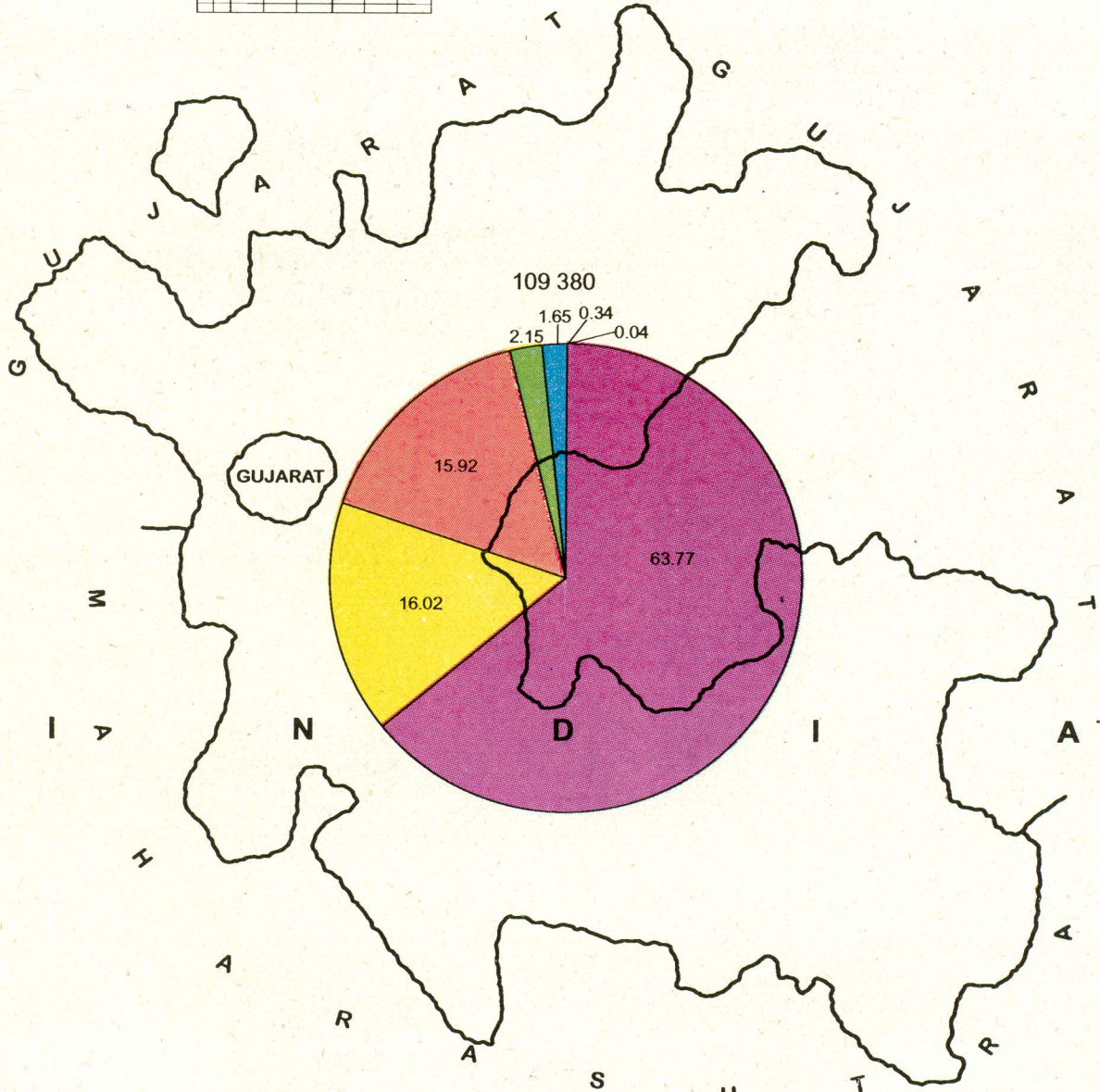
### BILINGUALISM - 1991

SL. NO.	LANGUAGE	STRENGTH	FIRST SUBSIDIARY LANGUAGE	STRENGTH	SECOND SUBSIDIARY LANGUAGE	STRENGTH		
22	URDU	198	1.ARABIC/ARBI	5	1.BENGALI	3		
			2.ENGLISH	12	1.GUJARATI	1		
					2.HINDI	10		
			3.GUJARATI	46	1.ENGLISH	1		
					2.HINDI	15		
					3.MARATHI	3		
			4.HINDI	82	1.ARABIC/ARBI	2		
					2.ENGLISH	15		
					3.GUJARATI	13		
					4.MARATHI	2		
					5.ORIYA	1		
					6.TAMIL	2		
		5.KANNADA	1	1.HINDI	1			
		6.MARATHI	3	1.HINDI	3			
23	OTHER LANGUAGES	514	1.BHILI/BHILODI	3	-			
			2.ENGLISH	106	1.GUJARATI	3		
			3.GUJARATI	137	1.ENGLISH	36		
					2.HINDI	39		
					3.MARATHI	3		
			4.HINDI	152	1.ENGLISH	84		
					2.GUJARATI	31		
					3.MARATHI	3		
					5.MARATHI	9	1.HINDI	3








Map 3

DADRA AND NAGAR HAVELI  
SCHEDULED TRIBE POPULATION  
1991

STATE/UNION TERRITORY.....



SCHEDULED TRIBES

	VARLI	( 63.77 % )		KOLI DHOR (including Kolgha)	( 1.65 % )
	DHODIA	( 16.02 % )		KATHODI	( 0.34 % )
	KOKNA	( 15.92 % )		NAIKDA OR NAYAKA	( 0.04 % )
	DUBLA (including Halpati)	( 2.15 % )			

Figures at the top of the circle represent total Scheduled Tribes while within /against the sectors represents percentage value.

## Mother Tongue of the Scheduled Tribes as per 1991 Census

The Scheduled Tribes of Dadra and Nagar Haveli (Viz. Dhodia, Dubla including Halpati, Kathodi, Kokna, Koli Dhar including Kolgha, Naikda or Nayaka and Varli) speaking altogether 13 languages as their mother tongues comprised of 1,09,380 speakers in 1991 census. Their language-wise break-ups are presented below :

1. Bengali	2
2. Bhili/Bhilodi	89,014
3. Gujarati	18,625
4. Hindi	48
5. Kannada	1
6. Khandeshi	2
7. Konkani	13
8. Malayalam	1
9. Marathi	1,615
10. Punjabi	2
11. Sindhi	2
12. Urdu	9
13. Others	46

Tribe-wise picture speaking different languages as mother tongue in 1991 Census :

### 1. Dhodia Tribe :

The Dhodia tribe of Dadra and Nagar Haveli recorded altogether 7 languages as their mother tongues in 1991 census and their speakers strength is 17,518. The speakers are distributed as follows :

1. Bhili / Bhilodi	-	8,630
2. Gujarati	-	8,845
3. Hindi	-	14
4. Malayalam	-	1
5. Marathi	-	20
6. Punjabi	-	2
7. Others	-	6

### 2. Dubla including Halpati Tribe :

The Dubla tribe (including Halpati) of Dadra and Nagar Haveli recorded six languages as their mother tongues in 1991 census and their total speakers strength is 2352. The language-wise



speakers strength of the Dubla tribe including Halpati are the following :

1. Bengali	-	1
2. Bhili/Bhilodi	-	16
3. Gujarati	-	2327
4. Hindi	-	6
5. Marathi	-	1
6. Others	-	1

### 3. Kathodi Tribe :

The Kathodi Tribe of Dadra and Nagar Haveli returned altogether 4 languages as their mother tongues in 1991 census and their total number of speakers is 372. The language – wise speakers strength of the Kathodis are as follows :

1. Bhili / Bhilodi	-	63
2. Gujarati	-	37
3. Marathi	-	272

### 4. Kokna Tribe :

The Kokna tribe of Dadra and Nagar Haveli returned altogether 6 languages as their mother tongues in 1991 census and their total number of speakers is 17,415 and their individual language-wise break-ups are as follows :

1. Bengali	-	1
2. Bhili / Bhilidi	-	16,754
3. Gujarati	-	430
4. Kokani	-	12
5. Marathi	-	207
6. Others	-	11

### 5. Koli Dhar Tribe including Kolgha :

The Koli Dhar tribe of Dadra and Nagar Haveli recorded altogether 5 languages as their mother tongues in 1991 census and their total number of speakers is 1802 and their language-wise break-ups are given below :

1. Bhili/Bhilodi	-	1036
2. Gujarati	-	64
3. Hindi	-	2
4. Marathi	-	699
5. Others	-	1

#### 6. Naikda or Nayaka Tribe :

The Naikda or Nayaka tribe of Dadra and Nagar Haveli returned altogether 3 languages as their mother tongues in 1991 census and their total number of speakers is 49. The language-wise break-ups of the Naikda or Nayaka tribe are as under :

1. Bhili / Bhilodi	-	1
2. Gujarati	-	29
3. Marathi	-	19

#### 7. Varli Tribe :

The Varli tribe of Dadra and Nagar Haveli returned altogether 6 languages as their mother tongues in 1991 census and their total number of speakers is 69,756 and their language-wise break-ups are as the following :

1. Bhili / Bhilodi	-	62,473
2. Gujarati	-	6,840
3. Hindi	-	14
4. Marathi	-	393
5. Urdu	-	9
6. Others	-	27

### **Bilingualism among the scheduled tribes in 1991 Census**

The Scheduled Tribes of Dadra and Nagar Haveli numbering 7 speak altogether 13 different languages as their mother tongues comprised of 1,09,380 speakers. These mother tongue speakers are significantly monolingual (61,750) and are comparatively less bilingual (including trilingual). Below are presented the details of the languages in which they are bilinguals and trilinguals alongwith their break-ups.

**Mother Tongue, Bilingualism and Trilingualism of the Scheduled Tribe**

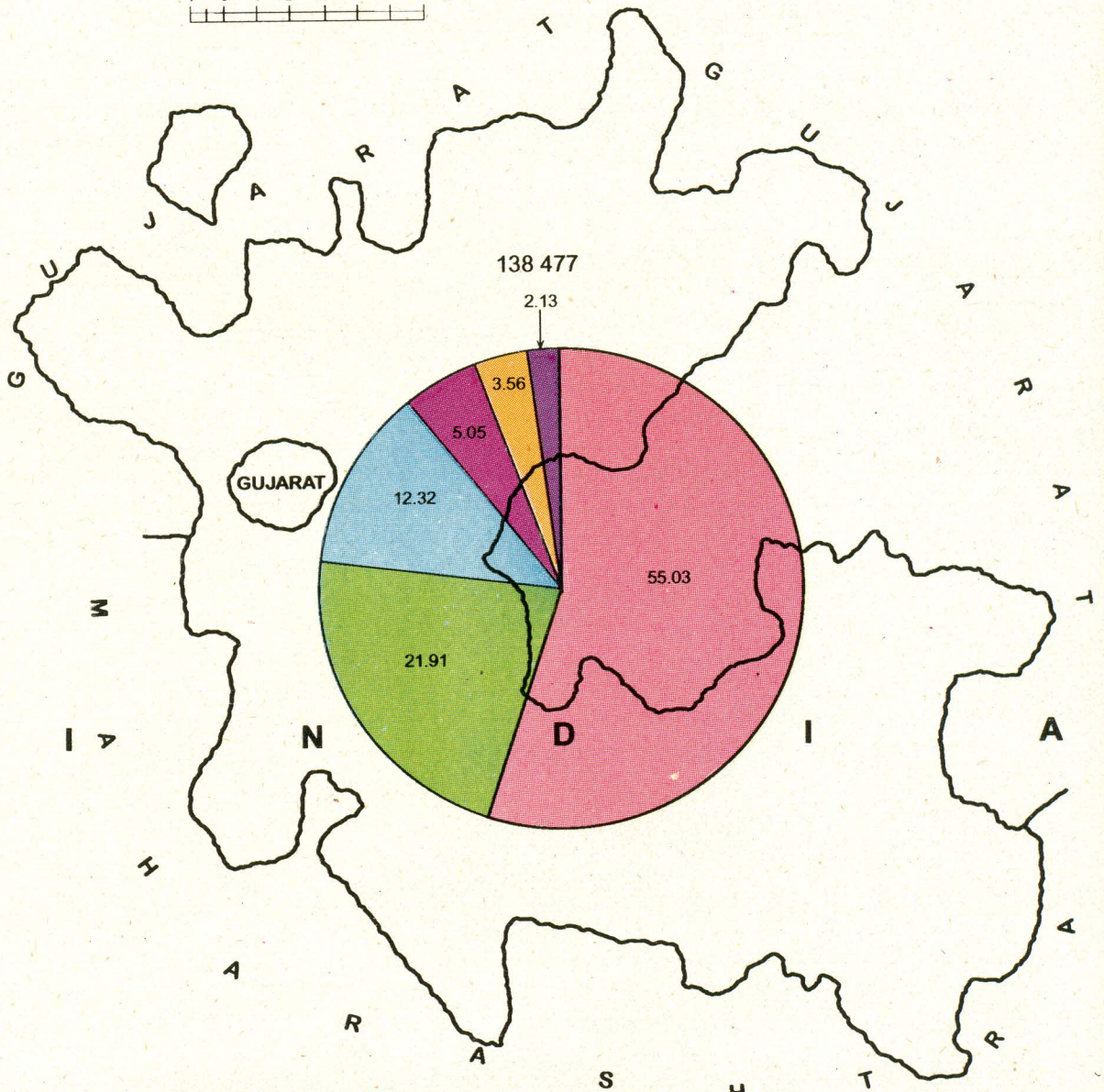
ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES TOTAL	109380	BILINGUALS (INCLUDING TRILINGUALS)	47530
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NAME OF THE SCHEDULE TRIBE	LANGUAGES	SPEAKERS STRENGTH	STRENGTH OF BILINGUALS (INCLUDING TRILINGUALS)
DHODIA	BHILI/BHILODI	8630	6249
	GUJARATI	8845	2883
	HINDI	14	6
	MALAYALAM	1	1
	MARATHI	20	18
	PUNJABI	2	2
	OTHERS	6	5
DUBLA (INCLUDING HALPATI)	BENGALI	1	1
	BHILI/BHILODI	16	10
	GUJARATI	2327	434
	HINDI	6	2
	MARATHI	1	1
	OTHERS	1	0
KATHODI	BHILI/BHILODI	63	4
	GUJARATI	37	4
	MARATHI	272	100
KOKNA	BENGALI	1	1
	BHILI/BHILODI	16754	6038
	GUJARATI	430	163
	KONKANI	12	9
	MARATHI	207	117
KOLI DHAR (INCLUDING KOLGHA)	BHILI/BHILODI	1036	408
	GUJARATI	64	9
	HINDI	2	0
	MARATHI	699	136
	OTHERS	1	0
NAIKDA OR NAYAKA	BHILI/BHILODI	1	0
	GUJARATI	29	7
	MARATHI	19	18
VARLI	BHILI/BHILODI	62473	29818
	GUJARATI	6840	732
	HINDI	14	6
	MARATHI	393	273
	URDU	9	6
	OTHERS	27	11

Map 2

DADRA AND NAGAR HAVELI  
MAJOR LANGUAGES  
1991

STATE/UNION TERRITORY.....



MAJOR LANGUAGES

- BHILI/BHILODI (including Varli, Kokna/Kokni/Kukna & Dhodia)
- GUJARATI
- KONKANI

- HINDI
- MARATHI
- OTHERS

Figures at the top of the circle represent total population while within/against the sectors represent percentage value.

## Linguistic Affiliation and Status of Varli

Varli is constituted of 48.87 percent of the total population of Dadra and Nagar Haveli in 1991 census. This mother tongue was grouped under Marathi in 1961 census on the strength of the findings of Sir G. A. Grierson. Professor A. M. Ghatage treated Varli as a dialect of Marathi in his work on Marathi dialects. But this classification, it was found later on, posed a serious problem of acceptability not only among the Varlis of Dadra & Nagar Haveli but also to the administration of the Union Territory of Dadra and Nagar Haveli. The administration of Dadra and Nagar Haveli felt that the classification of Varli under Marathi showed Dadra and Nagar Haveli as a predominantly Marathi speaking area which was not consistent with the facts. So they had referred the matter to the Registrar General, India for consideration of possible review of the Varli classification. The case of Varli, thus turned out to be not a problem of mere classification with either Marathi or Gujarati but one of communicability of Varli tribe in terms of Gujarati or Marathi and utility of one or the other language for the purposes of education and other developmental programme for the tribe within the area of Dadra and Nagar Haveli as a whole. Language Division, Office of the Registrar General, India, therefore, took up the study of Varli with these ends in view. Subsequently Dr. M. R. Ranganatha, the then Linguist of Language Division undertook two field trips, one in 1969 and the other one in 1971. The findings of the investigation on Varli by Ranganatha are quoted below.

### Classification of Varli

The different aspects involved in the classification of Varli raise some fundamental questions regarding the concepts involved in the classification of languages. The very nature of language is such that the problem of classification into such categories as language and dialect is intrinsically difficult or almost impossible as the determining factors are varied and at times extra linguistic in nature. Roughly the term language refers to an established form of speech employed and accepted by a culturally or geographically unifiable group or groups of people as the normative or the prestige form, though the

different groups or sub sections of the same group are actually speaking more or less varying forms of speech. These individually varying forms are generally called dialects. It is implied that these dialects are genetically related and the dialect groups need and accept a form of speech as the prestige form which symbolises the culture or the interests of the people. Such a concept of language is mainly based on structural similarity of the dialects grouped under one language.

Language, however, as a vehicle of thought acquires social and cultural significance and many times becomes a symbol of social and cultural identities. It may sometimes happen that the concept of linguistic identity of a social group or community may not exactly coincide with the identities of linguistic structures. Under such circumstances the socio-cultural concept of language will be at variance with structural concept of language. The situation in respect of Varli serves as an illustration and poses a challenge to any linguist who would want to define a language in an absolute way. If the speech of the Varli people who have claimed Varli as their mother tongue is to be considered as 'Varli' language then there will be two dialects of Varli one of which is similar to Marathi and the other similar to Gujarati. Could two such differing dialects be considered as belonging to one and the same Language? If on the other hand the linguist wants to separate the two dialects and tag them on the Marathi and Gujarati, what value will it have when the people will believe it the other way? The linguist may, therefore, have to agree that an absolute definition of language is not possible and that language can be defined only with certain assumptions and for a specific end. A socio-linguistic definition of a language should thus be different from a linguistic definition based on language structure. Naturally, then language classification differs according to the basis and purpose of the classification. A classification based mainly on structure may have academic importance for a linguist to study the genetic relationships of the individual forms of speech. Such a classification may or may not have a one-to-one correspondence with a socio-linguistic classification which will be representative of the speakers concept of his own language.

Census classification of mother tongues has to be mainly based on socio-linguistic classification of languages rather than on structural classification, especially so in the Indian context.

What is the purpose of classifying the mother tongues returned in the Indian census? It is to give a clear picture of the language situation with reliable statistics on the number of language spoken in the country, the number of speakers of each language, the geographical spread of each language and such other demographic information concerning the speakers of each language. This cannot be done by merely presenting an alphabetical list of all the mother tongue names which do not give any sense. For instance, during the 1961 census 1,652 names were returned as mother tongues. If all the 1,652 names were given in a long list indicating that 1,652 languages are spoken in India it would have made no sense. Classification is the first essential step in presenting any demographic information. The classification however should be valid and demographically useful. Mother tongue classification in the census amounts in fact to a classification of people, i.e. the speakers rather than really of languages. This information on the languages provided by the census will be used by planners in language planning for education and mass communication and so on. It will also be used by linguists for purposes of their research. Census classification of mother tongues, therefore, should be such that it is linguistically valid and is also representative of the attitude of speakers. Such a purpose will generally be served by a socio-linguistic classification only.

Now regarding the classification of Varli as it is not classifiable either under Marathi or under Gujarati we may consider the other possible alternatives and see which one is better suited for the purpose of the census.

Let us consider the first alternative, that treating Varli as an independent entry in the list of language names in the census. Purely from a linguistic point of view this would be untenable because on the basis of grammatical structure it would be more easy to group Dungar Varli under Marathi rather than grouping Davar Varli and Dungar Varli together Davar Varli however can not be so easily grouped under Gujarati. Purely linguistic considerations, therefore, do not support the classification of Varli as an independent language. If, on the other hand we propose to take the help of social considerations to say that Varli as a language is one which is spoken by the Varlis, that too does not work because the Varlis, as we have seen earlier are linguistically a heterogeneous tribe. Thus treating Varli as an independent language is out of question.

In fact this linguistic heterogeneity of the Varlis is a very interesting feature which has been noted by even Grierson in the L.S.I. The information available in the L.S.I. on the varlis is interesting and gives us the real clue for an appropriate classification. It would also be interesting to find out what led Grierson to classify Varli under Marathi in the L.S.I.

### **Varli in Grierson's L.S.I.**

In Grierson's L.S.I., Varli is classified as a form of Marathi. However going through the different volumes dealing with Marathi and Bhili where Varli has been mentioned, one finds it very difficult to arrive at any one convincing opinion on the linguistic affiliation of not only Varli but many other such related dialects. Grierson writes on the Varlis as follows:

“Varlis are one of the early tribes in Thana where they are estimated at 89,000 individuals. Their headquarters are in the northwest in Dahanu, where they form more than half of the population. They are also found in Mokhada, Murbad, Kalyan, Karjat and in the Jawhar state. Three thousand Varlis have been returned from Khandesh, where they inhabit the Satpura range. No specimens have, however, been obtained from this latter locality. The Varli of the Dangs speak a Bhil dialect founded on Gujarati.”

“The Varlis of Thana are also Bhils and their language must originally have been of the same kind as other Bhil dialects and Khandesi. In the course of time it has, however, been so largely influenced by Marathi that it must now be classed as a dialect of that language, except in the extreme north where it is stated to be a form of Gujarati..... The language of the specimen is a mixed form of speech. In most respects, it agrees with the current language of Thana. Other characteristics it shares with the Marathi of Poona and lastly, there is an admixture of Gujarati”.

These remarks show that even during the time of the Survey, the Varlis were probably speaking not just one common Varli language but had different form of speech variety approximating to Marathi in the south, to Gujarati in the north and probably to Bhili or Khandeshi in the intermediate regions. The specimens which Grierson had for his



Survey being mainly from Thana district, showed predominantly Marathi characteristics and so he finally grouped Varli as a dialect of Marathi.

It is significant however that Grierson places it as one of the "broken dialects of Thana and the Konkan". He writes regarding Marathi as follows: "The various forms of speech dealt with the preceding pages represent one and the same main dialect with slight local variations. There are, besides a few dialects spoken in Thana and neighbourhood which is originally a Bhil dialect closely related to Khandeshi, but has now been so much influenced by Marathi that it can conveniently be classified either as Marathi, Gujarati or Bhili by Grierson.

The Dadra and Nagar Haveli area was under Portuguese rule and so was out of bounds for the Survey. Varli specimens from this area were not available for the Survey. The specimens that were available for the L.S.I. were only from the Thana area and those specimens showed similarity with Marathi.

The L.S.I. specimens are very similar to Dungar Varli specimens collected by the present writer. Specimens similar to Davar Varli are not given in the L.S.I. under Marathi anywhere.

Thus from the L.S.I., the following two points become clear (1) Only Marathi-like Varli specimens from the Thana area were available to Grierson which prompted him to classify Varli under Marathi. (2) Grierson was however definite that Varli was originally a Bhil dialect. The influence of Marathi on the Varli of Thana was so much that he could think of classifying it under Marathi as a broken dialect. It thus appears that according to Grierson, the similarity between Varli (i.e., Varli of Thana) and Marathi is mainly due to the fact that Marathi has influenced Varli to a great extent. However, Varli and Marathi are not direct descendents of the same parent tongue, Varli being originally a form of Bhili. If this point is accepted then classification of Varli under Marathi would not be valid. Genetically Varli may have to be classified under Bhili. Genetic classification, however is not our purpose for the present.

Another point has to be made here. It is regarding the connotation of the term 'Varli' itself. In the light of the fact that the Varlis are linguistically a heterogeneous tribe the most important question that has to be answered is 'what is Varli as a speech that is to be classified in the census report'. Does it refer to the speech of the Varli in general or to

a section of the Varlis in a specific area? A reasonably good answer to this question is provided by the 1961 census returns themselves. Actual field specimens collected by the present writer have also corroborated the validity of the 1961 census returns.

On the basis of the sample specimens collected from the states of Gujarat, Maharashtra, and Dadra and Nagar Haveli, it could be stated that :

- (a) The Varlis in Dangs district speak the same language as the Dangs do and call it also by the same name, viz. Dangi.
- (b) In Thana district (Maharashtra) the Varlis speak a form of speech which varies very little from the speech of the other people and can be easily identified as Marathi.
- (c) In Bulsar district (Gujarat) where the tribes Varli, Kukna, and Dhodia stay together, the speeches of the Varlis and Kuknas, though called by the names Varli and Kukna respectively, differ only slightly from each other. In mutual communication the Varli, Kukna or Dhodia usually speaks in his own language but is clearly understood by the other. Thus there exists a considerable degree of mutual intelligibility between any two of these tribes.
- (d) In the area of Dadra and Nagar Haveli, as the people were politically isolated under Portuguese rule for a long time in the past, the Varlis know their speech only by the name of their own tribe and feel that it is not the same as either Marathi or Gujarati. Thus, in the light of the above facts it may, be clearly stated that the mother tongue 'Varli' that is to be classified in the census report is just what is returned in the census. It is the speech of the Varlis in the area of Dadra and Nagar Haveli and some parts of Dharampur Tahsil in Gujarat. Varli as the name of a mother tongue does not refer to the speech of the Varlis in Thana district of Maharashtra. The Varlis of thana speak only Marathi. Linguistically the name Varli refers to the two dialects, Dungar Varli and Davar Varli.

With this geographical delimitation of Varli as a speech we may examine the possibilities of classifying Varli under Bhili on the basis of Grierson's own statement that Varli must have been originally a Bhil dialect. For this we have to be clear as what the Bhili is.

Bhili itself, as a language seems to be a large group of amorphous dialects spread over a vast area. Here again the information available in the L.S.I. is quite interesting.

Bhili as a language consists of about 27 dialects (see L.S.I. Vol. IX, Part III). Grierson writes regarding the Bhili dialects as follows †: "The territory occupied by the Bhil tribes is a rather extensive one and there are, as might be expected, differences of dialects in the different parts of the Bhil country. Towards the north and east the dialects of the Bhils gradually merge into the various forms of Rajasthani. In the west and south the influence of Marathi gradually increases. Thus the southern forms of Konkani are almost Marathi and gradually merge into some broken dialects of the northern Konkani such as Varli, Phudgi, Samavedi and Vadaval, which have now become real Marathi dialects, though their original base must have agreed with Bhili. More towards the east the Bhil dialects gradually approach Khandeshi and at the Khandesh frontier in Northern Nasik and in the Dangs they are almost pure Khandeshi".

"The Bhil dialects, therefore, form a continuous chain, between Rajasthani, through Gujarati and Khandeshi and Marathi. In most cases, however, the Marathi influence is only of a quite superficial kind, and the general character of the dialect remains Gujarati." This description of Bhili given in the L.S.I. is true of the situation in the Bhili tract even today. The area of Varli forms just a small part of the large Bhili tract just like any form of Bhili, the dialects of which form a continuous chain, Rajasthani and Marathi, through Gujarati and Khandeshi. Varli shows a similar continuous link between Marathi and Gujarati. One may wonder whether it would make any difference at all if Varli is classified under Bhili as the 28<sup>th</sup> dialect. But before doing so we may see whether any justifiable reason can be found to do the same.

It may be repeated here again that though Grierson thought that Varli was originally a form of Bhili he classified it as Marathi because he had only one variety of Varli i.e. Dungar Varli as the specimen for the survey. If the Davar Varli specimens had been available to him then he too would probably have been tempted to treat Varli under Bhili, because he has done so in some other cases. Just like Dungar Varli the Konkani-Bhili specimens found in the Bhili volume of the L.S.I.

show predominantly Marathi-like characteristics while some other northern dialects show Gujarati-like characteristics. Particularly, one dialect the 'Naikdi of Surat' is very similar to the Davar Varli specimens collected by the present writer. The specimen of Naikdi give in the L.S.I is given below for reference and comparison.

(Extract from the L.S.I. Vol. IX part III Pages 93-94)

[ No. 29 ]

INDO – ARYAN FAMILY

DISTRICT SURAT.

BHĪLI OR BHILŌDI.

NAIKADI DIALECT

DISTRICT SURAT.

Ēk mān<sup>a</sup>sā-dai bēn dikh<sup>a</sup>rēs āsi. Tē-mā-chē  
A-certain man-to two sons were. Them-in-of

dhāk<sup>a</sup>lē bāhās-dia ākhi, 'bāhās', mā-lā paisā-chā  
by-the-younger father-to in-was-said, father me-to money-of

mā-lā bhāg dē.' Nē tēnē paisā wāthu ōpī  
me-to share give.' 'and by-him money having-divided was given

Tē thōdā dis māgā dhāk<sup>a</sup>lē dikh<sup>a</sup>rēs badhā ēk<sup>a</sup>thā  
Then a-few days after by-the-younger son all together

karūnē dūr-chē dēs gā, nē tathai majhā karūnē  
having made distance-of country went, and there pleasure having-made

paisē udawūn mēlī, Nē badhā khar<sup>a</sup>chu mēh<sup>a</sup>lī  
money having-wasted was-thrown. And all having-spent was-thrown

māgē tē dēsā-mā mōTō dukāl paDin, nē tahā-lā āp<sup>a</sup>dā  
afterwards that country in a-great famine fell, and him-to distress

paDaw lāgin. Nē tō jāhūnē dēsā-chā wat<sup>a</sup>ni-mā-chē ēkā hāri  
to-fall began And he having-going country natives-in-of one with

rahun lāgin Nē tēnē pōtā-chā khēt<sup>a</sup>rā-mā bhōND chāraw  
to-live began And by-him himself-of field-in swine to graze

daw<sup>a</sup>Dī Tē jē sēng bhōND khāt āsī tē-mā-thī pōtā-chā  
it-was-sent Then which husks swine eating were those-in-front himself-of

pēT bharūū-chī tyā-chī mar<sup>a</sup>jī āsī, nē kōh<sup>a</sup>nē ōpī nahi;  
belly filling-of him-of wish was and by-anyone was-given not

nē tōhō hōsīār hōjīn tahī tēnē ākhīē, jē 'mājā  
and he on-senses because then by-him it-was-said that 'my

bāpā-chē kalēk majurā-chē ghaNē bhākar āhē; paN mai  
father-of many servants-of much bread is; but I

bhukē marat āhē. Mai ūthū-nē mājā bā-pāsē jāhī, nē  
by-hunger dying am I having-arisen my father-to will-go and

tahā-lā akhī jē "mai par<sup>a</sup>mēsārā-chē nē tujā pāp karī  
him-to will-say that 'by-me God-of and thine sin done  
āhē nē ātā tujā dīh<sup>a</sup>ras ākhu ghatai nahī; mā-lā tujā  
is, and now thy son to-be-called is proper not; me-to thy

majurā-mā-chē ēk majur gan." Nē tō ūthūnē pōtā-chā  
servants-in-of one servant count." 'And he having-arised his-own

bāp-sī gā.  
father-to went.

By comparing this specimen of Naikdi with that of Davar Varli it may be observed that in grammatical structure both Davar Varli and Naikdi are very similar. some of the points of Similarity are given below with examples-

- (1) The locative and dative case forms are similar in both. Viz., / -dei / in Davar Varli and / -dai ~ -le / in Naikdi.

Dative	bāhās dai	'to the father'	
	ba:hə̃sdei		
	mānsā dai	'to a man'	
	ma:Nsa:dei		
Locative	dēsā – mā	'in the country'	de : sa
	: ma		
	khēt <sup>a</sup> ā – ma	'in the field'	

- (2) The masculine singular form of adjectives end in –o.

Naikdi		Davar Varli
mōTō	a great	mo:To

- (3) The past tense form of the verb substantive is / āsi / 'was' in both the specimens and this form is not found either in Gujarati or Marathi. This form in particular being used in periphrastic forms of verbs indicates very close similarity between the two.

- (4) Many other forms of the verbs also indicate close similarity between the two, e.g.,

Naikdi		Davar Varli
ākhi	told	a:khi
ōpi	gave	o:pi
uDawūn mēli	spent	uDū:n me:li
paDin	fell	peDi:n

lāgīn	began	la:gi:n
marat he	am dying	marat a:ha:e
jāhī	will go	ja:hi

The above comparison indicates that Naikadi and Davar Varli are very similar to each other. Thus with Davar Varli being similar to Naikdi dialect of Bhili and Dungar Varli being similar to Konkani (Bhili) which is the same as Kokna / Kokni / Kukna of the 1961 Census, there should be no difficulty in classifying Varli also as a form of Bhili.

Such a classification would be appropriate in as much as it would conform to the opinion of the people speaking Varli while it will not be distorting linguistic realities. It would also be useful for educational planning. From a linguistic point of view the differences in the two dialects of Varli can be accounted for in the same way as the differences found in many of the Bhili dialects. From the point of view of planning, the Varlis who are also tribal people can be treated on par with the Bhils and proper planning be made for their education.

Varli, therefore, should be treated as a form of Bhili and classified under Bhili in the Census reports.

Besides, at later stage for bringing out state wise language profile under the Linguistic Survey of India scheme Dr. M. K. Koul the then Investigator was entrusted with work of survey of Varli language in Dadra and Nagar Haveli in 1988 Dr. Koul surveyed Varli and prepared a grammatical description of the language.

Finally, Dr. Ranjita Pattanaik, the present Linguist undertook field trip in Dadra and Nagar Haveli, in 2000 to update the data and present a overall linguistic picture of Dadra and Nagar Haveli incorporating these new information available on the languages of the Union Territory in general and Varli language in particular.

Ranganatha (1976), Koul (1988) and Pattanaik (2000), according to their language data, they have established two closely distinguishable dialects of Varli – Dungar Varli and Davar Varli in Dadra and Nagar Haveli.

The term Davar Varli means the old varlis. The word Davar means old. The Davar varlis are thought to be the older section of the tribe. An interesting information of

sociological significance provided by some Davar Varlis was that they preferred marriage relationships with the Varlis of Dharampur in Gujarat to that with the Varlis in the hilly areas (or Dungar Varlis) of Dadra and Nagar Haveli or Thane in Maharashtra. Dungar which means hill and Dungar Varlis live in the hills, Nihir Varli means those Varlis who use the word nihi for 'not' while the others use the word nahi. Besides the Varlis, (Dungar & Davar) the other tribes Dhodia, Kokna/Kukna/Kokni are also found in Dadra and Nagar Haveli.

**Out of the total Villages the Davar Varli speaking villages in Dadra and Nagar haveli**

1. Morkhal.	2. Bonta	3. Amboli	4. Chikhali
5. Chinchpada	6. Dapada	7. Pati	8. Surangi
9. Vasana	10. Falandi	11. Golonda	12. Kilvani
13. Sili	14. Umarkui	15. Athal	16. Luhari
17. Nararandha	18. Athola	19. Masat	20. Rakmoli
21. Sayli	22. Samar Varhi	23. Motarandha	

**Dungar Varli speaking villages in Dadra and Nagar Haveli**

1. Dolara	2. Ambobani	3. Bildhari	4. Dudhani
5. Ghodbari	6. Gunsas	7. Jamalpada	8. Karchand
9. Kauncha	10. Kherarbari	11. Kothar	12. Mehda
13. Vaghchanda	14. Chanda	15. Goratpada	16. Khanvel
17. Rudana	18. Shelti	19. Khutati	20. Talalvali
21. UmerVarni	22. Bedpa	23. Besda	24. Chisda
25. Khedpa	26. Mandoni	27. Sindoni	28. Vansda

**Davar Varli and Dungar Varli (Mixture) speaking villages in Dadra and Nagar Haveli**

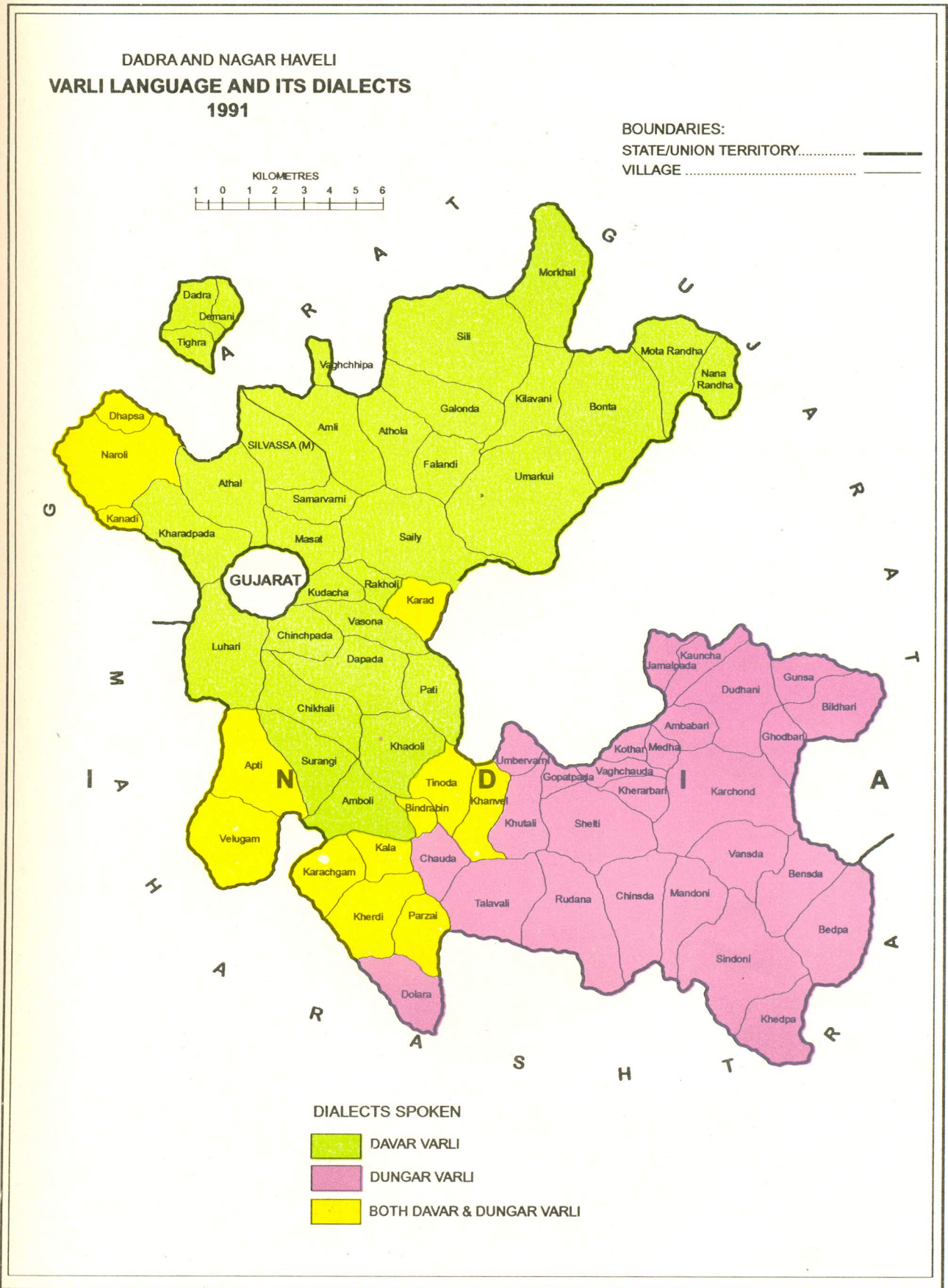
1. Bindrabin	2. Kala	3. Karachgam	4. Kherdi
5. Parzai	6. Tinoda	7. Velugam	8. Apti
9. Dhapsa	10. Kanadi	11. Kharadpada	12. Naroli
13. Karad	14. Kudacha		



Map 4

DADRA AND NAGAR HAVELI  
VARLI LANGUAGE AND ITS DIALECTS  
1991

BOUNDARIES:  
STATE/UNION TERRITORY.....  
VILLAGE .....



Based upon Survey of India Map with the permission of the Surveyor General of India.

**Gujarati Speaking villages in Dadra and Nagar Haveli**

1. Dadra
2. Demni
3. Tighra
4. Amli
4. Silvassa (Urban)

**Dhodia Speaking villages in Dadra and Nagar Haveli**

1. Khadoli
2. Vagh chhipa

Although Kokna/Kukna/Kokni has also got major speakers strength in the U.T. but no specific village speaks it. The speakers are broadly scattered throughout Dadra and Nagar Haveli.

## Sociolinguistic Situations in Dadra and Nagar Haveli

The two important languages – Marathi and Gujarati which operate as superposed varieties for Varli and other languages in Dadra and Nagar Haveli. Gujarati functions as the lingua franca of the area.

Gujarati is used as the prestige language in the area. Prior to liberation besides the official Portuguese language, Gujarati was used as a medium of instruction for the education of the local people. Some of the official records also were kept in Gujarati. The lower strata of administrative / government machinery consists mainly of the Gujarati speaking population. Thus, since Portuguese rule, Gujarati enjoyed the prestige of a regional official language and was almost completely understood by all sections of the people.

In Varli there is no written literature although it has a rich folk-literature like other tribal languages in India. Folk literature is preserved in the form of folktales and songs of which Varlis are very fond of. Varli is neither an official language in this Union Territory nor in any other state. It has no script. Some people write it in Gujarati and Marathi. The Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore has produced teaching materials in Varli for pedagogical purposes. Varli primers have been prepared in both Marathi and Gujarati. These are being taught in some selected schools to Varli children on experimental basis. Programmes in Varli are occasionally broadcast from the All India Radio, Surat and other neighboring stations.

For educational purpose Davar Varli prefers Gujarati medium schools and Dungar Varlis prefers Marathi medium schools both at primary and higher secondary level. However it is seen that Marathi medium schools are more in numbers than Gujarati medium schools.

## 2. PHONOLOGY

**Phonemic Inventory** – The phonemic inventory of Varli consists of 47 segmental phonemes and two supra-segmental phonemes. The phonemes forming central and marginal part of the syllable are grouped under the subsystems of syllabics and non-syllabics respectively. The syllabics may otherwise be referred to as Vowels and the non-syllabics as Consonants. Of the 47 segmental phonemes there are 7 vowelS phonemes (including marginal) and 40 consonant phonemes (including marginal). The suprasegmentals occur with the vowel phonemes are Nasalization and length .

### **Segmental Phonemes : Vowels**

The vowel system of the Varli can be represented as follows :

	<b>Front unrounded</b>	<b>Central unrounded</b>	<b>Back rounded</b>
High	i		u
Highmid	e		o
Low	[E]	a	O

**Consonants**

	Bi- Labial	Labio Dental	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
<b>Stops</b>							
Unaspirated							
Voiceless	P		t	T	c	k	
Voiced	b		d	D	j	g	
Aspirated							
Voiceless	ph		th	Th	ch	kh	
Voiced	bh		dh	Dh	jh	gh	
<b>Nasals</b>							
	m		n	[N]		[M]	
Aspirated	m <sup>h</sup>		n <sup>h</sup>				
<b>Laterals</b>							
Unaspirated			l	L			
Aspirated			l <sup>h</sup>				
<b>Flap</b>							
Unaspirated			r	[R]			
Aspirated			r <sup>h</sup>	[Rh]			
<b>Fricatives</b>							
Unaspirated		[v]	s		S		h
Aspirated		[vh]					
<b>Semivowels</b>							
	w				y		

## Suprasegmentals

**Nasalisation** – [Ṽ] vowels with nasalisation is treated as a suprasegmental phoneme in Varli which usually occurs with all the Vowels. It is frequent at the end of words and is often linked up with definite grammatical categories. Hence nasalisation has to be set up as a supra-segmental phoneme occurring in conjunction with vowels. Some of these occurrences of nasalised vowels are listed below.

For example :

ĩ	-	bha:rhĩ	'heavy'	nahĩ	'not'
õ	-	kiRõ	'warm'	kõpOr	'elbow'
Ë	-	puDË	'before'	carhË	'grass'
ã	-	KOrhã:T	'back'	pãy	'foot'
ũ	-	dhũvOr	'fog'	pakhrũ	'bird'
ẽ	-	Thẽ:gno	'short man'	bhẽkOr	'black buck'

## Length –

In Varli, vowel length is a frequent phenomena occurring with almost all vowels and is found as phonemic in Varli.

i:	-	vi:n	'weave'	si:Mh	'lion'		
e:	-	pe:Tov	'burn'	ve:Lha	'evening'		
a:	-	ra:t	'night'	va:T	'road'	a:ya	'mother'
O:	-	mO:r	'die'	pO:D	'fall'	rO:D	'cry'
o:	-	po:so	'boy'	o:p	'give'	ho:T	'lip'
u:	-	cu:r	'grind'	dhu:L	'dust'		

## Phonemic Distribution of Vowels and Consonants

**Vowels** - All the vowels phonemes except / E / occur in all the three positions of initial, medial and final in the word. / E / is found either in the initial or in the final position of the word but not in the medial position. The vowels / i,e,o / are less frequent in the initial position while / O, o / are rare in the final position. Vowels / a , u / are the most frequent. The occurrence of the vowels are shown in the following examples.

	Initial	Medial	Final
/i/	iccha 'wish'	pikin 'cultivate'	gOmei 'choose'
/e/	ekadOs 'eleventh day'	chelo 'end'	ghOne 'many'
/a/	ata 'now'	saMkoDo 'narrow'	buRa 'down'
/O/	Othoi 'here'	jOmin 'earth'	candO 'moon'
/o/	okhwei 'comb'	gohOLO 'man'	jaRo 'fat'
/u/	uROg 'fly'	kuD 'wall'	daru 'liquor'
/E/	Eysi 'eighty'		misE 'moustache'
			dOrhE 'sea'

## Consonants

	Initial	Medial	Final
/p/	pu:r 'food'	TapO 'island'	ro:p 'sow'
	po:so 'boy'	sepTi 'fall'	ka:p 'cut'



		Initial		Medial		Final		
/ph/	-	phOD	'fruit'	tOrOpha	'trumpet'	bOrOph	'ice'	/Dh/
		phOnOs	'jackfruit'	sitaphOl	'a kind of fruit'			
/b/	-	bail	'wife'	DambOr	'cloud'	jib	'tongue'	/N/
		bo:bDO	'stammer'	tOrbuj	'melon'	kuTumb	'family'	
/bh/	-	bha:s	'brother'	ba:bhis	'sister-in-law'	ubhO	'stand up'	/c/
		bhuRo	'dirty'	sOmbhOr	'hundred'			
/m/	-	moTa	'big'	amco	'our'	punOm	'full moon day'	/ch/
	-	manus	'person'	tumco	'your'	prem	'love'	/j/
/mh/	-	bamhOn	'prics'	mhorO	'in found'	mamhasa	'father-in-law'	/jh/
	-	tumī	'you (pl.)'					
/t/	-	tOrOpha	'trumpet'	patlo	'ban'	ra:t	'darkness'	/k/
		tOLa:v	'lake'	re:ti	'sand'	rOgOt	'blood'	
/th/	-	thukOL	'spit'	tOthOi	'there'	ha:th	'hand'	/kh/
		tha:r	'dew'	suthe:Ro	'spider'	sath	'come'	
/d/	-	do:n	'two'	sado	'honest'	gOROd	'cave'	/g/
	-	di:s	'day'	go:dLo	'mattress'			
/dh/	-	dhu:ka:Lo	'flame'	mOdh	'honey'	gi:dh	'vulture'	
	-	dhOkav	'push'	udha:r	'lend'	ba:ndh	'tie'	/gh/
/n/	-	nipOL	'squeeze'	ghOne	'many'	phon	'dig'	
	-	nahaite	'if'	sajno	'swell'	uRin	'fly'	/M/
/nh/	-	sunhOs	'daughter in law'	unhala	'summer'	nhavi	'barber'	/l/
/T/	-	TapO	'island'	khaTlo	'bed'	apOT	'throw'	/lh/
	-	TOkkOl	'head'	se:pTi	'tail'	va:T	'road'	
/Th/	-	ThO:u	'put'	aMgThi	'finger'	hu:Th	'camel'	/L/
	-	The:ngno	'shortman'	lo:Thi	'young woman'	mu:Th	'first'	/r/
/D/	-	DOvOr	'old man'	ve:nDo	'pot'	vOD	'banian tree'	/rh/

		Initial		Medial		Final
'ice'	/Dh/	- Dho:l	'drum'	simDhe	'prawn'	so:NDh 'trunk'
		- me:NDho	'sheep'	viDhoyi	'annoy'	
'tongue'	/N/	- bhaNjo	'nephew'	grihON	'eclipse'	bhaNji 'niece'
'family'		[N] does not occur initially in Varli				
'stand up'	/c/	- cul	'oven'			
		- co:L	'rub'	pocO	'soft'	na:c 'dance'
		- cokhe	'uncooked rice'	wihance	'evening'	va:c 'to read'
'full moon day'	/ch/	- chelo	'end'	iccha	'wish'	kacho 'tortoise'
'love'	/j/	- junO	'old'	bijora	'guava'	me:j 'count'
'father-in-law'		- jOmONi baju	'right side'	ma:jOr	'cat'	roj 'daily'
	/jh/	- mOjhar	'middle'	jha:p	'cover'	tujho 'your (masc.) gum'
'darkness'	/k/	- koLO	'fox'	bOkDi	'goat'	cik 'gum'
'blood'		- kuD	'wall'	a:yOk	'hear'	dhukav 'smoke'
'hand'	/kh/	- khOrO	'true'	sakhu	'egg'	ca:kh 'taste'
'come'		- khaTlo	'bed'	lakha:Ro	'ashes'	pakh 'wing'
'cave'	/g/	- gui	'sweet'	kha:gOL	'canal'	ba:g 'garden'
'vulture'		- gORO	'neck'	muglo	'ant'	mug 'green gram'
'tie'	/gh/	- ghOna:w	'smell'	ti:rgHo	'wood pecker'	ba:gh 'tiger'
'dig'		- gho:n	'cockroach'	ughOr	'open'	
'fly'	/M/	- siMgh	'horn'	mOMge	'then'	saMkoro 'narrow'
'barber'	/l/	- la:kOD	'wood'	koLO	'fox'	hucal 'pick'
'throw'	/lh/	- salhis	'sister in law'	tOlhat	palm of the hand	kolha 'jackal'
'road'		- palholi	'house - lizard'			
'camel'	/L/	- hindoLay	'swim'	si:Lo	'cold'	aMghoL 'bath'
		- nipOL	'squeeze'	asoL	'tear'	
'first'	/r/	- ra:t	'night'	dOriyo	'sea'	ca:r 'four'
		- rOmOt	'games'	kOrjo	'debt'	
'banian tree'	/rh/	- carhE	'grass'	gorha	'male calf'	dOrhE 'sea'
		- kurhaD	'axe'	bharhī	'much'	girhOn 'eclipse'

		Initial		Medial		Final
/R/	-	khaRi	'river'	caRis	'forty'	bhaRi 'net'
/v/	-	vOyri	'enemy'	nOvra	'bridegroom'	nOv 'nine'
	-	vagni	'tigress'	ekvis	'twenty one'	gãv 'village'
/vh/	-	gOvhani	'manager'	vhOr	'wave'	kalvhOD 'calf'
	-	mOvhOr	'blossom'			
[M] occurs only medially in Varli.						
/S/	-	ŚiMgh	'horn'	miSi	'moustache'	duSmOn 'enemy'
/s/	-	sOROn	'straight'	di:s	'day'	dhumOs 'fog'
	-	si:	'cold'	ma:s	'meat/ flesh'	
/h/	-	hucal	'pick'	grihON	'eclipse'	cehro 'face'
/w/	-	wa:ro	'wind'	wihance	'evening'	wela 'creeper'
	-	hOwa	'air'	SwOrgO	'heaven'	rOwo 'play'
	-	khavOv	'feet'			
/y/	-	ye:k	'one'	yo:	'this'	a:yOk 'listen'
	-	cariyo	'grass'	hindoLay	'swing'	

### Allophonic distribution of Vowels and Consonants

/ n / is a dental voiced nasal. It occurs very frequently in Varli. It has a retroflex allophone [ N ] before retroflex consonants, a velar allophone [ M ] before velar consonants and an alveolar allophone [ n ] between vowels. for example,

- [SunO] 'dog'
- [ghONTa] 'bell'
- [pŃncvis] 'twentyfive'
- [bhaMg] 'parting of the hair'

/W/

Final

'net'  
'nine  
'village'  
DD 'calf'

a bilabial voiced frictionless continuant. It has a vocalic allophone [ u ] after vowels and a labio – dental fricative allophone [ v ] elsewhere. Moreover, /w/ is a co-occurrence of /v/ in Varli.

/dewi/	'small pox'	
/gOwOt/	'grass'	
/downi/	'north'	[ dOuni ]
/kOwTi/	'skull'	[ kOuTi ]
/cOwtha/	'fourth'	[ cOutha ]

on 'enemy'  
s 'fog'  
  
'face'  
'creeper'  
'play'

/y/ a palatal voiced frictionless continuant. It has a vocalic allophone [ i ] after vowels.

'listen'	/ye/	'come'	
	/ghay/	'wound'	[ gha:i ]
	/vOyri/	'enemy'	[ vOiri ]
	/bhūy/	'earth'	[ bhū:i ]

roflex  
velar

/D/ a retroflex voiced stop. It has an allophonic [ R ] a voiced flap which occurs between vowels. It occurs as [ D ] otherwise,

/DukOr/	'boar'	[ DukO:r ]
/Dava/	'left'	[ Dava ]
/muDup/	'elbow'	[ muRu:p ]
/vaDgho/	'grand-father'	[ vaDgho ]
/khaDi/	'river'	[ khaRi ]
/caDis/	'forty'	[ caRis ]

### Vowel Clusters or Sequences

A number of vocalic sequences are found in Varli which mostly occur as closed syllables or at the end of the words. They consist of vowels followed by the two vocalic continuants [Y] and [w]. The glide are become lower after the low vowels [i] and [u].

The occurrences are exemplified as below :

/ey/	/pey/	'drink'
	/yey/	'come'
/Ey/	/Ëysi/	'eighty'
/Oy/	/vOyri/	'enemy'
/ay/	/ghay/	'wound'
/uy/	/bhũy/	'earth'
/oy/	/koyta/	'sickle'
/iv/	/pivla/	'yellow'
/ev/	/jev/	'eat'
/Ov/	/nOv/	'nine'
/av/	/avlã/	'myrobalm'
/ov/	/novra/	'bridegroom'

In addition, there are few other clusters of vowels, which occur not conditionally, and their second segment is fully long and constitutes a separate syllable. For example—

/eu/	/deu:l/	'temple'
/Oi/	/bOi:l/	'bull'
/Ou/	/cOu:t/	'quarter'

/ ai /	/ba:i/	'elder sister'
/ au /	/pau:s/	'rain'

### Consonant clusters

Varli possesses a large number of two to three consonant clusters. Basically these two consonant clusters occur initially and medially. However, three consonant clusters are frequent medially.

/ gr /	/grihoN/	'eclipse'
/ Mg /	/joMgOL/	'forest'
/ Mgh /	/jaMgha/	'thighs'
/ nd /	/cando/	'moon'
/ ndh /	/andhODO/	'blind'
/ mb /	/ambo/	'mango'
/ n̄ /	/uncO/	'fall'
/ nj /	/pinjOrO/	'yellow'
/ st /	/mastOr/	'teacher'
/ sm /	/dusmOn/	'enemy'
/ sw /	/swOrgO/	'heaven'
/ rk /	/nOrk/	'hell'
/ nt /	/wanti/	'vomit'
/ nc /	/wihance/	'evening'
/ ND /	/ma:NDi/	'knee'
/ NDh /	/meNDho/	'sheep'

/tr/	/bhOtrijo/	'nephew'
/sl/	/maslā/	'fish'
/sr/	/tisra/	'third'
/vr/	/nOvra/	'husband'
/pT/	/sepTi/	'tail'
/pl/	/sapla/	'cage'
/tD/	/atDī/	'intestines'
/tl/	/patla/	'slim'
/tv/	/natva/	'grand son'
/Tl/	/khaTlā/	'cat'
/Tr/	/poTri/	'calf'
/Thv/	/aThva/	'eighth'
/Thr/	/OThra/	'eighteen'
/Dk/	/meDkā/	'earthenpot'
/kv/	/ekvis/	'twenty-one'
/khr/	/pakhrū/	'bird'
/gt/	/rOgTa/	'blood'
/gT/	/nagTa/	'naked'
/gn/	/vagni/	'tigrss'
/mT/	/cimTa/	'tongs'
/mc/	/tumca/	'your'

/ ml /	/Domla/	'nipple'
/ ns /	/onsã/	'husband's sister'
/ Sv /	viSva	'twentieth'

The final clusters consist of only two consonants and all of them show the patterns of a nasal followed by a stop. For example,

/ mb /	/gumb/	'boil'
/ nd /	/arOnd/	' a kind of plant'
/ nd /	/kOnd/	'itch'
/ Mg /	/bhaMg/	'parting of the hair'
/ Mgh /	/jaMgh/	'thigh'

**Clusters with three consonants**

/ mbD /	/camb Dã/	'leather'
/ ndh /	/andhla/	'blind'
/ nDh /	/ranDhki/	'widow'
/MgTh /	/aMgThi/	'finger'
/ Mgn /	/TheMgna/	'dwarf'
/ Mgv /	/uMgvOt/	'fast'
/ lnj /	/kalnji/	'liver'



### Geminated consonants

The following are the examples of geminated consonants in Varli.

jj	/ujjoLo/	'white'
ww	/jewwON/	'food'
pp	/uppOr/	'up'
kk	/TOkkOl/	'head'
tt	/sOttOr/	'seventy'
TT	/khuTTi/	'cry of the owl'
mm	/himmOtvan/	'courageous'
nn	/pOnnas/	'fifty'
ss	/hissa/	'share'

### Syllabic structure

The words in Varli could be classified as per the number of syllables available within the word. Hence, there are mono-syllabic, di-syllabic and tri-syllabic words of which di-syllabic words are most frequent.

#### **Monosyllabic words —**

cv	sO	'six'	cv:c	ra:t	'dark /night'
	ne	'and'		va:T	'way'
	ma	'at'		di:s	'say'
cv:	yo:	'this'	cvc	gOr	'house'
	to:	'that'		maD	'roof'

	ye:	'come'		vOD	'banian'
			cv®:c	sĩ:h	'lion'
vc	an	'bring'		pã:k	'wing'
	aj	'today'		pĩ:s	'feather'
v:c	a:g	'fire'	cvcc	rOMg	'colour' etc.
	o:p	'give'			

**Disyllabic words —**

cv+cvc	vOris	'year'
cvc+cv	cikno	'smooth'
	pikno	'ripe'
cv:+cvc	ba:rik	'small'
	ba:ner	'out sider'
cvc+cvc	khaljhen	'under'
	dusmOn	'enemy'
cvc+cv	ghemde	'bring'
(c)v:+cv	u:cã	'up'
	a:ji	'grand mother'

**Trisyllabic words —**

vc+cv+cv	arkhoRo	'ashes'
cv+cv+cv	boroRo	'back'
	goholo	'man'

	bijora	'guava'
cv+cv+cvc	bOhOni:s	'maternal uncle's daughter'
cv+ccv+cv	bhOtriji	'niece'
cvc+cv+cv	tOrkari	'vegetable'

### Morphophonemics

Generally morphophonemic changes take place in a language due to adjustment in the phonological level. These types of changes are a common feature of the language. Segmentation of consonantal clusters as well as formation of consonantal clusters play important role in Varli word structure. For example, (1) the last syllable of a singular word which is of (ccv) pattern breaks into two syllable by infixing / O / in between the consonants and also adds a vowel in the plural form.

For example :

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>	
copDi	'book'	CopORio	'books'
Topli	'basket'	TopOle	'baskets'
ujLo gho:Ro	'white horse'	ujOLE gho:Re	'white horses'

(2) The nouns ending in consonant when accept a case suffix which also begins with a consonant then a vowel element is added in between for adjustment.

For example :

gor	+ma	gorama	'in the house'
ga:y	+co	gayaco	'from the cow'
boil	+ce	bOilace	'of bulls'

### 3. MORPHOLOGY

#### Noun

Nouns are those which are inflected for number gender and case.

#### Number

The number may be singular or plural. Singular denotes one and only one person or thing and the noun may be followed or preceded by singular specifiers or singular number markers. Plural is formed by the addition of plural suffixes to the singular nouns. Plural number denotes more than one person or thing. Plural markers are used on the basis of the gender and the types of the ending of the nouns forms. The gender in Varli is of Masculine, Feminine and Neuter types.

e.g. Masculine nouns ending in / o /, form their plural counter part by replacing /o/ with / e /. For example :

	<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>
suno	'dog'	sune	'dogs'
po:so	'son'	po:se	'sons'
gho:Ro	'horse'	gho:Re	'horses'
ka:kDo	'crow'	ka:kDe	'crows'
Do:Lo	'eye'	Do:Le	'eyes'
dOglo	'cloth'	dOgle	'clothes'
cOsmo	'spectacles'	cOsme	'spectacles'
ta:Lo	'lock'	ta:Le	'locks'
kohLo	'pumpkin'	kohLe	'pumpkins'
khORiyo	'tiger'	khORiye	'tigress'

Feminine nouns ending in / i / form their plural counter part by adding suffix / yo / to it.

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>	
ma:jri	'cat'	ma:jOriyo	'cats'
ga:i	'cow'	ga:iyo	'cows'
co:p Di	'book'	co:pO Diyo	'books'

There are few exceptions. Some / i / ending feminine nouns also take / e / as a number marker.

ga:Ri	'cart'	ga:Re	'carts'
To:pIi	'basket'	To:pole	'baskets'

In Varli word ghOne 'many' is also used to form the plural which usually precedes the noun:

ghOne	no:kOr	'many servants'
ghOne	lo:k	'many people'
ghOne	pa:n	'many leaves'
ghOne	bOyil	'many women'
ghOne	ha:th	'many hands'

Few other nouns show a zero allomorph of the plural.

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>
pakh	'wing'	pakh
boil	'bull'	boil
undir	'mouse'	undir

kes	'hair'	kes
dat	'tooth'	dat
sunhOs	'daughter-in-law'	sunhOs
vOyri	'enemy'	vOyri
dOrhE	'sea'	dOrhe
aya	'mother'	aya

A few words show irregular formations. Examples :

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>
ajholas	'grandson'	ajholOs
bOhnis	'sister'	bOhnyas
ajholis	'grand-daughter'	ajholyas
salhis	'sister-in-law'	salhyas

Neuter nouns ending in -ã change to -ĩ to form the plural . For example :

Singular		Plural
maslã	'fish'	maslĩ
Dokã	'head'	Dokĩ
nalã	'stream'	nalĩ

Neuter nouns ending with -u or ã , in plural formation becomes -vã. For example :

dhOnu	'bow'	dhOnvã
taru	'boat'	tarvã
tOlũ	'palm'	tOlvã
pakhrũ	'flower'	pakhrã
vaSrũ	'calf'	vasrã

Similarly, consonant ending words receive -ã in the formation plural.

phul	'flower'	phulã
pan	'leaf'	panã
jhaD	'tree'	jhaDã
pis	'feather'	piSã

### Gender

Generally gender is distinguished on the basis of natural sex of animate objects. In Varli the nouns are distinguished as masculine, feminine and neuter. However, grammatical gender is possible only in forming masculine and feminine constructions. It is seen in Varli that inanimate objects are also distinguished as masculine and feminine categories. For their classification only natural sex is not treated as the determiner but also the types of endings are considered as the gender determiner.

The masculine nouns ending in /o/ change to /i/ while forming the feminine. For example:

<u>Masculine</u>		<u>Feminine</u>	
po:so	'boy'	po:si	'girl'
novro	'bridegroom'	nOvri	'bride'
kukDo	'cock'	kukDi	'hen'
bo:kDo	'he goat'	bo:k Di	'she goat'

Those masculine nouns which end with / os / in their feminine formations /o/ is replaced by / i /. Example:

<u>Masculine</u>		<u>Feminine</u>	
a:jho:Los	'grand son'	a:jho:Lis	'grand daughter'

a:jho 'grand father' a:jhis 'grand mother'

One exception is there. Where / o / changes to / u /.

For example :

sa: sros 'father-in-law' sa:sus 'mother-in-law'

It is observed that in Varli all the masculine nouns referring to a profession takes the prefix /in/ for forming the feminine.

For example:

sutha:r	'carpenter'	sutha:rin	'carpenter's wife'
so:na:r	'goldsmith'	so:na:rin	'goldsmith's wife'
pa:rdhi	'hunter'	pa:rdhin	'hunter's wife'
ma:si	'fisherman'	ma:sin	'fisher woman'

The neuter nouns, which do not take any marker, are listed below:

bi	'seed'
pani	'water'
asol	'tear'
maslā	'fish'
Dokā	'lead'
pakhrū	'bird'
phul	'flower'
pī:s	'feather' etc.

### Case

Case suffixes are bound morphemes which occur after the oblique forms. There is no distinction between singular and plural case suffixes except in possessive which has



both number and gender distinction. Some morphophonemic changes occur in the - oblique form itself.

The following cases are established in Varli. Locative marker is / ma / which is suffixed to the oblique form.

for example :

gã:wama	'in the village'
ghOra ma	'in the house'
cinta ma	'in the confusion'
pa:njra ma	'in the cage'
seta ma	'in the field'
dOva kha:na ma	'in the dispensary'

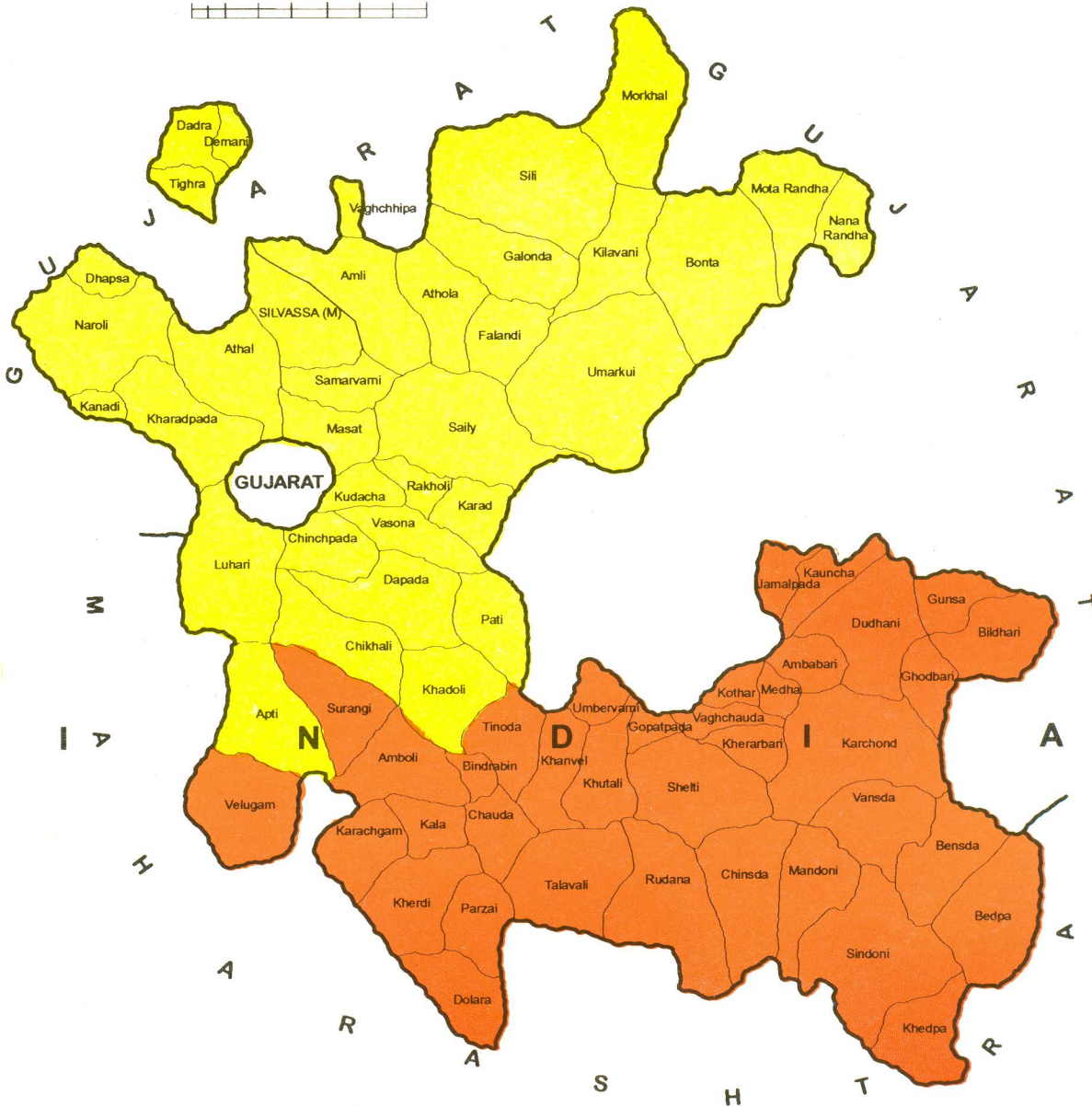
The same morphophonemic process of infixing / a / to the consonantal ending - oblique forms is seen in dative formation also. The infixing vowel / a / becomes nasalised before the dative marker.

goh lâ dOi	'to the people'
ga:yã dOi	'to the cow'
lo:kã dOi	'to the people'
co:rã dOi	'to the thief'



Possessive suffix / co / has three allomorphs: / ce /, / co / and / ci /. Phonemic shape of the possessive marker depends upon the number and gender of the following nouns. / co / is a masculine singular marker, for example:

DADRA AND NAGAR HAVELI  
DISTINCTION OF DIALECTS DAVAR AND DONGAR  
IN TERMS OF GRAMMATICAL FEATURES  
1991

BOUNDARIES:  
STATE/UNION TERRITORY.....  
VILLAGE .....



GRAMMATICAL FEATURES

	DAVAR	LOCATIVE MARKER - <i>ma</i>
		DATIVE MARKER - <i>dei</i>
	DONGAR	LOCATIVE MARKER - <i>at</i>
		DATIVE MARKER - <i>la</i>

jha:Raco pa:n 'leaf of the tree'

po:saco jha:D 'tree of the boy'

ra:maco ha:th 'Ram's hand'

/ ce / is a plural marker, for example :

bOilace ka:n 'ears of the bull'

ghOrace nOLie 'roof of the house'

jha:Race Pa:n 'leaves of the tree'

ramace do:n ha:th 'Ram's two hands'

/ ci / identifies the feminine singular marker, for example :

baile ci To:pli 'basket of the woman'

rama:ci co:pDi 'Ram's book'

ghOra ci ca:bi 'key of the house'

Ablative case marker occurs / masi / in Varli which is added to the oblique form.

For example:

jha:Ra masi 'from the tree'

ga:vā masi 'from the village'

saLa masi 'from the school'

Instrumental case marker is / khal / which is added to the oblique forms but not very common in the language. For example :

peni khal 'with pen'

la:kDi khal 'with stick'

### Post Position

In addition to the case suffixes there are postpositions, which function in the same way as case suffixes do. The only difference between the case suffix and postpositions is that the case suffixes are bound morphemes and postpositions are free morphemes.

For example;

ba:her	'out'
mOgla thin	'behind'
biRa	'down'
mOMge	'after'
mOjha:r	'between'
pa:s	'by'

### Pronouns

The pronouns have all the inflectional characteristics of nouns and adjectives. Personal pronominals are inflected for number, gender and case. Pronominals do not show the gender in itself. However, possessive pronoun which inflects for gender when the noun to which it refers is feminine or masculine.

Personal Pronouns —

	<b>Singular</b>		<b>Plural</b>	
1 <sup>st</sup> person	mOi	'I'	hamih	'we'
2 <sup>nd</sup> person	tu	'you'	tumhi	'you'
3 <sup>rd</sup> person	to:	'he' (masc.)	te	'they'
	ti	'she' (feminine)		

In Varli IIIrd person pronominals have two forms in singular one for masculine and the other for feminine. However, there is only one form in the plural.

Like nouns, personal pronominals inflect for case and take the postpositions also. Before the pronouns take the case suffix certain morphophonemic changes take place.

For example :

/dOi/ is a dative marker added as a suffix to pronominal base as follows :

mOi	- /o/	- /a/	mãdOi	'to me'
hamhi	- /hi/	- /∅/	hamdOi	'to us'
tũ	- ~	- /∅/	tudOi	'to you' (sg.)
tumhi	- /hi/	- /∅/	tumdOi	'to you' (Pl.)
to:	- /o/	- /a/	ta:dOi	'to him'
te	- /o/	- /ã/	tã:dOi	'to them'

In Varli, the possessive marker /c/ has two allomorphs, /c/ and /jh/. /c/ is suffixed to 1<sup>st</sup> person plural, 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural and to all the forms of IIIrd person. However, /jh/ is added to the rest of the personal pronominals (i.e. 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular).

mO:i ma:jho 'my' /o/ → /a/

hamih hamco 'our' /i/ is dropped when the possessive marker

/cO/ is suffixed.

tũ tu:jho 'your' (Sg.) /nasalisation (~) → /ø/

tumhi tu:mco 'your' (Pl.) /hi/ is dropped before possessive marker

-cO is added to it.

to:ta:co	'his'	/ o /	→	/ a /
teta:co	'their'	/ e /	→	/ ā /
tita:ci	'her'	/ i /	→	/ a /

Nominative case marker / hē / has two allomorphs / hē / and / hī /. Generally, / hē / is suffixed to the singular base and / hī / to the plural base.

mOhē	'I'	ha:mhī	'we'
tuhē	'you' (Sg.)	tumhi	'you' (Pl.)
te:hē	'he'	tahē	'they'

### Adjective

Varli adjectives can be categorized as inflected and uninflected. The inflected adjectives take different inflections in agreement with number and gender of the nouns. Whereas, uninflected adjectives do not agree with number and gender marker of the nouns.

In the inflected category the gender determiner functions along the noun.

### Uninflected Adjective

Phonologically, it is seen that those adjectives which end with the consonant do not inflect with the following nouns. Hence it is considered as uninflected category, for example :

ba:rik	po:so	'small boy'
dOvOr	gohOIO	'old man'

kOThOn	ka:in	'hard work'
be:s	di:S	'fresh day'
cipOT	manus	'miser person'
sã:kOD	va:T	'narrow way'
gOri:b	po:si	'poor girl'
mOjbu:t	dOgOD	'strong stone'
pOghOD	sOROk	'wide road'

### Inflected Adjective

Those adjectives which end with a vowel could be inflected for number and gender of the following nouns. Therefore it is considered as inflected category. They agree with nouns they qualify. In the following example, / o / is a masculine singular marker which can also be added as a suffix to the adjective. / o / is replaced by / i / which is the feminine marker. By adding the suffix / e / to the adjectival base, in place of /o/, we get masculine plural. For example :

Masculine (Sg.)		Masculine (Pl.)	Feminine (Sg. , Pl.)
ũ:co	'tall'	ũ:ce	ũ:ci
mOTTO	'big'	mOTTe	mOTTi
bã:Tho	'short'	bã:The	bã:Thi
bOhO:ro	'deaf'	bOhO:re	bOhO:ri
le:MgDO	'lame'	le:MgDe	le:MgDi
ni:Lo	'blue'	ni:Le	ni:Li
ra:to	'red'	ra:te	ra:ti
ja:Ro	'fat'	ja:Re	ja:Ri

The Adjectival suffixes agree with the gender and number marker of the qualifying noun or pronoun. For example :

ũ:co	gho:Ro	'tall horse' (masc. Sg.)
ũce	gho:Re	'tall horses' (masc. Pl.)
u:ci	gho:Ri	'tall mare' (fem Sg. and Pl.)

to: ja: Ro	gho: Ro	'that fat horse' (masc. sg.)
ti: ja: Ri	gho: Ri	'that fat mare' (fem. sg.)
te: ja: Re	gho: Re	'that fat horses' (masc. pl.)

### Numerals

Numerals are of three types, namely ( i ) Cardinals ( ii ) Ordinals and (iii) Fractionals

#### (i) Cardinals

In Varli for counting the mathematical numbers the cardinal numerals are used.

For example:

ye:k	'one'
do:n	'two'
tin	'three'
ca:r	'four'
pã:c	'five'
sO	'six'



sat	'seven'
a:Th	'eight'
nOu	'nine'
dOs	'ten'
Okra	'eleven'
bara	'twelve'
tera	'thirteen'
cOvda	'fourteen'
pOndhra	'fifteen'
soRa	'sixteen'
sOtra	'seventeen'
OThra	'eighteen'
unvis	'nineteen'
vi:s	'twenty'
ekvis	'twenty-one'
bavis	'twenty two'
tevis	'twenty-three'
cOvis	'twenty-four'
pOvis	'twenty-five'
sOvis	'twenty-six'
sOtavis	'twenty-seven'
OThavis	'twenty-eight'
untis	'twenty-nine'

tis	'thirty'
caRis	'fourty'
pOnnas	'fifty'
saTh	'sixty'
sOttOr	'seventy'
Ëysi	'eighty'
nOvvOd	'ninety'
so:u	'hundred'
hOjar	'One thousand'

## (ii) Ordinals

There are very few ordinal numerals in Varli language. It occurs in a sentential form as the construction goes. Hence the ordinals are :

pehli	mOino	'first'
pehla	jhaD	'first tree'
dusri	po:si	'second daughter'
dusra	ghO:r	'second house'
tiji	po:si	'third daughter'
tija	bha:bis	'third sister-in-law'

## (iii) Fractional

Fractional numerals are exemplified as :

cOutha	'one fourth'
--------	--------------

adha	'half'
deDh	'one and a half'
ORhei	'two and a half'

### Verb

Verb Root: The verb roots may be considered as of two types – Transitive and Intransitive. Below are presented the two categories of verb roots.

#### **Transitive verbs :**

dhOr	'catch'	hucal	'pick'
cokho	'clean'	kheco	'pull'
kOr	'do'	dhOkau	'push'
bOnau	'make'	Thou	'put'
bhegO	'mix'	pu:s	'rub'
jagDo	'quarrel'	vik	'sell'
cOD	'climb'	bOnd	'shut'
sap Din	'get'	alOT	'throw'
de	'give'	dhOu	'wash'
dOv Ro	'send'	kapi	'cut'
		cOrOt	'graze'

#### **Intransitive verbs :**

pODOu	'fall'	thukOl	'spite'
vohũ	'flow'	sujO	'swell'
dhOkai	'hit'	ci:r	'split'
khol	'open'	na:C	'dance'

uRiM	'fly'	ja:	'go'
rOwO	'play'	uTh	'get up'
		cal	'walk'

Verbal roots can also be classified according to their syllabic patterns. Both monosyllabic and disyllabic roots are available in Varli.

**The Monosyllabic roots –**

CVC -	na:c	'dance'	phũ:k	'blow'
	kOr	'do'	pho:D	'break'
	va:L	'bend'	ta:n	'drag'
	mo:D	'break'	vĩ:n	'knit'

CV -	ga:	'sing'
	ja:	'go away'
	pi:	'drink'
	kha	'eat'
	de:	'give'
	ghe	'purchase'

VC - These patterns are less frequent in Varli.

for example ;

O:p	'offer'
a:n	'bring'
uTh	'get up'

### The Disyllabic roots -

CV+CVC	-	ba:sOk	'demolish'
		la:ta:T	'kick'
		sa:kOT	'making piece / break'
V+CVC	-	ũ:cOl	'carry'
		ughOD	'open'
		a:lOT	'throw'
		uta:r	'take down'
		a:rOD	'shout'

### **Finite verb**

The Finite verbs are those which can be inflected for number, gender, person, and tense.

### Tense

Three types of tenses are tense seen in Varli. These are Present, Past and Future.

Present tense marker which is suffixed to the verbal root has three allomorphs.

/ -Ot / , / -vOt / and / -t /

If a verb root ends with vowel phoneme, the present tense marker is / -vOt / . For example,

dhã: vōt 'running / run'

dho: vOt 'washing / wash'

ro: vOt 'playing / play'

Verb in present tense does not inflect for person directly in the present tense, but person is marked only in auxiliary part of it which is a component of a verb.

moi dhã : vôt a:hai	'I run / I am running'
ha:mhi dhã:vôt a:haũ	'We run / We are running'
tũ: dhã:vôt a:has	'You run / You are running' (Sg.)
tumhi dhã:vôt a:hijha	'You run / You are running' (pl.)
to: dhã:vôt a:hai	'He runs / He is running'
te: dhã:vôt a:hat	'They run / They are running'

The Consonantal ending verb roots have / -Ot- / as the present tense marker.

kOr-Ot	'doing / do'
mOr-Ot	'dying / die'
kaT-Ot	'killing / kill'
uTh-Ot	'waking / wake'
ã: MgL-Ot	'bathing / bath'
ka:p-Ot	'cutting / cut'

If a verbal root has / a / as the ultimate vowel, the present tense suffix is / t / eg.

kha:t 'eating / eat'.

### Past Tense

Past tense marker / vin / has four allomorphs, / vin / , / i / , /in/ and / Oin / which are added to the verbal root.

If a verbal root ends in a vowel, past tense marker is / vin /.

For example;

dh:ã-vin	'ran'
ro:-vin	'played'

Consonantal ending verbal roots occur with / i / and / in / as past tense marker.

For example;

kOr-i	'did'
mOr-in	'died'
kuT-i	'killed'
uTh-in	'wake up'
ka:p-i	'cut'

If a verbal root ends in a consonant cluster, past tense marker is / Oin /.

For example;

a: MgLa: MgLOin	'bathed'
-----------------	----------

### Future tense

Future tense has no separate tense marker. However, a set of person and number markers express the tense as well.

In future tense, 1<sup>st</sup> person singular is marked by / voĩd / and / Oĩd /. If verb root ends with a vowel then / voĩd / is suffixed to it.. If the root ends with a consonant, then / Oĩd / is suffixed to the root. For example :

dha:-voĩd	'will run'
dho:-voĩd	'will wash'
ro:-voĩd	'will play'
uTh-Oĩd	'will rise'
kOr-Oĩd	'will do'
ka:p-Oĩd	'will cut'

1<sup>st</sup> person plural is marked by / vōd / which occurs after vowel ending verbal roots and /ōd/ occurs after consonantal ending roots. Example :

dhā:-vōd	'will run'
dho:-vōd	'will wash'
ro:-vōd	'will play'
kuT-ōd	'will kill'
uTh-ōd	'will rise
ka:p-ōd	'will cut'

IInd person singular is marked by / vis / and / his /, while vowel ending verbal roots except / a / take / vis / and consonantal ending roots take / his /. Example :

dha:-vis	'will run'
dho:-vis	'will wash'
ro:-vis	'will play'
kOr-his	'will do'
mOr-his	'will die'
ka:p-his	'will cut'

IInd person plural is marked by inflections within the verb itself. Plural suffix /jha/ has three allomorphs /jha/ /ijha/ and /vjha/. /vjha/ occurs after vowel ending verbal roots and /jha/ after consonantal ending verbal roots /ijha/ occurs after /a/ ending verbal roots. Example :

kOr-jha	'will do'
mOr-jha	'will die'
kuT-jha	'will kill'



kha:i-jha	'will eat'
dho:v-jha	'will wash'
ro:v-jha	'will play'
dhã:v-jha	'will run'

IIInd person singular marker /Oid/ has three allomorphs, /vOid/, /id/ and /Oid/. /Oid/ occurs after consonantal ending /vOid/ after vowel ending and /id/ after /av/ ending verbal roots.

kOr-Oid	'will do'
mOr-Oid	'will die'
kuT-Oid	'will kill'
dho:-vOid	'will wash'
ro:-vOid	'will play'
dhã:-vOid	'will run'
kha:-id	'will eat'

IIIrd person plural marker / it / has two allomorphs / vit / and / it /. / it / occurs after consonantal and / vit / after vowel ending verbal roots. Example:

dhã:-vit	'will run'
dho:-vit	'will wash'
ro:-vit	'will play'
kOr-it	'will do'
mOr-it	'will die'
ka:p-it	'will cut'

/ v / is infixd between verbal root and tense marker if the root ends in a vowel.

dhã	+	v	+	it	'will run'
dho:	+	v	+	it	'will wash'
ro:	+	v	+	it	'will play'
dhã:	+	v	+	Oid	'will run'
dho:	+	v	+	Oid	'will wash'
ro:	+	v	+	Oid	'will play'
dhã:	+	v	+	is	'will run'
dho:	+	v	+	is	'will wash'
dhã:	+	v	+	jha	'will bath'
ro:	+	v	+	jha	'will play'

The exception is that in / kha- / 'eat' root where the / v / is not infixd.

### Auxiliary

Auxiliary composed a root plus tense, Person and number marker. Generally inflectional markers of the nouns agree with the inflectional markers of the verb. However, in Varli auxiliary root is / a:h / from which tense is generated.

In present tense different inflectional markers are suffixed to the root / a:h /: Ist person singular is / aĩ / and Ist person plural is / aũ /, IInd person singular is / a:s /, and IInd person plural is / a:hijha /, IIIrd person singular is / a:i / and IIIrd person plural is / at /.

## Present tense

	Singular	Plural
Ist person	aĩ	aũ
IIInd person	a:s	a:hjha
IIIrd person	ai	at

For example :

mOi	dhã:vot	a:haĩ	'I run / I am running'
mOi	kha:t	a:haĩ	'I eat / I am eating'
hO:mhi	dhã:võt	a:haũ	'We run / We are running'
hO:mhi	kha:t	a:haũ	'We eat / We are eating'
tũ:	dha: võt	a:has	'You run / You are running'
tũ:	kha:t	a:has	'You eat / You are eating'
tumhi	dha:vOt	a:hijha	'You run(pl.) / You are running'
tumhi	kha:t	a:hijha	'You eat(pl.) / You are eating'
to:	dhã:võt	a:hai	'He runs / He is running'
to:	kha:t	a:hai	'He eats / He is eating'
te	dha:vot	a:hat	'They run / They are running'
te	kha:t	a:hat	'They eat / They are eating'

## Past tense

In past tense, auxiliary marker is / a:si / an uninflected form. It becomes an obligatory component of the verb, if the perfect markers / no / in the singular and - / ne / in the plural are suffixed to it. The verb forms occur as below :

mOi	dhã:vno	a:si	'I had run'
tũ:	dha:vno	a:si	'You had run'

tuhẽ            dho:vne        a:si            ‘You had washed’

The present tense perfect marker / no / which in added to the verbal root and IIIrd person singular auxiliary / a:hai / which becomes an obligatory component of the verb in all the persons.

mOhẽ	ka:m	kOrno	a:hai	‘I have done the work’
hOmhi	ka:m	kOrno	a:hai	‘We have done the work’
tuhẽ	ka:m	kOrno	a:hai	‘You have done the work’
tumhi	ka:m	kOrno	a:hai	‘You have done the work’
tehẽ	ka:m	kOrno	a:hai	‘He has done the work’
tihĩ	ka:m	kOrno	a:hai	‘They have done the work’

The past tense auxiliary / a:si / becomes a component of the verb when perfect markers /no/ in the singular and /ne/ in the plural are suffixed to the verbal root. Hence, the paradigm shows as :

mOi	dhã:vno	a:si	‘I had run’
mOi	khadno	a:si	‘I had eaten’
mOi	dho:vne	a:si	‘I had washed’
hamhi	dhã:vne	a:si	‘We had run’
hamhi pa:r	kOrne	a:si	‘We had crossed’
tũ:	dhã:vno	a:si	‘You had run’
tũ:	mOrno	a:si	‘You had died’
tumhi	dhã:vne	a:si	‘You had run’
tumhi	kha:dho	a:si	‘You had eaten’

to:	dhā:vno	a:si	'He had run'
to:	mOrno	a:si	'He had died'
te:	dhā:vne	a:si	'They had run'
te:	mOrno	a:si	'They had died'

Some verbal roots are used as imperative for IInd person singular.

For example;

likh	'you (Sg.) write'
kha	'you (Sg.) eat'
ja	'you (Sg.) go'
cODh	'you (Sg.) climb'
dhOkOl	'you (Sg.) push'

/ a / and / ya / are the two plural and honorific imperative markers suffixed to the verbal root. / a / is suffixed to a consonantal ending root and / ya / to a vowel ending root.

likha	'you write (Pl.)'
kha:ya	'you eat (Pl.)'
jaya	'you go (Pl.)'
cODha	'you climb (Pl.)'
dhOkla	'you push (Pl.)'

### **Infinitive**

An infinitive form of the verbal root is formed by suffixing / ð:co / and / vð:co / to it. / vð:co / is suffixed to vowel ending roots and / ð:co / to the consonantal ending roots.

cODhð:co	'to climb'
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ku:Tõ:co	'to kill'
marõ:co	'to die'
dhõ võ:co	'to run'
dhã:võ:co	'to drink'

/ õ / is dropped from the suffix / võ: co / if the root ends in / a /.

kha:vco	'to eat'
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### Causatives

The causatives are formed by suffixing / ov / to the consonantal ending roots and /vo/ to vowel ending roots.

na:c	nacov	'make some one dance'
ro:v	ro:vov	'make some one play'
dOvOD	dOvRov	'make some one send'
buD	buRov	'make someone dip'
dhOka	dhOka:vo	'make someone push'
kha	khavo	'feed'

#### 4. SYNTAX

In Varli, the sentence constitutes with subject and predicate. Both subject and predicate are considered as two basic constituents. The subject in a sentence is treated as nominal or noun phrase and predicate is treated as a verbal constituent or verbal phrase. A noun phrase consists of a noun, determiner, number, case and gender. Determiners include an adjective, articles, demonstratives, question elements case markers and postpositions etc. Possessive nouns are formed in addition of the possessive suffixes and it agrees with the number and gender of the object nouns.

Example:

jha:Raco	pa:n	'leaf of the tree'
baileci	Topli	'basket of the woman'
bOilace	ka:n	'ear of the bull'

Personal pronominals are inflected for number, gender and case, which mostly occur with the noun phrases.

For example;

mājho	TokkOl	'my head'
ta:co	su:no	'his dog'
ti:co	nOvro	'her husband'
ta:ci	bOhnis	'his sister'
yo:	gOhlo	'this man'
to	gOhlo	'that man'
ye	a:khe gOhle	'these men'

ti:            ba:il            'that woman'

yi:            ba:il            'this woman'

Indefinite determiners in Varli which are attributive to nouns, are :

kOle:k        'how'        e:k            'one'

kOle:k        june        ahaat        'how old is that'

e:k            ghoRa                            'one horse'

Question form is the combination of the question morpheme with other elements of nominal phrase.

For example :

kOci                            'which'

kOci ga:Ri                    'which train'

Most of the question morphemes agree with the number inflection of noun and demonstrative pronoun.

For example :

yi            kOci            rutu            'which season is this'

ye            kOce            rutu            'which seasons are these'

to            kOnaco        ghoRo        'whose horse is that'

Adjectives along with the noun also form nominal phrases. Two types of adjectives can be attributed with the nominals. These are non-inflectional adjectives and inflectional adjectives. Non inflectional adjectives occur with the noun phrase.

For example :

bes            poso            'good boy'

bes            pose            'good boys'



Inflectional adjectives occur with the noun phrases such as,

moTo	poso	'big boy'
moTe	pose	'big boys'
moTi	copDi	'big book'
moTe	copDe	'big books'

### Types of Sentences

The Predicate of sentences can be of three types: Interrogative Negative Affirmative. The main verb is an obligatory element of the verb phrase and the verb phrase decides the sentence pattern in a language. The verbs are of different categories such as copulative, intransitive, transitive and causative. There is a relationship between the main verb with its complements. Phrases can have both auxiliary verb and the main verb. Some phrases can have only the auxiliaries. Besides, main verb with auxiliary verb also inflects for Person number, gender, person and case. Auxiliary verb inflects for person number only when it occurs in place of main verb but gets gender when it is a complement to the main verb. The sentence occurs with transitive verbs as in.

tũ	po:sadOi	na:MgOt	aha:s	'you see the child'
ti	po:sadOi	na: MgOt	ahai	'she sees the child'
te	mã:dOi	na: MgOt	ahat	'they see me'
mOi	ta:dOi	na: MgOt	ahãi	' I see her'

Intransitive verbs do not take noun phrase as a complement in a sentence.

For example :

ham hi	dhã:vin	'we ran'
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po:so	pODno	a:si	'child is fallen'
hamhi	Thak ne	a:si	'we slept'
tu	mOrOd	a:si	'you are dying'

### Negative

In sentential construction negatives also play a role of predicate. Negative morpheme functions in place of verb. But in some sentences predicate is formed by negative and verb together.

yi	ra:t	nā:hi	'It is not night'
yo	ka:maco	nā:hi	'It is of no use'
yo	mājho	ka:m	nā:hi 'This is not my work'
yo	pa:ni	piyonco	nā:hi 'This is not drinkable water'
mOi	ka:m	nāhi	kOrOt 'I do not do the work'
tū	ka:m	nāhi	kOrOs 'You do not do the work'

### Interrogative

Two types of interrogatives are found in Varli. One is that where there is no predicate and another one has a predicate.

tujho	nav	kai	'what is your name'
mājhe	hari	kon	yed 'who will come with me'
tū	kOi	jahis	'when are you going'
to	kai	ahai	'what is that'

## Syntactic linkage

In Varli noun phrases concord with verb phrases. And verb phrases always agree with noun phrases since the categories of person, number, gender and case occur accordingly in the sentences, e.g.,

mOi	dhã:vOind	'I will run'
hOmhi	dhã:vOnd	'we will run'
tũ	dhã:vis	'you will run'
tumhi	dhã:vjha	'you will run'
to:	dhã:void	'he will run'
ti:	dhã:void	'she will run'
te:	dhã:vit	'they will run'

Noun also agrees with adjective in number and gender.

mOTo	pO:so	'big boy'
mOTe	pO:se	'big boys'
mOTi	pO:si	'big girl'

## Conjunctions

Conjunctions join two or more sentences. This occurs neither as subordinate to the other nor could be said to occur as independent.

For example;

su:no	bhũ:kOt	a:si	ne
hOmhi	a:mbo	kha:d	a:si

'Dog is barking and we have eaten a mango'

to . e:k no:t likhOt a:ha:i ne  
hOmhi bha:khOr kha:t a:hãu

'He is writing a note and we are eating a bread'

### Co-ordination

The phrases and sentential constructions could be combined with the help of co-ordination form, such as / ne / 'and' and occurs in the sentence as follows;

mOi a:j jewOn bha:khOr ne Da:l kha:d

'Today I ate rice roti and dal'

a:yane bha:khOri kOri pa:Ni aNi ne sOphai kOri

'mother prepared the roti, brought water and cleaned the house'

ramu, samune dOsu a:j saLimã nã:hi iya:u

Today Ramu, Samu and Dosu did not come to school.

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**Comparative Vocabulary List**

Sl. No.	Gloss	Davar Varli	Dungar Varli	Dhodia	Kokni / Kokna / Kukna	GUJARATI	MARATHI
1	air	hOwa	va.ra:	hOwa	va.ra:	hOwa	ha:wa:
2	ashes	ra:kh / la:kha:Ro /arkhoRo	rakhaRi	harkhat	ra:khaNDi	rakhoRi / ra:kh	rakhu:Ndi / ra:kh
3	cloud	DamOr	DhOg	wadoD	dhogā	vadOL	DhOg
4	cold	sī:	hyū / thONDa	hī	seLā	thONDu	thOND
5	darkness	ra:t	andher	Ondhara	a:ndha:r	ondharu	Ondha:r
6	earth	jOmin	bhūi	jOmin	bhūi	jOmin	jOmin
7	eclipse	grihON	girha:n	ghiriyaN	girhO:n	grOhON	grOhON
8	fire	a:g	a:g	a:gThi	sto:v	Ogni	a:g / Ogni
9	fog	dhumOs / kolha	dhu:kOT	dhuyēr	dhū:kOT	dhumOs	dO:vO
10	forest	jOMgOL	jha:Ri	joMgOL	joMgOL	jOMgoL	jOMgOI
11	hill	Dungri	DoMgOr	dogro	DuMgOr	duMgOr	TekRi
12	ice	bOrOf	bOrphO	bOraf	bOrph	bOrOf	bOrf
13	island	TapO	Te:p	Tapa	Ta:pu	Tapu	be:T / dwip
14	moon	candO	cā:nd	cand	cā:nd	candi / cOndrO	cOndrO
15	mountain	DOgOr	DoMgOr	Dogro	DuMgOr	pOrbOt	pOrvot
16	rain	pa:ni	pa:ni	vOrhat	Pa:ni	vOrsad	pa:us
17	river	kha:Ri		nOi	nOyi	nOdi	nOdi
18	road	sOROk	va:T	sOROK	va:t / sODOK	rOsto / marg	va:t / rOsta
19	sand	reti	reti	reti	vahūTH / reti	reti	vaLu
20	sea	dOriyo	dOrhE	dOriyo	dorya	dOriyo / sa:gOr	sOmudrO
21	sky	aka:s	a:bhuT	aka:s	abha:L	aka:s	a:kas
22	snow			bOraph	ga:ra	kOra:	ga:ra
23	star	ta:ra	candnē	ta:ra	candnī	ta:ra	ta:re / candnī
24	stone	dOgOD	dOgOD	dOgOD	dOgOD	pOthOr	dOgOD
25	way	va:T	va:T	va:T	va:T	va:T	va:T
26	storm	va:ramORi	va:rajhORi	va:ramoRi	vaidhOn / yedi	vOnToRiyu	va:dOL
27	sun	di:s	di:s	surOj	di:s	suryO	suryO
28	water	pa:ni	pa:ni	paNi	pa:ni	paNi	pa:ni
29	weather	vata:bOrON		Owama:n	va:tavOrON	hOwama:n	hOwamOn
30	wind	va:ro	va:ra:	va:ro	va:ra	pObOn	va:ra:
31	wood	la:kOD	phaTi	lakORa	la:kud	lakRa	la:kud
32	baby	po:so	pose	pohā	posE	baLOk	ba:LO
33	boy	po:so	pOse	poho	posE	chokoro / putro	mu:lga
34	bride	nOvri	nOvOri	nOvri	nOvOri	kOnya	vO:dhu
35	bridegroom	nOvrO	nOvOra	nOvro	nOvOra	vOr	vO:r
36	brother (elder)	moTa bha:s	dada	mOToba	mO:Tha bha:us	moTa bha:i	da:da
37	younger brother	ba:rik bha:s	baba	ahito ba	ba:rik bha:us	nana bha:i	loha:n bhau
38	child	po:so	pose	pohā	posE	baLOK	ba:LO
39	daughter	po:si	po:rghi	pohi	po:rghi	chokri / putari	mu:lgi
40	father	bapus	ba:	ba	ba:	bapuji / pitaji	vODi:l
41	friend	dosta:r	dosta:r	dosta:r	dosta:r	dost / mitro	mitro
42	girl	po:si	po:rghi	pohi	po:rghi	chokri / putari	mu:lgi
43	husband	dhOni / nOvrO	nOvOra	dhONi	nOvOra	pOti / dhONi	pOti
44	male	gohOIO	gohOle	maTiRo	da:da	purus	purus/ma:nus / mOnusyO
45	marriage	vOraR	lOgin / vOraRh	veva	pOgin	bibah / lOgnO	lOgnO
46	maternal uncle	mamo	mama	mamo	ma:ma	mama	ma:ma
47	mother	aya	aya	vai	a:ya	ma:	a:yi
48	nephew	bhaNJO / bhOtrijo	bhanja	bhaNej / bhOtre	bhasas	bhaNej / bhOtrijo	bhaca / putONiya
49	niece	bhaNji / bhOtriji	bhanji	bhaNeji / bhOtri	bhasis	bhaNeiji / bhOiji	bhaci / putONI
50	oldman	DOvOr	DOvOr	DohO	bhōta:ra	DoSo	mhata:ra
51	oldwoman	DOvOri	DOvOri	Dohi	bhota:ri	Dosi	mhata:ri

**Comparative Vocabulary List**

Sl. No.	Gloss	Davar Varli	Dungar Varli	Dhodia	Kokni / Kokna / Kukna	GUJARATI	MARATHI
52	person	manus	gohole	maNuh	ma:nus / gohOle	maNos	byOkti
53	tall	uco	ūca	ucō / lambo	ūca	uco	ūc
54	lean	patlo	patOL	patOLO	patOL	patOLO	patOL
55	fat	jaRo	jaRa	jaRo	jaRa	jaRO	jaRa / IOthO
56	dumb	muMgO	guMga / muka	muMgRo	muka	muMgO	muka
57	blind	andhDo	andhla	andhro	andhLa	andhRo	andhLa
58	sister	bOhOni:s	bOhOni:s	bhONih	bOhO ni:s	be:n / bOhe:n	bOhin
59	sister-in-law	ba:bhis	OhOni:s	bha:bi	bOhOni:s / bOhir	bha:bi	vOhini
60	brother-in-law	bha:s	bha:s	bhavOD		bOnevi	mehuna
61	son	po:so	pose	pohO	posE	chokoro	mulga
62	widow	raNDki	ranDajel	ranDaiLi	ranDki	bidhva	vidhva
63	wife	bail	baiko	DohaRi	baiko	pOtni	pOtni
64	woman	bail	baiko	DohaRi	baiko	stri / be:n	mOhila / Bai
65	ant	muglo	mūgi	mulay	mūgi	kiRi	mūgi
66	bird	ciRo	pākhru	ciRaM	pākhru	pOMkhi / pOksi	pOksi
67	cat	mā:jro	mānjor	bilaRi	mānjOr	bilaRi	manjōr
68	cock	kukRo	komDa	kukRo	komDa	mOrgo	komDa
69	hen	kukRi	komDi	kukRi	komDi	mOrgi	komDi
70	cow	ga:y	ga:i	gai	ga:y	gai	ga:y
71	crab	belkoR	belkOD	kurvilo	kēhkOD	kOrcolo	khekDa
72	dog	suno	kutra	kutro	kutra	kutro	kutra
73	egg	sa:khū	sakhū	hakhū	sahū	iNDu	onDi (pl.) / OND
74	feather	pi:s	pi:s	pi:s	pi:s	picha	pi:s
75	fish	masle	masi	masli	ma:siM	machil	mO:chi / ma:ss
76	fly	uROc	ma:kh	uRe	ma:kh	makhi	masi
77	fox	kolo	kolha	kola	kolha	sial	kolha
78	goat	bo:kDo/bo:kDi	bo:kDo/bo:kDi	bokoRi	bOkuD / bOkuRi	bOkri	bOkra (m) bOkri (f)
79	horn	siM	siM	hingRa	siM	siMgRa	siya
80	horse	gho:Ro	ghoRa	ghoRO	ghoRa	ghuRO	ghORa
81	lion	sī:h	sīhO	sīh	sīhO	sīh	siMge
82	house	gOr	ghOr	ghOr	ghOr	ghOr / mOka:n	ghOr
83	monkey	va:ndro	makOD	vandoro	makOD	vandOro	makOD / vandOr
84	nest	jhOro	khōpa	goThO	khōpa	maLo	ghOrTe
85	tail	se:pTi	sēpTi	puchRi	semTi	puchRi	sepTi
86	tiger	ba:gh	khORe	ba:gh	khORe	ba:gh	va:gh
87	tortoise	kachbo	ka:su	kachbo	ka:sOr	kacbo	ka:sOr
88	wing	pā:kh	pā:kh	pākh	pōkh	pakh	pOkh
89	work	ka:m	ka:m	ka:m	ka:m	ka:m	ka:m
90	back	boroRo	mOgharsi	vahō	magahun	pi:Th	pa:Timage
91	belly	peT	pOt	peT	pOt	peT	pOT
92	blood	rOgOt	rOgOt	IO?i	rOgOt	lohi	rOkTO
93	body	sOrir	ang	Dil	aMg	sOrir	sOrir
94	bone	haRke	ha:Ruk	aRkā	ha:Ruk	haRka	ha:D
95	chest	sathi	chati	ThaThi	sati	chati	cha:ti
96	ear	ka:n	ka:n	kan	ka:n	kan	ka:n
97	eye	Do:Lo / Do:LE	Dola	DoRo	DoLa	a:kh	DoLa
98	face	cehro	toND	cehro	toND	cehro	to ND / cehera
99	fever	jOro	zorala	tav	jOraM	tav	ta:p
100	finger	aMgThi	aMgThi	aMgThi	aMgThi	a:MgLi	aMgThi
101	flesh	ma:ss	mas	mah	ma:s	mas	māūs
102	foot	pāi	pā:i	pa:	tOLpāi	pOg	tOLpāi

### Comparative Vocabulary List

Sl. No.	Gloss	Davar Varli	Dungar Varli	Dhodia	Kokni / Kokna / Kukna	GUJARATI	MARATHI
103	hair	kē:s	kēs	lOTiyē	kē:s	baL	ke:s
104	hand	hath	ha:th	ath	ha:t	hath	ha:t
105	head	TOkKOI / Doi	Doka	Doi	Doki	mathu	Doke
106	leg	paī	pā:i	pa:	pā:i	pOG	pa:i
107	lip	hoTh	hōTh	oTh	hōTh	hoT	o:TH
108	liver	ka:Lid	ka:lij	kaleja	ka:lij	kOleju	jOThor
109	mouth	mukhO	toND	moama	toND	modu / mo	toND
110	neck	gORo	bOGOD	go?Ra	ma:n	goLu	ma:n
111	nose	na:k	na:k	nak	na:k	nak	na:k
112	tongue	ji:bh / ji:b	ji:bh	ji:bh	ji:bh	ji:bh	ji:bh
113	tooth	da:t	dā:t	da:t	dā:t	da:t	dā:t
114	waist	kOmOr	kOmbOr	kOD	kOmbOr	kOmOr	kOmOr
115	fruit	phOD	phOI	phOD	phOL	phOL	phOL
116	liquor	da:ru	da:ru	daru	da:ru	daru	da:ru
117	salt	miTh	mi:T	miTha	ga:ra	miThu	mi:TH
118	smoke	dhuka:v	dho:r	dhuāDo	dhu:r	dhumaRo	dhu:r / dhuā
119	uncooked rice	cokhe	cokho	cokha	cokha	cokha	tanduL
120	banana	keLa	keLa	keRe	kela	keLa	keLi
121	cloth	Dogle	kapOD	kOpORe	kOpODa	kapOD	kOpODa
122	cotton	kapOD	ka:pus	kaPOD	ka:pus	kOpa:s	ka:pus
123	flute	pāwi	pā:vi	pāwi	pā:vi	wasDi	basuri
124	stick	lakDi	lakuD	lakOD	lakuD	lakDi / laThi	kaThi
125	bed	khaTlo	khaTla	khaTlo	khaTla	khaTlo	andhruN
126	door	ba:r	da:r	ba:r	da:r	barONu	dorwaja
127	house	gOr	ghOr	ghOr	ghOr	ghOr	ghOr
128	roof	ma:D	sOt	maD	chOt	chOt	chOt
129	rope	du:r	do:r	DoRa	do:r	dOraRu / dori	do:r
130	wall	kuD	kuD	kuD	ku:D	divaL	bhīt
131	well water	kuacO pa:ni	vihica pa:ni	khamanO paNi	kuacO Pa:Ni	kuanu paNi	vihirca pa:ni
132	window	bari	khiDki	bari	ba:ri	bari	khiDki
133	bamboo	vās		wahaNi	ja:D	bas	bambu
134	basket	Tokri	TokOr	Tokri		Tokri	
135	banian	voD		VOD	VODjhaD	vOD	vODac jhaD
136	bark	sal	sa:l	sal	sa:l	chal	sa:l
137	brinjal	vaMge	vaMgi	weMgNa	vaMg	bengON	vangi
138	chilly	mirī	mirci	mirivila	mirci	mOrcu	mirci
139	coconut	nariyOl	narel	nariyol	nariyOl	nariyOL	narOL
140	creeper	wela	vel	wela	vel	wel	vel
141	flower	phul	phul	phul	phul	phul / puspo	phul
142	garden	ba:g	ba:g	ba:g	ba:g	ba:g / bOgicO	ba:g
143	grass	cariyO	carhE	ghas	gOwOt	ghas	gOwOt
144	guava	bijora	peru	bijOra	peru	jhOmruk	peru
145	jackfruit	phOnOs	phOnOs	phONOs	PhOnOs	phONOs	phONOs
146	leaf	pa:n	pa:na	pa:n	pa:n	pandRu / pOrONC	pa:ni
147	mango	ambaO	amba	ambO	amba	keri	amba
148	paddy	ba:t	bha:t	bhat	bha:t	Onaj	penDy
149	potato	bOTaka	bOTaTo	bOTaka	boTaTē	bOTaTa	bOTaTa
150	root	mū	mul	muDia	muL	muL	mu:L
151	sweet	guī	goD	gu?La	goD	gOLiya / miThu	goD
152	tree	jha:D	jhaD	jhaD	jhaD	jhOD / bruksh	jhaD
153	vegetable	tOrkari	bhajipala	haghhoji	bhajipala	sagbhaji	bhajipala
154	wheel	ca:kO	ca:k	pōiDa	cakā	pēNda	cOkro
155	gum	cik	ci:k	gundOr / ci:k	Dīkh	gundOr	dīk
156	labourer	mOjjur	mOju:r	kamvaDa:	mOju:r	mOjjur	mOjur
157	farm land	set	syEt	khetOr	se:t / awOn	khetOr	se:t



**Comparative Vocabulary List**

Sl. No.	Gloss	Davar Varli	Dungar Varli	Dhodia	Kokni / Kokna / Kukna	GUJARATI	MARATHI
158	money lender	seTh	bakida:r	seThia	saukar	seTh	se:Th
159	net	bhaRi	jal	sokiya	jaLo	ja:L	jaLe
160	potter	kumbar	kumbhar	kumbhOr	kumbhar	kumbhar	kumbhar
161	pot	mOTka		doriya		maTlu	
162	bullock cart	bODOd galu/bOilg	bOilga:Ri	bOlgli	bOlgaRi	bODOdgaDi	bOilgaRi
163	bitter	KODu	koRu	kODwā	KORu	kODwa	KORu
164	black	kao	kaLa	kara	ka:La	kaLa / kaLu	ka:La
165	bright	gorTi	swOccO	koli	andhLa	prOkas	prOkas
166	brown	maTiar	maTirong	mOTuDi	maTirOng	maTi / rakhoDi	ma:TiroMg / tOpkil
167	coldness	siO	syū	heDa	thONDi / hyū	thONDi	thONDi
168	green	lilo / niLo	nila	lila	hirwa	lilo	hirwa
169	hat	Topi	Topi	Topi	Topi	Topi	Topi
170	light			jakho	ujeD	prOkash / phika	ujeD
171	red	rato	TamDa	lal	tamDa	lal	la:l
172	sour	khaTo	khaTa	khaTa	khOTa / ambOT	khaTu	ambOT
173	white	ujjo	ujja	ujjOra	sOphed / dhOvLa	sOphed	sOphed
174	yellow	pinjOro	piūla	pinjOro	piula	piLo	piaLa
175	hungry	bhukhO	bhuk	bhukhailo	bhuk	bhuk	bhuk
176	love	prem	premkOr	prem	prem	prem	prem
177	pain	du:kh	dukhO	du:kh	dunkh	du:kh	dukh
178	true	khOrQ	khOri	khOra	khora	saci	sOtyO
179	wish	iccha	icca	iccha	iccha	iccha	iccha
180	school	nisaD / saLa	saLa	nihaD	sa:La	nisaD	sa:La
181	teacher	mastOr / guruji	mastOr	mastOr	mastOr	siksOk	guruji / siksOk
182	drum	Dhol	Dhol	Dhol	Dhol	DholOk	Dhol
183	enemy	dusmOn	dusmOn	dusmOn	dusmOn	dusmOn	sOtru
184	debt	dOrjO		ruN	ba:ki	ruN	kOrOj
185	divorce	kaDhunthOvi	sORun	chutacheDa	suTaseDa	chuTacheDa	tyag
186	theft	cori	cor	cori	co:r	cori	ghoTospot
187	festival	sOpOrbO	son	hOpOrbO	sOn	Tohewar / uchhav	sOn / pOrvO / utsOv
188	garland	phulhar	mal	phular	mal	phulhar	mal
189	heaven	swOrgO	swOrgO	swOrgO	swOrgO	swOrgO	swOrgO
190	hell	nOrk	nOrk	nOrk	nOrOk	nOrk	nOrkO
191	worship	pūja	devkOrOt	puja	pu:ja	puja	pu:ja
192	games	rOmOt	khel	rOmOt	kheL	rOmOt	kheL
193	brass	tambe	tambe	tamba	tamba	tOmba / loTo	basuri
194	gold	sona	sona	huna	sona	sonu	sone
195	iron	lOkhiND	lOkhOND	lukhuNO	lokhiND	lukhoND	lokhoND
196	lime	cuna:	cuna	canO	cuna	cunO	cuna
197	money	pOise	pOisO	pOiha	peisa	pOisa	peisa
198	silver	rupO	candni	rupā	candi	candi	candi
199	first	pehli	pOhla	poili	pOhOla	pehlu / prOthOm	prOthOm
200	second	dusri	dusra	duhri	dusra	biju	dusra
201	third	tiji	ti:sra	tiji	ti:sra	tiju	ti:sra
202	one	ye:k	ye:k	ye:k	he:k	e:k	ye:k
203	two	do:n	dO:n	be	do:n	be:	do:n
204	three	tin	ti:n	tin	ti:n	trON	ti:n
205	four	ca:r	ca:r	car	cya:r	car	ca:r
206	five	pāc	pā:c	pāc	pā:c	pāc	pā:c
207	six	sO	sO	cho	sa:ha	chO	sO:ha
208	seven	sat	sat	hat	sa:t	sat	sa:t
209	eight	a:Th	aTh	aTh	aTh	aTh	aTh
210	nine	nOu/nOv	nOv	nOu	nOv	nOu	nOv

**Comparative Vocabulary List**

Sl. No.	Gloss	Davar Varli	Dungar Varli	Dhodia	Kokni / Kokna / Kukna	GUJARATI	MARATHI
211	ten	dOs	dOha	dOh	daha	dOs	dOha
212	sixteen	soRa	sola	sol / hol	soLa	soL	soLa
213	twenty	vis	vi:s	vih	vi:s	vis	vi:s
214	forty	caRis	calis	calih	caLis	caLis	caLis
215	bind	bandhocO	band	bandhuna	bandh	bandhvu	bandh
216	blow	phukoCO	phūk	phuk	phūk	phukvu	phūk
217	break	toD	toDla	toDunO	toD	toDvu	toD
218	burn	peTOv	peTvla	peTav	peTv	sODgavu	peTv / jaLin
219	catch	dhor	dhorla	dOrih	ghe: / dhOr	pOkODvu	pOkOD / dhOr
220	clean	cokho	canglakela	cokha	sa:ph	sOphai	sa:ph
221	do	kOr	kO:r	kOr	kO:r	kOr	kO:r
222	fall	poDOu	poDla	pODuna	pODla	pODwu	pODla
223	flow	vohū	nihla	vOhi	nihla	vOHijau	va:hun
224	hit	dhOkai	dhOkavla	dhokla	dhOkavla	dhokvo	dhOkka marOni
225	hold	dhor	dhorla	dhOr	dhOr	dhOr / pOkDo	pOkOD
226	make	bOnav	banavla	bOnaw	bonav	bOnaw	bOnav
227	mix	bhego	milOvla	bhega	bhegOLvOi	meLaw	bhegOL
228	open	khOl	ughOla	ugaR	ughO	kholo	ughOD
229	pick	hucal	uThOvla	ucāk	ucOL	ucOk / upaDo	ucOL
230	play	rOwo	khelOt	rOmetai	khe:L	rOmvu	khe:L
231	pull	khecōbaher kOr	khēcla	khecna	hēcOk	khecvu	khe:c
232	push	dhOkav	dhOkavla	dhOkona	dhOkav	dhOkelo	DhOkOl
233	put	Thou	Thevla	thOu / rakh	ThOv	rakhvu	Theav
234	rub	pu:s	pusla	pus	pu:s	sa:ph	pu:s
235	sell	vik	bikla	vec	bi:k	becvu	becne
236	shut	bOnd	bOndkila	bOnd	bOnd kOr	bOndOrvu	bOndkOr
237	sink	Dubav	Dubla	DubaDuhuna	burOv	DubaDuvu	buRovne
238	spit	thukOL	thukla	thuk	thūk	thukvu	thūkne
239	swell	sujO	sujhla	hOjO	sujh	sojo	sujh
240	tear	asoL	asoLa	a:hū	a:suR	ā:su	a:su
241	throw	aloT	jhugarla	lakh	jhuga:r	phēkvu	phekne
242	wash	dhob	dhOvla	dhou	dhOv	dhovu	dhOv
243	cut	kapi	kapOt	kapi	ka:p	kapuvu	ka:pne
244	split	ci:r	ci:Ot	ci:huna	ci:r	ci:rvu	ci:r
245	kill	mari	marla	mari	marla	marvu	marne
246	quarrel	jogRo	jhOgORa	viRyna		jhOgDo	
247	sing	gana	gana	gav	ga:na	gavu	gaNe
248	arrive	pOhōcin	pOhūcla	pugnO	pOhūclo	pohōcVu	puhūcni
249	bring	an	gheniye	lav	a:n	lavu	a:n
250	climb	coD	cORh	CORh	cORh	cORhvu	cORh
251	come	sath / ye	ye	ehak	ye	avu	ye
252	dance	nac	na:c	nac	na:c	nacvu	na:c
253	enter	ma:jeola	a:tja	ja:huna	a:tja	jO:v	prObesh
254	escape	pODhūjoū	pOrla	pOLigOv	pOLOla	bha:gijO:v	pOLne
255	fly	uRin	uDla	uRi	uDla	uRvu	uDne
256	get	sapDin	mila	miLuhuna	sāpDla	mOLvu	sāpODne
257	get up	uTh	uTh	uTh	uTh	uThvu	uTh
258	give	de / o:p	de	de	de	apvu	de
259	go	ja	ja	ja	ja	jOvu	ja
260	jump	kud	kudla	kudhuna	uDO	kudvu	uDi
261	move	phir	phir	phirija	phir	phOrija / pacha / g	pOrOt
262	run	doD	dhavla	damon	dhavla	dorvu	dhavne
263	send	dOvRo	paThvla	dOvaR	dOvaRla	mOkOLvu	paThvne
264	slip	ghOsOD		hOripODun	cikonoia	tOpsipODu / pOD	ghOsrla

### Comparative Vocabulary List

Sl. No.	Gloss	Davar Varli	Dungar Varli	Dhodia	Kokni / Kokna / Kukna	GUJARATI	MARATHI
265	stand up	ubhO	ubhar	ubhOrO	ubhauTH	ubharOhu	ubharOha
266	swim	pObOyi	pōvOt	to:re	pōvne	tO:rvu	pōvne
267	swing	hindoLay	hesōkat	indoLO	hindOLa	hīcko	jhOrOkha
268	take	gheūja	ghenja	leguO	ghendha:ū	lOijavu	
269	vomit	wanti / ulTi	ulTi	ukunO	uLTi	ulTi	ulTi
270	walk	cal	cala	cal	ca:l	calvu	ca:line
271	cultivate	pikin	ungvla	pikna	uMgvla	ugaduvu	ugavne
272	comb	Okhwei	ukOrla	vaLuDhuhna	ukOL	vaLhOLuva	vinca:me
273	graze	cOrOt	cOrOt	cOretai	cOrOt	cO:rvu	cOrOne
274	lend	udhar	bakide	udhar	ba:ki	udhari	ruN
275	milk	dudh	dudh	dudh	dudh	dudh	dudh
276	plant	rop /carhE	carhE	so:D	jOrOpa	choD	ropTE
277	see	naMg	naMgla	er	de:kh	jOvu	pahaNe
278	sow	rop	pe:rla	bamNi	pi:rla	vamNi	pe:rNi
279	bark	bhuk	bhukOt	bhuk	bhūkla	bhukvo	bhūkNi
280	bite			cahuna	cavla	kO:Dvu	cavNi
281	cook	rOsoi	randhOt	rOsoi	randh	rOsoi bOnabi	swOyOmpa:k
282	drink	piva	pi	pihina	pi:	pivu	pi:ne
283	eat	kha	khat	kha	kha:	khau	kha:ne
284	feed	khavOv	carot	khaval	khavaDla	khObOdalovu	bhOrune
285	suck			cuhuhuna	cugh	cu:svu	cosne
286	tie	bandhocO	bandOt	bandona	bandh	bandhvu	bandhNe
287	wear			pOrohna	bhOrOla	pOhe:rvu	ghalne
288	answer	boloi	jav	ba:tde	jOv	jObabapo	uttOr
289	ask	sudh kOrai	vicarOt	pusuna	vicar	puchvu	vicar
290	call	bolaw	vahrOt	ha:dhuna	bOlav	bulabvu	bOlavne
291	say	alkhOi	saMg	bo:l huna	saMg	kOhevu	saMg
292	shout	hOjDarDe	arDOt	o:waj kOr	arDola	bummarvi / O:uajk	OrODne
293	write	likh	likhOt	lOkhuhuna	li:h	lOkhvu	li:hne
294	burn	peTav	peTav	piTuhuna	peTva:i	sOLgabvu	
295	choose	gOmei	pOsOnd	gOme	niva:R	pOsOnd kOrvu	niva:RkOrme
296	die	mOrin / gujOrgOy	mela	mOrigova	me:la	mOrija:vu	me:la
297	live	rOhet	rOhOt	rOhe	rOhOto	rOhivu	rOhOne
298	earn	pOisa SODvOi		kOmave		kOmavu	
299	listen	a:yOk	a:yek	ayikuhuna	ayek	sambhOLvu	
300	sit	boS	bo:s	bOhija		besjavu	boS
301	count	mejhōdakhav	mej	gONuhuna	me:j	gONvu	mO:j
302	learn			si:kh	sikhav	si:khvu	sikhne
303	think	vicarkOr	aThvkOr	vica:ruhuna	icca:r	vica:rvu	vicarkOrme
304	cry	rO:D	rO:D	ro:Duhuna	rODOt	ro:Dvu	rODone
305	fear	DO:r		vik	bhEu	DO:ri ja:v	bhiti
306	laugh, smile	hO:s	hO:s	ohuna	hōs	hO:svu	hōsne
307	read	va:c	va:c	ra:cuhuna	vā:c	va:cvu	va:cne
308	sleep, lie	so:		huhuna	ni:j	su:ijavu	jhOpne
309	smell	ghOna:w	va:s	hung	va:s	suMgvu	va:sghe
310	taste	ca:kh	cakhOt	ca:kh	cakh	ca:khvu	cOugONE
311	touch	ha:t lOgav	hat lav	ha:tlOgav	hatlavla	spOrsOkOrovu / c	spOrsO
312	wake up	uTh	uTh	uThohuna	uTh	uThijOvu	u:Th
313	annoy	viRhoyi	rogkeli	Okhijvai	rO:g	krO:dh kOroro	ragavNe
314	kiss	cumbOn	cumbOn	cumbOn	muka	cumbOn	cumbongilNi
315	tired	hoTvoi	bhoMgla	bhoMgiguO	bhoMgla	tha:kjavu	thOkOvayene
316	bathe	aMghOL	aMghvia	aMghoLona	aMghDla	na:hOvu / snan k	aMgOLi
317	buy	bikOtgh	viokOt	veca:ta	ikOt	becO:vu	vikOt ghiNi
318	meet			milhuna	bheTla	mOtuvu	bheTla
319	show	dakhOv	dakhav	dekhaD	dakhav	bOta:vo / dekha:v	dakhav

**Comparative Vocabulary List**

Sl. No.	Gloss	Davar Varli	Dungar Varli	Dhodia	Kokni / Kokna / Kukna	GUJARATI	MARATHI
320	name	nav	na:v	na:v	na:v	na:mO	na:v
321	all	a:khe	akhO	ghONa		ghONa / bOdha	sOrvo
322	bad	bhuNDo	veT	naihajja	vaT	khOra:b	vaiT
323	big	mOTo	mOTha	mOToba	moTha	moTO	mOTha
324	dirty	bhuNDo	veT	melo	vaT	gOndo	ghene Da
325	dry	sukho	sukha	hukha	suki	suki	suki
326	few			thoDā	thoDe	thoDu	thoDe
327	full	a:khe	akhO	bOdha	bhOrel	bOdha:	bhOrel
328	good	be:S	caMgla	hajja	caMgla	saro	caMgle
329	honest	sado	caMgla	hado		sadu	pramaNik
330	long	Digho	du:r / Digha	lambo	du:r	lambO	lamb / du:r
331	many	ghOne	jasti	boghONO	pOkT	ghONa	puskOL
332	narrow	saMkoRO	sakOD	hankODa	sākOD	sakoDo	orund
333	new			nOva:	nOva	nOva:	nOvin
334	old	june		juna	juna	juna	june
335	right	bOrabOr	bOrabOr	hajja:	khOra	bOrabOr / sa:cu	bOrabOr
336	lie	ThOg	ThOg	khoTa	ThOg	juThOv	ThOg
337	short	ba:rik	ba:rik	aito	TheMgne	nano	TheMgna
338	some	thoRek	kāhi	thoDe	kāhi	thoDa	kaHī
339	soft	pocO / nOrOm	nOrOm	nOrOm	nOrOm	nOrOm	lahan
340	straight	sOROM	ni:T	hidhO	ni:T	sidho	sOrOl
341	strength	ta:kOt		ta:kOt	takOt	sOkTi	takOt
342	weak	patOL		mando	duvLa	manda	OsOt
343	wise	hu:siya:r		husiya:r	huser	hosiyOr	husa:r
344	east	purbo	purva	uMgNav	uMgyOt	purvO	purbo
345	end	chelo	SevOT	herlo	sevOT	chelle	sevOT
346	leftside	dabahdio / dabiba	Daveiku:n	dabibaju	daveiku:n	dabibaju	Dave ba:ju
347	middle	mOjhar	mōdhi	vODema	mōdhi	bOcce / modhyOn	mOddhye
348	north	utOr	uttOr	utOr	utOr	uttOr	uttOr
349	right side	jOmONi baju	ujve iku:n	jOmONi baju	jebneiku:n	jOmONibaju	ujviba:ju
350	south			eThObva		pOScim	pOsim
351	again	bOkhOt	ajhun	kulikvar	ajhun	barOmbaRO	barOmvar
352	before			a:gOD	puRhO	hOrroj / dOr roj	ro:j
353	daily	roj	eksOrkha	doinik	ro:j	pe:le	capurvi
354	day	di:s	di:s	di:	di:VOs	divOs	di:vos
355	evening	wihance	velce	wokhate	vehce	sanj	sOndhya ka:L
356	fast / quick	weg	Dahla	weg	IOkhOr	wOhellu	IOukOr
357	full moon day	punOm	punOv	punum	punOv	punOm	pornimi
358	late	moRi	mOMga	moRi	uSir	moRi	usir
359	month	mOino	mohina	mOino	mOhOna	mOhino	mOhina
360	morning	sOKaLe	sOKa:l	hObar	sOKa:L	sObarO	sOKa:L
361	night	ra:t	ra:t	rat	ra:t	rat / ratri	ratRO
362	season	rutu	rutu	rutu	ru:tu	ru:tu / mosOm	rutu
363	today	a:j	a:j	aj	a:j	aj / a:je	a:j
364	tomorrow	yetakal	udE	kal	udE	abtikal	ude
365	yesterday	gOikal	kaldi	goikal	kaldi	gOikal	ka:l
366	after / afterwards	mOMge	mOMge	pOsī	mOg	pOchithi	mOntor
367	behind	mOgla Thin	mOghar	pasaD	maghī	pachOd	mage
368	between	mOjha:r	mOghe	vOcmā	mōdhi	vOcce	mOddhye
369	by	thi / pa:s	Thi	thi	khOl	thi	ne
370	down	buRa	khal	nice	buRhī	nice	khali
371	for	dOi	dOi	hara	saThi	tomhar maje	saThi
372	from	si	si	ghOrthi	hūn	ghOrthi	un
373	he, she	to / ti	to / ti	to / ti	to / ti / te	te / teNi	to / ti / te

**Comparative Vocabulary List**

Sl. No.	Gloss	Davar Varli	Dungar Varli	Dhodia	Kokni / Kokna / Kukna	GUJARATI	MARATHI
374	to her / to him	ti:co/ta:co		a:Ne / a:Ni		e:ne / ene (f)	tila / tela
375	here	OthOi		anj		ohī	ikDe
376	his / her	ta:co / ti:co	teca / tica	aNa / iNa		eno	tace / tice
377	how	kOlok		kāhāk	kOsaMk	keva:	kOsOkai
378	I	mOi	mī	mē	mī	hū	mī
379	it / this	yo:		a:	ha / hi / he	a:	ha / hi / he
380	to it / this			a:Na		e:ne	
381	its / of this			a:Na		e:nu	
382	to me	mājho	ma:IO	maNDe	ma:IO	maro	mOla
383	my	mā:jhi / mā:jha	mānjhi	maNa	mānjha	mari	mānjhe
384	our	amco	hOmca	amNa	amca	hOmara	amce
385	not	nahai / nahī	nāhi	nai	nāhi	nOthi / nOhi	nāhi
386	that	to: / ti: / te:	to / ti / te	pelā	to / ti / te	pellō	to / ti / te
387	to them	tāhdhi	tēhO	ye	tēhO	tero	tēna
388	then	mOMge		pOsī	mOg	pOchi	nOntOr
389	those	te:		te	te	te	te
390	there	tOthOi		ta:hā	tOtho	tiyā	tikDe
391	they	te:	te	to	te	tewo	te
392	their	te:co		aNe	tēhcO	tena	tēcē
393	these	ye:		yebOdhe	yehōcO	bOdha	hēcē
394	to us	hamdOi	hamdOi	amūbOdhe	amhalO	a:pNe bOdha	amhala
395	we	hamhi	hamhi	ami	amhi	ame bOdha	amhi
396	what	kai	kai	ka	kai	sō	kay
397	when	kOi	koi	kiar	kOdvO	kiare	kehwa
398	where	kOt	koThO	kā	koThO	kiā	koThe / kuThe
399	who	ko:n	kon	kuN	kon	koN	ko:n
400	whom	ko:ndOi	ko:ndOi	kaNi	konholo	koNhe	konaLa
401	you	tū	tū	tū	tū	tu	tū / tumi
402	to you	tudei	tulO	tuā	tulO / tumhala	tomre	tula / tumhola
403	your	tumco (pl. masc.)	tujha	tumNa	tujha	tOmaru	tujha / tumce
404	year	sal	sal	vOrih	sa:l	vOrOs	vOrOs
405	and	ne	ane	ne	On	One	ani
406	at	ma	at	ma		ma	at
407	if	nahaite	jō	nahaite	jō	ōgOr	jOr
408	in	maj	at	OndOr		OndOr	at / mOddhe
409	mouse			undOro		undOr	undir
410	spider	kOroDiyo	koLi	hunthiDa		kOroDiyo	koLi
411	beard	daRhi	DaRhi	daDhi		daDhi	daRhic
412	moustache	mus / misE	misye	mus / muh		much	misa / misi
413	navel			bembi		DuTi	na:vi / bembī
414	mirror	kā:c	arsa / ka:c	ka:c		Oriso	arsa