

Marathi

Rajeshwari V. Pandharipande



Descriptive Grammars

MARATHI

Marathi, the language of Maharashtra, is one of the major Indo-Aryan languages of India. This descriptive grammar provides a comprehensive and sophisticated account of the syntax, morphology and phonology of the Marathi language.

Marathi bridges the long-standing gap between the traditional descriptions of Marathi and contemporary linguistic analyses. It includes in-depth discussion on topics of cross-linguistic interest, such as phrase structure, anaphora and reflexives, subordination, coordination, relativization, causativization, negation, and word order. Regional, dialectal and stylistic variations are also covered, together with significant sociolinguistic and functional aspects of the various structures of Marathi.

Marathi is presented in a broad, universally intelligible linguistic framework which makes it accessible to linguists and non-linguists, and native speakers and non-native speakers alike. It provides a rich resource for those interested in language typology, language variation, language geography and language contact.

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DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMARS

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EDITORIAL STATEMENT

Until quite recently, work on theoretical linguistics and work on language description proceeded almost entirely in isolation from one another. Work on theoretical linguistics, especially in syntax, concentrated primarily on English, and its results were felt to be inapplicable to those interested in describing other languages. Work on describing individual languages was almost deliberately isolationist, with the development of a different framework and terminology for each language or language group, and no feeding of the achievements of language description into linguistic theory. Within the last few years, however, a major rapprochement has taken place between theoretical and descriptive linguistics. In particular, the rise of language typology and the study of language universals have produced a large number of theoreticians who require accurate, well-formulated descriptive data from a wide range of languages, and have shown descriptive linguists that they can both derive benefit from and contribute to the development of linguistic theory. Even within generative syntax, long the bastion of linguistic anglo-centrism, there is an increased interest in the relation between syntactic theory and a wide range of language types.

For a really fruitful interaction between theoretical and descriptive linguistics, it is essential that descriptions of different languages should be comparable. The *Questionnaire* of the present series (originally published as *Lingua*, vol. 42 (1977), no. 1) provides a framework for the description of a language that is (a) sufficiently comprehensive to cover the major structures of any language that are likely to be of theoretical interest; (b) sufficiently explicit to make cross-language comparisons a feasible undertaking (in particular, through the detailed numbering key); and (c) sufficiently flexible to encompass the range of variety that is found in human language. The volumes that were published in the predecessor to the present series, the *Lingua Descriptive Studies* (now available from Routledge), succeeded in bridging the gap between theory and description: authors include both theoreticians who are also interested in description and field-workers with an interest in theory.

Editorial statement

The aim of the Descriptive Grammars is thus to provide descriptions of a wide range of languages according to the format set out in the *Questionnaire*. Each language will be covered in a single volume. The first priority of the series is grammars of languages for which detailed descriptions are not at present available. However, the series will also encompass descriptions of better-known languages with the series framework providing more detailed descriptions of such languages than are currently available (as with the monographs on West Greenlandic and Kannada).

Bernard Comrie

MARATHI

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The publisher has gone to great lengths to ensure the quality of this reprint
but points out that some imperfections in the original may be apparent.

**For my parents
who gave me the precious gift of the Marathi language**



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KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

∅	nominative/deleted noun phrase
1/1p	first person
2/2p	second person
3/3p	third person
abl	ablative
acc	accusative
adj	adjective
adv	adverb
adv.part	adverbial participle
ag	agent
asp.	aspirated
aux	auxiliary
caus	causative
clt	clitic
comit	comitative
comp	complementizer
compr	comparative particle
compr	comparison
conc	concessive
cond	conditional
conj	conjunction
conj.part	conjunctive participle
cont	contingent
cor	correlative marker
cor-eq	correlative equative
dat	dative
def	definite
dem	demonstrative
DO	direct object
emph	emphatic

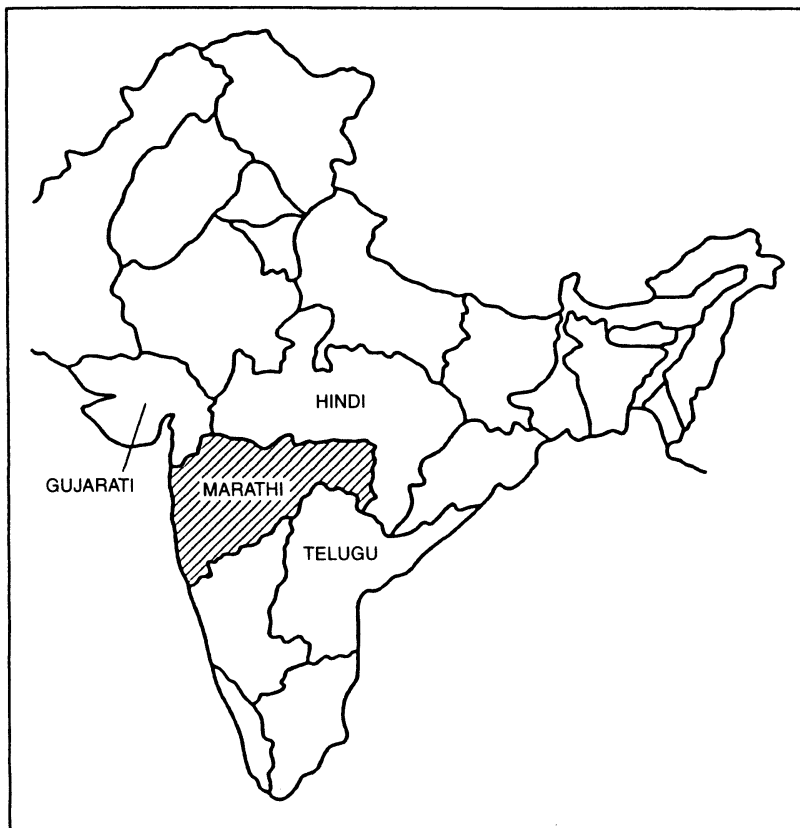
Abbreviations

eq	equative
erg	ergative
excl	exclusive
f/fem	feminine
fut	future
gen	genitive
ger	gerund
H	Hindi
hab	habitual
hon	honorephic
hum	human
i	subscript/coreference
imp	imperative
imperf	imperfective
incl	inclusive
incr	increment vowel
indef	indefinite
inf	infinitive
inst	instrumental
intr	intransitive
intens	intensifier
irr	irrealis
IO	indirect object
lit	literally
loc	locative
M	Marathi
m/mas	masculine
n/neut	neuter
neg	negative
nom	nominative
obl	oblique
oblig	obligative
opt	optative
ord	ordinal
part	participle
pass	passive
perf	perfect
perf.part	perfective participle
pl	plural
pl.f	plural singular
pl.m	plural masculine
pl.n	plural neuter

Abbreviations

poss	possessive
pot	potential
pp	postposition
PRC	participial relative clause
pres	present
pres.part	present participle
prog	progressive
proh	prohibitive
prox	proximate
pst	past
pst.part	past participle
pt	particle
Q	question
quot	quotative
redu	reduplicated item
refl	reflexive
rel	relative marker
rel-eq	relative equative
rel.part	relative participle
rem	remote
sf	singular feminine
s/sg	singular
S/Skt	Sanskrit
sm	singular masculine
sn	singular neuter
SRC	sentential relative clause
sug	suggestive
top	topic
tr	transitive
uhon	ultra honorephic pronoun
unasp.	unaspirated
vd.	voiced
vl.	voiceless
voc	vocative

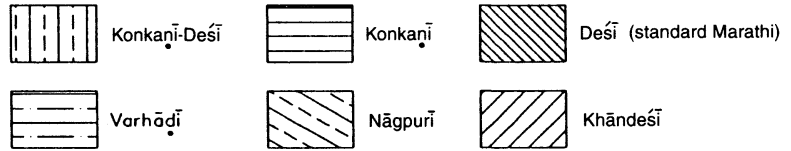
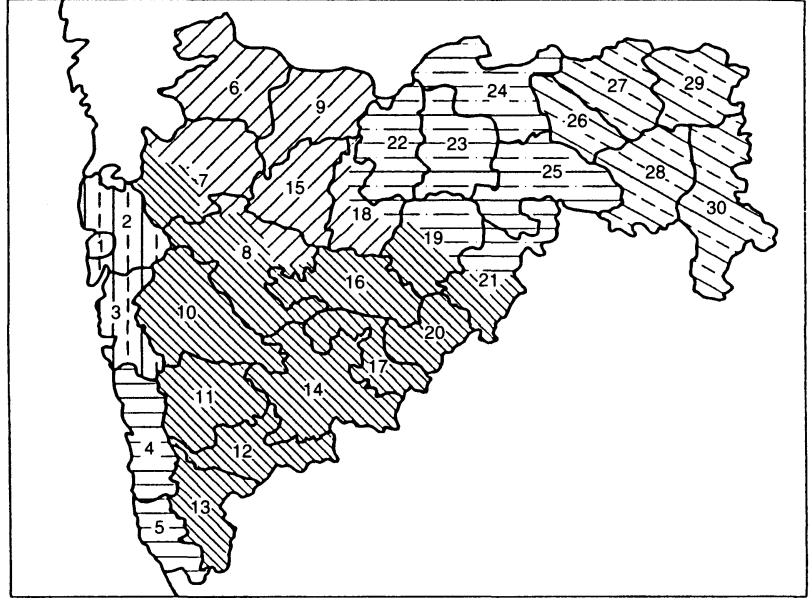
MAP 1
INDIA
MARATHI AND ITS NEIGHBOURING LANGUAGES



Note: Boundaries are neither political nor to scale. Adapted from Schwartzberg (1978). Plate X.B2. p101.

MAP 2

MAJOR DIALECTS OF MARATHI



1. Bombay 2. Thane 3. Raygad 4. Ratnagiri 5. Sindhudurg
6. Dhule 7. Nashik 8. Ahamadnagar 9. Jalgaon 10. Pune
11. Satara 12. Sangli 13. Kolhapur 14. Solapur 15. Aurangabad
16. Bid 17. Usmanabad 18. Jalna 19. Parbhani 20. Latur
21. Nanded 22. Buldhana 23. Akola 24. Amaravati 25. Yavatmal
26. Vardha 27. Nagpur 28. Chandrapur 29. Bhandara 30. Gadchiroli

INTRODUCTION

Marathi, etymologically derived from Mahārāṣṭrī '(the language) of the great (*mahā*) land/nation (*rāṣṭra*), is one of the major modern Indo-Aryan languages. Marathi is one of the eighteen official languages in India and the language of the Maharashtra state. The state covers a large area of 118,758 square miles which include thirty districts (see Map 2 on p. xxxiv) grouped in six socio-linguistic regions. The districts of Bombay, Thana, Raygad, Ratnagiri and Sindhudurg are grouped under Konkan region, Dhule, Nashik, Ahamadnagar and Jalgaon are grouped under Khandesh, Pune, Satara, Sangli, Kolhapur and Solapur are grouped under Desh, Aurangabad, Bid, Usmanabad, Jalna, Parbhani, Latur and Nanded are grouped under Marathwada, Buldhana, Akola, Amravati, Yawatmal and Vardha are grouped under Varhad, and Nagpur Chandrapur, Bhandara and Gadchiroli are grouped under Vidarbha. (Varhad, and Vidarbha are generally viewed as two divisions of Mahavidarbha.) There are approximately sixty two million speakers of Marathi, including speakers outside the native state of Maharashtra. Marathi occupies a geographically unique position since it is spoken in the area which links two major language families—Indo-Aryan in the north, and Dravidian in the south.

Maharashtra, traditionally called *dakṣiṇāpath* "the avenue to the south"(Kulkarni, K. P. 1969: 197), clearly has been viewed as a geographic, cultural, and linguistic link between the north and the south. Marathi is surrounded by Indo-Aryan languages such as Gujarati in the north and Hindi in the north and northeast, and Dravidian languages such as Kannada and Telugu in the south. (See Map 1 on page xxxiii.) It is therefore not surprising that Marathi shares features of both Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages. Additionally, within its native state of Maharashtra, Marathi has had sustained contact with politically dominant languages such as Telugu and Kannada (during the Yadav period 1000-1300 C.E.), Persian

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(Mughal period 1300-1700 C.E.), and English (British period 1700-1947 C.E.). This contact has resulted in large scale borrowings from these three languages into Marathi.

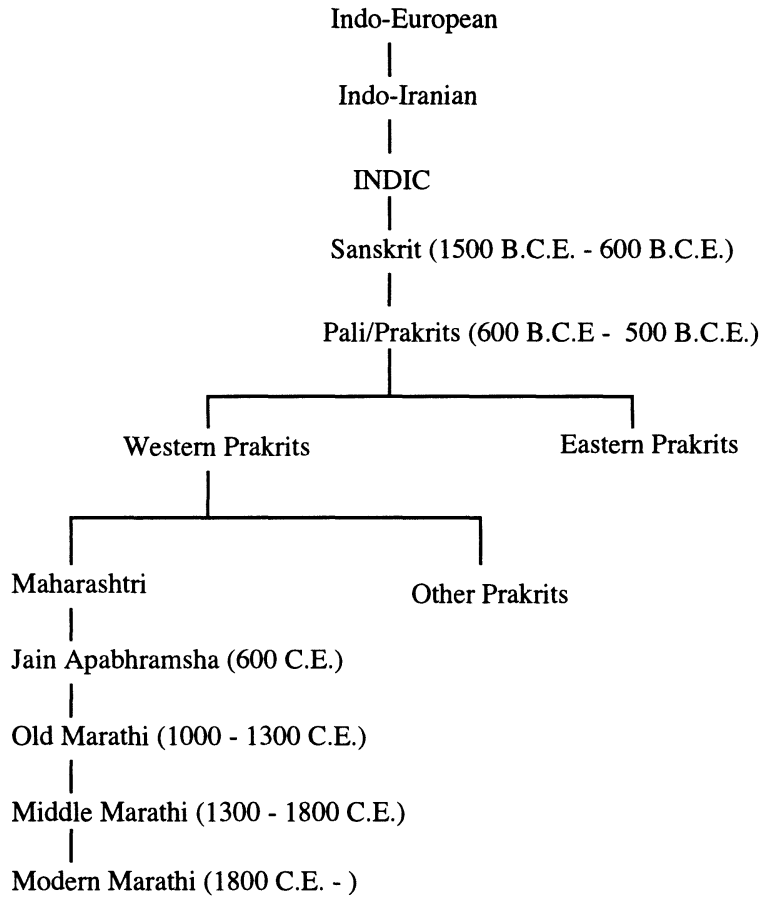
Although Marathi is a descendent of Sanskrit, Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṛt and Apabhraṃśa mark the two major chronological stages between Sanskrit and Marathi. The stages of the development of Marathi are generally recognized as Old Marathi (1000-1300 C.E.), Middle Marathi (1300-1800 C.E.), and Modern Marathi (1800-). The genetic roots of Marathi (i.e., Sanskrit > Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṛt > Mahārāṣṭrī Apabhraṃśa) are well known. However, the link between Marathi and the Jain Mahārāṣṭrī Apabhraṃśa was not known until the scholars like Gune, Jacobi, and Hiralal Jain edited literary works like *Nāyakumārācariya* and *Bhavisayattakahā* (for details see Tulpule 1960: 9). On the basis of the oblique base of Marathi and its synthetic structure (i.e., case-suffixes, as opposed to postpositions), scholars linked Marathi with its immediate predecessor Jain Mahārāṣṭrī Apabhraṃśa. (See Figure 1 for the origin and development of Marathi.) The first Marathi sentence, dated 1117 C.E., appears in the inscription on the statue of Gomateshwar at Shrāvan Belgola in the Mysore state. Additionally, the inscriptions of Parel (1187 C.E.), Patan (1206 C.E.), Pandharpur (1213 C.E.) and Pur (1285 C.E.) are some of early specimens of Marathi. However, based on the other inscriptional evidence, Tulpule (1969: 313) claims that the first attested record of Marathi may be earlier than 1200 C.E. Although it is difficult to assess the exact dates of early Marathi texts, the earliest literary text in Marathi is considered to be *Wiwekasindhu* of Mukundaraja in 1188 C.E.

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Figure 1

The Origin and Development of the Marathi Language

(Only the directly relevant branches are represented in the following figure to show the origin and development of Marathi.)



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Marathi shares features of Indo-Aryan languages such as SOV word order, a large number of Sanskrit words in the lexicon, and the gender and number systems. However, there are also present in Marathi some features which typically mark Dravidian languages, such as the quotative marker, a complex participial system, and extensive borrowings from Kannada and Telugu. Since Marathi shows a blending of the features of these two language families, it has been claimed to be a pidgin by Southworth (1971).

Like Hindi, Marathi uses the Devanagari script, locally known as *bāḷbodh* (understood by children, i.e., simple), with additional characters for /l/ and /r-/ in /r/- conjuncts. Historically, word-final /ē/ has changed to /a/ and is reflected in the orthography by the replacement of the original /ē/ by *anuswār*. Similarly, unpronounced nasals are dropped in Modern Marathi. The use of *modī*, an alternative cursive form of Devanāgarī for handwriting, is no longer common.

Marathi has retained some Old Indo-Aryan features, e.g., the distinction between aspirated and unaspirated voiceless stops and retroflexion. Vowels /a/, /i/ and /u/ contrast in length, and the contrast between oral and nasal vowels of Old Marathi is lost in standard Marathi and is marginally maintained only in some southern dialects of Marathi in certain contexts (e.g., *dzāḍā-var* 'tree-on' vs. *dzāḍā-var* 'trees-on', *gharā-tSyā* 'house-of' vs. *gharā-tSyā* 'trees-of', etc.). The retroflex flaps /ṛ/ and /ṛh/ are absent, while the /l/ of Dravidian and Old Sanskrit is present. Affricates are a salient feature of Marathi. However, the contrast between alveolar and palatal affricates (not reflected in the orthography) is neutralized before /y/ and /i/ and optionally before /e/. Although heavy syllables are generally stressed, stress is not distinctive in Marathi. Marathi has two numbers (singular and plural) and three genders (masculine, feminine, and neuter), similar to Old and Middle Indo-Aryan. Inflectional and derivational morphology is mostly affixal. However, the morphophonemic alternation of *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* vowels is also maintained. Nouns are classified according to gender and endings (vocalic or consonantal) and are declined for gender, number, and case. Syntactic and semantic functions of noun phrases are expressed by case-suffixes and postpositions. Marathi has three morphological cases: direct, oblique, and vocative. The oblique form occurs when a noun or a noun phrase is followed by a case-suffix or a postposition. Verbs occur in finite and non-finite forms. Marathi is set off from

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Hindi and brought closer to Dravidian by a much larger range and greater use of participles (Bloch 1920). Causatives are formed by adding *-aw* to the verb stem. Characteristically, *lāw-ṇe* 'to apply' can be added to any verb to form a coersive causative. Similar to other Modern Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi, Punjabi, and Gujarati, Marathi has compound verbs (verb + verb) as well as conjunct verbs (nominal + verb). Nouns and adjectives borrowed from Sanskrit and English freely participate in the latter sequence. Reduplication of nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbials are commonly used to convey intensive, distributive, and indefinite meanings. The verb in Marathi agrees with the subject in number, gender, and person, except when it is followed by a postposition */-ne/* in transitive perfective, optative, and obligational, where it agrees with the direct object. If both the subject and the direct object are followed by a case-suffix or a postposition, the verb remains in its unmarked form (i.e., third person, singular, neuter). Unlike Hindi, the agentive postposition *-ne* in Marathi is restricted to the third person only, and the postposition *-lā* (accusative/dative) does not always block agreement. Negation is expressed by a particle *-na* 'not' as well as by the verbs (like Gujarati and Tamil) *nas* 'to be not', *nako* 'don't' (prohibitive) and 'do not want', and *naye* 'should not'. The characteristic feature of Marathi is that these negative verbs agree with their subjects in person and number.

The earliest grammars of Konkaṇī (which was viewed as a variety of Marathi,) were written in Portuguese by Christian missionaries in Goa in the 17th century. Thus Father Stephens' *Arte da Lingua Canarim* (1640), a grammar of the Southern Konkani, and *Arte Canarina da Norte*, a grammar of the Northern Konkaṇī, written by a Franciscan Christian missionary (published in 1857, see Arjunwadkar 1987: 2) mark the first grammars of of Marathi.

The Marathi grammatical tradition has been rich and varied. The three major influences on the development of the Marathi grammatical tradition are: a) the European tradition (primarily of the Latin grammars), b) the native Sanskrit grammatical tradition, and c) the current western linguistic tradition. The grammars of Marathi written within these three traditions differ considerably from each other in their audiences, goals, and methodological frameworks. The grammars written within the European tradition were in English and primarily aimed at educating 19th-century Christian missionaries in regional languages of India (including Marathi) in order to enable

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them to successfully carryout their missionary activities. The notable grammars written within this tradition are: (Carey's *The Grammar of the Mahrattā Language* (1805), Stevenson's *The Principles of Murathee Language* (1883), Ballentine's *A Grammar of the Mahratta Language* (1839), and Burgess' *Grammar of the Marathi Language* (1854). Those grammars analyzed and described Marathi within the model of Latin and Latin-based languages. For example, eight parts of speech , active and passive voice, past, present, and future tense-system, etc., which are important features of Latin grammar, were assumed to be important tools for analyzing Marathi grammar as well. On the other hand, the aspect-based system of Marathi (similar to the Indo-Aryan languages) was ignored in these studies. However, these grammars provided tremendous impetus for analyzing Marathi within a new framework. Navalkar's *The Student's Manual of Marathi Grammar* (1925), and Kher's *A Higher Marathi Grammar* (1895) are two notable examples of the impact of this new tradition on Marathi grammars written in English.

The second and the most influential grammatical tradition which remains dominant till today is that of the Sanskrit grammars. Although some of the grammars of Marathi (Damle 1966 [1911]) do reflect some influence of the European tradition, most of the grammars actually written in Marathi abide by the Sanskrit grammatical tradition. The first two grammars in this tradition are *Pancawārtik* of Bhisamacarya (1300-1400 C.E.) and *Mahārāṣṭraprayog Candrikā* (1827, published in 1970) by Venkatmadhav which are modeled on Panini's *Siddhāntakaumudī*. Some of the prominent grammars in this tradition are Tarkhadkar's *Maharaṣṭra Bhāṣetse Vyākraṇ* (1836, 1850, 1879), Godbole's *Marathi Bhāṣete Nawīn Vyākraṇ* (1867), Joshi's *Praṇhabodh Marathi Vyākraṇ* (1889), Damle's *Shastrīya Marathi Vyākraṇ* (1911), and Sabnis' *Ādhunik Marāṭhse Vyākraṇ* (1951). The major contribution of these grammars was that they explained the patterns of Marathi (e.g., the case-system, word-compounds, verbal and nominal derivations, sandhi-rules, agreement, etc.) within the framework of the Sanskrit grammars and thereby highlighted some salient features of Marathi which differ significantly from Latin-based languages. Some of these grammarians, such as Damle, were familiar with both, the English/Latin-based tradition and the Sanskrit tradition, and therefore, brought to light and discussed the relative validity of the two approaches toward the analysis of Marathi.

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The third, and currently the most influential theoretical framework of Marathi grammar, is based on the western linguistic tradition—notably Chomsky's (originally transformational generative grammar, and its following incarnations, as well as other theoretical frameworks). The two grammars written in this tradition are Apte's *A Sketch of Marathi Transformational Grammar* (1962), and Kelkar's *The Phonology and Morphology of Marathi* (1958). Additionally, several studies are available in the form of individual articles and dissertations (see bibliography for details) on diverse aspects of Marathi grammar. The most valuable contribution of these works is that they provide methodological frameworks which allow the authors to understand the issues in Marathi grammar (e.g., the ergative pattern of agreement, variation in the properties of subject, etc.) within the context of universal/language-independent linguistic patterns and thereby provide a method for cross linguistic comparison.

As compared to the extensive work on synchronic grammar, the historical grammar of Marathi has not received adequate attention. Bloch's *The formation of the Marathi language* (1920, 1970 (translated into English from French by Chanana)), and Master's *A Grammar of Old Marathi* (1967) are the only two comprehensive studies on this topic. There is a definite need for studies on the diachronic grammar of Marathi which takes into account not merely internal historical developments in Marathi (from the early 20th century) but also give adequate attention to the impact of Marathi-Persian and Marathi-English contact on the structure and function of Marathi—in particular on the development of new styles, and registers. Some of the studies on Marathi dialects, such as Ghatge's *A Survey of Marathi Dialects* (1963) and Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*, Volume VII (1905) are useful for tracing the diachronic development of Marathi.

The tradition of linguists/grammarians needs a special mention here. These grammarians did not write grammars; rather, they raised specific issues related to the phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics of Marathi, as well as sociolinguistic issues such as the standardization of the language, the emergence of new varieties, sociocultural goals of grammar, etc. These studies examined the relative validity of the grammars of diverse theoretical motivations in resolving the issues. This tradition goes back to Chiplunkar's work *Marathī Vyākraṇāwar Nibandha* (1893). Other

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notable studies in this tradition include Gunjkar's *Marathi Vyākraṇāwar WitSār* (1867-1890, first published in 1942), Mangrulkar's *MarathitStyā Vyākraṇātsā PunarwitSār* (1964), Dikshit's *Marathi Vyākraṇ: Kāhī Samsyā* (1980), and Arjunwadkar's *Marathi Vyākraṇ: Wād āṇi Prwād* (1987).

Marathi has consistently maintained a very rich literary tradition from its earliest beginning to the present. Throughout the turbulent history of Mughal (13th through the 18th centuries) and then British rule (18th till the 20th century), Marathi has gone through various "incarnations." During the Mughal rule the official language of the state was Persian, while it was English during the British rule. During these periods, Marathi was sidetracked, and at best, overshadowed by the influence of Persian and English respectively. Thus the history of the Marathi language is permeated with the struggle to survive under severe adverse socio-political conditions. This linguistic history of Marathi is interesting from the point of view of understanding the crucial role of social context(s) in the development of the form and function of Marathi. Thus, a brief look at the forces which contributed toward the survival of the language might prove useful to understand the present form of Marathi.

The first attested poetic composition in Marathi is *Abhiṣṭārtha Chintāmaṇī* by Soma Deva, a Chalukya prince (1129 C.E.). Before its contact with the west, the early Marathi literature primarily focuses on religious themes and issues in continuation of the classical Sanskrit tradition. However, those early literary/religious works, specifically of the Mahānubhāva, Adināth and Adinārāyaṇa sects, reflect as well as critique the linguistic, social, and religious climate of their time. Jñāneśwar's monumental contribution to Marathi is *Jñāneśwarī* (also known as *Bhāvārthadīpikā*), which is a commentary on the Hindu religious classic, the Bhagavadgītā. That commentary served two major roles, one religious and the other linguistic. It brought to the masses who did not have access to Sanskrit, the philosophy/religion of the Bhagavadgītā (in Marathi, their own language). Secondly, it established and authenticated a strong literary tradition in Marathi and thereby elevated Marathi to the status of literary Sanskrit. In the centuries following Jñāneśwar, poet-devotees (*bhakta-kavī*) such as Nāmdev (1270 C.E.), Tukārām (1598 C.E.), Rāmdās (1608 C.E.), and Eknāth, (1615 C.E.), sustained the vitality of the literary tradition in Marathi through their emphasis on

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the practice of the "socially realistic religion and linguistic tradition". Other group of poets, such as Wāman Paṇḍit (16th century), Raghunāth Paṇḍit (17th century), and Moropant (18th century) who tailored their diction and themes after classical Sanskrit epic poetry, was influential during the Mughul/British rule of the 16th through the 18th centuries in educating the masses of their religious, cultural, and linguistic heritage and thereby sustained the growth of the Marathi literary tradition. Those poets harbored an enormous awareness of the need to maintain the linguistic identity of Marathi in the wake of internal as well as external forces. They not only raised a heightened confidence regarding the ability of Marathi to communicate the traditional religious/philosophical knowledge, which hitherto had been confined to Sanskrit, but they also cultivated a strong sense of national cultural identity in the face of foreign rule. (For details, see Tulpule 1979.)

One of the most fascinating events in the history of Marathi took place during the 17th century under the political rule of the Marāthā king Shivaji (in Maharashtra). History tells us that Marathi had been replaced by Persian in all official, formal correspondence and education. The number of Marathi words in the lexicon was reduced to 14.4 percent compared to 80 percent Persian (Gramopadhye 1941: 11). Shivaji entrusted a poet-grammarian, Raghunath Paṇḍit, from Tanjavur with the responsibility of compiling a Persian-Sanskrit dictionary of administrative and political terminology, in order to allow the Persian lexicon to be replaced with Sanskrit counterparts. In addition, Shivaji implemented the policy of using Marathi, as opposed to Persian, as the official language. This dictionary, named *Rājyawayahār koś*, marked the first attempt in the history of India to preserve the linguistic identity of a language. Sanskrit was used extensively as a source from which to borrow or derive new vocabulary. Although this venture could not entirely wipe out the influence of Persian, it certainly arrested its spread, and more importantly, it reinstated the cultural roots of Marathi into its grammar. A similar situation recurred during almost two hundred years of the British rule. At that time, English was the official language of the government, education, and, as a result, the technical terminology was entirely English regardless of whether the language of communication was Marathi. After 1947, the government of India, the newspapers, and the education department of Maharashtra worked toward developing a Marathi lexicon to replace English words in the language. The UNESCO report (1953: 65, quoted in

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Śāsanwyawahārāt Marathi: 115) says, "the planned vocabulary development should make the best possible use of the natural tendencies of the language." In the case of Marathi, as in other modern Indian languages, Sanskrit was once again used as the reservoir from which the appropriate vocabulary was borrowed or derived. It should be mentioned here that neither Persian nor English influence has been completely wiped out from Marathi; rather, it has become restricted to certain registers and/or styles of Marathi.

Marathi belongs to the 'outer circle' of Indo-Aryan languages (Grierson 1905). There are six major dialects of Marathi (see Map 2 on page xxxiv) *Konkaṇī Deśī* (in the north-Konkan), (2) *Konkaṇī* (in the south-Konkan), 3) *Deśī* (around Pune and surrounding districts), 4) *Varhāḍī* (in the north), 5) *Nāgpurī* (Nāgpurī in the text, spoken in the four districts around Nāgpur, the north-east), 6) *Khāndeśī* (in the north-west). While *Khāndeśī* is significantly influenced by Yujarati, *Varhāḍī* and *Nāgpurī* on the north-east show a distinct influence of Hindi. As opposed to these, the *Deśī* spoken in the south-east depicts a close connection with Kannada and Telugu. In spite of the differences, the dialects of Marathi show a remarkably high level of mutual intelligibility as has been already noted by Grierson (1905). Additionally, there are several local dialects of Marathi such as *Ghāṭī* (in the south Kulaba district), *Varhāḍī* (in the Buldhana, Amaravati, Akola districts), etc. Similarly, there are various caste dialects particular to different regions (for example, *Koḷī* (the fisherman's dialect of the coastal area), *Kuṇbī* (the farmer's dialect, *Dhangarī* (the cowherd's dialect in Janjira district), *Karhāḍī* (the brāhmin dialect spoken around the river Kṛṣṇā (now spoken in Bombay, Satara, Ratnagiri districts) etc. (For details see Grierson (1905), Ghatge (1963), Agnihotri (1983)).

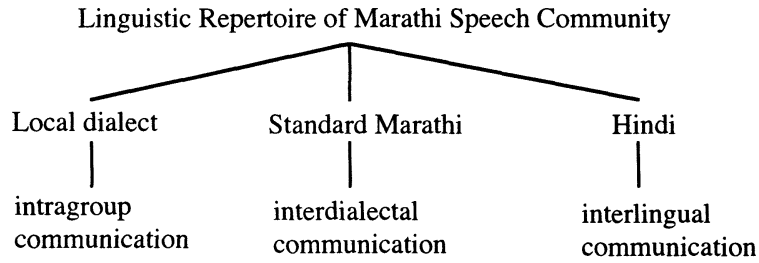
The two major Marathi styles are *grānthik* 'written/literary' (marked by Sanskrit borrowings) and *bolbhaṣā* 'spoken/colloquial' (with Perso-Arabic and English borrowings). Although the use of the English lexicon has increased decidedly in the last 100 years in the spoken language, the use of the Sanskrit lexicon marks formal Marathi speech from its colloquial counterpart.

It is evident from the above discussion that Marathi has been in contact with diverse languages throughout its history and including the present. This contact has resulted in changes in the structure of Marathi and thereby in the emergence of various styles and registers

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of Marathi. At present, the style/registral repertoire of the Marathi speech community includes three well-defined styles/registers: Sanskritized, Persianized and Englishized. These are used in mutually exclusive domains. The Sanskritized style/register (which is marked by the extensive use of Sanskrit vocabulary and syntax) is used in the religious domain and the formal speech. The Persianized style/register is used in courts of law, police stations, etc. In contrast to these, the Englishized style/register marks the colloquial educated speech and is used at social gatherings, in business transactions, etc. (For further discussion on style repertoire, see Pandharipande (forthcoming).)

The Marathi speech community in Maharashtra is largely bi/multilingual. Its linguistic repertoire is large, generally including a local dialect, the Standard dialect, and Hindi. The Marathi speech community is largely diglossic. The functional distribution of these codes is given below:



It is necessary to note here that in those areas of Maharashtra which intersect with other states, the languages of those states (such as Gujarati, Kannada, Telugu) are included in the repertoire (in addition to the above three codes) of Marathi speakers. Thus the functional distribution of the codes varies in various parts of Maharashtra, depending upon the role of the codes in that area. (For details, see Gumperz's discussion on the case of the Kupwar village at the border of Maharashtra and Karnataka.)

The present work is based on the standard variety of Marathi spoken around Pune. However, significant variation across dialects is also discussed wherever necessary.

Lingua questionnaire

This volume is part of the *Croom Helm Descriptive Grammars Series*. The goal of this series is to provide comprehensive descriptions of a wide variety of languages across the world. The format used in those descriptions is uniform and is flexible enough to include adequately the range of variation across genetically and typologically unrelated languages and thereby allows crosslinguistic comparison of the structures/grammars. In order to accomplish this goal in the best possible way, this volume has followed the format outlined in the *Questionnaire* developed by Comrie and Smith (1977) and originally published in *Lingua*, vol. 42. The *questionnaire* has served as a comprehensive and useful index to this volume.

Transcription

Though the transcription used in this volume follows most of the conventional practices in the linguistic literature on Marathi and other Indo-Aryan languages, there are a few notable exceptions to make the pattern (of transcription) fairly transparent. Thus, the distinction between the alveolar and alveo-palatal affricates is represented by the symbols /ts/, /dz/, and /dzh/ (alveolar affricates) and /tʃ/, /tʃh/, /dʒ/, and /dʒh/ (alveo-palatal affricates) respectively. (For detail see Table 2 on page 539).

Table 1 (on page 537) provides specific information about the conventions followed for transcribing short and long vowels and diphthongs. Since Marathi (and perhaps other Indo-Aryan languages as well) does not have the labio-dental fricative /v/, the labial glide /w/ is used instead. In transcribing proper names, /v/ is retained in the English glosses and translations.

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Chart of Marathi Alphabet

Vowels: *Independent*

a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	e	ai
अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ	ए	ऐ
o	au						
ओ	औ						

Consonants: *Independent*

k	kh	g	gh	ŋ					
क	ख	ग	घ	ङ					
ts	tʃh	dʒ	dʒh	ɳ					
tʃ		dʒ	dʒh						
च	छ	ज	झ	ञ					
t̪	t̪h	d̪	d̪h	ɳ					
ट	ठ	ड	ढ	ण					
t̪	t̪h	d̪	d̪h	n					
त	थ	द	ध	न					
p	ph	b	bh	m					
प	फ	ब	भ	म					
y	r	l	w	ś					
य	र	ल	व	श					
ʃ	s	h	ʃ	kʃ	d̪ɳy	ɽ			
ष	स	ह	ळ	क्ष	ज्ञ	ऋ			

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Vowels: *Dependent* (following consonants)

a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	e	ai
none	।	ि	ी	ु	ू	े	ै
o	au						
ो	ौ						

Homorganic nasal or nasalized vowel:

-

Consonants (first) in a consonant cluster:

k	kh	g	gh	ŋ	
क	ख	ग	घ	ङ	
ts	tʃh	dz	dʒh	ɲ	
tʃ		dʒ	dʒh		
च	छ	ज	झ	ञ	
t	tʃh	d	dʒh	ɲ	
ट	ठ	ड	ढ	ण	
t	tʃh	d	dʒh	n	
त	थ	द	ध	न	
p	ph	b	bh	m	
प	फ	ब	भ	म	
y	l	w	ʃ	r	
य	ल	व	श	र	
ʃ	s	h	l	kʃ	dɲy
ष	स	ह	ळ	क्ष	ज्ञ

r (variants: after consonant): , and ^

r (after consonant): ॠ

Syntax

As is evident in (1) and (2), *mhaṇūn/asa* follow the quoted material irrespective of whether the matrix clause follows (1), or precedes (2) the subordinate clause. Consider example (3) below, which is ungrammatical because *mhaṇūn/asa* precedes the quoted material.

(3)*	to	orḍat	hotā	{	mhaṇūn	}
	he	shout-prog	was-3sm		asa	quot
	āī	lawkar	ye	lawkar	ye	
	mother	quickly	come	quickly	come	
			imp-2s		imp-2s	

'He was shouting, "Mother, come quickly, come quickly." '

Additionally, quoted and indirect speech may be introduced by the complementizer *kī*, in which case the occurrence of both *mhaṇūn* and *asa* is optional as in (3a) below:

(3a)	anū	mhaṇte	kī	tī/mī	hindī
	Anu	say-pres-3sf	comp	she/I	Hindi
	śikel	(asa/mhaṇūn)			
	learn-fut-3s	(quot)			

'Anu says that she will learn Hindi.'

mhaṇūn and *asa* may never precede quoted material either in the unmarked word order (quoted material + quotative marker + matrix clause, and matrix clause + quoted material + quotative marker, as in (1) and (2) respectively) or in the two other possible variant word orders as shown below in (4) and (5).

quoted material + matrix clause + quotative marker						
(4)	malā	te	māhīt	āhe	to	sāngat
	I-dat	that	know	aux	he	tell-prog
	hotā		{	*mhaṇūn	}	
	was 3sm			asa		quot

Syntax

' "I know that", thus was he telling.'

It is important to note here that the quotative marker *asa* may occur either immediately following the quoted material (as in (1) and (2)) or it may be separated from the quoted material by an intervening matrix clause (as in (4)) but, *mhaṇūn* must occur immediately following the quoted material (as in (1) and (2)). Additionally, the material which is under focus in the matrix clause can precede the quoted material. The phrase under focus in the matrix clause occurs sentence-initially (and before the quoted material) and the rest of the matrix clause occurs in the usual sentence-final position (after the quoted material). Example (5) illustrates this point.

- (5) mohan mitrālā mī te kām karīn
 mohan friend-dat I that work do-fut-1s
- { asa }
 {mhaṇūn} sāṅgat hotā
 quot tell-prog was-3sm

'Mohan was telling (his) friend, "I will do that work." '

When the quoted material is not under focus in the discourse, the word order is matrix clause + quoted material + quotative marker, as shown in (6) below.

- (6) to sāṅgat hotā malā te māhīt
 he tell-prog was-3sm I-dat that know
- āhe { asa }
 aux {mhaṇūn}
 quot

'He was telling, "I know that." '

The use of the quotative markers is optional when the verb in the matrix clause is one of the speech verbs, e.g., *mhaṇ* 'say', *bol* 'speak', and *sāṅg* 'tell', etc.

asa and *mhaṇūn* are also used to introduce subordinate (complement) clauses of verbs such as *wāṭ* 'feel', *samadz* 'understand', and *witSār kar* 'think', as illustrated in the following examples.

Syntax

(7) *wāṭ* 'feel':

to	punhā	parat	yeṇār	nāhī	{ asa }
he	again	back	come-fut	not	{ mhaṇūn }
					quot
tilā wāṭla					
she-dat feel-pst-3sn					

'She felt that he would not return again.' (lit: ' "He will not come back", she felt.)

(8) *samadz* 'understand':

mī	kāṃ	kela	pāhidḷe	{ asa }	
I	work	do-pst-3sn	must	{ mhaṇūn }	
				quot	
tyālā samadzla					
he-dat understand-pst-3sn					

'He understood that he had to do the work.' (lit: ' "I must do the work", he understood.)

(9) *witSār kar* 'think':

mīnālā	mādzha	spaṣṭa	bolṇa	āwḍel
Meena-dat	my	straight	talk-3sn	like-fut-sn
kā { asā }				
Q { mhaṇūn }				
		to	witSār karat	hotā
		he	think-prog	was

'He was thinking whether or not Meena would like his straight talk.' (lit: ' "Will Meena like my straight talk?" he was thinking.')

One of the most interesting features of the quotative markers *asa* and *mhaṇūn* is that these two can be used to introduce both direct and indirect speech. Consider example (10).

Syntax

- (10) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mādzhī} \\ \text{tyātSi} \end{array} \right\}$ badli dzhālī $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{asa} \\ \text{mhaṇūn} \end{array} \right\}$ to
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{my} \\ \text{his} \end{array} \right\}$ transfer happen-pst quot he
- sāṅgat hotā
 tell-prog was

'He was telling (them) that he had been transferred.' (lit: 'He was telling, "My/his transfer happened."')

When the quotative markers introduce indirect/reported speech, they seem to function like the usual complementizer *kī*. However, while *kī* always precedes the subordinate clause (i.e., matrix clause + *kī* + subordinate clause), *asa* and *mhaṇūn* always occur after the subordinate clause (recall examples (1) and (2)).

asa and *mhaṇūn* are interchangeable only when they function as quotative markers or complementizers. When the subordinate clause denotes the purpose (11) or reason (12) of the action in the matrix clause, only *mhaṇūn* (and not *asa*) is used.

- (11) to yeṅār $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mhaṇūn} \\ *asa \end{array} \right\}$ mī saḡla ghar
 he come-fut therefore I entire house
- sadzawla
 decorate-pst-3sn

'I decorated the entire house because he was coming.'

- (12) khūp abhyās kelā $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mhaṇūn} \\ *asa \end{array} \right\}$ to
 a lot study do-pst-3sm therefore he
- pās dzhālā
 pass become-pst-3sm

'He passed because he studied a lot.'

Syntax

'Having said this, she went home.'

- asa* : adverbial relative particle
(17) tū *asa* *moṭhyāne* *bolū* *nakos*
you like this-3sn loudly talk neg-imp-2s

'Do not talk loudly like this.'

1.1.1.2 *Interrogative sentences*

There are two types of interrogative sentences: yes-no questions (see 1.1.1.2.1) and different types of question-word questions (see 1.1.1.2.2). Additionally, a change in intonation is used to mark an interrogative sentence. In question-word questions, the occurrence of question words in different positions denotes different types of interrogatives.

1.1.1.2.1 *Yes-no questions*

Yes-no questions can be either neutral or leading. The purpose of yes-no questions is to seek information regarding a proposition and thus they are open to either answer (i.e., yes or no). On the other hand, leading questions seek confirmation or denial of the stated proposition.

1.1.1.2.1.1 *Neutral yes-no questions*

In neutral yes-no questions, the question-word *kā(y)* 'what' occurs at the end of the sentence usually with a rising intonation. Additionally, a rising intonation on the verb (which is usually sentence-final) by itself (i.e., without the particle *kāy*) also denotes a neutral yes-no question. Except for the occurrence of *kā(y)* in the first type, and the rising intonation in the second, the structure of the interrogative remains identical to its declarative counterpart. Consider (18) and (19) below.

- (18) Declarative sentence:
to *kāl* *parat* *ālā*
he yesterday back come-pst-3sm

'He came back yesterday.'

- (19) Question:
to kāl parat ālā kā(y) ?
he yesterday back come-pst-3sm Q

'Did he come yesterday?'

Note that (18), without the sentence-final question particle *kā(y)*, is a declarative sentence while (19) is a question because of the sentence-final *kā(y)*. The sentence-final position is obligatory for *kā(y)* in neutral yes-no questions because in all other positions *kā(y)* denotes only an information or question word question. Note that in neutral yes-no questions the sentence-final *kāy* may be optionally reduced to *kā*, which is not possible when *kāy* occurs elsewhere in the sentence to denote an information question. The following examples (20) and (21) show the difference between yes-no and information questions.

- (20) tī phula toḍte kā/kāy ?
she flowers picks Q

'Does she pick flowers?'

- (21) tī kāy toḍte ?
she *kā Q picks-pres-3sf

'What does she pick?'

Note that when in an information question (21) *kāy* is reduced to *kā*, the resulting sentence is ungrammatical. If *kā* is not interpreted as the abbreviation of *kāy*, but rather as the question word *kā* 'why', then (21) is grammatical and the meaning of (21) in this case is 'Why does she pick (flowers)?'. (See section 1.1.1.2.2 for more discussion.)

1.1.1.2.1.2 *Leading questions*

Leading questions are used to elicit confirmation or denial of the proposition, which may be expressed in a declarative affirmative or declarative negative. Leading questions are typically marked by the negative particle *na* 'is it not true'. *na* with a rising intonation always occurs sentence-finally in a leading question and there is no change in the word order. Consider examples (22) and (23).

Syntax

- (22) to gharī gelā na ?
he home-loc go-pst-3sm tag

'He went home, didn't he?' (i.e., is it not true?)

- (23) to gharī gelā nāhī na ?
he home-loc go-pst-3sm neg tag

'He did not go home, did he?' (i.e., is it not true?).

When *na* occurs elsewhere (i.e., in non-sentence-final position) in the sentence, it functions only as a negative particle, as in example (24).

- (24) to na gharī ālā na
he neg home-loc come-pst-3sm neg
- śālet gelā
school-loc go-pst-3sm

Additionally, leading questions can be marked by the compound particle *ho na* (literally, 'yes-no'), meaning 'Is it not true?'. Similar to *na*, *ho na* also occurs in both declarative affirmative and declarative negative. Consider examples (25) and (26).

- (25) Declarative affirmative:
to gharī gelā, ho na?
he home-loc go-pst-3sm Q

'He went home, didn't he?' (i.e., is it not true?)

- (26) Declarative negative:
to gharī gelā nāhī, ho na?
he home-loc go-pst-3sm neg Q

'He did not go home, did he?' (i.e., is it not true?)

The third marker for leading questions is the compound particle *nāhī kā* (lit: 'not what'), meaning 'is it not true?'. Consider examples (27) and (28).

Syntax

- (27) Declarative affirmative:
to ālā, nāhī kā
he come-pst-3sm neg Q

'He came, didn't he?' (i.e., is it not true?)

- (28) Declarative negative:
to mumbailā gelā nāhī, nāhī kā?
he Bombay-dat go-pst neg neg Q

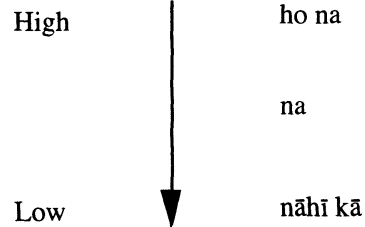
'He did not go to Bombay, did he?' (i.e., is it not true?)

1.1.1.2.1.2-2 Degree of certainty of answers to leading questions

Though Marathi has three different markers for leading questions, these are not used interchangeably and certain pragmatic factors determine the choice of the particles. The use of these three particles reflect different degrees of truth value of the propositions, according to the speaker's belief. While *ho na* marks the highest degree of the truth value of the proposition (from the speaker's point of view), *nāhī kā* marks the lowest degree of certainty about the proposition, and *na* falls between the two. This is schematically shown in figure 2.

Figure 2

Truth Value of the Proposition



1.1.1.2.1.3 Alternative questions

Alternative questions are formed by placing the particle *kī* 'or' between two clauses.

Syntax

- (29) to āmbā khāto kī sāntra (khāto)
he mango eat-pres-3sm or orange (eat-
pres-3sm)

'Does he eat a mango or (does he eat) an orange ?'

In this case, the repeated verb in the second clause is optionally deleted. However, in the following example where the alternative actions are questioned, verbs in both clauses are retained.

- (30) to gharī gelā kī (to) ofis
he home-loc go-pst-3sm or (he) office

madhe baslā
in sit-pst-3sm

'Did he go home or did he sit in the office ?'

1.1.1.2.2 Question-word questions

Question-word questions (generally known as information questions) are formed by substituting a question-word for a constituent in a sentence. The question-word generally occupies the position of the questioned constituent in a sentence ((31) - (39c)) (although, the question-word may occur in other positions as well). The usual word order of the sentence is generally unaffected by the introduction of a question word (though variations in word order are possible (39d)). Question-words can be categorized depending upon the types of constituents they question: (i) pronominal question-words—*koṇ* 'who', *kāy* 'what'; (ii) adjectival question-words—*kasa* 'what kind', *koṇtā* 'which one', and *kitī* 'how much'; and (iii) adverbial question-words—*kēmwhā* 'when', *kuṭhe* 'where', *kadhī* 'when', *kaśālā* 'what for', and *kā* 'why'.

(i) Pronominal questions

Pronominal question-words generally occur in the positions usually occupied by nouns and pronouns; namely, subject and direct (DO) and indirect (IO) objects. (31) and (31a) illustrate the use of *koṇ* 'who' in the subject position, while (32a) and (33a) show the use of *kāy* 'what' and *koṇālā* 'to whom' in the direct and indirect positions respectively.

Syntax

(31) to gāṇa mhaṇto
he song sing-pres-3sm

'He sings a song.'

(31a) koṇ gāṇa mhaṇta/ mhaṇto?
who song sing-pres-3sn sing-pres-3sm

'Who sings a song?'

(32) mohan āmbe khāto
Mohan mangoes eat-pres-3sm

'Mohan eats mangoes.'

(32a) mohan kāy khāto ?
Mohan what eat-pres-3sm

'What does Mohan eat?'

(33) mohan dīpālā paise deto
Mohan Deepa-dat money give-pres-3sm

'Mohan gives money to Deepa.'

(33a) mohan koṇālā paise deto
Mohan who-dat money give-pres-3sm

'To whom does Mohan give money?'

When the verb agrees with the question-word constituent, the expected person, number, and gender features on the verb may vary depending upon the speaker's expectation, knowledge, and belief about the possible referent of the question word. The unmarked agreement feature on the verb remains the third person, neuter, singular. Consider examples (34a), (34b), and (34c), which illustrate the variations in agreement with the question-word *koṇ* 'who'.

(34a) koṇ gharī āla ?
who home-loc come-pst-3sn

'Who came home?' (No knowledge about gender)

Syntax

- (34b) koṇ gharī ālā ?
who home-loc come-pst-3sm

'Who came home ?' (Knowledge that person is a male)

- (34c) koṇ gharī ālī ?
who home-loc come-pst-3sf

'Who came home?' (Knowledge that person is a female)

If the speaker has no clues about the person (e.g., the person's gender, number, etc.), then the verb has the unmarked agreement features (i.e., third person, singular, neuter) as in (34a). In contrast to this, if the speaker knows that person who arrived was a man (34b) or a woman (34c) and the purpose of the question is to seek more information about him/her, then the verb shows corresponding agreement features (i.e., third person, singular, masculine, in (34b) and third person, singular, feminine in (34c)).

The question-word *kāy* 'what' is similar to *koṇ* 'who', except that *kāy* 'what' is used for [-animate] nouns/pronouns while *koṇ* 'who' is used for [+animate] and [+human] nouns. The use of *koṇ* is optional for animals. Also, the variation in the verb agreement is similar to the pattern noted above in the case of *koṇ* 'who'. Consider examples (35a), (35b), and (35c).

- (35a) tyāne kāy āṇla ?
he-ag what bring-pst-3sn

'What did he bring ?' (No knowledge about gender/number)

- (35b) tyāne kāy āṇle ?
he-ag what bring-pst-3pl.m

'What did he bring ?' (Knowledge that object is masculine, plural)

- (35c) tyāne kāy āṇlyā
he-ag what bring-pst-3pl.f

'What did he bring ?' (Knowledge that object is feminine, plural)

To summarize, the unmarked word order of sentences with adverbial question words is given below:

Subject + (DO) + (IO) + adv Q + verb

However, as in Hindi and other Indo-Aryan languages, the question word may occur postverbally to denote emphasis, stress or other discoursal clues (e.g., negative entailment, frustration of the speaker, etc.). Consider example (39d) in which *kuṭhe* emphasizes the speaker's desire to find the exact location as well as his frustration about someone's going away.

(39d) to kāl gelā kuṭhe ?
he yesterday go-pst-3sm where

'Where exactly did he go yesterday?'

1.1.1.2.2.1 *Constituents of the sentence that can be questioned*

Constituents of both main and subordinate clauses can be questioned.

1.1.1.2.2.1.1 *Constituents of the main clause that can be questioned*

Constituents of the main clause that can be questioned are subjects, objects, indirect objects, adjectives, adverbs (of time, place, and manner), object of postposition and verbs. However, when a verb is questioned, the verb stem *kar* 'do' (in its appropriate tense and aspect) must co-occur with the question-word *kāy* 'what'. The following examples (40a - 43) illustrate the questioning possibilities with respect to the constituents of the sentence (40). Also, examples (44a) and (45a) show that the objects of postposition can also be questioned.

(40) mohan anūlā udyā śāḷet
Mohan Anu-dat tomorrow school-loc

hindītsa pustak deīl
Hindi-of book give-fut-3s

'Mohan will give the Hindi book to Anu tomorrow.'

Syntax

(40a) subject:

koṇ anūlā udyā śālet hindītsa pustak deīl ?

'Who will give Anu the Hindi book tomorrow ?'

(40b) Direct object:

mohan anūla udyā śālet kāy deīl ?

'What will Mohan give to Anu in school tomorrow ?'

(40c) Indirect object:

mohan koṇālā udyā śālet hindītsa pustak deīl ?

'To whom will Mohan give the Hindi book tomorrow ?'

(41) Time adverbial:

mohan anūlā kēmwhā śālet hindītsa pustak deīl ?

'When will Mohan give the Hindi book to Anu in school ?'

(42) Place adverbial:

mohan anūlā udyā kuṭhe hindītsa pustak deīl ?

'Where will Mohan give the Hindi book to Anu tomorrow?'

(43) Verb:

mohan	(udyā)	(śālet)	kāy	karel ?
mohan	(tomorrow)	(school-loc)	what	do-fut-3s

'What will Mohan do (tomorrow) (in school) ?'

Benefactive object of postposition:

(44) to kuṭumbāsāthī paise kamawto
he family for money earn-3sm

'He earns money for the family.'

(44a) to koṇāsāthī paise kamawto ?
he who-for money earn-pres-3sm

'Who does he earn money for ?'

- Instrument:
 (45) tī penne lihite
 she pen-inst write-pres-3sf

'She writes with pen.'

- (45a) tī kaśāne lihite ?
 she with what write-pres-3sf

'With what does she write ?'

Notice that when the verb is questioned (43), the entire predicate is deleted (while adverbs may optionally occur) and the verb *kar* 'do' co-occurs with the question-word *kāy* 'what'. Without the verb *kar* 'do', the question is ungrammatical, as shown in (43a).

- (43a) Verb:
 Mohan (udyā) (śālet) kāy kare/ *∅ ?
 mohan (tomorrow) (school-loc) what do-fut-3s

'What will Mohan do (tomorrow) (in school)?'

Note that a noun of possession within the possessive phrase may not be questioned if the noun of possession is followed by a postposition. This is illustrated by the following ungrammatical sentences (46a), (47a), and (48a).

- (46) mohan sudhātSyā gāḍine ālā
 Mohan Sudha-poss car-inst come-pst-3sm

'Mohan came by Sudha's car.'

- (46a) *mohan sudhātSyā kaśāne ālā ?
 Mohan Sudha-poss what-inst come-pst-3sm

'By what of Sudha did Mohan come?'

- (47) madhūne tyātSyā bhāwālā paise
 Madhu-ag he-poss brother-dat money-3pl.m

dile
 give-pst-3pl.m

