

Marathi

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## **Volume 13**

Marathi

by Ramesh Vaman Dhongde and Kashi Wali

# Marathi

Ramesh Vaman Dhongde

Deccan College, Pune

Kashi Wali

Syracuse and Cornell Universities

John Benjamins Publishing Company

Amsterdam / Philadelphia



The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences – Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

#### Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Dhongde, Ramesh.

Marathi / Ramesh Vaman Dhongde, Kashi Wali.

p. cm. (London Oriental and African Language Library, ISSN 1382-3485 ; v. 13)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Marathi language--Grammar. I. Wali, Kashi, 1925- II. Title.

PK2357.D458 2009

491.4'65--dc22

2009030328

ISBN 978 90 272 3813 9 (HB; alk. paper)

ISBN 978 90 272 8883 7 (EB)

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John Benjamins Publishing Co. · P.O. Box 36224 · 1020 ME Amsterdam · The Netherlands

John Benjamins North America · P.O. Box 27519 · Philadelphia PA 19118-0519 · USA

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## Foreword

Marathi, one of the major languages of India, is spoken in Maharashtra State (capital Mumbai/Bombay). This is located in the centre of the subcontinent, with Hindi and other Indo-Aryan languages to the north and Dravidian languages to the south.

The authors, both native speakers, have been researching and writing about Marathi for many years. R. V. Dhongde, former Professor of Linguistics at the Postgraduate and Research Institute, Deccan College, Pune/Poona, is chiefly responsible for the chapters on phonology, morphology and word formation and has in addition contributed in an appendix an account of the acquisition of Marathi by a delightful little girl named Abhikhya. Kashi Wali, who lives in the United States and is best known for her work on generative syntax, has written the seven chapters devoted to syntax which form the second half of the book. While the two authors come from different scholarly traditions they have gone out of their way to ensure that their analyses are fully explicit and accessible to a wide readership while faithfully following the LOALL practice of systematic transliteration, glossing and translation of all the language material.

Marathi has a plosive system not unlike that of Sanskrit, opposing four places (labial, dental, alveolar/retroflex, velar) and two modes (voice and aspiration) of articulation. It is interesting to note that little Abhikhya acquired the velar plosives last, arriving at them by having first substituted for them labials, then dentals, then alveolars in that order. The language also has voiced and voiceless nasals and both palatal and alveolar affricates, differentiated like the plosives by means of voice and aspiration.

Marathi has a rich inflectional and derivational morphology, the noun distinguishing three genders, two numbers and seven cases. Of these the nominative/direct case is unmarked while the other cases are marked by a sequence of two elements, a so-called oblique marker sensitive to the stem class, gender and number of the noun and a closed set of special postpositions. Simple verbs are outnumbered by compound verbs whose second elements show various degrees of grammaticalisation. The finite forms of the verb combine affixation with the use of auxiliaries. Word formation is by affixation (some prefixes and suffixes

being borrowed from Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic), by compounding and by several kinds of reduplication.

Marathi is a verb-final language with a relatively free word order. Its sentences have nominative-accusative alignment even where case-marking and verb agreement have an ergative pattern. The factors triggering ergative marking are the past perfective tense, one specific modal form, and the first and second person pronouns which, although themselves not ergative-marked require ergative-type verb agreement. In general the verb agrees with an unmarked noun phrase, which is not always the subject so that subjecthood has to be established by criteria other than verb agreement. Subordinate clauses can be non-finite or finite, the latter type including complements introduced by the conjunction *ki* borrowed from Persian which follow the main clause, and a variety of relative clauses. There are numerous correlative structures including a multiple-headed type (Which girl which book read that girl that book liked, 'Every girl who read a book liked it'). The discussion of pronouns and anaphoric expressions gives particular emphasis to two reflexive markers with distinct distributional properties.

The two appendices contain a short essay on the language of women and a case study describing the acquisition of Marathi by a child.

Theodora Bynon

## Preface

Marathi grammar books in English are far and few compared to their number in Marathi. Most of these books have been written in an outdated traditional framework. They have failed to take into account recent developments in linguistics and grammar. This vacuum has been felt and expressed by several scholars. Our book is an attempt at filling this vacuum. The book presents a linguistic description of aspects of phonology, morphology, ergative case, agreement system, and several other intricate syntactic patterns of Modern Standard Marathi. The book takes into account several important issues discussed in modern phonological, morphological, lexical and syntactic studies without orienting itself to any particular grammatical viewpoint. There are plenty of examples from colloquial as well as written modern Marathi that illustrate the point. The examples are glossed with English translation including grammatical details. In addition, there is a chapter containing sample dialogues from newspapers and everyday life.

Our book includes a first hand account of the acquisition of Marathi by a one year old child, which is not found in other grammars. The language acquisition was personally observed by one of the authors. The account of it here gives minute details regarding the acquisition of phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic aspects of Marathi and as such is unique. We have also added an article on women's language contributed by a feminist writer. It describes the historical changes in address forms used for husbands and a list of special feminine expressions. Both accounts have been attached as an appendix to the book. The list of authors in the reference section includes Marathi grammarians as well as modern grammarians and theorists whose works have influenced our presentation. We hope that the readers will find the book useful and it will kindle their interest in Marathi.

### Acknowledgements

We are very grateful to Theodora Bynon, David Bennet, and Masayoshi Shibatani of the School of Oriental and African Studies, the editors of the London Oriental

and African Language Library series for accepting our proposal for Marathi. Our special thanks go to Thea for the detailed, meticulous and insightful comments she made on each chapter. We are thankful to Shatakshi Dhongde, Kameshwar Wali, and also Alaka, Achala and Monona Wali for making several helpful suggestions and encouragement. We are grateful to Ashwini Dhongde for her contribution of the article 'Women's Language'. Thanks must be given to Abhikhya Dhongde for allowing her grandfather R. V. Dhongde to watch her linguistic development. The two articles have added a new aspect to our grammar.

Finally, we are grateful to Mrinal and Sharvey Dhongde and Ashwini Deshpande for preparing the final version of the book meticulously and carefully.

Ramesh Dhongde  
Kashi Wali

# Abbreviations and symbols

## Abbreviations

1	first person	DESI	desiderative
2	second person	DO	direct object
3	third person	DIST	distal
ABL	ablative	EMPH	emphatic
ABIL	abilitative	EQ	equative
ABS	absolutive case	ERG	ergative
ACC	accusative case	EXCL	exclusive
ADJ	adjective	F	feminine
ADV	adverb	FIN	finite
AGN	agent	FOC	focus
ANA	anaphor	FPL	feminine plural
ANIM	animate	FSG	feminine singular
ARC	archaic	FUT	future
ASP	aspirate	GEN	genitive case
ASSR	assertive	HAB	habitual
AUX	auxiliary	HON	honorific
C	consonant	HORT	hortative
CAUS	causative	IDM	idiom
CF	counterfactual	IMP	imperative
CL	clitic	IMPF	imperfective
COMP	complementizer	INC	inclusive
COMPL	completive	INCP	inceptive
COMPR	comparative	INDF	indefinite
CONC	concessive	INF	infinitive
COND	conditional	INST	instrumental
CONJ	conjunction	INTJ	interjective
CONT	contingent	INTSF	intensive / intensifier
CONTRA	contrastive	INTR	intransitive
CP	conjunctive participle	IO	indirect object
COR	correlative	LOC	locative
DAT	dative	M	masculine
DEF	definite	MP	masculine plural
DEM	demonstrative	MSG	masculine singular

N	neuter / number (represented by numerals)	PRO	pronoun
NEG	negative	PROG	progressive
NOM	nominative	PROS	prospective
NON-FIN	non-finite	PROX	proximate
NPL	neuter plural	PRP	present participle
NSG	neuter singular	PS	pronominal suffix
OBJ	object	PSP	past participle
OBL	oblique	PTCP	participle
OPT	optative	Q	question particle
P-A	Perso-Arabic	QOT	quotative
PART	particle	REDUP	reduplicative
PASS	passive	REFL	reflexive
PAST	past	REL	relative
PERF	perfective	SBJ	subjunctive
PERM	permissive	SG	singular
PHR V	phrasal verb	SK	Sanskrit
PL	plural	SUB	subject
POL	polite	SUF	suffix
POSS	possessive	TAG	tag
PP	postposition	TOP	topic
PREF	prefix	TR	transitive
PREC	precative	V	vowel
PRED	predictive	VD	voiced
PRES	present	VL	voiceless
PRESM	presumptive	VOC	vocative

## Symbols

Transcription symbols for Marathi are explained and given in Chapter 2.

*	ungrammatical sequence
?	marginal / odd
i, j, k	subscripts indicating coreference
	showing two parts of a word

## Phonetic symbols

↑	rising intonation	↓	falling intonation
→	level intonation	^	rise fall intonation
∨	fall rise intonation	Σ	drawled intonation
•	juncture	·	syllable boundary
~	nasalization	'	accent

## CHAPTER 1

# Introduction

### 1.0 Area and speakers

Marathi, a New Indo-Aryan (I-A) language, is the primary language of Maharashtra, the third largest state in the Indian Union. The state was formed in 1960 when Bombay state (as it was known then) was divided into Maharashtra and Gujarat on the basis of linguistic distinction. Marathi became the state language of Maharashtra and Mumbai (former Bombay) its state capital. Marathi is the fourth dominant language after Hindi, Telugu and Bangla. The Census of India 2001 shows around ninety-six million speakers of Marathi.

Linguistically the state is sandwiched between two distinct language families, namely, Indo-Aryan and Dravidian. Gujarati and Hindi, both belonging to the I-A family, are spoken on the northern border of the state. Telugu and Kannada, both part of the Dravidian family are spoken on the southern border. The geographic proximity of the Dravidian Telugu and Kannada has greatly influenced Marathi lexicon and syntax. In fact some linguists claim that Marathi has a Dravidian substratum (see Southworth 1971). The Indo-Aryan origin of Marathi has thus become a debated issue.

Marathi has two major dialects, namely, Standard Marathi and Warhadi. A few smaller significant subdialects include AHIRANI, Dangi, Samavedi, Khandesi, Are Marathi and some others. Konkani, once considered to be a major dialect of Marathi, has now been recognized as a language in its own right with its own subdialects. Standard Marathi is the official language of Maharashtra. It is the language of record used in official documents, as well as in scientific, and literary writing. Marathi, like Sanskrit uses the Devanagari script with certain modifications. The modified script is known as *Balbodhi*. Another cursive script called *Modi* was in use between 13th and 18th century. It was introduced by Hemadpant, but it has become obsolete.

## 1.1 Linguistic characteristics

Marathi has many unique and interesting characteristics. The basic word order in Marathi is subject-object-verb. The order is flexible. The language encodes both nominative and ergative case systems giving rise to what is called a split ergative system. The verb agrees in gender, number and person with an unmarked noun, which is not necessarily the subject. Pronominal marking and agreement is complex and challenging to any theoretical account. Marathi has both exclusive and inclusive first person pronouns besides two reflexive pronouns with a unique distribution of their own. In fact, one of the reflexives is a cross between a reflexive and a pronoun and is hard to classify. Both adjectives and adverbs encode a correlative system. Adjectives show an interesting multiple headed relative construction. There are three genders – masculine, feminine and neuter. Unlike other Indic languages, Marathi has alveolar affricates – *c*, *j* and *jh* that contrast with the alveo palatal affricates. The language also has aspirated stops, affricates, nasals, laterals, continuants, and trills that are phonemically significant. Marathi uses a limited number of heavy-duty verbs such as *lag* ‘come to touch’, *sut* ‘leave’, *ho* ‘become’, *kar* ‘do’ that produce aspectual and modal meanings and help in forming phrasal verbs that compensate for the paucity of verb-forming processes. Morphologically there is a fusion of tense and mood in Marathi.

Additionally, there are a large number of unique morphemes that occur only in set phrases. These characteristics are detailed in later chapters.

## 1.2 Language and literature

The Marathi language is a descendent of Maharashtri, a Prakrit language descended from Sanskrit. In ancient times, Marathi was known as Maharashtri, Marhatti, and Mahratti. The literary tradition is a long and hallowed one and the earliest attributions are difficult to date for certain. Here we outline a brief synopsis of significant dates and associated literary figures.

The first written evidence of Marathi is in the form of an inscription dated A.D. 983 at Shrawanbelgol in Karnataka. The first written work in Marathi is considered to be Shreepati Bhatta’s – *Jyotisha-ratna-mala*, a commentary on astrology that may have been composed as early as A.D. 1059. The second work in A.D. 1199 is attributed to Mukundaraja’s *Viveksindhu*, a philosophical treatise in verse. Dnyaneshvar’s *Dnyaneshvari* (A.D. 1286) and Mhahimbhat’s *Līlācaritra* (A.D. 1278) are now considered to be the first compositions of Marathi literature. *Dnyaneshvari* is essentially a commentary on the Bhagavadgeeta. *Līlācaritra* is a

biography of Chakradharswami. It is written in colloquial language containing several dialogues. Seven important literary texts were produced in this style.

Dnyaneshwar is considered to be the founder of the Warkari sect. His *Dnyaneshwari* composed at the age of nineteen is an explication of philosophy in the Bhagvadgēeta. More importantly, its language, its style, its use of similes and metaphors used are unique. His contemporary, Namdew (1270–1350), a tailor by caste, wrote his devotional songs in Marathi, Hindi and Punjabi. Other figures in this tradition were Visoba Khechar, a grocer, Janabai, a maidservant, and Kanhopatra, a dancing girl. Ekanath (A.D. 1533–1599) edited *Dnyaneshwari*. His *Ekanathi bhagawata* ‘Epic according to Ekanath’ has become an integral part of the Marathi literature. The literature of the Warkari sect gave prestige to writing in Marathi instead of Sanskrit. Significantly, it contributed a new lexicon and added styles in syntax. In terms of social history, it created a platform for all castes, and diminished the importance of Vedic religious rituals. The tradition culminated in Tukaram’s famous poetic compositions of A.D. 1608–1650.

Another literary tradition called Panditi Marathi is attributed to Wamanpandit, who lived from (1608–1695). It used Sanskrit metrical patterns and vocabulary in its compositions. Interestingly during 1697 to 1818 prose compositions describing the important political events in the Maratha history were recorded in what is called *bākhār* chronicles. These show the influence of Perso-Arabic vocabulary, special morphological forms and syntactic styles. These borrowings persist even today.

With the advent of English education, literary writings began to change. The Marathi used by the educated elites became the standard barring other sociolects from entering their world. The influence of English even affected the syntax of the native Marathi.

Modern novel writing began with H. N. Apte (1885–1920). Writers like N. S. Phadke (1894–1978) and V. S. Khandekar (1898–1976) dominated the literary scene in the first thirty years of independence. Phadke was successful in writing easy-flowing and unaffected dialogues. His model was H. G. Wells. Khandekar was influenced by Gandhian philosophy. Malti Bedekar alias Vibhavari Shirurkar was the first significant feminist writer. New experiments in writings are found in Nemade’s *Kosala*.

Modern Marathi poetry began with Keshavsut (1866–1905). He chose themes from everyday life without the usual embellishments. Kusumagraj (1912–1999) represents the best of this tradition. It is worth noting that though modern Marathi poetry used themes from English and imitated certain forms such as the sonnet, it could not really set aside the Sanskritized diction and traditional metrical patterns. Modern poetry very soon became a particular style of writing that continues to this date.

A new form of poetry began with Mardhekar (1909–1956). His diction is a mixture of English, Sanskrit and Marathi words creating deviant syntax. His style did not take root and earlier romantic style began to take root. It is represented in the works of P. S. Rege (1910–1978), C. T. Khanolkar (1930–1976), and G. D. Madgulkar (1919–1977).

A significant new turn in poetry started with Narayan Surve, Daya Pawar, and Namdev Dhasal. They call it the *Dalit* poetry, the poetry of the downtrodden. These poets use the *Dalit* dialect. Another aspect of the modern poetry is found in the feminist poetry. It has its inspiration in English feminist literature. Ashwini Dhongde, Pradnya Lokhande, and Neeraja are some of the exponents of this genre.

There is a rich tradition of dramatic literature also. It began in the 19th century with plays by Kirloskar, Deval and continued in the plays of Gadkari and Khadilkar. Recently the art has been modernized by writers such as Atre, Tendulkar and Elkcunchalwar.

Literature affects language in innumerable ways. New styles, new vocabularies, new nuances are continuously added to the language. It affects our way of writing as well as grammar to a certain extent. This is clearly reflected in the language samples in Chapter 12.

### 1.3 Marathi grammarians

M. S. Mone, author of a seminal book on Marathi grammarians (1927) notes Bhishmacharya of the Mahanubhav sect as the first grammarian of Marathi. He wrote three chapters related to Marathi grammar in his *namavibhakti* ‘Nominal Case’, and *panchavartika* ‘Five critiques / commentaries’. The book is dated between 13th and 14th centuries. There is no record of any other Marathi grammars after that. Interestingly the first grammarian of Marathi happens to be a European. Father Thomas Stephens (1549–1619) also happens to be the first Englishman to travel to India. He landed in Goa, then a Portuguese colony. He wrote a grammar of Konkani in Portuguese called – *Arte da Lingoa Canarim* (Canarim i.e present Kannada). It was published in 1640 in Rachol, Goa, nearly twenty years after his death (see Gomes 1992 for details.) Note that Father Stephens considered Konkani to be a dialect of Marathi. His grammar is in a certain sense a grammar of Marathi itself. He was fluent in Konkani and Marathi. He wrote *Christa Puran*, an epic poem on the life of Christ in Marathi. Another missionary, William Carey wrote an elementary grammar of Marathi in 1805. Carey’s grammar was followed by Mukbah in 1825 and by George Gervis in 1840. More recently a Marathi grammar written in Sanskrit in 1827 by Venkat Madhav has been discovered.

1836 marks the beginning of Marathi grammars written by native speakers. Gangadharshastri Phadake wrote a pedagogical school grammar of Marathi. It was followed by Dadoba Pandurang Tarkhadkar's *Maharashtra Bhasheche Vyakaran* 'A grammar of the Marathi Language' written in Marathi. It marks the first serious attempt at writing a systematic grammar of Marathi.

Krushnashastri Godbole's *Marathi Bhasheche Navin Vyakaran* 'A new grammar of the Marathi Language' (1867) traces the relation of Marathi to Prakrit and Sanskrit. Krushnashastri Chiplunkar published a series of critical essays from 1865–1868 on Marathi grammar in *Shalapatrak* 'school-newsletter' pointing out flaws in Tarkhadkar's grammar. He criticized Tarkhadkar for superimposing anglicized framework on Marathi. R. B. Joshi wrote *Praudhabodh Vyakaran* 'Advanced Grammar' in 1889.

G. G. Agarkar in his *An Inquiry into the Nature of Sentences with an analysis of them* (1888) analyzed Marathi sentences on the model of English grammar. M. K. Damle's Scientific Grammar of Marathi – *Shastriya Marathi Vyakaran* – was published in 1911. It begins with sounds, orthography, eight parts of speech, sections on inflection and derivation. Damle analyzes sentential structure and classifies sentence types. He has extensively criticized earlier grammars. His book is a compendium of Marathi language and the most informative grammar yet to be surpassed. Most of these books were written in Marathi.

In 1920, Jules Block published his *La Formation de la langue marathe*. The book traces etymologies of Marathi words in the light of Marathi phonology and morphology. N. G. Kalelkar's *Dhvanivichar* 'A treatise on phonology' (1955), and A. R. Kelkar's *The Phonology and Morphology of Marathi* (1958) were the fruits of American descriptive linguistics brought to Pune, India. Kelkar, in a rather complex presentation, describes Marathi data by setting up phonemic, morpho-phonemic and morphemic levels.

M. L. Apte (1962) sets up transformational rules for Marathi syntax. However he leaves out a large amount of supporting data. A. G. Mangrulkar tried to put forth new issues in Marathi grammar in 1964 in his book *Marathi Vyakaraṇaca Punarvichar* but the book lacks the linguistic rigour. S. M. Gupte (1975) deals with Relative constructions with some valuable insights. R. V. Dhongde's *Arwachin Marathi* 'Modern Marathi' (1983) introduced Marathi phonology and morphology. His *Tense, Aspect and Mood in English and Marathi* (1984) analyses and compares English and Marathi tense-systems from a formal as well as a semantic point of view. Kashi Wali's *Marathi Syntax* (1989) and *Marathi: A Study in Comparative South Asian Languages* (2006) are the first books on Marathi generative syntax. Smita Joshi's doctoral dissertation *Selections of Grammatical and Logical Functions in Marathi* (1993) analyses Marathi Dative constructions within Lexical Functional theory. A. R. Kelkar's *Language in Semiotic Perspective: The Architecture*

of a Marathi Sentence (1997) presents a cognitive and communicative approach. R. V. Pandharipandé's *Marathi* (1997) written in the Lingua framework is a good source for several aspects of Marathi grammar.

Two more upcoming names, Aarti Nayudu and Prashant Pardeshi must be mentioned here. Nayudu's (2008) dissertation is entitled *Issues in the syntax of Marathi: A Minimalist Approach*. Pardeshi has published papers on various Marathi topics within a cognitive semantic framework. His dissertation is entitled *Transitivity and Voice: A Marathi-Japanese Contrastive Perspective*.

The present grammar elaborately describes the phonology, the accentual system, morphology and word formation. The syntax includes the complex agreement system, classification of simple and complex sentences, negation and anaphora. The language samples throw light on the discourse pattern. The book also includes a chapter on the acquisition of Marathi by a one year old child and an essay on the evolution of women's language through ages.

#### 1.4 Script

Marathi is written in the Devanagari script which is used for Sanskrit and other Indo-Aryan languages like Hindi.

There are 10 letters for vowels and 33 for consonants. In addition there is one retroflex symbol that is now pronounced as a sequence /ru/. Then there is a nasalized vowel symbol representing the sequence /əm/ and a vowel with a breathy release represented by the sequence /əh/ and called "wisarga". Three consonant clusters are represented by special symbols: /kʂ/, /tr/ and /dny/.<sup>1</sup>

In Marathi the 10 vowels have separate symbols when they occur alone and there are different orthographic marks for them when they occur with consonants. The consonants are always represented in the chart with [ə]:

	ə	a	i	i:	u	u:	e	əi	o	əu
Vowel letter	अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ	ए/ऐ	ऐ/अै	ओ	औ
Vowel mark		।	ि	ी	ु	ू	े	ै	ो	ौ
Example	क kə	का ka	कि ki	की ki:	कु ku	कू ku:	के ke	कै kəi	को ko	कौ kəu

In addition a mark for nasal is used on a consonant-letter preceding the nasal: ँ as in कं [kəŋ] in /kəŋwal/ 'comb'. The mark /:/ "wisarga" is used to denote a breathy release of a vowel in a few words borrowed from Sanskrit. For example निः in [nihsaušay] 'without doubt'.

The vowel [æ] in borrowed words such as “bat” is represented by the vowel-letter अँ and the mark ̃ as in बैट [bæṭ]. The vowel [ə] in borrowed words such as “doctor” is represented by the vowel-letter औँ and the mark ̃ as in कौंट [kəṭ].

### Consonant-letters

The following consonant-letters represent the consonant sounds given including the vowel [ə] in them.<sup>2</sup>

क [k]	ख [kh]	ग [g]	घ [gh]	ङ [ŋ]
च [ç]	छ [çh]	ज [j]	झ [jh]	
ट [ʈ]	ठ [ʈh]	ड [d]	ढ [dh]	ण [ɳ]
त [t]	थ [th]	द [d]	ध [dh]	न [n]
प [p]	फ [ph]	ब [b]	भ [bh]	म [m]
य [y]	र [r]	ल [l]	व [w]	
श / ष [ʃ]	स [s]	ह [h]	ळ [l̥]	
क्ष [kʃ]	ज्ञ [dny]			

In clusters consonants in the initial position are represented either in reduced forms of letters (for example क्व in क्वचित [kwəçit] ‘rarely’) or in marks (for example र् in कर्ता [kəṛta] ‘subject / doer’).

### Observations

The consonant-letter र [r] is represented by six different marks whereas the four nasals could be represented by one single mark (*anusvar*).

There are two other letter-clusters. The consonant [k] joined with [t] is represented by क्त [ktə] as in रक्त [raktə] ‘blood’. Similarly consonant [d] joined with [w] is represented by द्व [dwə] as in द्वार [dwar] ‘door’.<sup>3</sup>

There are some problems with the script and as a result attempts have been made in the direction of reforming the script. Some problems have no solution. One is the word-final consonant which is written as if it is followed by [ə]. For example in गवत [gəwət], the first two letters are pronounced with [ə] but not the last one.

In words such as काव्य [kawyə], the letter-cluster shows a cluster of two consonants: [w] and [y]. But in speech it is pronounced as wwy – [kawwyə]. The same is true for words such as लावण्य [lawənyə] ‘beauty’, मद्य [məddyə] ‘wine’, पूज्य [pujyyə] ‘honorable’, वध्य [wəddyə] ‘that can be killed’, बाह्य [bayhyə] ‘external’ etc. In short the final cluster with [yə] is a cluster of three consonants.

The script uses single symbols for the pairs [č] and [c], [j] and [j], [jh] and [jh].

The difference maintained in writing between [u] and [u:], [i] and [i:] is not maintained in speech. All attempts at script-reform have failed because of their complexity and non-acceptance by speakers.

Ancient Marathi inscriptions also show the problems in script. Anusvar (use of a dot mark above the letter to represent a nasal) is not a dot but a circle in the inscriptions. The word-final short [ə] in words is shown by the mark ˘ as in – भटानं [bhəṭa:nə] ‘by a Brahmin’. Most importantly the use of length-mark for [i] and [i:] is made inconsistently. The use of full stop to show the end of a sentence instead of a vertical bar started in the early 19th century Marathi prose writing (Nemade 1990).

In early 19th century, Modi script had virtually replaced the Devanagari script. The Peshwa Daptar (written records of the Peshwa rulers) was written in Modi script. The British education system and the revival of interest in Sanskrit in the second half of the 19th century re-established the use of the Devanagari script. Modi calligraphy is easy but it is also irrational.

## Notes

1. Krushnashastry Chiplunkar (1893), who had a firm grounding in Sanskrit, gives 12 vowel-letters. We have excluded his ळ as it is no more used in Marathi. Even the vowel symbol ऋ is used but pronounced as [ri] or [ru] which is sequence cv. It is, however, used in writing. Therefore strictly speaking in modern Marathi there are 10 letters for 8 Marathi vowels and 2 vowels borrowed from English: [æ] and [ə]. The vowels [i] and [u] have two separate symbols for shortness and length.

Krushnashastry gives 34 consonant-letters out of which ञ is not used in modern Marathi. The alveo-palatal nasal-letter of Sanskrit words borrowed in Marathi is replaced in pronunciation by dental [n]. In the remaining 33, as retroflex fricative [ʂ] does not occur in modern Marathi, its symbol ञ is retained only in writing.

2. The letter chart is presented traditionally moving from the velar stops and nasal to the labial stops and nasal, then to the alveo-palatal semi-vowel, alveolar trill and lateral, and then to the labial semi-vowel. Finally the fricatives follow from the back to the front and lastly the glottal. The palatal affricates are considered as stops. The letter chart ends with two cluster-letters.

3. The writing [d] + C and C + [d] is confusing

[d] + C :	: द्रव [drəwə] ‘liquid’
:	: द्वार [dwar] ‘door’
C + [d] :	: शब्द [ʂəbdə] ‘word’
:	: मंद [məndə] ‘slow’

## CHAPTER 2

# Sound system

Modern Standard Marathi has a sound system of 10 vowels and 39 consonants.

### 2.1 Vowels and diphthongs

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Midlow	<i>əi, æ</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>əu, ə</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

#### 2.1.1 Length

Length is not phonemic in *i* and *u*. It is positionally determined. The vowel is long in final syllables followed by Ø or C. Elsewhere it is short. A few educated elite try to keep it in borrowed items from Sanskrit such as *gəti:* ‘speed’, *i:rša:* ‘ambition or desire’ but the majority of Marathi speakers do not have length.

*ə* can be extra short in final syllables when preceded by a consonant-cluster and followed by Ø, as in *pətrə* ‘letter’, *rəktə* ‘blood’, *bhintə* ‘wall’, *rəŋgə* ‘colour’, *əbhəŋgə* ‘a type of verse’, *markə* (borrowed from English) ‘marks’. It is lengthened in words such as *bolə* ‘to speak’, *yeə* ‘to come’ (all infinites) and in *pətrə* ‘letters’, *pəkhə* ‘birds’ *ṭəlkə* ‘gang’ (all in consonant) final neuter plural forms of nouns or *ə*-ending neuter singular forms. One can say that it is a variant of *e* in these situations. In monosyllabic words also *ə* is lengthened: *ət* ‘condition’, *kət* ‘coup’. In the speech of many Marathi speakers, especially in fast speech, *ə* is not lengthened.

There is a contrast between inter consonantal *ə* and *a* in monosyllabic words: *gəd* ‘bury’ and *gəd* ‘fort’, *kap* ‘slice’ and *kəp* ‘cup’, *mal* ‘garland’ and *məl* ‘dust’; *a* in the initial syllable of polysyllabic words is in free variation with *ə* as in *a/əi* ‘mother’, *ə/abhə* ‘pillow cover’ *ə/anuśəŋgik* ‘corrolary’, *ə/awiška* ‘expression’, *ə/aḍkitta* ‘betel nut cracker’, but not in *aj* ‘today’, *ət* ‘inside’.

Length distinction in *i* and *u*, and the distinction between initial *a* and *ə* mentioned above are maintained, however, in orthography, and this has confused some grammarians (see Damle ([1911] 1970)). Therefore the contrast in *śi:r* ‘vein’ and *śir* ‘enter’, *jhu:l* ‘a bodycloth’ and *jhul* ‘nod’ are maintained in writing by the educated elite but in speech not even by them.<sup>1</sup>

In Sanskrit [ə] is retained at the end of a word: [*wənə*] ‘forest’, [*ramə*] ‘Ram’, [*dewə*] ‘god’, [*māhabharətə*] ‘Mahabharat’, [*paṇḍəwə*] ‘Pandawa(s)’, [*bhi:mə*] ‘Bhima’ etc. In Sanskrit a word could have a final CV syllable where V is [ə]. Marathi heavily borrows words from Sanskrit but the final *ə* of the final syllable of Sanskrit words is lost and that *C* becomes a part of the preceding syllable of the Marathi word. However in poetry, often, the poets recover the final *ə* of the *Cə*.

Compare:

- (1) *nəse*                                      *ramə te*    *dhamə soḍunə dyawe* (poetry)  
 NEG-Be-ARCH PRES    Ram that house leave-DESI  
 ‘The house in which there is no Ram should be deserted.’

with

*ram soḍun gela* (ordinary speech)  
 Ram leave-PERF  
 Ram left

### 2.1.2 Borrowed vowels

The vowels *æ* and *ə* are used in borrowings from English. In the nineteenth century the English *æ* was replaced by *ya* as in *byaṅk* ‘bank’ and the *ə* by *a* as in *ḍaktər* ‘doctor’. The replacements are still found in rural Marathi. The increasing prestige of English however brought back the *æ* and *ə*. The following words borrowed from English retain their *æ* and *ə* in modern Marathi: gram [*græm*], mad [*mæḍ*], back [*bæk*], stamp [*stæmp*], tractor [*træktər*], plan [*plæn*], cot [*kət*], lottery [*lətəri*], top [*təp*], plot [*plət*], Australia [*əsṯreliya*]. The English contrast between *ə* and *æ*: however is never maintained – even in the speech of educated urban speakers in the 21st century.

### 2.1.3 Distribution of vowels

All vowels occur in the initial position: *imarət* ‘building’, *uḍala* ‘flew’, *ek* ‘one’, *ok* ‘vomit’, *ət* ‘condition’, *at* ‘in’, *əik* ‘listen’ and *əur* ‘strange’. *æ* and *ə* which are borrowed vowels, follow the distribution in English. All vowels occur in the medial and final position: *rit* ‘manner’, *pəri* ‘fairy’, *luṯ* ‘arson’, *həlu* ‘slow/slowly’, *bheṯ* ‘meet’

*he* ‘these’, *gor* ‘power’, *to* ‘he’, *pai* ‘a type of coin’ *sail* ‘loose’, *daut* ‘ink bottle’ and *sau* ‘Mrs.’

#### 2.1.4 Nasalization of vowels

There are no inherently nasalized vowels in standard Marathi. The Chitpavani dialect of Marathi has nasalized vowels and when the Chitpavan brahmins dominated the socio-cultural and political domains in the 19th century, the then standard Marathi did have nasalized vowels. Damle ([1911] 1970) gives words such as *kōwla* ‘young’, *kīw* ‘pity’ etc. which seem to have nasalized vowels. In modern standard Marathi vowels are nasalized or semi-nasalized (Kelkar 1958) before a nasal consonant. The so-called contrast between the nasalized diphthong in [*hāūs*] ‘swan’ and non-nasalized diphthong in [*həus*] ‘eagerness’ does not exist in modern Marathi.<sup>2</sup>

## 2.2 Consonants

		Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Alveo Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	VL UNASP	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>ʈ</i>		<i>k</i>	
	ASP	<i>ph</i>	<i>th</i>		<i>ʈh</i>		<i>kh</i>	
	V UNASP	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>ɖ</i>		<i>g</i>	
	ASP	<i>bh</i>	<i>dh</i>		<i>ɖh</i>		<i>gh</i>	
Nasal	V UNASP	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ɳ</i>		( <i>ŋ</i> )	
	ASP	<i>mh</i>	<i>nh</i>		<i>ɳh</i>			
Flap	V UNASP					<i>r</i>		
	ASP					<i>rh</i>		
Lateral	V UNASP			<i>l</i>	<i>ɭ</i>			
	ASP			<i>lh</i>				
Affricate	VL UNASP			<i>c</i>		<i>č</i>		
	ASP					<i>čh</i>		
	V UNASP			<i>j</i>		<i>ǰ</i>		
	ASP			<i>jh</i>		<i>ǰh</i>		
Fricative	VL			<i>s</i>		<i>š</i>		<i>h</i>
Semi-vowels	V UNASP	<i>w</i>				<i>y</i>		
	ASP	<i>wh</i>						

### 2.2.1 Description of consonants and their distribution

#### 2.2.1.1 Stops

- [p] is a voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop.  
 [ph] is a voiceless aspirated bilabial stop.  
 [b] is a voiced unaspirated bilabial stop.  
 [bh] is a voiced aspirated bilabial stop.

The four contrast in different positions.

Initial	Medial	Final
[par] ‘totally’	[sopa] ‘easy’	[sab] ‘sir’
[phar] ‘very much’	[sopha] ‘sofa’	[sap] ‘snake’
[bar] ‘a charge of a gun’		[saph] ‘clean’
[bhar] ‘burden’		

- [t] is a voiceless unaspirated dental stop.  
 [th] is a voiceless aspirated dental stop.  
 [d] is a voiced unaspirated dental stop.  
 [dh] is a voiced aspirated dental stop.

Initial	Medial	Final
[tap] ‘temperature’	[səntə] ‘saint’	[sat] ‘seven’
[thap] ‘a lie’	[sənthə] ‘slow’	[sath] ‘company’
[dap] ‘scold’	[adi] ‘primary’	[sad] ‘a call’
[dhap] ‘panting’	[adhi] ‘first’	[sadh] ‘gain’

Marathi has a full retroflex series of oral and nasal stops.<sup>3</sup>

- [ʈ] is a voiceless unaspirated retroflex stop.  
 [ʈh] is a voiceless aspirated retroflex stop.  
 [ɖ] is a voiced unaspirated retroflex stop.<sup>4</sup>  
 [ɖh] is a voiced aspirated retroflex stop.

Initial	Medial	Final
[ʈol] ‘toll’	[kaʈi] ‘a thorny branch’	[kaʈ] ‘a crossmark’
[ɖol] ‘to rock’	[kaʈhi] ‘a large stick’	[kaʈh] ‘edge’
[ɖhol] ‘drum’	[kaɖi] ‘a small stick’	[kaɖh] ‘take’
[ʈoke] ‘points or ends (of things)’	[kaɖhi] ‘(he) takes/draws’	[gaɖ] ‘bury’
[ʈhoke] ‘beats’		[gaɖh] ‘deep’
[ɖoke] ‘head’		

- [k] is a voiceless unaspirated velar stop.  
 [kh] is a voiceless aspirated velar stop.

[g] is a voiced unaspirated velar stop.

[gh] is a voiced aspirated velar stop.

Initial	Medial	Final
[kər] ‘do’	[pakəd] ‘a type of plant’	[tak] ‘buttermilk’
[khər] ‘broken stones’	[pakhəd] ‘chaff’	[tag] ‘hemp’
[gər] ‘pulp’	[a/əkhada] ‘arena’	[cak] ‘wheel’
[ghər] ‘house’	[a/əghada] ‘a type of plant’	[cakh] ‘taste’

### 2.2.1.2 Affricates

[c] is a voiceless unaspirated apico-alveolar affricate.

[j] is a voiced unaspirated apico-alveolar affricate.

[jh] is a voiced aspirated apico-alveolar affricate.

Initial	Medial	Final
[cal] ‘strategy’	[bhaca] ‘nephew’	[lac] ‘bribe’
[jal] ‘(you (PL)) will go’	[bhaja] ‘Roast!’	[laj] ‘shame’
[jhal] ‘a shallow bamboo-basket’	[maca] ‘cot’	
	[maja] ‘Swell!’ (Imperative)	
	[majha] ‘my’	

[č] is a voiceless unaspirated alveopalatal affricate.

[čh] is a voiceless aspirated alveopalatal affricate.

[j] is a voiced unaspirated alveopalatal affricate.

[jh] is a voiced aspirated alveopalatal affricate.

Initial	Medial
[čakka] ‘a kind of cheese’	[kəčči] ‘raw (feminine)’
[čhəkka] ‘impotent’	[kəčchi] ‘person of Katch’ (an Indian region)
[čij] ‘object’	[moči] ‘shoemaker’
[jihij] ‘erosion’	[moji] ‘(he) counts’
[jira] ‘cuminseed’	[kaca] ‘pieces of broken glass’
[jhəra] ‘underground stream’	[kača] ‘tuck’
[jun] ‘old’	
[jun] ‘June’	
[jhəkjhək] ‘bright (light)’	
[jhəkjhək] ‘complaining’	
[jəp] ‘be careful’ (IMP)	
[jəp] ‘counting the beads of a rosary’	
[car] ‘graze’	
[čar] ‘four’	

[ <i>cəracəra</i> ]	‘rapidly’
[ <i>čəračəra</i> ]	‘in the world of the living and the non-living’
[ <i>jhapəd</i> ]	‘drowsiness’
[ <i>jhapəd</i> ]	‘slap’

### 2.2.1.3 *Fricatives*

[ <i>s</i> ]	is a voiceless alveolar sibilant/fricative.
[ <i>ʃ</i> ]	is a voiceless palatal alveo sibilant/fricative.
[ <i>h</i> ]	is a voiced glottal fricative.

Initial		Medial		Final	
[ <i>sal</i> ]	‘skin’	[ <i>sosəne</i> ]	‘to bear’	[ <i>paš</i> ]	‘string, bond’
[ <i>ʃal</i> ]	‘shawl’	[ <i>ʃoʃne</i> ]	‘to suck’	[ <i>pas</i> ]	‘pass’
[ <i>hal</i> ]	‘difficulty’	[ <i>pəsara</i> ]	‘spread’	[ <i>pah</i> ]	‘see’
		[ <i>pəhara</i> ]	‘guard’		
		[ <i>məʃal</i> ]	‘torch’		
		[ <i>məhal</i> ]	‘palace’		

### 2.2.1.4 *Nasals*

[ <i>m</i> ]	is a bilabial voiced unaspirated nasal.
[ <i>mh</i> ]	is a bilabial voiced aspirated nasal.
[ <i>n</i> ]	is a (apico) dental voiced unaspirated nasal.
[ <i>nh</i> ]	is a (apico) dental voiced aspirated nasal.
[ <i>ɳ</i> ]	is a retroflex voiced unaspirated nasal.
[ <i>ɳh</i> ]	is a retroflex voiced aspirated nasal. <sup>5</sup>

Initial		Medial		Final	
[ <i>mama</i> ]	‘uncle’	[ <i>naɳə</i> ]	‘coin’	[ <i>kam</i> ]	‘work’
[ <i>nama</i> ]	‘reduced form of a proper name’	[ <i>nhaɳə</i> ]	‘taking bath’	[ <i>kan</i> ]	‘ear’
[ <i>mən</i> ]	‘mind’	[ <i>tana</i> ]	‘sequences of musical notes’	[ <i>tan</i> ]	‘sequence of musical notes’
[ <i>mhəɳ</i> ]	‘saying’	[ <i>tanha</i> ]	‘very young or newly born’	[ <i>taɳ</i> ]	‘tension’
				[ <i>raɳ</i> ]	‘que’
				[ <i>ran</i> ]	‘forest’
				[ <i>ram</i> ]	‘Ram’

### 2.2.1.5 *Laterals and flaps*

[ <i>l</i> ]	is a voiced alveolar or apico-dental unaspirated lateral.
[ <i>lh</i> ]	is a voiced alveolar or apico-dental aspirated lateral.
[ <i>ʎ</i> ]	is a voiced retroflex lateral.

[r] is a voiced alveo-palatal unaspirated flap or short trill.

[rh] is a voiced alveo-palatal aspirated trill.

Initial	Medial	Final
[lek] 'daughter'	[kəra] 'Do!' (IMP)	[wal] 'a type of pulse'
[rek] 'grunt'	[kərha] 'name of a river'	[war] 'day'
[ras] 'pile'	[gora] 'fair-skinned'	[laʎ] 'suliva'
[rhas] 'decadence'	[gorha] 'calf'	[lal] 'red'
	[jila] 'whom (feminine)'	
	[jilha / jillha] 'district'	
	[kəʎta] 'slanting'	
	[kəʎta] 'subject'	

### 2.2.1.6 Semi-vowels

[w] is a voiced bilabial unaspirated glide.

[wh] is a voiced bilabial aspirated glide.

[y] is a voiced palatal glide.

Initial	Medial	Final
[yəʃ] 'success'	[nəwe] 'new'	[pay] 'leg'
[wəʃ] 'subdued'	[nəwhe] 'not'	[paw] 'bread'
[ya] 'Come!' (IMP)	[jiwh-an-na / 'to tongues'	
[wa] 'very good' (INTJ)	jiwwh-an-na]	
[wha] 'Be' (IMP)	[jiw-an-na] 'to beings'	
	[dəwa] 'medicine'	
	[dəya] 'pity'	
	[kewḍa] 'a yellow flower tree'	
	[kewhḍha] 'how much'	
	[lawa] 'Plant!' (IMP)	
	[lawha] 'lava'	

### 2.2.1.7 Observations

Aspirated nasals, laterals, flaps and semivowels are not regarded as phonemes by earlier grammarians. They occur in few words but they are distinctive. They are sometimes affected by the phonological process of loss of aspiration especially in fast speech but not in all cases.

Earlier grammarians consider all the affricates as stops.

The voiceless aspirated alveolar affricate [ch] is not a distinctive sound and occurs only in words borrowed from Sanskrit such as [utḥəw] 'festival', [wəḥə] 'young one', [məḥə] 'jealousy' etc. In writing it has a symbol of a consonant-cluster letter that represents the sounds /ts/. Just as there is a gap in the pattern in

the absence of [ch], there is also a gap in the pattern at voiced aspirated retroflex lateral [ʎh] and at alveo-palatal voiced nasal [ɳ].

Some modern grammarians like Pandharipande (1997) include labio-dental fricatives [f] and [v] for words borrowed from English. We have not done that as the English labio-dental fricatives are never used even by educated speakers of Marathi living in India. In fact the description of Indian English shows [ph] and [wh] as substitutes for them just as [θ] and [ð] are substituted by [th] and [d].

Many grammarians insist on the inclusion of the voiceless retroflex sibilant [ʃ] in order to maintain Marathi's proximity to Sanskrit.

Among the four languages that are in contact with Marathi, only Telugu and Kannada have the retroflex lateral [ʎ].

A recent dialect survey of Marathi noted in Dhongde (1995) shows certain interesting features of dialects. For example the vowel *i* of standard Marathi corresponds to *ə* as in *injīn* > *injən* 'engine', the front mid vowel *e* to *ya/ye* as in *tel* > *tyal* 'oil'; and the mid back vowel *o* to *w* a labial frictionless continuant as in *oḍhṇe* > *wəḍhṇe* 'to drag'. Initial consonants are aspirated in the dialects under certain conditions but elsewhere aspirated consonants are deaspirated. The retroflex nasal *ŋ* and the lateral *ʎ* – correspond to dental counterparts as in *paṇi* > *paṇi* 'water', *phəṇəs* > *phənəs* 'jackfruit', *masoḷi* > *masoli* 'fish'. The survey also shows that about 60% to 75% words of these dialects were found in common with standard Marathi. 17% of the vocabulary belonging to some 35 semantic fields was found to be different in some specific subdialects, whereas 8% of the vocabulary was found to be different in some groups of subdialects. That is about 25% of the 2900 hundred words tested in 8 major areas of Maharashtra were found to be different from those of standard Marathi.

### 2.3 Phonotactics

All consonants except alveo-palatal affricates and aspirated [mh] [nh] [lh] and [rh] are allowed word-finally.<sup>6</sup>

All consonants except [ŋ] [ɳh] and [ʎ] are allowed word-initially.

#### 2.3.1 Word-initial consonant-clusters

Consonant-clusters are found in words derived from Sanskrit *tadbhava* and words inherited from Sanskrit, *tatsama* (Sanskrit words in Marathi speech). In the subdialects clusters are either simplified or put into non-initial word position. Marathi allows the following clusters.

- Cr: 13 clusters in which C is one of the nine stop-consonants: [p] [b] [bh] [t] [d] [ʈ] [ɖ] [k] [g] or [m] [n] [s] [ʃ]. This gives the maximum number of 13 in this type. Examples: [prəthəm] ‘first’, [brə] ‘single word’ / ‘sound’, [bhrantə] ‘scarcity’, [traŋ] ‘strength’, [drəw] ‘liquid’, [tram] ‘tram’, [drəm] ‘drum’, [krəm] ‘order’, [gram] ‘village’, [mruṭtyu] ‘death’, [nruttyə] ‘dance’, [srot] ‘spring’, [ʃrey] ‘credit’.
- Cy: 12 clusters in which C is one of the seven stop consonants: [p] [b] [bh] [t] [d] [dh] [kh] or [m] [n] [l] [w] [h]. A cluster of 3 consonants *dny* also occurs. Examples: [pyade] ‘pawn’, [byad] ‘pest’, [bhyad] ‘coward’, [tya-ca] ‘his’, [dya-wa] ‘should give’, [dhyan] ‘meditation or appearance’, [khyati] ‘fame’, [myan] ‘sheath’, [nyay] ‘justice’, [lya-la] ‘wore’, [wyayam] ‘exercise’, [yha-la] ‘to this one’, [dnyan] ‘knowledge’.
- Cw: 3 clusters in which C is [d], [k] or [s]: [dwar] ‘door’, [kwācit] ‘rarely’, [swatəh] ‘oneself’.
- Cl: 2 clusters in which C is [k] or [ʃ]: [kliṣṭə] ‘complex’, [ʃleṣ] ‘pun’ (sk).
- Cp: 1 cluster in which C is [s]: [spaṣṭə] ‘clear’.
- Cph: 1 cluster in which C is [s]: [sphoṭ] ‘explosion’.
- Cth: 1 cluster in which C is [s]: [sthan] ‘place’ (sk).
- Ck: 1 cluster in which C is [s]. Example [skul] ‘school’ (E).

All these clusters mostly occur in words borrowed from Sanskrit and English.<sup>7</sup>

Marathi does not allow word-final consonant-clusters except in words borrowed from English such as: ‘silk’, ‘best’, ‘fast’, ‘feast’, ‘dark’, ‘farce’, ‘list’, ‘lamp’, ‘paste’, ‘oilpaint’, ‘guest’, ‘shark’, ‘test’, ‘work’ etc.

### 2.3.2 Word-medial geminates

All non-aspirated consonants can occur duplicated (geminated) word-medially. Examples [gəppə] ‘quiet’, [gəbbər] ‘very rich’, [səttə] ‘power’, [əddəl] ‘lesson’, [ghəttə] ‘tight’, [əḍḍə] ‘assembly or a place where persons of common interest meet’, [pəkka] ‘fixed’, [bəggi] horse-carriage, [kacca] ‘raw’, [korṭə, kəjje] ‘judicial disputes’, [bəčča] ‘child’, [məjja] ‘fun’, [həmma] ‘cow’, [ənnə] ‘food’, [kəlla] ‘whisker’, [kaḷ-ḷə] ‘understood’, [kərrə] ‘noise of a door’, [əssə] ‘so it is’, [huṣṣə] ‘sigh of relief’, [əwwəl] ‘best’, [bhəyya] ‘brother or a guard at the door’.<sup>8</sup>

### 2.3.3 Word-medial non-geminates

What are called word-medial non-geminates never occur in the same syllable.<sup>9</sup> They are open to phonological processes in the same way as other consonant sequences. They are not restricted in number. In the following the first set gives single words in which clusters are represented orthographically as clustered letters

or ‘*jodakshar*’. The second set also contains single words but no clustered letters are used in their writing as one can always optionally insert the vowel [ə] between them. The third set contains words that are written as separate words. But in all the examples, there are same CC occurrences.

1	2	3
[sətwə] ‘essence’	[sat-wə] ‘seventh’ (N)	[sat wajta] ‘at seven o’clock’
[kəlpəna] ‘concept’	[bal-pəŋ] ‘childhood’	[kal pəŋ] ‘yesterday too’
[kutr-a] ‘dog’ (M)	[utra] ‘Get down!’ (IMP)	[jat rahu] ‘(we) will continue to go’
[nusta] ‘only’	[nəs-ta] ‘if (it) is not’	[was təri ghe] ‘at least smell (it)’ (IMP)
[wiskəṭṭe] ‘to scatter’	[naska] ‘spoiled’	[pas kər] ‘let (him) pass’ (IMP)
[wišram] ‘rest’	[dəšrəṭhi] ‘proper noun’	[yəs rəmla] ‘Yash is amused’
[silk-ce] ‘of silk’	[šelke] ‘a few selected’	[ja-šil ka] ‘will you go?’
[wəš-at] ‘in an year’	[arš-at] ‘in the minor’	[hirwigar šete] ‘green fields’
[kərmə] ‘action’ (SK)	[kərme-na] ‘not at ease’	[jər mi] ‘If I’
[kəṛṇə] ‘ear’ (SK)	[kəṛṇe] ‘to do’	(ṇ cannot occur in word-initial position)
[sərwə] ‘all’	[surwat] ‘beginning’	[kər waḍhla] ‘tax has increased’

## 2.4 Syllable structure

In monosyllabic morphemes, syllables have the following structure:

[a]	V	‘aha!’
[ai]	VV	‘exclamation of surprise’
[mi]	CV	‘I’
[šri]	CCV	‘a title’
[stri]	CCCV	‘woman’
[kay]	CVC	‘what’
[kəik]	CVVC	‘many’
[prem]	CCVC	‘love’
[strəiṇ]	CCCVVC	‘suited to women’

## 2.5 Accent

Accent is not distinctive in Marathi. Damle ([1911] 1970) does not see any valid reason to consider it. Gunjikar (1889) recognizes three types of vowels – short *rhəswə*, long *dirghə* and extra-long *plutə* – but does not recognize accent in Marathi. Kalelkar (1965), who is perhaps the first Marathi grammarian influenced by descriptive linguistics, does not mention accent in talking about Marathi phonology.