

Gujarati, belonging to the Indo-Aryan family, is spoken by approximately 46,100,000 speakers. It is the official language of Gujarat state and is also used in 16 other countries around the world, thanks to the Gujarati diaspora. Having several dialects, which moreover have been little explored, Gujarati is very rich in literary style and has a long literary tradition. The grammatical analysis proposed here is of Gujarati as taught and used by educated speakers of the language.

The grammar provides basic information on the phonology, writing system, morphology and the syntax of the language. A short introduction outlines the geolinguistic situation of Gujarati. The chapter on phonology studies the vowels, consonants as well as the syllable structure of Gujarati. Special attention is given to the murmur sounds of the language, since these are a marked feature of Gujarati. A short overview of the syllable structure and of the prosody of Gujarati is also furnished. The analysis of the writing system starts off with a brief historical sketch of the evolution of Gujarati graphemes, followed by a script grammar of the consonants, vowels/matras, and other modifiers. Conjuncts and ligatures both of the vowels and the consonants are also analysed. Gujarati is essentially a morphological language and hence major stress is laid on its morphology. This chapter describes nominal and verbal morphology as well as the adjuncts. There are two numbers, three genders and three cases, with the nominal elements being declined according to their final elements. The analysis of the verbal system outlines the tenses and the moods. Causatives, which are a special feature of Gujarati, are of particular interest. Non-declined elements constitute adverbs, clitics, particles and connectives. A special section is also given over to derivational morphology with a study of the most important suffixes and prefixes of the language, derived both from Sanskrit and Persian. The broad overview of syntax describes the basic sentence types of Gujarati, word-order, participial structures, negation and coordination and subordination. The last chapter provides a list of the most common idiomatic structures of the language.

The study is essentially corpus-linguistics driven and examples provided are based on a large oral and written corpus of present-day Gujarati. For the convenience of those familiar with the Gujarati script, the examples are transcribed both in IPA and in Gujarati.



A GRAMMAR OF GUJARATI

Raimond Doctor

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

1.	1 st Person.
2.	2 nd Person.
3.	3 rd Person.
Abl.	Ablative.
Acc.	Accusative.
acc.	Accusative.
agent.part.	Agentive Participle.
Agt.	Agent.
asp.	Aspirated.
aux.	Auxiliary.
cond.	Conditional.
conn.part.	Connective Participle.
erg.	Ergative.
excl.	Exclamation.
F.	Feminine.
Fem.	Feminine.
fut.	Future.
fut.part.	Future Participle.
Gen.	Genitive.
imp.	Imperative.
incl.	Inclusive.
inf.	Infinitive.
inf.part.	Infinitive Participle.
Inst.	Instrumental.
Loc.	Locative.
M.	Masculine.
Masc.	Masculine.
N.	Neuter.
Neut.	Neuter.
Nom.	Nominative.
N.P.	Noun Phrase.
obj.	Object.
Obl.	Oblique.
obl.	Oblique.
pass.	Passive.
PastPart.	Past Participle.
Pl.	Plural.
prest.	Present.
Prest.Part.	Present Participle.
rem.	Remote.
resp.	Respect form.
Sg.	Singular.
subj.	Subject.
unasp.	Unaspirated.
vd.	Voiced.
vl.	Voiceless.
Voc.	Vocative.
V.P.	Verb Phrase.

INTRODUCTION

Gujarati is an Indo-Aryan language spoken by about 50 million people worldwide, making it the 20th most spoken language in the world and the 6th most used in India. Of these, the majority reside in India, with other speakers in East Africa, UK and Pakistan and USA. It is also the official language of Gujarat state in India.

Geographical Location and Economic Profile:

Gujarat, which has a surface area of 196,024 square kilometers is situated between 20°1' and 24°7' north latitude and 68°4' and 74°4' east longitude on the west coast of India, and a large part of the region to the West is open to the Arabian Sea. Gujarat has the longest coast line 1290km. It shares its boundaries with Pakistan which is separated from it by the Rann of Kutch. The Indian states which border Gujarat are Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh to the North and North-East and Maharashtra to the South. Geographically seen Gujarat is made up of three geographical regions: the peninsular area, traditionally known as Saurashtra which is essentially a hilly tract sprinkled with low mountains; to the north-east is a barren desert land known as Kutch and finally the mainland which is a level plain of alluvial soil.

The languages spoken in the areas contiguous to Gujarat within India are Marwari, Hindi, and Marathi. In the case of Pakistan, it is Sindhi, Punjabi and Urdu. The population was 50,596,992 (Census of India, 2001.) i.e. an average density of around 200 persons per sq km. In terms of population it holds the tenth position among the States and Union territories in the country. More than 70 percent of the population is Hindu; there are also significant minorities of Muslims and Jains in Gujarat. Buddhists and Parsis constitute small groups. As per the 2001 census the literacy rate in the State has shown improvement having increased to 69.97% when compared to 61.57% ten years back at the 1991 Census.

The people of Gujarat are industrious and hard-working. Gujarat has always been considered as one of India's most industrialized states with a wide variety of industries ranging from petro-chemicals to diamonds to the manufacture of textiles, vegetable oils, chemicals. The Gujaratis are also an extremely mobile population and can be found not only all over India but also in Africa, America and Europe.

Historical Background:

To understand the evolution of the Gujarati language, one should understand the historical factors which through the centuries have shaped this region. The region that is now considered as Gujarat was home to one of the oldest civilisations in South Asia dating back to 2500 BC. The Indus Valley Civilization is the earliest known civilisation represented by two great city-sites: Harappa and Mohenjo Daro. This culture was marked by a degree of specialisation in artifacts. The characteristic features of this civilisation were the distinctive black-on-red pottery, ceramic toys and figurines, and above all the stamp seals with a script that remains yet to be deciphered. By the 3rd century BC, Gujarat was annexed to the Maurya Empire. Successively Gujarat came under the sway of the Guptas and the Mitrakas. By the 12th Century A.D. Gujarat was ruled by the Chauhan dynasty. At the end of the 13th century, Gujarat came under Muslim rule. Through the sea-route which was open for trade, the traders from Iran and Arabic countries started coming into Gujarat. A trade system was established and this led to the flourishing of Indo-Islamic culture which is a characteristic feature of many cities of Gujarat. The British East India Company and the French Compagnie des Indes established themselves in Gujarat around the 17th Century. As the Moghul rule over India slowly weakened, in 1818 the British East India Company took control of Gujarat administering the state through local princely rulers. With the independence of India in 1947, Gujarat became part of the state of Bombay. In 1960 Bombay state was split up, and Gujarat

was formed from the northern and western portions, which were predominantly Gujarati-speaking areas. The remainder of Bombay state became Maharashtra state.

Gujarat has thus been the melting pot of various civilisations and cultures and this has led to a large number of cultures which however are unified by a common language: Gujarati. The most prominent religion is Hinduism and there are a large number of temples of which the most notable are the temple of Somnath, which dates back to the 10th century. Gujarat is also home to the Jain community, the followers of Mahavira. Buddhism is also markedly popular and the oldest Buddhist remains in the shape of edicts of Ashoka date back to the 3rd century. Finally Gujarat is also the region where the Parsis, who came from Iran in the 10th Century to escape the Muslim conquest settled down.

Linguistic Profile

As a language Gujarati can be traced right back to the 12th century with Hemachandra Acharya's formal grammar. The earliest traces of the literature survive in oral tradition especially of two great poets: Narasinh Mehta and Premananda (both ca. 17th century). Present day Gujarati has a considerable vocabulary from Persian owing to over five centuries of Muslim rule. Gujarati language and literature are vibrant even today and the literature has exercised considerable influence over other literatures in India.

The language recognised as standard by Gujarati speakers, is the one spoken in the region that stretches from Vadodra (Baroda) to the South to Gandhinagar to the North and from Surendranagar to the West to Kheda district in the South. It is the language that is used by the media: T.V., Radio as well as by the educated masses for reading, writing and for communication. Although relatively determined, certain aspects of the language such as the spellings still need to be standardised and Gujarati displays considerable spelling variants.

A large number of dialects of Gujarati have been identified but have been little studied and explored. Of these, four are recognised as major: Surati spoken in the southern area of Gujarat with Surat as its representative city; Kathiawadi or Saurashtri spoken in the region of Kathiawad; Patani which is a northern dialect named after the city of Patan and Vadodari spoken in Vadodara. Other variations such as Parsi Gujarati, Mumbai Gujarati, Kharwa, Kakari constitute minority dialects.

Existing Research

Though Gujarati is an important language, very few grammars exist in languages other than in Gujarati. These are written in Sanskrit mould and are specifically tailored to the autochtone population. The oldest grammar of Gujarati in English dates back to around 1842. Mention needs to be made of Cardona's *A Gujarati Reference Grammar* (1965), which is rightly considered a land-mark in Gujarati grammars and is often quoted by Gujarati grammarians. To a large extent, the present study is based on the structural model provided by Cardona. The bibliography provided at the end of the book furnishes an exhaustive survey of serious grammars as well as important research papers written both in Gujarati as well as other languages.

Organisation of the Book

The present study is neither a pedagogical grammar nor is it a reference grammar of the language, but aims at providing a short and concise linguistic description of the standard language. Although used and recognised as standard, the language has yet to be well-defined. Gujarati spelling norms have still to be determined as well as the genders of nouns and certain rules regarding usage of verbs, where a considerable divergence can be observed both in speech as well as in grammars and dictionaries. The present monograph tries to accommodate these variations.

The book is divided into four chapters. The first chapter provides an over-view of the phonology of Gujarati. Vowels, Consonants, Syllable structure as well as Suprasegmental phenomena are studied. Chapter 2 provides an insight into the writing system of Gujarati. Although the basic rules of writing are derived from Devanagari, the writing system of Gujarati has its own character as well as ligatural set. The third chapter treats of the morphology of Gujarati. Like a majority of Indo-Aryan languages, Gujarati is a language where the morphological component is predominant. The basic behaviour of Gujarati nominalisers (nouns, adjectives, pronouns) and verbal forms is analysed in terms of their inflection and derivation. A short note on adjuncts treats of the invariable elements in Gujarati which are mainly lexical items but exhibit an interesting pattern. Chapter IV provides a broad overview of the syntax of Gujarati. Sentence types, word-order, coordination and subordination are described. The chapter on sample texts provides interlinear representation as well as a free translation of some Gujarati texts.

Chapter 1.
Phonology

In this chapter a brief sketch of the basic phonology of Gujarati will be presented. The phonemes of the language will be analysed: vowels, consonants and diphthongs followed by an analysis of the syllable structure of Gujarati and eventually a short survey of suprasegmentals with special reference to juncture, stress and intonation.

1.1. Vowels

The vowels of Gujarati can be classified in terms of 3 primary features which yield the basic vowels of the language and 2 secondary features which modify the basic vowel set. The primary features which Gujarati shares with other Indo-Aryan languages are:

1. Tongue Position: Front, Central and Back;
2. Tongue height: High, Low-High, Mid-High, Mean-Mid, Low-Mid, Low;
3. Lip Rounding: Unrounded vs. Rounded.

In addition two other features: Nasalisation and Breathiness modify these basic vowels. Gujarati admits therefore three major vowel sets :

A. Primary or Oral Vowels:

Gujarati has 10 primary vowels: /i/ high front, /ɪ/ low high front, /e/ mid-high front, /ɛ/ low-mid front, /a/ low central, /ə/ mean-mid central, /ɔ/ lower mid back, /o/ higher-mid-back, /U/ low high back and /u/ high back.

Rounding and length are well demarcated. Only back vowels are rounded and the front vowels remain unrounded. Similarly the front and back, high and low-high vowels show a marked contrast for length.

Table 1:

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Low-High	ɪ		U
High-Mid	e		o
Mean-Mid		ə	
Low-Mid	ɛ		ɔ
Low		a	

B. Nasalised Vowels:

Of the ten primary vowels, seven are nasalised. Nasalisation shows a marked distribution in that the high-mid vowels /e/ and /o/ are not nasalised. The short vowel /ɪ/ is normally not nasalised, although in some dialectical forms, such as Parsi Gujarati, the nasal form is encountered. Statistically the most common nasalised vowel is \bar{u} .

Table 2:

	Front	Central	Back
High	\bar{i}		\bar{u}
Low-High			\bar{U}
Mean-Mid		$\bar{ə}$	
Low-Mid	$\bar{\epsilon}$		$\bar{\sigma}$
Low		\bar{a}	

Certain speakers of Gujarati especially in Ahmedabad tend to use $\bar{\sigma}$ and \bar{o} indifferently.

C. Breathly Vowels:

Termed also as Murmured Vowels, these are produced by a modification of the laryngeal air-stream. The glottis is in *whisper* state: the posterior part of the vocal cords (arytenoidal glottis) is in an unvoiced position whereas the rest of the length of the vocal cords (the oral glottis) is in voiced position and vibrates more strongly than in the case of plain voice. The result is a breathy or murmured vowel. Gujarati admits eight murmured vowels whose distribution is shown below. The distribution is clearly marked: with the exception of the short low-high vowels, all other vowels can be "murmured". These are marginally used in Gujarati and according to Pandit (1966) were used as a stylistic variation in Gujarati literature. (For details on the phonemic distribution, cf. 1.1.1 below)

Table 3:

	Front	Central	Back
High	i'		u'
High-Mid	e'		o'
Mean-Mid		ə'	
Low-Mid	ɛ'		ɔ'
Low		a'	

1.1.1 Vowel Distribution:

Oral Vowels:

i	High front unrounded		
id	'festival'	lidha	'took'
			lakdʒi
I	Low-high front unrounded		
I lja	'injury'	bllaɖʒi	'cat'
			nəhi
e	High mid front unrounded		
e eʃlo	'so much'	veʃ	'creeper'
			kəhe
ɛ	Low mid front unrounded		
ɛ em	'so'	bes	'sit'
			bɛ
a	Low central unrounded		
a ap	'give'	kap	'cut'
			kutra
ə	Mean-mid central unrounded		
ə are	'oh!'	rəɖ	'cry'
			əstrə
ɔ	Low-mid back rounded		
ɔ ok	'vomit'	bɔl	'ball'
			ʒo
o	High-mid back rounded		
o oɖh	'wear'	bor	'jujuba fruit'
			saro
U	Low-high back rounded		
U Upaɖ	'lift'	phU	'fruit'
			ɕakU
u	High back rounded		
u uni	'warm'	lukhi	'dry'
			lu

Nasal Vowels:

\bar{i}	High front unrounded nasal		
\bar{i} iʃ	'brick'	chikyo	'sneezed'
			nəhi
$\bar{\epsilon}$	Low mid front unrounded nasal		
$\bar{\epsilon}$ eɖ	'angle'	phɛʃo	'hat'
			mɛ
\bar{a}	Low central unrounded nasal		
\bar{a} əkh	'eye'	pəɕ	'five'
			ma'r ə

ē	Mean mid central unrounded nasal		
ē	ēk 'edition'	rēk 'poor man'	hē 'what!'
ō	Low mid-back rounded nasal		
ō	___	ghōcyo 'pierced'	hō 'yes'
ū	Low-high back rounded nasal		
ū	___	marū 'to hit'	sarū 'good'
ū	High back rounded nasal		
ū	ūt 'camel'	gūṭh 'weave'	___

Murmured Vowels:

i'	High front unrounded		
i'	i'jhro eunuch	bi'do frightened	___
e'	High mid front unrounded		
e'	e'mna 'their'	ve'lā 'early'	___
ε'	Low mid front unrounded		
ε'	ε'no 'his'	mε'phil 'gathering'	___
a'	Low central unrounded		
a'	a'b 'sky'	va'gən 'tigress'	___
ə'	Mean-mid central unrounded		
ə'	ə'dji	tə'ne 'to you'	___
o'	Low-mid back rounded		
o'	o'ddo 'post'	pō'lū 'wide'	___
o'	High-mid back rounded		
o'	o'dyo 'wore'	gō'do 'horse'	___
u'	High back rounded		
u'	u'bo 'upright'	cu'lo 'stove'	___

___ indicates absence.

1.1.2 Vowel Contrasts:

1.1.2.1. Oral Vowels:

Front Vowels

/i/ vs /I/	citri 'striped'	ɕtro 'pictures'
/e/ vs /ɛ/	meḷ 'meeting'	mɛḷ 'dirt'
/i/ vs /e/	tili 'match'	teli 'oil-vendor'
/I/ vs /ɛ/	bIḷ 'bill'	bɛḷ 'bell'
/I/ vs /e/	lIp 'cover'	lep 'ointment'
/i/ vs /e/	teni 'her' (Fem.)	tene 'to her'
/i/ vs /ɛ/	vir 'bold'	ver 'vengeance'

Central Vowels

/ə/ vs /a/	mər 'die'	mar 'hit'
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Back Vowels

/u/ vs /U/	cur 'crumbs'	cUk 'error'
/u/ vs /o/	bhut 'ghost'	bhoṭ 'simpleton'
/o/ vs /ɔ/	khol 'open'	khɔḷ 'cave'

/U/ vs. /ɔ/	Ukal 'boil'	ɔgal 'cause to swallow'
/u/ vs. /o/	gaṇḍo 'fool'	gaṇḍu 'foolish'

Front, Central and Back Vowels:

/i/ vs. /u/	ji 'life'	ju 'louse'
/I/ vs. /U/	mIḷ 'mill'	mUḷ 'price'

Three way variation

/e/ /ə/ /o/	jer 'subdued'	jər 'gold'	jor 'strength'
/ɛ/ /a/ /ɔ/	kɛḷ 'banana'	kaḷ 'time'	kɔḷ 'call'
/e/ /a/ /o/	cheḍ 'tease'	chaḍ 'tease'	choḍ 'leave'
/ɛ/ /e/ /o/	mɛḷ 'dirt'	məḷ 'meet'	moḷ 'weigh'
/i/ /a/ /u/	mir 'noble'	mar 'beat'	mur 'a tribe'

1.1.2.2. Nasal vs. Oral Vowels:

/i/ vs. /i/	cīta 'worry'	cita 'pyre'
/ē/ vs. /ɛ/	pēṭ 'trousers'	pɛṭ 'stomach'
/ā/ vs. /a/	bādh 'build'	baḍh 'flood'
/ō/ vs. /ə/	ōt 'end'	ət 'condition'
/ō/ vs. /ɔ/	pōk 'parched millet'	pɔk 'onomatopoeia'
/ū/ vs. /u/	vādhū 'increased'	vədhū 'bride'

1.1.2.3. Murmured vs. Oral Vowels:

/i/ vs. /i/	vi'lo 'wheels'	viḷo 'wills'
/e/ vs. /e/	ve'lo 'early'	veḷo 'creepers'
/ɛ/ vs. /ɛ/	mɛ'lo 'castles'	mɛḷo 'dirty'
/ə/ vs. /ə/	pə'ttə 'strong man'	pəṭtə 'belt'
/a/ vs. /a/	ma'ro 'my'	maṛo 'beat'
/ɔ/ vs. /ɔ/	mɔ' dū 'face'	mɔdū 'late'
/o/ vs. /o/	də'lvū 'make muddy'	dəlvū 'to nod'
/u/ vs. /u/	cu'lo 'stove'	curo 'fragments'

1.1.3 Phonemic Distribution of Vowels:

1.1.3.1. *Oral Vowels* can occur in all environments. However in final environments, the higher mid and lower mid front and back vowels are in free variation. Thus /e/ and /ɛ/ and similarly /o/ and /ɔ/ can be used freely. /je/ and /jɛ/ can both mean 'this' just as /jo/ and /jɔ/ both mean 'see'. The number of words with such a distribution is very limited. Earlier TV and Radio used the lower mid forms, but this convention is no longer observed and speakers use the two forms indifferently.

Final /ə/ is rarely pronounced and is normally pronounced when preceded by clusters of 2 or 3 consonants: rudrə: Shiva, əstrə: weapon, vəstrə: clothes

1.1.3.2. Nasal Vowels admit a specific distribution:

/I/ is never nasalised; as are the higher-mid front /e/ and back /o/ vowels. In the case of vowels that are nasalised:

/ə/ can never occur in final position, except in the case of the exclamation /hə̃/: 'what!'. The vowels /Ū/ and /ū/ share a particular relationship: both can occur in medial position, but only /ū/ occurs in initial position and /Ū/ in final position. The latter is normally a morphological marker of the verbal infinitive as in /calvŪ/ 'to walk' or the nominal neuter marker as in /barnŪ/ 'door'. In the morphological analysis that follows, these vowels have been normalised to /ū/. Other instances are rare.

1.1.3.3 *Murmured Vowels* can occur only in initial and medial positions. Cardona (1965) mentions the free variation of /ra/ - /rah/ 'road', but this does not seem to exist today.

Murmured vowels exhibit an interesting distributional pattern.

When a vowel is followed by a voiced aspirate: /bh/, /dh/, /djh/ or /gh/, the aspirated consonant is reduced to its unaspirated form and the aspiration is transposed to the vowel which becomes murmured as a result. Both forms are acceptable:

/i'jdə/ or /ijhdə/: 'eunuch.

In other instances where these vowels occur, the following environment is normally a voiced consonant, preferably /m/ /n/ /r/ /l/ or a semi-vowel /y/, /w/. /r/ seems to be the most favoured.

1.2. Consonants

The Consonants of Gujarati can be described in terms of a two way opposition: place of articulation: bi-labial, labio-dental, dental/alveolar, retroflex, palatal, velar, glottal; manner of articulation: stops, nasals, fricatives, trills, flaps, laterals and semi-vowels.

Table 4

	Bilabial	Labio-Dental	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops							
vl. unasp.	p		t	ʈ	c	k	
vl. asp.	ph		th	ʈh	ch	kh	
vd. unasp.	b		d	ɖ	j	g	
vd. asp.	bh		dh	ɖh	jh	gh	
Nasals	m		n	ɳ	ɲ	ŋ	
Fricatives							
vl.		s	ʃ	ʂ			h
vd.		z					
Lateral			l	ɭ			
Trills			r				
Flaps				ɽ			
Semivowels	w	v			y		

1.2.1. Distribution of Consonants:

Gujarati has 37 consonants. With the exception of ɳ, ɲ, ŋ, ɽ, ʂ, ʃ, v, w; the other consonants can occur in all positions as shown below:

p voiceless unaspirated bi-labial stop		
pəl 'keep'	papi 'wicked'	pap 'sin'
ph voiceless aspirated bi-labial stop		
phəl 'fruit'	dəphən 'burial'	maph 'forgive'

b voiced unaspirated bi-labial stop		
bəl 'strenght'	əmba 'goddess'	bab 'matter'
bh voiced unaspirated bi-labial stop		
bhal 'lance'	abhar 'thanks'	abh 'sky'
t voiceless unaspirated dental stop		
tal 'beat'	satmo 'seventh'	vat 'story'
th voiceless aspirated dental stop		
thal 'dish'	sthəl 'place'	rəth 'chariot'
d voiced unaspirated dental stop		
dəs 'ten'	nədi 'river'	mədəd 'help'
dh voiced aspirated dental stop		
dhuḷ 'dust'	ədhar 'eighteen'	sadh '(you) achieve'
ʈ voiceless unaspirated retroflex stop		
ʈəke 'lasts'	kəʈori 'bowl'	peʈ 'stomach'
ʈh voiceless unaspirated retroflex stop		
ʈhik 'O.K.'	aʈhmo 'eighth'	paʈh 'lesson'
ɖ voiceless aspirated retroflex stop		
ɖa'g 'stain'	vəkɖū 'twisted'	jhaɖ 'tree'
ɖh voiced aspirated retroflex stop		
ɖhək '(you) cover'	dəɖhi 'beard'	koɖh 'leprosy'
c voiceless unaspirated palatal stop		
cal '(you) walk'	vəcən 'promise'	rəc '(you) arrange'
ch voiceless aspirated palatal stop		
choɖ '(you) leave'	pachəl 'back'	puch 'ask'
j voiced unaspirated palatal stop		
jəm '(you) eat'	rəja 'leave (n)'	raj 'rule'
jh voiced aspirated palatal stop		
jhaɖ 'tree'	dajhyo 'got burnt'	mājh '(you) clean the vessels'
k voiceless unaspirated velar stop		
kap 'cut'	roke 'he stops'	pak 'cookery'
kh voiceless aspirated velar stop		
kharū 'salty'	rakhe 'he keeps'	rakh '(you) keep'
g voiced unaspirated velar stop		
gam 'town'	dəgo 'cheating'	rog 'malady'
gh voiced aspirated velar stop		
ghər 'home'	vaghən 'lioness'	magh 'name of a month'
m voiced bilabial nasal		
mal 'goods'	rəmwū 'to play'	rəm '(you) play'
n voiced dental nasal		
nal 'horse-shoe'	eno 'his'	bən '(you) become'
ɳ voiced retroflex nasal		
—	paɳi 'water'	paɳ 'leaf'
ɲ voiced palatal nasal		
—	əɳjam 'result'	—
ŋ voiced velar nasal		
—	əŋgar 'fire'	—

s voiceless dental fricative		
sat 'seven'	pəsər 'spread'	rəs 'interest'
z voiced dental fricative		
zərīn 'Zarine: name'	azad 'free'	phIroz 'Feroze'
ś voiceless palatal fricative		
śrām 'hard work'	kāsū 'some'	koś 'dictionary'
š voiceless retroflex fricative		
—	nəšt 'destroyed'	—
h voiceless glottal fricative		
hək 'right'	ahar 'food'	rah 'road'
l voiced dental lateral		
law 'bring'	khullū 'open'	mal 'goods'
ʎ voiced retroflex lateral		
—	kaʎi 'black'	kaʎ 'time, age'
r voiced dental trill		
rām '(you) play'	bharət 'Bharat'	kər '(you) do'
ɽ voiced retroflex flap		
—	saɽi 'sari'	jhaɽ 'tree'
w voiced bilabial semivowel		
—	khəwəɽ '(you) feed'	kəraw 'get to do'
v voiced labio-dental semivowel		
vat 'story'	səvə'r 'morning'	—
y voiced palatal semivowel		
yām 'God of death'	awyo 'came'	bhəy 'fear'

1.2.2. Consonantal contrast:

Phonemic contrasts of the consonants of Gujarati are given below. Distributional variants will be discussed in 1.2.3.

A. Stops:

Bilabials

pəʎ 'instant'	mapī 'measured'	map 'measure (n)'
phəʎ 'fruit'	maphi 'forgiveness'	maph 'forgiven'
bar 'bar'	səbər 'patience'	ub 'fungus'
bhar 'weight'	səbhər 'filled'	ubh 'overflow'

Dentals

tar 'wire'	patrū 'leaf'	sat 'seven'
thar 'dead'	pathrū 'I spread'	sath 'with'
dəm 'strenght'	mədo 'pride'	vəd 'dark phase of the moon'
dhəm 'heavy noise'	mədhə 'honeys'	vədh 'grow'

Retroflexes

ʈokvū 'to tease'	paʈo 'rail'	paʈ 'stool'
ʈhokvū 'to hammer'	paʈho 'lessons'	paʈh 'lesson'
ɖaʎ 'branch'	muɖji 'capital'	rəɖ 'cry'
ɖhaʎ 'shield'	muɖhi 'stupid'	rəɖh 'attach'

Palatals

car 'four'	vicar 'thought'	pāc 'five'
char 'ashes'	vichəɖ 'dishevel'	pūch 'five'

jal 'net'	sujwū 'to swell'	suj 'swell'
jhal 'flame'	sujhwū 'to come to mind'	sujh 'come to mind'
<i>Velars</i>		
kaʎ 'time'	śəkət 'cart'	nak 'nose'
khaʎ 'skin'	śəkhət 'hard'	nakh 'put'
gal 'cheek'	gagər 'water pot'	bhog 'sacrifice'
ghal 'insert'	gaghər 'petticoat'	ogh 'stream'
B. Nasals:		
man 'believe'	mamo 'uncle'	mam 'food in child's vocabulary'
nan 'bread'	mano 'believe'	man 'believe'
—	maŋo '(you respect) enjoy'	maŋ '(you) enjoy'
—	səŋco 'mould'	—
—	rəŋgo '(you) paint'	—
C. Fricatives:		
/s/, /ś/, /š/		
sar 'seven'	paso 'die (Pl.)'	nas 'run'
śar 'hole'	pašo 'snare'	naś 'ruin'
—	nəšt 'ruined'	—
/s/ and /h/		
sar 'résumé'	vəsi 'she stayed'	ras 'dance'
har 'garland'	vəhi 'note book'	rah 'road'
D. Laterals:		
lo '(you) take'	kələś 'water pot'	lal 'red'
—	kəʎləś 'spire'	laʎ 'saliva'
E. Semi-Vowels :		
var 'blow'	vācwū 'to read'	khaw 'eat'
yar 'friend'	vācyū 'read (PastPart.)'	khay 'he eats'
F. Trill vs. Flap:		
rat 'night'	sari 'good'	par 'ledge'
—	saɽi 'sari'	paɽ '(you) drop'

1.2.3. Phonemic Distribution of Consonants:

Of the 37 consonants to be found in Gujarati, the following cannot be found in initial position: ŋ, ɲ, ɳ, ʎ, ɽ. ɲ, ɳ and ś are not to be found in final position either.

Stops:

A voiced implosive /ɓ/ exists in the speech of a large number of Gujarati speakers and is normally found in loan words from English beginning with a /b/ and followed by /u/ or /o/. Thus one hears /buk/ and /ɓuk/ 'book' in free variation. The quality of implosion is very light, unlike Sindhi where it is strongly marked.

/f/ and /ph/ are freely interchangeable in the speech of educated speakers who have been influenced by English. One hear /phukət/ and /fukət/ 'free' in free variation.

Nasals:

/ɲ/ and /ŋ/ are variants of an archiphoneme /N/ and can occur in only specific environments. The first is used only when followed by palatal stops /c/ /j/ /ch/ /jh/ and the second with corresponding velars: /k/ /kh/ /g/ /gh/.

rəŋg: colour əŋjəli: Anjali

Similarly the retroflex nasal /ŋ/, in medial position can only be used when followed by any of the retroflex stops.

/pɛŋʈ/ trousers. /pɪŋd̪/: a small heap.

In the written system, /ɳ/ and /ɳ̄/ are rarely used and are replaced by the corresponding anuswar sign. (cf. Chapter 2.) The same is the case with /ŋ/ in medial position.

Fricatives:

Retroflex /ʃ/ is used only in combination with /t̪/ /spriʃt̪/ 'clear'. In all other environments it is the palatal /ʃ/ which is used: /ciʃti/ 'Name of a Sufi saint'.

/z/ is a loan phoneme from Perso-Arabic languages and English and is used to transcribe words borrowed from these languages such as /zərin/ 'Zarine', /saiz/ 'size', /azad/ 'free. /j/ is used in all other cases. In loan words which have been totally integrated into Gujarati /z/ is replaced by /j/ as in /jor/: strength (originally /zor/), jehr 'poison' (zəher in Persian).

Flaps

Only /d̪/ can occur in initial position. In medial position it occurs only when preceded by /ŋ/ or /r/. /ɽ/ occurs in all other positions (normally intervocalic). /ɽ/ and /d̪/ are in free variation in final position.

	Initial	Medial	Final
d̪	d̪uʈI 'navel'	in̪d̪ū 'egg'	ɔrd̪o 'room'
ɽ	—	saɽi 'sari'	cɔpɽi 'book'
			jhaɽ 'tree'

Semivowels

/v/ and /w/ share the following environment:

In Initial position both /v/ and /w/ are used. /v/ is used before a vowel: /var/ 'blow' or when followed by /r/ or /y/ as in /vrət/ 'vow' or /vyaj/ 'interest'. /w/ occurs in all other positions. In medial environment /v/ and /w/ can be interchanged as in /dava/ or /dawa/ 'medicine. Only /w/ occurs in final environment.

1.2.4. Gemination:

Basically all consonants of Gujarati can be geminated with the exception of /ŋ/, /ɳ̄/, /ʃ/, /ʃ̄/, /h/, /ʌ/, /v/ and /z/.

cəppəl 'sandal'	d̪əbbo 'box'	cummalis '44'
səttā 'power'	m̪əɖd̪o 'flux'	m̪əgənnne 'to Magan'
pəʈʈo 'belt'	khəɖd̪o 'hole'	əŋŋa 'elder brother'
bəcco 'boy (slang)'	lijjət 'pleasure'	
cəkkō '4 in cricket'	cəggo '6'	
gusso 'anger'		
chello 'last'		
əntərraʃtriya 'international'		
bhawwū 'to like'	səyyəd 'Sayyad'	

ŋ and r are rare and occur only in the sequences given above. əŋŋa is in fact a Marathi loan coming through Dravidian sources. əntərraʃtriya is a calque of 'international'. Other such words where clusters of /rr/ can be observed are: /in̪t̪ərrəp̪t̪/: 'interrupt' etc.

When two aspirated consonants geminate, the first is unaspirated. Thus */jəbbbhō/ 'dress' becomes /jəbbhō/.

*/bud̪hd̪ho/ 'old man' is rendered as /bud̪d̪ho/.

*/pəthhəɽ/ 'stone' becomes /pəthhəɽ/.

1.3. Vowel Clusters, Diphthongs, Semi-Vowels:

Gujarati is very rich in vowel clusters i.e. two or three vowels that occur sequentially.

(i) Two vowel clusters:

	i	e	a	o	u/ū	ə
i	—	/pie/ 'drinks'	—	/lio/ 'take'	piū 'I drink'	—
e	—	—	—	/teo/ 'they'	/beu/ 'both'	—
a	/khai/ 'eaten'	/khae/ 'ate'	—	/lao/ 'bring'	/khaū/ 'will eat'	—
o	/boi/ 'fish'	/koehlo/ 'rotten'	—	—	/joū/ will see	—
u/ū	/sui/ 'having slept'	/sue/ 'is sleeping'	/dua/ 'benediction'	/suo/ 'sleep'	/suū/ 'will sleep'	—
ə	/jəi/ 'having gone'	/ləe/ 'is taking'	—	—	/dəū/ 'will give'	—

(ii) Three vowel clusters:

These are relatively rare and are four in number:

uie /suie/ 'may we sleep'

aie /khaie/ 'may we eat'

oie /joie/ 'may we see' (variant: oie)

əie /ləie/ 'may we take'

As can be observed, both two and three vowel clusters are basically verbal root forms ending in a specific vowel to which a verbal suffix beginning with a vowel has been added, thereby creating vowel clusters. Normally, these are pronounced as two (or three) separate syllables. However depending on the speech tempo, /i/ or /u/ can be replaced by a corresponding semi-vowel: /j/ and /w/, as in

/koi- koy/ 'some',

/beu-bew/ 'both'

/jəi- jəy/ 'having gone'

/suie-suye/ 'may we sleep'.

This process can also extend to words where vowels are not at morphological boundaries as in: /pəisa-pəysa/ 'money' /kəilaś-kəyłaś/ 'Kailash mountain /bhəia-bhəya/ 'brother'. At times this free variation can result in confusion as in the cases below:

/ray/ 'king' vs. /rai-ray/ 'mustard';

/gaw/ 'cow' vs. /gau-gaw/ 'measure of distance'.

True contrasts between Vowel+Semi-vowel and Vowel+Vowel do exist as in:

/dwa/ -/dua/ 'two' - 'blessing. ',

/khəɖyā/- /khəɖjā/ 'ink-pots' - 'soiled',

/uɖaw/ - /uɖau/ 'fly (v.)' - 'spend-thrift'

The above morphophonemic variation modifies the description of the diphthong in Gujarati and although, within the writing system, two rising diphthongs are recognised: /əi/ and /əu/

as in /pəisa/, /kəilaś/ and in /kəumudi/, in practice, in rapid speech, the diphthongs tend to get reduced to clusters of /əy/ and /əw/.

1.4. Syllable Structure

The nucleus of the syllable is always a vowel or a diphthong. The consonants constitute the onset or the coda of the syllable.

Gujarati tends to favour the open syllable to the closed syllable.

1.4.1. Canonical Form

The canonical form of the Gujarati syllable is CCCVCCC. The following are the valid syllable clusters:

V	/a/ 'this'		
VC	/ap/ 'give'		
VCC	/ərk/ 'essence'		
VCCC	/əstr/ 'weapon'		
CV	/tu/ 'you'	CVC	/kan/ 'ear'
CCV	/pra-ŋi/ 'animal'	CCVC	/praŋ/ 'life'
CCCV	/stri/ 'lady'	CCVC	/spriʃ/ 'ethyl alcohol'
CVCC	/rudr/ 'Rudra'	CVCCC	/vəstr/ 'cloth'
CCVCC	/prapt/ 'obtained'	CCVCCC	—
CCCVCC	/spruʃt/ 'clear'	CCCVCCC	—

The larger cluster groups are essentially from Sanskrit loan-words.

1.4.2. Syllable Division

If the word comprises a single vowel, all consonants either preceding or following are automatically part of the syllable.

The following are the rules of syllable division in Gujarati:

1. The initial consonant or consonants i.e. the consonants that mark the onset of the syllable are always attached to the following vowel: /ke/ 'that' /lo/ 'take'.
2. The final consonant or consonants i.e. the consonants that mark the coda of the syllable are always attached to the preceding vowel: /ərk/ 'essence', /uʃtɾ/ 'camel'.
3. In the case of medial consonants i.e. between two vowels within a word, the following rules apply. (It will be assumed that aspirates constitute one single consonantal unit).
 - **VCV**: A single consonant between two vowels is attached to the second vowel and constitutes its onset: /apo/: a - po, /lə - kho/
 - **VCCV**: If there are two consonants between two vowels, normally the first consonant is attached to the preceding vowel and the second to the vowel that follows: /kut-ro/ 'dog' /gidh-ŋi/ 'vulture. However in case of clusters where the second consonant is /y/ or /d/, the consonants can be split between the two vowels or alternatively be attached to the second vowel: /phə-r-yo/ -/ phə - ryo/ 'turned'.
 - **VCCCV**: In the case of a tri-consonantal group, the third consonant is nearly always the semi-vowel /y/. The first consonant is attached to the preceding vowel and the next two to the vowel that follows as in: /nik-lyū/ 'came out', /vəs-trə-no/ 'of the clothes'

- **VCCCV**: Sequences of four consonants between two vowels are exceedingly rare. The same rule as for tri-consonantal groups applies. Cardona (1965) notes: /sam-bhlyū/ 'heard' (For Cardona, the group 'bh' counts for two consonants).

1.5. Suprasegmentals:

Like a large number of Indo-Aryan languages (with the possible exception of Punjabi), Gujarati has no tone. Juncture, though present, is minimal. Stress, although predictable, exhibits extremely complicated patterns.

1.5.1 Juncture:

Juncture is phonemic in Gujarati but is a very marginal phenomenon and can occur across word boundaries or within the word boundary.

Cardona (1965) quoting Pandit (1958), gives an example of juncture across word boundaries: 'eklopayche' can be read as ek#lopay che 'one hides' or as eklo#pay che 'he drinks alone'.

Within word boundaries, juncture is more frequent as shown in the following instances:

'khajo':	khajo 'a sweet'	kha#jo 'do eat'.
'palo':	palo 'keep as a pet'	pa#lo 'take a quarter'
'baylo':	baylo 'coward'	bay#lo 'ladies, take'

1.5.2. Word-Stress:

Stress in Gujarati has been little explored and in what follows a minimal overview of stress will be provided. Stress always falls on the vowel.

- a. In monosyllabic units, stress will always fall on the vowel. áp; 'give' kər 'do'
- b. In disyllabic units, stress patterns are more complicated.

If both syllables share the same vowel, then the 1st is stressed: káka, 'uncle' ghóḍo

If the two vowels are different, the following rules apply:

- If the second vowel is a vowel other than /a/, the first syllable is stressed, except if the first is an /ə/ in an open syllable, in which case the second is stressed.
cól'i 'blouse' rúci 'liking' but sáhu 'all' khəroc 'scratch'
 - However if the /ə/ is the first vowel and is a closed syllable, it takes the stress:
jaldí 'quick' kətro 'drop'
 - If the second vowel is /a/, then the second syllable takes the stress:
citá 'pyre' uʃhád 'awaken, raise'
 - If both vowels are /a/, the first vowel is favoured:
máta 'mother' káka 'uncle'
 - If both vowels are weak i.e. /ə/, then the first weak vowel is stressed: mórəŋ 'death'.
- Some speakers tend to stress the vowels interchangeably.
- Notwithstanding the above, if the second syllable is part of a morpheme boundary and is a grammatical marker, the first syllable is stressed, even if it is a weak vowel:
béso 'sit' ləkho 'write'.

- c. In trisyllabic units, as a general rule, the last syllable is never stressed. This means that the first two syllables divide stress among themselves. The following rules apply:

As a general rule, the penultimate i.e. the second syllable is stressed. However the following exceptions apply:

Rule for /a/

- If the 1st syllable has an /a/, then it is stressed. láyəkno 'similar';

Rules for /ə/

- If the second syllable has an /ə/, it is the first which is stressed:

ósadyo 'reduced';

-If the first and second syllable both have an /ə/, then the first is stressed:

jhótəktə 'shaking out'

-However if the second syllable is closed, it is the second, which takes the stress :

bəkəlyū 'small lamb'

Rules for /i/ are nearly similar to rules for /ə/:

- The first syllable is always stressed, if the second syllable is an /i/, provided that the first syllable does not have a weak /ə/

cálisto 'fortieth' but kəhísū 'we will say'

- In case both the first and second syllables end in /i/, then they can be indifferently stressed: minítə or minítə 'minutes'

Four syllables and above are rare and in these cases, it is normally the second syllable which takes the stress.

Two final remarks regarding prefixes and suffixes will close the chapter on syllables:

1. When the word is made up of a root word followed by a grammatical inflexion, either nominal or verbal, it is the root word which takes the stress, even if it has a weak vowel: kárjə '(please) do' ghódā 'horses'

Derivational prefixes and suffixes on the other hand, normally tend to take the stress:

prácalit 'common' əṅek : countless kərejďár

1.5.3. Intonation:

Like stress, the intonation of Gujarati has been very little studied. Only the basic intonative patterns will be described here. Gujarati has four voice contours:

1: low 2:mid 3: high 4: extra high.

The intonative curves of Gujarati fall within this range. There are four basic patterns:

3 – 1 / 2 : high - low/mid is a falling intonation and is used for affirmations and declarations.

kaka³ ave² che¹ Uncle is coming.

1 / 2 – 3: low/mid – high is a rising intonation and is used for interrogations.

kaka¹ ave² che³ Is Uncle coming?

4 – 1 extra-high – low is used for imperative sentences

kaka⁴ jəldi³⁻² avo¹ Uncle, come quickly.

1 – 4 low – extra-high is used to mark surprise, astonishment.

kaka¹ ave²⁻³ che⁴ (What!) Uncle is coming!

Chapter 2 Writing System

The Gujarati script is a modification of the Devanagari script used in writing Sanskrit, Hindi, Marathi, Rajasthani, Nepali. But unlike the Devanagari derived script, Gujarati does not use a *shirorekha* which is a horizontal line drawn on top of the word, although old Gujarati manuscripts prior to the 19th century use the shirorekha. The earliest known document in the Gujarati script is a manuscript dating from 1592, and the script first appeared in print in a 1797 advertisement, using a metal typeface made in Calcutta. Until the 19th century, the Gujarati script was used mainly for writing letters and keeping accounts, while the Devanagari script was used for literature and academic writings. This is why it was often termed as *śaraphi* (banker's), *vāṇiāsi* (merchant's) or *məhajəni*.

The script is syllabic in nature and is written from left to right. Traditionally the script recognises 2 major divisions: vowels and consonants and a set of extra signs which are basically modifiers. The vowel graphemes represent their phonemic value. On the other hand the consonants represent a syllable consisting of the consonant followed by the inherent vowel /ə/. Thus the character ૬ is composed of the consonant /k/+ the inherent vowel /ə/. This inherent vowel is elided when the two consonants constitute a consonant cluster. This can also be explicitly indicated by means of a special character known as the *halanta* which is a stroke written at the foot of the vowel (cf. 2.2.1 infra).

2.1. Vowels

Vowel graphemes are 12 in number as shown in Table 5:

Table 5

/ə/	/a/	/ɪ/	/i/	/U/	/u/
અ	અૃ	ઈ	ઇ	ઉ	ઉૃ
/e/	/ɛ/	/o/	/ɔ/	/əi/	/əu/
એ	એૃ	ઓ	ઓૃ	એૃ	ઓૃ

Each of these vowels has a corresponding allograph which occurs when the vowel is adjuncted to a consonant to constitute a syllable made up of that consonant and the corresponding value of the vowel. These allographs are known as modified vowels or /mātrā/. With the exception of the /ə/ which is already inherent in the consonant, each of the vowels admits a corresponding mātrā form. It should be noted that the short /ɪ/ mātrā is the only one always written to the left of the character.

Table 6 show the mātrās of each of the vowel forms, followed by an example:

Table 6

	Vowel mātrā	Example
/a/	ઃ કૃપ	kap 'cut'
/ɪ/	ઃ ઠિર	tIr 'arrow'
/i/	ઃ લિપ	lip 'spread'
/U/	ઃ ગુપ	gUp 'quiet'
/u/	ઃ પુર	pur 'flood'
/e/	ઃ ઠેલ	beL 'bell'
/o/	ઃ બોર	bor 'jube'
/ɔ/	ઃ બોલ	boL 'ball'
/əi/	ઃ પૈસા	pəisa 'money'

2.3. Modifiers

These are specific signs used to modify the written Gujarati syllable.

- Nasalisation: / 1

Gujarati uses a sign known as *bindu* or *anuswar* to nasalise a vowel, mātrā or a consonant. It is written over the character in question:

bāndh: બંધ ં ક્ર અંક: number

In the case of combinations of velar nasal+velar stop or palatal nasal+palatal stop, the bindu is always preferred.

ajjam અંજમ instead of અઞ્જમ 'result'

અ ગ્ર અંગ instead of અંગ

The only exception encountered is:

vajmāy 'literature' વાજમય

In the case of Retroflex Nasal+Retroflex Stop/Nasal, Dental Nasal+Dental Stop/Nasal and Bilabial Nasal+Bilabial Stop/Nasal, both half forms and the bindu can be used, but the latter is preferred:

ant 'end' અંત or અન્ત

Umbār ઉંબાર or ઉમ્બાર 'threshold'

Ummār ઉમ્માર or ઉમ્બાર 'age'

- Visarga: /:

The *visarga* sign is used in Gujarati to indicate the lengthening of the grapheme. Used mainly in words borrowed from Sanskrit, the *visarga* is seen in present day Gujarati only in three words:

du:kh 'unhappiness' and its derivatives દુ:ખ

du:sah 'unbearable' દુ:સહ

du:sadhyā 'uncurable' દુ:સદ્ય

- Avagraha: ˆ

This sign is very rarely used in Gujarati and is mainly used to represent Sanskrit words as in:

સર્વત્લોભવત્ s̄arvato bh̄avāt 'beloved of all'

- ru or ri is a conjunct form borrowed from Sanskrit. Basically a vowel, it has two shapes:

The full vowel shape रु and the mātrā /r/. ruṣi रुषि 'hermit' krudānt कृदन्त 'participle'

With /d/ or /h/ it has a different shape:

druṣṭi दृष्टि 'vision' hrudāy हृदय 'heart'

Gujarati also admits a long form of this vowel, but it is used only in Sanskrit and not in Gujarati and is shown here only as a shape.

रु

The same is the case for the long and short lru forms which are in practice never used in Gujarati.

2.4. Writing rules:

When writing Consonants and Vowels, there are four main possibilities:

2.4.1 Vowel in Initial position or preceded by a vowel or a modified vowel (mātrā):

The consonant or the vowel that follow retain their full value:

ટુ: ઈં: brick khaie ખાઈએ : (we) will eat.

2.4.2. Mātrā followed by a Consonant or a Vowel:

The consonant or the vowel that follow retain their full value:

bharāt :ભારત 'India' bhai : ભાઈ : brother

2.4.3. Consonant followed by a Vowel

When a Consonant is followed by a Vowel, under normal circumstances it loses its inherent vowel /ə/ and the vowel is written as a modified vowel or a mātrā. The whole combination is then treated as a single syllable.

khā+i+r= khir: ખીર porridge, gruel.

In the example above /khə/ has lost its inherent vowel /ə/ and has the new vowel /i/ which is itself reduced to a mātrā form is adjunct to it.

However it can so happen that the inherent vowel is retained and a vowel follows. In that case, Rule 2.4.1 (Vowel followed by Vowel) applies and the vowel that follows retains its full vowel value and constitutes a new syllable:

lā+i lāi: લાઈ: having taken. The Gujarati speaker pronounces the word as disyllabic: /lā/ and /i/

The writing system thus correctly interprets the phenomenon of multiple vowel clusters treated in 1.3. above.

2.4.4. Consonant followed by a Consonant:

In this case also, two possibilities can arise. Either the first consonant retains its inherent /ə/, in which case the two consonants are written individually or the first consonant loses its inherent vowel, in which case, the two consonants form a ligature (cf. 2.2.1. above).

The following pair illustrates the problem. The two consonants /r/ and /m/ can be written as a ligatural form (rm) or as two individual consonants (rām):

kārm vs. kārām કર્મ vs. કરામ: karma (deeds) vs worm

Remark:

The case of the modifiers, mainly the nasals has not been considered, because for all purposes, the nasal or any other modifier, for that matter, does not have any effect on the letter that follows.

Chapter 3 Morphology

Gujarati morphology comprises three major classes: the nominal class which includes Nouns, Pronouns, Adjectives and Numerals; the verb class which treats of Verb morphology and the adjuncts class which comprises Adverbs, Post-Positions, Interjections, Particles which are generally invariable but which admit a marginal morphology.

3.1. Nominal Morphology

3.1.1 Nouns

In Gujarati, there are three genders : masculine, feminine and neuter and two numbers : Singular and Plural. Nouns admit three cases: direct, oblique and vocative. They are declined in relation to their gender class and the endings. The opposition animate-inanimate does not seem to have any pertinence within the system.

3.1.1.1 Gender:

Gujarati admits three genders: masculine, feminine and neuter. In the case of animate nouns, sex roughly coincides with gender. There are no rules where inanimate nouns are concerned. Below are given some rules for predicting gender in Gujarati, especially in the case of inanimate nouns:

Masculine Nouns:

- Nouns in /o/ : tukḍo: piece cəpḍo 'book'
- Exceptions: juo (F) 'gambling', mō (N) mouth,
- Days of the week, names of months : somwar, 'Monday' kartək 'kartik' me 'May'
- Names of Mountains, Planets, Oceans, Seas: himaləy 'Himalaya' surəj 'Sun', guru 'Jupiter' pəsifik 'Pacific' Exception: dhərti: 'Earth'
- Large objects: pavḍo 'spade' tṛək 'truck'
- Reduplicative Nouns ending in aṭ: khəṭkh əṭaṭ 'rattling' 'gəḍgəḍaṭ 'rumbling'
- Passions: məd 'pride' mətəsər 'envy'
- Administrative divisions of a country: prant 'district' zillo 'district'
- Most common body organs: kan 'ear', hath 'hand' 'dāt 'tooth' pəg 'foot'
- Exceptions: ākh (F) 'eye' nak (N) 'nose'
- Most common cereals: təl 'sesame', məg 'moong' ghəū 'wheat'

Feminine Nouns:

- Nouns ending in /i/ and /a/: āgli 'finger' vīṭi 'ring', aśa 'hope', dəsə 'condition'
- Exceptions: məri 'pepper', bi 'seed', paṛi 'water' ghi 'ghee' (all Neuter); hathi (M) 'elephant', devta (M) 'God'.
- Nouns end in /t/ or /s/, especially of Perso-Arabic origin: vat 'story', təlas 'search'
- Nouns ending in /e/: relve 'railway', hərdə 'medicinal curcuma'
- A majority of abstract nouns, especially those ending in /ta/, /ai/, /aś/, /girI/, /ṛI/, /vəṛ/, /vəṭ/:
məmṭa 'love', mithaś 'sweetness', dadagiri 'bullying', gūcvəṛ-gūcvəṭ 'complexity'
- Names of rivers, lunar days, main divisions of the day, nouns denoting points of the compass:
gəṅga 'Ganges' sabərməti 'Sabarmati'; bij 'second lunar day', rat 'night' səvar 'morning', diśa 'direction',
Exceptions: brəhməputrə 'Brahmaputra sindhu 'Sindhu' pəḍvo 'first lunar day'.
- Cereals and grains in everyday use: bajri 'bajra', tur 'a kind of lentil'

- Inanimate objects of small size (normally ending in -i): copḍi 'book, roṭli 'bread'
- Synonyms of the earth (normally ending in -i): dhṛti, bhumi, pruthvi
- Neuter Nouns:*
- Nouns ending in ū and in ṛ : barṇū 'door', ghṛtū 'nest', vṛhaṇ 'ship'
- Exception: ghṛū 'wheat' (M)
- Abstract nouns ending in /ṇ/, /ṇū/, /tvṛ/: calṇ 'behaviour', dahyapṛṇū 'wisdom', sṛtvṛ 'essence'
- Names of villages, districts and cities: surṛt 'Surat', pṛṭṭan 'Patan'
- The four points of the compass: uttṛ 'North', purvṛ 'East'
- Names of fruits ending in a consonant or in /u/ : sṛphṛjṇ 'apple', keḷ 'banana', ṇṇṇṇ 'pineapple', limbu 'lime'
- Exception: drakṣ (F) grapes
- A large number of objects denoting liquids: ghi 'ghee', tel 'oil' jṛḷ 'water' dudh 'milk'
- Exception: paro (M) 'mercury'

3.1.1.3. Number:

Gujarati admits two numbers: Singular and Plural. The table below shows the rules for converting a Singular noun into the Plural. In a majority of cases, the operation consists of adding a suffix which is indicated by a + sign. On the other hand, in some cases, the final vowel is replaced by another, which is shown by two forms: Singular and Plural. Forms marked **rare** are difficult to find.

Ending in:	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Inherent ə	o bag+o 'garden'	o vat+o 'story'	o ghṛ+o houses
i/I	o hathi+o 'elephant'	o chokri+o 'girl'	unchanged paṇi – 'water'
e	rare	unchanged hṛṛḍe – 'curcuma'	rare
a	o raja+o 'king'	o kṛḷa+o 'art'	rare
o	o chokro-chokra 'boy'	unchanged gho – 'iguana'	unchanged kho – 'cave'
u/U	o laḍu+o 'sweet ball'	o sasū+o 'ma-in-law'	unchanged vṛu – 'wolf'
Ū	rare	rare	ā barnū-barnā 'door'
ō	rare	rare	unchanged mō – face (pronounced also as mō)

- Abstract Nouns are generally in the Singular and do not admit any Plurals:
bhṛlai, neki 'goodness', sṛṭṭa 'power'
- Mass Nouns indicating cereals are always in the Plural:
ghṛū 'wheat', mṛḡ 'moong', tel 'oil', cṛṇa 'gram', cṛkha 'rice', sṛmacar 'news', hal 'condition', lṛḡna, vivah 'wedding', kṛsṛm, sṛḡḡṇ 'oath', śṛkun 'good augur'
- The following nouns are always in the Singular, but when used in a distributive sense admit a Plural:

- ghi 'ghee', khaṇḍ 'sugar', sakar 'sugar', mithai 'sweetmeat', ḡḷ 'molasses', paṇi 'water', ca 'tea', kṛphi 'coffee', jirū, hing 'asafoetida', methi 'fenugreek', sukhṛḍ 'sandal-wood', loban 'incense', ṇḡṇl 'fire', kṛpas cotton', ru 'cotton', ghas 'grass', sonū 'gold', rupū 'silver'; surṛt 'face', sikkṛl 'face', dṛḡḡḡḡḡ 'wisdom', nitl 'good behaviour', Iccha 'wish', khṛṛc, 'expense', ṭṭḡḡḡḡ 'cold', ḡṛmi 'heat'.

3.1.1.2 Declension:

Nouns are declined for three cases: direct, oblique and vocative. The oblique base in its turn combines nouns with case-markers or post-positions as shown below in the case of the paradigm for /chokro/: a boy:

Case	Noun	Case Marker/Postpositions
Nominative	chokro	—
Oblique		
Accusative	chokra	ne
Dative	chokra	ne,e,thi,vṛḍe, nathi,kṛrine, thṛki (rare)
Instrumental	chokra	ne, ne kaje, ṛrthe, maṭṭe,vaste, thi
Ablative	chokra	thi, thṛki
Genitive	chokra	no,ni,nū,na,nā, viṣe
Locative	chokra	e,mā
Vocative	chokra	o

The direct or nominative case is the case in which the noun is either an agent i.e. the subject of the verb or a direct object.

The oblique case, on the other hand, requires the addition of a post-position.

The genitive case marker /-n-/ inflects for the number and gender of the noun it relates to.

The vocative case is normally used to call someone and is always preceded by words such as ṛe, o, etc.

(1. a) ṛe chokrao: o boys!

(1. b) o chokri: you there, girl!

In the writing system, a majority of these postpositions are joined to the noun. Some can be present or absent:

(1. c) ghṛ ja 'go home' or ghṛe ja 'go home'

Below are given in tabular form the paradigms of noun declensions for the three genders and two numbers:

Masculine							
Ending in	Singular			Plural			
	N	O	V	N	O	V	
inherent ə	dev	dev	dev	dev	+o	+o	+o 'God'
i/I	moci	moci	moci	moci	+o	+o	+o 'cobbler'
e							
a	raja	raja	raja	raja	+o	+o	+o 'king'
o	chokr+o	+a	+a	chokr	+a	+ao	+ao 'boy'
u/U	laḍu	laḍu	laḍu	laḍu	+o	+o	+o 'sweet'

Feminine							
Ending	Singular			Plural			
	N	O	V	N	O	V	
ṛ	vat	vat	vat	vat	+o	+o	+o 'story'

i/I	nokri	nokri	nokri	nokri	+o	+o	+o	'work'
e	hərd̥e	hərd̥e	hərd̥e		hərd̥e	hərd̥e	hərd̥e	'curcuma'
a	cita	cita	cita	cita	+o	+o	+o	'pyre'
o	gho	gho	gho		gho	gho	gho	'iguana'
u/U	sasu	sasu	sasu	sasu	+o	+o	+o	'ma-in-law'

Neuter Ending

	Singular				Plural			
	N	O	V		N	O	V	
ə	jəŋgəl	jəŋgəl	jəŋgəl	jəŋgəl	+o	+o	+o	'jungle'
i/I	paŋi	paŋi	paŋi		paŋi	paŋi	paŋi	'water'
e	—	—	—		—	—	—	
a	—	—	—		—	—	—	
o	—	—	—		—	—	—	
u/U	vəru	vəru	vəru	vəru	+o	+o	+o	'wolf'
ū	chokrū	chokra	chokra	chokr	+ā	+āo	+āo	'kid'
o	mō	mō	mō		mō	mō	mō	'face'

Remarks:

All masculine nouns ending in /o/ change into /a/ except in the nominative Singular and all neuters in /ū/ change into /a/ in all cases only in the Singular, except the nominative Singular and /ā/ in the Plural, before they take the Plural and case endings. In all other cases i.e. nouns ending in /o/ (F. and N.), ə (M. and N.) /a/, /i/, /u/ (M. and N.) and u (N.) undergo no change before they take the case endings or Plural and case endings.

3.1.2. Adjectives

Adjectives in Gujarati are of various kinds. This section deals with adjectives as qualifiers, since the other adjectives such as possessive, indefinite etc. are common to the pronoun and will be treated in 3.1.4 below.

Adjectives as qualifiers are of two kinds: variable and invariable. Only adjectives ending in /o/ whose feminine and neuter forms can be made by changing /o/ to /i/ and /ū/ are variable. All the others are invariable and undergo no change when a case-ending is added.

Thus saro 'good' which admits sari and sarū is variable, whereas adjectives like saph 'clean', lobhi 'greedy', lal 'red', dukhi 'unhappy' are all invariable : dukhi (nom.) dukhine (acc.)

The forms of the variable adjective are given in the paradigm below:

Singular

	M		F		N	
Direct	Oblique	Direct	Oblique	Direct	Oblique	
saro	sara	sari	sari	sarū	sara	

Plural

	M		F		N	
Direct	Oblique	Direct	Oblique	Direct	Oblique	
sara	sara	sari	sari	sarā	sarā	

Adjectives as qualifiers can have an epithetic as well as attributive value. The epithetic adjective precedes the noun, whereas the attributive adjective follows the noun and is conjoined to it by means of a copular construction.

(2.) saro chokro: a good boy chokro saro che: the boy is good.

When a variable adjective stands in an epithetic relation to an invariable noun, only the adjective varies:

(2. a) sara maŋəs 'good men'.

In case the noun is variable, both the adjective and the noun are declined:

(2. b) sari chokri 'good girls'

(2. c) gorā chokrā 'fair children'

3.1.2.2. Comparison

The comparative degree is formed by adding thi 'from' or kərtā 'than' to the noun or pronoun followed by the adjective which agrees in number and gender with the object of comparison:

(3. a) hū vivekthi saro chū

I Vivek from good am

I am better than Vivek.

(3. b) chəgən kərtā məgən budhivan che

Chagan than Magan clever is

Chagan is cleverer than Magan.

Superlatives are formed by adding a word signifying 'of all' 'from all' to the adjective. The most common superlative markers are /səu/ and /sərvə/ with the appropriate declension:

səuthi, sərvəthi, saumā, sərvəmā, sərvəkərtā, saukərtā:

(3. c) hū saumā moṭo chū

I all+in old be+prest.

I am the oldest.

(3. d) rəmənṭ səuthi ḍahyo che

raman all+from clever be+prest.

Raman is the cleverest.

3.1.3. Numerals:

Basically numerals belong to the class of adjectives. Numerals can be divided into five classes:

1. cardinals 2. ordinals 3. multiplicatives 4. fractions 5. aggregatives.

3.1.3.1. Cardinals:

Cardinals are numeral quantifiers used for counting. They are invariable in nature and do not undergo any change either in number, gender or declension. Gujarati speakers vary over the pronunciation and spelling of numbers. The most common ones for numbers 1-100 are given below:

1 ek	8 aṭh / aṭṭh	15 pəndər
2 be/be	9 nəw	16 sol /soḷ
3 tən/trən	10 ḍəs	17 səttər
4 car	11 əgyar	18 əḍhar
5 paŋc	12 bar	19 ogəŋis
6 chə	13 ter	20 wis
7 sat	14 cəwd	21 ekwis

22 bawis	68 əḏsət̪h
23 trewis	69 ogənsitter
24 cəwis	70 sitter
25 pəcchis	71 ekoter
26 chəwwis	72 boter
27 səttawis	73 troter
28 ət̪t̪hawis	74 cummoter
29 ogəŋtris	75 pəccoter
30 tris	76 choter
31 ek(ə)tris	77 sittoter
32 bətris	78 it̪t̪hoter
33 tetris/tretris	79 ogənayənsi
34 cətris	80 ensi
35 pantris	81 ekyasi/ekyansi
36 chətris	82 byansi
37 saḏətris	83 triansi
38 aḏətris	84 cəryasi
39 ogəncalis	85 pəcyansi
40 calis	86 chyansi
41 ektalis	87 sityansi
42 betalıs	88 it̪hyansi
43 tetalis	89 nəwyansi
44 cummalıs	90 newū
45 pistalıs	91 ekaŋū
46 chətalis	92 baŋū
47 suḏtalis	93 traŋū
48 əḏtalis	94 cəraŋū
49 ogənpəcas	95 paŋcaŋū
50 pəcas	96 chəŋū
51 ekawən	97 sət̪t̪aŋū
52 bawən	98 ət̪t̪haŋū
53 trepən	99 nəwwaŋū
54 cəpən	100 sə
55 pəŋcawən	
56 chəppən	
57 səttawən	
58 ət̪t̪hawən	
59 ogəŋsət̪h	
60 sət̪h	
61 eksət̪h	
62 basət̪h	
63 tresət̪h	
64 cəsət̪h	
65 pansət̪h	
66 chasət̪h	
67 səḏ(o)sət̪h	

Multiples of 100 consist of the base number sə preceded by the cardinal number in question:

300 traŋ sə, 400 car sə. 200 is written as bəsə.

Additions to 100 are simple juxtapositions of sə followed by the cardinal number:

101 : ek sə ek , 709 sat sə nəv.

1,000 is rendered by həjar, 100,000 by lakh, kəroḏ and əbəj designate 10 million and 100 million respectively.

The basic rules for multiplicands and additions are the same as for 100, except that 2 is rendered by /be/ and not /bə/ : 200,000 be lakh.

3.1.3.2. Ordinals:

Ordinals are used to show rank or ordering. They are generated from cardinals by suffixation of mū to the base form. The first four numbers are irregular and so is the sixth:

1st pəhelū ,

2nd bijū,

3rd trijū,

4th cəthū,

6th chət̪t̪hū.

All other numbers are regular: 5th: paŋcmū, 9th: nəvmū etc.

These behave exactly like adjectives ending in -ū. They vary in number, gender and case. The regular base form is mo- which undergoes change as under:

mū: neuter nom. Sg.;

mo: Masc. nom. Sg. ; ma: Masc. oblique Sg./Pl.

mā: neuter. nom. and obl. pl; mi: Fem. Sg. and Pl.;

(4. a) 9th boy: nəvmo chokro, 9th boys: nəvma chokrao, to the 9th boy: nəvma chokrane

(4. b) 9th girl: nəvmi chokri, 9th girls: nəvmi chokrio, to the 9th girl(s): nəvmi chokri(o)ne

(4. c) 9th dog: nəvmū kutrū, 9th dogs: nəvmā kutrā, to the 9th dogs: nəvmā kutrāone

3.1.3.3. Multiplicatives:

The most common multiplicatives are formed by the addition of gəŋū to the base form from five upwards: chəgəŋū, satgəŋū etc. Multiplicatives of 2 to 4 admit the following forms:

bəməŋū: two-fold

trəməŋū: three-fold

cəgəŋū: four-fold

gəŋū (and also məŋū) are often joined to the number or can be written separately and behave exactly like the ordinal suffix -mo

gəŋ+ū; gəŋ+a; gəŋ+ ā, gəŋ+i

cəgəŋū : fourfold

(5.) cəgəŋathi maro faydo na thay

fourfold+Inst. my+Nom. profit not happen+prest.

Fourfold is not profitable for me.

gəŋū can also be added to fractions as in:
pəgəŋū.: a quarter times.

Slightly archaic forms, still encountered are bevdū and trevdū: twice and thrice.

3.1.3.4. Fractions:

Gujarati has the following fractional forms:

¼ : pa, ½ : ərdhū, ¾ : pəŋū, 1 ¼ : səva, 1 ½ : doḍh, 2 ½ : əḍhi.

Of these, the forms ending in /-ū/ are declined, exactly like the ordinal forms. The other forms remain unchanged.

(6. a) ərdho kilo bhaji: half a kilo of vegetables.
half+Masc. kilo+Masc. vegetables

(6. b) pa kilo bhaji: a quarter kilo of vegetables.
quarter+Masc. kilo+Masc. vegetables

Gujarati also admits two other forms used for indicating additions of a quarter and a half, mainly for telling the time:

səva: 'a quarter past' and saḍa 'half past' as in

(7. a) səva car: 4.15,

(7. b) saḍa car: 4.30

1.30 and 2.30 are indicated by doḍh and əḍhi respectively.

(7. c) doḍh vagya: It is 2.30

1 ½ ring+PastPart.

doḍh and əḍhi are also used to indicate additions to a certain amount.

(7. d) əḍhi lakh: one and a half lakh (100,000).

3.1.3.5. Aggregatives and Distributives:

With the exception of 2 and 3, all other aggregatives are created by adding the suffix 'o' to the cardinal:

nəvo: all nine.

sato: all seven.

2 and 3 are rendered as bəŋne 'all two' ; trəne or trəŋe 'all three'.

Distributives are created by simple reduplication:

car car 'four each'

chə chə 'six each'

sat sat. 'seven each'

Normally distributives do not go beyond ten.

Gujarati also has special aggregative forms such as ekko, duro, tijo/tiggo, cəggo, pəŋjo, chəggo, sətto, ət̪ho used mainly in games such as cards, dice or cricket. These admit only masculine and feminine forms:

cəggo: 'a boundary in cricket'

chəggo: 'a sixer in cricket'

cəggi: 'a four in cards'

chəggi: 'a six in cards'

3.1.4. Pronouns

The boundary line between a large number of adjectives and pronouns is extremely tenuous. Those that precede a noun are adjectives, whereas those that replace the noun are pronouns: te chokro avyo: that boy came. te avyo: (that one) he came.

Gujarati admits six pronoun classes: personal, demonstrative, reflexive, interrogative, relative and indefinite. All pronouns admit an oblique case, but no vocative forms. In terms of their behaviour, pronouns are of three types:

- those that admit only case;
- those that allow for both case and gender;
- those ending in -o or at times -ū, which are declined for case, gender and number like variable adjectives.

3.1.4.1 Personal Pronouns:

Personal pronouns are declined for Number and Case and it is only in the genitive case that they admit gender.

The following table gives the various forms of the personal forms:

	1 st Per. Sg.	1 st Per. Pl. excl.	1 st Per. Pl. incl.
Nom.	hū	əme	apəŋ
Acc.	məne, mare	əmnə, əmare	apəŋne
Inst.	mē, mare	əmnə, əmare	apəŋne
Dat.	məne, mare	əmnə, əmare	apəŋne
Abl.	marathi	əmarathi	apəŋthi
Gen.	maro	əmaro	apəŋno
Loc.	maramā	əmaramā	apəŋamā
	2 nd Per. Sg.	2 nd Per. Pl.	2 nd Pers. Honorific
Nom.	tu	təme, təmo	ap
Acc.	təne, tare	təmnə, təmare	apne
Inst.	tē, tare	təmnə, təmare	ape
Dat.	təne, tare	təmnə, təmare	apne
Abl.	tarathi	təmarathi	apthi
Gen.	taro	təmaro	apno
Loc.	taramā	təmaramā	apmā
	3 rd Per. Sg.	3 rd Per. Pl.	
Nom.	te	teo	
Acc.	tene	teone, temne	
Inst.	teŋe	teoe, temŋe	
Dat.	tene	teone, temne	
Abl.	tenathi	teothi, teonathi	
Gen.	teno	teono, temno	
Loc.	temā	teomā, temnamā	

Remarks:

(i) ap is used as a second person respect form, instead of using the təme form:

(8. a) ap kyā jao cho instead of tōme kyā jao cho: 'Where are you going?'

(ii) Similarly the third person Plural form /teo/ or /tem/ can be used in the Singular as a mark of respect when the speaker wants to show respect for a person who is absent.

(8. b) hū temne mōḷyo chū
 I him+respect meet+past be+prest.
 I have met him.

(iii) The 1st and 2nd Person Singular forms of the Instrumentals end in ē (mē and tē) which in the 3rd person is replaced by eṇe. This alternation between ē and ṇ is a systematic feature of pronoun morphology cf. 3.1.4.3. Demonstrative and 3.1.4.5. Relative Pronouns.

(iv) Gujarati admits an exclusive and an inclusive first person Plural:
 ome (the addressee is excluded) whereas apṇ/apṇe (the addressee is included) as in:
 ome sinema gāya 'We (but not you: excluding the addressee) went to the cinema'.
 apṇe sinema gāya 'We (and you: including the addressee) went to the cinema'
 The genitive endings in -o can be further declined as adjectives ending in -o and admit the forms: i-ū-a-ā used with the different forms of the noun.

(8. c) marū chokrū: my child
 my+neut. child+neut.

(8. d) mari chokri: my girl (daughter)
 my+Fem. girl+Fem.

(8. e) maro chokro: my boy
 my+Masc. boy+Masc.

3.1.4.2. Reflexive Pronouns:

Reflexive Pronouns are declined only for case. The genitive ending in -o, undergoes a further declension for number and gender. The base form of the reflexive pronoun is *pot-* to which are added the declensions of the cases as well as the postpositional endings, as the paradigm shows:

Nom.: pote
 Acc. : potane
 Inst. : pote
 Dat.: potane
 Abl. : potathi, potanathi
 Gen. : potano
 Loc. : potamā

(9.) e pote awyo
 he self come+past
 he came himself.

3.1.4.3. Demonstrative Pronouns :

Demonstrative Pronouns are declined for number and case with the genitive ending in -o undergoing a further declension as in the case of other pronouns. Depending on the nature of determination, there are two main types of deixis:

- Determinate i.e. reference to a determined category
- Indeterminate i.e. reference to a category which is not well defined, in other words 'an indefinite person or object'.

Determinate deixis is of three kinds:

Proximate **a** Indicate an object which is near and visible to the speaker.
 Medio **e** Indicate an object which is slightly distant and visible.
 Remote **te** Indicate an object which is remote to the speaker.

Indeterminate deixis admits two sub-types:

Proximate **pelo** Indicate an object which is near and visible to the speaker.
 Remote **oḷo, oḷyo** Indicate an object which is remote to the speaker.

The first category comprises three markers which admit the same type of declension. Hence only one paradigm will be developed, the endings being separated from the base form by -. Replacing /e/ by /a/ and /te/ generates out the other endings.

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	e	eo
Acc.	e-ne	eo, eo-ne
Inst.	e-ṇe	eo-ṇe, em-ṇe
Dat.	e-ne	eo-ne, em-ne
Abl.	e-nathi	eo-thi, eo-nathi, em-nathi
Gen.	e-no	eo-no, em-no
Loc.	e-mā	eo-mā, eo-namā, em-namā

In the Plural form em- is used for animate, whereas eo- designates non-animates.

'pelo' and 'oḷo/oḷyo' are -o enders and behave like all words ending in -o and undergo change in number, gender and case and admit the forms: -i -ū -a -ā.

3.1.4.4. Interrogative Pronouns:

Gujarati has three interrogative pronouns which correspond to the English 'who', 'what' and 'which': kṇ (who or whom), sho (what) and kāyo (which). With the exception of kṇ, the other two are declined in gender, number and case, since they behave like variable adjectives ending in -o. The paradigm is described in the table below:

	Singular		Plural		
	Direct	Oblique	Direct	Oblique	
Masc.	sho	sha	sha	sha	'what'
	kāyo	kāya	kāya	kāya	'which'
Fem.	shi	shi	shi	shi	'what'
	kāyi	kāyi	kāyi	kāyi	'which'
Neut.	shū	sha	shā	shā	'what'
	kāyū	kāya	kāyā	kāyā	'which'

kṇ (who, whom) is declined for case only, except in its genitive form which ends in -o (in which case the ending is declined for number and gender). Since it has a variant kṇ, the various forms are given in the table below:

Nom.: કૉળ
 Acc.: કૉળ, કૉને
 Inst.: કૉળે, કૉળ(ે)થિ
 Dat. : કૉળને, કૉને
 Abl.: કૉળથિ, કૉળાથિ
 Gen.: કૉળનો, કૉળો
 Loc. :કૉળમાં, કૉળામાં

(9. a) કૉળ અવો: 'who came ?'
 who come+past

(9. b) કૉને ખાલ કહાધા: 'who ate the fruits ?'
 who fruit+pl. eat+past

(9. c) કૉળે અ કામ કાઠ્યુ: 'who did this work ?'
 who this work do+past

3.1.4.5. Relative Pronouns:

These are declined for case only. Gujarati has two relative pronouns: **je** and **te**. The paradigm for both is the same and hence only one is given below, with the postpositions separated from the base form by a -. The other can be obtained by replacing /j/ by /t/.

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	je	jeo
Acc.	je-ne	jeo, jeo-ne
Inst.	je-ળે	jeo-ળે, jem-ળે
Dat.	je-ne	jeo-ne, jem-ne
Abl.	je-nathi	jeo-thi, jeo-nathi, jem-nathi
Gen.	je-no	jeo-no, jem-no
Loc.	je-mā	jeo-mā, jeo-namā, jem-namā

It will be seen that the paradigm for relative pronouns is declined in exactly the same manner as that for Demonstrative Pronouns.

je and te are often used together as in:

(10. a) je kare te bhare
 who do+Prest. he pay+Prest.
 He who does (harm) pays (for it).

je is pleonastic and can often be omitted. The sentence above could also be written as:

(10. b) kare te bhare.

3.1.4.6. Indefinite Pronouns:

The most common indefinite pronouns in Gujarati are koi and koi and their derivatives. koi (someone) is used for animate and koi (something) for inanimate. These are invariable and undergo no change when postpositions are added onto them.

By the addition of prefixes and suffixes, a variety of indefinite pronouns are generated:

je jekoi jekoi: whoever, whichever
 har harkoi harkoi: each one, each thing (distributive).
 ek koiek koi or koi: anyone, anything

(11. a) mangle jekoi ap
 me+dat which+ever give.
 give me whichever.

(11. b) a vat harkoi jangle che
 this story every+one know+prest. be+prest.
 every one knows this story.

Two other indefinite pronouns: phalanu (such and such) and kasu (some) are declined for number and gender like all adjectives ending in -o after which postpositions are added.

(12. a) phalano chokro 'such and such a boy.'

(12. b) kasu kam 'some work.'

Learning pronouns and their declensions and forms is a problem for native speakers also. The following table tries to sum up synoptically the pronoun types:

Type	Gender	Number	Case
1. Personal not in -o	-	+	+
Genitive in -o	+	+	+
2. Reflexive not in -o	-	-	+
Genitive in -o	+	+	+
3. Demonstrative not in -o	-	+	+
Genitive in -o	+	+	+
4. Interrogative not in -o	-	-	+
Genitive in -o	+	+	+
5. Relative	-	-	+
6. Indefinite not in -o	-	-	+
Genitive in -o	+	+	+

- indicates absence of the feature + indicates presence.

3.1.5. Nominalisers:

A large number of nouns can be formed or derived by the addition of suffixes. Prefixation in Gujarati does not create class-changing categories and hence is not a feature of nominalisation. Some suffixes are Persian in origin, whereas the others belong to Gujarati.

Agentive suffix:

Noun Base

-gar kam+gar 'work→workman'
 -o rasoi+o 'cooking→cook'
 -i adhikar+i 'right→official'
 -kar citra+kar 'art→artist'

- var umed+var 'hope→candidate
- ar kumbh+ar 'pot→potter
- ri puja+ri 'worship→priest'
- ak rākṣa+ak=rākṣ ak 'guard →guardian'
- van himmāt+van 'courage→courageous one'
- va ʎo-i-a-ū ghār+va ʎo 'house→house owner,
ghār+va ʎi 'house →house owner (Fem.)
pūch+ va ʎū 'tail→having a tail.

Verb Base:

- nar lākh+nar 'write→writer
- iyo bādḃād+iyō 'chatter→chatterbox
- au khārc+au 'spend→spendthrift'
- ti gāṇ+ti (gānti) 'count'

Abstract suffixes

Noun Base :

- ətvə das+ətvə 'slave→slavery'
- i cor+i 'thief→theft'
- girl dada+girl 'bully→bullying'

Adjective Base

- ai catur+ai 'wise→wisdom'
- aś narm+aś 'soft→softness'
- aṇ nic+aṇ 'mean→meanness'
- pāṇ ba ʎ+pāṇ 'child→childhood'
- ta nāmrā+ta 'gentle→gentleness'
- ali khuś+ali 'happy→happiness'

Verb Base

- āṇ jām+ āṇ 'eat→eating'
- ṇi śiv+ṇi 'sew→stitching'
- ai lākh+ai 'write→writing'
- aṭ gādḃād+aṭ 'rumble→rumbling'
- əṭ rām+ əṭ 'play→play'
- rāṇ jag+ rāṇ 'wake→awakening'
- māṇ sikha+ māṇ 'learn→lesson'

Honorific (always with a noun base)

- ji kaka+ji uncle→'respected uncle'
- behn urmi+behn 'Urmi→sister Urmi'
- saheb moṭa+saheb 'sir→respected Sir'
- bhai māgān+bhai 'Magan→ brother Magan'

Locative (always with a noun base)

- pur anand+pur 'Anandpur'
- a ʎay pustak+a ʎay 'book →bookshop'

- abad ahmad+abad 'Ahmedabad'
- kār puṇe+kār 'Pune→'Puneite'
- khanū dawa+ khanū 'medicine→ dispensary'

Diminutives (always with a noun base)

- dji gam+dji 'village→small village'
- i thal+i→ 'small dish'
- dū gam+dū 'village→small village'
- lū pāg+ lū→'small foot'

Statives (indicating a state)

Noun Base:

- gāt parsi+gāt 'parsi→being a parsi'
- āk thāṇḃ+āk 'cold→coldness'
- pō budha+pō 'old→old age'
- giri gulam+giri 'slave→slavery'

Verb Base

- tār bhāṇ+tār=bhāntār 'pray→prayer'

Adjective Base

- gi mādo+gi=mādgi 'ill→illness'

Occupational Suffixes (always with a noun base)

- aro rāṅg+aro 'colour→dyer'
- maru māchchi+maru 'fish→fisherman'
- ari rāṅg+ari 'colour→dyer' (Fem)
- ar kumbh+ar 'pot→potter'
- va ʎo-i-a-u dudh+ va ʎo 'milk→milkman'
dudh+va ʎi 'milk→milkmaid'

Feminine Suffixes (always with a noun base)

Only the main suffixes are given here:

- aṇi shetḥ+aṇi 'master→mistress'
- dji cakār+di 'servant→servant'
- āṇ vāgh+ āṇ 'tiger→tigress'
- i dev+i 'God→Goddess'

Resultative (Indicates a result from a verb base)

- ān mājvū+ ān=mājān 'clean vessels→cleaning of vessels'
- bhājvū+ ān=bhājān 'pray→hymn'

Gujarati has a set of suffixes that indicate large and small size:

- o -i hādḃo - hādḃi 'big pot – small pot'
- ū -i aṅglū - aṅgli 'finger (big) – finger (small)'
- ū -o tādḃkū - tādḃko 'sun's heat – sun's heat (degrees)'

3.2. Verbs

3.2.0. Verb Profile

Gujarati verbs exhibit a rich and complex morphology. The base form of the verb ends in /vũ/ and by stripping this suffix, the root form to which flexional suffixes are added, is arrived at. Thus /lakhvũ/ is composed of two morphs:

/lakh-/: the root and the infinitive marker /-vũ/.

Verb morphology can be best visualised in terms of a complex hierarchy.

The top-most layer is composed of semantic classes i.e. the three major types of verbs: Active, Causal, Passive. The last two are derived from the Active form by adjoining specific suffixes and what basically applies in terms of flexion classes to the Active Verb also applies to the other two classes. To these can be added a minor category of Impersonal verbs.

The next layer is that of transitivity and intransitivity. Active verbs admit both classes as do Causals with certain restraints. Passives by their very nature do not admit intransitivity since they demand a direct object.

The final layer is that of inflexional morphology which is a complex bundle of Tense-Mood and Aspect. Gujarati admits three tenses: Present, Past and Future; six major moods: Infinitive, Indicative, Imperative, Participial, Conditional and Inceptive. And two aspects: the Continuous and the Perfective. These combinations yields a large number of simple and complex verbal forms which will be described in 3.2.2 below.

The mechanism of the various verb classes is quite regular and easy to grasp in spite of its richness.

- Firstly there are the simple verb forms where the verb is inflected for the Present, Past and Future forms in all numbers and genders.

- The complex forms are based on two major parameters: the participles and the auxiliaries. The participles provide the base form of the verb to which are adjoined the auxiliary endings to create a large number of modal and aspectual forms. Participles function like variable adjectives and admit the same morphology. Three main participle classes enter into the verb morphology: The Past Participle, The Present Participle and the Remote Past Participle.

The Past Participle is generated out by the addition of a base suffix /y/ to which are added the gender and number suffixes: -a, -i, -ũ, -ã. (Through sandhi the combination of /y+i/ yields /i/) Thus the base form /lakh/ to write admits the following:

	Singular	Plural	
M	lakhyo	lakhya	'written'
F	lakhi	lakhi	'written'
N	lakhỹũ	lakhỹã	'written'

The Present Participle has /t/ as the base suffix to which are added the gender and number suffixes: a, i, ũ, ã, giving forms such as lakhto, lakhti, lakhã, lakhtũ etc, all of which mean 'writing'.

	Singular	Plural	
M	lakhto	lakhã	'writing'
F	lakhãti	lakhãti	'writing'
N	lakhãtũ	lakhãtã	'writing'

The Remote Past Participle has /el/ has the base suffix to which are adjoined the gender and number suffixes to give forms such as lakhelo, lakheli, lakhelã etc, all of which imply the notion of total completion of the action.

	Singular	Plural	
M	lakhelo	lakhela	'finished writing'

F	lakheli	lakheli	'finished writing'
N	lakhelũ	lakhelã	'finished writing'

The Auxiliary verbs which in turn modify the participles are two in number: che: to be (a defective verb) and hovũ: to become. These can be inflected for tense, number and person. Gender is not marked.

/che/ which is used to mark the continuous aspect is used only in its present form:

	Sg.	Pl.		
	M/F/N	M/F/N		
1	chũ	'am'	chie	'are'
2	che	'is'	cho	'are'
3	che	'is'	che	'are'

/hovũ/ is used to introduce the Perfective and Imperfective forms in all tenses: present, future and past.

Present: base form: ho

	Sg.	Pl.	
	M/F/N	M/F/N	
1	hoũ	hoie	'become'
2	hoy	ho	'become'
3	hoy	hoy	'becomes'

Future: base forms: ho-hã

	Sg.	Pl.	
	M/F/N	M/F/N	
1	hois	hoisũ	'will become'
2	hãse	hãso	'will become'
3	hãse	hãse	'will become'

The Past tense is inflected only for Number and Gender. To the base form /hã/ of /hovũ/ is adjoined the Past marker /t/ to which are added on gender and number suffixes: a, i, ũ, ã.

	Singular	Plural	
M	hãto	hãta	'became'
F	hãti	hãti	'became'
N	hãtũ	hãtã	'became'

The combination of participles and auxiliary forms yields complex verb patterns such as:

- (13. a) e kãrto hoy : he may be doing. e kãrto hãto: he was doing.
 (13. b) hũ kãrũ chũ: I may be doing. e kãrto hãse: he will be doing.

These will be described below:

3.2.1. Active Verb Forms: These are described in terms of the basic moods:

3.2.1.1. The Infinitive Mood is marked by the morph /vũ/ which is added onto the root of the verb, as in doḍvũ: 'to run'; calvũ: to walk; vãcvũ: to read.

The form can function as a gerund and can be used as a noun.

If the verb is intransitive, only the neuter Singular base form is used:

- (14. a) rate jãvũ khãtãnak che:
 night+obl. go+inf. dangerous is
 going by night is dangerous.

If the verb is transitive, then the infinitive is declined like the noun. It admits the endings: vo, vi, va, vā and can become the subject of a sentence.

- (14. b) hālvo khavo (M.S.): 'eating halva.'
halwa (attribute) eat+past
- (14. c) cōpḍi vācvi (F.S.): 'reading a book.'
book (attribute) read+past
- (14. d) bōr khava (M.Pl.): 'eating jujube fruits.'
jujube (attribute) eat+past
- (14. e) paṇa phaḍvā (N.Pl.): 'tearing pages.'
pages (attribute) tear+past

3.2.1.2. The Indicative Mood

This mood is used to indicate or assert an action in time. It admits of a large number of forms which are given below:

3.2.1.2.1. Simple Forms:

These are forms of the verb inflected simply for tense. The action can be situated either in the Present, the Future or the Past. In the table below are given the inflexions for each type with the verb /pḍ/ to fall :

1. Present

	Sg.	Pl.
	M/F/N	M/F/N
1	pḍū 'fall'	pḍie 'fall'
2	pḍe 'fall'	pḍo 'fall'
3	pḍe 'falls'	pḍe 'fall'

The Simple Present form is used mainly for asking permission.

- (15. a) hū chhapo vācū: May I read the newspaper.
I newspaper read+prest.+1st Pl.

2. Future

	Sg.	Pl.
	M/F/N	M/F/N
1	pḍiś	pḍiśū 'will fall'
2	pḍśe	pḍśo 'will fall'
3	pḍśe	pḍśe 'will fall'

The future indicates an action to be accomplished in the future:

- (15. b) sēmbhal kār, tu pḍśe:
care do+imp., you fall+fut.+2 Sg.
Take care, you will fall.

3. Past

The Past tense (of all Gujarati verbs) behaves exactly like the Past Participle and is inflected only for Number and Gender.

	Singular	Plural
1	pḍyo 'fell'	1 pḍya 'fell'
2	pḍi 'fell'	2 pḍi 'fell'
3	pḍyū 'fell'	3 pḍyā 'fell'

Concord in the past tense depends on whether the verb is Transitive or Intransitive. In the case of Transitive verbs, the verb agrees with the object, whereas with Intransitive verbs which admit only a subject, there is Subject-Verb concord.

- (15. c) mōgōn avyo
magan come+past+3rd Sg. (Intransitive hence Concord with Subject)
Magan came.

- (15. d) uśae phōl khadhū
Usha+Obl.+Fem. fruit+Obj.+Neuter eat+past+Neuter
Usha ate the fruit.

3.2.1.2.2. Complex Forms:

Complex forms are derived by the combination of the auxiliaries with the verb forms or the participles and add aspect to the verb. The Past Participles and the Remote Past Participles function like adjectives and agree in number and gender with the subject of an intransitive verb and concord in number, person and gender with the object of an intransitive verb. The Present Participle on the other hand functions like an ordinary verb and agrees in person, number and gender with the subject of a Transitive or Intransitive verb.

(i) Forms with che

- Present Continuous: Present of Verb+Present of auxiliary che

	M/F/N Sg.	M/F/N Pl.
1	pḍū chū 'I am falling'	pḍie chie 'We are falling'
2	pḍe che 'You are falling'	pḍo cho 'You are falling'
3	pḍe che 'He/she/it is falling'	pḍe che 'They are falling'

-Present Perfect: Past Participle of the Verb+ Present of auxiliary che

This form is obtained by adding to the past participle of the verb, the present tense forms of the verb /che/.

This tense, like all tenses derived from past participles has two forms. If the verb is intransitive, the past participle as well as the verb agree in number and gender with the subject. With transitive verbs the concord is with the object of the sentence and the auxiliary verb remains unchanged.

- (16. a) hū pḍyo chū:
I +subj. fall+PastPart.+1st+Sg. che+prest.+1stS.
I have fallen.

- (16. b) e'ne phōl ucākyū che:
he+subj. fruit+Neut. lift+PastPart.+Neuter che+prest.

He has lifted the fruit.

(ii). Forms with hovũ

This auxiliary combines with different participles to generate out the following verbal aspects:

- Continuous Aspect:

The continuous form is a combination of the Present Participle along with the verb hovũ in the appropriate tense. Both the Present Participle and the auxiliary verb agree in number and gender with the subject. Three forms are generated: Past, Future and Presumptive Continuous.

Past Continuous: Present Participle + hovũ in the Past tense

(16. c) hũ pãđto hãto
I +subj. fall+Prest.Part.+Masc. hovũ+past+1st Sg.
I was falling.

(16. d) e cãpđj vãcto hãto
he+subj. book+Fem. read+Prest.Part.+Masc. hovũ+past+1st Sg.
He was reading the book.

Future Continuous: Present Participle + hovũ in the Future tense

(16. e) hũ pãđto hois
I +subj.+Masc. fall+PastPart+Masc. hovũ+fut.+1st Sg.
I will be falling.

(16. f) e cãpđj vãcto hãse
he+subj. book+Fem. read+Prest.Part.+Masc. hovũ+past+1st Sg.
He will be reading the book.

Presumptive Continuous: Present Participle + hovũ in the Present tense

This tense adds a notion of probability of possibility to the verb. It is possible that the action may be in the state of being accomplished:

(16. g) e pãđti hoy: She may be falling.
she +subj. fall+Prest.Part.+Fem. hovũ+past+3rd Sg.

(16. h) e cãpđj vãcti hoy
she+subj. book+Fem. read+Prest.Part.+Masc. hovũ+past+3rd Sg.
She may be reading the book.

- Perfective Aspect:

The verb in this aspect shows that the action has been duly completed. All perfectives are made up of a combination of the Past Participle along with the verb hovũ in the appropriate tense. The Past Participle agrees in number and gender with the object of the Transitive verb and in the case of the Intransitive verb concords with the subject. As with the continuous, three forms can be generated:

Past Perfect: Past Participle+Past of hovũ

(16. i) hũ pãđyo hãto
I +subj. fall+PastPart+1st Sg. hovũ+past+1st Sg.
I had fallen.

(16. j) e'ne phãl ucãkyũ hãtũ
he+subj. fruit+Neuter lift+PastPart+neuter hovũ+prest.+neuter
He had lifted the fruit.

Future Perfect: Past Participle + Future of hovũ

(16. k) hũ gãyo hois
I +subj. go+PastPart+1st Sg. hovũ+past+1st Sg.
I will have gone.

(16. l) e'ne cãpđj vãci hãse
he+subj. book+Fem. read+PastPart+Fem. hovũ+past+1st Sg.
He will have read the book.

Presumptive Perfect: Past Participle+Present of hovũ

(16. m) e pãđj hoy
she +subj. fall+Prest.Part.+Fem. hovũ+past+3rd Sg.
She may be falling.

(16. n) e'ne cãpđj vãci hoy
he+subj. book+Fem. read+Prest.Part.+Masc. hovũ+past+3rd Sg.
He may be reading the book.

-Habitual aspect

In addition to the above complex forms, a last set of verbal forms in the indicative mood can be derived by the combination of the two auxiliaries : hovũ and che. This yields the simple and complex habituals, which mark an action that is a habit.

The simple habitual is generated out by the present tense of the verb hovũ followed by the auxiliary che, as in:

(16. o) mãgãn dãroj bar vage ghãre hoy che
Magan everyday twelve o'clock home+obl. hovũ+prest. be+prest.
Everyday Magan is home at twelve.

The complex habitual has the past participle as the base verb form followed by hoy che.

(16. p) mãgãn dãroj bar vage jãmto hoy che
Magan everyday twelve o'clock eat+PastPart. hovũ+prest. be+prest.
Everyday Magan lunches at twelve.

3.2.1.3. Imperative Mood

Gujarati recognises two imperative forms: the neutral and the future. Both forms are used for requests, orders as well as invoking curses and blessings:

The neutral imperative has two forms: 2nd Person Singular and Plural. The Singular form is nothing else but the base form of the root, whereas the Plural ends in /o/.

(17. a) lãkh: write.

(17. b) lãkhõ: write. (Plural)

(17. c) bẽs: sit.

(17. d) bẽso: sit. (Plural)

- (17. e) kha: eat.
 (17. f) khaḥ: eat. (Plural).

- (17. g) cal: walk.
 (17. h) calo: walk. (Plural)

The future imperative is marked by the endings /je/ and /jo/.

- (17. i) kale lākhje:
 tomorrow write+fut. imp.+2nd Sg.
 write tomorrow.
- (17. j) māṅc māḷjo
 me+acc. meet+2nd Pl.
 meet me.

In the form of blessings or imprecations, the form is used only in the 2nd person Plural.

- (17. k) tarū sātyanas thājō:
 your destruction happen+imp. Pl.
 Curse you! (May you be destroyed)
- (17. l) tarū bhālū thājō:
 your good happen+imp. Pl.
 Bless you! (May good happen to you)

3.2.1.4. Conditional Mood

Conditionals are used in Gujarati with conditional markers: /jo/ - /to/: 'If ... then'. The first adverb is omitted by a large number of speakers; The inflexional form of the conditional is invariable: /te/. Some speakers of Gujarati also use /ət/, in which case the /ə/ is elided before a root form ending in a vowel.

- (18. a) jo tu awət to e kam kərət
 If you come+cond. then he work do+cond.
 If you come (came), he will (would) work.
- (18. b) jo tu a khat, to māḷo na that.
 if you this eat+cond. then ill not happen+cond.
 If you eat (ate) this, you will (would) not fall ill.

The conditional admits three forms:

The simple or present conditional is created by the adjunction of /te/ or /ət/ to the root of the verb:

- (18. c) hū lōṭarimā jitət to maldar that:
 I lottery+dat. win+cond. then rich become+cond.
 If I win the lottery, I'd be rich.

Very often the future is used instead of the conditional to mark the same content:

- (18. d) hū lōṭarimā jitiś to maldar thāś:
 I lottery+dat. win+future. then rich become+future.

The past conditional uses the past participle+conditional of the verb hovū: hot.

- (18. e) tu awyo hot, to śū kəryū hot.
 you come+PastPart. hovū+cond. then what do+PastPart hovū+ cond.
 If you had come, what would you have done ?

The continuous conditional deploys the Present Participle+conditional of the verb hovū.

- (18. f) tu səfər kərto hot, to śū kərət
 you travel do+Prest.Part. hovū+ cond. then what do+ cond.
 If you had been travelling, what would you have done ?

Normally the last two forms are avoided and only the first form of the simple conditional is used.

3.2.1.5. Inceptive Mood. This mood is used to show the commencement of an action. The Past Participle of the verb /thāvū/ 'to happen' is used as an inceptive marker.

- (18. g) e kam kərto thāyo che:
 he work do+PastPart happen+PastPart be+prest.+ 3rd Sg.
 he has started doing the work.

The use of /hovū/ in the past and future forms creates the Past Inceptive and the Future Inceptive.

- (18. h) e kam kərto thāyo hətō
 he work do+PastPart happen+PastPart become+past +3rd Sg.
 he had started doing the work.
- (18. i) e kam kərto thāyo hāśe
 he work do+PastPart happen+PastPart become+future +3rd Sg.
 he will have started doing the work.

3.2.1.6. Participles:

Gujarati recognises 7 participial forms. With the exception of the connective participle, all behave morphologically as adjectives and admit the endings:

	Sing	Plural
Masc.	o	a
Fem.	i	i
Neut.	ū	ā

The participle agrees in number and gender with the noun it qualifies:

- (19. a) suto chokro:
 sleep+Prest.Part.+Masc. boy+Masc.
 sleeping boy.
- (19. b) sutū kutrū
 sleep+Pres.Part.+Neut. pup+neuter.
 sleeping pup.

(i) Present Participle:

The base morph of this participle is /t/ to which are collocated the markers of gender and number as in the examples given above.

suto - suta - suti - sutū - sutā

(ii) Past Participle:

The base morph of this participle is /y/ to which are added on the markers for gender and number:

pədyo - pədyā - pədyi - pədyū - pədyā: fallen

The neuter form is often used as a noun:

(19. c) mahrū kāhyū man: Believe what I say.

My+neuter say+PastPart. believe+Imp.+2nd Sg.

The Present and Past participle act as a base for the complex verb forms of the infinitive mood (see 3.2.1.2.2. above).

(iii) Future Participle:

This form is marked by the ending -van- to which are adjuncted the markers of gender and number:

pəḍvano - pəḍvana- pəḍvani - pəḍvanū - pəḍvanā: falling (in the future)

Like the past participle, it is often used as a noun.

(19. d) tahrū awvanū muškil che
your come+fut.part. difficult be+prest.+3rd Sg.

It will be difficult for you to come.

(iv) Remote Past Participle

This form admits -el- as its marker to which are added the appropriate gender and number markers:

lākhelo - lākhela -lākheli - lākhelū - lākhelā: completely written.

This form often acts as a completive and marks an action as totally complete. These participle forms are therefore often used as adjectives:

(19. e) lākhelā paṇā: written pages

Used with the auxiliaries che and hovū, the remote past participle is the base for a completive aspect.

(19. f) e'ne lākhelū che: he has finished writing.
he+dat. write+Rem.PastPart be+prest.+3rd Sg.

(19. g) e'ne lākhelū hātū: he had finished writing.
he+dat. write+Rem.PastPart become+past+3rd Sg.

(19. h) e'ne lākhelū hāṣe: he will have finished writing.
he+dat. write+Rem.PastPart become+fut.+3rd Sg.

(v) Future Agentive Participle:

This participle has -nar- as its base with the usual and gender markers suffixed.

lākhnaro - lākhnara -lākhnari - lākhnarū - lākhnarā

Like other participles, it is used commonly as an agentive noun, especially with the genitive case marker:

(19. i) lākhnaranū nam śū:
write+agent.part.+Masc. Sg.+genitive name what
What is the name of the writer?

At times, the form replaces the Future Participle as in :

(19. j) kōṇ kōṇ jāmṇar
who who dine+ agent.part.
who will dine ?

(vi) Future Imperative Participle:

This is the same as the Gerundal Infinitive and has been treated under that head. (3.2.1.1).

(vii) Connective Participle:

The connective participle, unlike the other participles, has only one form: -i or -ine. It is so called because it is used to connect two sentences. /-i/ is used for short sentences, whereas /-ine/ is used for longer ones:

(19. k) jāmṇṇ kəri hū bāhar gəyo
food do+conn.part. I out go+past +1st Sg.
After dining, I went out.

(19. l) mānmā ver rakhine tu maro mitr thəyo che
mind+in revenge keep+conn.part. you my+Masc. friend happen+PastPart be
You have become my friend with revenge in your heart.

3.2.2. Verb Variations

Gujarati verbs like their Hindi or Urdu counterparts are relatively regular and exhibit few variations. These variations are of two types: phonologically conditioned which are predictable in terms of sandhi rules and morphologically conditioned which are not rule governed.

3.2.2.1. Sandhi conditioned variations.

These affect mainly the inflexions of the verbal roots that end in vowels and are followed by a morph beginning with a vowel. Morphological changes occur at these intervocalic boundaries:

- Roots ending in a followed by the vowel e, convert the e to a glide y.
e kha+e → khay 'he/she eats'
This change affects active, passive as well as causal verbs ending in /a/:
kha, kəra, pəḍa
(20. a) uśā ābo khay che
Usha mango eat+Prest.Part. be+3rd Sg.
Usha is eating a mango
- Roots ending in /i/ followed by an /i/, reduce the combination of two /ii/'s to a single /i/
kha+i→khai but pi+i→pi
(20. b) ābo khai, paṇi pi, e ghəre gəyi
mango eat+conn.part., water drink+ conn.part., she house+loc. go+past.
After eating the mango and drinking water, she went home.
- Roots ending in e or ε as in the case of the verb ləvū: to take
roots ending in e/ε followed by the inflexional ending /e/, drop the /e/ ending and maintain the root form: e/ε+e → e/ε
de+e→ de
(20. c) a pustək de

this book+nom. give+imp.+2nd Sg.
give this book.

roots ending in e/ε followed by the inflexional ending /o/, the root ending is dropped and the /o/ is maintained: e/ε+o → o

lε+o→lo

(20. d) a pustāk lo: take this book.
this book+nom. take+imp.+2nd respect

roots ending in e/ε followed by the inflexional ending /i/, the root is reduced to the neutral vowel: e/ε+i → ai

lε+i→lāi

- roots ending in o/ɔ such as dhovū: to wash, jɔvū: to see

When the root is followed by the verbal inflexion /e/ or /o/, the root vowel changes to /u/

dho+o→dhuo 'wash' (imperative), dho+e → dhue 'washes 3rd Sg.Prest'

jɔ+o→juo 'see' (imperative), jɔ+e→jue 'sees, 3rd Sg. Prest'

(20. e) nālin kəpḍa dhue che
Nalin clothes+Pl. wash+Prest.Part. be
Nalin is washing the clothes.

The only exception to this sandhi are the verbs /hovū/: 'to become' and /kohvū/: 'to rot'.

ho+e→hoy 'becomes, 3rd Sg. Prest.'

ho+o→hovo 'becomes, 2nd Pl. Prest.'

koho+e→kōhy 'rots, 3rd Sg. Prest.'

koho+o→kohvo 'rots, 2nd Pl. Prest'

3.2.2.1. Morphologically conditioned variations.

These affect mainly the past participial and remote past participial forms:

- pēs, 'to get in' bēs 'to sit', nas 'to flee' yield the base forms:

pεṭh,	bεṭh,	naṭh
Past Participle	Remote Past Participle	
pεṭho 'got in'	pεṭhelo 'had got in'	
bεṭho, 'sat	bεṭhelo, 'had sat'	
naṭho 'fled'	naṭhelo 'had fled'.	

(20. f) cor ghərmā pεṭho
thief house+in get in+PastPart.
the thief got in the house.

- kha 'to eat' and pi 'to drink' yield the base forms:

khadh-,	pidh-
Past Participle	Remote Past Participle

khadho 'ate'	khadhelo 'had eaten'
pidho 'drank'	pidhelo 'had drunk'

(20. g) mistrie sigret pidhi
Mistry+obl. cigarette drink+PastPart.
Mistry smoked a cigarette.

- lε 'to take', de 'to give', kər 'to do' and bih 'to fear' yield the base forms:
lidh-, didh-, kidh- bidh-
from which are generated the Past and Remote Past Participles:

Past Participle	Remote Past Participle
lidho 'took'	lidhelo 'had taken'
didho 'gave'	didhelo 'had given'
kidho 'did'	kidhelo 'had done'
bidho 'feared'	bidhelo 'had feared'

(20. h) e'ne ma'ro səməy lidho
he+dat. my+Masc. time take+PastPart.+Masc
he took my time

(20. i) mägəne ma'ri cəpḍi lidheli həti
magan+obl. my+Fem. book+Fem. remote PastPart. become+past+Fem.
Magan had taken my book.

The verb kər also admits the regular forms: kəryo and kərelo.

(20. j) mägəne kam kəryū/kidhū
magan+obl. work do+PastPart.
Magan did the work.

-mər 'to die' has the base form mu-
muo 'died' muelo or marello 'had died'

(20. k) marello sāp
die+ PastPart. snake
a dead snake.

The Verbs 'jəvū' to go and thəvū' to become admit two roots forms /jə/, /thə/ and /ja/, tha/. Whereas the forms in /ə/ are the norm, the /a/ form dominates in the following:

Simple Present:

jaū : 'I go',
jāy 'you go/he, she, it goes.
thaū : "I become",
thāy 'you become /he, she, it becomes.

Present and Imperative:

jao: '(you respect.) go',
thao '(you respect.) become'

Imperative:

ja: 'go (2nd Sg.)'
tha 'become (2nd Sg.)'

Conditional:

jat 'would go'
that 'would become'

In addition the Past Participle (as well as the simple Past) and Remote Past Participle forms of ja have the base form: gəy.

gəyo 'went'
gəyelo 'had gone'

These, like all forms ending in -o, function exactly like variable adjectives:

gəyo, gəya, gəyi, gəyā: went.
gəyelo, gəyela, gəyeli, gəyelā: had gone.

3.2.3. Causative Verb forms:

A form is termed causative when the subject causes another agent to perform an action.

Gujarati admits two types of causals: a primary causal and a secondary causal.

3.2.3.1. Primary Causals:

In this type of causal the Primary Agent A causes another Agent A1 to perform the action on his behalf.

The normal order is as under:

1st agent+nom. 2nd agent+ni pase object verb in the passive

The 1st agent who is the true subject is in the nominative, followed by the active or second agent who really performs the action. This second agent is invariably followed by the marker ni+pase (through). Next comes the object and finally the verb which is in the passive. The verb agrees in number and gender with the first agent. However in the past forms, the verb agrees with the with the object.

(21. a) hū kam kərū chū: I do the work.
I work do+prest. be+prest.

(21. b) 1st Agt. 2nd Agt. pase object Causal verb
hū eni pase kam kəravū chū
I him+ dat. through work do+caus+prest. 1st.Sg. be+prest.
I get the work done by him.

(21. c) 1st Agt. 2nd Agt. pase object Causal verb
chəgəne məgənni pase kam kəravū
chagan+obl. magan+dat. through work do+caus.+past
Chagan got the work done by Magan.

Primary causals are derived from the verb base by the adjunction of the causative morph followed by the tense markers. The main causal suffix is -aw-. Other causal suffixes, less frequent are -daw-, -aḍ-, -eḍ-. Roots ending in a final vowel or -h occur with a glide /w/ before the suffixes, as in lə, kha, pi below.

-aw type: kər→kəraw 'do', ləkh→ləkhaw 'write', suk→sukaw 'dry',

ṭək→ṭəkaw 'last', muk→mukaw 'put', bol→bolaw 'say'

-daw type: lə→ləwadaw 'take' kha→khəwadaw 'eat', pi→piwadaw

-aḍ type: dekh→dekhad 'see/show', siv→siwad 'sew'

-eḍ type: khəs→khəsed 'shift'

Since there are no fixed rules for the choice of the right causal suffix, causals are normally lexical items and are listed in the dictionary as such.

In the process of the creation of causals, certain verbs undergo a morphophonemic change.

Three distinct changes can be categorised:

(i). Change of vowel: The stem vowel undergoes a change:

ə becomes a:

pəḍ→paḍ 'to fall'

utər→utar 'to descend'

sukəw→sukaw 'to dry'

vəḷ→vaḷ 'to bend'

sudhər→sudhar 'to improve'

mər→mar 'to die / kill'

ə becomes e:

uchəḍ→uched 'to jump up'

ukəḷ→ukeḷ 'to boil'

u becomes o

khul→khol 'to open'

(ii) Change in consonant stem:

phaṭ→phad 'to tear'

(iii) Change in the vowel stem as well as in the final consonant:

chuṭ→chod 'to loosen'

tuṭ→tod 'to break'

3.2.3.2. Secondary Causals:

In this type of causal, the Primary Agent A causes another Agent A1 to perform the action on his behalf. She/He, in turn, demands a third agent A2 (tertiary agent) to complete the work on his behalf.

(21. e) lilae kam kidhū:
lila+obl. work do+past
Lila did the work.

(21. f) lilae chəgənni pase kam kərawyū (Primary Causal)
lila+obl. chagan+dat. by work do+causal1+past
Lila got the work done from Chagan.

(21. g) lilae chəgənni pase kam kərawḍawyū (Secondary Causal)
lila+obl. chagan+dat. by work do+causal2+past
Lila got Chagan to get the work done.

The secondary causal is basically derived from the primary causal as under:
If the first causative ends in -aw-, the second is derived by adding -daw- to it.
kər→kəraw→kərawḍaw causals of the verb 'to do'

(21. h) chokra pase kam kərawḍaw
boy+obl. through object 2nd causal+imp. 2nd Sg.
Get the work done by the boy.

If the first causal ends in -*ḍ*, only -aw- is suffixed to it. This the case with *ad* and *eḍ*.
khās→*khāseḍ*→*khāseḍaw* causals of the verb 'to shift'
dekh→*dekhaḍ*→*dekhaḍaw* causals of the verb 'to see/show'

(21. i) a *lekh prāviṅ pase dekhāḍaw*
 this article Pravin+obl. through 2nd causal+imp. 2nd Sg.
 Get Pravin to show this article.

If the first causal does not end in -aw-, -*ḍaw*-, -*ad*-, -*eḍ*-, as is the case with stem alterations (cf. 3.2.1.1. (i) –(iii)), only -aw- is added to the 1st causative stem:
uchad→*uched*→*uchedaw* causals of the verb 'to jump up'
chuṭ→*chod*→*chodaw* causals of the verb 'to loosen'

(21. j) *gāṭh choḍaw*
 knot (object) 2nd causal+imp. 2nd Sg.
 get the knot undone.

In some cases both -aw- and -awḍaw are used in free variation:
sudhār→*sudhar*→*sudhraw* or *sudhrawḍaw* causals of the verb 'to improve'

(21. k) *lila pase a lekh sudhraw/sudhrawḍaw*
 lila+obl. through this+Masc. article improve+imp. 2nd Sg.
 Get Lila to improve this article.

Secondary causals are more used in literary texts than in colloquial speech.

A third form of the causal which could be termed as a tertiary causal was used in earlier literary Gujarati, but is not in use anymore. The tertiary causal involves three agents. The subject asks Agent 1 to accomplish an Action (Primary causal) who in turn asks Agent 2 (secondary causal) and who asks a third agent (Tertiary causal) who in turn gets the work done by a fourth agent.

Thus to extend the examples given in 3.23.2.:

(21. 1.1.) *lilae kam kidhū*
 Lila did the work.

(21. 1.2) *lilae chāgānni pase kam kārāwyū* (Primary Causal)
 Lila got the work done from Chagan.

(21. 1.3) *lilae chāgānni pase kam kārāwḍawwyū* (Secondary causal)
 Lila got Chagan to get the work done by another agent.

(21. 1.4) *lilae chāgānni pase kam kārāwḍawrawwyū* (Tertiary causal)
 Lila got Chagan to get the work done done by another agent.

This form is produced by the addition of the suffix -raw- to the derived form of the second causal and followed by the tense markers.

3.2.4. Passive Verb forms:

The passive in Gujarati is formed by adding -a- to the root form of the verb and which is subsequently followed by its tense information.
 root *kār*+a-: do

(22. a) *hū kam kārū chū*
 I work do+prest. be+prest.
 I do the work.

(22. b) *marathi kam kārāy che*
 I+Inst. work do+pass.+Prest.Part. be
 The work is done by me.

Although the passive formation is a regular process in Gujarati, a few verbs undergo a morpho-phonemic change:

- When the root verb admits an /a/, the /a/ becomes /ə/
ap→*əpa* 'give' *kap*→*kəpa* 'cut' *jan*→*jəna* 'know'
wapār→*wəpāra* 'use' *katār*→*kətra* 'cut'
 This rule does not apply to causatives ending in /-a/

- When the root verb ends in a vowel or /h/, a glide /w/ is inserted between the vowel and the passive marker:
kha→*khəwa* 'eat' *pi*→*piwa* 'drink' *dho*→*dhowa* 'wash'
ga→*gəwa* 'Sg.' *nah*→*nəhwa* 'bath/bathe' *bih*→*bihwa* 'fear/frighten'

In the structuring of the sentence, the word order does not necessarily change. But the subject of the active sentence takes the ending -*thi* as the instrumental marker. Concord takes place with the object of the active sentence.

(22. c) *e'ne git gayū*
 he+acc. song Sg.+past+Masc.
 he sang a song.

(22. d) *enathi a git gāvayū*
 he+Inst. this song+neuter Sg.+pass.+past+neuter
 a song was sung by him.

Passives are little used in Gujarati. Under the influence of English, the use of passives is noticed in official texts, newspapers as well as in academic books:

(22. e.1) *sarkarhi hit maṭe a pāglā upāḍya gāya che*
 government+Inst. progress for this+Pl. step+Pl. lift+PastPart go+pass. be+prest.
 These steps have been taken by the Government for progress.
 (Mumbai Samachar. 22 June 2002)

It would have been more correct to use the active form:

(22. e.2) *sarkare hit maṭe a pāglā upāḍya che*
 government+obl. progress for this+Pl. step+Pl. lift+PastPart be+prest.
 The Government has taken these steps for progress.

In normal spoken Gujarati such structures are avoided. The passive in Gujarati, if at all used, indicates ability or capacity to undertake an action. This explains why even intransitive verbs can be passivised to indicate capability or incapability on the part of the agent.

(22. f) marathi nāhi əvaśe
I+Inst. not come+pass.+future
I will not be able to come.

(22. g) mohānṭhi jəvaśe
Mohan+Inst. go+pass.+future
Mohan will be able to go.

3.2.5. Impersonal Verb Forms

These constitute a small minority of verbs. They admit no overt agent and are always used in the neuter gender. The meaning of the verb is regarded as the agent itself. The verb is normally in the 3rd person.

These verbs belong to two semantic categories:

- sensorial verbs dealing with unpleasant sensations in the body such as:

du:khvū: to pain

kə̀vū: to ache

və̀və̀vū: said of pain moving around in the body (lit: to wriggle)

These normally admit a noun declined in the locative case to situate the sensation in a specific part of the body.

(23. a) peṭmā du:khe che
stomach+loc. pain+3rd Sg.+prest. be+prest.
My stomach hurts.

- cognitive verbs with the meaning of like:

bhawvū, phawvū, gəmvū: to like

These generally occur with the indirect object.

(23. b) tāmne gəme che ke ?
you+obl. like+3rd Sg.prest. be+prest. is it?
do you like it ?

To these two categories can be added two more verbs: awəḍvū: to know, joivū: to want.

(23. c) lilane gujəraṭi awəḍe che
lila+ obl. Gujarati know+3rd Sg.prest. be+prest.
Lila knows Gujarati.

3.2.6. Modal Auxiliaries

3.2.6.1. Modal Auxiliaries:

Modal Auxiliaries or Explicator verbs (Gusain, 2001) are verbal elements that are adjuncted to a verb root and which induce modifications in the process indicated by the verb.

(24. a) a jhaḍ vəḍḥtū jay che
this tree increase+PastPart. go+prest.+3rd Sg. be+prest.
this tree keeps on growing.

The verbal form /jay / added to the main verb which is in the perfective form, introduces the notion of progression.

The 'colour' imparted by the modal auxiliary to a verb, depends on the form of the verb. The verb roots are normally in the participial forms and depending on the participial form, the same modal auxiliary can change in meaning.

Thus if one compares the example above with;

(24. b) a bhəṅṅI ja
this learn+connect.part. go+imp.+2nd prest.
first of all learn this.

the difference is apparent. In the first case 'ja' introduces the idea of continuity or progression, whereas in the second, it is more the immediacy of action which is pre-empted. There exists a close relationship between the modal and the tense of the root verb which is normally a participial form.

The most common modal auxiliaries are:

ja, 'go', cuk 'fail', rəh 'remain', nakh 'throw', kaḍh 'to take out', pəḍ 'fall', paḍ 'cause to fall', uṭh 'rise', de 'give', śək 'to be able', le 'take', ap 'give', aw 'come', jə 'see' lag 'begin' maṅḍ 'commence'

Of these, the most frequent are ja, aw, rəh, le, de, ap, nakh. The others are less frequently used.

The table below shows the nature of the relation between the root verb and the modal auxiliary:

Root Verb	Morph	Modal	Nature of 'colour'
Present Participle	-t-	ja, aw, rəh	temporal
Past Participle	-y-	kəṛ, lag	compulsion
Gerundal Infinitive	-a -i -ū, -ā	de, lag, maṅḍ pəḍ, joi	permission, progression obligation
Connective Participle	-i-	all modals	-

3.2.6.2 With the Present Participle

The Present Participle denotes the idea of continuity or duration. The three modal verbs, which incidentally are verbs denoting 'location in space', when adjuncted to this form, specify temporal deixis.

ja which in space, implies the notion of moving away from the point of reference, introduces the idea of continuity in an activity designated by the main verb and its progression into the future.

(24. c) e ləkhto gəyo
he write+Prest.Part. go+past
he kept on writing.

aw which in the space continuum, marks movement towards a point of reference, introduces the idea of duration of the activity from a given period of time in the past to the present point.

- (24. d) kəri thəti awi
curry be+Prest.Part. come+past
the curry was cooking.

rəh which marks stasis in space, shows that the action is smoothly progressing, without any interruption in the time continuum.

- (24. e) tu ləkhto rəhe
you write+Prest.Part. stay+prest.
keep on writing.

3.2.6.3 With the Past Participle

The past participle shows an activity which is completed per se. Modal verbs which can modify this notion of a completed activity, therefore specify the nature of conditions under which this activity has been performed.

kər marks an activity which was completed in spite of the opposition of a person other than the agent.

- (24. f) e to bolya kəre che
he emphasis speak+PastPart. do+prest. be+prest.
he keeps on talking. (Implied: in spite of my wishing the contrary)

It also can mark the helplessness of the speaker before a situation which cannot be changed as in the expression:

- (24. g) am to thəya kəre che
this emphasis be+past do+prest. be+prest.
that's how things are! (Implied: they cannot be changed)

3.2.6.4 With the Gerundial Infinitive:

The Gerundial infinitive: The infinitive is inflected like an adjective and hence acquires the value of a noun. As in the case of the Past Participle, this form describes a state and the modal auxiliaries modify the state in two different manners:

de introduces the idea of permission. The speaker requests the addressee to let another agent do the activity, with the pre-implied assumption that the addressee is against the idea.

- (24. h) ehne rəmwa de
he+dat. play+gerund give+imp.
let him play. (Implied: addressee is against the idea)

- (24. i) sāpne mar na, jəwa de
snake+dat. kill not, go+gerund give+imp.
do not kill the snake, let him go.

lag and **maŋd** introduce the idea of showing the progression of the state.

lag is generally used with intransitive constructions, whereas **maŋd** can be used with both transitive and intransitive gerundial forms. In the case of intransitive forms, the verb in question is normally a verb which is involuntary in nature.

- (24. j) e rəɖwa lagyo
he cry+gerund begin+past
he began to cry. (Intransitive verb: rəɖwū : to cry)

- (24. k) e khawa maŋɖyo
he eat+gerund begin+past
he began to eat. (Transitive verb: to eat).

- (24. l) paŋi t̥əpəkwa lagyū
water start+gerund begin+past
the water started to drip (Intransitive+Involuntary)

pəɖ is used only with the base form of the infinitive: -wū. It introduces the idea of the action being performed under compulsion:

- (24. m) chəgəŋne jəvū pəɖše
chagan+dat. go+gerund fall+fut.
Chagan will have to go.

joi also marks an obligation, but which is moral in nature.

- (24. n) chəgəne jəvū joi
chagan go+gerund want+fut.
Chagan should go.

As can be observed, with **pəɖ-** (intransitive), the noun-subject is in the dative form, with **joi-** (transitive), the noun is in the accusative.

3.2.6.5 With the connective participle:

A large number of modal auxiliaries can enter into constructions with the connective participle and this is the most frequent case of usage. The most common modal auxiliaries used are:

ja, aw, de, nakh, sək .

Not so frequent are the modals: paɖ, uɖh, cuk, kaɖh, jo.

The nature of shades of meaning is complex and varied. The main meaning changes will alone be described below:

ja and **cuk** both show an action that is completed. However the focus on the nature of completion varies.

ja shows an action that is completed and adds to it a notion of definiteness:

- (24. o) e məri gəyo
he die+conn.part. go+past
He died: paraphrase: It is sure that he died.

cuk also implies completion but without the guarantee or definiteness added. The focus is more on not failing in the task.

(24. p) e ləkhi cukyo
 he write+conn.part. fail+past
 He finished writing. (Here cukyo has the meaning of 'did not fail to')

rəhe also denotes a completed action but the stress here is on the state of its continuity at a given moment in time.

(24. q) e kam kəri rəheyo
 he work do+conn.part. stay
 He finished working.

nakh 'throw', uṭh to rise, kaḍh 'to take out', pəḍ 'fall', paḍ 'cause to fall', show the suddenness of action. The focus is on the immediacy of the action itself. This immediacy is coloured in different manners:

nakh means get over with it at all costs.

(24. r) a kam kəri nakh
 this work do+conn.part. throw
 Get this work over with.

uṭh on the other hand implies a sudden performance of activity. It is normally used in collocation with verbs denoting vocal activity.

(24. s) e gai uthyo: he burst out singing.
 he Sg.+conn.part. rise+past

(24. t) e boli uthyo: he burst out in speech.
 he speak+conn.part. rise+past

kaḍh implies the completion of an action after a certain amount of effort:

(24. u) ləkhi kaḍh: write it out.

(24. v) śodhi kaḍh: hunt it out.

pəḍ and its causal **paḍ** are also used to denote a sudden action. **pəḍ** is normally used with verbs denoting either movement in space: **aw** or verbs indicating human emotions:

(24. w) e awi pəḍyo
 he come+ conn.part. fall+past
 he came suddenly (unexpectedly).

(24. x) e rəḍl pəḍyo
 he cry+ conn.part. fall+past
 he burst out crying.

(24. y) e hənsi pəḍyo
 he cry+conn.part. fall+past
 he burst out laughing.

paḍ implies the notion of immediate physical activity

(24. z) jhali paḍ
 seize+ conn.part. fall+imp.
 seize him at once.

śək shows the ability to perform an action:

(24. A) e ləkhi śəkyo
 he write+conn.part. able+past
 he could write.

(24. B) e cali śəkyo
 he walk+conn.part. able+past
 he could walk.

le implies the meaning of completing an activity by assimilating it totally to one's self.

(24. C) a śikhi le
 this learn+conn.part. take+imp.
 learn it up (and make it your own)

Similarly:

(24. D) paṭh vāci le: read it up.

(24. E) a khai le: eat it up.

aw implies that the activity modified by the verb has to be accomplished first before a subsequent activity can be undertaken:

(24. F) jəmwa vɛhla, hath dhoi aw
 eat+gerund before hand wash+conn.part. come+imp.
 (first) wash your hands, before eating.

(24. G) ləkhi aw
 write+conn.part. come+imp.
 (first) write.

ap denotes the completion of an activity for a third person.

(24. H) ləkhi ap
 write+conn.part. give+imp.
 write it out for him.

jə is used as a modifier for sensorial verbs such as smell, touch, eat, hear. In its primary sense, it means 'to see', but as a modal, the sense of 'to see' is extended to the idea of 'to experience'. Normally, **jə** is used with the connective participle:

Thus:

(24. I) a cəkhi jə
 this taste+conn.part. see+imp.
 Try tasting this.

(24. J) a phul sunghi jo
 this flower smell+ conn.part. see+imp.

3.2.7 Negation:

Gujarati uses the following adverbs to mark negation: *nə*, *na*, *nə'ī*, *ma*, *rakhi* and two compounded forms *nəthi* and *nhoto*.

Negation in Gujarati is of two types. The speaker can either answer a question in the negative or he can negate a statement.

3.2.7.1. Negation as a response to a question:

Two adverbs are used, either *na* or *nə'ī*. Of the two, *nə'ī* has a stronger negative force than *na*, especially with stress on the first syllable.

(25. a) tu ave che? na
 you come che+prest. no
 are you coming ? No.

(25. b) tu ave che? nə'ī
 you come che+prest. no
 Are you coming ? No.

3.2.7.2. Negation of a statement:

In this case three adverbs are used: *nə*, *nə'ī*, and *nəthi*. The distribution of these forms is well-defined and is determined by the form of the verb used.

nə'ī is used with all the simple tenses, with the Future and the Past Perfect and the Future and Past continuous tenses. Normally the negative adverb immediately precedes the verb, but in the case of the simple present and simple past, it can also follow the verb.

Simple Present

(25. c) e bole e nə'ī bole e bole nə'ī
 he speaks. he doesn't speak. he doesn't speak.

Simple Past

(25. d) e cali e nə'ī cali e cali nə'ī
 she walked. she didn't walk. she didn't walk.

With these two tenses *nə'ī* can either be preposed before the verb or can follow.

Simple Future

(25. e) e calśe e nə'ī calśe
 (s)he will walk. (s)he will not walk.

Past Perfect

(25. f) e awyo hato e nə'ī awyo hato
 He had come. He had not come.

Future Perfect

(25. g) e gulab lawyo hāśe e gulab nə'ī lawyo hāśe
 He will have brought the rose. He will not have brought the rose.

Past Continuous

(25. h) e awto hato e nə'ī awto hato
 He was coming. He was not coming.

Future Continuous

(25. i) e awto hāśe e nə'ī awto hāśe
 He will be coming. He will not be coming.

With the past continuous, the negation can precede the auxiliary verb: *hovū*. This case is treated in 3.2.7.4 below

3.2.7.2. With the imperative forms, either simple or future, /*na* / is preferred. The adverb is placed immediately before the imperative verb.

Imperative:

(25. j) ja na ja
 go. don't go.

Future Imperative:

(25. k) jājo na jājo
 You may go. You may not go.

na is also used with the gerundial form and the conditional forms of the verb:

(25. l) tarū awvū tarū na awvū
 Your coming. Your not coming.

(25. m) jo tu kam kərət, to a na that.

If you had done the work, this would not have happened.

3.2.7.3. *nəthi* is used with the continuous and perfect forms of the present i.e. forms that use the auxiliary base *ch-*

Present Continuous:

(25. n) e kam kəre che e kam nəthi karto
 he does work. he does not do work.

Present Perfect:

(25. o) ehne kam kidhū che ehne kam nəthi kidhū.
 he has done the work he has not done the work.

In fact *nəthi* is a combination of *nə* and the connective participle of *thəvū*: to become and literally denotes a negation of the state of 'becoming' implied by the main verb.

3.2.7.4. *nhoto* similarly is a compound of *nə* and the past participle of the verb *hovū*: to happen. It is used only when *nə* precedes the forms: *hato*, *həti*, *hətā*, *hətū*.

(25. p) chagān awto hato
 Chagan was coming.

can be negated as in 3.2.7.1. as

(25. q.1.) chāgān nā'ī awto hāto.

and also as:

(25. q.2.) chāgān awto nhoto.

This form is normally used in those parts of Gujarat bordering Maharashtra, where a similar form nāwāhto: 'was not' is in current usage.

3.2.7.5. ma and rakhi are little used in daily Gujarati. ma if at all used, occurs only as a negative answer:

(25. r) tu ave che ? ma : are you coming ? No.

3.3 Compounds

3.3.0. Compounding in Gujarati.

A compound is a lexical unit in which two morphs which are free forms can occur with or without sandhi modification. Compounding is of two kinds:

True compounds where the lexical units combine to form a new word. Basically all meaningful units i.e. Nouns, Verbs, Adjectives and Adverbs can enter into a compound construction. Compounds can be classified on the basis of two criteria: formal and semantic.

Pseudo compounds: more in the nature of reduplication where there is only one true meaningful unit and the other unit is a variant of the first.

Thus /hira-moti/ 'diamonds-pearls' i.e. jewelry

On the other hand the compound /dudh-budh/ (milk+echo form of milk) is not a compound in the true sense of the term and hence is treated as a Reduplicative compound.

3.3.1. True Compounds:

3.3.1.1 Formal Typology:

This typology is limited to the word-classes that can enter into a compounding process. Of the 16 theoretical compounds possible in Gujarati, only 11 are possible: (Participial forms are treated as verbs)

Noun as the 1st element:

N. + N.	ma-bap	mother and father
N. + Adj.	mādh-mithū	honey-sweet
N. + V.	pan-khār	leaf-fall
N. + Adv.	—	

Verb as the 1st element:

V. + N.	—	
V. + Adj.	—	
V. + V.	aw-ja	come-go (constant movement)
V. + Adv.	—	

Adjective as the 1st element

Adj. + N.	mīthū-dārakh	grape-sweet (sweet as a grape)
Adj. + Adj.	lal-bhāḍāk	red-flaming (flaming-red)
Adj. + V.	vāk-dekho	crooked-look (one who squints)
Adj. + Adv.	—	

Adverb as the 1st element

Adv. + N.	ōti-ghai	very hurry (in a great hurry)
Adv. + Adj.	ōti-krur	very cruel

Adv. + V. mōḍo-awu late-comer

Adv. + Adv. vāhelū-mōḍū soon-late (sooner or later)

Remarks:

(i) The nature of the eventual compound resulting from the adjunction of these meaningful units depends on the grammatical category of the morphs as well as their position within the compound:

When both the lexical elements are nouns or participles (acting as nouns), the resultant compound is a noun as in ma-bap, aw-ja

When the second element of a compound is a participle, the whole compound is a neuter noun, irrespective of the nature of the first element: vāk-dekho, mōḍo-awu

When one of the compounding elements is an adjective, the whole compound acts as an adjective, except when the second element is a participle, in which case it acts as a noun.

kalū-meś (N.+N. soot-black), phul-sundār (N.+Adj. flower-pretty) both of which are adjectives, but vāk-dekho acts as a noun.

Constructions with two adverbs act as adverbs: war-war (again and again). In all other cases, the adverb is subservient to the other grammatical class.

(ii) Adjectives ending in /ū/ behave as variable adjectives.

(26)	e'ni	khaṭṭī-miṭṭhi	vato	na	sāmaj
	his	sweet+Fem. Pl. – sour+Fem.Pl.	talk+Pl.	not	listen+imp.
					Do not listen to his sweet talk.

Similarly participial forms can be declined and behave like nouns.

(26. a)	a	gāla-pāḍuni	vato	na	sāmaj
		this throat-catcher+gen.	talk+Pl.	not	listen+imp.
					Do not listen to this accuser.

3.3.1.2 Semantic Typology:

On the basis of semantic relationships existing between the forms, a large number of classes can be generated. The most important ones are listed below:

3.3.1.2.1 Equational:

Both the forms have the same meaning and reinforce each other:

sukh-cen: peace toḍ-phoḍ: breakage

nōkri-dhāndho: business

3.3.1.2.2 Metonymic:

Both the compounds taken together relate to a third compound. Normally the two compounds represent within the culture the extreme poles within which the third concept is circumscribed. Diamonds and pearls together imply jewelry

ma-bap (father and mother=parents).

hira-moti (diamonds –pearls=jewels)

pāisa-ṭāka (coin+coin=wealth)

khārū-khoṭū: (true and false=all that can be said).

3.3.1.2.3 Functional:

In this compound, one of the compounding elements specifies the function of the first. gnan-data (knowledge-giver= teacher)

nāgār-palāk (city-guardian=mayor)
ghār-phāḍu: (house-breaker)

3.3.1.2.4 Locative:

One of the words specifies the activity and the other (preferably the second) the place where the activity is conducted. The most commonly used are: ghār, waḍo, khanū (also pronounced as khanū), mohollo.

tar-ghār: (wire-house= telegraph-office)
hāthi-khanū: (elephant-house)
sutar-mohollo: (carpenters'-district)
ghāchi-waḍo: (oil-presser's district)

3.3.1.2.5. Attributive:

In this compound the first element qualifies the second and gives it a particular determination:
cāndrā-mukhi (moon-faced=beautiful)
ghoḍ-mukh (horse-face)

3.3.1.2.6. Intensifier:

One of the elements (preferably the first) provides an attribute which acts as an intensifier for the quality referred to in the other element. The resultant compound is practically a simile.

ṭhāṇḍu-bārāf: (cold-ice: as cold as ice)
mādh-miṭ ṭhū: (honey-sweet: as sweet as honey)
lilū-ghas (green-grass: as green as grass)
kāḍwū-jher (bitter-poison: as bitter as poison)

3.3.1.2.7 Enumerative

Normally made up of an adjunction of ordinals, the lower being first and the higher next; the compound generally specifies a certain approximate quantity:

be-trāṇ: two or three (around two)
dās-bar : ten or twelve (around ten)

3.3.2. Reduplicative Compounds:

In these compounds, one of the participating members is a repetition either partial or total of the other. Gujarati is excessively rich in reduplicative compounds and a basic typology of these compounds (a modified version of Abbi, 1992) is given below:

3.3.2.1. Expressives:

Expressives are total reduplications in which the compound word is an onomatopoeic representation of a sound occurring in the real world. Gujarati has a varied repertoire of these reduplicatives:

(i) Animal Noises:

cī-cī : chirping of birds.
cū-cū: squeaking of mice.
bhō-bhō: barking of dogs.

(ii) Natural Noises:

ṭāṭāṭā : drops of water falling.
phār-phār: rustling of wings.
sār-sār: rustling of leaves.

khāl-khāl : plentiful flowing of water as in a stream.

(iii) Inanimate Noises.

chān-chān: noise of cymbals.

ding- ding: chimes of a small clock.

cār-cār: tearing or cutting of a thin object (paper).

dhāg-dhāg: rhythmic beating (as of the heart).

(iv) Sensorial Reduplication:

Here a particular sensorial faculty is evoked by means of a reduplication.

- sight: jhāg-māg: twinkling of an object; cāk-cāk: steady shine of an object.
- touch: gil-gil or gāl-gāl: said of a slimy object.
- smell: māgh-māgh: pleasant perfume of flowers.
- taste: ṭām-ṭām: sharp and spicy.
- body sensations: thār-thār (shiver) kāl-kāl (biting pain).

3.3.2.2. Echo-words

In these pseudo-compounds, there exists only one true member. The other is only a partially modified form and acts as an intensifier.

Gujarati has a large number of devices for generating out such forms:

(i) adjunction of /b/ :

mar-bar (mar=hit).
kapo-bapo (kapo=cut).
tar-bar (tar=wire).

(ii) If the word already begins with /b/, then a /ph/ is adjuncted.

bari-phari (bari=window).
boṭ-phoṭ (boṭ= a boat).

(iii) Elision of the initial consonant /p/ or /b/ when followed by /a/

paḍoṣi: 'neighbour' forms aḍoṣi -paḍoṣi.

baju: 'side' forms aju-baju.

pas: 'side' forms as-pas.

(iv) Vocalic modification of the first member :

- addition of /e/

ṭipū: drop yields ṭipe-ṭipū: drop by drop.

mathū: head yields mathe-mathū: heads aligned together.

- addition of /o/ with or without reduction of the root verb:

hath: hand yields hatho-hath: hand by hand.

lag: chase yields laḡo-lag: frenzied chase.

- addition of a nasal:

gal: abuse yields galāṅgal also galāṅgal: excessive abuse.

var: times yields varāṁvar: innumerable times.

doḍ: run yields doḍāṅdoḍ also doḍāṅdoḍ: hurry and scurry.

3.3.2.3. Iteratives and Progressives

In some cases the total reduplication of verbal participles adds to them the idea of progression.

boltā: speaking boltā-boltā: while speaking.

These are basically lexical items, since with a few exceptions they undergo no change. The main adverbs are listed below, with as far as their possible, their opposite forms listed:

3.4.1.2.1 Adverbs of Place:

tə̀le, hethə̀l,nice: 'below' ūce, upər: 'above'
 dur, cetū : 'distant' pas, nə̀jdik : 'near'
 same, agə̀l: 'in front' pachə̀l: 'behind'
 sərvaṭr, sə̀ghle: 'all'
 aspas, cə̀tə̀rəph, phə̀rtū: 'all round'

3.4.1.2.2 Adverbs of Manner:

ve'elo, jə̀ldi, jhə̀t: early mə̀dɔ: 'late'
 saṭhe, ekṭho: 'together' eklo: 'alone'
 dhime, aste: 'slowly' jə̀ldi: 'quickly'
 ə̀mtho, phokə̀t,nə̀kamū: 'in vain'
 varū, thik: 'well, alright'
 ocinto, ə̀kə̀smat: 'suddenly'
 matr, phə̀kt : 'only'
 lə̀ghbhə̀g: 'approximately'

3.4.1.2.3 Adverbs of Quantity:

bilkul, tə̀dɔn: wholly'
 ə̀tyə̀nt: 'much'
 bə̀s: 'enough'
 və̀dhare: 'further'

3.4.1.2.4 Adverbs of Time:

aj, aje: 'today' kàle: 'tomorrow'
 gə̀ikàle: 'the day before' pə̀rə̀m diwse: the day after tomorrow.
 hə̀mnā: 'right now' kvə̀cit: 'rarely' sə̀da: 'always' nityə̀: 'perpetually'

3.4.1.2.5 Adverbs of Interrogation, Affirmation and Negation

In addition to the derived interrogative adverbs, the following adverbs mark interrogation in Gujarati:

shā, shā vaste, shā maṭe

Gujarati admits the following adverbs of negation:

na, nə, nə̀ī, nə̀thi, nhə̀to, rakhi and ma

These have been treated in 3.2.7. above.

The affirmative adverbs are: ha, hā; jərUr, ə̀lbət, mUkərər (Arabic) ə̀və̀śye (Sanskrit).

3.4.2 Connectives

Conjunctions or Connectives are lexical items and undergo no change. These conjunctions can join words or clausal phrases. Conjunctions at the syntactic level will be handled in 4.2.2 below.

(28. a) chə̀gə̀n ə̀ṅe mə̀gə̀n avya
 Chagan and Magan come+past
 Chagan and Magan came.

(28. b) chə̀gə̀n avyo pə̀ṅ mə̀gə̀n gə̀yo.
 Chagan come+Past but Magan go+past
 Chagan came but Magan went.

At the clause level Gujarati conjunctions can be classed under two major heads. Coordinating conjunctions join two or more clauses which share the same sentential hierarchy; resulting in compound sentences. Subordinating conjunctions on the other hand join clauses in which one clause occupies a hierarchy lower than the other, which generates complex sentences.

3.4.2.1. Coordinating conjunctions:

3.4.2.1.1 Connectives: ne, ə̀ṅe, tə̀tha (and) bə̀nne (both)
 tə̀tha marks a formal register, whereas ne/ə̀ṅe are informal.

3.4.2.1.2 Opposition or Adversative:

pə̀ṅ, pə̀rə̀ntu, kintu 'but'; chə̀ta pə̀ṅ, tethi pə̀ṅ 'notwithstanding'.
 Whereas pə̀ṅ is used in informal discourse, pə̀rə̀ntu and kintu mark a formal register.
 chə̀ta pə̀ṅ, tethi pə̀ṅ are used as stronger adversatives.

(28. c) kam kə̀ro pə̀ṅ a to nakhuś: do work but he is always dissatisfied.
 work do+Imp but he emphasis dissatisfied.

3.4.2.1.3 Disjunction: ə̀thva 'either - or', ke 'or', ə̀thwato 'or else'

/ə̀thwa/ marks an exclusive disjunction; whereas /ke/ is inclusive in nature:

(28. d) ram ə̀thwa mə̀gə̀n avśe: Either Ram or Magan will come (but not both).

(28. e) prə̀vin ke sita avśe: Pravin or Sita will come (both can come).

/ə̀thwato/ can be used only to link sentences and has the meaning of 'or else':

(28. f) nə̀rə̀ndrə̀ ə̀jna vimanthi avśe, ə̀thwato kalṅI gaḍḍIthi avśe.
 Narendra today plane+by come+fut. or else tomorrow+gen. train+by come+fut.
 Narendra will come by today's flight or else by train tomorrow.

3.4.2.1.4 Iteration: və̀lI 'once more, also'

(28. g) və̀lI uśae kə̀hyū
 also Usha say+past
 Usha also said.

3.4.2.1.5 Negation: nə̀----nə̀ 'neither----nor'

The double negation allows the addressee to negate either at the phrasal level or at the sentential level:

(28. h) hū nə̀ mə̀gə̀nne nə̀ chə̀gə̀nne olkhū chū
 I neither Magan+acc. nor Chagan+acc. know+prest. aux.
 I know neither Magan nor Chagan.

(28. i) nə̀ mə̀gə̀n avyo, nə̀ to chə̀gə̀n gə̀yo.
 neither Magan come+past, nor emph. Chagan go+past.
 Neither did Magan come, nor did Chagan go.

3.4.2.2. Subordinating conjunctions:

3.4.2.2.1 Dependent: The main conjunction is /ke/.

(28. j) ram kəhe che ke hū avis
 ram say+prest. be+prest. that I come+fut.
 Ram says that he will come.

3.4.2.2.2 Causal: kəm ke, karəŋ ke 'because of'

(28. k) prəvin avyo nāhi, karəŋ ke eni tābiyət thik na həti.
 Pravin come+past not, because his health well not be+past
 Pravin did not come because he was unwell.

3.4.2.2.3 Probability: təthapi, kədac, kədacit, kədapi 'perhaps'

(28. l) kədacit rohit avśe
 perhaps Rohit come+fut.
 Perhaps Rohit will come.

3.4.2.2.4 Conditional: Conditionals are always in pairs with the first conjunction being a correlative:

jo - to 'if - then'

je ke to pəŋ 'if - then still'

(28. m) jo hū avət to hū a kam kərət
 If I come+conditional then I this work do+ conditional
 If I had come, I would have done this work.

3.4.2.2.5 Explicative: Gujarati has two explicative connectors: ke and eṭle:

(28. n) rəvi aṭlo du:khi həto ke təmhe puchśo nāhi.
 Ravi so much unhappy be+past result you ask+fut. not
 Ravi was so unhappy that you need not ask.

3.4.3 Postpositions

In Gujarati, postpositions normally show the time, place, direction, cause or means. They always follow the noun, which is appropriately declined for case and number as per the postposition used. Some postpositions are directly attached to the noun, whereas others require the interposition of the clitics na-ne-ni after them. These are in fact genitive declensions with gender markings. The choice of the gender markings has nothing to do with the noun's gender per se but is conditioned by the postposition that follows.

Thus the postposition mā 'in' requires no clitic modification: ghərmā.
 vācce 'between' on the other hand requires the addition of the case marker -ni to the noun:
 (29.) ghərnī əne məgənnī vācce: between the house and Magan.

- Postpositions directly apposed to the noun:

mā 'in'
 pər 'on'

- Postpositions taking ni:

These normally show the location of the noun in relation to the sentence. The most common forms are:

pūṭhe, pūṭhəḷ, pəchwāḍe, pəchəḷ, pəchi: 'behind, after'
 mādhye, māhe, əndər 'inside'

vācce, vācmā
 phərtū, āspas, cotəraph
 pər, arpar
 bəhar
 agəḷ, əgəḍi, sən mukh, same, samū
 pase, kəne
 tərəph, bhəŋi,
 təḷe, nice, heṭhe, heṭhəḷ
 upər
 peṭhe, prəmaŋe, bərabər, maphək
 marphət, həste
 sathe, joḍe, səŋh
 pasethi
 uprant
 babət

'between'
 'all around'
 'across'
 'out'
 'before'
 'to, near'
 'towards'
 'below, under'
 'above, 'on'
 'like'
 'through'
 'along with'
 'away from'
 'besides'
 'regarding'

(29. a) ma'ara ghərnī same bag che:

There is a garden in front of my house.

(29. b) e chəgənnī tərəph ḍəḍyo:

He ran towards Chagan.

(29. c) ta'ra pəgŋi heṭhəḷ śū che ?:

What is beneath your leg ?

- Postpositions taking na

səmet, səhIt, məḷine

'along with'

səmiḷ

'near'

sudhi, ləgi

'upto'

həste

'through (someone)'

vəte, thi, thəki

'by means of'

jevū, sərkhū

'like'

kərtā, thi

'than' (comparison)

vina, vəgər

'without, except'

suddhā

'in addition to'

əŋge

'concerning'

bərabər

'like'

(29. d) a uśana əŋge śū kəhe che:

What is he saying regarding Usha ?

(29. e) sigreṭ na vina e jəgi na śəke:

He can't live without cigarettes.

(29. f) bagna səmiḷ ek nədi həti:

There was a river next to the garden.

- Postpositions taking ne

vaste, maṭe, karəŋe

'for the sake of'

lidhe

'owing to, because of'

bədle

'instead of'

(29. g) pəisane vaste e kai pəŋ kərśe

He'll do anything for money.

(29. h) chəgənnā bədle məgən avyo

Magan came instead of Chagan.

Remarks:

(i) The boundary line between postpositions and derivative adverbs is tenuous. A majority of postpositions can be used as adverbs

(29. i) a *ṭebəl̄ni upər che* (postposition)

It table+gen. on is
It is on the table.

(29. j) e *upər cədh̄yo* (adverb)

he above climbed
He climbed above.

(ii) Certain postpositions cannot however function as adverbs. This is due to the semantics of the word in Gujarati which constrains the word from acting as an adverb. These are:

kəṇe 'near, *marphəte* 'through', *bhəṇi* 'in the direction of'

peṭhe 'like' *bərabər* 'like' *wina*, 'without'

əṅge, 'concerning' *kərtā*, 'than'

sudhi 'up to' *suddhā* 'in addition to'

All postpositions that take 'ne' as ending.

All of these can function as postpositions alone and cannot be used as adverbs.

(iii) There is a great deal of variation in the choice of the the gender marker. Thus in the case of *upər*, *marphəte*, *bhəṇi*, one hears both *ni* and *na*

(29. k) a *ṭebəl̄ni upər che* OR a *ṭebəl̄na upər che* : It is on the table.

(29. l) *lila ṭrenni marphəte avi* OR *lila ṭrenna marphəte avi* : Lila came by train.

(iv) Postpositions ending in /-ū/ such as *jevū*, *sərkhū* are variable and inflect for number and gender of the noun they relate to.

(29. m) *chokri jevo* *chokro*: a girlish boy.

girl like+Masc. boy+Masc.

(29. n) *ṭamotā jevū* *nakh*: a tomato-red nose.

tomato like+neut. nose+neut.

3.4.4 Interjections

Like Conjunctions, Exclamations/Interjections are lexical items. The most common Interjections are classified and listed below. Approximate equivalents are given for them.

Admiration: *he, əho, oy* 'Oh!, Ah!'

Pain: *hayhay, hay, bapre, mare*: Oh! Ah! Ouch!

Sorrow: *əre, hayhay, ramram, bapre, mare* 'Oh!' 'My!' 'My God!'

Anger: *əli, əlyā*, 'You, there!'

Indifference: *choṇe, rəhyū* 'Leave it at that!'

Admonishment: *cup, bəs, khəbəṇdar* 'Enough!'

Surprise: *ədhədhə* 'Ah!'

Contempt *dhi, chik, chəṭ, thu* 'Fie!'

Agreement *bərabər, hāə, ha, thik* 'O.K.!'

Negation: *uhū*: 'no', 'I think not'.

Plaudatory: *vah, śabaś, dhənyə*: 'Bravo', 'Congratulations'

Chapter 4 SYNTAX

Little research has been done on the syntax of Gujarati, partly because of the influence of traditional grammars which have always favoured the morphological approach. In this chapter, a broad overview of the syntactic patterns of Gujarati will be provided in terms of syntactic types as well as sentence typologies.

4.1. Syntactic Types:

Like a majority of languages, Gujarati recognises four main types which are mutually exclusive i.e. at any given type a sentence can belong to one and only one type. Moreover there exists a close between the type and its pragmatic function, as well as the intonative patterns.

4.1.0. Declarative:

A declarative sentence affirms a statement. Within the ambit of a speech act, it is a stative and declares a fact which is verifiable:

(1) *məgən kam kəre che*

magan work do+prest. aux.

Magan is working.

(2) *gujərati gandhijini bhaśa che*

Gujarati Gandhiji+gen. language aux.

Gujarati is the language of Gandhiji.

A declarative sentence can either enter into a copular construction as in (2) or can admit an action verb such as /*kər*/ 'do' in (1)

Declaratives normally have a falling intonation (cf. 1.5.3).

4.1.1. Interrogative:

The main function of this sentence type is to ask a question to obtain further information (3) or in order to verify the bonafides of an earlier statement (Yes-No questions (4)).

(3) *chəgən kyā jay che?*

Chagan where go aux.

Where is Chagan going?

(4) *tu kale avśe?*

you tomorrow come+fut

Will you come tomorrow?

In a Yes-No question (4), the interrogation marker such as /*śun*/ remains absent, although it could be explicitly used as in:

(4 a.) *tu kale avśe śun?*

you tomorrow come+fut. what

Will you come tomorrow?

Yes-No questions which enter into a copular construction do not normally introduce the copula:

- (5) tarū nam śū ?
 your name what?
 What is your name?

The copula /che/ has been omitted by the speaker. Using it would mark a more polite or formal speech-register.

Interrogatives normally admit a rising intonation (cf. 1.5.3.).

4.1.2. Imperatives:

This type is generally used to mark tacts or mands i.e. requests or orders. It is used when the speaker wants the addressee to carry out a certain action and either requests him or order him to undertake the same.

- (6) kale av
 tomorrow come
 Come tomorrow.
- (7) kale avje
 tomorrow come+please
 Please come tomorrow.

(6) is a direct order and the intonation adopted by the speaker is an abrupt falling tone of voice. (7) which uses the future imperative, marks a request on the part of the speaker to the addressee. The intonation which is moreover less abrupt, shows this attitude on the part of the speaker.

4.1.3. Exclamatives:

Exclamatives reveal an emotional affect on the part of the speaker vis-à-vis a certain situation. The speaker uses this sentence type to mark his emotional attitude and specific exclamative markers are used for the purpose.

- (8) ja, mār !
 go, die!
 go and be damned!
- (9) vah! vah! śū philām hōti!
 Bravo! Bravo! what film aux.
 Bravo ! (Wow!) What a film!

As shown in 3.4.4., Gujarati has a wide range of exclamation markers varying from a positive and favorable emotive response to a negative or even a pejorative reaction. Thus, whereas (8) marks the anger of the speaker, (9) shows his approbation. Exclamations have a fall-rising intonative pattern.

4.2. Sentence Typologies.

Gujarati sentences admit three major sentence types: Simple, Compound and Complex. The difference resides in the number of verbs used which determines the number of sentence units and also in the nature of the conjunction used.

4.2.1. Simple Sentences

A simple sentence admits only one verbal element, either a copula or a full action verb. In what follows, the basic structure of the simple sentence in terms of its word-ordering will be handled first, followed by an analysis of the internal dependencies within it.

4.2.1.1. Word-Order:

4.2.1.1.1. General Word-Order:

As is the case with all Indo-Aryan languages, Gujarati admits the SOV order in unmarked sentences. Depending on the nature of the verb, the following sub-types can be established:

(i) Subject + Copular-Attribute + Copula.

In this type of structure the subject has as its verbal element the copula, which provides more information about the subject. This information is of three types: the subject admits an adjectival phrase (10.a), an adverbial phrase (10.b) or a noun phrase (10.c).

- (10.a) lina sundār che
 lina pretty copula
 Lina is pretty.
- (10.b) lina bagmā che
 Lina garden+loc. copula
 Lina is in the garden.

- (10.c) lina prophesār che
 lina professor copula
 Lina is a professor.

The possibility of a copular construction without any attributes exists, as in (10.d) hū chū

I am.

in the sense of affirming one's existence. But apart from a philosophical or literary construct, or as an answer to a question of the type "Are you there?" such a structure is rarely used in colloquial Gujarati.

(ii) Subject+Intransitive Verb

The subject admits an intransitive verb, which could in its turn admit an adverbial phrase as in (11.a) or be an absolute construction (11.b) and admit no object whatsoever.

- (11.a) ram ghōrmā gōyo
 ram house+loc. go+past
 Ram went into the house.
- (11.b) bhav utārya che
 prices come down aux.
 prices have come down.

(iii) Subject+ Transitive Verb

This is the most common type of structure. The transitive verb can admit a Direct Object (12. a) or an Indirect object (12. b) or both Direct and Indirect Objects (12 c.). The objects are placed before the verb. In the case of a Direct and Indirect Object, the Indirect Object is placed first and the Direct Object follows.

- (12. a) mitae phāḷ khadhū
 mita+erg. fruit eat+past
 Mita ate the fruit.
- (12. b) mitae māgōnne kōhyū
 mita+erg. magan+dat. tell+past

Mita told (to) Magan.

- (12. c) mitae linane cōṇḍi api
mita+erg. lina+dat. book give+past
S O1 O2 V
Mita gave the book to Lina.

In both the sentences (10) and (11) the subject node is proposed first. In (11) the object node: *Lina* and *book* follows. The verbal node which in fact subsumes the object node closes both sentences (10) and (11).

4.2.1.1.1. Internal Word-Order:

Internal word-order relates to the ordering of elements within the two major nodes of a Gujarati sentence: the Nominal node and the Verbal node.

(i) The Nominal node or the Noun Phrase:

The noun is the nucleus of this node. The noun in Gujarati can stand by itself, can be replaced by the pronoun or be preposed by determiners which are a variety of attributive forms that qualify the noun.

Thus three main types of internal ordering can be specified:

- The nuclear Noun standing alone.
- The Noun replaced by a nuclear pronoun.
- The Noun preceded by determiners with their own ordering.

a) The Noun standing alone:

In (13. a) and (13. b) the nouns /ram/ or /chokro/ stand alone.

- (13. a) ram gāyo: Ram went.
(13. b) chokro gāyo: the boy went.

The noun can admit case endings as well as clitics and post-positions:

- (13. c) rame kam kidhu
ram+erg. work do+past
Ram did the work.
- (13. d) ghāni pase niṣaḷ che
house+gen. near school aux.
Near the house is the school.

Internal embedding is permitted and the noun can admit another noun to which it is related by a genitive:

- (13 e) ghāna chāt pār
house+gen. roof on
On the roof of the house.

b) The Noun substituted by a Pronominal element:

Pronominalisation is a regular feature in Gujarati and the noun can be replaced by a corresponding pronoun.

Thus (13. a) and (13. b) can be replaced by a single pronoun: /e/
e gāyo: he went ('he' as a substitute for 'Ram' or 'the boy')

The pronoun like the noun can admit case-endings as well as clitics and postpositions. Sentences 13c - e can be pronominalised with the use of the correct pronoun form:

- (13. c) ene kam kidhu:
he+obl. work do+past
He did the work.

- (13. d) eni pase niṣaḷ che
it+gen. near school aux.
The school is near it.

- (13. e) ena chāt pār
it+gen. roof on
On its roof.

- The Noun preceded by determiners.

The noun can be preceded by a series of determiners. These determiner are the whole set of adjectives which determine the noun in a variety of degrees. These determiners which are seven in number, have their own specific ordering within the noun phrase. The order is as under:

- | | | | | | | |
|----------|------------|------------|---------------|-------------|----------|------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| {Posses} | - Deictic- | {Interro} | - Indefinite- | Quantifier- | Ordinal- | Qualitative NOUN |
| {-sive } | | {-gative } | | | | |

These determiner classes which can also double as pronouns have been treated in 3.1.4. above. (14) is an example where all the adjectives can be seen appended to the noun.

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|------|-------|-------|-------|------|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | |
| (14) mara | a | kāya | koi | be | pehla | nāva | mitro ? |
| | | my | these | which | some | two | first |
| | | | | | | new | friends |
| | | | | | | | Which of some of my two new first friends ? |

(14) is an extreme example and in normal usage, three or four adjectives can be appended at the most:

- (14.a) mara kāya be nāva mitro ?
my which two new friend+Pl.
which of my two new friends ?

- (14.b) tari a koi phaltu cōṇḍi nāthi.
your this some useless book is not.
This is not some useless book of yours.

(ii) The Verbal node or the Verb Phrase:

The Verbal node comprises the verb itself (cf. 3.2 et seq.) as well as the nominal, adjectival and adverbial phrases which are dependent on the verb. The Verbal node admits

- the copula which in turn can admit all three classes Adjective Phrases, Noun Phrases and Adverbial Phrases (cf. 4.2.1.1. (i)),
- the intransitive verb construction which admits Adverbial Phrases (cf. 4.2.1.1. (ii)) and
- the transitive verb which allows only for Noun Phrases. (cf. 4.2.1.1. (iii)).

All three dependencies precede the verb.

The Noun Phrase has already been analysed above. The structure of Adjective and the Adverbial phrases is as under:

(a) *The Adjective Phrase*

This syntactic unit can comprise an adjective of quality which can be optionally preceded by an intensifier. The adjective phrase precedes the copula.

(Intensifier)+ Adjective+ {Copula}

(15. a) mägän catur che
magan adj. clever aux.
Magan is clever.

(15.b) mägän äti catur che
magan very adj.clever aux.
Magan is very intelligent

The Adjectival phrase also admits comparative and superlative degrees (cf. 3.1.2.2) with the possibility of embedding an intensifier in both degrees:

(15.c) mägän chägänthi budhivan che.
Magan chagan+than intelligent aux.
Magan is more intelligent than Chagan.

(15.d) mägän chägänthi ädhik budhivan che.
Magan chagan+than very intelligent aux.
Magan is much more intelligent than Chagan.

(15.e) mägän säuthi ädhik budhivan che.
Magan all+than very intelligent aux.
Magan is the most intelligent. (with stress on his intelligence)

b) *Adverb Phrase*

The adverb phrase in Gujarati can comprise an adverb of manner, time, place etc. (cf. 3.4.1) which in turn can be optionally modified by an intensifier. It can be appended either to a copula or to a main verb which is intransitive:

(Intensifier)+ Adverb+ {Copula. }
{Main verb. }

(16.a) marü ghär pachäl che.
my house behind aux.
My house is behind.

(16.b) täma'ro chokro gærjtmä ghäno pachäl pädyo che.
your son maths+in very behind fallen aux.
Your son has fallen much behind in mathematics.

More than one Adverb can be embedded within the phrase in which case Gujarati follows a rigid order:

Time - Manner - Place - Aux/Main verb.

(16.c) mägän gäi-kale eklo upär hato
Magan yesterday alone upstairs was
Magan was alone upstairs yesterday.

(16.d) popät sävare näkamo heṭhāl utäryo
parrot morning in vain down descended
The parrot descended in vain in the morning.

Other adverbial modifiers such as Quantity, Quality, Size do not have rigid rules and can be placed freely. Normally when they are grouped with Adverbs of Manner, Place or Time, they are placed before these adverbs:

4.2.1.2. *Subject-Predicate Concord*

4.2.1.2.1. *The Subject*

The subject in Gujarati is normally in the direct case.

(17)chokro avyo
boy come+past
the boy came.

However if the verb is transitive and in the past tense, the subject is in the oblique case and takes the ending /e/.

(17.a) chokro phäl khay che
boy fruit eat+prest. aux.
The boy is eating the fruit.

(17.b) chokrae phäl khadhü
boy fruit eat+past
The boy ate the fruit.

4.2.1.2.1. *The Predicate*

Subject and Predicate are in a relation of concord which is subject to the nature of the verb as well as the tense that the verb has adopted. The node with which the verb concurs can either be the subject or object. This is termed as the dominant node.

(i) *Generic Rules of Concord*

In subjective constructions (i.e. when the subject is in the direct case) the predicate agrees in gender, number and person with the subject.

(18.a) hü läkhü chü
I write+prest.+1st+Sg. aux+ prest.+1st+Sg.
I am writing.

(18.b) chokri läkhti hāti
girl write+past+3rd+Fem.+Sg. aux+past+3rd+Fem.+Sg.
The girl was writing.

However when the predicate is a transitive verb and is in the past tense, the subject takes the oblique case and the predicate agrees in number and gender with the direct object. This is known as an objective construction.

(18.c) chokrie laḍu khadho
girl+obl. sweet+neut. eat+past+neut.
The girl ate the sweet.

(18.d) mägəne cəpḍi vāci hāti
Magan+obl. book+ Fem.+Sg. read+past+ Fem.+Sg. aux+past+ Fem. +Sg.

(ii) *Specific Rules of Concord*

- When the dominant node is a collective noun, the verb is in the Singular or Plural number, according to the sense of the noun:

(18.e) pəisa meḷəvya
money+coll. got+Sg.

- When the dominant node is in the masculine or feminine Singular number and is a respect noun, the verb is in the Plural:

(18.f) mehetaji avya: The master came
teacher+resp. come+past.

(18.g) mataji avya: Mother came.
mother+resp. come+past.

- When the dominant node is followed by a noun with the clitics: səhit, suddhā, sathe, thi, the verb is in concord with the dominant node and not the noun that follows:

(18.h) māntri prəja səhit avyo
minister subjects with come+past
The minister accompanied by his subjects came.

- When the dominant node comprises two or more nouns of the same gender, the verb is in the Plural of the same gender:

(18.i) gita, sita ne mita avi
Gita+Fem., Sita+ Fem. and Mita+ Fem. come+past+ Fem.
Gita, Sita and Mita came.

- When the dominant node comprises nouns of different genders, the verb is normally in the neuter Plural:

(18.j) kagəḷ, kələm əne khəḍiyo tyā mukyā che
paper+Masc., pen+Fem. and ink-pot+Neut. there keep+past+n.Pl. aux.
Paper, pen and inkpot are kept there.

- When the dominant node comprises two nouns or pronouns joined by a disjunctive conjunction (cf. 3.4.2.1.3 and 4.2.2.2.), the predicate concords with the last noun in number and gender.

(18.k) chokro ke chokri saccū boli
boy+ Masc. or girl+ Fem. truth said+ Fem.
The boy or girl spoke the truth.

(18.l) chokri ke chokro saccū bolyo
girl+ Fem. or boy+ Masc. truth said+ Fem.
The boy or girl spoke the truth.

However when they are followed by an indefinite pronoun such as /koi/ which is in apposition to them, then the predicate is in the Plural.

(18.m) vidyarthi ke mehetaji koi avyū nāthi
students or teacher none come+Pl. aux.+neg.
Teacher or students, none have come.

- When the dominant node comprises two or more nouns joined by a disjunctive conjunction and the sentence is in the interrogative; the last noun preceded by the disjunctive conjunction is placed after the verb.

(18.n) tene pen lidhi ke pensil ?
he+acc. pen take+past or pencil.
Did he take a pen or a pencil ?

4.2.2. Compound Sentences

A compound sentence comprises two or more sentences (clauses) which have the same hierarchy at the sentential level and are joined by means of a conjunction. The process is often termed as coordination. Coordination or clause compounding can be of various kinds depending on the nature of the coordinating conjunction (cf. 3.4.1.1. et seq.).

4.2.2.1. *Conjunctives: əne, ne and tətha*

/əne/, /ne/ and /tətha/ are intra-phrasal connectives and are used to lexical items within a simple sentence. /tətha/ is a formal variant of the former two.

(19.a) ma'ro mamō ne ta'ra pita
my uncle and your father.

(19.b) ma'ro mamō tətha ta'ra pitaji
my uncle and your father (respect).

/əne/ alone can be used as a connective at the sentential level:

(19.c) hū ghəre aviš əne təne phon kəriš
I home come+fut. and you phone do fut.
I'll reach home and phone you.

/ityadi/ or /vigere/ are equivalents of 'etc'.

lobh, mātṣar, moh ityadi
greed, pride, passion etc.

4.2.2.2. Disjunctive: ke, āthwa, āthwato.

ke and āthwa can join function both at the phrasal and sentential levels. /āthwato/ can be used only to join sentences.

/āthwa/ marks an exclusive disjunction; whereas /ke/ is inclusive in nature:

(20.a.) ram āthwa māgān avśe
ram or magan come+fut.
Either Ram or Magan will come (but not both).

(20 b.) prāvin ke sita avśe
pravin or sita come+fut.
Pravin or Sita will come (both can come).

(20.c) māgān avśe ke eno bhāi avśe ?
Magan come+fut. or his brother come+fut.
Magan or his brother will come (both can come).

For quite a few Gujarati speakers, /āthwato/ is a strong disjunctive and it seems to them that a strong stress is laid on the choice offered.

(20.d) bādḥū kam aje kār, āthwato be dīwasmā kār.
all work today do, or two days+loc. do.
Do all the work today or do it in two days.

The use of /ke/ would have weakened the choice offered to the addressee.

When sentential connectives share the same verb as in (20.c) and (20.d), the second verb can be optionally deleted:

(20 e.) māgen ke eno bhāi avśe ?
magan or his brother come+fut.
Magan or his brother will come.

(20.f) bādḥū kam aje, āthwato be dīwasmā kār.
all work today, or else two days+loc. do+imp.
Do all the work today or in two days.
However if the verbs are different, they cannot be deleted

(20.g) tu lākhśe ke vācśe ?
you write+fut. or read+fut.
Will you write or read ?

4.2.2.3. Adversative: pāṇ, pāraṇtu, kintu, chātā, chātā pāṇ, tethi pāṇ

All can function at the sentential level with the difference that /chātā/ and /kintu/ are formal markers whereas the first two are more used at the colloquial level. /pāṇ/ is the most common

adversative. chātā pāṇ, tethi pāṇ are used as stronger adversatives and have the meaning of 'never the less', 'notwithstanding' or 'none the less'.

(21.a) aje muśkil che, pāṇ kale jārur aviś
today difficult aux., but tomorrow sure come+fut.
Today is difficult, but I'll come surely tomorrow.

(21.b) mē ene cetāvyo hāto, chātā pāṇ e gāyo
I him warn+past aux., nonetheless he go+past
I had warned him, nonetheless he went.

4.2.2.4. Negative: nā---nā: neither ---nor.

The negative conjunction is used to negate either two lexical units at the phrasal level or two statements at the sentential level.

(22.a) nā tu nā hū.
neither you nor I.

(22.b) e nā khay, nā khawa de
he neither eat, nor eat+inf.part. give
He neither eats, nor will he let eat (a dog-in-the-manger).

4.2.2.5. Iteration: ne vāḷI, ne uprant 'once more, also'

Whereas vāḷI alone functions at the phrasal level (cf. 3.4.2.1.4), ne vāḷI is an iterative conjunction used to join sentences. ne vāḷI and ne uprant can be used in free variation.

(23) e avyo, ne vāḷI ma'ra maṭe bheṭ lavyo.
he come+past, also my for gift bring+past
He came and in addition brought me a gift.

4.2.3. Complex Sentences

Within a complex sentence, there exists a distinct hierarchy. Two or more propositions can co-exist of which one is at a higher level and the other(s) depend(s) on it. There exists therefore the subordination of one sentence to another, unlike a compound sentence where both occupy the same hierarchical level. This subordination is generally expressed by means of conjunctions which clearly indicate the sentential level.

(24) ene khatri che ke ṭren avśe
he surety aux. that train come will.
He is sure that the train will come.

In (24) the conjunction /ke/ subordinates the action of coming of the train to the action of being sure about the fact.

Subordination in Gujarati is of three main kinds depending on its nature. The subordinate clause can complete the main clause or add supplementary information by means of a relative pronoun. Finally it can modify the main clause by means of an adverbial or even a participial construct.

4.2.3.1. Completive Clauses:

These are so termed because the subordinate clause complements the main clause by way of adding extra information to the meaning that the verb of the main clause conveys. Normally the verb in the main clause is either a sensorial or cognitive verb such as *feel, hear, think, see* etc. or it is a verb that enunciates such as *say, express the opinion* etc. The two clauses are normally linked by the complementiser 'ke': *that*.

(25 a.) mone lagyū ke e avše.
I+obl. feel+past that he come+fut.
I felt that he would come.

(25 b.) linae jōyū ke mægānni tōbiyāt sari na hāti.
lina+obl. see+past that magan+gen. health good not aux.
Lina saw that Magan was in ill-health.

(25.c) chāgān e kāhyū ke hū avīś.
Chagan+obl. say+past that I come+fut.
Chagan said that he would come.

Completive clauses can also be expressed by means of the anaphoric complementisers: *am* or *am*. In that case the subordinate clause precedes:

(25.d) e avše am mone na lagyū.
he come+fut. this I+obl. not feel+past
I did not feel that he would come.

Restructuring the completive in this manner is a pragmatic strategy since the speaker wants to stress the content of the completive clause and hence places it first, follows it up with the anaphoric complementiser and puts the main clause at the end.

4.2.3.2. Relators

In this case the subordinate clause is connected to the main clause by means of a relator or a relative conjunction, which in Gujarati is always: 'je'. The relator can 'relate' either to the subject or to the complement. 'je' is invariable whether it relates to an animate or inanimate antecedent. When in the oblique case, it can be followed by the different case markers. The normal pattern is as under:

Relator+antecedent+subordinate clause+te+ V.P. of main clause.

(26.a) je pustāk e'ne lidhi, te moghi che.
which book he+obl. take+past, it expensive aux.
The book which he took is expensive.

(26.b) je chokrani mā tyā rāhe che, tene hū mālyo
which boy+gen. mother there live aux., he+obl. I meet past.
I met the boy, whose mother lives there.

In (26.a) the relative clause refers to the subject of the main clause. In (26.b), the antecedent is a complement.

However when the antecedent is preceded by a determiner, two possibilities are present: Either the user can opt for the normal pattern as in (26. c-d) or he can choose a more literary structure as in (26. e-f). The latter seems to be under the influence of the English relative clause pattern and is not observed among non-English Gujarati speakers:

(26.c) a je pustāk, ene lidhi, te moghi che.
This which book, he+obl. take+past, it expensive aux.
This book which he took is expensive.

(26.d)) hū a je chokrane mālyo, teni mā tyā rāhe che.
I this which boy+obl. meet+past, he+gen. mother there live aux.
I met this boy, whose mother lives there.

(26.e) a pustāk, je ene lidhi, te moghi che.
This book which he+obl. take+past, it expensive aux.
This book which he took is expensive.

(26.f) hū a chokrane mālyo, jeni mā tyā rāhe che.
I this boy+obl meet+past, who+gen. mother there live aux.
I met this boy, whose mother lives there.

4.2.3.3. : Modifiers:

Modifiers can be either derived adverbs or in certain cases, participial constructions. In the case of derived adverbs, the correlative adverb is often added to the main clause, in which the modifying adverb itself is deleted, since the correlative form indicates the modifier in question.

Modifiers can be of various kinds: Locatives, Temporals, Conditionals, Modals, Purposives and Causals.

4.2.3.3.1 Locatives

Locative clauses in Gujarati are constructed with the help of variable adverbs (cf. 3.4.1.1.). The most common locative clauses are constructed with the marker *jyā* : 'where'. *jyātyā* and *jyāpāṇ* 'where ever' 'where so ever' have a greater illocutionary force, because of the addition either of the correlative adverb 'tyā' or the adversative conjunction 'pāṇ'.

(27. a) hū ek gammā rāhū chū, jyā gujārati bolay che
I one city+loc. stay aux., where Gujarati speak+pass. aux.
I live in a city where Gujarati is spoken.

(27. b) jyāpāṇ ene kam māḷše, e jōše.
wherever he work get+fut., he go+fut.
He will go where ever he gets work.

Locative clauses are often constructed with the locative correlator: /tyā/ (lit. there). /tyā/ is inserted in the main clause either before or after the subject. When the correlator is used, the subordinate clause with the locative adverb is normally in the first position and the main clause is in the second position.

(27.c) jyā hū rāhū chū, tyā gujārati bolay che
where I stay aux., there Gujarati speak+pass. aux.
Gujarati is spoken where I stay.

Since /tyā/ acts as an anaphora for the whole subordinate construction, the main clause in which it is inserted is placed after the subordinate clause.
Embedding of more than one locative clause by means of a connector like /ne/, /əne/ is also possible.

(27.d) jyā hū rāhū chū əne jyā hū kam kārū chū, amā be kilomiṭerno əntər che
where I live aux. and where I work do aux., there+loc. 2 kms difference be+prest.
There is a distance of two kilometers between where I live and where I work.

The postpositioning of the clitic /thi/ adds the notion of 'where from'.

(27.e) jyāthi e ave che, te jəgya ujad che.
where+loc. he come aux., that place deserted be+prest.
The place where he comes from is deserted.

4.2.3.3.2. Temporals

Temporals provide more complex patterns than locatives. Like locatives, the main building blocks of temporal clauses are the variable adverbs of time: jya're, jya'repən, jyāsudhā.
Depending on the nature of the visualisation of the events within the time continuum, three main classes of temporal clauses can be established:

- two events simply follow one another in time

(28.a) jya're hū avyo, tya're e pən avyo
when I come+past, at that time he also come+past.
When I came; he also came.

- concomitance or immediate succession in time where the two events follow one another in rapid succession:

Gujarati uses a wide range of strategies in such an eventuality:

(i) The use of the participle followed by ke

(28.b.i) kam thəyū ke hū təne phon kəriś
work do+part. that I you phone do+will
As soon as the work is done, I'll phone you.

(ii) The use of the derived adverb: je'vū

(28.b.ii) je'vū kam thəše, hū təne phon kəriś
as work do+fut. I you phone do+will
As soon as the work is done, I'll phone you.

(iii) The use of the conjunction: ne, əne

(28.b.iii) kam thəše ne hū təne phon kəriś
work do+fut I and I you phone do+will
As soon as the work is done, I'll phone you.

- One event is anterior to the other in the past:

Anteriority of one event to the other is displayed by placing the anterior or posterior event in the participial form, followed by the adverbial markers: pehelā 'first' or pəchi 'next' which place the two sentences in a relation of anteriority and posteriority.

(28.c) jəmya pehelā tyā na jəje
eat+PastPart. first there not go+imp.
Do not go there before eating.

The same sentence could be reworded using pəchi :

(28.c.1) jəmya pəchi tyā jəje
eat+PastPart. next there go+imp.
Go there after eating.

Conditional anteriority i.e. the completion of a posterior action depends on the satisfaction of an anterior condition is shown by the use of the adverbial marker jyāsudhi (jyāve'r in some dialectical forms around Ahmedabad, notably among Parsi speakers). Like all derivatives of 'j*' (cf. 3.4.1.1.), the marker can be accompanied by its complement tyāsudhi:

(28.d) jyāsudhi hū nə avū, (tyāsudhi) bəhar na jəjo.
till I not come, (then) you out not go+imp.
Do not go out, till I come.

4.2.3.3.3. Conditionals

Temporal conditionality has been treated in (28.d) above. Non temporal conditionality is shown by means of the conditional verb form (cf. 3.2.1.4. above where it has been treated in depth). Conditionality is doubly marked: by use of the conditional mood as well as the adverbial marker 'to' i.e. 'then'.

(29) tu a kam kərət, to a nə that.
you this work do+cond., then this not happen+cond.
If you had done this work, this would not have happened.

4.2.3.3.4. Manner

The subordinate clause can refer to the manner in which the action in the main clause is accomplished or is to be accomplished. This is accomplished by means of the marker 'jem' followed by its complement 'tem'. 'jem' is placed in the main clause, whereas 'tem' is preposed to the subordinate clause:

(30 a.) hū jem kəhū, tem kər.
I as say+prest., so do+imp.
Do as I say.

jem can also be preposed to the main clause, without any change in meaning.

(30 b.) jem hū kəhū, tem kər.
as I say+prest., so do+imp.
Do as I say.

4.2.3.3.5. Purposives and Causals

These two types have been bunched together since semantically they are closely linked together. Whereas purposive clauses show the intention of the agent, the causal clauses lay more stress on the result of the intention being the cause of a given effect. This is clearly reflected in the overt syntax of the two types of clauses.

- Causals most commonly use the participle form ending in –a followed by the particle –thi (which in fact acts as an Instrumental marker).

(31 a.) *ṭivi jowathi, ma'ri ākh khārab thāi che.*
 T.V. watch+participle+particle, my eye bad become+past aux.
 My eyes have gone bad, through watching too much T.V.

(31 b.) *ma'ri tābiyāt khārab hovathi hū ghāre rāhyo*
 my+gen. health bad be+ participle+particle I home+loc. stay+past.
 I stayed home on account of bad health.

The use of the structure 'te maṭe', which literally means 'for that (reason)', is also sometimes used:

Thus (31. b) could be paraphrased as:

ma'ri tābiyāt khārab hāti, te maṭe hū ghāre rāhyo
 my+gen. health bad be+past, for that I home+loc. stay+past
 I stayed home on account of bad health.

- Purposives on the other hand use the infinitive participle of the verb.

(31.c) *a kam kārva, hū ophise gāyo*
 this work do+inf.part. I office+loc. go+past
 I went to office to do this work.

The addition of 'maṭe' to the infinitive participle, lays stress on the purpose clause which maṭe modifies. Thus (31.c) could be restructured as:

a kam kārva maṭe, hū ophise gāyo
 this work do+inf.part. for that I office+loc. go+past
 I went to office to do this work.

4.3 Particles

Particles are clitic elements which are affixed to the Noun, Adverb or Verb to modify the sense of the affixed element or that of the sentence as a whole. Gujarati has a wide gamut of particles of which the most common are classified below:

4.3.1 Stress particles

Apart from stress and intonation (see 1.5.), Gujarati uses particles to mark emphasis. Three particles are most commonly used: *yā, pāṇ, jā*. The first two are inclusive particles whereas the last is an exclusive particle:

(32 a.) *mita yā/pāṇ kale avśe*
 mita even tomorrow come+fut.
 Even Mita will come. (as well as those who are coming)

jā is exclusive in nature.

(32 b.) *mitaj(ā) kale avśe*
 Mita only tomorrow come+fut.

Mita alone will come tomorrow. (Only Mita, no one else)

As in English, the positioning of the emphasis marker stresses the element it is apposed to:

(32 c.) *mita kalej(ā) avśe*
 Mita tomorrow only come+fut.
 Mita will come only tomorrow.

4.3.2 Respect particles: *ji*

In this case the particle is used to mark the respect. The article can be added on to both verbs as well as nouns, to mark respect on the part of the speaker:

gurujī: respected teacher.
māntrijī: respected minister.

When used with the verb, */ji/* marks a formal style. Moreover to mark respect, the speaker uses the future or future imperative is used instead of the imperative.

(32 d.) *mata āne pitane leṭā avśoji*
 mother and father bringing will come+respect.
 Please come along with mother and father. (speaker treats addressee with respect)

4.3.3 Approximative Particles: -ek, -k, -ad

These forms are used to mark approximation.

-ek is almost invariably adjuncted to ordinals to show an approximate quantity:
pācek: about 5. *dāsek*: around 10.

-k which morphologically seems to be the form used before vowels is used with adjectives and pronouns of quantity such as:

keṭla, ṭhoḍa and their variants.

The particle makes the quantity indefinite in nature.

(32 e.) *mitae keṭlik cuko kaḍhi*: Mita detected quite a few errors.

(32 f.) *māne thoḍak pāisa ap*: give me some money (approximate quantity).

(32 g.) *keṭlak loko awya hāta*: quite a few people had come.

-ad is used only in the expression */ekad/*: 'about one' and is generally employed to mark an indefinite quantity or period of time.

(32 h.) *hū tyā ekad vārās hāto*: I was there around a year.

(32 i.) *ekad hājar calśe*: an odd thousand will do.

4.3.4 Question Tags:

These are added on to an affirmative sentence to make it interrogative. Gujarati has a large number of tags which can modify a sentence in this manner: *ne, khārū, ke, kem, emke* to. Each of these tags has a complex pragmatic value.

4.3.4.1 Simple question tags: *ne, khāro / khārū*.

These are simple question tags. */ne/* is apposed to the verb form directly.

tu avśene ? You'll come, won't you ?

/khārū/ which is variable with */khāro/* is separated from the main sentence which is in the affirmative by a slight pause.

(32 j.) e avše, khəro ? He'll come, won't he ?

4.3.4.2 Putative tag: ke

/ke/ adds the notion of a putative request. The speaker by adding /ke/ at the end of the sentence either asks permission or politely requests the addressee :

(32 k.) hū a khaū ke ?

I this eat putative-tag.
May I eat it ?

(32 l.) tu a kərše ke ?

you this will do putative-tag?
Will you be able to do this ?

(A polite request in the shape of a question about the ability of the speaker)

4.3.4.3 Irony tag: kem

This tag which literally means 'how' introduces the notion of irony. The speaker is implied to express surprise because the referent or the addressee had made a fuss about performing that action and has finally got round to do it. Tagging a sentence with it, implies 'so at last' i.e. finally the person referred to has consented to perform the activity implied in the sentence.

(32 m.) tu ave che, kem ?

you come+prest. are irony tag.
So finally you are coming.
(The addressee made a fuss about coming)

Quite often, it is preceded by khərū, as if the speaker is still not sure of the intentions of the addressee.

(32 n.) to tu a śak khawano khəro, kem?

so you this vegetable eat+fut.part. quest.tag irony tag
So finally, you are going to eat this vegetable?
(The addressee has made a fuss about eating.)

4.3.4.4 Dubitative tags:

emke introduces the idea of doubt.

(32 o.) tu kale jəvano, emke ?

you tomorrow go, is that so.
So, you are going tomorrow ?
(Lit. Is it true that you are going tomorrow ?)

4.3.4.5. Sentence Initial Tag: /to/ is used to mark the sentence initial tag and has the value of the 'so' tag in English.

(32 o.) to tu jay che

so you going are ?
So, you are going.

/to/ can also be prefaced by /ty'are/: 'then' and has the same value as the tag 'so then' in English.

(32 o.) tyare to e ave che.

then so he come+prest. is
So then, he is coming.

/to/ can also be used at the end of the sentence, in which case it is normally used with verbs such as bətaw, dekhad : show'; which introduce the idea of 'Let's see you do it'.

(32 o.) a śəbd ləkhi dekhad to.

this word write show so
Let's see you write this word.

(32 o.) a pətr ləkhi bətaw to.

this letter write show so.
Let's see you write this letter.

Chapter 5
Sample Texts

Text I

	hathi elephant	ni gen.	məgruri pride						
ek vəkhat one time	ek hathi one elephant	həto was	əne and	ek nəhanū one small	məcchər mosquito				
hətū. hathi was. elephant	ne pota na acc. self gen.	bəl strenght	višəy about	bə'uj məgruri great pride	həti had				
məcchər mosquito	ne jə acc. see	ine, conn. part.	hathi elephant	e kəhyū tu erg. said you	aʔlo so				
nəhəlo small	che ke are that	hū tə I you	ne ma'ra acc. my	pəg heʔhəl foot below	ek one				
pəl mā moment in	kəcri crush	nakhū. can	məcchər mosquito	e jəwab apyo: hū erg. answer gave I	bhəle good				
nəhəlo small	hoū pəŋ be but	mara mā my loc.	kəi kəmi any less	nəthi. tu not be you me	mə'ne kəchr crush				
ine conn. part.	to dekhəʔ emph. show.	a this	səbhl iŋe hear conn. part.	hathi elephant	e erg.				
pəg ucəkəyo leg lifted	pəŋ but	məcchər mosquito	turənt immediate	udji flew	gəyū. e went. it	jə go			
ine conn. part.	hathi elephant	nā kan gen. ear	mā pəthū loc. got in	əne əndər and inside					
gəŋgəŋva humming	lagyū. beginning.	hathi elephant	to gəŋʔo emph. mad	thəi became	gəyo went				
əne məcchər and mosquito	ne gen.	bəhar kadh out take	vana inf. part.	ghəna prəytnə many attempts	kərya. did.				
pən məcchər but mosquito	to emph.	bəhar nikle out come	na. ene not. him	hathi ne elephant acc.	puchyū asked				
kəm bhai, how brother	šū what	kəho cho. say are.	bəlvan brave	kəŋ? chevəʔe who? end in	hathi elephant				
e har māgi dat defeat asked	əne and	kəhyū: said:	məcchər mosquito	bhai, mənə maph brother me forgive	kəro do				
əne and	bəhar niklo, out come, I	mara from	thi vednā pain bear	kəmati is not.					
moʔa thi big from	bihvū to fear	nəhī not							
əne and	nəhəla small	thi from	ləʔvū to fight	nəhī not.					

THE PROUD ELEPHANT

Once there was an elephant and a small mosquito. The elephant was very proud of his strength. Seeing the mosquito, the elephant said: "You are so tiny, I can crush you under my foot". The mosquito replied: "I may be small but I am just as good. Try and crush

me". At these words, the elephant raised his foot, but the mosquito immediately flew off and sat in the elephant's ear and started humming. The elephant went mad and tried his best to get the mosquito out. But the mosquito would not come out. He asked the elephant: "Well, brother, what do you have to say? Who is stronger?" In the end, the elephant accepted defeat and said: "Friend mosquito, forgive me and please come out. I cannot bear the pain."

Fear not the big.

And do not fight with the small.

Text II

Proverbs and Idiomatic Expressions

ətilobh e pap nū muʔ.
avarice it sin of root.
Avarice is the root of all evil.

ədhuro ghəʔo chəlkay.
empty vessel making noise.
Empty vessels make most sound

ag lage tyare kuvo khodvo.
fire start+past then well dig+imp.
Dig a well when the fire starts.
(Shut the stable door when the steed is stolen)

ulto chor kotwal ne dəŋʔe.
to the contrary thief policeman dat. punish+prest.
The thief punishes the policeman.
(Roguary supplants justice)

ujda gam mā erəŋʔo prədhan.
desert country in castor-oil plant king.
In a desert area the castor-oil plant is king.
(In the country of the blind, one-eyed is King)

gəddha kya jaŋe jafran ki bat?
donkey what know+prest. saffron of talk?
What does the donkey know of saffron?
(Casting pearls before swine)

cəʔhe te pəðhe.
go up+prest. so fall+prest.
What goes up must come down.

nəhī bolya mā nəvguŋ.
no speak+part. in nine qualities.
Not speaking has nine qualities.
(Silence is golden)

hath e te sath e.
hand in that with in.

What is in the hand belongs to oneself.
(Ownership is nine-tenths part of the law)

koi ma na peṭ mā thi śikh ine nikālyū nōthi.
one mother of stomach in from learn conn.part. emerge not be.
No one has come out erudite from his mother's stomach.
(No one is born learned)

khaḍo khode te pāḍe.
hole digs that falls.
He who digs a hole falls in it.

Text III

chatr prāṭigna
student pledge

bharat maro deś che. bādhā bharātiyā mara bhāi bāhen
India my country is. all Indians my brother sister
che hū mara deś ne caḥū chū. hū mara deś ne caḥū
are. I my country acc. loving am. I my country acc. loving
chū. āne tena sāmruddh āne vaividhyā pūrṇā varāsanō māne gōrvā che
am. and its wide and varied full heritage me pride be.
hū sādāy tene layāk bānva prāytnā kārīś
I always it worthy become attempt do will.
hū mara mata pita, śikṣāko āne vāḍilo prātye adār rakhīś
I my mother father, teachers and elders for respect keep will
āne dārek jāṇ sathē sābhyaṭa thi vārtīś
and every one with respect with behave will.
hū mara deś āne deśbandhāvo prātye vāphadāri rakhvāni
I my country and countrymen for fidelity keep+conn.part.
prāṭigna leū chū. temna kālyāṇ āne sāmruddh mā jā
pledge taking am. Their well-being and prosperity in only
marū sukh sāmāyilū che.
my happiness lying is.

Student's Pledge

India is my country and all Indians are my brothers and sisters. I love my country and I am proud of its rich and varied heritage. I shall always strive to be worthy of it. I shall give respect to my parents, teachers and elders and treat everyone with courtesy. To my country and my people, I pledge my devotion. In their well being and prosperity alone, lies my happiness.

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