



Marathi is an Indo-Aryan language primarily spoken in the Maharashtra state of India by nearly ninety six million people. It is one of the eighteen official languages of India. It shares its northern boundary with Gujarati and Madhya Pradesh Hindi. In the south it borders on two major Dravidian languages - Kannada and Telugu. The Dravidian vicinity has considerably affected Marathi in several ways specially its causative and anaphoric system.

This grammar describes basic information on the phonology, alphasyllabic writing system, morphology, and syntax of the standard Marathi. The introduction notes the historic information on the origin, and the past and present grammatical works. The phonology includes the information on the vocalic, consonantal and suprasegmental system as well as various morphophonological processes. Morphology highlights the significant nominal and verbal features. The chapter on syntax describes in detail the special characteristics such as word order, special features of ergativity, multiple headed correlatives, and distribution of two reflexives, swataah and aapaN which are special to Marathi in IA family. The chapter on text has used free and interlinear translation. The book contains an extensive bibliography including past and present grammars, recent dissertations and scholarly articles in generative linguistic theory.

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Abbreviations and symbols

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
abl	ablative case
abs	absolute case
acc	accusative case
adv	adverb
agt	agent
asp	aspiration
aux	auxiliary
caus	causative
cond	conditional
conj	conjunctive
corel	correlative
cp	conjunctive participle
dat	dative case
dem	demonstrative
emph	emphatic
erg	ergative
fpl	feminine plural
fsg	feminine singular
fut	future
gen	genitive case
germ	gerundive
hon	honorific
imp	imperative
impf	imperfective
inc	inclusive
inf	infinitive
intj	interjective
mpl	masculine plural
msg	masculine singular
neg	negative
neut	neuter/neutral
nom	nominative
obj	object
obl	oblique
opt	optative
pass	passive
pl	plural
poss	possessive
pp	postposition
pres	present tense
pro	pronoun(overt/nonovert)
prp	present participle
psp	pastparticiple
pst	past tense

ptcp	participle
Q	question word
refl	reflexive
rel	relative
sbjn	subjunctive mood
sg	singular
vcd	voiced
vcl	voiceless
voc	vocative
*	unacceptable

INTRODUCTION

Geography

Marathi is one of the major languages of the Indo-Aryan family. It is primarily spoken in the Maharashtra state of India by nearly ninty six million people according to the most recent census. In the north, Marathi lies in the vicinity of two Indo Aryan languages, namely, Gujarati and Madhya Pradesh Hindi. In the south, it is surrounded by Kannada and Telugu, two major Dravidian languages. The Dravidian vicinity has considerably affected Marathi in several ways. (See Southworth 1971.) Marathi proper sub divides into three major dialects, namely, Kokani, Varhadi, and Standard Marathi. There are several subdialects of both Kokani and Varhadi . The dialectal differences are cued to geographical areas. There is some dispute about Kokani being a dialect of Marathi. In any case, at present Standard Marathi, spoken around Pune, Bombay, and the surrounding area is the official language of the Maharashtra state and is grouped as such with other official languages of India.

Origin

Marathi is a direct descendent of Maharashtri, a prakrit language derived from Sanskrit. The earliest reference to spoken Marathi is found in *kuvalāyama*, the 8th century poem written by Udyotansuri. There are various stone inscriptions found at Akshi, Patan, Pandharpur and other places, the earliest dating from 1060 A.D. The most famous amongst these is the one found at the bottom of the statue of Gomteshwar at Sraavan beḷgoḷa in Karnatak. The earliest literary text in Marathi is considered to be *Viveksindhu* of Mukundraja in 1199 C.E. This is followed by other compositions. However, it was Jñāneshwar who raised Marathi to high literary status in his poetic composition *Jñāneshwari* written in 1290. It is a commentary on *Bhagvad Gita*, the famous poetic work which forms a part of the great epic Mahabharat. Another equally famous composition of the same time is *Lilačāritrā*, a prose record of Cakradharswami belonging to Mahanubhav sect.

It is worth noting here that majority of words found in modern Marathi are Sanskrit based. These are divided into two groups, namely *tatsam* and *tadbhav*. *tatsam* words are direct borrowings from Sanskrit, while the *tadbhavs* are mainly derivations. Marathi vocabulary has also been influenced and enriched by borrowings from Kannada, Telugu, Portuguese, Persian, Arabic, and English. The borrowed words as usual are nativized and transformed.

Marathi script

Marathi literary manuscripts were always written in the ancient Sanskrit based Devnagari script. However, it is interesting to note that some Marathi documtns of sixteenth and seventeenth century were written in another script called *moḍi*, also known as Hemaḍi. The *moḍi* script was introduced in the 13th century by Hemaḍpanta, a minister in the court of Yadav kings of Devgiri. It is a cursive script and has a dravidian flavour. It offered the advantage of greater writing speed because the letters could be joined together. However, around eighteenth century or soon thereafter, *moḍi* was replaced by the current so called *baḷbodhi* script. This script is based on

Devnagari, same as the Sanskrit script, with certain modifications. A speciality of Devnagari is it is alphasyllabic, unlike English. It uses certain dieritics for vowels when they are combined with consonants. Each vowel has a characteristic mark. The dieritics distinguish long and short vowels. There is also a special system of signs to denote consonant clusters.

Grammatical tradition: Past and present perspectives

First Marathi grammar of any consequence was written by Dadoba Tarkhadkar in 1836 followed by several revised editions. His grammar, written in Marathi, follows the Sanskrit model specially for the classification of case and agreement. The grammar was far from satisfactory. Damle (1911/65) was the first grammarian to question Dadoba's classification. Damle holds a very high place amongst the Indian grammarians. His book on Marathi grammar, also written in Marathi, is remarkable in several respects. It is a compendium of Marathi data, and includes critique of every predecessor in extensive detail. Damle's grammar has not been surpassed even today. There are several other works on Marathi grammar in the descriptive model as listed in the bibliography. These discuss cons and pros of Marathi grammar. Unfortunately most of them, with a few exceptions, are written in Marathi and are thus inaccessible to non marathi speakers.

Within the current frameworks such as structural linguistics, Relational grammar, and Chomskian generative type, the most prominent ones are *The Phonology and Morphology of Marathi* (Kelkar 1958); *A sketch of Marathi Transformational Grammar* (Apte 1962); *Tense, Aspect and Mood in English and Marathi* (Dhongde 1973); *Marathi Syntax : A Study of Reflexives* (Wali 1989); and *Marathi* (Pandharipande 1997). The last one is written in the Lingua style and provides a detailed description of Marathi phonology, morphology and syntax with an extensive introduction and references. Mention must also be made of Kelkar's most recent contribution *Language in a Semiotic Perspective* (1997). In this book Kelkar has analysed Marathi in extensive details in a semantic framework. It includes information on most aspects of Marathi, such as juncture, accent, and case marking with relevant data. It is the first book of its kind. Several other studies are also available in the form of articles and dissertations on various topics utilizing various theoretical frameworks as listed in the bibliography.

Historical studies

Historical grammatical studies of Marathi are few. The most noteworthy of these are *La Formation de la langue Marathe* (Bloch 1920, translated into English by Chanana 1970), and *A grammar of Old Marathi* (A. Master 1967). A few others, such as Tulpule (1960,1973), Kulkarni (1973), though scholarly, are in Marathi only. Note also must be made of Arjunwadkar (1992) which recounts the History of Marathi grammars.

CHAPTER 1 PHONOLOGY

Traditional Marathi alphabetic chart lists sixteen vowels and thirty-six consonants. The chart is keyed to Sanskrit alphabets and is recited faithfully by children and adults alike. However, note that many of the Sanskrit alphabets are obsolete in Modern Marathi except in certain borrowed Sanskrit words. The chart has no correspondence with the currently prevalent alphabets. Our chapter on phonology refers only to the alphabets used in Modern Marathi. (See Damle 1965/70, Agnihotri 1963, Kelkar 1997, Pandharipande 1997.)

1.1. Vowels

Table 1. Marathi vowels and diphthongs

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e		o
mid low	ai/æ	ə	au/ɔ
low		a	

Vocalic features:

- (i) The qualitative difference between *ə* and *a* is not precise. *ə* can be extra short and silent.
- (ii) Vocalic length is mostly predictable. With the exception of *ə*, the last vowel of a word is long unless the vowels are followed by a combination of consonants such as *nt*, *tr*, *kt*.
- (iii) The length is phonemic in *i*, *u*.
- (iv) *e* and *o* occur in all positions.
- (v) *æ* and *ɔ* are found mostly in borrowings from English.
- (vi) In Standard Marathi use of nasal vowels as independent entities varies from speaker to speaker. They are found in certain adverbs, nouns, and accompany plural nouns in the context of case and postpositions. In short they are phonemic with dialectal variation.

1.2. Consonants

	labial	dental	retro- flex	alveo- lar	alveo- palatal	velar	glottal
Stops							
vcl.unasp	p	t	ʈ			k	
vcl.asp.	ph	th	ʈh			kh	
vcd.unasp	b	d	ɖ			g	
vcd.asp	bh	dh	ɖh			gh	
Affricates							
vcl.unasp				c	č		
vcl.asp.					čh		
vcd.unasp.				j	ǰ		
vcd. asp.				jh	ǰh		
Nasals	m	n	ɳ				
Laterals			l	ɭ			
Trill				r			
Fricatives				s	ʃ/sh		h
Semivowels	v/w				y		

Consonantal features:

(i) s becomes retroflex before a retroflex consonant.

(ii) h is a voiceless aspirate after voiceless stops and voiced aspirate in other positions.

(iii) v vacillates between bilabial and labiodental position. It becomes a voiced lenis labiodental spirant in the initial position.

(iv) the distinction between æ/ya , ɔ/a , u/v , f/ph , jh/ǰh , c/č , j/ǰ , bh/b , dh/d , ɖh/ɖ , ɳ/n is often blurred in the speech of many speakers. (See Kelkar 1997:26).

1.3. Phonotactics

1.3.1. Distribution of vowels

Vowels occur freely both in initial and final positions.

1.3.2. Syllabic sequences

Marathi exhibits following syllabic sequences:

[i-ī]	pī-ī	'used to drink'
[e-ē]	ghe-ē	'used to take'
[e-ū]	ne-ū	'may I take'
[ə-ī]	səmə-ī	'lamp'
[a-ī]	ma-ī	'sister'
[a-ū]	ṭika-ū	'long lasting'
[u-ī]	ju-ī	'jasmin'

Following syllabic vowel sequences are absent in the language.
ie, iu, iū, īe, īu, iū, uo, uō.

1.3.2. Distribution of consonants

All consonants with the exception of η , l are allowed in word initial position. Similarly all consonants with the exception of \check{c} , \check{j} are allowed word finally.

1.3.2.1. Consonant clusters :

Possible word initial consonant clusters :

pr, br, bhr, kr, gr, ghr, dr, tr, tr, sr, sp,

1.4. Syllable structure

A minimal syllable type consists of a single vowel, which forms the nucleus of the syllable. The vowel may be short or long. The canonical syllable type is (C)(C)(C) V (V) (C).

The first consonant of a medial cluster is assigned to the preceding syllable and the remaining elements of the unit to the following syllable.

pək+ši	'bird'
mən+trə	'chant'
mət+ṭhə	'dumb'

1.5. Suprasegmentals

Suprasegmental features such as juncture, accent, prosodic features have been reported to some extent in Navalkar (1894,1925), Damle (1911/65), Agnihotri (1963), and Kulkarni (1973). Note that the accentual system in Marathi is entirely different than in English. According to some grammarians Marathi is said to have a stress accent. According to Kelkar (1958, pp 18) length, pitch and sonority play an important role in determining the loudest Accent or what he calls a tonic syllable in the language. He gives the following rules to determine the tonic syllable:

- (i) If the word ends in *a*, the penult is the tonic.
 - (ii) If the penult ends in *i, u, ə* then in disyllables the final is the tonic, otherwise the antepenult is the tonic.
 - (iii) If the penult ends in *a*, and if the word is not a disyllable, either the antepenult is the tonic or optionally the next rule applies
 - (iv) Otherwise, the penult is the tonic.
 - (v) Alternate syllables before the loudest syllable bear the second loudest accent.
- (For an elaborate and detail account of juncture, accent prosodies and tone prosodies in Marathi see Kelkar 1997, 26, 143, 298, 300, and 303).

1.6. Morphophonology

Traditional grammarians refer to morphophonemic rules that are pertinent to Sanskrit borrowings. Here we will confine to some pertinent rules that are operative in Marathi proper. An extensive and technical account of these within structural linguistic framework is found in Kelkar (1958) as well as in Pandharipande (1997).

1.6.1. Suffixation and vocalic changes

1.6.1.1. Shortening of long vowels

- (i) Long high *ī, ū* and *a* are reduced to *i, u* and *ə* respectively when followed by a suffix.

tī	'she'	ti-la	'to her'
bhī	'fear'	bhi-ṇe	'to fear'
dhūr	'smoke'	dhura-ne	'due to smoke'
rah	'stay'	rəh-al	'you will stay'

- (ii) Suffixes with initial *a*

Suffixes with initial *a* bring about various vocalic changes in the stem as follows:

- (a) Deletion of stem final *a*

kha +al	>	khal	'you will eat'
kha +ayəla	>	khayəla	'in order to eat'

- (b) Glide formation of *i, u, o, e*

dhobi+a+ne	>	dhobyane	'by the washerman'
cori+a	>	corya	'thefts'
dhu+a	>	dhva	'wash'
de+av	>	dyavə	'should give'

- (iii) *ə* deletion

Disyllabic stems with *ə* in the second syllable delete the *ə* when followed by a vocalic suffix.

aṭhəv+ət	>	aṭhvət hotə	'was remembering'
boləv+un	>	bolvun tak	'finish calling'
paṭhəv+a	>	paṭhva	'send'
səmpəv+in	>	səmpvin	'I will finish'

1.6.2. Consonantal changes

1.6.2.1. Alveolar affricates

Alveolar affricates are special to Marathi. They are distinct from palatals. Palatals in Marathi are found in borrowed and nativized words from Sanskrit with one exception. In Marathi all alveolar affricates namely *c, j*, and *jh* are palatalized when followed by *i, ī*, and *y*.

čimṇi	'sparrow'
čid	'become cross'
čyut	'fallen'
ṣire	'cumin seeds'
ṣivən	'life'
ṣya	'which'
ṣhimṣhim	'drizzle'
ṣhij	'loss'
ṣhya	'interjection'

In some dialects alveolar affricates in the beginning of a word are palatalized when followed by *e*.

čeṇḍu	'ball'
ṣethe	'where'
ṣhela	'catch'

Palatalisation of *s*

s becomes palatal when followed by *ī* :

bəs +šil > baššil 'you will sit' .

1.6.2.2. Retroflexion

Retroflexion affects the dental *l, n*, and *s*. *l* assimilates to the preceding retroflex *l*. *n* assimilates to the following *n*, though the rule does not always apply. *s* assimilates to the following retroflex within a word itself as in *goṣṭə* 'story', *šišṭə* 'high browed', *miṣṭannə* 'sweet food'. Some of these are nativized or borrowed from Sanskrit.

- (i) məl +lela > məlləla
soil psp soiled
- ṭal +lə > ṭallə
avoid +pst 'avoided'

- (ii) tan +ne > taṇṇe
stretch+inf 'to stretch'

1.6.2.3. Degemination

Geminates in intervocalic position are degeminated when followed by a suffix:

- (i) gəmmat+i+dar > gəmtidar 'fun/funny'

1.6.2.4. Metathesis

Metathesis is limited to *ho, hu* sequence. The final vowels *o, u* change to *v* when followed by *a*. The sequence *hv* then metathesizes to *vh*.

- (i) ho+a > vha 'be/become'

1.6.2.5. Deaspiration

Deaspiration involves loss of final *h* in voiced stops when followed by *t* related suffixes.

- (i) bagh+to > bagto 'sees'
(ii) kaḍh+to > kadto 'takes out'

1.6.2.6. Nasal assimilation

(i) Nasals assimilate to the following stops:

- | | |
|--------------|------------|
| (i) sankhya | 'numer' |
| (ii) śankh | 'conch' |
| (iii) sangat | 'company' |
| (iv) akraṅt | 'loud cry' |
| (v) amba | 'mango' |
| (vi) ambaṭ | 'sour' |

(ii) Homorganic stops assimilate to the following nasals as exemplified below from Pandharipande 1997.

- | | |
|------------------|--------------|
| (i) bhəgvət +nam | 'bhəgvəṇnam' |
| god's name | |
| (ii) ṣṭ +mas | 'ṣaṅmas' |
| six + month | |

CHAPTER 2 MORPHOLOGY

Traditional grammarians classify morphological structures into four broad groups: isolating, agglutinating, (in)flexional and polysynthetic. An isolating language, such as Vietnamese, is completely devoid of morphology. In contrast an agglutinating language, such as Turkish, consists of polymorphemic words in which each morpheme corresponds to a single lexical meaning or grammatical function. In an inflectional language, like Latin, the words are polymorphemic, as is the case with agglutination, but the lexical meanings and grammatical functions are at times fused together. A polysynthetic language tends to have incorporation processes. Marathi is a mix of both agglutinating and inflectional type. It shows both types of morphemic processes across most lexical categories such as nouns, verbs, and adjectives. This section includes the pertinent morphology of nouns, pronouns, verbs, and adjectives including the numerals and quantifiers.

2.1. Nominal Morphology

2.1.1. Nouns

2.1.1.1. Gender

Marathi nouns divide into three genders, namely, masculine, feminine and neuter. Most animate nouns follow the natural distinction with the exception of a few, such as *kuṭrə* 'dog' *mūl* 'child', which are designated as neuter. The gender distinction within inanimate nouns is arbitrary with several idiolectal variations. For example nouns such as *veḷ*, *māṣā*, *baḡ* 'time, fun, garden' are used in either gender with wide variations amongst the speakers. The gender distinction in borrowed words is also arbitrary as is to be expected.

Inanimate nouns:

Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
pətəṅg 'kite'	viḥir 'well'	keḷ 'banana'
diva 'lamp'	nəḍi 'river'	čitrə 'picture'

Derivation of feminine nouns:

Many feminine and neuter nouns are derived from masculine forms by suffixation with certain phonological changes as noted below.

Feminine suffix *i*, neuter suffix *e*

Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
ghoḍa 'horse'	ghoḍi	ghoḍe
bəkəra 'goat'	bəkəri	bəkəre
porḡa 'child'	porḡi	porḡe
popəṭ 'parrot'	popəṭi	-----

Feminine suffix \bar{n}

Masculine		Feminine
nhavi	'barbar'	nhavīṅ
maḷi	'florist'	maḷiṅ
sutar	'carpenter'	sutarīṅ

Borrowed foreign words

əmir	'rich'	əmirīṅ
vakil	'lawyer'	vakilīṅ

2.1.1.2. Number

Marathi nouns show a distinction between singular and plural number. The latter is formed by inflecting the singular form. The inflection is conditioned by the gender and the stem final vocalic/consonantal distinction.

Masculine nouns:

Most masculine stems do not inflect in plural. The sole exception being stems ending in *a*. These change to *e*.

Singular	Plural	
hatti	hatti	'elephant/elephants'
sadhu	sadhu	'saint/sants'
nem	nem	'goal/goals'
baṅ	baṅ	'arrow/arrows'

raja	raje	'king/kings'
dhonḍa	dhonḍe	'stone/stones'

Feminine nouns:

Feminine stems ending in *a* and *u* stay invariable. Stems ending in *i* and *o* change to *ya* and *a* respectively. Consonant ending stems divide into two groups: those adding *a* and those adding *i* as noted below.

Singular	Plural	
maḷa	maḷa	'garland/garlands'
vaḷu	vaḷu	'sand/sands'

bai	baya	'woman/women'
bayko	bayka	'wife/wives'

nəth	nətha	'nosering/noserings'
bahīṅ	bahīṅī	'sister/sisters'

Neuter nouns:

Most neuter nouns end in consonants. These add *ə/e* to their plural forms. Nouns ending in *u* or *a/e* change their vowels to *ə* and *i* respectively.

Singular	Plural	
khōḍ	khōḍə	'tree root/roots'
mūl	mulə/mule	'child/children'
pillu	pillə	'baby animal/baby animals'
təḷe	təḷi	'lake/lakes'

2.1.1.3. Case

Marathi nouns show a certain inflection when attached with an overt case or a postposition. The inflection is identical in both cases. This inflectional property has given rise to the view that Marathi has no true case suffixes. Some grammarians regard the inflection itself as an oblique case and categorize the case suffixes as postpositions. However there is a difference between the two as first pointed out by Damle (1911/1965). A clitic or a suffix can be placed between a true postposition and the inflected noun as in (1) below. The case markers must be directly attached to the inflection as in (2) below. Secondly only case markers indicate grammatical relations.

Noun+PP

- (1) ghər-a-jəvəl/ghər-a-cya-javəl
house-a-near/ house-a-of-near
'Near the house'

Noun+case

- (2) ghər-a-la/ *ghər-a-cya-la
house-a-dat/ house-a-of-to
'To the house'

Traditional case system

Case	Marker	Plural
	Singular	
Nominative	ø	ø
Accusative	la	na
Instrumental	ne	ni
Dative	la	na
Ablative	(h)un	(h)un
Genitive	ca/ci/ce	ca/ci/ce
Locative	t	t
Vocative	a	no

Note: The genitive/possessive inflects for gender also.

Inflectional pattern:

As mentioned above the nouns are inflected when followed by the case forms or postpositions. The inflected forms are known as oblique. The inflections vary according to gender and stem final vowels and consonants as noted below. (See Pandharipande (1997) for full paradigms of several nouns.)

Masculine nouns:

Singular masculine nouns, except those ending in *u*, add *a* to their stems. The stem final *u* is lengthened or becomes a glide.

- (i) stems ending in *a* and *i* change to *y*
 ghoḍa+a+ne > ghoḍ-ya-ne 'by the horse'
 dhobi+a+ne > dhob-ya-ne 'by the washerman'
- (ii) gəḍu+ne > a) gəḍūne 'by/with the pot'
 b) gəḍwane

Note : Proper nouns, with certain exceptions do not assume the oblique form:

- hari +ne > harine 'by Hari'
 mādhu+la > mādhu-la 'to Madhu'

Feminine nouns

Feminine singular stems ending in *a* change to *e*. Some consonantal endings add *e*. Stems ending in *i, o* do not undergo any augment.

- śāla +la > śāḷ-e-la 'to the school'
 vaṭ +ne > vaṭ-e-ne 'by that way'

- nādi+la > nādi-la 'to the river'
 bayko+la > bayko-la 'to the woman'

Neuter nouns

Most singular neuter nouns end in a consonant. These stems add *a* before the case markers. Some of them undergo a glide formation as is the case with masculine stems.

- mūl+la > mul+a+la 'to the child'
 hārīṅ+la > hārṅ+a+la 'to the deer' (loss of penultimate vowel)
 pātrā +la > pātr+a+la 'to the letter'
- kutrā > kutr+ya+la 'to the dog'

Plural nouns and case marking

All plural oblique forms add an additional *n* to their singular oblique forms and in the process the preceding *a* is nasalized.

- (mpl) ghoḍe 'horses' ghoḍ+yā+n+na 'to the horses'
 (fpl) ṭopya 'caps' ṭop+yā+n+na 'to the caps'
 (npl) kutri 'dogs' kutr+yā+n+na 'to the dogs'

Case marking and grammatical relations

Traditional grammarians of Marathi set up an eight fold case system noted above on the Sanskrit model. This system has been adopted as recently as Pandharipande (1997) and some others. However they encounter several problems with this classification. (See Arjunwadkar 1987.) Currently Marathi has been analysed as a split ergative system. The system is complex. The ergative system is cued only to perfective and subjunctive. In both, the transitive subject is marked with an ergative suffix *ne/ni* and the verb agrees with the unmarked direct object. In the subjunctive the intransitive subject is also ergatively marked. In all other tenses and moods the

subject is marked nominative and the verb agrees with the unmarked subject. The sole exception being the dative subject construction which forms a class by itself. (See Wali 2004a for an extensive analysis of the distribution of case and subject properties in Marathi.)

2.1.2. Pronouns

2.1.2.1. Personal and deictic pronouns

Personal pronouns in Marathi show a three way distinction. First and second person pronouns do not vary for gender. The gender distinction is shown in verb agreement. Third person pronouns are used as deictic forms. These show a proximate and distal variation. They vary along the gender line. All pronouns have distinct plural forms. Second person plural form is also used as a respect form. The use of second person singular indicates familiarity.

2.1.2.2. Case forms of pronouns

First person

Exclusive vs. Inclusive distinction

Marathi makes a distinction between exclusive and inclusive reference in the 1st plural in the nominative only. The form *amhi* is used as an exclusive (i.e., we excluding you) pronoun only. The form *apəṅ* indicates inclusion of the hearer (i.e., we including you).

Case forms

First person

Case	Singular	Plural
Nom	mi	amhi
Acc	məla	amha-la
Inst	majhya-ne	amčya-ne
Dat	mə-la	amha-la
Abl	majhya-kəḍun	amčā-kəḍun
Poss	majha/majhi/majhe	amca/amči/amce/amcə
Loc	mājhya-t	amčya-t

Second person

Note that the second plural *tumhi* is used in both singular and plural to show respect. The formal respect form is *apəṅ*.

Case	Singular	Plural	Respect
Nom	tu	tumhi	apəṅ
Acc	tu-la	tumha-la	aplya-la
Inst	tujhya-ne	tumčya-ne	aplya-ne
Dat	tu-la	tumha-la	aplya-la
Abl	tujhya-kəḍun	tumčā-kəḍun	aplya-kəḍun
Poss	tujha/tujhi/tujhe	tumca/tmči/tmce	apla/apli/aplə
Loc	tujhya-t	tumčya-t	aplya-t

Third person
Singular forms of remote/ dietic

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom	to	ti	te
Acc	tya-la	ti-la	tya-la
Inst	tya-ne	ti-ne	tya-ne
Dat	tya-la	ti-la	tya-la
Abl	tyāca-kəḍun	tiāca-kəḍun	tyāca-kəḍun
Poss	tyacə	ticə	tyacə
Loc	tyāca-t/tya-t	tičya-t	tyāca-t/tya-t

Plural forms of remote/ dietic

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom	te	tya	ti
Acc	tyā-nna	tyā-nna	tyā-nna
Inst	tyā-nni	tyā-nni	tyā-nni
Dat	tyā-nna	tyā-nna	tyā-nna
Abl	tyānča-kəḍun	tyānča-kəḍun	tyānča-kəḍun
Poss	tyāncə	tyāncə	tyāncə
Loc	tyānča-t/tya-t	tyānčya-t	tyānčya-t

(The proximate forms can be derived by substituting *h* for *t* in the above paradigm. Note that the neuter forms are distinguished in the nominative only. They resemble the masculine forms in all other cases.)

2.1.2.3. Reflexive Pronouns

There are two reflexive forms-- *swətaha* and *apəṇ*. Both forms inflect for case and take postpositions. They do not vary for gender or number.

Case forms of *swətaha* and *apəṇ*

Nom	swətaha	apəṇ
Acc	swətaha-la	apəṇa-la/aplyā-la
Inst	-----	-----
Dat	swətaha-la	apəṇa-laa/apəlyā-laa
Poss	swəta-ca/či/ce	apl-a/apl-i/apl-e

Note that instrumental forms of reflexives are never used.

A note on *apəṇ*

The pronoun *apəṇ* occupies a special position in Marathi. It is used as an inclusive first plural, as a respectful second singular and plural, and as a reflexive. These three forms show three distinct syntactic distribution. (See Wali 2000 for details.)

2.1.2.4. Reciprocals

There are three reciprocals, namely, *ekmek*, *pərsəpəṛ*, and *apapsat/apsat*. The last one is used to express mutual reciprocity. It is not inflected for case or a postposition. The second, i.e., *pərsəpəṛ*, is used for animate nouns only. Its use is rather limited. The first, i.e., *ekmek* is used for both animate and inanimate nouns. Both *ekmek* and *pərsəpəṛ* may be inflected for appropriate case or a postposition and show a plural oblique form as shown below.

Dative of *ekmek/pərsəpəṛ*
ekəmek-ā-nna/pərsəpəṛ-ā-nna 'to each other'

ekmek/pərsəpəṛ with a PP
ekəmek-ā-- ši/pərsəpəṛ-ra-ši 'with each other'

2.1.2.5. Interrogative pronouns

The animate interrogative pronoun *koṇ* 'who' and the inanimate *kay* 'what' decline for all cases and may be suffixed with appropriate postpositions. They do not vary for gender or number.

Case forms of *koṇ* 'who' and *kay* 'what'

Nom.	koṇ	kay
Acc	koṇa-la	kəša-la
Inst	koṇi	kəša-ni
Dat	koṇa-la	kəša-la
Abl	koṇa-hun	kəša-pasun
Poss	koṇa-ca/či/cə	kəša-ca/či/cə

The adjectival interrogative pronoun *koṇ-ca/koṇ-tə* 'which one' varies with gender and number and takes oblique form *koṇ-cya/koṇ-tya* when the noun it qualifies is followed by a case or a postposition.

Gender/number variations of *koṇ-ca* 'which one'

Direct form	
koṇ-ca mulga	'which boy'
koṇ-či mulgi	'which girl'
koṇ-cə mul	'which child'

Oblique form
koṇ-čya mula-la/muli-la/mula-laa 'to which boy/girl/child'

2.1.2.6. Relative and correlative pronouns

In Marathi the main clause in the relative is marked by a correlative pronoun. The relative and correlative pronouns agree for gender, number in tandem with their respective heads. The pronouns show oblique forms if the head nouns are present and case marked. The pronouns are case marked in the absence of the head nouns.

Relative, correlative pronouns

Direct	Masculine Rel/Corel	Feminine Rel/Corel	Neuter (n) Rel/Corel
Singular	jo /to	ji /ti	je /te
Plural	je /te	jya /tya	ji /ti
Oblique			
Singular	jya /tya	jya /tya	jya /tya
Plural	jyā /tyā	jyā /tyā	jyā /tyā

2.1.3. Numerals

2.1.3.1. Cardinals

Cardinal numbers do not inflect for gender, number or case of the noun they qualify. The only exception is *ek* 'one' which takes an oblique form *eka* when followed by a case marked noun.

First twenty cardinal numerals :

1	ekə	11	əkra
2	don	12	bara
3	fīn	13	tera
4	čar	14	cəvda
5	pac	15	pəndhra
6	səha	16	soja
7	sat	17	sətra
8	aṭh	18	aṭhra
9	nəu	19	ekoṇis
10	dəha	20	vīs

Numerals above twenty follow a decade system. The decade numerals are as follows:

10	dəha	60	sāṭh
20	vīs	70	səttər
30	fīs	80	ainši
40	čālīs	90	nəvvəd
50	pənnas	100	šəmbhər

2.1.3.2. Ordinal numerals

All ordinal numerals with the exception of first four are derived by adding *va* to their cardinal stem.

pəhila/pəhyla	'first'
dusra	'second'
tisra	'third'
coutha/cəvtha	'fourth'
pacva	'fifth'

For the first time :	pəhylanda/philya veļi
For the second time :	dusryanda/dusrya veļi
For the third time:	tisryanda /tisrya veļi
For thwfourth time :	couthyanda/couthya veļi
For the fifth time :	pacvyanda/pacvya veļi

2.1.3.3. Qunatifiers

Aggregates :

don-hi	'both'
tin-hi	'all three'
čar-hi	'all four'
pac-hi	'all five'

Note that the *h* is often deleted in fast speech.

Positive quantifiers

sərva/sag e	'all'
prətyek	'every/each'
koṇi	'some (animate)'
kālī	'some'
khūp	'a lot/many'
kinčit	'a little'
kinčit jastə	'a little more'
thode	'a little'
jəra	'just a little'
jastə	'more/much'
puškaļ	'many/a lot'

Negative quantifiers

There are no independent negative quantifiers as such. Quantifiers are negated by using a negative particle in the sentence it self. (See 2.2.1.3.)

2.1.4. Adjectives

Adjectives may be simple, participial based or derived from nouns and adverbs. They usually precede the noun they qualify but they may be placed in other positions. The agreement is confined to adjectives ending in *a*. Adjectives inflect for gender, number and show oblique form when nouns are case marked.

Simple adjectives:

kaļa	'black'
pandhra	'white'
gulabi	'pink'
veḍa	'crazy'
ləhan	'small'

Participial based adjectives:

ale-la	'one who has come'
gele-la	'one who has gone'
jaṇa-ra	'one who will go away'
šikṇa-ra	'one who will be educated'

Noun based adjectives:		Adverb based adjectives:	
prem/prem-ə] 'love/lovable'		baher-ca 'outsider'	
dāya/dāya-lu 'pity/kind'		at-la 'insider'	

Agreement

Direct form

kaḷa	mulga	'black boy'
kaḷi	mulgi	'black girl'
kaḷə	mūl	'black child'
kaḷe	lōk	'black people'
kaḷya	bayka	'black women'
kaḷi	mulə	'black children'

Oblique form : kaḷya

kaḷya mula-la 'to the black boy'

kaḷya muli-la 'to the black girl'

2.1.4.1. Participial adjectives

Participle forms are frequently used to form adjectives. Adjectival participles are distinguished for tense, mood and voice. They agree with the noun they modify.

Present/habitual

- (3) miḷəvəti mulgi
earning daughter
'The daughter who is earning.'
- (4) buḍ-ṇara mulga
drown-ptcp boy
'The boy who is drowning.'

Past perfect

- (5) vac-lel pustək
read-ptcp book
'The book that has been read.'

2.1.4.2. Degree Adjectives

(i) Comparatives

Comparison may be phrasal or clausal. Both constructions add the suffix *pekṣa/hun* 'more than' to the standard of comparison.

- (6) lili babu-pekṣa gori ahe.
Lili Babu-than fair is
'Lili is more fair coloured/fairer than Babu.'

Variation

- (7) babu-(cya)-pekṣa lili gori ahe.
Babu-of-than Lili fair is
'Lili is more fair coloured than Babu.'

Clausal comparison

- (8) ghəri ja-ṇya-pekṣa ithə rahilelə bər.
home go-inf-than here staying better
'It is better to stay here than to go/going home.'

(ii) Superlatives

Superlatives use *sərvə* 'all' and its variations + *pekṣa* 'than' or *at* 'amongst'.

- (9) lili səglya muli-pekṣa/muli-t uncə hoti.
Lili all girls-than /girls-in tall was
'Lili was tallest in all the girls/amongst all the girls.'
- (10) lili səglya-pekṣa/səglyat uncə ahe.
Lili all-than /all-in tall is
'Lili is taller than everyone/all.'
'Lili is taller amongst all.'

(iii) Equatives

Equatives employ *itka itki/itkə* (*msg/fsg/nsg*) 'as much' which varies with the gender, number of the equated constituent.

- (11) babu mini-itk-a dhə nahi.
Babu-msg Mini-fsg-as much-3msg stupid not
'Babu is not as stupid as Mini.'

Equative may also be formed by using the correlative pair *jitka, titka* 'as much, that much'.

- (12) babu jitka dhə ahe titki-cə dhə mini ahe.
Babu as-much-3msg stupid is that-much-3fsg stupid Mini is
'Mini is as much stupid as Babu (is).'

2.1.5. Adverbs

Adverbs form a large group in Marathi. They may be classified as simple or compound, forming various categories such as temporal, locational, causal, and manner. They are derived from nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and postpositions. Note that all adverbs starting with j-X have a correlative companion. J-adverbs are never used by themselves. The correlative counterpart may be used independently.

(i) Adverbs of time

Note : Temporal clauses employ following correlative markers:

jēvhā	tēvhā	'when---then'
jya veḷī	tya veḷī	'when---then'
jēvhā pasun	tēvha pasun	'since----then'
jopāryāntə	topāryānt	'untill----then'
jēvhā jēvhā	tēvhā tēvhā	'whenever/everytime'

kēvha ----- 'when'

(ii) Adverbs of place

jithē -tithē	'where-there'
tithē	'there'
ithe	'here'
kuṭhe	'where'
khali	'down'
vār	'up'

(iii) Adverbs of direction

jikḍe-tikḍe	'which direction-that direction'
tikḍe	'that direction'
ikḍe	'this direction'
kuṇikḍe	'which direction'

(iv) Adverbs of manner

jāsə-tāsə	'as---that'
āsə	'this way/this manner'
tāsə	'that manner'
kāsə	'which manner'

(v) Adverbs of causation

karəṇ	'because'
mhəṇuṇ	'therefore'
ka mhəṇuṇ	'why'

(vi) Adverbial postpositions

Adverbial postpositions have a semantic value. They may govern a noun, infinitival phrases, relativized participles or gerunds. The complements are marked by a possessive suffix which may be optionally deleted in most cases. Postpositions can be simple or derived.

Benefactive	kəṛta/sāhi
Source	kəḍun/pasun
Instrumental	ne/kəḍun
Comitative	bərobər/səhə
Cause	ne/muḷe
Purpose	kəṛta

An important facet of Marathi adverbs is some of them show agreement. The agreement is always with the unmarked NP which may be a subject or an object of the verb they modify. (See Navalkar 1894/1925, Hook 1991.)

Intransitive subject agreement :

- (13) ti cangl-i calte.
she well-3fsg walks
'She walks well.'

Transitive object agreement

- (14) ti-ni dāgəḍ cangl-a/nemk-a phek-la.
she-erg stone well-3msg/precise-3msg threw-pst-3msg.
'She threw the stone well/precisely(with precision).'

2.1.6. Nominal categorisers

There is a large category of derived nouns in Marathi. They are derived from nouns, as well as verbs. The derivation from nouns involves suffixation as well as prefixation. These affixes are either Sanskrit or Persian based. Verbal derivation invariably involves suffixation. An extensive study of these derivation is found in Damle (1911/1965). We note here some of the most common processes.

(a) Nouns by suffixation

- | | | | |
|-------------|----------------|------------|------------------|
| (i) mastər | 'male teacher' | mastər-iṇ | 'female teacher' |
| dhobi | 'washerman' | dhobiṇ | 'washer woman' |
| bhəngi | 'sweeper-man' | bhəngiṇ | 'sweeper woman' |
| (ii) deṇe | 'debt' | deṇe-kəri | 'debtor' |
| bhaḍe | 'rent' | bhaḍe-kəri | 'tenant' |
| (iii) dukan | 'shop' | dukan-dar | 'shopkeeper' |
| ṭhaṇe | 'station' | ṭhaṇe-dar | 'station guard' |
| ṭheka | 'contract' | ṭhekedar | 'contractor' |
| (iv) gunha | 'crime' | gunhe-gar | 'criminal' |
| souda | 'business' | souda-gər | 'businessman' |
| (v) kumbhə | 'pot' | kumbh-ar | 'potmaker' |
| sonə | 'gold' | son-ar | 'goldsmith' |
| loh | 'iron' | loh-ar | 'ironsmith' |
| (vi) bhāji | 'vegetables' | bhāji-vala | 'vegi-seller' |
| tanga | 'horse cart' | tange-vala | 'buggy driver' |
| gaḍi | 'car' | gaḍi-vala | 'car driver' |
| jhaḍu | 'broom' | jhaḍu-vali | 'sweeper-maid' |

Feminine oriented/diminutives

(vii) dābba	'box'	dābb-i	'small box'
puḍa	'bundle'	puḍi	'small bundle'
bāṇḍu	'little boy'	bāṇḍi	'little girl'

Abstract nouns

(viii) dāya	'pity'	dāya-lu	'kind person'
krupa	'kindness'	krupa-lu	'kind person'
jhop	'sleep'	jhopa-lu	'sleepy person'

(ix) lāhan	'small'	lāhan-pāṇ	'childhood'
veḍ	'craze'	veḍe-pāṇ	'crazyness'
moṭha	'big'	moṭhe-pāṇ	'large-ness'

Prefixation

(x) bhag	'section'	vibhag	'division/part'
(xi) vivah	'marriage'	punār-vivah	'remarriage'
(xii) stri	'woman'	pār-stri	'some one else's wife'
brāmḥa	'world'	pār-brāmḥa	'other world'

Nominal compounds

Nominal compounds form a large group in the language. We list here some of the most productive compounds (see Pandharipande 1997).

(i) hat-pay	'body'
hand-foot	
tikhəṭ-mith	'spices'
pepper-salt	
(ii) rāj-waḍa	'palace'
king-house	
(iii) paisa-paisa	'each penny'
penny-penny	
tukḍa-tukḍa	'each piece of bread'
bread-piece	
bag-bāgiḥa	'garden'
garden-garden	

(iv) saḍi-bidi	'sari and other things'
sari-etc	

lāhan-sāhan	'not a small thing'
small-like	

oḷakh-paḷakh	'familier etc'
know-like	

2.2. Verbal Morphology

2.2.1. Verbs

2.2.1.1. Classification

(i) Auxiliary Verbs/Copulas

There are two basic auxiliaries or copulas as they are sometimes called: *ahe* 'be' and *hoṇe* 'to become/happen'. The former is mostly used to indicate present tense with supplementary forms for past and future. The latter has a suppletive past form *jha*. There is a third auxiliary *ṣaṇe* 'to be' which represents habitual aspect. It inflects for present and past tense. Some grammarians believe that *ṣ* is the basic copula and *ahe* is derived from it.

(ii) Main Verbs

Verbs may be simple or complex. simple verbs divide into intransitives, transitives, causatives and a special class called dative. Transitives may be basic or derived from intransitives. Causatives are derived from both intransitives, and transitives. The derived causatives form the basis for extended causatives.

(a) Derived transitives/causatives

Vowel change

Intransitive		Transitive/causative	
tūt	'break'	tōḍ	'break'
phuṭ	'break'	phoḍ	'break'
mār	'die'	mar	'kill'
pāḍ	'fall'	paḍ	'make fall'

First causatives may be derived from both intransitives and transitives. They utilize the suffix *əv*.

Intransitive		Transitive/causative	
bās	'sit'	bās-əv	'cause to sit'
uṭh	'rise'	uṭh-əv	'cause to rise'
Transitive		Causative	
kār	'do'	kār-əv	'cause to do'
mar	'kill/beat'	mar-əv	'cause to beat'
toḍ	'break'	toḍ-əv	'cause to break'

- (15) lili-ne mini-kəḍun kam kəṛəv-le.
 Lili-erg Mini-by work do-caus-pst
 'Lili made/caused Mini to do the work.'

Extended causatives

The causatives may be further extended by adding another *əv* to the causative form. It simply implies X cause Y cause to do something.

Causative	Extended causative
kəṛ-əv	kəṛ-əv-əv
marəv	mar-əv-əv
toḍ-əv	toḍ-əv-əv

- (16) lili-ne mini-kəḍun suši-ce-dwara kam kəṛ-əv-əv-le.
 Lili-erg Mini-by Sushi-through work do-caus-caus-pst
 'Lili got Mini to do the work through Sushi.'

Note: The second causative suffix *əv* is often deleted. Secondly, each addition of the causative marker brings about a change in the suffix of the doer. These suffixes are usually hierarchically arranged as in (17). (See Wali 1980, 1981 for implication of this hierarchy in universal grammar.)

- (17) X-nom/erg, Y-kəḍun, Z-dwara.....

(b) Dative verbs

Dative verbs also known as psychological predicates comprise a class by itself. They include verbs that refer to physical states, or psychological notions expressing feelings, likings etc. The subject of these verbs is marked dative and the theme if any is put in the nominative. The verb agrees with the theme. (For details see Pandharipande 1990, Joshi 1993, Wali 2004a.)

Dative verbs	
avḍṇe	'to like'
pahije	'to want'
rag yeṇe	'to get angry'
tap yeṇe	'to get fever'
thəṇḍi vājṇe	'to feel cold'

- (18) lili-la pustək pahije.
 Lili-dat book want
 'Lili wants a book.'
- (19) lili-la babu avəḍət nahi.
 Lili-dat Babu like not
 'Lili does not like Babu.'

(c) Impersonal verbs

Impersonal verbs mostly refer to weather and are without any overt subject.

dhəgalle	'It is cloudy.'
uḷjaḍle	'It has become lighted/it is morning.'
sanjavle	'It has become evening.'
phəṭphəṭle	'It is early morning.'

(d) Complex verbs

Complex verbs, also known as serial verbs, are formed from what is known as a set of explicatives/vectors and a main verb. The function of explicatives is to add a special meaning to the main verb. The explicative is marked for tense and agreement. The primary verb is put in its conjunctive participial form, that is V+un. (See Pandharipande 1992 for details.)

Explicatives and their semantics

yeṇe	'to come'	Action towards the subject
jaṇe	'to go'	Inadvertant action. action away from the subject
bəṣṇe	'to sit'	Inadvertant /inappropriate action
bəḡṇe	'to see'	Try
soḍṇe	'to leave'	Completion of an action, determination
ṭakṇe	'to drop'	To get rid of an action
gheṇe	'to take'	Benefactive to the subject
deṇe	'to give'	Benefactive to others /or suddenness of an action
cukṇe	'to complete'	Completion of an action,undesirable action.
kaḍṇe	'to draw/ to take out'	Advertative,completive

(e) Conjunct verbs

Conjunct verbs are a combination of certain auxiliary verbs such as *əṣṇe*, *kəṛṇe*, *deṇe*, *gheṇe*, 'to be, to do, to give, to take' with nouns, pronouns, adjectives, or adverbs. The set of auxiliary verbs is limited.

Noun verb	
athəvəṇ yeṇe	'to remember'
remembrance come	
kaləji kəṛṇe	'to worry'
worry do	
dhoka deṇe	'to deceive'
deceit give	
Adjective verb	
bərə kəṛṇe	'to cure'
well make	

2.2.1.2. Tense- Aspect- Mood system

2.2.1.2.1. Tense

There are three tenses, namely present, past, and future. They are marked as follows:

Present	-t
Past	-l
Future	vowel+l/n

The tense markers precede the agreement markers for gender, number and person. The agreement is always with an unmarked NP which may be subject or direct object. The agreement takes a neutral form if both subject and direct object are case marked with certain exceptions as noted under past tense in (ii) below.

(i) Present Tense

In the present tense the subject is always marked nominative and verb agrees with the subject. Dative subjects are exceptions since they carry the dative case. In these constructions the verb agrees with the nominative theme.

Present forms of copulas

Copula 1: Stem *ahe* 'be'

Person	Singular		Neuter	Plural		
	Masculine	Feminine		Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
1	ahe	ahe		ahõ	ahõ	
2	ahe-s	ahe-s		ahã-t	ahã-t	
3	ahe	ahe	ahe	ahet	ahet	ahet

Copula 2: Stem *ho* 'to become'

Person	Singular		Neuter	Plural		
	Masculine	Feminine		Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
1	hoto	hote		hoto	hoto	
2	hoto-s	hote-s		hota	hota	
3	hota	hote	hote	hotat	hotat	hotat

Copula 3: Stem *æ* 'be, habitual'

Person	Singular		Neuter	Plural		
	Masculine	Feminine		Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
1	æsto	æste		æsto	æsto	
2	æstos	æstes		æsta	æsta	
3	æsto	æste	æste	æstat	æstat	æstat

Forms of *jane* 'to go'

Person	Singular		Neuter	Plural		
	Masculine	Feminine		Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
1	ja-t-o	ja-t-e		ja-t-o	ja-t-o	
2	ja-t-os	ja-t-es		ja-t-a	ja-t-a	
3	ja-t-o	ja-t-e	ja-t-ə	ja-t-at	ja-t-at	ja-t-at

(ii) Past tense

In the past tense the intransitive verb agrees with the subject, and the transitive verb agrees with the direct object. The transitive verb shows neutral agreement if the direct object is case marked. The transitive subject, with certain exceptions noted below, is ergatively marked and fails to agree with the verb.

Past forms of copulas

Copula 1: Stem *ho* (suppletive of *ahe*)

Person	Singular		Neuter	Plural		
	Masculine	Feminine		Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
1	hoto	hote		hoto	hoto	
2	hota-s	hoti-s		hota	hota	
3	hota	hoti	hote	hote	hotya	hoti

Copula 2: stem *jha* 'became' (suppletive of *ho*)

Person	Singular			Plural		
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
1	jhalo	jhale		jhalo	jhalo	
2	jhala-s	jhali-s		jhalat	jhalat	
3	jhala	jahli	jhale	jhale	jhalyat	jhalit

Copula 3: Stem *æ*

Person	Singular			Plural		
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
1	æse	æse		æsu	æsu	
2	æse	æse		æsa	æsa	
3	æse	æse	æse	æsət	æsət	æsət

Intransitive subject agreement

Agreement for *jane* 'to go'

Past tense stem: *ge*

Person	Singular			Plural		
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
1	ge-l-o	ge-l-e		ge-l-o	ge-l-o	
2	ge-l-as	ge-l-is		ge-l-at	ge-l-at	
3	ge-l-a	ge-l-i	ge-l-ə	ge-l-et	ge-l-yat	ge-l-it

Transitive inanimate direct object agreement

Note that animate direct objects are always case marked and do not show any agreement. The agreement becomes neutral in this context. It is the same form as shown for neuter gender in the following paradigm.

Person	Singular			Plural		
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
3	phek-l-a	phek-l-i	phek-l-a	phek-l-e	phek-l-yat	phek-l-it

Irregular verb stems:

Certain verbs have irregular stems in the past:

Stem	Past stem
sang 'tell'	sang-it
mag 'ask'	mag-it
mhəŋ 'say'	mhəŋ

Exceptional case and agreement

In Marathi first and second person subjects are in the nominative in the past. The second person subject shows agreement with the verb in addition to the direct object agreement. The pronominal subject agreement follows the direct object agreement. Marathi thus shows dual agreement in the case of pronouns.

Person	Singular		
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
2	phek-l-a-s	phek-l-i-s	phek-l-əs
2	Plural		
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
	phek-l-et	phek-l-yat	phek-l-it

Dialectal differences

In some dialects the second person agreement marking is optional. In some others the animate case marked direct object shows agreement as in (20).

- (20) tya-ne lili-la nijəv-l-i.
 he-erg Lili-dat-3fsg sleep-pst-3fsg
 'He made Lili sleep/go to bed.'

(iii) Future tense

Future I.

The agreement in Future I is cued to person and number. The verb is not marked for gender distinction. The future suffix shows a morphological variation as shown below

Forms of 'be'

The base for future forms of 'be' is əs

Person	Singular	Plural
1	əs-en	əs-u
2	əs-šil	əs-a-l
3	əs-el	əs-til

Forms of *jaṇe* 'to go'

Person	Singular	Plural
1	ja-in	ja-u
2	ja-šil	ja-l
3	ja-il	ja-t-il

Variation in certain verbs in the singular

Person	Singular	Plural
1	kər-in/kər-en	kə-ru
2	kər-šil	kəra-l
3	kər-el	kər-t-il

Future II

Future II is formed with the invariable suffix *ṇar* and represents intention.

- (21) mi əsə-cə bol-ṇar.
 I this way speak-fut
 'This is the way I am going to speak.'

2.2.1.2.2. Aspect

(i) Imperfective aspect

The imperfective aspect marker utilizes the present tense marker *t* and forms of copula *ahe* to indicate present, past and future imperfective functions. The copula agrees in gender, number and person with the nominative subject.

- (22) to ghəri jat ahe.
 he home going is
 'He is going home.'

- (23) to ghəri jat hota.
 he home going was
 'He was going home.'

- (24) to ghəri jat əsel.
 he home going may
 'He may be going home.'

(ii) Perfective aspect

The present, past and future perfective is indicated by the past tense suffix *l* and the respective tense forms of the copula *ahe*. Both *l* and the copula show gender, number and person agreement with the unmarked subject.

- (25) to ghəri gel-a ahe.
 he home gone-3msg is
 'He has gone home.'

(26) to ghəri ge-la hot-a.
he home gone-3msg was-3msg
'He had gone home.'

(27) to ghəri gel-a əsel.
he home gone-3msg may
'He might have gone home.'

(iii) Habitual aspect

Present habitual is indicated by the simple present or by means of *əne* 'to be' or simply by *ahe* 'is'

(28) to šalet ja-t-o.
he school-in go-pres-3msg
'He usually goes to school.'

(29) to baget əs-t-o.
he garden-in is-prews-3msg
'He is usually in the garden.'

Past habitual

Past habitual may be directly expressed on the verb or by employing various participial forms of the verbs, i.e., V+t, V+I etc. and the past form *əse*. The former use is rare in modern Marathi.

(30) to baget əse.
he garden-in be-pst
'He used to be in the garden.'

(31) to šalet ja-t əse.
he school-in go-pres be-pst
'He used to go to school.'

For other aspectuals such as second perfective, durative, ingressive, terminative and some others see Pandharipande (1997)

2.2.1.2.3 Mood

(i) Imperative

The second singular imperative is expressed by the stem itself. The plural and the polite forms add the vowel *a* which brings certain changes in the vowel ending stems as noted below.

Imperative forms

Singular	Plural/Polite	
nigh	nigh-a	'go'
ye	ya	'come'
ghe	ghy-a	'take'

pi	pya	'drink'
kha	kha	'eat'
ho	vha	'be/become'

(ii) Subjunctive

Subjunctive expresses either obligative or optative/epistemic sence. The obligative marks the subject in the ergative while the optative uses the nominative subject. Both obligative and the optative add the suffix *və* to the verb stem. The suffix varies with gender and number of the unmarked noun. (See Wali and Koul 2002, Wali 2004a for the significance of this construction for ergativity in general.)

Obligative

(32) tya-ne səməi ucəla-v-i.
he-erg lamp-3fsg lift-sbjn-3fsg
'He should lift the lamp.'

Optative/Epistemic

(33) to ghəri ja-v-a.
he-nom home go-sbjn-3msg
'May he go home.'

2.2.1.3. Negation

Negation in Marathi is a complex phenomenon. The negative particle *nə* takes various forms depending on the tense, mood and some other factors as listed below.

(i) Negative counter parts of affirmative auxiliaries :

Positive		Negative	
ahe	'is'	nahi	'not'
hota(msg)	'was'	nəvhəta	'was not'
/hoti(fsg)		nəvhəti	'was not'
/hote(nsg)		nəvhəte	'was not'
əsel	'may'	nəsel	'may not'
əne	'to exist'	nəne	'not exist/absence of existence'
əse	'used to be'	nəse	'not used to be'

(34) to ghəri na-hi.
he home not-pres
'He is not home.'

(35) to ghəri nəvhəta.
he home not-pst
'He was not home.'

- (36) to ghəri nəsəl.
he home not-be
'He may not be home.'

(ii) Negative counter parts of modality

- a) pahije 'want' nəko(sg)/nəka(pl) 'not want'

- (37) mə-la he pustək pahije/ mə-la he pustək nəko.
me-to this book want /me-to this book not-want
'I want this book./I don't want this book.'

(Note: *nəko* is also used as a negative imperative form.)

- (38) pustək vac / pustək vacu nəko-s.
book read/ book read not-2sg
'Read the book/ Do not read the book.'

- b) Verb+ve 'should' Verb+u nəye 'should not'

- (39) tu kam kəra-ve / tu kam kər-u nəye-s.
you work do-sbj /you work do-sbj not-2sg
'You should work/you should not work.'

Uses of *nahi*

nahi is used to negate all finite clauses that use *ahē*. *nahi* shows agreement with number and person of the unmarked NP.

- (40) tu ghəri gel-i nahi-s.
you home went-3fsg not-2-sg
'You did not go home.'

- (41) tu ghəri ka gel-i nahi-s?
you home why went-3fsg not-2-sg
'Why did you not go home?'

Placement of *nahi*

The constituent negation requires that *nahi* be placed after the constituent to be negated.. Note that the agreement marker follows the main verb and not the constituent negator *nahi*. The agreement is always placed after the final verb.

- (42) tu nahi ghəri gel-i-s.
you not home went-3fsg-2sg
'You did not go home (somebody else did).'

- (43) tu ghəri nahi gel-i-s.
you-fsg home not went-3fsg-2-sg
'You did not go home (you went somewhere else).'

Negation in the Imperative

The negative imperative form is *nəko* as shown below.

2sg 2pl
nəko nəka

- (44) ghəri jau nəko-s.
home go not-2sg-imp
'Dont go home.'

Constituent negation

- (45) tu ghəri nəko jau-(s).
you home not not-2sg
'Dont go home (go somewhere else).'

- (46) tu nəko ghəri jau-s.
you not home go-2sg
'You don't go home (stay here/send somebody else).'

Negation in the Subjunctive

Subjunctive negative form *nəye* is used only in the final position. Other positions employ the form *nahi*.

- (47) tya-ne ghəri jau nəye.
he-erg home go not-sbjn
'He should not go home.'

Constituent negation

- (48) tya-ne nahi ghəri ja-u.
he-erg not home go-sbjn
'He should not go home.(He should stay here/somebodyelse should go.)'

Negation in the nonfinite clause

The negative particle *nə* is placed before the infinitive.

- (49) tyacə ghəri nə jaṇə məla yogya vatta.
his home not going-inf me-to proper feel/believe.
'His not going home is proper/ok for me.'

- (50) ghəri nə ge-le-li mulgi
home not go-ptcp-3fsg girl
'The girl who did not go home.'

Negation in the belief verbs

In the context of belief verbs the negative may be placed either in the main or the subordinate clause without any semantic change.

- (51) to ghōri gela nahi əsə mə-la vatta.
 he home went not so I-dat feel
 'I believe that he did not go home.'
- (52) to ghōri gela əs mə-la vaṭət nahi.
 he home went so I-dat feel not
 'I don't believe that he went home.'

Negation of quantifiers

As noted above Marathi does not have any special words for negative quantifiers. Quantifiers are negated by employing forms of *nahi* with positive quantifiers.

- (53) lili-ni koṇa-la-tari mar-lə.
 Lili-erg someone-dat-emph beat-pst
 'Lili beat someone.'
- (54) lili-ni koṇa-la-hi mar-lə nahi..
 Lili-erg anyone-dat-emph beat-pst not
 'Lili did not beat anyone/Lili beat noone.'
- (55) lili-ni koṇa-la-hi mar-u nəye.
 Lili-erg anyone-dat-emph beat-sbjn not-sbjn
 'Lili should not beat anyone/Lili should beat noone.'
- (56) məla kāhi nəko.
 me-to anything not-want
 'I don't want anything.'

2.2.1.4. Voice

(See syntax 3.3.3.1.)

2.2.1.5. Non-finite verbs

(i) Infinitives

Infinitives give rise to nominalizations. The infinitive marker is *ṇəṇe*. The infinitive is inflected for full range of case forms and postpositions. The addition of suffixes give rise to oblique stem in *ya*. The infinitive may be preceded by an adjective as is the case with the nouns.

Infinitive forms of *kapṇe* 'to cut' with various cases:

case	case form
Nom	kapṇə/kapṇe
Acc	kapṇə/kapṇe
Inst	kapṇ-ya-ne
Dat	kapṇ-ya-la
Abl	kapṇ-ya-pasun
Poss	kapṇ-ya-ca
Loc	kapṇ-ya-t

(ii) Gerunds

Gerunds are formed by employing the perfective participle in *lə* which is further suffixed for case markers such as instrumental, dative, and possessive and postpositions. The case markers produce the oblique form *lya*. Gerunds are never used in the nominative.

Perfective case forms of *kap* 'to cut'

Inst	kap-lya-ne
Dative	kap-lya-la
Poss	kap-lya-ca
Postposition	kap-lya-pasun (since cutting)

2.2.1.6. Compound verbs

2.2.1.6.1. Both complex and conjunct verbs mentioned in 2.2.1.1 represent a sort of verbal compounding. In addition verbs also compound as reduplicated morphemes of various sorts. Some of these are listed below.

(i) Reduplication generates intensity of the action

- (57) ti bhər-bhər kam kəru lagli.
 she quick-quick work do began
 'She began to work quickly.'

(ii) Reduplicated conjunctive participle *un* generates the sense of repeated activity.

- (59) to rəḍ-un rəḍ-un thəkla.
 he cry-ḍp cry-ḍp tired
 'He tired from repeated crying.'

(iii) Reduplicated present progressive in *t* generates the manner adverbial sense.

- (58) to rəḍət rəḍət uthə-la.
 he crying crying got up
 'He got up crying.'

(iv) Reduplicated gerundive in *l* also generate the manner adverbial sense

- (60) to pəḍ-lya pəḍ-lya vacto.
 he lying lying reads
 'He reads while lying down/lyingly.'

(v) Reduplicated gerundial forms also generate the adverbial 'as soon as' sense.

- (61) tya-ne alya alya mə-la sangit-lə.
 he-erg comeing coming me-dat tell-pst
 'He told me as soon as he came.'

CHAPTER 3 SYNTAX

3.1. Phrase types and their structure

There are four major types of phrases in Marathi (a) a noun phrase; (b) an adjective/adjectival phrase, (c) an adverbial phrase, and (d) a postpositional phrase. Phrases lack the subject predicate structure of a clause and thus form a smaller unit. Phrases may be headed or headless. In a headed phrase the head determines the category of the phrase. The category of a headless phrase is determined by its function. For example 'similar to her mother' is an adjective phrase headed by the adjective 'similar', while 'his newly married.....' is a headless adjectival phrase, which may form a constituent in a noun phrase.

3.1.1. Noun phrase

A noun phrase may be simple or complex. A simple noun phrase may consist of a noun, or a pronoun, or an infinitival clause. Adjectives, and possessives may precede the noun head of a noun phrase. A complex noun phrase consists of a noun head followed by a clause. A noun phrase functions as a subject, an object, a complement of a postposition, or a predicate nominal of a copula. Articles are not an obligatory part of a noun phrase.

- (1) june kəpḍe
 old clothes
 'Old clothes'
- (2) hi əfva ki lili ikəḍe ali khoṭi ahe.
 this rumor that Lili here came false is
 'This rumor that Lili came here is false.'

3.1.2. Adjectives/adjectival phrases

Adjectives usually function as attributes of nouns. They can occur within a noun phrase or post verbal predicative position. An adjective phrase should be distinguished from an adjectival phrase. The former is headed by an adjective as in (3). An adjectival phrase subsumes adjectives, in all other functions, such as attributive, predicative, possessive and participles as in (4,5,6). Adjectives may be modified by adverbs and form part of the adjectival phrase.

Adjective phrase

- (3) he phar vicitrə ahe.
 this very strange is
 'This is very strange.'

Adjectival phrases

- (4) ti mothi mulgi
that big girl
'That big girl.'
- (5) te pustāk je ti-ni aṅlā
that book which she-erg brought
'The book which she brought'

Adjectives modified by adverbs.

- (6) he phar mothā jhaḍ ahe.
this very big tree is
'This is a very big tree.'

In (3) the adjective *viçitrə* 'strange' is the head of the adjective phrase *phar viçitrə*. Note however that in (7) this same phrase becomes adjectival since it is headed by the noun *jhaḍ* 'tree'.

- (7) he phar vicitrə jhaḍ ahe.
this very strange tree is
'This is a very strange tree.'

3.1.3. Adverbial phrase

An adverbial phrase may consist of simple or derived adverbs, postpositional phrases, or a string of adverbs. Participles, infinitives and certain postpositions also function as adverbials. Adverb phrases are rare because adverbs rarely head a phrase.

- (8) lili phar jorat bol-te.
Lili very loudly speak-prs
'Lili speaks very loudly.'
- (9) lili nehmi babu-kaḍe rah-te.
Lili always Babu-place stay-prs
'Lili always stays at Babu's place.'
- (10) lili-ni mā-la khali bās-tana pahy-lā.
Lili-erg me-dat down sit-ptcp see-pst
'Lili saw me while sitting down.'

Some adverbial postpositions:

vər, at, puḍhe, adhi 'above, inside, ahead, first'

3.1.4. Postpositional phrase

A postpositional phrase consists of a noun followed by a postposition. Postpositions may govern a possessive case, which is optionally deleted with certain postpositions. Postpositional phrases mostly function as adverbs.

- (11) lili jəmini-cya-vər/jəmini-vər basli.
Lili floor-poss-on/ floor-on sat
'Lili sat on the floor.'
- (12) mi lili-cya-kaḍe/lili-kaḍe ge-le.
I Lili-poss-to/Lili-to go-past
'I went to Lili.'

3.2. Sentence types and structure

Sentences in Marathi may be simple, compound or complex. Simple sentences may be copular or verbal. Simple verbal sentences may be declarative, interrogative, imperative, interjective or exclamatory type. Compound sentence types involve coordination. The complex types involve subordination. The basic structure of a Marathi sentence is SOV. The object follows the subject and verb occupies the final position. However the word order is not fixed. It shows considerable variation. These variations have been noted in various constructions.

3.2.1. Copular Sentences

A copula is a linking verb with no independent meaning of its own. Marathi has two copulas: *ahe* 'to be' and *hoṅe* 'to happen/to become'. Their complements may be predicate nouns, adjectives or adverbs. Both the copulas agree for person, gender and number with their nominative subject. (For semantic details of these two copulas See Kelkar 1997: 51-64.)

Copula *ahe*

- (13) lili nāṭi ahe.
Lili actress is
'Lili is an actress.'
- (14) tu sundər ahe-s.
you beautiful is-2psg
'You are beautiful.'
- (15) lili-cə hāsṅə jōdar ahe.
Lili's laughter loud is
'Lili's laughter is loud.'

Copula *hoṅe*

- (16) lili nāṭi hot-e
Lili actress become-3fsg
'Lili becomes an actress.'
- (17) udyā vadəḷ hoil.
tomorrow storm happen
'There will be a storm tomorrow.'

Uses of *ahe*

ahe is used to express universal truths, existence, definition, identity and also possession.

Existence

- (18) iṣwar ahe ka?
god is Q
'Does god exist?'

Universal truths

- (19) aplə aplə naṣib ahe.
self self's destiny is
'You are born with your own destiny.'
- (20) ḷəgat khup ḍhə lok ahe-t.
world-in many stupid people are-3pl
'World is full of stupid people.'

Identity

- (21) lili nagiṇ ahe.
Lili snake is
'Lili is like a snake.'

Possession

The copula *ahe* is used to express alienable, inalienable, permanent, or temporary types of possession. In this construction the subject is marked dative or with a postposition. The copula agrees with the possessed element, which may be an adjective or a noun. The possessor may be animate or inanimate.

Temporary possession

Temporary possessions refer to feelings, sensations, sickness etc. The possessors are marked dative without postpositions. There is no formal distinction between past and present possession.

- (22) ti-la tap ahe/hota.
she-dat fever is/was
'She has/had fever.'
- (23) ti-la phar sukh nahi/nəvhəta.
she-dat very happiness not/not-pst
'She does/did not have much happiness.'

Alienable possession

- (24) dərwaḷya-la kulup ahe.
door-dat lock is
'The door has a lock.'
- (25) tila čar saḍya ahet.
she four sari has
'She has four saris.'

Inalienable possession

- (26) gai-la don ṣingə ahet.
cow-dat two horns has
'Cow has two horns.'
- (27) tya-la don bhau ahet.
he-dat two brother has
'He has two brothers.'

3.2.2. Verbal sentences

3.2.2.1. Declaratives

Declarative sentences fall into four categories on the basis of the classification of verbs: (i) intransitives, (ii) transitives including causatives, (iii) datives and (iv) passives.

Intransitive

- (28) lili həs-t-e.
Lili laugh-prs-3fsg
'Lili laughs.'

Transitive

- (29) lili čitrə pah-t-e
Lili painting see-prs-3sg
'Lili sees a painting.'

Dative

- (30) lili-la bhūk lag-t-e.
Lili-dat hunger strikes
'Lili gets hungry.'

Passive

- (31) pustəkə phaḍ-l-i ja-ta-t
books torn-pst-3pl pass-prs-3pl
'Books are torn.'

3.2.2.2. Imperatives

In the singular imperatives employ the verb stem itself. The plural/polite form derives from the singular form by adding the suffix *a*. The vowel of the vocalic stems undergoes certain changes as already noted in the morphology section and repeated here.

Singular	Plural/Polite	
ja	ja	'go'
de	dya	'give'
pi	pya	'drink'
dhu	dhva	'wash'
bol	bola	'speak'

Imperative is negated by suffixing the stem with *u* and adding the negative *nəko*(2sg), *nəka*(2pl).

Positive imperative		Negative imperative
Singular:	paŋi pi water drink 'drink water'	paŋi pi-u nəko-s water drink not 'Don't drink water.'
2pl/polite :	paŋi pya water drink	paŋi pi-u naka water drink not-

3.2.2.3. Interrogatives

(a) Neutral Yes/No questions

Neutral yes/no question word *ka/kay* is obligatory placed at the end of the sentence.

(32) lili ghər-i ahe ka?
Lili home-in is Q
'Is Lili at home?'

(33) babu nijla ka?
Babu sleep Q
'Did Babu sleep?'

(b) Question word questions

In question word questions interrogative words replace the constituents being questioned. Interrogatives may occupy the same position as the original word or may be moved at other places in syntax. (For a list of these words and their inflectional properties see 2.1.2.4.) All the constituents of a sentence may be questioned.

(34) lili-ni babu-la ratr-i pustək vacay-la dilə.
Lili-erg Babu-dat night-at book read-to gave
'Lili gave Babu a book to read at night.'

(35) koŋi babu-la ratr-i pustək vacay-la dilə?
who-erg Babu-dat night-at book read-to gave
'Who gave a book to Babu to read at night?'

(36) lili-ni koŋa-la ratr-i pustək vacay-la dilə?
Lili-erg who-dat night-at book read-to gave
'Who did Lili give a book to read at night?'

(37) lili-ni babu-la ratr-i kay vacay-la dilə?
Lili-erg Babu-dat night-at what read-to gave
'What did Lili give Babu to read at night?'

(38) lili-ni babu-la kēvhā pustək vacay-la dilə?
Lili-erg Babu-dat when book read-to gave
'When did Lili give Babu a book to read?'

(39) lili-ni babu-la ratr-i pustək kəša-kərta/ka dilə?
Lili-erg Babu-dat night-at book what-for/why gave
'For what /why did Lili give Babu a book at night?'

(Note: the question word *ka* 'why' must be placed before the verb.)

Question word variations on (39)

(40) kəša-kərta lili-ni babu-la ratr-i pustək dilə?
what-for Lili-erg Babu-dat night-at book gave

(41) lili-ni kəša-karta babu-la ratr-i pustək dilə.
Lili-erg what-for Babu-dat night-at book gave

(42) lili-ni babu-la ratr-i pustək dilə te kəša-karta?
Lili-erg Babu-dat night-at book gave that what-for

Question words in finite subordinate clauses

Indirect questions

The scope of question words embedded in subordinate clauses that follow words of knowledge does not extend to the main clause. In short they generate only indirect questions. They fail to have a scope over the main clause and produce a direct question of the type 'who do you know that lives in the red house?' (For an insightful analysis of these constructions see Wali 1988.)

(43) mini-la he thauk nahi ki lili-ni koŋa-la pustək dilə.
Mini-dat this know not that Lili-erg who-dat book gave
'Mini does not know who Lili gave the book to?'

Direct questions

Direct questions are obtained only if the main verb belongs to 'belief' type verbs and the subordinate clause is placed before the main clause. Note that the question word stays in the subordinate clause.

(44) lili-ni koŋa-la pustək dilə əsə tu-la vatta?
Lili-erg who-dat book gave so you-dat believe
'Who do you believe Lili gave the book to?'

Question words in non finite clauses

Question words in non finite clauses have scope over the entire sentence and generate direct questions only.

(45) koŋa-cə ghəri jaŋə tu-la pəsənt nahi?
whose home going you-dat like not
'Whose going home you don't like?'

Word order variation on (45)

- (46) tu-la koṇa-cə ghəri jaṇə pəsənt nahi?
 you-dat whose home going like not
 'Whose going home you don't like?'

Multiple questions words and word order variations

- (47) tu koṇa-la kay kēvhā diləs?
 you who-dat what when gave
 'Who did you give when and what?'
- (48) tu koṇa-la kēvhā kay diləs?
 you who-dat when what gave
 'Who did you give when and what?'
- (49) tu kay kēvhā koṇa-la diləs?
 you what when who-dat gave
 'Who did you give when and what?'

Note: The acceptability of (49) is marginal.

Question words in relative and coordinate clauses generate ungrammatical sequences.

3.2.3. Grammatical relations

3.2.3.1. Subjects

Subject types

Marathi exhibits both nominative and non-nominative subjects. The latter are found in the ergative with *ne* suffix, in the dative with *la* suffix, and in the passive constructions. These non-nominative subjects have been extensively discussed in the traditional grammars as well as modern frameworks, such as relational and generative grammars. (See Wali 2004a for an extensive review).

Animacy distinction across transitives

Marathi also exhibits animate vs. inanimate distinction in its transitive subjects. A special property of all transitive verbs is that they do not allow inanimate subjects irrespective of the aspect. Inanimate subjects may take the ergative transitive suffix *ne*, but the verb remains intransitive (50). The inanimate *ne* has the semantic value 'because, due to,' etc. In contrast, the animate *ne* requires a transitive verb and has the theta value 'agent' (51). An inanimate subject with a transitive verb is unacceptable (52). Clearly, animate vs. inanimate distinction is significant. Their theta roles directly affect the transitivity of the verb. It also implies that all ergative subjects are animates with agent theta role.

Inanimate subject

- (50) varya-ne arsa phuṭ-l-a.
 wind-due to mirror-3msg break-past-3msg
 'The mirror broke due to the wind.'

Animate subject

- (51) babu-ne arsa phoḍ-l-a.
 Babu-erg mirror-3msg break-past-3msg
 'Babu broke the mirror.'

Inanimate subject with transitives

- (52) *varya-ne kac phoḍ-la.
 wind-erg glass-3msg break-past-3msg
 'The wind broke the glass.'

(I) Nominative Subjects

Both intransitives and transitives mark their subjects in the nominative with certain restrictions. Intransitive subjects are marked nominative, unless they are in the obligative subjunctive, which marks them in the ergative with the suffix *ne*. Subjects of transitives are marked nominative only in the non-perfective aspect. The subject is marked ergative with *ne* in the perfective and subjunctive with the exception of (i) first and second person pronouns; and (ii) certain predicates. A small group of verbs such as *acəṛṇe*, *cavṇe*, *jinkṇe*, *sməṛṇe* 'to practise, to bite, to conquer, to remember' allow both nominative and ergative subjects.

Non perfective nominative subjects

- (53) lili dhav-t-e.
 Lili run-pres-3fsg
 'Lili runs.'
- (54) lili pustək vac-ət ahe.
 Lili-nom book read-prs is
 'Lili is reading a book.'
- (55) lili pustək vac-el/vačil.
 Lili-nom book read-fut
 'Lili will read a book.'

Subjunctive: (optative)

Intransitive nominative subject

- (56) ti dhav-av-i.
 she-nom run-sbjn-3fsg
 'May she run.'

(II) Ergative subjects

Marathi is a split ergative language with several distinct features of its own. All ergative subjects are marked with *ne/ni* with the exception of 1st and 2nd person pronouns, which remain unmarked, i.e., are in the nominative. Ergative subjects behave exactly like nominative subjects. Both control the same grammatical rules. However, there is one sharp difference. Nominative subjects always agree with their verbs. In contrast, the agreement pattern in ergatives is complex and varied as already noted in 2.2.1.2.. Ergative subjects in Marathi are conditioned by transitivity, aspect, modality, pronominals, and non-finiteness. We will consider each of these

ergative constructions in detail, point out their special features, and then compare their behavior with nominative subjects.

Special features:

Perfective vs. subjunctive difference

Although both perfective and subjunctive take ergative subjects, and display animate vs. inanimate distinction in direct objects there is a difference between them as noted below in 3.2.3.2. First, the perfective ergative is confined to transitive verbs only and has a nominative counterpart in the nonperfective. The subjunctive ergative has no nominative-accusative counterpart except in a few cases. (Kelkar 1997: 289.). Second, intransitive subjects in the subjunctive may surface as nominatives or ergatives. Intransitive subjects in the perfective are always in the nominative.

Perfective

Intransitive

(57) lili dhav-l-i
Lili-nom run-pst-3fsg
'Lili ran.'

Transitive

(58) lili-ne pustək vac-l-e/ə.
Lili-erg book read-pst-3nsg
'Lili read a book.'

Subjunctive

Intransitive (Epistemic)

(59) lili dhav-av-i
Lili-nom run-sbjn-3fsg
'May Lili run.'

Intransitive (obligative)

(60) lili-ne dhav-av-e.
Lili-erg run-sbjn-3nsg
'Lili should run.'

Transitive

(61) lili-ne pustək vac-av-e.
Lili-erg book read-sbjn-3nsg
'Lili should read a book.'

Interestingly the difference in case marking in the two intransitives (59,60) in the subjunctive is accompanied by a semantic difference in the modality. Ergative subjects denote obligation or necessity. The nominative is used in the epistemic or optative sense. (See Wali 2004a for the implication of this distinction.)

Syntactic properties of ergative subjects

Syntactic properties of ergative subjects are similar to nominative subjects except for agreement. For example both ergative and nominative subjects control reflexives, equi deletion, participials, and some other rules (See Wali 2004a.).

Agreement properties of ergative subjects

The agreement pattern of ergatives is distinct from the nominatives. As already noted in 2.2.1.2, the ergative subjects do not show any agreement with the verb. The verb always agrees with the unmarked object if any. Verb shows neutral agreement if both subject and object are marked.

Nominative subject agreement

(62) lili dægəð phek-t-e
Lili-nom-3fsg stone-nom-3msg throw-pres-3fsg
'Lili throws a stone.'

Ergative object agreement

(63) lili-ne dægəð phek-l-a
Lili-erg-3fsg stone-3msg throw-pst-3msg
'Lili threw a stone.'

Ergative neutral agreement

(64) lili-ne rəvi-la mar-l-ə
Lili-erg-3fsg Babu-dat-3msg beat-pst-neut
'Lili beat Babu.'

Pronominal case and agreement marking

As noted above the first and second person pronouns are marked nominative in the perfective transitives. A special property of these pronouns is they show direct object agreement as is the case with the ergative pattern. In addition the second person pronoun shows a nominative subject agreement. The pronominal agreement is thus partly ergative and partly nominative. (See Wali 2004a for the implication of this agreement for ergativity)

Direct object agreement

(65) mi dagað phek-l-a
I-nom stone-nom-3msg threw-pst-3msg
'I threw the stone.'

Subject and direct object agreement

(66) tu dagað phek-l-a-s
you-nom stone-nom-3msg threw-pst-3msg-2sg
'You threw the stone.'

(III) Dative Subjects

Subjects of dative/psychological predicates are obligatorily marked *la* in all tenses and aspects. These include verbs of mental or physical state, belief, knowledge, desire, or perception. Dative subject *la* is homophonic with the *la* of the animate DO, the direct object, and IO, the indirect object. Dative subject *la* is semantically closer to IO *la*. Both Dative and IO *la* are not subject to morphological variations as is the case with DO *la*. (see (B) immediately below). Dative subject, unlike the ergative NP, may be animate or inanimate. It does not invoke unmarked 1st or 2nd

person pronouns. Dative subject never agrees with the verb. The agreement function is assigned to, what I call Theme NP, which accompanies the dative subject. Theme NP is always in the nominative.

Syntactic properties of dative subjects

Dative subjects control reflexives and have some other properties. The theme NP also exhibits certain subject properties as shown below. (See Wali 2004a). Note that though the theme shares the nominative case with the regular nominative subject they do not share the same grammatical properties.

Subject	swətah	apən	Equi	Pr.ptcp	Past-ptcp	Taac-ptcp	Un-ptcp
Nom. subject	+	+	+	+	*	+	+
Dative subject	+	+	*	?	?	+	+
Theme	+	*	*	+	+	*	*

Agreement with the theme

- (67) lili-la babu avd-t-o
 Lili-dat Babu-nom-3msg like-pres-3msg
 'Lili likes Babu.'

(IV) Passive subjects

Marathi passive employs the perfective form of the main verb and the auxiliary *ja* 'go'. Both the verb and the auxiliary inflect for agreement with the unmarked NP. The original logical subject is assigned the postposition *kəḍun* 'by' that shows the subject's demoted status. However, the animate direct object is not assigned a nominative as expected. It retains its dative case mark *la*. The inanimate direct object retains its nominative case and shows verb agreement. The demoted subject may be optionally deleted. It may also precede the clause.

- (68) babu-la mini-kəḍun kholit ḍamblə ge-l-ə.
 Babu-dat Mini-by room-in dumped pass-pst-nsg
 'Babu was dumped in the room by Mini.'

- (69) babu-laa kholit ḍamblə ge-l-ə.
 Babu-dat room-in dumped pass-pst-nsg
 'Babu was dumped in the room.'

- (70) mini-kəḍun pəṭṭhər phekla ge-l-a.
 Mini-by stone-3msg thrown was-3msg
 'The stone was thrown by Mini.'

Subject properties

An interesting facet of Marathi passive is that both the demoted subject and the animate direct object show certain subject properties as noted in Rosen and Wali (1989), as well as Wali 2004

b. The following table shows the subject properties of the active subject, demoted passive subject, and the passivized animate direct object. Wali concludes that Marathi passive has two subjects. (See also Joshi 1993 for a similar conclusion).

Subject	swətah	apən	equi	pres. ptcp	past ptcp	taac-ptcp	un-ptcp
Active	+	+	+	+	*	+	+
Passivized direct object	+	*	+	+	+	*	*
Oblique subject	+	+	*	*	*	+	+

In Marathi, the two arguments of the *ja* passive appear to divide properties of the original active subject. The division of properties is interesting from a theoretical perspective. The division shows that not all properties of the active subject are basic or intrinsic. The intrinsic properties are retained in the oblique argument. The non-intrinsic/extrinsic properties are passed on to the passivized subject. The division gives rise to what is currently known as Grammatical Function (GF) split. In short Marathi passivization gives rise to two subjects.

Capability Passive

Capability passive (CP) usually indicates a physical, psychological or emotional inability. It has the same form as the standard passive (SP) noted above. However there are certain crucial differences between the two.

(a) CP requires a negative element almost invariably. SP does not require a negative for its interpretation.

- (71) mini-kəḍun babu-la piṭ-lə ge-l-ə nahi.
 Mini-by Babu-dat beat pass-pst-nsg not
 'Mini was unable to beat Babu (he is too dear to her).'

(b) The demoted subject is essential for CP, though not for SP. For example (71) will not have CP interpretation without *mini-kəḍun*. Secondly, in CP the demoted agent may be replaced by other NP forms as in (72) and (73). SP does not allow any other forms except those with *kəḍun* or *dwarā*.

- (72) mini-cya-ne babu-la piṭ-lə ge-l-ə nahi.
 Mini-poss-erg Babu-dat beat pass-pst-nsg not
 'Mini was unable to beat Babu (he is too dear to her).'

(c) CP operates across both transitive and intransitive verbs. The main verb need not be in the perfective form. It may assume a causative form. SP does not allow these variations.

- (73) mini-cya-ne/mini-laa cal-əv-lə jat nahi.
 Mini-poss-erg/Mini-dat walk-caus-pst-nsg pass-pres not
 'Mini is unable to walk (she has hurt her foot).'

(d) In CP the passive auxiliary *ja* may be optionally deleted. The main verb takes the tense form.

- (74) mini-cya-ne/mini-laa cal-əv-ə-t nahi.
 Mini-poss-erg/Mini-dat walk-caus-pres not
 'Mini is unable to walk (she has hurt her foot).'

Grammatical properties of CP NP's

Finally note that the demoted subject as well as the object NP in CP do not undergo any of the subject rules noted above for SP. The status of these NPs and the derivation of CP is thus an intriguing question. (See Rosen and Wali 1989).

3.2.3.2. Direct objects

Direct animate objects are marked *la*, while inanimate objects are assigned nominative in both perfective and the nonperfective aspect.

Animate object

Perfective

- (75) lili-ni babu-la piṭ-l-ə.
 Lili-erg Babu-dat beat-pst-nsg
 'Lili beat/hit Babu.'

Non perfective

- (76) lili babu-la piṭ-el.
 Lili Babu-dat beat-fut
 'Lili will beat/hit Babu.'

Inanimate object

Perfective

- (77) lili-ni pustək ghet-l-ə.
 Lili-erg book-nom-neut take-pst-neut-sg
 'Lili took the book.'

Nonperfective

- (78) lili pustək ghe-il
 Lili book take-fut
 'Lili will take the book.'

However, the animacy distinction in the direct object is not clear cut. Several micro features noted below condition the marking of the direct object. (See Wali 2004a). The details are significant for both acquisition and syntax since marking dictates the agreement.

Features that condition the object marking:

- i. Indefinite favors no marking, especially if there is no overt indefinite marker such as *ek* 'one, a'.

- ii. Definite favors *la* marking, especially if there is no overt definite marker such as *to* 'that'
 iii. A pronoun and a proper noun favors/requires *la* marking .
 iv. Animate favors *la*, with the exception of a few such as *həriṇ*, *undir*, *dhekuṇ* 'deer, mouse, bedbug' which are categorized as lower animates and equated with inanimates.

v. Countable favors *la*, continue is unmarked.

vi. Concrete nouns favor *la*, abstract nouns stay unmarked.

Note that certain verbs also condition *la* marking:

- vii. Verbs like *vik*, *khərid*, *pəṇ lav* 'sell, buy, stake' favor no marking. The marking is most striking in the case of ambiguous verbs. For example *marṇe* 'to kill, to beat'. This verb favors unmarked direct objects in the sense of 'kill', especially if the object is a nonhuman animate. The verb favors *la* marked object when used in the sense of 'beat'.

3.2.3.3. Indirect objects

Indirect objects in double transitives are always marked with dative *la*. They do not participate in the verb agreement.

- (79) lili-ni babu-la pustək di-l-ə.
 Lili-erg Babu-dat book-nom give-pst-nsg
 'Lili gave a book to Babu.'

3.3. Compound sentences

3.3.1. Coordination

3.3.1.1. 'And' coordination

And coordination is expressed by *əni* or *və*. Both coordinators are used to connect sentences and their constituents. The coordinators are placed immediately before the constituents to be conjoined.

- (80) mini ghəri ali əni/və babu baher gela.
 Mini home came and Babu out went
 'Mini came home and Babu went out.'

- (81) mini əni/və babu doghe-hi baher gele ahet.
 Mini and Babu both out gone have
 'Both Mini and Babu have gone out.'

- (82) mini babu-laa mar-te əni/və rəḍəv-te.
 Mini Babu-dat beats and cry-cause
 'Mini beats Babu and makes him cry.'

Intermediate coordinators may be optionally deleted if more than two sentences are conjoined

- (83) mini ghəri ali, babu baher gela əni lili raḍu lagli.
 Mini home came Babu out went and Lili cry began
 'Mini came home, Babu went out and Lili began to cry.'

Agreement pattern in coordination

The agreement pattern in coordination is complex:

- (i) The verb usually agrees with the last coordinator as in (84)
 (ii) At times verb shows plural agreement with slightly different semantic nuance from the singular agreement as in (85). Plural agreement indicates that both came together.
 (iii) In a combination of various pronouns the verb shows plural agreement with the highest person as in (86).

(84) ek mulga aṇi ek mulgi ghərat a-l-i.
 one boy and one girl house-in came-3fsg
 'A boy and a girl came in the house.'

(85) ek mulga aṇi ek mulgi ghərat a-l-it.
 one boy and one girl house-in came-past-3pl
 'A boy and a girl came together in the house.'

(86) mi, tu, aṇi to ghəri ja-u.
 I, you, and he home go-fut-1pl
 'I, you and he will go home.'

3.3.1.2. Adversative coordination

Adversative conjunction is expressed by *pəṇ/pərəntu*. It precedes the last coordinating element.

(87) mini ali pəṇ/pərəntu babu ala nahi.
 Mini came but Babu came not
 'Mini came but Babu did not come.'

3.3.1.3. Disjunction 'Or'

'Or' coordination is expressed by *kīvā/əthəva*.

(88) mini swətah yeil kīvā lili-la paṭhəv-il.
 Mini self come-fut or Lili-dat send-fut
 'Mini herself will come or (she) will send Lili.'

(89) mini kīvā lili jarur ye-il.
 Mini or Lili definitely come-fut
 'Mini or Lili will definitely come.'

3.3.1.4. 'Either---or'

There is no special forms to express 'either --or'. It uses the form *kīva* 'or'. However there is an equivalent of negative 'neither --nor' i.e., the pair *nə --nə* 'not, not'.

(90) nə mini ali nə lili(ali).
 not Mini came not Lili came
 'Neither Mini nor Lili came /Neither Mini came nor Lili.'

(91) nə mini čəha ghetə nə dudh.
 not Mini tea takes not milk
 'Mini takes neither tea nor milk.'

3.4. Complex sentences

3.4.1. Finite subordinate clauses

Finite subordinate clauses are marked by the complementizer *ki*. The main clause usually takes the complementizer *he/əsə* depending on the main verb. Verbs of knowledge take *he* while belief verbs require *əsə*. (See Wali 1988.)

Verbs of knowledge:

(92) lili-la he ṭhauk ahe ki babu ithe nahi.
 Lili-dat this know is that Babu here not
 'Lili knows that Babu is not here.'

Variations:

(93) lili-la ṭhauk ahe ki babu ithe nahi.
 Lili-dat know is that Babu here not
 'Lili knows that Babu is not here.'

(94) he lili-la ṭhauk ahe ki babu ithe nahi.
 this Lili-dat know is that Babu here not
 'Lili knows that Babu is not here.'

(95) babu ithe nahi. he lili-la ṭhauk ahe.
 Babu here not this Lili-dat know is
 'That Babu is not here, Lili knows.'

(96) *ki babu ithe nahi he lili-la ṭhauk ahe
 that Babu here not this Lili-dat know is
 'That Babu is not here, Lili knows.'

(97) lili-la (ki) babu ithe nahi he ṭhauk ahe
 Lili-dat that Babu here not this know is
 'Lili knows that Babu is not here.'

(Note: in all the above clauses *he* may be substituted by *hi gošt* 'this story')

Verbs of belief :

(98) lili-la əsə vaṭṭə ki babu ithe nahi.
 Lili-dat this believes that Babu here not
 'Lili believes/thinks that Babu is not here.'

Variations:

- (99) lili-la vattə ki babu ithe nahi.
Lili-dat believes that Babu here not
'Lili believes that Babu is not here.'
- (100) əsə lili-la vattə ki babu ithe nahi.
this Lili-dat believes that Babu here not
'Lili believes that Babu is not here.'
- (101) babu ithe nahi əsə lili-laa vattə.
Babu here not this Lili-dat believes
'That Babu is not here, Lili believes.'
- (102) *ki babu ithe nahi. lili-la vattə.
that Babu here not Lili-dat believes
'That Babu is not here, Lili believes.'
- (103) lili-la (ki) babu ithe nahi əsə vattə.
Lili-dat Babu here not this believes
'Lili believes that Babu is not here.'

Note that a subordinate subjunctive verb may assimilate əsə:

- (104) lili-la babu-ne ithe rəhav-sa vattə
Lili-dat Babu-erg here stay this believes
'Lili believes that Babu should stay here.'

(Note: əsə may not be replaced by *hi goşj* in verbs of 'belief'.)

Logophoric verbs:

A speciality of logophoric verbs such as *mhəŋne*, *vatne* 'to say, to believe' is that they allow first and second person pronouns in the subordinate clause to refer to the participants in the main clause. These also employ the *ki* clause with the complementizer əsə.

- (105) lili mhəŋte ki mi lekhika nahi.
Lili says that I(Lili) writer not
'Lili says that I am not a writer i.e., she is not a writer.'
- (106) tu khəra lekhək nahis əsə lili-ni babu-la sangitlə.
you(Babu) true writer not so Lili-erg Babu-dat told
'You,(i.e., Babu) are not a true writer so Lili told Babu.'

3.4.2. Non finite subordinate clauses

Infinitives

Infinitives are essentially nominal clauses. Verb stems in the infinitive are marked *ne/nə*. The derived forms are inflected for case and postpositions. All subjects may be marked possessive.

However the transitive subjects may take ergative, the intransitives may take ergative or nominative. (See Damle 1911/1965.)

- (107) tya-cə ghəri ja-nə yogyə nahi.
his home go-inf proper not
'His going home is not proper.'

Nominative and ergative subjects

- (108) to/tya-nə ghəri ja-nə yogyə nahi.
hi-nom/he-erg home go-inf proper not
'His going home is not proper.'

Transitive verbs

- (109) tya-nə/tya-cə lili-la ragav-nə məla boctə.
he-erg/he-poss Lili-dat scold-inf me-dat hurts
'His scolding Lili hurts me.'

Other forms of infinitives:

Purpose clause

The infinitive is marked *la* in the context of *sangne*, *lavne*, *suru karne* 'tell, force, begin' and a few other verbs.

- (110) lili-ni mini-la ghəri jay-la sangit-lə.
Lili-erg Mini-dat home go-inf tell-pst
'Lili told Mini to go home.'
- (111) lili-ni gaŋə gay-la survat keli.
Lili-erg song sing-inf begin made
'Lili began to sing a song.'

Infinitive *u*

Verbs like *lagne* 'begin' mark the verb with *u*

- (112) lili gaŋə ga-u lagli.
Lili song sing-inf began
'Lili began to sing a song.'
- (113) lili-ni kam suru kelə.
Lili-erg work began do-past
'Lili began to do the work.'

Gerunds

Gerunds are formed by adding case markers or postpositions to the perfective form of the verb.

- (114) tyala ghəri gely-a-la khup divəs jhalet.
him-dat home go-perf-dat many days passed
'Many days have passed to his going home.'

- (115) to ithe alya-pasun sarkha bolət ahe.
 he here come-perf--since continuously talking is
 'He is continuously talking ever since he has come here/his coming.'

3.4.3. Complex noun phrases

Complex noun phrases headed by nouns such as *hi batmi*, *hi varta*, *hi əfwa*, 'this news, this rumor etc. also take *ki* complements.

- (116) hi əfwa ki lili ghəri geli khoṭi nighali.
 this rumour that Lili home went false turn out
 'The rumour that Lili went home turned out to be false.'

Variations

- (117) (hi ki) lili ghəri geli hi əfwa khoṭi nighali.
 this that Lili home went this rumour false turn out
 'The rumour that Lili went home turned out to be false.'

Non finite main clause

- (118) lili ghəri gelya-či əfwa khoṭi nighali.
 Lili home went-of rumour false turn out
 'The rumour of Lili's going home turned out to be false.'

3.4.4. Relative Clauses

Restrictive relative clauses

Restrictive relative clauses are fashioned after the correlative pattern. The head nouns in both the relative and the main clause take special markers, which vary with the gender and number of the head noun. (See 2.1.2.5.). The possible deletions of the relative and head nouns are syntactically interesting as noted below. (See Wali 1982 for details, Junghare 1973, Kelkar 1973 for structural analyses.)

- (119) ji mulgi ghəri geli ti mulgi veḍi ahe.
 rel girl home went corel girl crazy is
 'The girl who went home is crazy.'
 (Which girl went home that girl is crazy: literal)

Deletion of relative head noun

- (120) ji ghəri geli ti mulgi veḍi ahe.
 rel home went corel girl crazy is
 'The girl who went home is crazy.'

Deletion of correlative head noun

- (121) ji mulgi ghəri geli ti veḍi ahe.
 rel girl home went corel crazy is
 'The girl who went home is crazy.'

Deletion of rel+head noun

- (122) ghəri geli ti mulgi veḍi ahe.
 home went corel girl crazy is
 'The girl who went home is crazy.'

Other variations:

Correl+head preceding the whole clause

- (123) ti mulgi ji ghəri geli ti (mulgi) veḍi ahe.
 corel girl rel home went corel girl crazy is
 'The girl who went home is crazy.'

(note: The head noun may optionally follow the correlative in the main clause. The construction resembles topicalization in its essence.)

Correlative preceding the whole clause

- (124) ti ji ghəri geli ti mulgi veḍi ahe.
 corel rel home went corel girl crazy is
 'The girl who went home is crazy.'

Multiple headed relatives

Multiple headed relative clauses contain several relative heads with correlative counterparts. These are very special to Marathi and some other Indo-Aryan languages. (For details see Wali 1982, and Andrews 1975 for a theoretical perspective.) The heads in both clauses can have the clause internal freedom to move around. However they may not be deleted.

- (125) jya muli-ne jya mula-la jithe pahyla hotə
 wh girl-erg wh boy-dat where saw had
 tya muli-ne tya mula-la tithe bhəṭaycə vəḇən dilə hotə.
 that girl-erg that boy-dat there meet promise gave had
 'Which girl which boy which place had seen that girl to that boy had promised to meet him at that very place.'

3.4.5. Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses express time, manner, purpose, cause, or result. There are also conditional/concessive adverbial clauses.

3.4.5.1. Temporal adverbials:

Temporal adverbial clauses employ correlative markers noted in 2.1.5.

- (126) jəvhā ti yete tēvhā to gato.
 when she comes at that time he sings
 'He sings when she comes.'

Correlative deletions

- (127) jëvhã ti yete to gato.
 when she comes he sings
 'He sings when she comes.'

Word order variations

- (128) ti jëvhã yete tëvhã to gato.
 she when comes at that time he sings
 'He sings when she comes.'
- (129) tëvhã to gato jëvhã ti yete
 at that time he sings when she comes
 'He sings when she comes.'
- (130) tëvhã jëvhã ti yete to gato.
 at that time when she comes he sings
 'He sings when she comes.'

The adverb 'As soon as' is expressed by the suffix *-cə* or by the postposition *bərobə* attached to the verb itself.

- (131) ti həs-ta-cə babu pəɭun jato.
 she laugh-prs-soon Babu ran goes
 'As soon as she laughs Babu runs away.'
- (132) ti həs-lyə-bərobə babu pəɭun gela.
 she laugh-pst-soon Babu ran went
 'As soon as she laughed Babu ran away.'

The adverb 'since' is expressed by means of the conjunctive participle in *un*, or the postposition *pasun* attached to the past participle form of the verb.

- (133) mini-la ja-un don divəs jhalet.
 Mini-dat go-cp two days happened
 'It has been two days since Mini has left.'
- (134) mini uth-lyə-pasun əbhyas kərət ahe.
 Mini get-pst-since study doing is
 'Mini has been studying since she got up.'

3.4..5.2. Manner Adverbials

Manner adverbials employ the conjunctive participle *un* or the present participle *t*.

- (135) mini həs-un/həs-ət bolte.
 Mini laugh-cp/laugh-ptcp speaks
 'Mini speaks laughingly.'

3.4.5.3. Purpose adverbials

The purpose is expressed by an verbal infinitive + *səhi/kərta* or *la* 'for/in order to'.

- (136) lili-ne vacə-nya-səhi/kərta pustək ghet-lə.
 Lili-erg read-inf-for book took
 'Lili took the book in order to read.'
- (137) lili-ne vac-a-yə-la pustək ghet-lə.
 Lili-erg read-inf-for book took
 'Lili took the book in order to read.'

3.4.5.4. Adverbial cause and result

In the finite clause, cause is expressed by *karəŋ*, while result /therefore is expressed by employing *mhəŋun*. Cause may also be expressed in the participial form (140)

- (138) lili ali nahi karəŋ ti kam-at hoti.
 Lili come not because she work-in was
 'Lili did not come because she was busy.'
- (139) lili kam-at hoti mhəŋun ali nahi.
 Lili work-in was therefore come not
 'Lili was busy therefore she did not come.'

Participial form

- (140) ti kam kərun kərun damli.
 she work doing doing tired
 'She got tired because of working hard.'

3.4.5.5. Conditional 'if/then'

The adverbial conditional is usually expressed by means of *jər/tər* 'if/then'.

- (141) jər lili ali tər ti-la pustək de.
 If Lili comes then her-dat book give
 'If Lili comes give her a book.'

Variations

- (142) lili ali tər ti-la pustək de.
 Lili comes then her-dat book give
 'If Lili comes give her a book.'
- (143) ti-la pustək de jər lili ali tər.
 her-dat book give if Lili comes then
 'If Lili comes give her a book.'

3.5. Discourse Phenomena

3.5.1. Anaphora

The topic of anaphora in Marathi has been extensively dealt with in Wali (2000). Here we provide the basic information on Marathi reflexives, reciprocals and personal pronouns.

3.5.1.1. Reflexives

Marathi has two basic reflexives *swātah* and *apāṇ* each with its own distinct distributions. There is also a compound reflexive *apāṇ-swātah* which can be substituted for both *swātah* and *apāṇ* in most contexts.

Distribution of the two reflexives

The reflexive *swātah* is clause bound. It requires its antecedent to be in the same clause. In contrast *apāṇ* requires its antecedent to be in a higher clause unless it is in a possessive or a postpositional form. The latter forms may occur in the same clause as their antecedents. Both the reflexives require their antecedents to be a subject of the clause. Both the reflexives take all case and PP forms except the ergative case. In this respect they are similar to first and second person pronouns which lack ergative forms.

Reflexives within a clause

(144) lili-ni swātah-la/*apāya-la arṣat pahylə.
Lili-erg self-dat /self-dat mirror-in saw
'Lili saw herself in the mirror.'

(145) lili-ni swātah-čya/ap-lya mula-la arṣ-at pahylə.
Lili-erg self's /self's son-dat mirror-in saw
'Lili saw her son in the mirror.'

Note that both the reflexives can precede the antecedents without incurring any ungrammaticality.

(146) swātah-čya/ap-lya mula-la lili-ni arṣ-at pahyla.
self's /self's son-dat Lili-erg mirror-in saw
'Lili saw her son in the mirror.'

Reflexives across a clause

(147) lili-la vaṭṭə ki *swātah/apāṇ phar surekh ahot.
Lili-dat thinks that self very pretty is
'Lili thinks that self/she is very pretty.'

(148) lili-la vaṭṭə ki babu *swātah-vər/apāya-vər
Lili-dat thinks that Babu self-on
prem kārto.
love do
'Lili thinks that Babu loves her.'

An important constraint on both the reflexives is that they do not allow a dative subject to antecede their nominative forms as in (149).

Reflexives as a theme in the nominative

(149) lili-la *swātah/*apāṇ avḍət nahi.
Lili-dat self like not
'Lili does not like herself.'

Reflexives as a theme with PP

(150) lili-la swātah-či/apli bəhiṇ avḍət nahi.
Lili-dat self-of sister like not
'Lili does not like her sister.'

Emphatic reflexives

There are two emphatic reflexive forms: *swātah*, and *apāṇ swātah*. In addition there are forms like *swāta-houn*, *apāṇ-houn*, *apāṇ-swātah-houn*. that express a voluntary action 'by itself, on one's own accord'. All these follow the noun they qualify.

(151) lili swātah/ apāṇ swātah babu-jəvə] basli
Lili self Babu-near sat
'Lili herself sat next to Babu.'

(152) lili swāta-houn/ apāṇ-houn/ apāṇ-swātah-houn babu-jəvə] basli.
Lili self-by Babu-near sat
'Lili sat next to Babu on her own accord.'

3.5.1.3. Reciprocals

The reciprocal relation is expressed by means of *ekmek* 'each other'. The mutual reciprocity employs *apsat/apapsat* 'amongst themselves'. Both the reciprocals are clause bound. Antecedents of *ekmek* may be animate or inanimate. Antecedents of *apsat* are animates only. Only *ekmek* takes case and postpositions as required. *apsat* may not be inflected for any case or postposition. It contains the bound suffix *at* 'in'. Note that there is a third reciprocal *pāṣpār* which is used in literary style and has a limited use.

(153) lili va babu ekmekā-nnā marət suṭle.
Lili and Babu each other-dat beat start
'Lili and Babu started to beat each other.'

(154) te lok apapsat bhaṇḍ-tat.
those people amongst themselves fight-3pl
'Those people fight amongst themselves.'

3.5.1.4. Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns are in complementary distribution with the reflexives. They are usually excluded in the domain of reflexives and do not have their antecedents in a simple clause. However, there are some contexts where both pronouns and reflexives are acceptable. For example object antecedents allow both possessive reflexive and possessive pronouns. The domain of personal pronouns is very extensive and they are allowed in all sorts of contexts as exemplified below.

Pronouns in a simple clause

- (155) *lili-ni ti-la pahy-lə.
Lili-erg her-dat see-pst-nsg
'Lili saw her.'
(Lili and *tila* 'her' are coreferential)

A pronoun, unlike a reflexive, may have a modifier as an antecedent. In (156) *ti-la* 'her' may refer to Lili.

- (156) lili-cya bhava-ni tila pahy-l-ə.
Lili-poss brother-erg her-dat see-pst-nsg
'Lili's brother saw her(=Lili).'

A pronoun may not precede its antecedent. Thus a variation on (156) is unacceptable. In (157) the pronoun does not refer to Lili.

- (157) tila lili-cya bhava-ni pahy-l-ə.
her-dat Lili-possbrother-erg see-pst-nsg
'Her, Lili's brother saw.'

Pronouns across finite subordinate clauses

- (158) lili-la vatta ki ti sundər ahe
Lili-dat thinks that she beautiful is
'Lili thinks that she(=Lili) is beautiful.'

- (159) lili-ni babu-la sangit-l-ə ki ti-ni mini-la ticya-
Lili-erg Babu-dat told that she-erg Mini-dat her-

kəðe nə yay-la bəjav-l-ə ahe.
to not come warned is
'Lili told Babu that she has warned Mini not to visit her.'

Pronouns across adverbial clauses

Note that an adverbial clause may precede or follow the main clause. The pronoun in the preceding adverbial clause may weakly refer to the antecedent in the following main clause.

- (160) jěvhă lili ghəri ge-l-i těvhă ti-ni pustək vac-l-ə.
when Lili home went that timeshe book read
'When Lili went home she read a book.'

- (161) těvhă ti-ni pustək vac-l-ə jěvhă
that timeshe book read when

lili ghəri ge-l-i těvhă
Lili home went that time
'She read a book when Lili went home that time.'

Pronouns across coordinate structures

Pronouns in the coordinate clause may refer to the antecedents in the main clause but not the other way around. The pronoun may at times be deleted.

- (162) lili ghəri geli ari (ti) kam kəru lag-l-i.
Lili home went and she work do began-past-3fsg
'Lili went home and (she) began to work.'

Pronouns across discourse structures

Pronouns across discourse are often deleted until some other nominal intervenes.

- (163) lili uthə-l-i.
Lili got up
'Lili got up.'

babu-la nhau ghat-l-ə.
Babu-dat bath gave
'Bathed Babu.'

pustəkə ghet-l-it.
books took
'Took the books.'

shalet ge-l-i
school went.
'Went to school.'

3.6. Interjections

Interjections or exclamations are sudden utterances that express surprise, pain, approval, and some other emotions. Some of these are used by women only.

əre bapre!	'Oh my god'
əre ram!	'Oh my god'
kay mhənta!	'what do you say/really'
oho/əbəbə /əha!	'say, what a surprise, so good'
wa wa/oho!	'great, what a pleasure!'
šabas,chan!	'great, very good!'

Utterances used by women only

išyə/əyya	'what do you say/is that so
agobai!	'oh my god/surprise'

3.7. Vocative forms

Vocatives are address forms. These vary with number and gender. Some of these are given below. Masculine singular forms are usually preceded by *əre* 'hey' the feminine singular forms

are preceded by *əgə*. The plural/honorific forms take *aho*. The terms *əre*, *əgə*, *əho* may be used as address forms by themselves..

Masculine singular.
əre mula 'hey boy'
əre rama 'O Ram'
əre kutrya 'hey dog'

Feminine singular.
əgə muli 'hey girl'
əgə rəma 'O Rama'
əgə kutre 'O,bitch'

Masculine plural
mulañño 'O boys/boys'
mitrañño 'friends'

Feminine plural
muliñño 'O girls/girls'
maitriñño 'friends'

CHAPTER 4 SAMPLE TEXT

Pərkiyāši tyāčya bhašet....

Notes: Pərkiyāši tyāčya bhašet 'to a foreigner in his own language.....' is actually an anecdote. It appeared in the journal *bhaša aṇi jivan* 'Language and life' (6, 1988). The writer Madhavi Apte has adopted it from an article in Readers Digest Sept. 1987. It demonstrates the dangers of translation with inadequate familiarity in a foreign language.

(1) purəskar vijeta əmerikan lekhək jon šivər rom-madhe rahət
 prize winner American writer John Cheever Rome-in stay

hota tēvāci goṣṭə. (2) tyāčya ghəri kamala əslelya baila
 was that-time story his house-in work- to be woman

pharsə ingrəji yet nəvhətə. (3) roj səkali šivər-la nyahari-
 much english knew not every morning Cheever-to breakfast-

madhe ti bai jəra kəmi ukəḍ-lelə əṇḍə det əse. (4) te
 in that woman bit less boiled egg give use that

əṇḍə swəympak-ghər-at solun nəntər tebla-vər aṇun thevi-
 egg kitchen -in peeling then table-on bringing keep-

pəryanta dəgaḍa-sarəkhə thəṇḍ houn jai.
 upto stone-like cold become used

(5) əsa ek aṭhəvəḍa gelya-vər šivər-nə apli italiyən-english
 this way one week pass after Cheever self's Italian-english

dikshənəri kaḍhli aṇi ek vakyə kərun te canglə paṭh kelə.
 dictionary took-out and one sentence made that well memorize did

(6) ətišay vinəmbṛə šəbdāt to tila səməjavun sangnar hota, ki
 very polite words he her-to understand tell was that

aplə əṇḍə apəṇəcə solun ghyavə, əši tyaci ichha hoti. (7) jevhā
 his egg he-himself peel should so his wish was when

dusrya divši səkali tyanə te vakyə tya baila mhəṭlə, tevḥā
 next day morning he that sentence that lady-to said, then

ti raganə lalbund jhali aṇi tyacya thobaḍit marun ti ghəra-
she angry-with red-very became and his cheek-on striking she house-

-tun nighun geli. (8) səndhyakāḷi ti pəṛətli, təri ragavəlelicə hoti.
from went out evening-in she returned then angry-still was

(9) pəṇ evhana sivərcya ləkṣyat alə aṇi to kay mhəṇala hota
but by then Cheever realized came and he what said was

yaca bodhə jhala.
that-of realization became

(10) to mhəṇala hota:
he said had

“ḍu nət əṇḍres in də kicən, yu eg.”
do not undress in the kitchen, you egg.

Free translation:

(1) The story is of the time when the prize winner American writer John Cheever was staying in Rome. (2) The housekeeper working for him did not know much English. (3) Every morning that lady served an under cooked egg to Cheever for breakfast. (4) That egg, by the time it was peeled in the kitchen and brought to the table used to get cold like a stone. (5) After a week had passed like this, Cheever took out his Italian-English dictionary and made up a sentence and memorized it. (6) He was going to tell her extremely politely that he desired to peel his own egg. (7) When next day in the morning he said that sentence to the lady, she became red with anger and having slapped him left the house. (8) When she returned in the evening, she was still mad. (9) But by then Cheever had realized what he had said. (10) He had said “do not undress in the kitchen, you egg.”

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