Marwari, a standard dialect of Rajasthani language of Indo-Aryan family, is spoken by about thirteen million speakers in western Rajasthan comprising Churu, Bikaner, Nagaur, Ajmer, Jodhpur, Pali, Jalore, Jaisalmer, and Barmer districts of Rajasthan. It is also spoken in eastern parts of upper Sindh province of Pakistan. Having several dialects, Marwari is very rich in literary style known as Dingali and has a literary history of over one thousand years.

This grammar includes chapters on its phonology, morphology, syntax, and a sample text. Introductory section includes geographical and sociolinguistic sketch of Marwari and its speakers. The chapter on phonology includes vowels, consonants, diphthongs, and suprasegmentals. Glottalized sounds, murmur vowels, tones, and retroflexives are very prominent. The chapter on morphology describes nominal and verbal morphology. There are two numbers, two genders, and three cases. The nouns are declined according to their final segments. Case marking is partly inflectional and partly inflectional. The third person pronouns are distinguished on the proximity/remoteness dimension in each gender. Intransitive verbs can be passivised. There are three tenses and four moods. Cardinals up to ten are inflected. The chapter on syntax describes sentence types, word order, coordination, subordination, negation, and participles. The chapter on sample texts presents free and interlinear translations of some samples.
Languages of the World/Materials

427
Marwari

Lakhan Gusain

LINCOM webshop
www.lincom-europa.com

2004
LINCOM EUROPA
INTRODUCTION

There are eight dialects of Rajasthani that are spoken across the Rajasthan state of India. These dialects are Bagri, Shekhawati, Marwari, Marwari, Dhundhari, Harauti, Mewari and Wagri. Out of which Marwari is considered a dominant and ‘standard’ dialect of Rajasthani because of having a high variety of literature and a lot of research work on its dictionary and grammar. Marwari has four sub-dialects: Godwari, Thali, Mallani, Dhatki and Bikaneri.

The present work is a grammatical description of Marwari dialect of Rajasthani language of Indo-Aryan family. Marwari, a standard dialect of Rajasthani language of Indo-Aryan family, is spoken by about thirteen million speakers in western Rajasthan comprising Churu, Bikaner, Nagaur, Ajmer, Jodhpur, Pali, Jalore, Jaisalmer, and Barmer districts of Rajasthan (see map). It is also spoken in eastern parts of upper Sindh province of Pakistan, Nepal, Myanmar, United Kingdom and United States of America. Marwari is very rich in literary style known as Dingal and has a literary history of over one thousand years. It has contributed to Rajasthani language and literature so much so that people started thinking Rajasthani meaning Marwari and vice-versa.

Geography

Marwar is the historic name for the large area of western Rajasthan that includes roughly present day Churu, Bikaner, Nagaur, Ajmer, Jodhpur, Pali, Jalore, Jaisalmer, and Barmer districts, was a former principality having an area of 93, 424 square kilometers in present day Rajasthan state of India. The Rathor clan of Rajputs founded Marwar state in about 1210 with its capital of Mandore. The new capital of Jodhpur was founded about 1450 and Marwar was later renamed after the new capital. Later a vassal of the Mughal empire was in Marwar. The British brought it under their control in 1818, and in 1949 it was merged with the state of Rajasthan.
Sociolinguistic data
The term “Marwari” literally refers to someone who hails from or is an inhabitant of Marwar area in Rajasthan. This term gained currency initially in Bengal, where the traders from Shekhawati and other parts of Rajasthan established their business empires. Distinct in their dress, customs and language, the traders and merchants of Rajasthan came to be known as Marwaris. Traditionally, traders par excellence, Marwaris migrated from their home state way back in the 16th century and established trading outposts as far away as Assam - the eastern corner of India. With their ingrained thrift and business acumen, they soon converted these small businesses into industrial empires. Today, the Marwaris dominate India's business and economy.

Marwari people prefer to speak Marwari and Rajasthani, but now-these-days Hindi is replacing Rajasthani. Moreover, one will find English speakers in all the major cities, and in remote villages too. Hinduism is the main religion of Marwar region. Other significant religious groups in the state are the Jains and the Muslims. There are many local folk heroes and local deities.

Marwar is famous for the majestic forts, intricately carved temples and decorated houses. It is also one of the most colourful regions of India. To offset the barren, colourless landscape and the monotony of its cloudless sky, the people of Marwar show a distinct preference for bright costumes. From the simple village folk to tribal to the kings and queens, the preferred colours are bright red, dazzling yellow, lively green or brilliant orange, highlighted by a lavish use of sparkling gold and silver fibers. Tribal and nomadic women are known for their love for silver jewellery. The ornaments follow age-old designs typical of a particular tribe. In daily use the ladies wear normal ornaments of neck, hand, nose and ear but on special occasions and social functions women wear all the ornaments of different parts of the body to look beautiful and attractive. For its exquisite designs and delicacy of art Marwari Jewellery is a rage not only for women of India but also for women of foreign countries.

Marwar Festival is held every year in memory of the heroes of Rajasthan. The festival is held in the month of Ashwin (September-October) in Jodhpur, for two days during the full moon of Sharad Poornima. Originally known as the Maand Festival, this festival features folk music centered on the romantic lifestyle of Rajasthan's rulers. This festival is devoted to the music and dance of the Marwar region and offers a good opportunity to see the folk dancers and singers who assemble here and provide hours of lively entertainment. These folk artists provide a glimpse of the days of yore, of battles and valiant heroes who still live on in their songs.

Existing research
Though Marwari had contributed profoundly to Rajasthani literature in medieval periods, but serious extensive linguistic research work has not been carried out on it. Some native scholars have done research on its word lists and scanty work on phonology. Besides, sketches of its morphology and syntax are found in some texts and monographs.

Organization of the book
This grammar includes chapters on phonology, morphology, syntax, and sample texts. The chapter I is on phonology, which deals with vowels, consonants, and diphthongs. Chapter II is on morphology that describes numbers, genders, and cases, nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, postpositions, and their inflection and derivation. Chapter III is on syntax and it deals with sentence types, word order, coordination, subordination, and particles. The chapter IV is of sample texts, which presents free and interlinear translations of some selected texts.


CHAPTER I

PHONOLOGY

In this chapter, we will present a brief sketch of segmental phonology of Marwari and will describe vowels and consonants and their phonotactic behaviour (sections 1.1-1.3). Section 1.4 is devoted to a brief discussion of suprasegmental features of tone, stress, juncture and intonation.

1.1 Vowels

The ten vowels in Marwari are: /i/ high front, /u/ lower high front, /e/ mid front, /e/ low front, /i/ mid central, /a/ low central, /a/ high back, /ar/ lower high back, /ar/ mid back, and /ar/ low back (see Table 1). Lip rounding is not distinctive in Marwari, only the back vowels are rounded. Out of these ten vowels, three are short: U, a, ı; and seven are long: i, u, e, e, a, o.

Thus, length is a distinctive feature in Marwari, where short and long vowels show full phonological opposition in all positions (see 1.1.8).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Front</td>
<td>Central</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low-High</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>U</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These are all pure vowels, non-nasalised. All vowels in Marwari can be nasalised. To each vowel, there corresponds a nasalised counterpart (see 1.1.9).

1.1.1 Front vowels

The phonological opposition between the front vowels /i e a/ is shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>is ‘arm of cot’</td>
<td>sir ‘share’</td>
<td>bell ‘friend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is ‘this’</td>
<td>sir ‘head’</td>
<td>bell ‘history’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>es ‘this year’</td>
<td>ser ‘a weight’</td>
<td>be ‘without’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>es ‘luxury’</td>
<td>ser ‘walking’</td>
<td>be ‘they’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.1.2 Central vowels

The central vowels /a o/ show full phonological contrast that is exemplified below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>an ‘grain’</td>
<td>pal ‘moment’</td>
<td>dhır ‘put’ (imp.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.1.3 Back vowels

The back vowels /u o o/ are rounded and show phonological opposition in all positions, e.g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>un ‘wool’</td>
<td>mus ‘mouse’</td>
<td>daru ‘wine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Un ‘be’</td>
<td>mUs ‘squeeze’</td>
<td>jhápU ‘cluster’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oc ‘cover’ (imp.)</td>
<td>jor ‘force’</td>
<td>siro ‘sweet porridge’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oc ‘a caste’</td>
<td>jor ‘pond’</td>
<td>siro ‘top’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the back vowels, /o/ is the least common - especially in the final position. Also, in some sub-dialects like Thali, Dhautki and Godwari, /a/ varies with /o/ and /ə/ or, e.g.,

| /bora/ | /bora/ ‘seek’ |
| /gə/ | /gə/ ‘cow’ |
| /kəɾ/ | /kəɾ/ ‘morsel’ |
| /pʰəɾ/ | /pʰəɾ/ ‘army’ |

1.1.4 High vowels

The high vowels /i u/ contrast in all positions, e.g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>idar ‘this side’</td>
<td>mit ‘friend’</td>
<td>kaji ‘Muslim priest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>udar ‘that side’</td>
<td>mut ‘urine’</td>
<td>kaju ‘cashew nut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isor ‘God’</td>
<td>mahio ‘camel’</td>
<td>biji ‘other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>user ‘fallow’</td>
<td>mahio ‘a fruit’</td>
<td>biji ‘squirrel’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.1.5 Lower high vowels

The lower high vowels /I U/ contrast in initial and medial positions only, as both /I/ and /U/ usually do not occur word-finally, e.g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1b ‘now’</td>
<td>kirım ‘whom’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ub ‘bore’</td>
<td>kUng ‘which side’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.1.6 Mid vowels

The mid vowels /e ø o/ show phonological contrast in all positions. Examples are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
1.1.7 Low vowels
The low vowels /a/ and /o/ show phonological contrasts as exemplified below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>es ‘luxury’</td>
<td>her ‘enmity’</td>
<td>be ‘they’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as ‘hope’</td>
<td>bar ‘times’</td>
<td>ba ‘she’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>os ‘frost’</td>
<td>bor ‘out’</td>
<td>bo ‘he’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.1.8 Vowel length
There are three pairs of short and long vowels in Marwari: /i/ and /ii/; /u/ and /uu/; and /a/ and /aa/. They show full phonological contrast at initial and medial positions, but short vowels generally do not occur at final position. The following words illustrate the length contrast between short and long vowels at initial and medial positions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Long vowel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lngs ‘to this’</td>
<td>lng ‘this side’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umra ‘king’</td>
<td>umra ‘row of crop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sło ‘wrong’</td>
<td>sło ‘nest’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Long vowel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sil ‘stone slab’</td>
<td>sil ‘damp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puN ‘good work’</td>
<td>pun ‘wind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mën ‘mind’</td>
<td>män ‘respect’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.1.9 Nasalized vowels
Vowel nasality is distinctive in Marwari. The contrast between oral and nasalized vowels at initial, medial, and final position is shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Long vowel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>is ‘expression of pain’</td>
<td>uţh ‘arise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ńst ‘brick’</td>
<td>ūţh ‘camel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>es ‘current year’</td>
<td>os ‘dew’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ās ‘enjoyment’</td>
<td>ās ‘a weight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erō ‘extra’</td>
<td>ọlō ‘hail’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ērō ‘his’</td>
<td>ọlō ‘reverse’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jāmi ‘fixed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jāmī ‘earth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kade ‘whenever’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kadē ‘rotten’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mē ‘in’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mē ‘I’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bōd ‘bad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bōdē ‘body’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.2 Consonants
In describing the consonant sounds of a language, there are three notions that help us distinguish one sound from another. They are: (i) place of articulation, (ii) manner of articulation, and (iii) voicing. In Marwari, the consonant phonemes are described in terms of the following articulatory features: (i) Labial position (ii) Dental position (iii) Palatal position (iv) Velar position (v) Glottal position (vi) Closure (vii) Flap movement (viii) Trill (ix) Friction or constriction (x) Frictionless aperture (xi) Lateral opening (xii) Retroflexion (xiii) Nasality (xiv) Voicing (xv) Aspiration. The consonantal phonemes are given below in Table 2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
### Phonology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v.l.unasp.</td>
<td>p  t  t'</td>
<td>c  k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v.lasp.</td>
<td>ph  th  th'</td>
<td>ch  kh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v.d.unasp.</td>
<td>b  d  d</td>
<td>j  g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v.d.asp.</td>
<td>bh  dh  dh'</td>
<td>jh  gh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m  n  n'</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flap</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-vowels</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, there are contextual phonetic variants of some of these phonemes. A few observations with regard to such variants are made here:

#### 1.2.1 Description of individual consonant phonemes with allophonic variations

There are thirty-one consonant phonemes in Marwari. Marwari stops, like those of most Indo-Aryan languages, show four-way contrast between voiceless and voiced and unaspirated and aspirated at bilabial, dental, retroflex, palatal, velar, and glottal places of articulation. Phonetically, affricates also behave like stops. Phonetically, the taps, laterals, and nasals also show a two-way contrast between unaspirated and aspirated. Aspiration, thus, is an overriding characteristic of the Marwari sound system. Description of each consonant phoneme is given below:

#### A. Stops

- **/p/** voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop and is not fully released in the final position, e.g.:  
  pəg ‘foot’  
  pədho ‘he-buffalo’  
  səpər ‘snake-charmers’  
  pap ‘sin’

- **/b/** voiced unaspirated bilabial stop and is not fully released in the final position, e.g.:  
  phək ‘beggar’  
  phəp ‘boiling’  
  pəhrə ‘snails’  
  pəhə ‘ice’

- **/pʰ/** voiceless unaspirated retroflex stop and is not fully released in the final position, e.g.:  
  bish ‘poison’  
  bəə ‘child’  
  bə ‘sand dune’

- **/bʰ/** voiced unaspirated retroflex stop and does not occur fully aspirated in the final position, e.g.:  
  bə ‘bhopal’  
  bən ‘billion’  
  bə ‘brake’

- **/b/** voiceless unaspirated retroflex stop and it occurs less aspirated in final position, e.g.:  
  dhəl ‘loose’  
  dəl ‘study’  
  də ‘flood’

- **/d/** voiceless unaspirated palatal stop, e.g.:  
  kə ‘moon’  
  kəmət ‘bat’  
  kə ‘glass’

- **/dʰ/** voiced aspirated retroflex stop and it occurs less aspirated in final position, e.g.:  
  dhəl ‘loose’  
  dəl ‘study’  
  də ‘flood’

- **/d/** voiceless unaspirated palatal stop, e.g.:  
  kə ‘moon’  
  kəmət ‘bat’  
  kə ‘glass’

- **/dʰ/** voiced aspirated retroflex stop and it occurs less aspirated in final position, e.g.:  
  dhəl ‘loose’  
  dəl ‘study’  
  də ‘flood’
/ch/ voiceless aspirated palatal stop:
choro ‘boy’ macholi ‘fish’ kach ‘armpit’
chhad ‘shadow’ macho ‘mosquito’ bachi ‘she-call’

/l/ voiced unaspirated palatal stop:
jai ‘net’ joesman ‘host’ karej ‘debt’
jadu ‘magic’ rjai ‘quilt’ marj ‘patient’

/f/ voiced aspirated palatal stop and it occurs less aspirated in middle and final position
jholo ‘bag’ majhdar ‘current’ rmajd ‘intellect’
Bhapli ‘crack’ samajhdar ‘wise’ boj ‘load’

/f/ voiceless unaspirated velar stop:
kafo ‘tight’ noker ‘servant’ hako ‘noise’
kam ‘work’ tokuri ‘bell’ pako ‘ripe’

/kh/ voiceless unaspirated velar stop:
khas ‘special’ rokhas ‘monster’ pankh ‘feather’
khet ‘field’ rukhali ‘vigli’ rakh ‘ash’

/g/ voiced unaspirated velar stop:
gabho ‘cloth’ tjanga ‘child’ sog ‘mourn’
gam ‘village’ lugai ‘woman’ rog ‘disease’

/g/ voiced aspirated velar stop and it occurs less aspirated in middle and final positions
ghor ‘house’ donghai ‘depth’ dongo ‘deep’
gho ‘pitcher’ bghor ‘homeless’ singh ‘lion’

B. Nasals
/m/ voiced bilabial nasals:
melo ‘dirty’ bimari ‘sickness’ sorom ‘shyness’
mejo ‘fair’ homésa ‘daily’ korom ‘activity’

/n/ has three allophones, which are all voiced:
[n] a palatal nasal occurs before palatal stop, e.g.
/banche○/~[banche○] ‘saved’ /panjo/~[panjo] ‘paw’

[n] a velar nasal that occurs before voiced velar stops, e.g.

/rangi/~[rang] ‘colour’ /dungo/~[dungo] ‘deep’
[n] a dental nasal occurs in all other environments, e.g.
nak ‘nose’ minkh ‘man’ dhan ‘grain’

/r/ does occur in the word initial position. It has two allophones:
[N] a voiced retroflex nasal stop occurs with homorganic consonants, e.g.
/kund/~/[kund] ‘vessel’ /kund/~/[kund] ‘tank’
[n] a voiced retroflex nasal flap occurs elsewhere, e.g.
/pair/~/[pair] ‘water’ /mar/~/[mar] ‘mound’

C. Fricatives
/s/ a voiceless dental fricative occurs in all environments:
siro ‘sweet dish’ kisnar ‘farmer’ mals ‘massage’
sago ‘whole’ osar ‘free time’ nikhalas ‘pure’

/p/ voiceless glottal fricative. Fricatives are always released initially, but medially and finally these are not fully released. These are like murmured vowels:
hansi ‘laughter’ bat ‘out’ lka ‘iron’
hajari ‘attendance’ na ‘r ‘tiger’ se ‘all’

D. Trill
/t/ voiced dental alveolar trill occurs in all positions:
rat ‘quarrel’ marag ‘way’ phor ‘flapping’

E. Flap
/t/ voiced retroflex flap; does not occur in the initial position in the word:
er ‘weed’ seer ‘road’ ghor ‘horse’
pui ‘certain’ gharaj ‘shape’ jikkar ‘bread’

F. Laterals
/l/ voiced dental lateral:
log ‘person’ paik ‘eyelid’ sal ‘year’
lugai ‘woman’ halat ‘condition’ la ‘red’

/l/ voiced retroflex lateral does not occur in the word initial position:
holo ‘white’ bhot ‘burning’ mulo ‘radish’
kal ‘famine’ ghot ‘wrong’ jalo ‘web’
G. Frictionless continuants
/\/ has two allophones:
[y] a voiced labiodental frictionless continuant occurs before front vowels, e.g. /\vi\a\w\a\/ - /\vi\a\w\a\a\w\a\a\/ 'marriage'

[w] voiced labial frictionless continuant occurs in all other environments, e.g. sawa[\a] 'right' buhua 'father's sister'
cawa[\a] 'rice' chhinwo 'smoke'

/y/ voiced palatal frictionless continuant:
yar 'friend' maya 'money' lay 'fire'
pyar 'love' tyar 'ready' hay 'curse'

1.2.2 Distribution and contrast:
All consonants except /\\a\a\ a/ do not occur initially, whereas /\\a/ does not occur medially. The following examples illustrate phonemic contrasts:

(A) Contrast of articulation:
Contrast of voiced vs. voicelessness and aspiration vs. lack of aspiration are given below:
(i) Voiced vs. Voiceless
/p/: b/
pis 'grind' upor 'on' jip 'jeep'
bis 'twenty' ubar 'exceed' jib 'tongue'

/\a\a/: bh/
phul 'flower' sapra 'victorious' sap 'clean'
bhul 'mistake' saho 'rod' saab 'saheb'

/\a\a/: d/
tan 'rhythm' data 'God' bat 'matter'
dan 'gift' dada 'grand father' bad 'competition'

/\a\a/: d/
tal 'put off' bantgi 'distribution' bhat 'offer'
dal 'branch' baddgi 'praise' bhed 'sheep'

/\a/: y/
cor 'thief' socno 'to think' moc 'sprain'
jor 'force' sojno 'to search' moj 'enjoyment'

/k/: g/
ka\a 'famine' pake\a 'ripe' rok 'stop'
gal 'abuse' pae\a 'support' rog 'sickness'

/\a/: gh/
ko\a 'sour' bah\a 'description' mokho 'hole'
goa\a 'loss' bahan 'activity' mogho 'pipe'

(ii) Unaspirates vs. aspirates
/p/: bh/
palo 'grass' sappai 'constable' sap 'snake'
phalo 'swelling' sapphui 'cleanliness' sap 'clean'

/b/: bh/
bat 'tell' dab 'press' tib 'an iron leaf'
bhat 'rice' dbh 'turn' jibh 'tongue'

/t/: th/
tara 'stars' tata 'parrot' sat 'seven'
thara 'yours' thotho 'hollow' sath 'along'

/d/: d/
dan 'gift' bando 'servant' bad 'competition'
dhan 'grain' bando 'stoppage' bath 'leather'

/l/: th/
l\a\a 'canvas' ka\a 'rust' pe\a 'stomach'
la\a 'pomp' ka\a 'wood' pe\a 'rapport'

/\a\a/: d/
dj\a 'body' baddjai 'praise' bad 'flood'
dhul 'slackness' baddjai 'cutting' ba\h 'cut (imp)'

/k/: gh/
kam 'work' pake\a 'to cook' nak 'nose'
kham 'envelope' pakhano 'lattice' nakh 'to throw'

/g/: gh/
gal 'check' pago 'leg of the cot' bag 'garden'
ghal 'put inside' paghno 'turban' bagh 'tiger'
/c/ ch
/ci/ 'sugar' /b/coo 'kid' /kae 'glass'
/chi/ 'chisel' /bucho 'he-call' /kae 'arm pit'

/j/: /jh/
/jal/ 'net' /roj 'daily' /bae 'hawk'
/jial/ 'welding' /roj 'cow antelope' /banjh 'barren lady'

(iii) Nasals:
/m n nj, the nasals, show phonological contrast at all positions. All of them are unaspirated and voiced. The examples are:
/m n nj/ dam 'price' kam 'work' bhem 'doubt'
dan 'clearly' kann 'ear' bhen 'ear'

/n nj/ kaño 'edge of' man 'thought' tan 'rhythm'
kaŋo 'one eye' maŋ 'maud' tan 'spread' (imp.)

(iv) Semi-vowels:
/w y/ war 'time' war 'rider' baw 'pain'
yar 'friend' yar 'jackal' bay 'poisoning'

(v) Fricatives:
/s h/ sing 'horn' siro 'porridge' khe 'blanket'
hing 'suefoctida' hiro 'diamond' keh 'dirt'

(B) Contrast of manner
(i) Stop vs. flap vs. lateral
/d t/ t/ /l/
/t/ The retroflex flap does not occur in the world initial position. Thus the contrasts are available in the medial and final positions:
kuḍo 'sulking' raŋ 'widow'
kuḍo 'shirt' raŋ 'quarrel'

/d t/ doko 'stick' baḍo 'squint' gado 'cart'
roko 'stop' baro 'big pot' garo 'mud'

/d l/ /l/
/l/ The retroflex lateral does not occur in the world initial position. The contrast is found in the medial and final positions only:

pado 'he-buffalo' gado 'fix' bhed 'sheep'
pato 'bring-up (imp.)' galo 'abuse' bhel 'get together'

/l/: /r/ li 'blood' dpl 'big pot' boli 'dialect'
roi 'wept' dør 'thread' bor 'sack'

/l l/ both of them occur in the medial and final positions:
mulo 'radish' balo 'ring' jal 'a tree'
muṛo 'return' bāro 'promise' jāt 'molar teeth'

(ii) Stop vs. frictionless continuant:
/p w h/ pano 'water' bis 'twenty' raw 'king'
wang 'sound' wis 'poison' rō 'porridge'

1.2.3 Consonantal length
There are three degrees of phonetic length in consonants in Marwari: (i) geminated, (ii) fortis, and (iii) simple. Some consonants occur in all the positions whereas geminated and fortis occur only in the intervocalic position even if intervened by /y/. But fortis occur only in the second syllable of the word. All the consonants except /t l y h/ can occur geminated as well as fortis.

Geminate consonants do not contrast with fortis as geminated occur after short vowels and fortis occur after long vowels. Gemination behave like consonant clusters in the syllabic structure of the language, the first half goes with the preceding vowel and the latter half with following one. When aspirates geminated the first consonantal number is de-aspirated. The following examples illustrate this contrast:

(i) Geminate and simple consonants:
/t t/ pto 'knowledge'
potto 'leaf'
mati 'watermelon'
dāti 'sickle'

/k kk/ sokat 'tough'
cakkor 'circle'

/n n/ muni 'a saint'
munō 'a girl child'

(ii) Simple and fortis:
Simple consonants do not contrast with fortes, as fortes occur only in intervocalic position of a disyllabic word and simple occurs in all other positions.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[up]} & \rightarrow \text{‘on’} \\
\text{[upaŋ]} & \rightarrow \text{‘root out’(imp. polite)} \\
\text{[upəɾ]} & \rightarrow \text{‘carry’, ‘lift’ (imp.)} \\
\text{[dhoən]} & \rightarrow \text{‘washer woman’} \\
\text{[dhoəi]} & \rightarrow \text{‘washer man’} \\
\text{[muəlo]} & \rightarrow \text{‘small cot’} \\
\text{[muəɾ]} & \rightarrow \text{‘cot’}
\end{align*}
\]

1.3 Diphthongs

There are two diphthongs in Marwari: /ai/ and /au/. /ai/ is generally pronounced loosely as a-i, and /au/ as a-u. Marwari, however, is somewhat tighter in its pronunciation so that it will depend more or less on the option of the speaker, if he or she will contract ai or au into a real diphthong, or pronounce them separately as two distinct vowels. From the manner of writing, no safe conclusion can be drawn, as a fixed system of orthography is still a desideration. The process of diphthongization in Marwari is closely related to vowel clustering. Diphthongs in Marwari are rising diphthongs, i.e. they end in high vowels /i/ and /u/:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[ai]} & \rightarrow \text{‘these’} & \text{[ai]a} & \rightarrow \text{‘cow’} & \text{[ai]} & \rightarrow \text{‘all’} \\
\text{[oə]} & \rightarrow \text{‘like this’} & \text{[oə]a} & \rightarrow \text{‘tyre’} & \text{[oə]} & \rightarrow \text{‘fear’} \\
\text{[ou]} & \rightarrow \text{‘woman’} & \text{[ou]a} & \rightarrow \text{‘quarter’} & \text{[ou]} & \rightarrow \text{‘wife’} \\
\text{[uə]} & \rightarrow \text{‘tools’} & \text{[uə]a} & \rightarrow \text{‘man’} & \text{[uə]} & \rightarrow \text{‘cow’}
\end{align*}
\]

1.4 Suprasegmentals

1.4.1 Tones

Marwari has developed tonal contrasts like Punjabi language. Though it is a very controversial aspect of the suprasegmentals of the Marwari, yet there are known to be three tones: high, mid, and low. The high tone /\text{H}/ is characterized as a rising tone. The low tone /\text{L}/ is a falling tone. The mid tone /\text{M}/ is never represented, since it is predictable by rules of redundancy; if a vowel does not bear any tone specification at the level of phonetic representation, it carries a mid tone. Marwari does not have contour tones as does Chinese. The following examples reflect the phonetic status of level tones:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Low} & \rightarrow \text{per ‘duration’} & \text{Mid} & \rightarrow \text{per ‘leg’} & \text{High} & \rightarrow \text{per ‘put on’} \\
\text{Low} & \rightarrow \text{lər ‘wave’} & \text{Mid} & \rightarrow \text{lər ‘behind’} & \text{High} & \rightarrow \text{lər ‘taken’ (ppl.)} \\
\text{Low} & \rightarrow \text{kəɾ ‘calamity’} & \text{Mid} & \rightarrow \text{kəɾ ‘caparis’} & \text{High} & \rightarrow \text{kəɾ ‘said’(conj. ppl.)} \\
\text{Low} & \rightarrow \text{nəɾ ‘having bathe’} & \text{Mid} & \rightarrow \text{nəɾ ‘women’} & \text{High} & \rightarrow \text{nəɾ ‘tiger’}
\end{align*}
\]

Both low tone and high tone can occur in monosyllabic, disyllabic and trisyllabic environments. Falling tones seem to be the recent development from the structure: \text{cvhv} → \text{cvφc}

The following examples illustrate the occurrence of Marwari tones in different syllable types:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Low tone} & \rightarrow \text{jer ‘poison’} & \text{Mid tone} & \rightarrow \text{je ‘layer’} & \text{High tone} & \rightarrow \text{me ‘we’} & \text{me ‘rain’} & \text{me ‘rain’} \\
\text{Low tone} & \rightarrow \text{na ‘bathe’} & \text{Mid tone} & \rightarrow \text{na ‘eradication’} & \text{High tone} & \rightarrow \text{baɪ ‘brother’} & \text{baɪ ‘cultivation’}
\end{align*}
\]

More usually, the high tone and mid tone contrast is more conspicuous:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Low tone} & \rightarrow \text{baro ‘leather sack’} & \text{Mid tone} & \rightarrow \text{baro ‘obituary’} & \text{High tone} & \rightarrow \text{saro ‘whole’} & \text{saro ‘support’} & \text{saro ‘support’} \\
\text{Low tone} & \rightarrow \text{ma ‘mother’} & \text{Mid tone} & \rightarrow \text{ma ‘a month’} & \text{High tone} & \rightarrow \text{bo ‘cry of goat’} & \text{bo ‘he’} & \text{bo ‘he’} \\
\text{Low tone} & \rightarrow \text{bero ‘knowledge’} & \text{Mid tone} & \rightarrow \text{bero ‘dent’} & \text{High tone} & \rightarrow \text{so ‘sleep’} & \text{so ‘whole’} & \text{so ‘whole’} \\
\text{Low tone} & \rightarrow \text{bai ‘sister’} & \text{Mid tone} & \rightarrow \text{bai ‘cultivation’} & \text{High tone}
\end{align*}
\]

1.4.2 Stress

The stress is not an important feature of Marwari, yet, it seems that its existence and phonemic status cannot be ruled out. Stress is utilized in disyllabic syllables to distinguish between grammatical categories. In nouns, stress accent falls on the initial syllable and in the verb category stress accent falls on the final syllable. The stressed syllable is marked by the symbol [^].

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Nouns} & \rightarrow \text{baɪla ‘evil spirit’} & \text{Verbs} & \rightarrow \text{baɪla ‘call’} \\
\text{Nouns} & \rightarrow \text{hɪla ‘job’} & \text{Verbs} & \rightarrow \text{hɪla ‘cause to move’} \\
\text{Nouns} & \rightarrow \text{sɪla ‘rumour’} & \text{Verbs} & \rightarrow \text{sɪla ‘cause to wet’}
\end{align*}
\]

Phonetically, stress is employed to express emphasis. The phonetic correlate is the combination of length and pitch. Emphasized syllables contain a greater amount of energy.

1.4.3 Intonation

Accent and stress are not distinctive features in Marwari. Stress in Marwari is mainly used for emphasis. Some minor variations in intonation are observed which are given below:

/mə²/ \text{gam² jafəlo³ ‘I will go to village’}
Marwari

This is a simple statement of fact. The intonation changes, if the same sentence is interrogative. In this sentence any item may be stressed according to the context and emphasis, which results in change of intonation.

a. me² gam¹ jatilo¹
b. me² gam¹ jatilo²
c. me² gam¹ jatilo²
d. me² gam² jatilo¹

Of the above examples, sentence (a) is a question; whereas in sentences (b-d) there are emphases on /me²/, /gam/, and /jatilo/ respectively.

1.4.4 Juncture
Juncture is also phonemic in Marwari. This is not audible as a distinct sound but is realized as a gap in speech in a normal or slow speech. The following contrasts establish the juncture phoneme in Marwari:
(i) /manaq/ ‘mind-dignity’
 /man + aŋ/ ‘to be agree + come’
(ii) /pardesi/ ‘foreigner’
 /parde + si/ ‘curtains + sew (imp.)’

CHAPTER 2
MORPHOLOGY

2.1 Nominal Morphology
2.1.1 Noun
In Marwari, there are two numbers—singular and plural; two genders—masculine and feminine, three cases—direct, oblique, and vocative. The nouns are declined according to their gender class and the final property of their final segment. The animates in either masculine or feminine, and there is not any fixed rule for inanimates.

2.1.1.1 Number
Two numbers are distinguished—singular and plural. Masculine nouns that end in /-o/ are changed into /-a/ to form the plural number in direct case:
(1) choro ‘boy’; chora ‘boys’
goro ‘horse’; ghora ‘horses’
basto ‘bag’; basto ‘bags’
rosto ‘path’; rosta ‘clothes’

Masculine nouns ending in a consonant or in any vowel, except /-o/, do not change to form the plural direct case:
(2) gam ‘village/villages’
raja ‘king/kings’
admi ‘man/men’
dhobi ‘washerman/washermen’

Feminine nouns, irrespective of their endings, form their plural number in direct case by adding the ending /-a/:
(3) chori ‘girl’; chorii ‘girls’
ranj ‘queen’; ranja ‘queens’
kitab ‘book’; kitabii ‘books’
adat ‘habit’; adati ‘habits’

2.1.1.2 Gender
There are two grammatical genders in Marwari—masculine and feminine. All the nouns ending in /-o/ are masculine:
(4) choro ‘boy’
mano ‘maternal uncle’
salino ‘cinema’
bhatijo ‘nephew’
A few nouns ending in /-i/ are also masculine. These are nouns that denote nationality or profession:

(5) rajasthani ‘Rajasthani’
    marwari ‘Marwari’
    moci ‘cobbler’
    dhobi ‘washerman’

A few borrowed nouns ending in /-i/ are also masculine. These are Perso-Arabic in origin and denote personal identity or profession:

(6) admi ‘man’
    kaji ‘Muslim priest’
    kobiayel ‘tribal’
    tubeloci ‘drum-beater’

The majority of nouns ending in /-i/ are feminine:

(7) choi ‘girl’
    ghori ‘watch’
    bori ‘sack’
    ghori ‘mare’

Nouns ending in /-on/ are also feminine and these nouns denote nationality or profession:

(8) rajasthanon ‘Rajasthani woman’
    mewaton ‘Marwari woman’
    dhobon ‘washerwoman’
    soparaton ‘snake charmer’s wife’

There are no formal rules for identifying the gender of nouns with other than the above endings. In the case of animate nouns, grammatical gender corresponds to the sex; in the case of inanimate nouns, it is uncertain:

(9) kagati(m.) ‘paper’
    jeman(f.) ‘group’
    khun(m.) ‘blood’
    dowat(f.) ‘inquiry’

2.1.1.3 Case

Marwari, like other Indo-Aryan languages, has only three cases—direct, oblique, and vocative. In case relations, Marwari employs analytic method that combines nouns in the oblique case with auxiliary postpositions:

Case | Noun | Postposition
--- | --- | ---
Nominative | choro | \(\phi\)
Oblique | choro | ne
Accusative/Dative | choro + ne | ne
Instrumental | choro + syu | syu
Ablative | choro + syu | syu
Possessive/Genitive | choro + ro/rtra | ro(m.s.)/ri(lf/s/p)/ra (mpl.)
Locative | choro + me/per | me/per
Vocative | o choro | ----

The direct case is the case in which the noun stands as subject, as the nominal part of the predicate, or as the direct object. The oblique case is not used independently. In order to express case relations it must be accompanied by postpositions, which are always understood as being present even when omitted in practice. The forms of oblique case are as follows:

Masculine nouns ending in /-or/ change this ending to /-or/ to form the singular oblique case:

(10) choro ‘boy’ ; chora ‘the boy’ (agentive)
    ghoro ‘horse’ ; ghora ‘the horse’ (agentive)

Masculine nouns ending in other than /-or/ and all feminine nouns remain unchanged in the singular oblique case:

(11) kagati(m.) ‘paper’ ; kagati ne ‘to the paper’ (acc./dat.)
    bakhat(m.) ‘time’ ; bakhat ro ‘of the time’ (poss.)
    chori(f.) ‘girl’ ; chori ne ‘to the girl’ (acc./dat.)
    kitab(f.) ‘book’ ; kitab me ‘in the book’ (loc.)

Feminine nouns which have the plural direct case ending in /-or/ remain unchanged in the plural oblique case:

(12) kitab ‘books’ ; kitab syu ‘with, by books’
    chori ‘girls’ ; chori ne ‘to the girls’

All other nouns take the ending /-or/ in the plural oblique case:

(13) kagati(m.) ‘paper’ ; kagatari par ‘on the papers’
    klas(f.) ‘class’ ; klas me ‘in the classes’

The vocative case is the form used to address someone. In the singular masculine, nouns ending in /-or/ always take /-or/:

(14) o kaka ‘o uncle’
    o bhagwan ‘o God’
Feminine nouns in the singular remain unchanged in vocative case.

(15)  e chirī  'a girl'
e bai  'a sister'

The instrumental forms in both the numbers take the postposition /-syū/:
(16)  hat-syū  'with hand'
      hattā-syū  'with hands'
      ānkhl-syū  'with eye'
      ānkhlā-syū  'with eyes'

An ablative form in both the numbers take the case markers /-syū/ like instrumental form:
(17)  ghar-syū  'from the house';
      gharā-syū  'from the houses'
      koṭha-syū  'from the room';
      koṭhā-syū  'from the rooms'

Locative forms are found in both singular and plural numbers. For the masculine singular /-ā/ may be added or the form may coincide with the oblique case plus the locative marker:
(18)  kāmre me  'in the room'
      sbyam me  'in the evening'
      ghor me  'in the house'

The plural locative can be formed by adding /-ā/:
(19)  bagā  'in the gardens'
      rōhā  'in the fields'

2.1.2 Pronouns

Pronouns in Marwari are inflected for number and case, but gender is distinguished in third person singular pronoun. In Marwari, there are six classes of pronouns: nominative forms of personal, demonstrative, reflexive, interrogative, indefinite, and relative. All pronouns have oblique forms, but no vocative forms. The third person pronouns are distinguished on the basis of proximity and remoteness and gender.

2.1.2.1 Personal pronouns

The personal pronouns are inflected for number and case. First and second personal pronouns do not distinguish gender and proximity/remoteness. The following paradigm illustrates this:

(20a)  Person  Case  Number  Sg.  Pl.
      First  Direct  mē/mēhī  'I'
             Oblique  mē  'we'
      Second  Direct  tū  'you'
               Oblique  tu  'yours'

2.1.2.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns in Marwari are also used as personal pronouns. These are divided on the basis of proximity and remoteness. In third person singular, both proximate and remote, demonstratives are further divided into masculine and feminine genders. In third person plural, there is no gender distinction. This feature is present in all the dialects of Rajasthan.

(20b)  Gender  Case  Number  Sg.  Pl.
        Masculine  Direct  o  'he'
              Oblique  in  'these'
        Feminine  Direct  a  'she'
               Oblique  in  'these'

The third person personal pronouns are distinguished on the basis of proximity and remoteness that are further divided on the basis of gender. Third person personal pronouns are really demonstrative pronouns, used also as personal pronouns. The following paradigm displays this:

(20b)  Gender  Case  Number  Sg.  Pl.
        Masculine  Direct  bo  'he'
              Oblique  bīrī  'those'
        Feminine  Direct  ba  'she'
               Oblique  bīrī  'those'

2.1.2.3 Reflexive pronouns

For showing proximity, in direct singular of third person, there are two forms in Marwari: /o/ and /a/ for masculine and feminine respectively. Likewise, /bo/ and /ba/ show remoteness in masculine and feminine respectively. In the plural of third person the gender does not play a significant role.
Marwari has two types of reflexive pronouns: (i) agentive reflexive: apne ap ‘self’ and (ii) possessive reflexive: apro ‘my/your/his/her/their own’. The agentive reflexive can be followed by a postposition and generally never occur in the subject position. apne ap is not inflected and takes only the postposition to show reflexivity. Whereas, the possessive reflexive apro is inflected according to the gender and number of the object of the verb of in third person. The agentive reflexive can normally never occur in the subject position.

(22)* apne ap po podge he refl. he read-prst. aux.

‘He reads himself.’

(22a) bo apne ap podge he he refl. he read-prst aux

‘He reads himself.’

The agentive reflexive apne ap can be followed by a postposition.

(23) biñ apne ap ne sìsì me dekhyo he+erg. refl. acc/dat. mirror loc. see-prst ms

‘He saw himself in the mirror.’

In sentence (23) the postposition ne is in accusative/dative case. biñ ‘he+erg.’ is the antecedent of apne ap ‘self’. apne ap is not inflected but only takes the postpositions to show reflexivity. The possessive reflexive apro is inflected according to the gender and number of the object of the verb in third person.

(24) mē apro kam karū hū I own work do-prst aux.

‘I do my own work.’

In the sentence (24) apro does not agree with gender and number of subject mē ‘I’. Even in second and third person it does not agree with the subject tū ‘you’ and bo / ba ‘he/she’:

(25) tū apro kam kare he you own work do-prst aux

‘You do your own work.’

(26) ba / bo apro kam kare he she/he/you own work do-prst aux.

‘S/he does his/her own work.’

The possessive reflexive apro agrees with the gender and number of the object of the verb:

(27) mē apro kitab podgū hū I own book read-prst aux.

‘I read my own book’.

(28) tū / bo / ba a pro kitab podgū he you / he / she own book read-prst aux.

‘You / He / She reads your / his / her own book.’

### 2.1.2.4 Interrogative pronouns

There are two interrogative pronouns in Marwari: (i) kūn ‘who’ and (ii) kāl ‘what’. The former is used for persons and latter for objects, respectively. There is no difference between the singular and plural forms of both these pronouns. The paradigm of both the interrogative pronouns is similar, except in direct case:

(29)a. Case Number

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direct</th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kūn</td>
<td>kūn</td>
<td>kūn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāl</td>
<td>kāl</td>
<td>kāl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(29)b. Case Number

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direct</th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kūn</td>
<td>kūn</td>
<td>kūn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāl</td>
<td>kāl</td>
<td>kāl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.1.2.5 Indefinite pronouns

The main indefinite pronouns in Marwari are: (i) koi ‘someone’ and (ii) kī ‘something’. Both can be used for persons and objects. The paradigm of both the indefinite pronouns is similar and there is no difference, except in nominative case, in their singular and plural forms:

(30)a. Case Number

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direct</th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>koi</td>
<td>koi</td>
<td>koi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kī</td>
<td>kī</td>
<td>kī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(30)b. Case Number

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direct</th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>koi</td>
<td>koi</td>
<td>koi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kī</td>
<td>kī</td>
<td>kī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.1.2.6 Relative pronouns

There exists an elaborate set of relative pronouns in Marwari. The list of relative pronouns in Marwari is:

(31) Case Number

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direct</th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jīka</td>
<td>jīka</td>
<td>jīka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jīka</td>
<td>jīka</td>
<td>jīka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.1.3 Possession

In Marwari possession is shown by the use of verb *haj ‘to be’. Possessor can either be an animate or inanimate and the possessive structures in turn can be alienable or inalienable and permanent or temporary etc. Animacy of possessor assigns a number of postpositions to the subject and the verb agrees with the object. The paradigm of possession in Marwari is given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Possession</th>
<th>Postposition for Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Animate</td>
<td>alienable</td>
<td>re pas ‘near/possession’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animate</td>
<td>inalienable</td>
<td>ro/ri ra ‘possessive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inanimate</td>
<td>alienable</td>
<td>me ‘in’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inanimate</td>
<td>inalienable</td>
<td>ro/ri ra ‘possessive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animate</td>
<td>permanent/abstract</td>
<td>me ‘in’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animate</td>
<td>temporary/abstract</td>
<td>ne ‘to’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Observing the following examples in this regard:

Animate possessor - alienable possession
(32) *un re pas do gharstrē he
he gen.obl. poss. two watch fp. are
‘He has two watches’.

Animate possessor - inalienable possession
(33) *un ro nak lambo he
he gen.ms nose ms long are
‘He has long nose’.

Inanimate possessor - alienable possession
(34) kamre me do khrustē he
room obl. in two chair fp. are
‘There are two chairs in the room’.

Inanimate possessor - inalienable possession
(35) kamre me cyar divēri he
room ms in four wall fp are
‘The room has four walls’.

2.1.4 Numerals

Numerals are adjectives indicating number. The numerals in Marwari are: (i) cardinals, (ii) Ordinals, (iii) multiplicative, (iv) fractions, and (v) aggregatives. All these are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Cardinal</th>
<th>Ordinal</th>
<th>Multiplicative</th>
<th>Fraction</th>
<th>Aggregative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ek</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1/1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2/2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tin</td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3/3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>cyar</td>
<td>4th</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4/4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>pāc</td>
<td>5th</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5/5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>chē</td>
<td>6th</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6/6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>sat</td>
<td>7th</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7/7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>aṭth</td>
<td>8th</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8/8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>9th</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9/9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>das</td>
<td>10th</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10/10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>gyana</td>
<td>11th</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11/11</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>bana</td>
<td>12th</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12/12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>tēra</td>
<td>13th</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13/13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>cūvīda</td>
<td>14th</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14/14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>pandra</td>
<td>15th</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15/15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>sola</td>
<td>16th</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16/16</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>sātrā</td>
<td>17th</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17/17</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>uṭhara</td>
<td>18th</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18/18</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>uṇis</td>
<td>19th</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19/19</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>bāris</td>
<td>20th</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20/20</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>ikkīs</td>
<td>21st</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21/21</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>bais</td>
<td>22nd</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22/22</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>tēls</td>
<td>23rd</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23/23</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>cōbis</td>
<td>24th</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24/24</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>pōcīs</td>
<td>25th</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25/25</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is worth noting that *un- is prefixed to all the numerals which designate decades less than one.
(i) Cardinals:
Cardinals are used for counting and answer the question *kiro* ‘how many’. The cardinals are not declined unless they refer to nouns in the oblique case. They then take the ending *-ō/.*
Examples are given below:

(37) dasū kitābā ro malik
ten books poss. owner
‘The owner of ten books’.

(38) puncōl chorā na
five children to
‘To five children’.

(ii) Ordinals:
The ordinal numerals answer the question *kiro* ‘which’. Ordinals are declinable adjectives which are formed from cardinals by the addition of the suffix */-ō/ (ms.) or */-ū/ (fs.), except in case of ordinals of *ek* ‘one’, *do* ‘two’, *tin* ‘three’, and *cyar* ‘four’. The ordinals of these cardinals are:

pelo ‘first’
duro ‘second’
tisro ‘third’
cottho ‘fourth’

Examples of other ordinals are:
puncwō (ms.) ‘fifth’
dasawō (ms.) ‘tenth’
do so satwō (ms.) ‘207th’
dauwō (fs.) ‘fifth’
tauwō (fs.) ‘tenth’
do so satwō (fs.) ‘207th’

(iii) Multiplicatives:
Multiplicatives are formed by suffixing */-urō/ (ms.) or */-unō/ (fs.) ‘multiplied/times’ to the cardinal numerals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dugun</td>
<td>dugun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tingun</td>
<td>tingun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The multiplicative suffixed may also be added to a few of the fractional numerals:
sawa gun | 1½ times
qol | 1 1/2 times
qol | 2 1/2 times

(iv) Fractions:

Marwari has special terms for the following fractions:
paiyō = ¼ ‘a quarter’
saq = ½ ‘half’ (used with numerals 3 and above)
punj or tin pav = ¾ ‘three fourth’
sawa = ¾ (with weights and measures)

All of the fractions listed above do not behave as adjectives. A few of them may combine with the genitival forms of the NPs in which case they are more like nouns than adjectives, as exemplified below:

(39) Ин ro adho caije
this gen. half needed
‘Half of it is needed’.

(40) so ra khulla deiyō
hundred gen. change give-imp.
‘Give (me) change of one hundred (rupees)’.

However, most of the fractions are used as adjectives:

(41) paiyō dud dyo
quarter milk give-imp.
‘Give (me) quarter (liter) milk’.

(42) adho kilo khand de
½ kilogram sugar give-imp.
‘Give (me) ½ kilogram of sugar’.

(v) Aggregatives:
All aggregative forms of cardinal numerals in Marwari end on */-ul/:
donā ‘both’
cyari ‘all four’
puncū ‘all five’
pacstag ‘all fifty’
suli ‘all hundred’
tinū ‘all three’
satū ‘all seven’
apū ‘all eight’
nol ‘all nine’
dasū ‘all ten’

2.1.5 Adjectives
2.1.5.1 Formation of adjectives:
Adjectives in Marwari can be divided into two classes: (i) ending in */-ō/ and (ii) ending in other vowels or consonants. Adjectives ending in */-ō/ are masculine and agree with the following head noun in gender, number, and case and vowel */-ō/ is changed into */-ul/ in the
singular oblique case and /-i/ in the plural oblique case. Whereas, adjectives not ending in /-o/ do not agree with their noun in number, gender, and case. Their endings remain unchanged in singular and plural oblique cases.

**Case** | **Masculine** | **Feminine**
--- | --- | ---
Direct | acche ‘good’ | acchi
Oblique | accha | acchā

In Marwari, adjectives are used both attributively and predicatively. Examples are given below:

**Attributive:**

(43)a. kalo bosto mero he
black bag my is
'The black bag is mine'.

(44)a. bo ajsi choro he
that lazy boy is
'That is a lazy boy'.

**Predicative:**

(43)b. mero bosto kalo he
my bag black is
'My bag is black'.

(44)b. bo choro ajsi he
that boy lazy is
'That boy is lazy'.

2.1.5.2 Degrees of comparison:

There are several ways to express the comparative degree of comparison in Marwari. The adjectives ending in /-o/ alone form a simple comparison by adding /-alo/ (ms.), to the base to get comparison in masculine (singular) gender:

motto ‘big’ (ms.) ; motto ‘bigger’ (fs/p.) ; motto ‘biggest’ (mp.)
accho ‘good’ (ms.) ; accho ‘better’ (fs/p.) ; acchela (mp.)
lombo ‘long’ (ms.) ; lombo ‘longer’ (fs/p.) ; lombela (mp.)
tikho ‘sharp’ (ms.) ; tikho ‘sharper’ (fs/p.) ; tikhola (mp.)

A composite form of the comparative is made by means of the words jvada (= much) and kam (= less). The following examples illustrate this:

(45) ram shyam syi jvada sunadar he
Ram Shyam from more handsome is
'Ram is more handsome than Shyam'.

(46) sita gita syi kam hūṣyār he
Sita Gita from less intelligent is
'Sita is less intelligent than Gita'.

In superlative constructions, the standard against which the comparison is made is sara ‘all’, to which the postposition sva ‘from’ is suffixed, e.g.,

(47) prem sara syi hūṣyār he
Prem all from intelligent is
'Prem is the most intelligent of all'.

2.1.6 Adverbs

An adverb is a word that occurs before the verbal form and qualifies the action denoted by the verb. Adverbs may be divided into adverbs of time, place, manner, location, direction, and purpose or cause. In Marwari, the adverbs formed on the pronominal bases are presented in a tabular form given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverbs of:</th>
<th>Proximate</th>
<th>Remote</th>
<th>Relative</th>
<th>Interrogative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>ab</td>
<td>tad</td>
<td>jad</td>
<td>kad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place</td>
<td>atthe</td>
<td>utthe</td>
<td>jētthe</td>
<td>kētthe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direction</td>
<td>ine</td>
<td>une</td>
<td>jine</td>
<td>kine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manner</td>
<td>iyā</td>
<td>biyā</td>
<td>iyā</td>
<td>iyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cause</td>
<td>iyā</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>iyā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Adverbs of time:

Under these will come words indicating different parts of the day, and different periods of time, e.g.,

ab ‘now’ kad ‘when’ jad ‘when’ (relative)
savare ‘tomorrow’ kal ‘yesterday’ aj ‘today’
(b). adverbs of place:
ṣṭhe 'here' ṣṭthe 'there' kāṭthe 'where' jāṭthe 'where' (relative)

(c). adverbs of direction:
inp 'here' une 'there' jine 'where' kine 'where'
dur 'far' nert 'near' upar 'above' nice 'below'

(d). adverbs of manner:
iyā 'this way' biyā 'that way' jiyā 'that way' kiyā 'what way'
bhālo 'well' thik 'right' tej 'fast' dhīre 'slowly'

(e). adverbs of cause:
iyā 'this way' kyū 'why'

2.1.7 Nominal categorizers
2.1.7.1 Nominalizers
Marwari nouns are derived from various word classes such as nouns, adjectives, verbs etc. by means of affixation.

(a) Nouns from nouns:
The nouns are derived from various noun stems by adding the suffixes illustrated below:

(i) /-pəŋ/ is added to noun stem to form abstract noun:
48 murkhi 'fool'
markhpanco 'foolishness'
lugai 'woman'
lugapango 'womanhood'
alos 'laziness'
alospango 'laziness'
majak 'jock'
majakpanco 'joking condition'

(ii) /-o/ is added to noun stem to form abstract noun:
49 mird 'sleeping'
mindo 'one who sleeps more'
gal 'abuse'
galo 'abuser'

(iii) /-e/ is added to noun stem to form nouns of agency or occupation to which is further added /-o/ and /-i/, respectively to form masculine and feminine:
50 kumar-ṛ-o 'potter' (m.)
kumar-ṛ-i 'potter's wife'
sunar-ṛ-o 'goldsmith' (m.)
sunar-ṛ-i 'goldsmith's wife'

(iv) /-i-o/ is added to the noun to form abstractive noun:
51 adām-ī-o 'manliness'
insan-ī-o 'humanity'

(v) /-pəŋ/ is added to noun to form abstract noun and it is always followed by suffix /-o/ which indicates masculine gender:
52 dewota-pəŋ-o 'godliness'
murkhi-pəŋ-o 'foolishness'

(vi) /-baj/ is added to the noun to form agent nouns that are masculine:
53 kal-baj 'clever'
dhoke-baj 'deceiver'

(vii) /-i/ is added to noun (place name) to form nouns signifying residence. The resultant noun is masculine:
54 marwar-i 'a resident of Marwar'
jodhpur-i 'a resident of Jodhpur'

(viii) /-i/ is added to form noun of agency or occupation. These nouns are masculine:
55 son-i 'goldsmith'
tel-i 'oilman'

(ix) /-i/ is added to abstract noun to form the abstract noun. These are feminine:
56 gam-i 'sorrowness'
bod-i 'evilness'

(x) /-ari/ is added to noun to form noun of occupation. These are masculine:
57 son-ar 'goldsmith'
nac-ar 'dancer'

(xi) /-dar/ is added to the noun stem to form noun of occupation. These are masculine:
58 coki-dar 'watchman'
jama-dar 'timekeeper'
thaq-dar 'head policeman'
iman-dar 'honest'

(xii) /-n/o/ is added to the noun stem to form noun of agency:
59 kom-n 'hard working person'
colt-n 'casual'

(xiii) /-a/i/ is added to noun as well as adjectival stem to form the abstract noun. These nouns are feminine:
60 kam-a 'earning'
bhāl-a 'welfare work'
cattar-a 'cleverness'
(xvi) /-än/ is added to masculine noun stem to form noun of location or residence. These are feminine:

(61) marwar-än, ‘a resident of Marwar’
panjab-än, ‘a resident of Punjab’

(xv) /-er/ is added to abstract noun to form abstract noun. If the suffix /-er/ is followed by /-o/, it will be a masculine noun and if it is followed by /-i/, it will be a feminine noun:

(62) gal-er-o ‘one who abuses’ (m.)
gal-er-i ‘one who abuses’ (f.)

(xvi) /-al/ is added to the noun to form noun of possession. If suffix /-al/ is followed by /-a/, it will be a masculine noun and if it is followed by /-i/, it will be a feminine noun:

(63) dukán-al-o ‘shopkeeper’ (m.)
dukán-al-i ‘shopkeeper’ (f.)
akal-al-o ‘wiseman’
akal-al-i ‘wisewoman’
ghar-al-o ‘landlord’
ghar-al-i ‘landlady’

(xvii) /-ano/ is added to the noun to form abstract noun that is masculine:

(64) var-ano ‘friendship’
najar-ano ‘watching’

(b) Nouns from adjectives:

Marwari employs certain suffixes that are added to adjective stems to form nouns. The suffixes used for this purpose are given below:

(i) /-o/ is added to adjectival stem to form noun. If the suffix /-o/ is followed by /-a/, it will be a masculine noun and if it is followed by /-ä/, it will be a feminine noun:

(65) ajis-ci-o ‘lazyman’
al-sän ‘lazywoman’
bad-ci-o ‘elderman’
bad-ci-i ‘elderswoman’

(ii) /-po/ is added to adjectival stem to form noun that is masculine:

(66) ránd-de-po ‘widowhood’
bad-ja-po ‘oldness’
moja-po ‘higness’
gal-ja-po ‘slavery’

(iii) /-pän/ is added to form abstract nouns:

(67) tikho-pän ‘sharpness’
mitho-pän ‘sweetness’
kało-pän ‘blackness’
accho-pän ‘goodness’

(iv) /-al/ is added to adjectival stem to form the noun of quality. Noun thus formed is feminine:

(68) džing-al ‘depth’
uc-al ‘height’
bhal-al ‘welfare’
cətər-al ‘cleverness’

(v) /-i/ is added to adjectival stems to form abstract feminine noun:

(69) kal-i ‘wrong thing’
gal-i ‘abuse’

(c) Nouns from verbs:

Suffixed in Marwari which are added to verbal nouns to form nouns are following:

(i) /-u/ is added to the verbal stem to form nouns of agency and these are masculine:

(70) kar-u ‘worker’
lec-u ‘taker’
du-u ‘donor’
lekh-u ‘writer’

(ii) /-är/ is added only to some stems to form masculine nouns of agency:

(71) lam-är ‘pulverizer’
kel-är ‘player’

(iii) /-wät/ is added to verbal stems, generally to causal verbal stems, to form nouns:

(72) ban-wät ‘manufacture’
garya-wät ‘shaping’
mila-wät ‘mixing’
dikha-wät ‘showing’

(iv) /-ə/ is added to the verbal stem to form abstract feminine nouns:

(73) baṭ-ə ‘burning’
dikha-ə ‘showing’
(v) /-i/ is added to form abstract nouns:
(74) hāns-i ‘laughter’
      dhāns-i ‘cough’

(vi) /-wal/ is added to the infinitive to form noun of agency. This overlaps with adjectives:
(75) likh-wal ‘writer’
      sikh-wal ‘learner’
      bōl-wal ‘speaker’
      gai-wal ‘mover’

(vii) /-ai/ is added to the infinitive to form feminine noun:
(76) laq-ai ‘fighting’
      likh-ai ‘writing’
      sikh-ai ‘learning’
      dikh-ai ‘watching’

(d) Nouns from adverbs:
Marwari nouns can be derived from adverbs by means of the suffixes.
(i) /-i/ is added to the adverbial stem to form nouns:
(77) bhot-i ‘excessiveness’
      ottthe-i ‘here’
      jettthe-i ‘anywhere’
      subha-i ‘morning’

(ii) /-at/ is added to feminine nouns:
(78) abkh-at ‘difficulty’
      sojkha-at ‘easyness’

(iii) /-pən/ is added to the adverbial stem to form abstract noun:
(79) tawal-pən ‘speed’
      dhire-pən ‘slowness’

(e) Other means:
The nominal prefixes are added to some noun stems to form nouns having some common semantic basis, i.e. attribution, negation etc.:

Attribution:
(i) /-ku- is added to form noun:

(80) ku-mang ‘bad person’
      ku-karm ‘evil deed’
(ii) /-su/ is added to form noun:
(81) su-lekhwō ‘good featured’
      su-nam ‘famous’
      su-sanskār ‘good ritual’
      su-paṭ ‘good son’

Negation:
(i) /be-/ is added to form noun:
(82) be-imān ‘dishonest’
      be-kār ‘useless’
      be-swad ‘tasteless’
      be-ram ‘nameless’

(ii) /na-/ is added to form noun:
(83) na-mārōd ‘impotent’
      na-raj ‘unhappy’
      na-malum ‘unknown’
      na-samaj ‘innocent’

2.1.7.1 Augmentatives/diminutives
Marwari is very rich in augmentatives and diminutives. Majority of nouns show the distinction of largeness and smallness in size. Generally, masculine and feminine genders in Marwari express largeness and smallness of size, respectively. Examples are following:
(84) jhāp ‘a big hut’ (m.)
      jhāp ‘a small hut’ (f.)
      bō ‘a big sack’ (m.)
      bō ‘a small sack’ (f.)
      ma ‘a big cot’ (m.)
      ma ‘a small cot’ (f.)
      kō ‘a big bowl’ (m.)
      kō ‘a small bowl’ (f.)

(a) Augmentatives:
There are suffixes that are used as augmentative markers. An augmentative suffix, when added with a feminine noun, makes it larger whereas when same is added with a masculine noun makes it very larger in size. The augmentative suffixes in Marwari are given below:
(i) /-əq/ is added to the nouns to form masculine augmentatives:
(85) kagət ‘paper’ (m.)
      kagət-əq ‘very big paper’ (m.)
      sanduk ‘box’ (m.)
      sanduk-əq ‘big box’ (m.)

(ii) /-əq/ is added to the noun to form masculine augmentatives:
(86) bhē ‘buffalo’ (f.)
      bhē-əq ‘a big buffalo’ (m.)
(iii) -ar/ is added to the feminine noun to form feminine augmentative:

(87) rând ‘widow’(f.) rând-ar ‘nasty widow’(f.)

khîrik ‘window’(f.) khîrik-ar ‘big window’(f.)

(h) Diminutives:
There are also suffixes that denote diminutives. These are exemplified below (88-93):

(i) The suffix -îqo/, added always with masculine noun, shows smallness of size and the noun so formed is also masculine:

(88) sonduk ‘box’(m.) sonduk-îqo ‘small box’(m.)

gam ‘village’(m.) gam-îqo ‘small village’(m.)

admi ‘man’(m.) admi-îqo ‘short man’(m.)

kam ‘work’(m.) kam-îqo ‘small work’(m.)

(ii) The suffix -îqo, when added with a noun, shows very smallness of size and the noun so formed is always feminine:

(89) sonduk ‘box’(m.) sonduk-îqo ‘very small box’(f.)

cam ‘skin’(m.) cam-îqo ‘very thin skin’(f.)

kitab ‘book’(f.) kitab-îqo ‘very small book’(f.)

skul ‘school’(f.) skul-îqo ‘very small school’(f.)

(iii) The suffix -îyo/ is added with a masculine personal noun to show smallness of size and the noun thus formed is always masculine:

(90) mohen ‘Mohan, a name’(m.) mohen-îyo ‘baby Mohan’(m.)

ram ‘Ram, a name’(m.) ram-îyo ‘baby Ram’(m.)

(iv) The suffix -îl/ is always added with personal nouns to form diminutives and the noun formed is feminine:

(91) sita ‘Sita, a name’(f.) sit-îl ‘baby Sita’(f.)

mona ‘Mona, a name’(f.) mon-îl ‘baby Mona’(f.)

(v) The suffixes -îqo/ and -îqo/ are added with a noun to form diminutives which are masculine and feminine, respectively:

(92) gôdî ‘donkey’(m.) gôdî-îqo ‘small jîñkal’(m.) gôdî-îqo ‘very small donkey’(f.)

gôdî ‘jîñkal’(m.) gôdî-îqo ‘small jîñkal’(m.) gôdî-îqo ‘very small jîñkal’(f.)

(vi) The suffixes -îqo/ and -îqo/ are added with a noun to form masculine and feminine diminutives, respectively:

(93) mako ‘cot’(m.) mako-îqo ‘small cot’(m.) mako-îqo ‘very small cot’(f.)

top ‘cap’(m.) top-îqo ‘small cap’(m.) top-îqo ‘very small cap’(f.)

2.2. Verbal Morphology
2.2.1 Verb
Marwari verb is sensitive to number, person, and gender and there exists a clear distinction between finite and non-finite forms of the verb. Finite forms can be used independently in matrix and subordinate clauses. The non-finite verbal forms are the derived nominals and participles. The non-finite forms are not sensitive to tense, aspect, mood, and voice. Only the present and past participial forms maintain their aspectual reference.

2.2.1.1 Personal affixes
Personal affixes in Marwari are same in first, second, and third person. These follow a fixed pattern: -yo/ for masculine singular, -î/ for feminine singular and plural, and -ya/ for masculine plural. This is given below:

Person | Gender | Number
--- | --- | ---
First | Masculine | -yo (sg.) -ya (pl.)
 | Feminine | -î (sg.) -î (pl.)
Second | Masculine | -yo (sg.) -ya (pl.)
 | Feminine | -î (sg.) -î (pl.)
Third | Masculine | -yo (sg.) -ya (pl.)
 | Feminine | -î (sg.) -î (pl.)

2.2.1.2 Tense-Aspect-Mood system
2.2.1.2.1 Tense
Marwari verbs conjugate for three tenses: present, present, and future. Inflected forms of /he/ in optative express present tense and inflected forms of /he/ express past tense. These are used as auxiliaries with other verbs to denote present and past tense, respectively.

(a) Present tense
In the present simple tense the auxiliary /he/ is used that is not inflected (except in first person singular, second person singular honorific, and second person plural) according to the number, gender, and person. Examples are given below to illustrate this:

(94) a. më choro hû
    1 boy.ms aux.
'I am a boy'

b. the admi bo
   you.h man.ms aux.
   'You (honorific) are a man'.

c. the sara bidyarthi ho
    you.p all student.p aux.
    'You are all students'.

d. bo bhuar he
    he blacksmith aux.
    'He is a blacksmith'.

The progressive marker /ryo/ is used in the present continuous tense. It is inflected according to the number, person, and gender. It is placed before auxiliary verb.

(95)a. mē likh ryo hā
       I write prog.ms aux.
       'I am writing'.

b. mē likh ri hā
   I write prog.fs aux.
   'I am writing'.

c. mhe likh rya hā
   we write prog.mp aux.
   'We are writing'.

d. mhe likh ri hā
   we write prog.fp aux.
   'We are writing'.

(b) Past tense

The auxiliary /ho/ is used in past tense and is inflected according to the number, person, and gender of the subject. In the past simple tense, however, auxiliary /ho/ is not used but, the verb is inflected according to the number, person, and gender of the subject. The examples are given below to illustrate this:

(96)a. mē ghar gayo
      I home go-pst.1 ms
      'I went home'.

b. mē ghar gayi
   I home go-pst.1 fs
   'I went home'.

c. tu ghar gayo
   you home go-pst.2 ms
   'You (sg.) went home'.

d. bo ghar gayo
   he home go-pst.3 ms
   'He went home'.

e. ba ghar gayi
   she home go-pst.3 fs
   'She went home'.

Like the present tense, the progressive marker /ryo/ is also used in the past continuous tense. It is inflected according to the number, person, and gender. It is placed before auxiliary verb.

(97)a. mē ghar ja ryo ho
       I home go prog.1 ms aux.
       'I was going home'.

b. mē ghar ja ri hi
   I home go prog.1 fs aux.
   'I was going home'.

c. tū kagōt likh ryo ho
   you letter write prog.2 ms aux.
   'You (sg.) were writing a letter'.

d. the kagōt likh rya ha
   you letter write prog.2 ms aux.
   'You (pl.) were writing a letter'.

e. mhe he kagōt likh rya ha
   we/they letter write prog. aux.
   'We/They were writing a letter'.

f. bo/ba kagōt likh ryo/ri he/hil
   he/she letter write prog. aux.
   'He/She was writing a letter'.

40
(e) Future tense

Future tense in Marwari does not require any auxiliary verb to express the person of the subject. Agreement of verb with subject is by number, person, and gender. To form the future tense in Marwari, the following person-number-gender suffixes are added with a verb stem:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>Feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>-ālo</td>
<td>-āli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>-elo</td>
<td>-eli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>-elo</td>
<td>-eli</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The examples of future tense in Marwari are given below:

(98)a. mē gam ja-ālo
I village go-fut.1ms
'I will go to village'.

b. mē gam ja-āli
I village go-fut.1fs
'I will go to village'.

c. mēh gam ja-wālā
we village go-fut.1mp
'We will go to village'.

d. mēh gam ja-wāli
we village go-fut.1fp
'We will go to village'.

e. tū gam ja-welo
you village go-fut.2ms
'You (sg.) will go to village'.

f. the village ja-ola
you village go-2mp
'You (pl.) will go to village'.

g. bo gam ja-welo
he village go-fut.3ms

He will go to village'.

h. bo gam ja-weli
she village go-fut.3fs
'She will go to village'.

i. bo gam ja-wela
they village go-fut.3mp
'They will go to village'.

j. bo gam ja-weli
they village go-fut.3fp
'They will go to village'.

2.2.1.2.2 Aspect

In Marwari, like in many languages, the expression of aspect is intimately bound up with the expression of tense. There is a separate perfect aspect which is formed by the addition of the auxiliary verb ḥāgo 'to be' to the past participle of the verb. The perfect aspect occurs in three tenses—pluperfect, present perfect, and future perfect marked by past, present, and future copular forms, as in (99-101) respectively.

(99) choro skul gøy ho
boy school go-pst.ms was
'The boy has gone to the school'.

(100) mēh kitab padji he
we+erg.book.fs read-pst.fs is
'We have read the book'.

(101) dīṅgē tū pull cor ne pākṛyo hōweli
morning till police thief acc. catch-pst.ms be-fut.3fs
'The police will have caught the thief by the morning'.

The present perfect aspect can be used to indicate a number of situations, such as—

(a) a situation completed a short time ago:

(102) bo abī ayo he
he now come-pst.ms is
'He has arrived a short time ago'.

(b) a situation that has held at least once in the period leading up to the present:
(103) the ob tāi koī gam dekhya he
you now till many village see-pst.3mp are
‘You have seen many villages till now’.

c) a situation that began in the past and is still continuing:
(104) ram do dinā suī a kitab pād, ryo he
Ram two days from this book read prog is
‘Ram has been studying this book for two days’.

d) a situation that will shortly be completed:
(105) kal parikṣa khatam ho jyauvī
tomorrow examination finish be go-fut.3fs
‘The examination will be over by tomorrow’.

2.2.1.2.3 Mood
Mood is a grammatical category that expresses the degree or kind of reality of a proposition as perceived by the speaker. A six-way distinction is made in terms of mood in Marwari: imperative, indicative, obligation, subjunctive, presumptive, and contingent. These are exemplified below:

(a) Imperative Mood
(106) ja
go (2nd person singular)
‘Go’

(b) Indicative Mood
(107) bo gayo
he go-pst.3ms
‘He went’.

(c) Obligative Mood
(108) bīlpē roji khanjī he
he-ace. bread.fs eat-pst.fs is
‘He has to eat the bread’.

(d) Optative Mood
(109) mē cawū hū ke bo awē
I want am that he come
‘I want that he should come’.

(e) Presumptive Mood
(110) bīlī roji khai holi
be-nom. bread.fs eat-pst be-pst.3fs
‘He may have eaten the bread’.

(f) Contingent Mood
(111) je mero bhai aṭṭhe hoto to tū iyā na kēvto
if my brother here be-con than you like this neg. say-cond.
‘If my brother were here, you would not have said so’.

2.2.1.3 Negation
Negation is expressed by three negative particles in Marwari. These are konī, nā, and nē. Out of these, konī represents the unmarked negative particle that is equivalent to English ‘not’ whereas nā and nē are used in subjunctive, imperative, conditional, neither...nor construction, and infinitive phrases. Some distributive properties of negative particles in Marwari are exemplified below:

(112) konī
mē kitab konī pādī
I book.fs neg. read-pst.fs
‘I did not read the book’.

(113) nā
tū philm nā dekh
you film neg. see-imp.
‘You do not watch the film’.

(114) nē
juthū tū bolō caije
lie neg. speak should
‘One should not tell a lie’.

In terms of position, the negative particles are closely associated with the verb or the verb phrase. Note that in sentences (112-114) the negative particle immediately precedes the verbal group. The constraint of pre-verbal position for negation is violated under two conditions: (i) contrastive negation, and (ii) disjunctive structures. In the post-verbal position, the scope of negation is limited either to the verb or the aspect only.

(115) mē kagat likhiyō konī, likhiyū
I letter write-pst.ms neg. write-fut.1ms
‘I did not write a letter (but will write)’.

44

Morphology

45
The major difference between the three negative particles is that it is only the kon that can be placed in post-verbal position, whereas na and nə are not placed post-verbally.

*(115)*a. mə kəgət likhyo nə/hi, likhulo

Negative disjunction is expressed by means of nə or nə:

(116) nə/nə kiab podj nə/nə/kəgət likhyo

Neg. book.fs read-pst.fs neg. letter.ms write-pst.ms

'Neither read the book nor wrote the letter.'

2.2.2 Verbal categorizers

2.2.2.1 Transitivity

It is possible to classify Marwari verbs as transitive or intransitive on the basis of whether they occur with objects. The transitive-intransitive distinction is also motivated by other grammatical distinctions. This is explained in 2.2.2.2.

2.2.2.2 Verbalizes

All verbs in Marwari may be derived from nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and verbs by means of verbalization.

2.2.2.2.1 Verbs from nouns

(i) Conjectural verbs

Conjectural verbs are formed by adding verbs such as kwəzəp ‘to do’, kəzə ‘to be’, aθ ‘to come’, jəzə ‘to go’, dəzə ‘to give’, ləsə ‘to take’ to preceding nouns, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs. The following list shows the process of deriving conjectural verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Stative</th>
<th>Inactive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pəsənd</td>
<td>pəsənd kəməp</td>
<td>pəsənd hənə</td>
<td>pəsənd aθəp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘choice’</td>
<td>‘to like’</td>
<td>‘to like’</td>
<td>‘to like’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gəsə</td>
<td>gəsə kəməp</td>
<td>gəsə hənə</td>
<td>gəsə aθəp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘anger’</td>
<td>‘to express anger’</td>
<td>‘to be angry’</td>
<td>‘to become angry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yəd</td>
<td>yəd kəməp</td>
<td>yəd hənə</td>
<td>yəd aθəp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘memory’</td>
<td>‘to remember’</td>
<td>‘to remember’</td>
<td>‘to remember’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) -əŋə is the infinitive marker and is suffixed to a noun to form verbs from nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bəθ ‘complex’</td>
<td>bəθəŋə ‘to twist’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bəθ ‘complex’</td>
<td>bəθəŋə ‘to twist’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bəθ ‘complex’</td>
<td>bəθəŋə ‘to twist’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(116a) -əŋə is added to noun to get verbs nominal stems with double consonants undergo the process of consonant cluster simplification:

**Noun**  **Verb**

səram ‘shame’ səraməŋə ‘to be bashful’
dəpən ‘burial’ dəpənəŋə ‘to bury’
kəmə ‘job’ kəməŋə ‘to earn’
cəkə ‘circle’ cəkəŋə ‘to spin’

2.2.2.2.2 Verbs from verbs:

(i) Transitive/Causative verbs:

In Marwari, the two transitive/causative suffixes -əŋə and -əŋə/ənə represent one of the most productive ways of forming verbs from verbs. The two suffixes -əŋə (called the ‘first causative’ suffix), and -əŋə/ənə (called the ‘second causative’ suffix) are attached to the root of a verb, and are placed before the infinitive marker -əŋə/ənə.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Causative-I</th>
<th>Causative-II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bəd ‘be increased’</td>
<td>bədə ‘increase’</td>
<td>bədə ‘cause x to increase’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hət ‘be removed’</td>
<td>hətə ‘remove’</td>
<td>hətə ‘cause x to remove’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pədə ‘teach’</td>
<td>pədə ‘teach’</td>
<td>pədə ‘cause x to cause y to study’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>də ‘give’</td>
<td>də ‘give’</td>
<td>də ‘cause x to give’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear from above that intransitive verbs (bəd, hət), transitive verbs (pədə) and double transitive verbs (də) can be causativised morphologically.

(ii) Compound verbs:

The productive device to form verbs from verbs is juxtaposing verbs to form a compound. Compound verbs involve primarily a sequence of two verbs (v+x+x). The first verb is called ‘main verb’ and the second is referred as explicator. The explicator verbs add specific abstract meaning to the meaning of the main verb. The primary meaning of the sentence is determined by the lexical meaning of the main verb. The explicator receives tense-aspectual marking. The following are the examples of compound verb:

(117) bo a gyə he come go-pst.ms ‘He has come.’

(118) rəm keh bəjəyo Ram speak sit-pst.ms ‘Ram spoke inappropriately.’

In the above examples (117-118), the main verbs are a ‘come’ and keh ‘speak’, respectively, and determine the primary meaning of the verb phrase. The explicators jəŋə ‘to go’, in (117)
and befrō 'to sit' in (118) add some abstract meaning of termination and inappropriateness, respectively, to the main verb. The abstract meaning is the direct result of the lexical meaning of the verb in question. Only a dozen or so verbs are permitted as explicators in Marwari.

2.2.2.2.3 Verbs from adjectives
Adjectives | Action | Stative | Inchoative
---|---|---|---
acchō | acchō kāraŋ | acchō hoŋ | ---
‘good’ | ‘to cause x to recover’ | ‘to recover’ | ---

2.2.2.2.4 Verbs from adverbs
Adverb | Action | Stative | Inchoative
---|---|---|---
utaŋ | utaŋ kāraŋ | utaŋ hoŋ | ---
‘quickly’ | ‘to hurry’ | ‘to be in a hurry’ | ---

From the above list, it is clear that with the exception of kāraŋ ‘to do’ and hoŋ ‘to be’, the other members of the class of conjunct verb forming verbs do not always generate conjunct verbs. The case in point is the verb, araŋ ‘to come’, the symbol [ ] denotes a gap.

2.2.2.2.5 Verbs from others
(i) Verbs from pronouns:

Pronoun | Action | Stative | Inchoative
---|---|---|---
apo | apo kāraŋ | apo hoŋ | ---
‘self’ | ‘to adopt’ | ‘to become one’s own’ | ---

(ii) /-ro/ suffix is added to form verbs from adjectives and pronouns:

Adjective / Pronouns | Verb
---|---
lanaraŋ | ‘lame’
hakaro | ‘to stutter’
apo | ‘self’

2.2.2.3 Voice
The passive voice in Marwari is formed in this way: (i) the subject of the active sentence is followed by the instrumental postposition su; (ii) the past participial form of the main verb is used with the passive auxiliary ja ‘go’.

(119) urj suŋ kagō kōni likhō yōgō
gō inst.pp letter.mg neg. write-psl.ppl.mg go-psl.mg
‘The letter was not written by him.’

(120) gita suŋ kōni soyo yōgō
gita.sg inst.pll neg. sleep-psl.ppl.mg go-psl.mg
‘Gita could not sleep.’

Sentence (119) and (120) indicate that both transitive and intransitive verbs can be passivated in Marwari. Passive sentences are ambiguous. Transitive passives express passive as well as causative (external), passive as internal) reading as in (119). Intransitive passives convey the causative reading and generally occur in the construction. Transitive agents can be dropped and the agentless construction thus obtained favors the passive reading over the causative reading as in (119a):

(119a) kagō kōni likhō yōgō
gō letter.mg neg. write-psl.ppl.mg go-psl.mg
‘The letter was not written.’

The main verb in passive verb in Marwari does not agree with any constituent (here u ‘he’ in sentence (119) with a postposition. Therefore, the explicatory element (the second verbal element jaro ‘to go’) of the passive verb agrees with the object, i.e. kagō in (119) and (119a) and receives the past tense conjugation. The main verb on the other hand agrees with the object in terms of number and gender. In the case of intransitive passive the verb takes the masculine singular form that is default agreement.

2.2.3 Verbal modifiers
2.2.3.1 Participles
(i) Present/Imperfective participle:
The present participle marker is / -/ which immediately follows the verbal stem and is, in turn, followed by number and gender marker, as shown in example (121):

(121) Masculine | Feminine
Singular | Plural | Singular | Plural
---|---|---|---
stem- t- o | stem- t-a | stem- t- | stem- t-

With stems ending in a vowel, / -/ intervenes the stem and the present participle marker / -/.
The present participle may be used as either adjectival or adverb. The optional past participial form of the verb hoŋ ‘to be’ may immediately follow the present participle form.

(122) pedaŋ̄a/jato (hoyo) choro
read-psl.ppl.mg/go-prst.ppl.mg be-psl.ppl.mg boy.mg
pedaŋ̄a/jato (hoya) chora
The present participle form and the optional ‘to be’ form agree in number and gender of the following head noun. The retention of the optional form may or may not agree with their subject.

(ii) Past/Perfective Participle:
Adding the following suffixes, inflected for number and gender, to the verbal stem, derives the participial form. Like the present participle, the optional past participial form of the verb horg to be’ may immediately follow the past participial form:

(123) Masculine Feminine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stem-ya</td>
<td>stem-yu</td>
<td>stem-ya</td>
<td>stem-yu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The optional part participial forms of the verb ‘to be’ are as -

(124) Masculine Feminine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>horyo</td>
<td>hoyu</td>
<td>hoyi</td>
<td>hoyi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The past participle may be used either as an adjective or as an adverb. The examples follow:

(125) padaøo  (hoyo)  choro
read-pst.ppl.mp be-pst.ppl.mp boy.mp
padaøa  (hoya)  chora
read-pst.ppl.mp be-pst.ppl.mp boy.mp
padaøi  (hoyi)  chori
read-pst.ppl.fs be-pst.ppl.fs girl.fs
padaøi  (hoyi)  chori/a
read-pst.ppl.fp be-pst.ppl.fp girl.fp

‘The boy(s)/girl(s) who are/are reading/going.’

The past participial form and the optional ‘to be’ form agree in number and gender of the following head noun. The retention of the optional form makes the participial phrase emphatic in nature.

2.2.3.2 Converbs
A productive way of forming verbs from nouns is by means of a conjunct verb (converbs). Conjunct verbs are formed by adding suffixes such as korg ‘to do’, horg ‘to be’, org ‘to come’, jorg ‘to go’, deorg ‘to give’, leorg ‘to take’ to preceding nouns, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs. The following list shows the process of deriving conjunct verbs:

(126) Noun Action Stative Inchoative
passand  pasand korg  pasand horg  pasand org
‘choice’  ‘to like’  ‘to like’  ‘to like’
gusso  gusso korg  gusso horg  gusso org
‘anger’  ‘to express anger’  ‘to be angry’  ‘to become angry’
yad  yad korg  yad horg  yad org
‘memory’  ‘to remember’  ‘to remember’  ‘to remember’

Sometimes noun phrases can be used to form nouns, as in (127)-(129):

(127) mọjli  bala  korgi
big-fp  talk.fp  do-imp.fp
‘To boast.’ (lit., to do big talks)

The following sentences (128-133) can exemplify the use of conjunct verbs-

(128) mọ  kitab  passand  kari
leng book/fs  like  do-pst/fs
‘I liked the book.’ (action)

paseand  horg  ‘to like’

(129) mọ  kitab  passand  he
1+dat.pp  book/fs  like  be-pst/s
‘I like the book.’ (stative)

paseand  org  ‘to like’

(130) mọ  kitab  passand  ayi
1+dat.pp  book/fs  like  come-pst/fs
‘I liked the book.’ (non-stative)

gusso  korg  ‘to express anger’

(131) birg  ram  parr  gusso  kari
he+erg  Ram  on  anger.ms  do-pst/ms
‘He was angry at Ram.’
Two nouns incorporating the extreme limiting referents of the same semantic field, or two nouns incorporating the salient characteristics of that semantic field, form compounds whose referential range includes the whole semantic field:

(135) hawa-panjı ‘climate’
    hawa ‘air’ + panjı ‘water’

kar-majuri ‘livelihood’
kar ‘work’ + majuri ‘wage’

ťabar – tıkăr ‘family’
ťabar ‘children’ + tıkăr ‘boys’

2.3.3 Attribute compounds
The first noun, adjective, or an adverb functions as an attributive and the second as a substantive:

(136) dheri-rat ‘moonless night’
    dheri ‘dark’ + rat ‘night’

djangî-bat ‘mystery’
    djangî ‘deep’ + bat ‘story, talk’

2.4 Reduplication
‘Reduplication stands for repetition of all or a part of a lexical item carrying a semantic modification. Reduplication thus can be either be partial or complete (Abbi, 1991b).’
Reduplication or repetition of the whole or part of the root or the stem is a characteristic feature of Marwari. It is used for the purpose of intensification, reciprocity, extension and reinforcement of meaning as well as in a pejorative sense. Various types of reduplication include morphological and lexical reduplication. Morphological reduplication is further divided (Abbi, ibid) into expressive and lexical reduplication into three types, viz. echo formations, compounds and word-reduplication.

2.4.1 Expressives
Expressives are examples of morphological reduplication. Morphological reduplication refers to the minimally meaningful and segmentally indivisible morphemes that are constituted of iterated syllables. Thus, the base and the iterated part together constitute a single morpheme that is also a lexeme (Abbi, ibid). The expressives include onomatopoeias, sound symbolism, ideophones and imitatives. The expressing might or might not have phonological symbolism.
Expressives in Marwari are used to emote all the five senses of perception, i.e. smell, sight, touch, hearing, and taste; for disorder, confusion, undines and different manner of actions. Marwari builds its lexicon by morphological reduplication. Many of the onomatopoeic and imitatives operate as normal verbs:

(137) ṭhaṛṭhaṛṭ ‘to flap’
       ṭhaṛṭhaṛṭ ‘to mutter’

1. Acoustic noises
(a) Animal noises:
(138) kar-kar ‘grunt of pigs’
       ch-ch ‘chirp of sparrows’
       mēu-mēu ‘mew of cat’
(b) Noises of natural phenomenon:
(139) ḍhāro-ḍhāro ‘thundering of clouds’
       sār-sār ‘sound of blowing wind’
       ṭarā-ṭarā ‘sound of raining’
(c) Noises made by humans:
(140) phāra-phāra ‘sound of snoring’
       ḍhasār-ḍhasār ‘sound of feet’
       ṭasār-ṭasār ‘sound of knead flour’
(d) Noises made by miscellaneous inanimate objects:
(141) jhamak-jhamak ‘jingling sound’
       ḍaṛa-ḍaṛa ‘sound of washing clothes’
       ḍaṛa-ḍaṛa ‘sound of tearing clothes’

2. Sense of sight
(142) jhi-jhi ‘twinkling’
       ṭaṛ-ṭaṛ ‘flickering’
       ṭaṛ-ṭaṛ ‘shining’

3. Sense of touch
(143) ṭaṛ-ṭaṛ ‘sticky’
       ḍhūr-ḍhūri ‘shivering’
       ḍhāsār-ḍhasār ‘topsy-turvy’

4. Sense of smell
(144) māk-mak ‘fragrance’
       ṭaṛ-ṭaṛ ‘pungent smell’

5. Sense of taste
(145) ṭaṛ-ṭaṛ ‘pungent’

Besides expressing perceptual sensory words, expressives in Marwari express movement, feelings, situations, manner and state of actions:
(146) kac-kac ‘annoyance’
       ḍhāsār-ḍhasār ‘rudeness’
       ṭaṛ-ṭaṛ ‘eating speedily’
       ṭaṛ-ṭaṛ ‘immediately’
       ṭaṛ-ṭaṛ ‘tickled’
       ṭaṛ-ṭaṛ ‘immediately’
       ṭaṛ-ṭaṛ ‘without hesitation’
       ṭaṛ-ṭaṛ ‘disorder’

2.4.2 Echo formation
An echo word has been defined as a partially repeated form of the base word—partially in the sense that either the initial phoneme (which can be either a consonant or a vowel) or the initial phoneme (which can be either a consonant or a vowel) or the syllable of the base is replaced by another phoneme or another syllable (Abbi, ibid). The ‘replacer’ (phoneme/syllable) sound sequences are more or less fixed and rigid. The replacer sound sequences may not necessarily be unique but may never be numerous.

Marwari has ṭ and ṭ as replacer sounds of echo-words. If the base word has ṭ sound it would have ṭ as replacer sound and if the base word has ṭ sound, it would have ṭ as replacer sound. An echo construction can be defined as the construction in which the base word is followed (in rare cases, preceded also) by an echo word (Abbi, ibid). The echo word has neither any individual occurrence nor any meaning of its own in the language. It requires the status of a meaningful element only after it is being attached to a base word. The echo adds the meaning ‘et ceetera’ and ‘things similar to’ or ‘associated with that’ to the base word or the first word. Let us see how far the Marwari examples of echo formations fit into this definitions:
(147) khali ulti ‘empty, etc.’
       jhi ṭaṛ ‘victory, etc’
       ṭaṛ ad ‘milk, etc.’
       ṭaṛ ad ‘dry grapes, etc.’
       ṭaṛ ad ‘story, etc’
Also, there are instances where the 'replacers' are other than u or a, a C V sequence or a different consonant in the first syllable or a different vowel in the last syllable, and so on.

(148)  edjo bado 'exchange, etc.'
kasor basor 'shortage, etc.'
mọtọ mọti 'broadly, etc.'
kọrọ-kọrọ 'bickering'
lekin phekin 'but, etc.'
kissi kissi 'book, etc.'

2.4.3 Word formation
Word reduplication refers to the total or partial bimodal reduplication refers to the total or partial bimodal reduplication, meaning thereby, repetition of the base of the word or the stem. Reduplication can be of either a syllable or a larger constituent of a word or of the whole word. Whatever be the unit of reduplication, the end result is a new word which has no parallel in its non-duplicated counterpart. From the functional point of view, complete word reduplication can be further divided (Abbi, ibid) into: (i) class maintaining, and (ii) class changing types

2.4.3.1 Class maintaining complete word reduplication
(149)  mọtọ 'big' (adj.)
mọtọ-mọtọ 'big big' (pl. adj.)
godo 'knee' (n.)
godo-godo 'upto the knees' (n.)
utawelo 'quickly' (adv.)
utawelo-tawelo 'quickly' (adv.)
lilo 'blue' (adj.)
lilo lilo 'bluish' (adj.)
topari 'hut' (n)
topari-topari 'hut hut = huts (n.)
dhirè 'slowly' (adv.)
dhirè-dhirè 'slowly' (adv.)
do 'two' (adj.)
do-doo 'two-two' = two each (adj.)
rat 'night' (n.)
rat-rat 'night-night' (n.)

2.4.3.2 Class changing complete word reduplication
(150)  silo 'cold' (N)------> silo-silo 'wet and cold' (adj.)
ap 'self' (proN)---> ap ap 'spontaneous' (Adj.)
CHAPTER 3
SYNTAX

3.1 Sentence types
Four major sentence types are of importance in Marwari. These are: declarative, interrogative, imperative, and exclamatives. By "sentence type" is meant a regular correspondence that obtains between a specific syntactic form and a specific semantic/pragmatic function. Thus, a declarative sentence is typically used to make a statement; an interrogative sentence is used to ask a question; an imperative sentence is used to express and order, a request, or a warning; and an exclamative sentence is used to make a more or less emotional comment on something and is often characterized by a grammatically distinctive form. The examples are given below:

Declarative
(1a). bo sundar he
    he handsome is
    'He is handsome'.

(1b). bing thik kam karyo ho
    he-erg. good work do-pst.ms aux
    'He did good work.'

Sentence (1) shows that a combination of Subject-Complement-Verb word order (with the verb agreeing with the subject) and falling intonation is typically associated with one use, that of making an assertion. Sentence (1) is a declarative sentence that can have either copular verb or action (main verb). In (1a) copular verb follows adjective sundar='handsome', whereas, in (1b) main verb is karyo 'did'.

Interrogative
(2a). the kethe jawo ho?
    you where go-prst.ms aux
    'Where are you going?'

(2b). o tharo he?
    this you.gen aux
    'Is it yours?'

Sentence 2(a) shows that a combination of Subject-Interrogative-Adverb-Verb word order and falling intonation is typically associated with one specific use - that of asking a question for information, (2b), on the other hand, has the same word order as (1) but lacks a question word and has a rising intonation, and it is typically associated with a Yes-No question type sentence.

Imperative
(3a). bhaj-o
    run-away-imp
    'Run.'

(3b). nā ja-o
    not go-imp
    'Do not go'

Sentence (3a) consists of an imperative verb; (3b) has the same construction but also contains aords or adverbs. Both sentences are of imperative type and are used to issue directives to the addressee. Sentences (1-3) also show that these sentence types are mutually exclusive in their distribution: none of these sentences can simultaneously belong to two different syntactic types. Exclamatives are utterances serving to express emotion, regardless of its grammatical form, which is often merely that of a word or a phrase, such as in (4):

Exclamative
(4a). bhagwan tero bhalo kare! God your good do-imp.
    'God bless you!'  

(4b). kuve me pag!
    well in fall-imp.
    'Go to well!'

3.2 Simple sentence
3.2.1 Word order:
A simple sentence is one which has only one finite verb expressed or understood. In Marwari, the unmarked word order of the major constituents of the sentence is SOV (Subject-Object-Verb). Following are given some examples in this regard:

(5a). ram ek accha choro he
    Ram one good boy is(copula) S V
    'Ram is a good boy'.

(5b). ram kirket, khile: he
(12) cak syū jada saphed chalk from more white 'Much whiter than chalk'.

(13) set syū thoro jadā honey from less viscous 'Less viscous than honey'.

The auxiliary verbs typically follow the main verbs, and the adverbial modifier and the negator are preverbal in Marwari. Adverbials can precede sentences:

(14) mē likh ryo hā I write prog.ms aux. 'I am writing'.

(15) tū kitab pade he you book read-prst aux. 'You read a book'.

(16) bo skul jawe he he school go-prst.3ms aux. 'He goes to school'.

(17) ba ga ri he she sing prog.fs aux. 'She is singing'.

In the relative clause construction, the relative clause (rel.) follows the head noun (N). As exemplified below:

(18) ba kitab jiki lai he moji he that book.fs rel. red is big is 'The book which is red is bulky'.

(19) bo admi jiko jaj ho kal mar gyo that man rel. judge was yesterday die go-prst.3ms 'The man who was a judge died yesterday'.

3.2.2 The subject:
The subject in a Marwari sentence is usually in the direct case. However, if the verbal predicate contains the perfective participle of a transitive verb then the subject is in the
oblique case and followed by the postposition ne. If the subject is a first or second person pronoun, ne is omitted but the pronominal subject still appears in the oblique case.

(20) mē kita b ne kitab dī
gita acc/dat book give-pst
'I gave Gita a book'.

(21) the ek kagat likhyo
you one letter write-pst
'You wrote a letter'.

(22) bīn ek git gayo
he-nom. one song sing-pst.3ms
'He sang a song'.

3.3.3 The predicate
If the subject is in the direct case, the predicate agrees with it in person, gender, and number. This is known as subjective construction:

(23) mē kita b paṭhī hū
gita book read-pst aux.
'I read a book'.

(24) choriyā baṭh gayi
girl fp sit go-pst.3fp
'The girls sat down'.

The objective construction is used when the predicate contains the perfective participle of a transitive verb, in which case the subject is in the oblique case, and the predicate agrees in number and gender with the direct object:

(25) mē ek kagat likhyo he
gita one letter ms write-perf ms aux.
'I have written a letter'.

(26) bē pedẖī mē acchi tarekī kari he
they study fs in good progress do-perf fs aux.
'They have made good progress in study'.

3.3 Compound sentences
A compound sentence is made up of two or more coordinate clauses. These coordinate clauses are independent of each other and are joined by a coordinating conjunction. This process is called coordination.

3.3.1 Coordination
Coordination involves the linking of two or more categories of expression with the use of coordinate or coordinate conjunctions. The coordinates assign equal rank to the conjuncts. Marwari permits the following types of coordination to occur at the phrasal as well as the sentential levels: (i) Conjunction: or 'and', (ii) Adversative conjunction: pō ḍ 'but', (iii) Disjunction: kāṛa 'or', and (iv) Negative disjunction: na... na 'neither...nor'.

3.3.1.1 Conjunction: or 'and'
The coordinator or permits coordination to occur at both the phrasal and sentential levels:

(27) mohan sundar or imandar he
Mohan wise and honest is
'Mohan is wise and honest'.

(28) bīn[jagat likhyo or post[kāṛa]
he-nom. letter write-pst and post do-pst
'man spoke to me and Mohan'.

(29) sowāhe m[meer syō or mohan syō] bat kari
Sohan-erg l-acc/dat from and Mohan from talk do-pst
'Sohan spoke to me and Mohan'.

(30) ram or syam bhai he
Ram and Shyam brother are
'Ram and Shyam are brothers'.

(31) bo paḍhya or kamyāb hyo
he study-pst and successful be-pst.3ms
'He studied and became successful'.

3.3.1.2 Adversative conjunction: pō ḍ 'but'
When two conjuncts are coordinated by an adversative conjunction pō ḍ, it is implied that a contrast or an opposition exists between the two conjuncts. Mostly pō ḍ permits the coordination to occur at the sentential level:

(32) ram garib he pō ḍ imandar he
Ram poor but honest is
'Ram is poor but he is honest'.

(33) mē gām jālīlo pō ḍ khanḍ khāe pher
village go-fut.1ms but food eating after
'I will go to the village but after having food'.
Negation of either or both conjuncts at the sentential level is possible:

(34) bo goro koni par, sundar he
    he fair neg but smart is
    'He is not fair but smart'.

3.3.1.3 Disjunction: ke'ya 'or'
The disjunctive particles ke'ya 'or' express that one of the two alternatives can be used:

(35) ke levola du'd ke/ya ca?
    what take-fut milk or tea
    'What would you take-- milk or tea?

(36) accho ke/ya buro admi ro sebhaw he
    good or bad man of nature is
    'To be good or bad is man's nature'.

(37) ya ram accho he ya shyam
    or Ram good is or Shaym
    'Either Ram or Shaym is good'.

3.3.1.4 Negative disjunction: ne...ne 'neither...nor'
It is expressed by means of substituting ne, a negative particle for /ya:

(38) ne accho ne buro
    neg. good neg. bad
    'Neither good nor bad'.

(39) ne ram ayo ne shyam ayo
    neg. Ram come-pst Shaym come-pst
    'Neither Ram nor Shaym came'.

(40) ne sae ne jhut o paradoks he
    neg. trut neg. lie this paradox is
    'Neither truth nor lie, this is paradox'.

3.4 Complex sentences
A sentence, which is made up of a principal clause and one or more subordinate clause, is called a complex sentence. In Marwari, a complex sentence can be constructed in the same way as it is carried out in other dialects of Rajasthan. Examples are given below:

(41) mē tere najdik avilō caye baisat hvey
    I you-dat. near come-fut.1ms even if rain be-prst
    'I will come to you even if it rains'.

(42) jad mē kamrē me ghusyo mē dekhyo ke hoya ho
    when I room-obl. in enter-pst. ms l-erg. sec-pst what be-pst was
    'When I entered the room I saw what had happened'.

Sentence (41) is made up of two clauses in which 'I will come to you' is the principal clause and 'Even if it rains' is subordinate clause. Sentence (42) is made up of three clauses: (i) I saw, (ii) When I entered the room, and (iii) What had happened. First clause is principal clause because it is independent in its meaning, whereas the meanings of second and third clauses are dependent on their preceding clauses, therefore these are subordinate clauses.

3.4.1 Subordination
Subordination involves the conjunction of two clauses with the help of subordinators or subordinating conjunctions. The subordinators assign unequal rank to the conjoined clauses and render one of the clauses subordinate to other. Subordination involves finite and non-finite verbs. Finite clauses are not distinct from main clauses in terms of their structure. They exhibit different behaviour in two important respects: (i) word order: subordinate finite clauses generally follow the main clause; if they precede the main clause, the marked order is due to focus considerations. The only exceptions are relative clauses and adverbial relative clauses (ii) the subordinate marker or complementizer generally occupies initial position in the subordinate clause:

(43) Main clause-
    mē socū hū
    I think-prst. ms am
    'I think.'

(43)a. Subordinate clause-
    mē socū hū ke bo jawelo
    I think-prst am that he go-fut.3ms
    'I think that he will go.'

(43)b. ke bo jawelo, mē socū hū
    that he go-fut.3ms I think-prst am
    'I think that he will go.'

* (43)b. ke bo jawelo, o/yā mē socū hū
    he go-fut.3ms this/such I think-prst am
    'That he will go, I think.'

If finite subordinate clause precedes the main clause, they drop the complementizer and require elements such as o 'this,' eise 'such' in their main clause, as exemplified by (43c):

(43)c. bo jawelo, o/yā mē socū hū
    he go-fut.3ms this/such I think-prst am
    'That he will go, I think.'
3.4.1.1 Relative clauses

Two types of relative clause construction are employed in Marwari. These are finite and non-finite participial relative clauses. The finite relative clauses maintain full sentence structure with subject-verb agreement and are quite widespread. The participial relative clauses, on the other hand, exhibit the non-finite form of the verb.

Finite relative clauses are formed in the following way: (i) the primary relative marker jo ‘who/which’ is placed in front of the relativised element, (ii) the correlative marker is placed at the beginning of the head noun, and (iii) the second identical and coreferential NP undergoes optional deletion.

(44) **Relative markers:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Direct</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg</td>
<td>jo ‘what,who’</td>
<td>jis ‘what, who’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl</td>
<td>jo ‘what,who’</td>
<td>jin ‘what,who’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(45) **Correlative markers:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Direct</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg</td>
<td>ba/ba ‘s/he’</td>
<td>bIn ‘s/he’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl</td>
<td>ba/ba ‘they’</td>
<td>bIn ‘they’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The relative marker begins with the j-sound, whereas question words begin with k-sound.

The direct case occurs when a noun or pronoun is not followed by a case marked postposition. When a noun or pronoun is followed by a postposition, or case marking, it is said to be in oblique case.

3.4.1.2 Adverbial clauses

The adverbial clauses are marked by (a) finite form of the verb or (b) the non-finite form of the verb (i.e. participle and infinitive forms). Finite adverbial clauses may be placed in pre-sentential as well as post-sentential position.

The unmarked order of a non-finite adverbial clause is the preverbal position. The adverbial subordinate clauses in Marwari can be divided into the following types: time, location, manner, purpose.

3.4.1.2.1 Adverbial clause of time:

The adverbial clauses of time signal temporal as well as sequential relationships and utilize both the strategies of subordination as shown below:

(i) Temporal relationship: Temporal relationship is signalled by the use of subordinators which are full words with lexical content; usually these are correlative, one of which is optionally deleted, e.g. jad-tah ‘when-then’, jaditah ‘as long as-until then’:

(46) jad mē ayo (jad) tu koni ho when I arrive-pst then you not be-pst.2ms

‘When I arrived, you were not (there).’

(47) jadtaī mē rī kōhī tu ghar na jai as long as I not go-imperf you house not go-imperf.

‘Until I ask you, do not leave the village.’

Temporal relationship is also signalled by the use of non-finite verb forms that appear in combination with postpositional forms that explicitly identify temporal relationships and may also be combined with the emphatic and enclitic:

(48) kake re aye pher tu jai uncle poss. come-nonfinite after you go-fut.

‘You (will) go after uncle comes.’

(iii) Immediate succession: The locative adverbial jadē ‘where’ coupled with ke ‘that’ signals immediate sequence of events:

(49) jadē hādesān pugyō ke gādi ayi where station arrive-pst that train come-pst.3s ‘As soon as I arrived at the station, the train came.’

Non-finite verbs are also used in signalling immediate succession of events:

(50) nokri hota-i (sathē) mē khabar dyūnlo job be-ppl.pst.emph with I news give-fut.1ms ‘As soon as I get the job, I will inform you.’

3.4.1.2.2 Locative clauses:

Locative adverbial clauses are introduced by the subordinator jatē ‘where’ or jatēkātē wherever’:

(51) jatē bhejola mē jawūlo where send-fut I go-fut.1ms ‘I will go wherever you send me.’

(52) jatēkātē mē noki mījē mē jawūlo wherever I+acc/dat job meet-fut I go-fut.1ms ‘I will go wherever I will find a job.’

3.4.1.2.3 Manner clauses:

Manner clause employ primarily relative-like and participial constructions. They are not usually expressed by the infinitival/gerundive construction. The relative clause-like marker jīvā ‘as’ renders the manner reading:
3.4.1.2.4 Purpose clauses:
The adverbial clauses of purpose typically use the different types of bare infinitival verb forms, as exemplified in the following sentences:

(54) mohôna jutî lenge bajar gayo
Mohan shoes buy-inf. market go-pst.3ms
'Mohan went to market to buy shoes.'

(55) bo pisa denghe khâtor dukan gayo
he money give-inf for shop go-pst.3ms
'He went to village to give money.'

3.4.1.3 Complement Clauses
Complement clause 'completes' (i.e., fulfills a subcategorization restriction on) an accompanying lexical head. Such a subordination clause may function as a complement of the subject or as a complement of the object, as illustrated in (56-57):

(56a) sî [s bat sî [ke daktōr thane ri dekhayo]]
this matter comp.doctor you-acq/dat not see-pst.

kine i acchi ri lâgi]
anyone emph.good not feel-pst.fst
'The fact that the doctor did not examine you displeased all.

b. sî[mê a [n khâbor sî [ke bābô mar gyo]] nagor me sunj]
this news comp. father die go-pst.3ms Nagaur loc hear-pst
'I heard the news that father died in Nagaur'.

(57a) mûnê lagyo [ke tî narak ho gyo]
I=acc/dat. feel-pst comp. you angry be go-pst.2ms
'I felt that you became angry.'

b. bo cawê he [ke mohan daktôr bo jyawe]
he want-pst.aux. comp. Mohan doctor become-opt.3ms
'He wants Mohan to be a doctor.'

The complementizer in Marwari is ke. Usually, the complementizer occurs clause-initially in an object complement irrespective of the type of subordinate clause:

(58) mûnê lagyo [ke mathô dukhe he]
I=acc/dat feel-pst comp.head ache-pst aux-pst
'I felt that I had a headache.'

There is no overt head noun introducing the complement clause. The complement clause allows subject/object-verb agreement and usually follows the main clause. A wide variety of infinitival complements- simple as well as oblique (with or without postpositions) constitute another important class of noun clauses:

(59) mê jangawâ rî hî
I go-inf want-pst.ms aux
'I want to go.'

3.5 Particles
Particles have no fixed place of occurrence and these may go with a word phrase or a clause. The element related to these is brought into prominence. The element emphasized may carry heavy stress also. /i/, /ho/, and /so/ are the particles in Marwari

/1/:
The emphatic particles have fairly wide range of usage, i.e. it may occur after nouns, pronouns, adjectives, participles and adverbs in a construction. A word ending in a consonant takes /as/ before /i/. It corresponds with Hindi /bhi/. The range of its usage may be illustrated by the examples (60a-d).

(60) mê jawâlo
I go-fut.ms
'I shall go.'

(60a) mê i jawulo
I emph. go-fut.ms
'I shall also go.'

(60b) a i sat ripiyâ ri kitab he
This emph. seven Rupees gen. book is
It is a book of seven rupees.

(60c) bēthhe bhot i admi he
there so many emph. men are
'There are so many men.'

(60d) bo i phījanl khele he
he also football play-pst is
'He plays football.'

Any constituent of a phrase may be emphasized with the use of particle /i/, as in (61a-b)-
(61) e tin kuṭa
these three shirts
'These three shirts.'

(61)a. e tin i kuṭa
these three emph. shirts
'These three shirts.'

(61)b. e tin kuṭa i
these three shirts emph.
'These three shirts.'

The particle can occur with an adverb, as in (62):
(62) mhe thane kāṭhe i ḍhokālā
we you-acc. somewhere emph. beat-fut.3mp
'We shall beat you somewhere.'

The particle can also occur with a verbal form- as in (63) and (64):
(63) bo jāgoṇī i bhaj gyo
he awakening emph. run go-pst.3ms
'He ran just after awakening.'

(64) bo khāwē i he
he eat-prst. emph. is
'He does eat.'

/ho/: 
/ho/ has a very wide range of usage. It may occur with a noun, pronoun adjective or verb
When placed after a noun or noun phrase then it emphasizes the meaning of the same.
(65) accha chora to kam kore he
good boys emph. work do-prst are
'The good boys do work.'

Placing the particle /ho/ just after an adjective, creates some emphasis about the adjective,
(66) bo kalpo to he
he black emph. is
'He is black.'

It can be placed after a verb and creating emphasis in the action of the verb it follows.
(67) bo jāwe to he
he go-prst emph is
'He does go.'
Chapter 4
Sample Text

Translation
Once there was a miser who had some property. He always had the fear that someone would steal his property. Thinking this he sold his whole stuff and bought a brick of gold. He hid the brick in a certain corner in his house. Even then he was not satisfied. He would go there at the corner and confirm about the brick daily. By his doing this made his servant suspicious. One day that servant went there at the corner and dug the place and took the brick of gold. That miser went there at certain time and saw that someone had stolen his brick of gold. He started crying sobbingly. Hearing this, neighbors came there and asked the miser the cause of his crying. The miser told the whole story. They gave the miser a piece of stone and said, “you assume that this is your brick of gold and hid it at the same place, because as you have decided not to make profit of the brick of gold so it should not be a matter for you whether it is a brick made of gold or stone”.

73
BIBLIOGRAPHY


------1964. Transitivity and Possession. Language, 40:337-343


------1957b. A Note on Tones in Western Punjabi. Lahnda. Indian Linguistics,18:30


75


Colonel Tod. 1829. Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Part I. Calcutta: Indian Antiquary

Comrie, B. 1973. The ergativity Lingua, 32.3


and J. Smith. 1977. Questionnaire. Lingua, 42.1


Dave, R. 1967. A Formant analysis of the clear, nasalized, and murmured vowels in Gujarati. Indian Linguistics, 28.2


Hockett, C.F. 1942. *A system of Descriptive Phonology*. Language, 18:3-21


Miltner, V. 1964. *Old Gujarati, Middle Gujarati, and Middle Rajasthani sentence structure*. Bharatiya Vidya 24:9-31


---


Varma, S. 1939. *Indian dialect in phonetic transcriptions*. Indian Linguistics 7:281-289


