Marwari, a standard dialect of Rajasthani language of Indo-Arvan family, is spoken by about thirteen million speakers in western Rajasthan comprising Churu, Bikaner, Nagaur, Aimer, 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 Dingal and has a literary history of over one thousand

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.

ISBN 3 89586 440 4

Lakhan Gusain



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Languages of the World/Materials

427

Marwari

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Die Deutsche Bibliothek - CIP Cataloguing-in-Publication-Data

A catalogue record for this publication is available from Die Deutsche Bibliothek (http://www.ddb.de)

Printed in E.C.
Printed on chlorine-free paper

LINCOM EUROPA academic publications are a product of LINCOM GmbH.

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Abbreviations and symbols

[]	Phonetic transcription	erg.	Ergative case
11	Phonemic transcription	f.	Feminine gender
~	(above a vowel) nasalization	fut.	Future tense
~	(after a gloss) free variant	gen.	Genitive case
1	First person	imp.	Imperative
2	Second person	inf.	Infinitive
3	Third person	inst.	Instumental case
s[Sentence	loc.	Locative case
AP[Adjectival phrase	m.	Masculine gender
Det	Determiner	neg.	Negative
NP[Noun phrase	obl.	Oblique case
PP[Postpositional phrase	p./pl.	Plural number
VP[Verbal phrase	pas.	Passive voice
Ø	Null	pdet.	Proximate determiner
abl.	Ablative case	poss.	Possessive case
acc.	Accusative case	pp.	Postposition
agn.	Agentive case	ppl.	Participle
aux.	Auxiliary	prst.	Present tense
entr.	Contrastive	pst.	Past tense
comp.	Complementizer	ref.	Reflexive
cor.	Correlative	rel.	Relative marker
dat.	Dative case	s./sg.	Singular number
ddet.	Distal determiner	vd.	Voiced
def.	Definitive marker	vl.	Voiceless
emph.	Emphatic marker		

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, Dhataki 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 Rajashan 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 or 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

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 1 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, /I/ lower high front, /e/ mid front, / ϵ / low front, / ϵ / mid central, / ϵ / low central, / ϵ / high back, /U/ lower high back, / ϵ / mid back, and / ϵ / 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, ϵ , I; and seven are long: i, u, ϵ , o, ϵ , 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 1

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Low-High	I		U
Mid	e	Θ	0
Low	3	a	э

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 I e &/ is shown below:

Initial	Medial	Final
is 'arm of cot'	sir 'share'	beli 'friend'
Is 'this'	sIr 'head'	bell 'history'
es 'this year'	ser 'a weight'	be 'without'
es 'luxury'	ser 'walking'	bε 'they'

1.1.2 Central vowels

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

Initial	Medial	Final
ən 'grain'	pel 'moment'	dher 'put'(imp.)

Phonology

an 'self esteem'	pal 'prohibition'	dhəra 'earth'
er 'stick'	jer 'root'	hər 'God'
ar 'hide'	jar 'molar teeth'	həra 'defeat'(imp.)

1.1.3 Back vowels

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

Initial	Medial	Final
un 'wool'	mus 'mouse'	daru 'wine'
Un 'he'	mUs 'squeeze'	jhəpU 'cluster'
od 'cover'(imp.)	jor 'force'	siro 'sweet por

od 'a caste' jor 'pond' siro 'top'

Of the back vowels, /3/ is the least common-especially in the final position. Also, in some sub-dialects like Thali, Dhataki and Godwari, /3/ varies with /0/ and /9u/, e.g.,

[bcro] ~ [boro] 'sack'
[go] ~ [gou] 'cow'
[kor] ~ [kor] 'morsel'
[phoi] ~ [phoi] 'army'

1.1.4 High vowels

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

Initial	Medial	Final
idər 'this side'	' mit 'friend'	kaji 'Muslim priest'
uder 'that side	' mut 'urine'	kaju 'cashew nut'
isər 'God'	məhio 'camel'	biji 'other'
user 'fallow'	məhuo 'a fruit'	biju 'squirrel'

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.,

Initial	Medial
Ib 'now'	kInne 'whom'
Ub 'bore'	kUne 'which side'

1.1.6 Mid vowels

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

Initial	Medial	Final

5

ek 'one'	jer 'umbilicus'	de 'give' (imp.)
ok 'a bush'	jor 'force'	do 'two'
ək 'or'	jør 'digest'	də 'ten'

1.1.7 Low vowels

The low vowels /ɛ a o/ show phonological contrasts as exemplified below:

Initial	Medial	Final
es 'luxury'	ber 'enmity'	be' 'they'
as 'hope'	bar 'times'	bá 'she'
os 'frost'	bor 'out'	bo 'he'

1.1.8 Vowel length

There are three pairs of short and long vowels in Marwari: /I/ and /i/; /U/ and /u/; and /e/ and /a/. 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:

Short vowel		Long vowel	
Ιηπε	'to this'	inne	'this side'
Umra	'king'	umra	'row of crop'
ole	'wrong'	alo	'nest'

Medial

Short vowel		Long vowel	
sIl	'stone slab'	sil	'damp'
pUn	'good work'	pun	'wind'
mən	'mind'	man	'respect'

1.1.9 Nasalized vowels

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

Initial

Attitut	0 12 12 12		
is	'expression of pain'	uth	'arise'
ît	'brick'	ũţh	'camel'
es	'current year'	os	'dew'
e s	'enjoyment'	õs	'a weight'
его	'extra'	olc	'hail'
ñro 013	'his'	õĮo	'reverse'

əb	'now'	aţo	'flour'
ãb	'mango'	ãţo	'snare'
Medial			
cita	'pyre'	kuţ	'beat'(imp.)
cita	'anxiety'	kũţ	'corner'
pet	'stomach'	bhod	'head'
pēţ	'pantaloon'	bhốd	'ugly'
bes	'debate'	got	'lineage'
bēs	'enmity'	gõt	'cow's urine
bəs	'bus'	bas	'locality'
bãs	'clan'	bãs	'smell'
Final			
jəmi	'fixed'	maru	'of desert'
jəmĩ	'earth'	marũ	'kill' (imp.)
kəde	'whenever'	səro	'bank'
kədẽ	'rotten'	sərõ	'mustard'
mε	'in'	cmes	'time'
mẽ	Ή,	səmõ	'attraction'
bed	'bad'	səma	'contain'
bədə	'body'	səmã	'goods'

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 2

	Bilabial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glotta
Stops						
vl.unasp.	p	t	t	c	k	
vl.asp.	ph	th	th	ch	kh	
vd.unasp.	b	d	þ	j	g	
vd.asp.	bh	dh	d h	jh	gh	
Nasals	m	n	n.			
Fricatives		S				h
Lateral		1	L			
Trill		r				
Flap			r			
Semi-vowels	w			У		

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. 'production' 'snake' 'foot' upəi pag sopero 'snake-charmers' pap 'sin' 'he-buffalo'

/ph/ voiceless aspirated bilabial stop and is not fully released in the final position, e.g. saph 'clean' 'paperbag' phəkir 'beggar' liphapho baraph 'ice' uphan 'boiling' 'useless' phaltu

/b/ voiced unaspirated bilabial stop and is fully released in all the positions, e.g. 'sand dune' 'child' bis 'poison' taber

'cloth' bin 'groom' səburi 'patience' gabo

/bh/ voiced aspirated bilabial stop does not occur fully aspirated in the final position:

```
bhato
       'pebble'
                   gyabhən 'pregnant'
                                           labh
                                                  'profit'
                   ihabhako 'twinkle'
                                           mobhi
                                                  'elder'
bhed
       'sheep'
```

/t/ voiceless unaspirated dental stop: 'cart' 'finish' tango khətəm

suthen

peto 'address' 'vegetable' 'bustard' 'seven' tiwan titer

/th/ voiceless aspirated dental stop, occurs less aspirated in the final position: 'hand' thali 'plate' athen 'evening' hath 'pantaloon'

ənərəth

'offense'

/d/ voiced unaspirated stop:

theper 'slape'

dIn 'day' semder 'sea' 'memory' yad 'lamp' mukdər 'fortune' beleb 'poverty' diyo

/dh/ voiced aspirated dental stop is less aspirated in the final position: 'grain' bedhai 'greeting' beledh 'ox' dhan 'metal' endhero 'darkness' sadhu 'hermit' dhatu

/t/ voiceless unaspirated retroflex stop:

'sand dune' meter 'pea' 'big' moto roti 'bread' tand 'rack' temater 'tomato'

/th/ voiceless unaspirated retroflex stop:

'utensils' engutho 'thumb' ath 'eight' 'vacant' sath 'sixty' thali kathəri 'drawer'

/d/ voiced unaspirated retroflex stop:

'deep' todiyo 'baby camel' bhed 'sheep' dungo dunger 'mountain' gadər 'girdle' padi 'baby-buffalo'

/dh/ voiced aspirated retroflex stop and it occurs less aspirated in final position:

dhilo 'loose' pedhai 'study' badh 'flood' dhek 'lid' cedhai 'invasion' kədhi 'curry'

/c/ voiceless unaspirated palatal stop:

cand 'moon' comocer 'bat' 'glass' 'rice' cincer 'tick' 'true' cawel sac

/ch/ voiceless aspirated palatal stop:

choro 'boy' məchəli 'fish' kach 'armpit' chiya 'shadow' machər 'mosquito' bəchi 'she-calf'

/j/ voiced unaspirated palatal stop:

ja['net' jəjəman 'host' kərəj 'debt' jadu 'magic' rijai 'quilt' marij 'patient'

/jh/ voiced aspirated palatal stop and it occurs less aspirated in middle and final position jholo 'bag' majhdar 'current' səməjh 'intellect' jhəpir 'jerk' səməjhdar 'wise' bojh 'load'

/k/ voiceless unaspirated velar stop:

katho 'tight' nokər 'servant' hako 'noise' kam 'work' tokəri 'bell' pako 'ripe'

/kh/ voiceless aspirated velar stop:

khas 'special' rəkhas 'monster' pānkh 'feather' khet 'field' rukhali 'vigil' rakh 'ash'

/g/ voiced unaspirated velar stop: gabho 'cloth' tinger 'child' sog 'mourn' gam 'village' lugai 'woman' rog 'disease'

/gh/ voiced aspirated velar stop and it occurs less aspirated in middle and final positions gher 'house' dunghai 'depth' dungho 'deep' ghero 'pitcher' begher 'homeless' singh 'lion'

B. Nasals

/m/ voiced bilabial nasals:
melo 'dirty' bimari 'sickness' sərəm 'shyness'
melo 'fair' həmēsa 'daily' kərəm 'activity'

/n/ has three allophones, which are all voiced:

[ñ] a palatal nasal occurs before palatal stop, e.g.

/bencero/ ~ [bencero] 'saved' /penjo/ ~ [peñjo] 'paw'

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

/rəng/~ [rəŋ] 'colour' /dungo/~ [dungo] 'deep' [n] a dental nasal occurs in all other environments, e.g. nak 'nose' minəkh 'man' dhan 'grain'

/n/ does not occur in the word initial position. It has two allophones:
[N] a voiced retroflex nasal stop occurs with homorganic consonants, e.g.
/kundi/~[kuNdi] 'vessel' /kund/~ [kuNd] 'tank'

[n] a voiced retroflex nasal flap occurs elsewhere, e.g.
/pani/ [paNi] 'water' /mən/~ [məN] 'mound'

C. Fricatives

/s/ a voiceless dental fricative occurs in all environments:
siro 'sweet dish' kirsan 'farmer' malis 'massage'
səgəlo 'whole' osan 'free time' nikhaləs 'pure'

/h/ voiceless glottal fricative. Fricatives are always released initially, but medially and finally these are not fully released. These are like murmured vowels:
hansi 'laughter' ba? r 'out' lo? 'iron'

hajəri 'attendance' na? r 'tiger' se? 'all'

D. Trill

/r/ voiced dental alveolar trill occurs in all positions: rat 'quarrel' mareg 'way' pher 'flapping'

E. Flap

/t/ voiced retroflex flap; does not occur in the initial position in the word:
epek 'weed' sepek 'road' ghoto 'horse'
petedo 'curtain' ghetai 'shape' tikket 'bread'

F. Laterals

/l/ voiced dental lateral:
log 'persons' polok 'eyelid' sal 'year'
lugai 'woman' halot 'condition' lal 'red'

/ [/ voiced retroflex lateral does not occur in the word initial position: dholo 'white' bələt 'burning' mulo 'radish' kal 'famine' gələt 'wrong' jalo 'web'

G. Frictionless continuants

/w/ has two allophones:

[v] a voiced labiodental frictionless continuant occurs before front vowels, e.g. /wiwwa/ ~ [vIwwa] 'marriage'

[w] voiced labial frictionless continuant occurs in all other environments, e.g. sawel 'right' bhuwa 'father's sister' cawel 'rice' dhūnwo '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 $/\eta \downarrow \tau h/$ occur in all positions. $/\eta \downarrow \tau /$ do not occur initially, whereas /h/ 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' uper 'on' jip 'jeep' bis 'twenty' uber 'exceed' jib 'tongue'

/ph : bh/

phul 'flower' saphəl 'victorious' saph 'clean' bhul 'mistake' səbhəl 'rod' sabh 'saheb'

/t: d/

tan 'rhythm' data 'God' bat 'matter' dan 'gift' dada 'grand father' bad 'competition'

/t:d/

tal 'put off' bəttai 'distribution' bhet 'offer' dal 'branch' bəddai 'praise' bhed 'sheep'

/c:j/

cor 'thief' socno 'to think' moc 'sprain'
ior 'force' soino 'to search' moj 'enjoyment'

/k: g/
kal 'famine' pəketo 'ripen' rok 'stop'
gal 'abuse' pəgeto 'support' rog 'sickness'

/kh : gh/ khato 'sour' bəkhan 'description' mokho 'hole' ghato 'loss' bəghan 'activity' mogho 'pipe'

(ii) Unaspirates vs. aspirates

/p:ph/
palo 'a grass' səppai 'constable' sap 'snake'
phalo 'swelling' səpphai 'cleanliness' saph 'clean'

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

tara 'stars' toto 'parrot' sat 'seven' thara 'yours' thotho 'hollow' sath 'along'

/d : dh/
dan 'gift' bendo 'servant' bad 'competition'
dhan 'grain' bendho 'stoppage' badh 'leather'

/t; th/
tat 'canvas' kat 'rust' pet 'stomach'
that 'pomp' kath 'wood' peth 'rapport'

/d; dh/
dil 'body' bəddai 'praise' bad 'flood'
dhil 'slackness' bəddhai 'cutting' badh 'cut (imp)'

/k: kh/
kam 'work' pəkano 'to cook' nak 'nose'
kham 'envelope' pəkhano 'latrine' nakh 'to throw'

/g : gh/
gal 'cheek' pago 'leg of the cot' bag 'garden'
ghal 'put inside' pagho 'turban' bagh 'tiger'

/c: ch/
cini 'sugar' bəcco 'kid' kac 'glass'
chini 'chisel' baccho 'he-calf' kach 'arm pit'

/j : jh/
jal 'net' roj 'daily' baj 'hawk'
ihal 'welding' rojh 'cow antelope' banjh 'barren lady'

(iii) Nasals:

/m n n/, the nasals, show phonological contrast at all positions. All of them are unaspirated and voiced. The examples are:

/m:n/ dam 'price' kam 'work' bhem 'doubt' dan 'charity' kan 'ear' bhen 'ear'

/n:n/ kano 'edge of' mən 'thought' tan 'rhythm' kano 'one eyed' mən 'maund' tan 'spread' (imp.)

(iv) Semi-vowels:

/w:y/ war 'time' swar 'rider' baw 'pain'
yar 'friend' syar 'jackal' bay 'poisoning'

(v) Fricatives:

/s: h/ sing 'horn' siro 'porridge' khes 'blanket' hing 'asefoetida' hiro 'diamond' kheh 'dirt'

(B) Contrast of manner

(i) Stop vs. flap vs. lateral

/d; r: r/

/t/ The retroflex flap does not occur in the world initial position. Thus the contrasts are available in the medial and final positions:

kutto 'sulking' rand 'widow' kutto 'shirt' rat 'quarrel'

/d; r/ doko 'stick' bado 'squint' gado 'cart' roko 'stop' baro 'big pot' garo 'mud'

/d; 1; 1/

N The retroflex lateral does not occur in the word initial position. The contrast is found in the medial and final positions only:

pado 'he-buffalo' gad 'fix' bhed 'sheep'
palo 'bring-up (imp.)' gal 'abuse' bhel 'get together'

/l:r/ loi 'blood' dol 'big pot' boli 'dialect'
roi 'wept' dor 'thread' bori 'sack'

/[: r/ both of them occur in the medial and final positions:
mulo 'radish' balo 'ring' jal 'a tree'
muro 'return' baro 'promise' jar 'molar teeth'

(ii) Stop vs. frictionless continuant:

/p:w:b/
pani 'water' bis 'twenty' raw 'king'
wani 'sound' wis 'poison' rab '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 / r ly h/ can occur geminated as well as fortis.

Geminated consonants do not contrast with fortis as geminated occur after short vowels and fortis occur after long vowels. Geminates 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 deaspirated. The following examples illustrate this contrast:

(i) Geminate and simple consonants:

/t : tt/ peto 'knowledge'
petto 'leaf'
metirio 'watermelon'
datti 'sickle'

/k: kk/ səkət 'tough' cəkkər 'circle'

/n : nn/ muni 'a saint' munni 'a girl child'

(ii) Simple and fortis:

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

[up: r] 'on'
[upa[o] 'root out'(imp. polite)
[up:ar] 'carry', 'lift' (imp.)
[dhobənti] 'washer woman'
[dhob:i] 'washer man'
[macəllo] 'small cot'
[mac:o] 'cot'

1.3 Diphthongs

There are two diphthongs in Marwari: /əi/ and /əu/. oi is generally pronounced loosely as ə-i, and, ou as ə-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 oi or ou 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/:

1	nitial	Medial	Final
[əi] ə	i 'these'	gəiya 'cow'	səi 'all'
е	oiso 'like this'	peiyo 'tyre'	bhei 'fear'
[əu] ə	ouret 'woman'	peuwo 'quarter'	bhau 'wife'
e	oujar 'tools'	səur 'manner'	gau 'cow'

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 // is characterized as a rising tone. The low tone / / is a falling tone. The mid tone /-/ 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:

Low		Mid		High	6
pèr	'duration'	per	'leg'	pér	'put on'
lèr	'wave'	ler	'behind'	lér	'taken' (ppl.)
kèr	'calamity'	ker	'caparis'	kér	'said'(conj. ppl.)
nàr	'having bathe'	nar	'women'	nár	'tiger'

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:

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

Low tone		High tone	
jer	'poison'	je'	' layer'
me	'we'	me'	'rain'
na	'bathe'	na'	'eradication'
bai	'brother'	ba'i	'cultivation'

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

Mid	tone	High	tone
baro	'leather sack'	báro	'obituary'
saro	'whole'	sáro	'support'
ma	'mother'	má	'a month'
bo	'cry of goat'	bó	'he'
bero	'knowledge'	béro	'deaf'
so	'sleep'	só	'whole'
bai	'sister'	bái	'cultivation'

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 disyllable 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 [1].

Nouns	•	Verb	y
^l bəlla	'evil spirit'	bə ¹ lla	'call'
^I hilla	'job'	hi ¹lla	'cause to move'
silla	'rumour'	si ^I lla	'cause to wet'

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:

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. $m\epsilon^2$ gam² jaũlo³
- b. me³ gam² jaũlo²
- c. me² gam³ jaũlo²
- d. me² gam² jaũlo³

Of the above examples, sentence (a) is a question; whereas in sentences (b-d) there are emphases on /mē/, /gam/, and / jaūlo/ 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) /menan/ 'mind-dignity'/men + an/ 'to be agree + come'
- (ii) /perdesi/ 'foreigner' /perde + 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 are 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'
	ghoro	'horse'	;	ghora	'horses
	besto	'bag'	;	bəsta	'bags'
	resto	'path'	;	resta	'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'
25 (5)	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 /-ā/:

(3)	chori	'girl'	;	choriã	'girls'
	rani	'queen'	;	raniã	'queens'
	kitab	'book'	;	kitabã	'books'
	adət	'habit'	:	adətã	'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'
	mamo	'maternal uncle'
	səlimo	'cinema'
	bhatiio	'nephew'

A few nouns ending in /-i/ are also masculine. These are nouns that denote nationality or profession:

(5) rajəsthani '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'

kəbayeli

'tribal'

tebeleci 'drum-beater'

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

(7) chori 'girl'

(7) chori ghəri

ghəri 'watch' bori 'sack'

ghori

'mare'

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

(8) rajəsthan ən 'I mewatən '

'Rajasthani woman' 'Marwari woman'

dhobən

'washerwoman'

səperən

'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) kagət(m.)

'paper'

jemat(f.)

'group'

khun(m.) dəwat(f.) 'blood'
'inkpot'

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	φ
Oblique	chore	nε
Accusative/Dative	chore + ne	nε
Instrumental	chorε + syũ	syũ
Ablative	chorε + syũ	syű
Possessive/Genitive	chore + ro/ri/ra	ro(ms.)/ri(fs/p.)/ra (mp.)
Locative	chore + me/per	mε/per
Vocative	o chora	

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 follow:

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

(10) choro 'boy' ghoro 'horse'

chora ghora 'the boy' (agentive)
'the horse' (agentive)

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

'to the paper' (acc./dat.) (11)kaget(m.) 'paper' kagət ne bekhet(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 /-a/ remain unchanged in the plural oblique case:

plural oblique case: (12) kitabã

choriã

'books' 'girls' kitabã syũ choriã nε 'with, by books'

'to the girls'

All other nouns take the ending $1-\tilde{a}$ in the plural oblique case:

(13) kagət(m.) 'paper' ; kagətā pər 'on the papers' klas(f.) 'class' ; klasā mɛ 'in the classes'

'o uncle'

'o God'

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

(14) o kaka

o bhegwan

Feminine nouns in the singular remain unchanged in vocative case.

(15) e chori 'o girl' e bai 'o sister'

The instrumental forms in both the numbers take the postposition /-syū/:

(16) hat-syū 'with hand' hattā-syū 'with hands' ankh-syū 'with eye' ankhā-syū 'with eyes'

An ablative form in both the numbers take the case markers /-syū/ like instrumental form:

(17) ghər-syū 'from the house'; ghərā-syū 'from the houses' kotha-syū 'from the room'; kothā-syū 'from the rooms'

Locative forms are found in both singular and plural numbers. For the masculine singular /-a/ may be added or the form may coincide with the oblique case plus the locative marker:

(18) kemre me 'in the room'
shyam me 'in the evening'
gher me 'in the house'

The plural locative can be formed by adding $l-\tilde{a}/$:

(19) bagã 'in the gardens' rohiã '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:

(20)a.	Person	Case	Number	
(35) E			Sg.	PL.
	First	Direct	mẽ/mhũ 'I'	mhe 'we'
		Oblique	mε	mha
	Second	Direct	tũ 'you'	the 'you'
		Oblique	tε	tha

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:

Gender	erson (Proximity): Case	1000 mm	
		Sg.	Pl.
Masculine	Direct	o 'he'	ε 'these'
	Oblique	in	iņã
Feminine	Direct	a 'she'	ε 'these'
	Oblique	in	iņã

Gender	Case	Numl	ber
		Sg.	Pl.
Masculine	Direct	bo 'he'	bε 'those'
	Oblique	bΙη	blņã
Feminine	Direct	ba 'she'	be 'those'
	Oblique	bIn	bIŋã

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 Rajasthani.

(21)	Person	Gender	Number	
	Fi		Sg. mẽ/mhũ 'I'	PL mhe 'we'
	First		me/mnu i	nine we
	Second		tũ 'you'	the 'you'
	Third (prox.)	Masculine	o 'this'	ε 'these'
	(prox.)	Feminine	a 'this'	ε 'these'
	(rem.)	Masculine	bo 'that'	bε 'those'
	(rem.)	Feminine	ba 'that'	bε 'those'

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.

2.1.2.3 Reflexive pronouns

Marwari has two types of reflexive pronouns: (i) agentive reflexive: apne ap 'self' and (ii) possessive reflexive: apro 'my/our/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 bo pode he refl. he read-prst. aux.
'He reads himself.'

(22a) bo appe ap pode he he refl. read-prst aux

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

(23) bln apne ap ne sise me dekhyo he+erg. refl. acc./dat. mirror loc. see-pst.ms

'He saw himself in the mirror.'

In sentence (23) the postposition $n\varepsilon$ is in accusative/dative case. $bI\eta$ 'he+erg.' is the antecedent of $ap\eta\varepsilon$ ap 'self'. $ap\eta\varepsilon$ 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 kərū 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 $m\mathcal{E}$ '1'. Even in second and third person it does not agree with the subject $t\bar{u}$ 'you' and bo/ba 'he/she':

(25) tũ apro kam karε hε you own work do-prst aux

'You do your own work.'

(26) ba/bo apro kam kare he she/he 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) mẽ apri kitab pədū hũ I own book read-prst. aux.

'I read my own book'.

(28) tũ/bo/ba apri kitab pəqɛ he you/he/she own book read-prst. aux.

'You/He/She read/s your/his/her own book.'

2.1.2.4 Interrogative pronouns

There are two interrogative pronouns in Marwari: (i) kUn 'who' and (ii) kai '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	Numb	er
		Sg.	Pl.
	Direct	kUn 'who'	kUn 'who'
	Oblique	kin	kin
(29)b.	Case	Numbe	er

Sg. Pl.

Direct kaıı 'what' kaıı 'what'

Oblique kin kin

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		
		Sg.	Pl.	
	Direct	koi 'someone'	koi 'someone'	
	Oblique	kin	kin	
(30)b.	Case	Number		
		Sg.	Pl.	
	Direct	kī 'something'	kī 'something'	

kin

Oblique 2.1.2.6 Relative pronouns

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

kin

(31)	Case	Number	
		Sg.	Pl.
	Direct	jika 'who/what'	jikã 'who/what'

Oblique jika 'who/what' jikã

From the above paradigm it is clear that there is overt difference in the shape of relative pronoun in both the numbers. The direct possessive relative pronoun, like other genitive pronominal forms, has three forms: jika (ms.), jika (mp.), jiki (fs/p). Its oblique counterparts are jika(ms.), jika (mp.), and jiki (fs/p).

2.1.3 Possession

In Marwari possession is shown by the use of verb hono '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:

Possessor	Possession	Postposition for Subject re pas 'near/possession'
Animate	alienable	
Animate	inalienable	ro/ri/ra 'possessive'
Inanimate	alienable	mε 'in'
Inanimate	inalienable	ro/ri/ra 'possessive'
Animate	permanent(abstract)	mε 'in'
Animate	temporary(abstract)	nε 'to'

Observing the following examples in this regard:

Animate possessor - alienable possession

(32) un re pas do ghərIyā 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) kømre me do khurslyā he room.obl. in two chair.fp. are 'There are two chairs in the room'.

Inanimate possessor - inalienable possession

(35) kemre me cyar divară he room.ms in four wall.fp are 'The room has four walls'.

Animate possessor - permanent possession

(36) gita me himet he
Gita in courage is
'Gita has courage'.

Animate possessor - temporary possession

(37) ram ne gusso awe he

Ram to anger come is

'Ram becomes angry'. (lit. Anger comes to Ram).

2.1.4 Numerals

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

ek	ĺ	iplicatives, (iv) chəbis	26	ikavən	51	chietər	76	
do	2	səttais	27	bavən	52	sətetər	77	
tin	3	əthais	28	tirepən	53	əthetər	78	
cyar	4	untis	29	covən	54	uniyasi	79	
pãc	5	tis	30	pəcpən	55	əssi	80	
che	6	iktis	31	chəppən	56	ikyasi	81	
sat	7	bettis	32	settaven	57	biyasi	82	
ath	8	tetis	33	əthavən	58	tiyãsi	83	
no	9	cõtis	34	unsəth	59	corasi	84	
dəs	10	põtis	35	sath	60	picyasi	85	
gyara	11	chettis	36	iksəth	61	chiyãsi	86	
bara	12	sētis	37	basəth	62	sityasi	87	
tera	13	əţtis	38	tiresəth	63	ithyasi	88	
ceveda	14	uncalis	39	cõsəth	64	nevasi	89	
pendra	15	calis	40	pēsəth	65	nəbbɛ	90	
sola	16	iktalis	41	chiyasəth	66	ikaηνε	91	
sətəra	17	biyalis	42	sərsəth	67	banvε	92	
əthara	18	tiyalis	43	ərsəth	68	terenye	93	
unis	19	cəvalis	44	uneter	69	coranve	94	
bis	20	põtalis	45	setter	70	ρίς γαηνε	95	
ikkis	21	chiyalis	46	iketər	71	chiyanve	96	
bais	22	sētalis	47	bəhetər	72	sitanye	97	
teis	23	ərtalis	48	tiheter	73	ethanyε	98	
cobis	24	uncas	49	coheter	74	ninyaηνε	99	
peccis	25	paccas	50	piceter	75	so	100	

It is worth noting that $u\eta_{\overline{t}}$ is prefixed to all the numerals which designate decades less than one.

(i) Cardinals:

Cardinals are used for counting and answer the question *kitra* 'how many'. The cardinals are not declined unless they refer to nouns in the oblique case. They then take the ending /-ũ/. Examples are given below:

- (37) dasũ kitabã ro malik ten books poss. owner 'The owner of ten books'.
- (38) pāncū chorā ne five children to 'To five children'.

(ii) Ordinals:

The ordinal numerals answer the question kisyo 'which'. Ordinals are declinable adjectives which are formed from cardinals by the addition of the suffix $/-w\delta/$ (m.), or /-wi/ (f.), except in case of ordinals of ek 'one', do 'two', tin 'three', and cyar 'four'. The ordinals of these cardinals are:

pelo 'first'
dusro 'second'
tisro 'third'
cottho 'fourth'

Examples of other ordinals are:

pāncwō (ms.) 'fifth' pācwī (fs.)
dəsəwō (ms.) 'tenth' dəsuwī (fs.)
do so satwō (ms.) '207th' do so satwī (fs.)

(iii) Multiplicatives:

Multiplicatives are formed by suffixing /-uno/ (ms.) or /-uni/ (fs.) 'multiplied/times' to the cardinal numerals:

Masc	uline		Femini	ne
Sg.	PL.		Sg.	Pl.
duguno	duguno	'twice'	duguni	duguni
tinguno	tinguno	'thrice'	tinguni	tinguni
The multiplicat	tive suffix may a	lso be added	to a few of the	e fractional numerals:
sawa guno	'11/4 times'			

səwa guno '1'' times' ded guno '1''z times' dhai guno '2' times'

(iv) Fractions:

Marwari has special terms for the following fractions: paiyo = $\frac{1}{4}$ 'a quarter' sade = $+\frac{1}{2}$ 'half' (used with numerals 3 and above) puni or tin pav = $\frac{3}{4}$ 'three fourth' sowa = $+\frac{1}{4}$ (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) In ro adho caije this gen. half needed 'Half of it is needed'.

(40) so ra khulla deiyo hundred gen. change give-imp. 'Give (me) change of one hundred (rupees)'.

However, most of the fractions are used as adjectives:

- (41) paiyo dud dyo quarter milk give-imp. 'Give (me) quarter (liter) milk'.
- (42) adho kilo khand de

 1/2 kilogram sugar give-imp.

 'Give (me) 1/2 kilogram of sugar'.

(v) Aggregatives:

All aggregative forms of cardinal numerals in Marwari end on $l-\tilde{u}/l$

donũ	'both'	cheũ	'all six'
tinũ	'all three'	satũ	'all seven'
cyarũ	'all four'	aţhũ	'all eight'
pãncũ	'all five'	noũ	'all nine'
pəcasũ	'all fifty'	dəsũ	'all ten'
soii	'all hundred		

2.1.5 Adjectives

2.1.5.1 Formation of adjectives:

Adjectives in Marwari can be divided into two classes: (i) ending in /-o/ and (ii) ending in other vowels or consonants. Adjectives ending in /-o/ are masculine and agree with the following head noun in gender, number, and case and vowel /-o/ is changed into: /-a/ in the

singular oblique case and /-ā/ 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	
Cusc	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
Direct	accho 'good'	accha	acchi	acchi
Oblique	accha	acchã	acchi	acchi

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

Attributive:

- (43)a. kalo besto mero he black bag my is 'The black bag is mine'.
- (44)a. bo alsi choro hε that lazy boy is 'That is a lazy boy'.

Predicative:

- (43)b. mero bəsto kalo he my bag black is 'My bag is black'.
- (44)b. bo choro alsi 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 /-əlo/ (ms.), to the base to get comparison in masculine (singular) gender:

motto 'big' (ms.) ; mottelo 'bigger' (ms.)
accho 'good' (ms.) ; acchelo 'better' (ms.)
lembo 'long' (ms.) ; lembelo 'longer' (ms.)
tikho 'sharp' (ms.) ; tikhelo 'sharper' (ms.)

Likewise, /-oli/ (fs/p.) or /la/ (mp.) are also added to the base to get comparison in feminine (singular/plural) or masculine (plural) gender:

motto 'big' (ms.) ; motteli 'bigger' (fs/p.) ; mottela (mp.)
accho 'good' (ms.) ; accheli 'better' (fs/p.) ; acchela (mp.)
lembo 'long' (ms.) ; lembeli 'longer' (fs/p.) ; lembela (mp.)
tikho 'sharp' (ms.) ; tikheli 'sharper' (fs/p.) ; tikhela (mp.)

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

- (45) ram shyam syū jyada sunder hæ Ram Shyam from more handsome is 'Ram is more handsome than Shyam'.
- (46) sita gita syū kem hūsyar 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 sya 'from' is suffixed, e.g.,

(47) prem sara syū hūsyar 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:

Adverbs of:	Proximate	Remote	Relative	Interrogative
Time	əb	təd	jəd	kəd
Place	attte	utthe	jetthe	ketthe
Direction	ine	une	jin€	kin€
Manner	iyã	biyã	jiyã	kiyã
Cause	iyã			kiyã

(a). adverbs of time:

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

əb 'now' kəd 'when' jəd 'when' (relative) səvarɛ 'tomorrow' kal 'yesterday' aj 'today'

(b), adverbs of place:

etthe 'here' utthe 'there' ketthe 'where' jetthe 'where' (relative)

(c). adverbs of direction:

ine 'here' une 'there' jine 'where' kine 'where' dur 'far' nere 'near' uper 'above' nice 'below'

(d). adverbs of manner:

iyā 'this way' biyā 'that way' jiyā 'that way' kiyā 'what way' bhelo 'well' thik 'right' tej 'fast' dhire 'slowly'

(e). adverbs of cause:

iyã 'this way' kyũ '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) /-pəno/ is added to noun stem to form abstract noun:
- (48) murkh 'fool' murkhpəno 'foolishness'

lugai 'woman' lugaipeno 'womanhood'

aləs 'lazyness' aləspəno 'laziness'

- məjak 'jock' məjakpəno 'joking condition'
- (ii) /-alo/ is added to noun stem to form abstract noun:

(49) nind 'sleeping' nindalo 'one who sleeps more'
gal 'abuse' galo 'abuser'

(iii) /-r/ 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-Ţ-o 'potter' (m.) kumar-Ţ-i 'potter's wife' sunar-Ţ-o 'goldsmith' (m.) sunar-Ţ-I 'goldsmith's wife'

- (iv) /-iyət/ is added to the noun to form abstractive noun:
- (51) adəm-iyət 'manliness' insan-iyət 'humanity'

- (v) /-pən/ is added to noun to form abstract noun and it is always followed by suffix /-o/ which indicates masculine gender:
- (52) deweta-pen-o 'godliness'

murkh-pəη-o 'foolishness'

(vi) /-baj/ is added to the noun to form agent nouns that are masculine:

(53) cal-baj 'clever' dhoke-bai 'deceiver'

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

bod-i 'evilness'

(x) /-ar/ is added to noun to form noun of occupation. These are masculine:

(57) son-ar 'goldsmith' nəc-ar 'dancer'

(xi) /-dar/ is added to the noun stem to form noun of occupation. These are masculine:

(58) coki-dar 'watchman'

jəma-dar 'timekeeper'

thana-dar 'head policeman'

iman-dar 'honest'

- (xii) /-au/ is added to the noun stem to form noun of agency:
- (59) kəm-au 'hard working person'

celt-au 'casual'

- (xiii) /-ai/ is added to noun as well as adjectival stem to form the abstract noun. These nouns are feminine:
- (60) kəm-ai 'earning'

bhəl-ai 'welfare work'

cəttər-ai 'cleverness'

(xiv) /-ən/ is added to masculine noun stem to form noun of location or residence. These are feminine:

```
(61) marwar-ən 'a resident of Marwar' pənjab-ən '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) ga[-er-o one who abuses' (m.) ga[-er-i one who abuses' (f.)
```

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

```
(63) dukan-al-o 'shopkeeper' (m.)
dukan-al-i 'shopkeeper' (f.)
ekel-al-o 'wiseman'
eher-al-o 'landlord'
'landlady'
```

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

```
(64) yar-ano 'friendship'
nəjər-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) /-r/ is added to adjectival stem to form noun. If the suffix /-r/ is followed by /-o/, it will be a masculine noun and if it is followed by /-ən/, it will be a feminine noun:

```
(65) a|si-r-o 'lazyman'
a|s-ən 'lazywoman'
bəde-r-o 'elderman'
bəde-r-ən 'elderwoman'
```

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

```
(66) rēnde-po 'widowhood'
buda-po 'oldness'
moţa-po 'bigness
goli-po 'slavery'
```

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

```
(67) tikho-pən 'sharpness'
mitho-pən 'sweetness'
kalo-pən 'blackness'
accho-pən 'goodness'
```

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

```
(68) dũng-ai 'depth'
ũc-ai 'height'
bhol-ai 'welfare'
cotor-ai '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:

Suffixes 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'
le-u 'taker'
de-u 'donor'
lekh-u 'writer'
```

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

```
(71) ləm-açi 'puller'
khel-açi 'player'
```

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

```
(72) bəna-wət 'manufacture'
ghəra-wət 'shaping'
mila-wət 'mixing'
dikha-wət 'showing'
```

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

```
(73) bə[-ət 'burning' dikh-ət 'showing'
```

(v) /-i/ is added to form abstract nouns:

(74) hãns-i 'laughter' dhãns-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' bol-wal 'speaker' gei-wal 'mover'

(vii) /-ai/ is added to the infinitive to form feminine noun:

(76) lət-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' otthe-i 'here'

jetthe-i 'anywhere'

subəh-i 'morning'

(ii) /-ət/ is added to form feminine nouns:

(78) əbkh-ət 'difficulty' so[əkh-ət 'easyness'

(iii) /-pen/ is added to the adverbial stem to form abstract noun:

(79) tawel-pen 'speed' '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-manes 'bad person' ku-kerm 'evil deed'

(ii) /-su/ is added to form noun:

(81) su-ləkhəno 'good featured' su-nam 'famous'

su-sənskar 'good ritual' su-put 'good son'

Negation:

(i) /be-/ is added to form noun:

(82) be-iman 'dishonest' be-kar 'useless' be-swad 'tasteless' be-nam 'nameless'

(ii) /na-/ is added to form noun:

(83) na-mərəd 'impotant' na-raj 'unhappy' na-malum 'unknown' na-səməj '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) jhūpţo 'a big hut'(m.) jhūpţi 'a small hut' (f.)

boro 'a big sack'(m.) bori 'a small sack' (f.)

maco 'a big cot'(m.) maci 'a small cot' (f.)

kolo 'a big bowl'(m.) koli '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 the same is added with a masculine noun makes it very larger in size. The augmentative suffixes in Marwari are given below:

(i) /-or/ is added to the nouns to form masculine augmentatives:

(85) kagət 'paper' (m.) kagət-ət 'very big paper' (m.) sənduk 'box' (m.) sənduk-ət 'big box' (m.)

(ii) /-or/ is added to the noun to form masculine augmentatives:

(86) bhes 'buffalo'(f.) bhes-or 'a big buffalo'(m.)

godho 'donkey' (m.) godh-ot 'a very big donkey' (m.)

(iii) /-ar/ is added to the feminine noun to form feminine augmentative:

```
(87) rãnd 'widow'(f.) rēnd-ar 'nasty widow'(f.) khirəki 'window'(f.) khirəki-ar 'big window'(f.)
```

(b) Diminutives:

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

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

```
(88) senduk 'box'(m.) senduk-ţo 'small box'(m.)

gam 'village'(m.) gam-ţo 'small village'(m.)

admi 'man'(m.) admi-ţo 'short man'(m.)

kam 'work'(m.) kam-ţo 'small work'(m.)
```

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

```
(89) sənduk 'box'(m.) sənduk-ţi 'very small box'(f.)

cam 'skin'(m.) cam-ţi 'very thin skin'(f.)

kitab 'book'(f.) kitab-ţi 'very small book'(f.)

skul 'school'(f.) skul-ţi 'very small school'(f.)
```

(iii) The suffix /-iyo/ 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-iyo 'baby Mohen'(m.)
ram 'Ram, a name'(m.) ram-iyo 'baby Ram'(m.)
```

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

```
(91) sita 'Sita, a name'(f.) sit-li 'baby Sita'(f.) mona 'Mona, a name'(f.) mon-li 'baby Mona'(f.)
```

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

```
(92) gədət 'donkey'(m.) gədət-to 'small jackal'(m.) gədət-ti 'very small donkey'(f.) gadət 'jackal'(m.) gadət-ti 'very small jackal'(f.)
```

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

(93) maco	'cot'(m.)	mac-lo	'small cot'(m.)	mac-li	'very small cot'(f.)
top	'cap'(m.)	top-lo	'small cap'(m.)	top-li	'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, /-i/ for feminine singular and plural, and /-ya/ for masculine plural. This is given below:

Person	Gender	Number	
First	Masculine	-yo (sg.)	-ya (pl.)
	Feminine	-i (sg.)	-i (pl.)
Second	Masculine	-yo (sg.)	-ya (pl.)
	Feminine	-i (sg.)	-i (pl.)
Third	Masculine	-yo (sg.)	-ya (pl.)
	Feminine	-i (sg.)	-i (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 /ho/ 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 /hɛ/ 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:

'I am a boy'

- b. the admi ho you.h man.ms aux. 'You (honorific) are a man'.
- the sara bidyarthi ho you.p all student.p aux. 'You are all students'.
- d. bo lhuar hε
 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. mẽ likh ryo hũ

I write prog.ms aux. 'I am writing'.

- b. mẽ likh ri hũ I write prog.fs aux. 'I am writing'.
- c. mhe likh rya hã we write prog.mp aux. 'We are writing'.
- d. mhe likh ri hã 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 ghər gəyo
I home go-pst.1ms
'I went home'.

- b. mē ghər gəyi
 I home go-pst-1 fs
 'I went home'.
- c. tu gher geyo
 you home go-pst.2ms
 'You (sg.) went home'.
- d. bo gher geyo
 he home go-pst.3ms
 'He went home'.
- e. ba gher geyi she home go-pst.3fs '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 gher ja ryo ho

I home go prog.1ms aux. 'I was going home'.

- mē gher ja ri hi
 I home go prog.1 fs aux.
 'I was going home'.
- c. tũ kagət likh ryo ho you letter write prog.2ms aux. 'You (sg.) were writing a letter'.
- d. the kaget likh rya ha
 you letter write prog.2ms aux.
 'You (pl.) were writing a letter'.
- e. mhe/be kagət likh rya ha we/they letter write prog. aux. 'We/They were writing a letter'.
- f. bo/ba kaget likh ryo/ri ho/hi
 he/she letter write prog. aux.
 'He/She was writing a letter'.

g. be kaget likh ri hi they letter write prog. aux. 'They (f.) were writing a letter'.

(c) 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:

Pronoun	Singular		Plural		
	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine	
First person	-ũlo	-ũli	-ãla	-ãli	
Second person	-elo	-εli	-ola	-oli	
Third person	-elo	-ɛli	-ɛla	-ɛli	

The examples of future tense in Marwari are given below:

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

- mẽ gam ja-ũli
 I village go-fut.1fs
 'I will go to village'.
- c. mhe gam ja-wāla we village go-fut.l mp 'We will go to village'.
- d. mhe gam ja-wāli
 we village go-fut.1 fp
 'We will go to village'.
- e. tũ gam ja-wɛlo you village go-fut.2ms 'You (sg.) will go to village'.
- f. the gam ja-ola you village go-2mp 'You (pl.) will go to village'.
- g. bo gam ja-wεlohe village go-fut.3ms

'He will go to village'.

- h. bo gam ja-wεli she village go-fut.3fs 'She will go to village'.
- i. be gam ja-wela they village go-fut.3mp 'They will go to village'.
- j. be 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 hono '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 gayo ho boy school go-pst.ms was 'The boy has gone to the school'.
- (100) mhe kitab pødi hæ we+erg.book.fs read-pst.fs is 'We have read the book'.
- (101) dinge tãi pulis cor ne pektyo howeli 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 abi 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 əb tãi kəi 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 dină syũ a kitab ped 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 pariksya khətəm ho jyawɛli tomorrow examination finish to 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, obligative, subjunctive, presumptive, and contingent. These are exemplified below:

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

(b) Indicative Mood (107) bo geyo

he go-pst.3ms 'He went'.

(c) Obligative Mood
(108) bInns roti khani he-acc. bread.fs eat-prst.fs is
'He has to eat the bread'.

(d) Optative Mood (109) mã cawű hữ ka bo awa I want am that he come 'I want that he should come'. (e) Presumptive Mood

(110) bln roţi khai holi he-nom. bread.fs eat-pst be-pst.3fs 'He may have eaten the bread'.

(f) Contingent Mood

(111) je mero bhai ətthe hoto to tũ iyã na kẽvto 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 koni, $n\tilde{\alpha}$, and $n\tilde{\epsilon}i$. Out of these, koni represents the unmarked negative particle that is equivalent to English 'not' whereas $n\tilde{\alpha}$ and $n\tilde{\imath}$ are used in subjunctive, imperative, conditional, neither....nor construction, and infinitive phrases. Some distributive properties of negative particles in Marwari are exemplified below:

(112) koni më kitab koni pədi I book.fs neg. read-pst.fs 'I did not read the book'.

(113) nā
tũ philm nã dekh
you film neg. see-imp.
'You do not watch the film'.

(114) nõi
jhuth nii bolno ceije
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) me kaget likhyo koni, likhūla

I letter write-pst.ms neg. write-fut.1ms
'I did not write a letter (but will write)'.

The major difference between the three negative particles is that it is only the koni that can be placed in post-verbal position, whereas $n\tilde{a}$ and $n\tilde{e}i$ are not placed post-verbally.

*(115)a. mẽ kaget likhyo nã/ñi, likhũlo

Negative disjunction is expressed by means of nã or nãi:

(116) nã/nỗi kitab pedi nã/nỗi kaget 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.

2.2.2.2 Verhalizes

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) Conjunct verbs

Conjunct verbs are formed by adding verbs such as kereno 'to do', hono 'to be', ano 'to come', jano 'to go', deno 'to give', leno 'to take' to preceding nouns, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs. The following list shows the process of deriving conjunct verbs:

Noun pesend	Action pesend kerno	Stative pesend hono	Inchoative pesend ano
'choice' gusso	'to like' gusso kərno	'to like' gusso hono	'to like' gusso ano
'anger' yad	'to express anger' yad kərno	yad hono	'to become angry' yad ano 'to remember'
'memory	' 'to remember'	'to remember'	to remember

(ii) /-no/ is the infinitive marker and is suffixed to a noun to form verbs from nouns:

Noun		Verb	
bekhan	'description'	bəkhan-ηο	'to explain'
bět	'complex'	bet-no	'to twist'
bol	'word'	bol-no	'to speak'

(iii) $/-\eta_0$ / is added to noun to get verbs nominal stems with double consonants undergo the process of consonant cluster simplification:

Noun		Verb
sərəm	'shame'	sərəmano 'to be bashful'
dəphən	'burial'	dephenano 'to burry'
kəmm	'job'	kəmano 'to earn'
cəkkər	'circle'	cekerano 'to spin'

2.2.2.2.2 Verbs from verbs:

(i) Transitive/Causative verbs:

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

Stem		Causa	tive-I	Causa	tive-II
bed	'be increased'	bəda	'increase'	bədwa	'cause x to increase'
hət	'be removed'	heta	'remove'	hətwa	'cause x to remove'
ped	'study'	pəda	'teach'	pədwa	'cause x to cause y to study'
de	'give'	dira	'cause x to give'	dirwa	'cause x to cause y to give'

It is clear from above that intransitive verbs ($b \not= d$, $h \not= d$), transitive verbs ($p \not= d$) and double transitive verbs (de) 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_1+v_2) . 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 gyo he come go-pst.ms 'He has come.'
- (118) ram keh bethyo

 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 jano 'to go', in (117)

and $b \in h no$ '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.

2.2.2.3 Verbs from adjectives

Adjectives	Action	Stative	Inchoative	
accho	accho kerno	accho hono		
'good'	'to cause x to recover'	' to recover'		

2.2.2.2.4 Verbs from Adverbs

Adverb	Action	Stative	Inchoative
utawəl	utawəl kərni	utawel honi	
'quickly'	'to hurry'	'to be in a hurry'	

From the above list, it is clear that with the exception of $k \sigma r n \rho$ 'to do' and $h \sigma n \rho$ ' 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, $a n \rho$ 'to come', the symbol [-] denotes a gap.

2,2,2,2.5 Verbs from others

(i) Verbs from pronouns:

Pronoun	Action	Stative	Inchoative		
арпо	арпо когпо	αρηο hοηο			
'self'	'to adopt'	' to become o	ne's own'		

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

Adjective /	Pronouns	Verb	
lengero	'lame'	lengerano	'to limp'
həklo	'stutterer'	heklano	'to stutter'
арпо	'self'	эрпапо	'to adopt'

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 $sy\tilde{u}$; (ii) the past participal form of the main verb is used with the passive auxiliary ja 'go'.

- (119) un syū kagət koni likhyo gəyo he inst.pp letter.ms neg. write-pst.ppl.ms go-pst.ms 'The letter was not written by him.'
- (120) gita syű koni soyo geyo Gita.fs inst.ppl neg. sleep-pst.ppl.ms go-pst.ms 'Gita could not sleep.'

Sentence(119) and (120) indicate that both transitive and intransitive verbs can be passivised in Marwari. Passive sentences are ambiguous. Transitive passives express passive as well as capabilitative (external not internal) reading as in (119). Intransitive passives convey only the capabilitative reading and generally occur in the construction. Transitive agents can be dropped and the agentless construction thus obtained favors the passive reading over the capabilitative reading as in (119a)-

(119a) kagət koni likhyo gəyo letter.ms neg. write-pst.ppl.ms go-pst.ms '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 explicator element (the second verbal element jano 'to go') of the passive verb agrees with the object, i.e. kagot 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 participial marker is /-t-/ which immediately follows the verbal stem and is, in turn, followed by number and gender marker, as shown in example (121):

(121)	Masc	uline	Feminine		
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	
	stem- t-o	stem_t_a	stem-t-i	stem- t-i	

With stems ending in a vowel, /-n/ intervenes the stem and the present participial marker /-t-/. The present participle may be used as either adjective or adverb. The optional past participial form of the verb hono 'to be' may immediately follow the present participial form:

(122)	pedeto/jato	(hoyo)	choro
	read-prst.ppl.ms/go-prst.ppl.ms	be-pst.ppl.ms	boy.ms
	pədəta/jata	(hoya)	chora

read-prst.ppl.mp/go-prst.ppl.mp be-pst.ppl.mp boy.mp
podeti/jati (hoyi) chori
read-prst.ppl.fsp / go-prst.ppl.fsp be-pst.ppl.fsp girl.fsp

'The boy(s)/girl(s) who is/are reading/going.'

The present participial 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 horo 'to be' may immediately follow the past participial form:

(123) Masculine Feminine
Singular Plural
stem -yo stem-ya stem-yi stem-yi

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

(124) Masculine Feminine
Singular Plural Singular Plural
hoyo hoya hoyi hoyi

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

(125) padero (hoyo) choro read-pst.ppl.ms be-pst.ppl.ms boy.ms (hoya) chora padera read-pst.ppl.mp be-pst.ppl.ms boy.mp chori pederi (hoyi) girl.fs read-pst.ppl.fs be-pst.ppl.fs (hoyi) chori/ã pederi be-pst.ppl.fp girl.fp read-pst.ppl.fp

'The boy(s)/girl(s) who is/are read'.

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 verbs such as kerno 'to do', hono 'to be', ano 'to come', jano 'to go', deno 'to give', leno 'to take' to preceding nouns, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs. The following list shows the process of deriving conjunct verbs:

(126) Noun Action Stative Inchoative pesend kerno pesend hono pesend ano pesend 'to like' 'choice' 'to like' 'to like' gusso hono gusso ano gusso gusso karno 'to express anger' 'to be angry' 'to become angry' 'anger' yad yad kərno vad hono vad ano 'memory' 'to remember' 'to remember' 'to remember'

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

(127) moţţi bată kərqi 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 verbspos and karno 'to like'

(128) me kitab pəsənd kəri

I.erg book.fs like do-pst.fs
'I liked the book.'(action)

pis and hono 'to like'

(129) mone kitab posond he
I+dat.pp book.fs like be-prst.s
'I like the book.'(stative)

pisənd ano 'to like'

(130) mene kitab pesend ayi I+dat.pp book.fs like come-pst.fs 'I liked the book.'(non-stative)

gusso kərno 'to express anger'

(131) blne ram per gusso keryo he+erg Ram on anger.ms do-pst.ms 'He was angry at Ram.' gusso hono 'to be angry'

(132) bIn ne ram por gusso he he dat.pp Ram on anger.fs be-prst.fs 'He is angry with ram.'

gusso ano 'to become angry'

(133) bIn ne ram per gusso ayo he dat.pp Ram on anger.fs come-pst.fs 'He became angry with Ram.'

Verbs with hono and ano form stative and inchoative verbs in conjunction with non-verbal categories. They take dative subjects, whereas their active counterparts select nominative subjects.

2.3 Compounding

A compound is a lexical unit in which two or more lexical morphemes (free roots) are juxtaposed. The compound nouns in Marwari are classified in terms of semantic relationship held by the constituent noun. Three main semantic relationships hold between constituent nouns: (1) equational, (2) associative, where the resultant compound nouns functions general referents of the semantic domain of its constituents, and (3) attributive, where the first noun modifies the second, which functions as a substantive. The verb may also function as attributive, resulting in verb+noun compounds.

2.3.1 Equational compounds

In this type of compound, the two words forming the compound noun have identical or very close meaning. The constituents may differ in basic attributive feature: e.g.,

(134) sukh+cen 'peace'

sukh 'relief' + cen 'peace'

puja-silam 'worship' puja 'worship' + silam 'salutation'

sewa-susər 'nursing' sewa 'service' + susər 'nursing'

2.3.2 Associative compounds

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-pani 'climate' hawa 'air' + pani 'water'

kər-məjuri 'livelihood' kər 'work' + majuri 'wage'

tabər - tikər 'family' tabər 'children' + tikər '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'

dűngi-bat 'mystery' dűngi '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, untidiness and different manner of actions. Marwari builds its lexicon by morphological reduplication. Many of the onomatopoeic and imitatives operate as normal verbs:

(137) phərphərano 'to flap' bərbərano 'to mutter'

1. Acoustic noises

(a) Animal noises:

(138) kər-kər 'grunt of pigs' ci-ci 'chirp of sparrows' meu-meu 'mew of cat'

(b) Noises of natural phenomenon:

(139) ghərər-ghərər 'thundering of clouds'
sər -sər 'sound of blowing wind'
tərər-tərər 'sound of raining'

(c) Noises made by humans:

(140) pheret-phret 'sound of snoring' gheset- gheset 'sound of feet' pecer- pecer 'sound of knead flour'

(d) Noises made by miscellaneous inanimate objects:

(141) jhemek- jhemak 'jingling sound'
dega-deg 'sound of washing clothes'
cerer-cerer 'sound of tearing clothes'

2. Sense of sight

(142) jhil-mil 'twinkling' təp-təp 'flickering' jəg-məg 'shining'

3. Sense of touch

(143) lət-pət 'sticky' jhur-jhuri 'shivering' ghəsər-pəsər 'topsy-turvy' 4. Sense of smell

(144) mək-mək 'fragrance' sərər-sərər 'pungent smell'

5. Sense of Taste

(145) səpər-səpər 'pungent'

Besides expressing perceptual sensory words, expressives in Marwari express movement, feelings, situations, manner and state of actions:

(146) kec-kec 'annovance' 'rudeness' bheser-bheser 'eating speedily' gepa-gep 'immediately' tepa-tep 'tickled' lof-pot ihəpa-ihəp 'immediately' 'without hesitation' səpa-səp 'disorder' ərən-bərən

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 \underline{u} and \underline{a} as replacer sounds of echo-words. If the base word has \underline{u} sound it would have \underline{a} as replacer sound and if the base word has \underline{a} or \underline{a} sound, it would have \underline{u} 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 cetera' 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 uli 'empty, etc..'
jit ut 'victory, etc'
dud ad 'milk, etc.'
dakh ukh 'dry grapes, etc.'
bat ut 'story, etc'

Also, there are instances where the 'replacers' are other than \underline{u} or \underline{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) ədlo bədlo 'exchange, etc.'
kəsər bəsər 'shortage, etc.'
moţa moţi 'broadly, etc.'
kərəţ-bərəţ 'bickering'
lekin phekin
kitab kitub '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

```
'big' (adj.)
(149) moto
                         'big big' (pl. adj.)
        moto-moto
        godo
                         'knee' (n.)
        gode-gode
                         'upto the knees' (n.)
        utawəlo
                         'quickly' (adv.)
        utawelo utawelo 'quickly' ( adv.)
                          'blue' (adi.)
        lilo
                         'bluish' (adj.)
        lilo lilo
        taperi
                         'hut' (n)
                          'hut hut = huts (n.)
        taperi taperi
        dhire
                         'slowly' (adv.)
                          'slowly' (adv.)
        dhire dhire
                          'two' (adj.)
        do
        do do
                          'two-two' = two each (adj.)
                          'night' (n.)
        rat
                           'night-night' (n.)
        rat rat
```

2.4.3.2 Class changing complete word reduplication

	'cold'	(N)> silo-silo 'wet and cold' (adj.)
ap	'self'	(proN)> ap ap 'spontaneous' (Adj.)

soro	'easy'	(Adj.)> soro soro 'easily'(Adv.)
upər	'above'	(Prep/Adv.)>upər upər 'superficial' (Adj.)
roj	'always'	(Adv.)>roj roj 'daily' (Adj.)
ghəri	'moment'	(N)>ghəţi ghəţi 'repeatedly'(Adv.)

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

(1)a. bo sunder he

he handsome is 'He is handsome'.

b. bine thik kam keryo 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 sunder 'handsome', whereas, in (1b) main verb is keryo 'did'.

Interrogative

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

b. o tharo hε? 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

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

> b. nã ja-o not go-imp 'Do not go'

Sentence (3a) consists of an imperative verb; (3b) has the same construction but also contains a preverbal negator adverbial. 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

(4)a. bhegwan tero bhelo kere!
God your good do-imp.
'God bless you!'

kuve me pət!
 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 (Suject-Object-Verb). Following are given some examples in this regard:

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

o. ram kirket khelε hε

Ram cricket play-prst.3ms aux. S O V 'Ram plays cricket'.

c. ram sita ne kitab di Ram.erg Sita acc./dat. book.fs give-pst.fs S IO DO V 'Ram gave Sita a book'.

With regard to word order in noun phrase, attributive adjectives (A) and genitive modifiers (G) precede head noun (N), and therefore Marwari should be characterized as an AN and GN language.

- (6) lal rosni red light 'Red light'.
- (7) jewan admi young man 'Young man'.

SOV languages have postpositions rather than prepositions. This generalization also holds true for Marwari:

- (8) pen syû pen with 'With pen.'
- (9) benk syū bank from 'From the bank.'
- (10) gher mɛ̃ house in 'In the house'.
- (11) nødi par river across

In comparative constructions, the standard of comparison precedes the comparative adjective:

- (12) cak syū jada səphed chalk from more white 'Much whiter than chalk'.
- (13) set syū thoro jado 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) mẽ likh ryo hũ I write prog.ms aux. 'I am writing'.
- (15) tũ kitab pedε hε you book read-prst aux. 'You read abook'.
- (16) bo skul jawε hε
 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 lal he moti he that book.fs rel. red is big is 'The book which is red is bulky'.
- (19) bo admi jiko jej ho kal mer gyo that man rel. judge was yesterday die go-pst.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 $n\varepsilon$. If the subject is a first or second person pronoun, $n\varepsilon$ is omitted but the pronominal subject still appears in the oblique case.

- (20) me gita ne kitab di
 - I Gita acc/dat book give-pst 'I gave Gita a book'.
- (21) the ek kaget likhyo you one letter write-pst 'You wrote a letter'.
- (22) bIn ek git gayo he-nom. one song sing-pst.3ms 'He sang a song'.

3.2.3 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) mẽ kitab pədũ hữ
 - I book read-prst aux. 'I read a book'.
- (24) choriyā bεţh gθyi 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 kagot likhyo he
 I one letter.ms write-perf.ms aux.
 'I have written a letter'.
- (26) bã pədai me acchi tereki keri 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 coordinates or coordinate junctions. 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: θ r 'and ', (ii) Adversative conjunction: $p \theta \eta$ 'but', (iii) Disjunction: $k \varepsilon / y a$ 'or', and (iv) Negative disjunction: $n \theta n \theta$ 'neither....nor'.

3.3.1.1 Conjunction: ər 'and'

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

- (27) _s[mohen sunder er imandar hε] Mohan wise and honest is 'Mohan is wise and honest'.
- (28) bln vp[kaget likhyo er post keryo] he.nom letter write-pst and post do-pst
- (29) sohene pp[mere syū er mohen syū] bat keri Sohan-erg I-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 pedyo er kamyab hoyo he stdy-pst and successful be-pst.3ms 'He studied and became successful'.

3.3.1.2 Adversative conjunction: pən'but'

When two conjuncts are coordinated by an adversative conjunction $p \ni \eta$, it is implied that a contrast or an opposition exists between the two conjuncts. Mostly $p \ni \eta$ permits the coordination to occur at the sentential level:

- (32) ram gerib he pen imandar he Ram poor is but honest is 'Ram is poor but he is honest.'
- (33) më gam jaŭlo pen khano khae pher I 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 pən sundər he he fair neg. but smart is 'He is not fair but smart'.

3.3.1.3 Disjunction: kejya 'or'

The disjunctive particles $k\varepsilon/ya$ 'or' express that one of the two alternatives can be used:

- (35) ke levola dud kε/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 Shyam 'Either Ram or Shyam is good'.
- 3.3.1.4 Negative disjunction: no...no 'neither....nor'

It is expressed by means of substituting $n \theta$, a negative particle for jya:

- (38) ne accho ne buro neg. good neg. bad 'Neither good nor bad'.
- (39) no ram ayo no shyam ayo neg. Ram come-pst shyam come-pst 'Neither Ram nor Shyam came'.
- (40) no sac no jhut o peradoks 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 Rajasthani. Examples are given below:

- (41) me tere nojdik avűlo caye borsat huve I you-dat. near come-fut.1ms even if rain be-prst 'I will come to you even if it rains'.
- (42) jed më kemre me ghusyo më dekhyo ke hoyo ho when I room-obl. in enter-pst.ms I-erg. see-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 nonfinite 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 clausemē socū hữ I think.prst.ms am
- (43)a. Subordinate clausemɛ̃ socū hū̃ ke bo jawɛlo I think-prst am that he go-fut.3ms 'I think that he will go.'
- *(43)b. ke bo jawɛlo, mɛ̃ socũ hũ that he go-fut.3ms I think-prst am 'I think that he will go.'

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

(43)c. bo jawelo, o/iyā 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:

		Direct		Oblique		
singular	jo	'what, who'	jis	'what, who'		
Plural	jo	'what, who'	jin	'what, who'		

(45) Correlative markers:

	D	irect	Oblique		
Singular	ba/bo	's/he'	bln	s/he	
Plural	bε	'they'	bIna	they	

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 presentential 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 correlatives, one of which is optionally deleted, e.g. jəb-təb 'when-then', jəbtək-təbtək 'as long as-until then':
- (46) jød më ayo (jød) tũ koni ho when I arrive-pst then you not be-pst.2ms 'When I arrived, you were not (there).'

(47) jədtəi mē ni kəhû tū ghər na jai as long as I not say-imp you house not go-imp. '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 tũ jai uncle poss. come-nonfinite after you go-fut. 'You (will) go after uncle comes.'
- (ii) Immediate succession: The locative adverbial $j\theta h\bar{a}$ 'where' coupled with $k\varepsilon$ 'that' signals immediate sequence of events:
- (49) (jətthe) Istesən pugyo ke gadi ayi where station arrive-pst that train come-pst.3fs '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 (sathɛ) mɛ̃ khəbər dyūnlo job be-ppl.prst.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 $j \neq t \neq t$ where' or $j \neq t \neq t \neq t$ wherever':

- (51) jetthe bhejola mẽ jawũlo where send-fut I go-fut.1 ms 'I will go where you send me.'
- (52) jettheketthe mene nokri mileli më jawulo wherever I+acc/dat job meet-fut I go-fut.1 ms '1 will go wherever 1 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 $jiy\tilde{a}$ 'as' renders the manner reading:

(53) jiyā bo keve biyā tū kər as-rel. he tell-sbjt same way-cor. you do-imp.s 'Do as he tells (you to do).'

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) mohen jutti lene bejar geyo

 Mohan shoes buy-inf. market go-pst.3ms
 'Mohan went to market to buy shoes.'
- (55) bo pisa dene khater dukan geyo 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):

(56)a. s₁ [a [_N bat s₂ [ke dakter thane til dekhyo]] this matter comp.doctor you-acc/dat not see-pst.

kins i acchi ni lagi]
anyone emph. good not feel-pst.fs
'The fact that the doctor did not examine you displeased all.

- s₁[mē a [N kheber s₂[ke babo mer gyo]] nagor me suni]
 I this news comp. father die go-pst.3ms Nagaur loc hear-pst
 'I heard the news that father died in Nagaur'.
- (57)a. mone lagyo [ke tū naraz ho gyo]

 I+acc/dat. feel-pst comp. you angry be go-pst.2ms
 'I felt that you became angry.'
 - b. bo cawe he [ke mohen dakter ho jyawe]
 he want-prst.aux. comp. Mohan doctor become-opt.3ms
 'He wants Mohan to be a doctor.'

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

(58) menε lagyo [kε matho dukhε hε]

I+acc/dat feel-pst comp head ache-prst aux-prst
'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) mẽ jano cawữ hữ I go-inf want-prst.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/, /to/, and /so/ are the particles in Marwari

/i/:

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 /ø/ before /i/. It corresponds with Hindi /bhi/. The range of its usage may be illustrated by the examples (60a-d).

- (60) mɛ̃ jawūlo I go-fut.ms 'I shall go.'
- (60)a. mē i jawulo I emph. go-fut.ms 'I shall also go.'
- (60)b. a i sat ripiyã ri kitab he this emph. seven Rupees gen. book is This only is a book of seven rupees.
- (60)c. betthe bhot i admine there so many emph. men are 'There are so many men.'
- (60)d. bo i phUtbal 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) ε tin kuţta these three shirts 'These three shirts.'

(61)a. ε tin i kurta these three emph. shirts 'These three shirts.'

(61)b. ε tin kurta i these three shirts emph. 'These three shirts.'

The particle can occur with an adverb, as in (62):

(62) mhe thane ketthe i thokalã
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 jagətā i bhaj gyo he awakening emph. run go-pst.3ms 'He ran just after awakening.'

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

/to/ :

/to/ 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 kere he good boys emph. work do-prst are 'The good boys do work.'

Placing the particle /to/ just after an adjective, creates some emphasis about the adjective,

(66) bo kalo 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 jawe to he he go-prst emph is 'He does go.'

sn/·

This particle may occur after a noun or adjective in a noun phrase construction. It behaves like an adjective as in (68a-b) and creates doubt about noun or adjective after which it is placed.

(68) ba choro si he
girl boy.ms like is
'She is like a boy.'

(68)a. bo kalo so he

(68)a. bo kalo so h
he black.ms like is
'He is some what dark'.

(68)b. o kəpto kalo so ha this cloth black like is 'This cloth is black like.'

Chapter 4 Sample Text

ek	kõnjus	re	kənne	kin	malməto	ho.	bin	Зп	sədã	oi	der
one	miser	of	near	some	stuff	was	he	acc.	always	this	fear
bəno	revto	ho	kε	sari	duniyã	ra	cor	er	lutniyã	merai	dhən
made	prog.	was	that	whole	world	of	thieves	and	robbers	mine	wealth
re	laləc	mε	he.	kaĭ	thah	janε	kød	lut	le.	a	soc
of	greed	in	are	what	knowledge	know	when	loot	take	this	thought
bi	пє	әрге	mal	ne	becan	rt	khatər	ghər	ro	mai	metto
he	erg.	own	stuff	acc/dat	sell-inf.	of	for	house	of	stuff	goods
bec	ek	sone	ri	ĩt	mol	li.	bin	٦t	3a	bi	r£
sell	one	gold	of	brick	price	took	he	brick	acc.	he	of
ghər	re	kuns	mε	ek	ijide	thor	gat	di.	pen	In	pər
house	of	corner	in	one	certain	place	hid	gave	but	this	on
bhi	bin	nε	səburi	ni	hoi.	bo	rojina	un	ijide	thor	pər
also	he	acc	patience	no	came	he	daily	that	certain	place	on
ja	тє	dekhya	kəre	ho	kε	koi	sone	ri	ĩţ	nε	cor
go	after	look	do	was	that	some	gold	of	brick	acc	thief
ər	to	ni	le	gyo	he.	bin	ne	ių	tərɛ	hər	homes
after	emph	not	take	went	is	he	acc	this	like	each	daily
jato	dekh	bin	re	nokər	ne	keī	subo	huyo.	bo	admi	moko
going	see	he	of	servant	acc	some	doubt	be	he	fellow	occasion
le	ek	din	bin	jegyã	pər	giyo	ər	uthe	syũ	sone	ri
take	one	day	there	place	on	went	and	where	from	gold	of
it	khod	əprε	kəbje	m£	keri.	bo	kõnjus	bin	thor	per	өрге
brick	dig	own	favor	in	did	he	miser	there	place	on	own
lagye	adbed	m3j	pər	pəhűcyo	to	kəī	dekhE	hε	kε	koi	it
stick	tied	time	on	reached	then	what	see	is	that	some	brick
ne	cor	le	gyo	he.	bin	ro	0	əfsos	kε	mere	cIt
acc	thief	take	went	is	he	of	this	grief	that	stricken	mind
cilla	syũ	utər	gyo	bo	bhari	jor	syũ	bilek	rε	ron	lagyo
pivot	from	getdown	went	he	heavy	force	with	burst	doing	cry	stacked
bin	ne	phut	phut	re	roto	sUn	parosi	nε	bin	syũ	гопе
he	acc	burst	burst	doing	crying	hear	neighbor	erg	him	from	cry

Sample text

ri	bat	puchi	əkhir	mε	binns	bin	kõjus	nε	ek	bhato	de
of	matter	asked	finally	in	they-erg	he	miser	acc	one	piece	give
re	kəhyo	bhai	əb	rove	mət	na	in	bhãte	rε	roça	ne
after	said	brother	now	сгу	not	no	this	stone	of	piece	acc
bin	rε	than	mε	gat	Зb	ər	jan	lε	kε	teri	sone
that	of	place	in	hid	give	and	know	take	that	your	gold
ri	It	uthsi	ger	ri	hε	kyűkε	jed	tene	0	pukhta	irado
of	brick	there	hid	prog	is	because	when	you	this	sure	intention
kər	liyo	hε	kε	bin	syũ	kõi	phaydo	utano	i	nãy	to
do	took	is	that	that	with	some	gain	lift	emph	not	then
tere	lai	jisi	sone	ri	7t	bisyo	bhãte	ro	roco		
you	acc	like	gold	of	brick	like	stone	of	piece		

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".

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Map: Marwari speaking area



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