

## Grammatical Feature: Presence or absence of gender agreement in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular imperfective verb form

The verb in an imperfective clause in standard Marathi agrees with the number and gender of the third person singular subject NP. Consider the standard Marathi sentence *kasəw jīktə, səsə harto aṇi goṣṭə səṃpte* (tortoise win.IPFV.3SGN, rabbit lose.IPFV.3SGM and story end.IPFV.3SGF; ‘Tortoise wins (the race), rabbit loses (the race) and the story ends’), the verbs *jīktə*, *harto* and *səṃpte* agree with the number and gender of the third person singular subjects *kasəw*, *səsə*, and *goṣṭə* respectively. This verbal agreement is optional in some regional dialects of Marathi. The verb may be unmarked for gender as in the following examples: *mulga pəḷte* ‘boy run.IPFV.3SG’, *mulgi pəḷte* ‘girl run.IPFV.3SG’ and *mul pəḷte* ‘child run.IPFV.3SG’.

### 1.0 Dialectal variation in Presence or absence of gender agreement in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular imperfective verb form

Two variant structures were observed in the various regional dialects of Marathi for indicating gender agreement on the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular imperfective verb form: (1) Gender agreement is present, (2) Gender agreement is variably present. The geographical distribution and examples of the variant structures are given below.

#### 1.1 Variant 1: Gender agreement is present

Gender agreement in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular imperfective verb form was observed in nineteen of the sampled 34 districts in the state of Maharashtra. The geographical spread of this variant and examples are given below:

District	Taluka and Village
Kolhapur	Karvir - Gadmodshingi and Khupire, Shahuwadi - Shahuwadi and Khutalwadi, Kagal - Gorambe and Ekondi, Chandgad - Chandgad, Tudiye and Kodali, Radhanagari - Sonyachi Shirolī, Gadhinglaj - Hebbal Jaldyal and Inchnal
Sangli	Miraj - Soni and Mhaisal, Shirala - Pachumbri and Shirala (Khurd)
Satara	Khatav - Mandave, Visapur and Mhasurne, Patan - Mhavshi and Helwak, Satara - Chalakewadi and Kodoli, Wai - Chikhali and Pandewadi
Solapur	Solapur - Ranmsale, Dongaon and Nandni,



	Akkalkot - Karjat, Sangole - Hangirge, Hatid, Sangole and Katfal, Barshi - Gaudgaon and Saundare
Osmanabad	Osmanabad - Shingoli and Kond, Omerga - Jakekur and Kasgi
Latur	Latur - Pakharsangavi, Tandulja and Babhalgaon, Nilanga - Dadgi and Manejavalga, Udgir - Shirol Janapur and Malkapur
Nanded	Nanded - Limbgaon and Pangri, Kinwat - Islapur, Mukhed - Halni
Parbhani	Palam - Banwas, Sonpeth - Tiwthana, Parbhani - Takalgavhan
Beed	Beed - Bedukwadi and Kolharwadi, Shirur-Kasar - Dahiwandi, Ambejogai - Satefal and Daradwadi
Jalna	Jalna - Dhawedi, Mantha - Uswad+Talni and Kendhali
Aurangabad	Aurangabad - Bhikapur-Naigaon and Pimpalkhunta, Vaijapur - Nandgaon and Savkhedganga, Paithan - Telwadi and Pachod (Budruk), Soegaon - Ghosla and Palaskheda
Jalgaon	Jalgaon - Dhamangaon, Jamner - Waghari, Raver - Mangalwadi
Nashik	Nashik - Madsangvi, Palase and Vilholi, Satana - Mulher, Surgana - Kathipada and Surgana, Triambakeshwar - Goldari and Zarwad (Khurd), Yeola - Bokte and Nimgaonmadh
Ahmednagar	Akole - Brahmanwada and Dongargaon, Newsa- Khalalpimpri and Morgavhan, Ahmednagar - Kamargaon and Narayan Doho, Jamkhed - Sawargaon and Javalke
Pune	Haweli - Jambhali and Kesanand, Indapur - Sarafwadi and Saradewadi, Junnar - Bori (Budruk) and Dhamankhel, Mulshi - Kasar-Amboli and Nive
Palghar	Vasai - Saivan, Dahanu - Murbad and Pimpalshet, Jawhar - Hateri and Khambala, Mokhada- Dandwal and Karegaon
Thane	Ambarnath - Wangni, Bhiwandi - Bhiwali and Khoni, Murbad - Madh and Patgaon, Shahapur - Borsheti- Kalambe and Chaundhe (Budruk), Thane - Yeoor
Raigad	Karjat - Gaulwadi, Alibag - Baple and Mandwa-Bodni, Roha - Nagothane and Chinchawli, Shriwardhan - Shriwardhan, Mahad - Naravan
Ratnagiri	Ratnagiri - Malgund, Zadgaon and Someshwar,



Khed - Savnas, Jamge and Bahiravli, Dapoli - Dabhol and  
Palgad, Rajapur - Mandrul and Solgaon

**1.1.1 Example** (District Parbhani, taluka Parbhani, village Takalgawhan, M21, Maratha, B.Com.)

ससा पळतो फुडी गवत खातो थांबतो झोपतो

səsa pəʎto p<sup>h</sup>uḍi gəwət k<sup>h</sup>ato t<sup>h</sup>ambto j<sup>h</sup>opto

səsa pəʎ-t-o p<sup>h</sup>uḍi gəwət k<sup>h</sup>a-t-o t<sup>h</sup>amb-t-o j<sup>h</sup>op-t-o

rabbit.3SGM run-IPFV-3SGM ahead grass.3SGN eat-IPFV-3SGM stop-IPFV-3SGM sleep-IPFV-3SGM

The rabbit runs ahead and eats grass then stop and sleeps.

**1.1.2 Example** (District Raigad, taluka Alibag, village Baple, M28, Agri, 10<sup>th</sup>)

तवपासून ती आता भईन तितं ती ऱ्हाते

təwpasun ti ata b<sup>h</sup>əin titə r<sup>h</sup>ate

təwpasun ti ata b<sup>h</sup>əin titə r<sup>h</sup>a-t-e

from that DEM.DIST.3SGF now sister.3SGF there stay-IPFV-3SGF

The sister has been living there ever since.

**1.1.3 Example** (District Pune, taluka Junnar, village Dhamankhel, M33, Mahadev Koli, 8<sup>th</sup>)

ती बाई तिच्या शेजारच्याला सांगती ना

ti bai tiča šejarčala saṅgəti na

ti bai ti-č-a šejar-č-a-la saṅgə-t-i na

DEM.DIST.3SGF woman.3SGF she-GEN-OBL neighbouring-GEN.3SGM-OBL-ACC tell-IPFV-3SGF

The woman tells her neighbor.

**1.1.4 Example** (District Satara, taluka Khatav, village Mandwe, F35, Mali, 7<sup>th</sup>)

कासव जिंकतं आनि ससा हारतो

kasəw jīṅktə ani səsa harto



kasəw **ɟɪnk-t-ə** ani səsa har-t-o

tortoise.3SGN **win-IPFV-3SGN** and rabbit.3SGM loss-IPFV-3SGM

Tortoise wins the race and rabbit loses.

## 1.2 Variant 2: Gender agreement is variably present

Gender agreement was observed to be variably present (i.e. sometimes absent) in the 3rd person singular imperfective verb form in twenty-six of the sampled 34 districts in the state of Maharashtra. The geographical spread of this variant and examples are given below:

<b>District</b>	<b>Taluka and Village</b>
Chandrapur	Chandrapur - Chaknimbala and Datala, Rajura - Kadholi (Budruk) and Koshtala, Brahmapuri - Panchgaon and Torgaon (Budruk)
Gadchiroli	Gadchiroli - Khursa and Shioni, Korchi - Bori and Mohgaon
Gondia	Gondia - Temni and Tedhwa, Sadak Arjuni - Duggipar and Chikhali
Bhandara	Bhandara - Dhargaon and Mujbi, Tumsar - Lobhi and Bori
Nagpur	Nagpur - Yerla and Sonegaon (Lodhi), Bhiwapur - Sawargaon and Botezari, Ramtek - Bhojapur and Karwahi, Narkhed - Umari and Pandhari
Wardha	Wardha - Karanji (Bhoge) and Nimgaon (Sabne), Ashti - Khadka and Thar, Hinganghat - Ajanti and Poti, Selu - Wadgaon Jangli and Zadshi
Yavatmal	Ghatanji - Khapri and Kurli, Ner - Kolura and Dagad Dhanora
Amravati	Amravati - Sawardi and Malkapur, Warud - Satnur and Gadegaon, Daryapur - Bhambora, Jitapur and Bhamod, Dharni - Kawdaziri
Akola	Akola - Gopalkhed and Yeota
Washim	Washim - Shirputi, Risod - Chakoli and Ghonsar, Karnja - Girda and Donad (Budruk)
Hingoli	Hingoli - Karwadi, Kalamnuri - Babhali and Morwad
Nanded	Kinwat - Maregaon (Khalche), Mukhed - Shirur (Dabde), Deglur - Khanapur and Ramtapur
Parbhani	Palam - Kapsi, Sonpeth - Dighol
Beed	Shirur-Kasar - Takalwadi
Solapur	Akkalkot - Kurnur and Chikkehalli



Buldhana	Buldhana - Palaskhed Bhat and Warwand, Jalgaon-Jamod - Wadgaon Patan and Nimkarad, Shegaon - Shirajgaon (Nile) and Padsul
Jalgaon	Jalgaon - Wadli, Jamner - Wakod, Raver - Nirul, Chaliskaon - Hatle and Dahiwad, Chopda - Tandalwadi and Vaijapur
Dhule	Dhule - Laling, Songir, Khede and Khordad, Shirpur - Ambe, Shingave and Boradi, Sakri - Dighave and Dhadne
Nandurbar	Nandurbar - Ghotane and Dhanora, Navapur - Khandbara and Chinchpada, Shahada - Prakasha and Shahada
Nashik	Malegaon - Kalwadi and Kaulane (GA.), Satana - Daregaon
Palghar	Vasai - Wagholi, Kalamb and Nirmal, Dahanu - Bordi and Vetli, Talasari - Udhwa
Thane	Ambernath - Usatane
Raigad	Karjat - Salokh, Murud - Ekdara and Chinchghar, Shriwardhan - Bagmandla
Ratnagiri	Rajapur - Kumbhavade
Sindhudurg	Dodamarg - Ayee and Matne, Malwan - Katta, Deulwada and Dandi, Kudal - Amrad, Mangaon and Kudal, Vengurla - Vengurla, Devgad - Taramumbri and Jamsande, Vaibhavwadi - Nadavde, Sawantwadi - Kolgaon and Satarde
Kolhapur	Radhanagari - Olavan

**1.2.1 Example** (District Amravati, taluka Amravati, village Sawardi, F19, Mahar, 12<sup>th</sup>)

शेवटी ससाच जिकतो कासव थोडीच जिकतं ते

šewṭi səsac jikto kasəw tʰoḍic jiktə te

šewṭi səsac-c jik-t-o kasəw tʰoḍi-c jik-t-ə te

lastly raabit-EMPH win-IPFV-3SGM tortoise.3SGN little-EMPH win-IPFV-3SGN DEM.DIST.DIST.3SGN

Finally, rabbit wins (the race), tortoise does not win.

**1.2.2 Example** (District Amravati, taluka Amravati, village Sawardi, F19, Mahar, 12<sup>th</sup>)

वाघ म्हनते मी तुला खाइन ससा म्हनते नाही रे माझा छोटासा पिलू हाय तु कशाला मला खातो



wag<sup>h</sup> m<sup>h</sup>ənte mi tula k<sup>h</sup>ain səsa m<sup>h</sup>ənte nahi re maj<sup>h</sup>a č<sup>h</sup>oṭasa pilu hay tu kəšala məla k<sup>h</sup>ato

wag<sup>h</sup> m<sup>h</sup>ən-t-e mi tu-la k<sup>h</sup>a-in səsa m<sup>h</sup>ən-t-e nahi re ma-j<sup>h</sup>-a č<sup>h</sup>oṭasa pilu hay tu kəšala mə-la k<sup>h</sup>a-t-o

tiger.3SG say-IPFV-3SG I you-ACC eat-FUT rabbit.3SG **say-IPFV-3SG** NEG VOC I-GEN-3SGM little.OBL.3SGM kid.3SGM be.PRS you why I-ACC eat-IPFV-2SGM

Tiger says to rabbit, “I will eat you.” Rabbit says, “Please don’t eat me; I have a kid. Why do you want to eat me?”

**1.2.3 Example** (District Amravati, taluka Amravati, village Sawardi, F19, Mahar, 12<sup>th</sup>)

माझी आई म्हणते बा तु म्हणते असा नाही मुलगा तसा नाही कसा भेटन

māj<sup>h</sup>i ai m<sup>h</sup>ənte ba tu m<sup>h</sup>ənte əsa nahi mulga təsa nahi kəsa b<sup>h</sup>eṭən

ma-j<sup>h</sup>-i ai m<sup>h</sup>ən-t-e ba tu m<sup>h</sup>ən-t-e əsa nahi mulga təsa nahi kəsa b<sup>h</sup>eṭ-ən

I-GEN-3SGF mother.3SGF **say-IPFV-3SG** VOC you say-IPFV-2SGF thus.3SGM NEG boy.3SGM thus.3SGM NEG how.3SGM meet-FUT

My mother says (to me), “You say you don’t want a groom like this, like that then how would you find a groom?”

**1.2.4 Example** (District Amravati, taluka Amravati, village Sawardi, F19, Mahar, 12<sup>th</sup>)

शेवटी ससाच जिक्तो कासव थोडीच जिक्तं ते

šewṭi səsac jikto kasəw t<sup>h</sup>oḍic **jiktə** te

šewṭi səsa-c jik-t-o kasəw t<sup>h</sup>oḍi-c **jik-t-ə** te

lastly rabbit-EMPH win-IPFV-3SGM tortoise.3SGN little-EMPH **win-IPFV-3SGN** DEM.DIST.DIST.3SGN

Finally, rabbit wins (the race), tortoise does not win.

**1.2.5 Example** (District Amravati, taluka Amravati, village Sawardi, F19, Mahar, 12<sup>th</sup>)

कासव मनते की मी जिक्तो

kasəw m<sup>ə</sup>nte ki mi jikto

kasəw m<sup>ə</sup>n-t-e ki mi jik-t-o



tortoise.3SG say-IPFV-3SG COMP I win-IPFV-1SGM

The tortoise says, “I will win the race”.

**1.2.6 Example** (District Chandrapur, taluka Brahmapuri, village Torgaon (Budruk), M22, Rajgond, 10<sup>th</sup>)

ससा हडू हडूस चाल्ला जातो

səsa həḍu həḍus calla **jato**

səsa həḍu həḍu-s cal-l-a **ja-t-o**

rabbit.3SGM slowly slowly-EMPH walk-PFV-3SGM go-IPFV-3SGM

The rabbit goes slowly slowly.

**1.2.7 Example** (District Chandrapur, taluka Brahmapuri, village Torgaon (Budruk), M22, Rajgond, 10<sup>th</sup>)

ससा जाऊन पाअते

səsa jaun **paəte**

səsa ja-un **paə-t-e**

rabbit.3SGM go-CP see-IPFV-3SG

The rabbit goes and looks.

**1.2.8 Example** (District Chandrapur, taluka Brahmapuri, village Torgaon (Budruk), F80, Kunbi, 2<sup>nd</sup>)

ही बाइ आय का सांगते का आता

hi bai ay ka **saŋte** ka ata

hi bai ay ka **saŋ-t-e** ka ata

DEM.PROX.3SG woman be.PRS what tell-IPFV-3SG what now

This is a woman, what does she say now?

**1.2.9 Example** (District Chandrapur, taluka Brahmapuri, village Torgaon (Budruk), M22, Rajgond, 10<sup>th</sup>)

कासव आपलं हडु हडु जातं



kasəw aplə həḍu həḍu **jatə**

kasəw aplə həḍu həḍu ja-t-ə

tortoise we.SELF slow REDUP go-IPFV-3SGN

The tortoise goes slowly.

**1.2.10 Example** (District Chandrapur, taluka Brahmapuri, village Torgaon (Budruk), M22, Rajgond, 10<sup>th</sup>)

कासव जिंकुन जाते

kasəw jīnkun **jate**

kasəw jīnk-un ja-t-e

tortoise win-CP GO-IPFV-3SG

The tortoise wins the (race).

