

Son and Daughter

The lexical variants presented in the note below are arranged according to their frequency of occurrence in the survey data—from most frequent to least frequent.

A variety of words were noted in the regional varieties of Marathi to refer to one's male and female offspring: *mulga-mulgi*, *porga-porgi*, *lyok-lek*, *aṇḍor-aṇḍer*, *ḷ^{hi}l-čēḍu*, *lekus-lekis*, *poša-poši*, *sohra-sohri*, *beṭa-beṭi*, *ḍikra-ḍikri*, *poyro-poyri*, *čēḍo-čēḍu*, *č^hora-č^hori*, *ṭura-ṭuri*, *poṭṭā-poṭṭi*, *č^hokra-č^hokri*, *putus-d^huwās*, *lekru-lekri*, *karṭā-karṭi*, *č^hokro-č^hokri*, *č^horo-č^hori*, *puray-puriyo*, *happa-nigri* etc. Other words noted include *porya*, *b^hurge*, *čirāñḷiw* for 'son' and similarly, the words received for 'daughter' include *por*, *pori*, *bay*, *tarai*, *kuñḷai*, etc. The use of the words *lek* and *por* was observed to refer to both 'son' and 'daughter.' The geographical and social variation in the usage of these words is discussed below.

The words *mulga-mulgi* were widely reported throughout Maharashtra. For 'son' the variant forms *mulgo*, *mulgā*, *mula*, *mule*, *māga*, *mulge* and *mulga* and for daughter *muli*, *māglo*, and *mulgi* were also noted. The phonetic variant *mulgo* was documented in Chandgad and Radhanagri talukas of Kolhapur district, which are situated in close proximity to the Sindhudurg and Ratnagiri districts, respectively. Further, it was also reported in Sindhudurg district and in Bahiravli village of Khed taluka in Ratnagiri district. The words *māga-māglo* were elicited from the Dhangar community in Solapur district.

The words *porga-porgi* were widely noted throughout Maharashtra. For son the variant forms *porga*, *porgā*, *porge*, *porgo*, *poha*, *por*, *pōra*, *pōr*, *pwar*, and *puray* were noted. Similarly, for daughter *porgi*, *purgi*, *pōrā*, *porg^{hi}* were noted. The word *porgo* was elicited in Sindhudurg, Ratnagiri, Raigad, Kolhapur, and Wardha districts. *poha* was received from members of the Dhodia and Dubla communities in Palghar district. *pwar*, *pwarga*, and *pwargo*, which are phonetic variations of *por*, were noted in Ahmednagar, Ratnagiri and Sindhudurg districts. The word *por* for son was noted more frequently in Palghar district. However, this word was reported sporadically in Kolhapur, Solapur, Raigad, Thane, Ahmednagar, Aurangabad, Nashik, Nandurbar, Jalna and Wardha districts.

The word *porya* for 'son' was widely reported in Dhule, Nandurbar, Jalgaon, Nashik, Palghar, Raigad and Thane districts. It was reported by the Kunbi and Bhandari communities of Ratnagiri district. While, in Aurangabad and Jalna districts, it was only reported by the Bhil community and by the Koshti community in Nagpur district. Further, it was also reported in Amravati district.



The word *por* was also reported for ‘daughter.’ It was widely reported in Raigad, Thane and Palghar districts. While, its attestation was rare in Ahmednagar, Yavatmal, Kolhapur, Solapur, and Pune districts. The word *pori* was elicited for ‘daughter.’ It was reported very frequently in Thane, Raigad and Palghar districts but rarely in Ahmednagar, Aurangabad, Nandurbar, Jalgaon, Amaravati, Yavatmal, Wardha, Bhandara and Chandrapur districts.

The words *lyok-lek* were primarily elicited in Marathwada and western Maharashtra. Subsequently, its occurrence was infrequent in Khandesh, Vidarbha, and Konkan region. It was noted that the usage of these words is more prevalent among the older group of speakers. For ‘son’ the following phonetic variations were noted - *lyok, lek, lyek, lekru, leuk, lekur, lyak, lyekru, lewok*, etc. Similarly, *lek, leki, lyek, lekri, leka*, etc. were the variations noted for ‘daughter.’

The words *aṇḍor -aṇḍer* were elicited from speakers belonging to Bhil, Maratha, Mali, Bhoi, Mahar, Buddhist, Koli, Teli, Pardhi, Chambhar, Matang, Patharwat, Gujar etc. communities in Nashik, Dhule, Nandurbar, and Jalgaon districts. The words *aṇḍor, aṇḍor* were reported for ‘son’ and *aṇḍer, aṇḍer, aṇḍyer, aṇḍri* for ‘daughter.’

The words *ḷil-ḷeḍu* were widely recorded for ‘son’ and ‘daughter’ in Sindhudurg district. It was also reported in Kodali village of Chandgad taluka in Kolhapur district, which also shares proximity with the Sindhudurg district. The phonetic variants *ḷhila- ḷiḍu, ḷeḍo, ḷeḍwa* etc. were recorded.

The words *lekus - lekis* were noted in the Katkari community of Raigad district, Warli, Dhor Koli, Malhar Koli, Thakur-K, Kokna communities of Palghar district, Mahadev Koli community of Nashik district and in the Bhil community of Aurangabad district. Phonetic variants such as *lekus, likk^hus* were observed for ‘son’ and for ‘daughter’ *lekis, leki, likk^his* etc. were noted.

The words *poša - poši* were observed infrequently in Palghar, Raigad and Nashik districts. These words were noted in the communities such as Katkari, Warli, Thakur, Kokna, Dhor Koli, Mahadev Koli, etc. Phonetic variants for ‘son’ include *poša, poše, pose, posa, posæ, poha, posya*, etc. and for ‘daughter’ the variants *posi, pohi, poši*, etc. were recorded.



The words *sohra-sohri* were noted for ‘son’ and ‘daughter’ respectively in the Katkari community of Raigad and Thane districts as well as in the Mulshi taluka of Pune District. Its phonetic variation of *sowra-sowri* was also reported.

The words *beṭa - beṭi* were reported by the Muslim community of Sindhudurg, Ratnagiri and Wardha districts; Choudhari, Teli, and Bhil communities in Nandurbar district, and Gavali community in Amaravati district. Similarly, they were reported by the members of Chambhar community in Nashik district, Chambhar, Kasar and Mali communities of Dhule district and Payali community of Jalgaon district. Phonetic variants referring to ‘son’ include *beṭa* and *beṭi*, *beṭiya*, *biṭiya* etc. were recorded for ‘daughter.’

The words *dikra- dikri* were predominantly recorded in Dhule and Nandurbar districts. These words were reported by speakers belonging to the Dhodia community of Palghar district and the Gujar community of Jalgaon district. Mahar, Bhoi, Vani, Koli and Wadar communities of Dhule district and Mahar, Matang communities of Nandurbar district reported these words. *dikra* means ‘son’ and *dikri* means ‘daughter.’ The phonetic variant *dikro* was recorded to refer to ‘son.’ The words *poyro- poyri* were reported in the Warli and Mangela communities of Palghar district; in the Bhil community of Nandurbar district and in the Pawara community of Dhule district. The phonetic variants of the word referring to ‘son’ include *poyro*, *poiro*, *poyra*, *poyrə*, *poira*, *purəy*, etc. and for ‘daughter’ the variant forms *poyri*, *poiri*, *purai*, *puriyo*, *purəy*, etc. were recorded.

The words *čeḍo* (son) - *čeḍu* (daughter) were attested in Sindhudurg district. These words were predominantly documented from communities such as Christian, Kumbhar, Bhandari, and Maratha, etc. The phonetic variation of *čoḍo- čoḍu* was also noted. Moreover, the words *čelo - čeli* were received from speakers of the Brahmin community.

The words *č^hora-č^hori* were received from speakers belonging to Pawara, Payli and Dhangar communities in Jalgaon district and Banjara community of Washim and Yavatmal districts.

The words *tura-ṭuri* were recorded to refer to son and daughter respectively in Gadchiroli, Gondiya, Nagpur and Amaravati districts. These words were reported by the members of Kavar community in Gadchiroli district; Rajgond and Kunbi communities of Gondiya district; Kalar, Marar and Gond communities of Nagpur district, and Gond community of Amaravati district. The phonetic variants *tura*, *tuḍal*, *tuḍa* were noted for ‘son’ and *ṭuri*, and *tuḍi* were noted for ‘daughter.’



The words *poṭṭā- poṭṭi* were observed in Yavatmal, Wardha, and Nandurbar districts. They were reported infrequently in Nagpur district. The phonetic variants *poṭṭa, poṭṭā, poṭṭya* were noted for ‘son’ and only *poṭṭi* was noted for ‘daughter.’

The words *čʰokra-čʰokri* refer to ‘son’ and ‘daughter’ respectively. They were elicited from members of the Warli community in Palghar district and the Kunbi community in Thane district.

The words *putus-dʰuwəs* were noted in the Muslim community of Ratnagiri district to refer to ‘son’ and ‘daughter’ respectively. The use of the word *dʰu* for ‘daughter’ was exceptional in Sindhudurg district.

The words *lekru- lekri* were elicited sporadically for ‘son’ and ‘daughter’ respectively in Satara, Solapur, Ahmednagar and Nanded districts. The word *lekru* was noted for ‘son’ and *leki, lek, lekri* were noted for daughter.

The Maratha community from Solapur and Jalna districts reported the usage of *karṭā- karṭi* as words for 'son' and 'daughter', respectively. The phonetic variants *kattā- katti* were also noted. The words *kar* for ‘daughter’ and *mul* for ‘son’ were reported in the Kokna and Warli communities of Nashik district.

The words *čʰokro- čʰokri* were reported by speakers belonging to the Kumbhar community in Palghar district; Teli community in Dhule district, and Gujarati-speaking Gujar community in Nandurbar district. The phonetic variants *čʰoro-čʰori* were recorded from the members of the Rajput Bhamta community in Aurangabad district and Teli community in Jalgaon district.

The words *puray- puriyo* were noted in the Pawara community of Dhule and Jalgaon districts. The phonetic variants of these words include *puryā-puray, puray-purai, puri-pur,* etc.

The words *həppa-nigri* were reported by Marathi-Portuguese bilingual speakers belonging to the Indian Christian community of Korlai village in Raigad district. *həppa* or *rəppa* refers to ‘son’ and *nigri* or *ligri* refers to ‘daughter’. Its phonetic variants *rʰapa, rəppa-ligri* were also reported. The words *tarai* and *kunṣai* were recorded for ‘daughter’ in the Korku community of Amaravati district.



The word *b^hurge* is used to refer to ‘son’ in Sindhudurg district. While, *čirāñjīw* was reported in Ratnagiri district.

The use of the word *bay* was extremely infrequent to refer to ‘daughter.’ It was reported in Kolhapur and Sindhudurg districts. The word *bāya* was reported by Thakur community in Raigad district and the word *bai* was recorded in the Warli community in Thane district. Additionally, *baydi* was received from respondents belonging to the Thakur community in Palghar district and the word *bali* was reported i

