

Above - in the middle/midst – below

Click here for image- [Below](#)

Click here for image- [In the middle](#)

Click here for image- [Above](#)

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.

In languages, specific words are used to indicate the correlation and direction of a person, object, or place in relation to a reference point. These words are referred to as locative/deictic words. The provided note highlights a variety of words that were noted for the concepts of 'above,' 'in the middle/midst,' and 'below' in different dialects of Marathi.

For 'above,' the following variation of lexical items was recorded: *war, warti, worti, wari, wartā, wart, war^hā, war^he, warya, warlakāḍ, warla, war^he, uccā, uccē, uppār, upār, ar, er rib, agar, wā, etc.*

For 'below,' the following variation of lexical items was recorded: *k^hali, k^hal, k^halti, k^haltā, k^halta, k^halte, k^hale, k^hala, nicā, nice, nicce, niče, ničče, heṭ^h, heṭe, yeṭa, heṭla, buḍi, buḍ, buṭe, k^halya, sākāl, sāk^hail, paṭ, k^halo, baš, bas, neḷu, neḍu etc.*

For 'in the middle/midst,' the following variation of lexical items was recorded: *mād^hye, mādi, māde, mād^he, mād^hi, mādde, mād^hai, mād^hā, māndi, māder, mādit, māndat, māndiko, mānd^hat, mādat, mād^hat, mādin, mād^hyāb^hagi, mād^homād^h, mād^hyāseṅṭār, mādyāb^hagi, mād^hyānb^hagi, mādomād, mād^hyāb^hagat, bicat, bičme, bičmāndi, bič, bič^hamāde, bičmānde, bičmād^hi, misme, mājar, mājarma, mādar, mājaru, mājma, mājma, māj^hat, māj^harma, mād^hāma, mādimā, mād^hma, wāsama, wāčče, wāčma, wāč^hāme, mādyāntāri, mād^hyāntār, mine, mānā, b^hārmāde, b^hārmādi, b^hārmād^hi, seṅṭār, seṅṭār^hla etc.*

Above

In the SDML survey, the word *war* was recorded predominantly in all parts of Maharashtra, followed by the word *warti*. *wartā* was attested in Vidharbha region while the word *warya* was elicited infrequently in Bhiwapur taluka of Nagpur district and in Tumsar taluka of Bhandara district. Both of these regions are closer to the Hindi-speaking region.

Similarly, the word *wari* was documented widely in Marathwada region. It was elicited exceptionally in Jalgaon and Washim districts. Along with this, the words *warlakāḍ* and *wā* were reported sporadically in Beed district.

The suffix *-er* was noted in the Sawantwadi taluka of Sindhudurg district which is adjacent to the state of Goa. Further, the suffix *-ar* was attested sporadically in Katta village of Malvan taluka in Sindhudurg district.

In the middle/midst

The word *māndi* was reported in various districts of Maharashtra along with its phonetic *māde, māndi, mād^he, and mānd^hi.*

The word *mād^hat* is prevalent in Marathwada and Vidarbha regions. Further, it was also reported in Mangalwadi village of Jalgaon taluka and in Wadali village of Raver taluka in Jalgaon district. The following phonetic variants of this word were noted: *mānd^hat, mādat, māj^hat, mājat, māddit* etc. Of these, the variant *māndat* was mostly noted in the Vidarbha region and sparsely in Waghari village of Jamner taluka in Jalgaon district. The word *mine* was reported by speakers belonging to the Catholic Samvedi community and the word *mān* was reported by the Wadwal community in Palghar district.



Similarly, the word *mādʰyābʰagi* was noted throughout Maharashtra. Its phonetic variants include, *mādebʰagi*, *mādʰyābʰagat*, *mādyamādi*, *mādebʰagat*.

mādomād was mainly noted in Nashik district followed by in Kolhapur and Chandrapur districts. The word *mādyasti* was recorded infrequently in Thar village of Wardha district. Similarly, *mādʰyaseṇṭar* was reported in Khupire village of Karvir taluka in Kolhapur district. The word *māndiko* was recorded in Bhiwapur village of Nagpur taluka in Nagpur district. The words *bičla* and *bičwār* were reported by the Korku community in Kusumkot (Khurd) and Kasmar villages of Dharni taluka in Amravati district. *mēw* was documented in Korlai village of Murud taluka of Raigad district and the word *mēnda* was reported infrequently by the speakers belonging to the Mahadev Koli community of Raigad district.

bič and its variants - *bicme*, *bičme*, *bičat*, *bicmādi*, *bičmāndi*, *bičmādʰi*, *bičmādat*, *bičla*, *bičwār*, *bičʰat*, *bičobič* were mostly noted in Vidarbha (-*at* is the locative suffix). Of these, the word *bičme* was observed in the Muslim and Chambhar communities in Jalgaon, Nanded and Sindhudurg districts.

mājar was recorded exceptionally in northern Maharashtra and Gadegaon village of Varud taluka in Amravati district. Phonetic variations *mājar*, *mājʰar*, *mājər*, *mādar* were noted for this word. The word *mājarma* was documented in Khede and Songir villages of Dhule taluka in Dhule district. *mājarma* and *mājərmə* are the phonetic variants of this word. The variant *mājərma* was reported by Ahirani speakers in Khandbara village of Navapur taluka and in Dhanora village of Nandurbar taluka in Nandurbar district. Similarly, *mājəma* was primarily elicited in Nandurbar district as well as in Shingave village of Sakri taluka in Dhule district.

The word *wəč* was recorded widely in Prakasha village of Nandurbar district which is home to significant amount of people from the Gujar community. Its phonetic variations are *wəčče*, *wəčmə*, *wəčəme*, and *wəčma*. The word *wəč* was also reported in the Dhodiya community and by Gujarati speaking community called Dubla.

In specific villages located in the southern districts of Maharashtra, namely Kolhapur, Satara, Sangli, and Solapur, as well as to some extent in Chandrapur and Gadchiroli districts of the Vidarbha region, the word *mādʰyāntar* (along with its variations *mādʰyāntəri* and *mādyantari*) was documented.

The word *seṇṭar* (English ‘centre’) was attested in various districts of the state in addition to region-specific words which refer to the same concept.

Below

The word *kʰala* was noted in the Roman Catholic community of Vengurla and Sawantwadi taluka in Sindhudurg district as well as among Samvedi Brahmins of Vasai in Palghar district. The word *kʰal* was noted in the Katkari community of Palghar, Nashik, Raigad, and Pune district. Similarly, the word *kʰale* was reported widely in Palghar district; infrequently in Jalgaon and Gondia districts, and sporadically in Nashik, Jalgaon, and Nandurbar districts. *kʰalə*, a phonetic variant of this word was attested in Raigad, Hingoli, Nashik and Dhule districts.

The words *səkəl* and *səkʰəl* were recorded only in Kolgaon, Satarda and Ayi villages of Sindhudurg district which are near the state border of Goa. *niče* was noted primarily in the Muslim community of Sindhudurg district. Its use was infrequent in Palghar and Nandurbar districts. While its phonetic variants *nicce* and *nice* were observed in Nandurbar district.

The word *heṭa* was noted in the Mahadev Koli community of Murud taluka in Raigad district as well as in the Bhil community of Nandurbar and Dhule districts with phonetic variants such as *heṭe*, *heṭʰ*, *heṭla*. *neḍu* and its phonetic variant *neḷu* were noted only in the Pawra community of Vaijapur village in Jalgaon district.

