

Cardinal directions: Where does the sun rise and set?

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.

Directional words in the Marathi language show a lot of variation in the regional varieties. The topography of the region and the worldview of the speakers are two important factors that seem to influence the use of directional words. The perspective that the sun rises ‘below’ and sets ‘above’ was observed in all the districts surveyed. To refer to the ‘direction in which the sun rises’ the following lexical variants were reported: *purwə*, *k^haltə*, *ugwət*, *k^hallakəḍ ugwəti*, *k^halti*, *hetya*, *heṭṭa*, *k^halyaṅgə*, *k^haltikəḍə*, *k^haltyali*, *suryəṃmuk^h*, *gəṅgekəḍə*, *gəṅgam^horə*, *suryədəyi*, *suryəṃmohri*, *madewača toṇḍi*, *suryətəl*, *suryəsəmbər*, etc.

For the concept of the ‘direction in which the sun sets’, the following words were observed: *pəščim*, *wərti*, *mawəḷət*, *wərtikəḍ*, *mawəḷti*, *wəra*, *wəryaṅg*, *dinbuḍti*, *rəksakəḍ*, *nəmta*, *upral*, *wəri*, *raksəṃhorə*, *rakism^horə*, *hatmaṅgakəḍe*, *doṅgər mohəri*, etc.

Among these, the words *hetya*, *yeṭya*, and *wəra* were mainly reported in Dhule district; in Nashik, Satana, and Surgana talukas of Nashik district; Nandurbar district, and in Chopda taluka of Jalgaon district. Native speakers of Ahirani or Bhili have primarily reported the words *hetya*, *yeṭya*, *wəra*. In Thane, Palghar, and Raigad districts, the words *purwə*, *pəščim*, and *ugwəti-mawəḷti* are used predominantly. Words such as *gəṅgam^horə*, *rakism^horə*, and *gəṅgekəḍə-rəksakəḍ* were reported only in Latur and Osmanabad districts. While *k^halti-wərti*, *suryəṃmuk^hi*, *suryəṃmohri*, *doṅgərmohri*, *suryədəyi*, *din buḍti*, *suryətəl*, *nəmta*, *suryəsəmbər*, etc. were recorded primarily along with *purwə* in Amravati, Jalna and Jalgaon districts.

East/Direction in which the sun rises

The geographical and social distribution of lexical variants denoting the direction of the rising sun is described below.

The word *purwə* is widely used throughout Maharashtra. *purəb*, a Hindi word, is used infrequently in Nagpur, Amravati, Bhandara, Gondia, and Nanded districts of Maharashtra. It is mainly reported in communities such as Gond, Kohli, Bhalai, Koshti, etc., whose mother tongue is not Marathi. Some educated and Hindi, Chhattisgarhi-knowing people of the Kunbi community have also exceptionally reported this word. *k^haltə* was attested predominantly in Latur, Jalna, Parbhani, and Buldhana districts. A few similar-sounding variants of this word were also noted. Among them, the word *k^halti* is mainly used in Nashik, Aurangabad, Ahmednagar, and Amravati districts. *k^hali*, *k^haltikəḍə* were recorded in Kolhapur district and in Miraj Taluka of Sangli district, while the word *k^hayli* is used in Shirala taluka of Sangli district. *ugwət* is widely used in Sindhudurg, Ratnagiri, Raigad districts. Whereas in Kolhapur Satara, Sangli, Nashik, and Ahmednagar districts, it is used sporadically. The word *uṅgwət* was reported in Thane, Palghar, and Nashik districts on a large scale. Phonetic variants of this word include *ugəwti*, *uṅgwət*, *ugəwtiçi baju*, *ugəltə*, *ugawta*, *uṅgət*, *ubutə*, *uguti*, etc. Along with these districts, this word was reported infrequently in Pune, Latur, Aurangabad, Washim, Chandrapur, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara, Jalgaon, and Nandurbar districts. The word *k^hallakəḍə* has been observed to be in use in Solapur, Osmanabad, Ahmednagar, Beed, and Nanded districts. The words *k^halyaṅg* and *k^halyaṅgi* were documented infrequently in Nashik, Jalgaon, Yavatmal, and Chandrapur districts. Apart from this, *k^haltyali*, *k^halbi*, *k^halna*, *k^halwəs*, *k^hallakun*, *k^halyabajula*, *k^hali*, *k^halə*, *k^halte*, etc. phonetic variations were observed to be in use very rarely.



hetya was noted in Dhule, Nandurbar, Jalgaon, and Nashik districts, especially in the case of native Ahirani speakers. Phonetic variations such as *yetya*, *yeṭya*, *hetya*, *heṭ^hya*, *yetla*, *heṭṭa*, etc. were reported.

The word *suryāmuk^hi* was recorded in the Maratha community of Jamner taluka in Jalgaon district. Words similar to this were also reported infrequently in other parts of Maharashtra. *suryāmohri* and *suryətəḷ* were recorded in Aurangabad and Jalana districts. *suryāsāmuk^h* was documented in the Warli community of Goldari village in Trimbakeshwar taluka of Nashik district. *suryāsāmbār* was reported by the speakers in the Buddha community of Amravati district whose mother tongue is Ladshi, while *surugām* was reported by Kannada speakers of the Lingayat community in Kasgi village of Umarga taluka in Osmanabad district. *suryə ugwəti* was attested in the Gond community of Chandrapur district. The word *gəṅgəkəḍ* is used to indicate the northern direction but it was sporadically noted for the eastern direction in Latur, Osmanabad, and Parbhani districts. The word was reported frequently, especially by women. This word was reported in Latur by some highly educated respondents. Phonetic variants of this word include *gəṅgamorə*, *gəṅgekəḍə*, etc.

The word *gomyo* was reported by the Korku community of Dharani taluka in Amravati district. The words *d^haḍu* / *dəhaḍu* are used in the Payali community of the Raver taluka in Jalgaon district. *təllako* is reported by the speakers of Teli community in Waghari village of Jamner taluka in Jalgaon district. *təlla* means ‘bottom’ and *təllako* means ‘at the bottom.’ *madewača tonḍi* has been reported by the speakers belonging to the Pradhan community of Kolura village of Ner taluka in Yavatmal district. *diwəs niṅgti* was reported in the Kohli community of Duggipar village in Sadak-Arjuni taluka of Gondia district.

West/Direction in which the sun sets

The variant *pəšćim* is observed all over Maharashtra. Phonetic variations of this word are *pəćim*, *pəšćim*, *pəćimi*, *pəč^him*, *pəčč^him*, *pəkšim*, *pəššim*, *pəčćim*, *pəkćim*, *pəcšim*, *pəšim*, *pəkč^him*, *pəššim* etc.

The word *wərtə* was reported mostly in Latur, Osmanabad, Solapur, Beed, Ahmednagar, Nanded, Jalna, Buldhana, Parbhani, Hingoli, Akola, and Washim districts to refer to the direction in which the sun sets. In Kolhapur, Satara, Sangli, Pune, Nashik, Aurangabad, Dhule, Jalgaon, Palghar, Wardha, Amravati, and Yavatmal districts, *wərtə* was observed sporadically. *wərlakəḍ* was recorded in Latur, Osmanabad, Solapur, Pune, Beed, Ahmednagar, Aurangabad, Nanded, Parbhani, and Hingoli districts. The variant *wərtikəḍe* was attested only in Kolhapur and Sangali districts. *wəra*, and *wera* were documented in Dhule, Jalgaon, Nandurbar, and Nashik districts. The word *wəryaṅg* was noted in Satana and Surgana talukas of Nashik district. *wərlakun* was observed in Ahmednagar, Beed, and Parbhani districts. The variant *wərwəs* was recorded in the Kohli community of the Lobhi village in Tumsar taluka of Bhandara district. Apart from this, *wər*, *wərti*, *wəri*, *wərtikəḍə*, *wərya*, *wərya*, etc. phonetic variations of this word were noted.

The word *mawḷət* was recorded predominantly in Thane, Palghar, Raigad, Ratnagiri, and Sindhudurg districts. Further, it was also reported rarely in Satara, Sangli, and Nashik districts. Phonetic variants of this word include *mawḷət*, *mawəḷtə*, *mauḷtə*, *mawəḷte*, etc. *mawḷəti* was mostly noted in Pune, Solapur, Satara, Sangli, Kolhapur, Nashik, Ahmednagar, and Aurangabad districts but was rarely observed in Nanded, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara, Gondia, Nandurbar, and Sindhudurg districts. The word *buḍṭi* was attested very infrequently in Chandrapur, Gadchiroli, Wardha, Nagpur, and Nandurbar districts. The word was mostly reported by the Kunbi community of Rajura taluka and the Gond and Mahar communities of,



Chandrapur taluka in Chandrapur district; the Bhil community of Nandurbar district; the Mana community of Nagpur district, and by the speakers of the Gond community in Wardha district. (Phonetic) Variants of this word include *buḍṭi bajū*, *dih buḍṭi*, *buḍṭa*, *diwəs buḍṭi*, *suryə buḍṭi*, etc.

rakismorə was reported sporadically in Latur, Osmanabad, and Yavatmal districts. This word was mainly attested among speakers of the Lingayat, Jangam, Pradhan, Dhangar, and Maratha communities in these districts. Phonetic variations of this word include *raksəmorə*, *raksakəḍə*, *rəksakəḍə*, *rakšisaca toṇḍi*, etc.

The word *nəmṭa* was received in Palghar district from the Warli community.

upral/upraṇḍa were reported mainly by the uneducated people of the Rajput Bhamta, Chamaru, and Muslim communities. All these communities are non-native speakers of Marathi.

hatmaṅgakəḍe was observed in the Lingayat community from Kasgi village in Umarga taluka of Osmanabad district.

The word *ḍoṅgərmuk^{hi}* is used infrequently in Jalgaon, Parbhani, and Jalna districts. This word was primarily reported in the Maratha community in these districts. Phonetic variants of this word include *ḍoṅgərmohri*, *ḍoṅgərtəḷ*, *ḍoṅgrakəḍ*, etc.

The word *bašəyat bajū* was reported in the Christian community of the Korlai village in Murud taluka of Raigad district. The word *d^haḍu buḍe* was reported in Jalgaon district in the Pawara/Payli community. *nelluče/neḷo* was noted in the Pawara community of Jalgaon district. The variant *ḍubṭi* was reported by speakers of the Kohli community in Lobhi village of Tumsar taluka in Bhandara district. *ḍupti* was attested in the Mali community of Bori village in Tumsar taluka in Bhandara district. *nəmrulak^he/ gomenmrula/ goməyaməru* were reported by the speakers of the Korku community in Dharni taluka of Amravati district.

