Socio-Psychological Aspects and Linguistic Analysis of Marathi Names*

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MARATHI IS AN INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGE, spoken by nearly 50 million people in the region of Maharashtra in India.[1] Maharashtrians as well as Indians in general attribute great significance to the meaning of names. For this reason many socio-psychological factors enter into the choice and use of first names in Marathi. It is the purpose of this paper to discuss the socio-psychological aspects of Marathi first names and present their linguistic analysis. Although the discussion will center on Marathi first names, many of the socio-psychological and linguistic features noted apply also to names in other Indian languages.

In the traditional society[2] the choice of a name was usually determined by the expectant mother's in-laws. In modern society, however, the choice usually rests with the mother with the advice of her relatives and friends. In the Vidharbha area of Maharashtra, it is customary for all the women of the family and friends to be invited to a ceremony in which the baby is presented with gifts and names for the baby are suggested to the mother. During the ceremony the baby is put in its mother's lap. *Kumkum* (red powder) and uncooked rice are applied to the baby's and mother's foreheads by everyone present. Areca nut, a gold ring, and a small brass oil lamp are one by one passed around the baby's face five times by several women. Then two women pass the baby over and under the cradle five times, reciting names from the Ramayana, Mahabharata, and other Hindu epics. The baby is then put in the cradle and the mother whispers the name she has chosen into the ears of the baby.[3]

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[1] A good discussion on the origin and nature of Marathi is found in Jules Bloch's *The Formation of the Marathi Language,* trans. Dev Raj Chanana (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970), and also in George A. Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India,* I (1903; rpt. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1968), 141-144.

[2] Structure of traditional society is discussed in the following: Milton Singer, ed., *Traditional India: Structure and Change* (Philadelphia: American Folklore Society, 1959) and A.L. Basham, *The Wonder That Was India,* 1st Evergreen ed. (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1959), p. 484.

[3] The ritual of naming an infant may differ from region to region in India and from caste to caste. For an elaborate discussion see R.P. Masani, *Folk Culture Reflected in Names* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1966), pp. 43-47.

SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS INFLUENCING THE CHOICE OF NAMES

Grandparents

In Western society the oldest male child often receives the first name of his father, and it is not unusual for a daughter to receive her mother's name.[4] In Maharashtrian society, however, it is unusual for a child to bear a parental first name. Most often the child is named after a grandparent, as grandparents and elder people in general are highly revered in Indian society. A child is generally not named after a living grandparent, however. If a child is born within a month after a grandparent's death and if the sex of the child is the same as the deceased grandparent's, it is believed that the deceased grandparent must have been reborn in the form of the new child. Therefore the child is named after the grandparent; this gives the grandparent's spirit a continuing character. Moreover, if the child is ill during the first 12 days after birth, it may receive the name of a deceased grandmother, grandfather, or other close relative, thus appeasing the spirit of the relative who may be causing harm to the child.[5]

Protection From Death

After the death of all previous children in a family, a new child receives an odd name, often the name of a non-human object e.g., *dagḍu, dhoṇḍu, guṇḍu*, all three meaning "stone," *čindhyā* "rags," and *punjā* "heap of dirt," or a special derogatory name, e.g., *bhiku*, and *māṇgu* "the beggar" and *jaṇglu* "the wild one." This custom, which is particularly prominent in village life, shows the god of death, Yama, that the child is of no account and not worthy of his attention. A child can also be protected from the god of death by being placed in the lap of a woman of the untouchable caste. The repugnance that the god of death naturally feels towards untouchables is thus transferred to the child.[6]

Twins

Special considerations enter into the choice of names for twins. Usually they are given similar or matching names, although some parents intentionally give them dissimilar names in order to relieve some of the identity problems that twins often develop. Nevertheless, the practice of giving similar names seems to have gained ground over the years as

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[4] Myron Brender, "Some Hypotheses about the Psychodynamic Significance of Infant Name Selection," *Names,* 11:1 (March, 1963), 1-9.

[5] Masani, p. 59.

[6] Mohan Lal Sharma in his paper, "Origin and Meaning of Some Indian Names," *Names,* 17:3 (September, 1969), 208-213, talked about some Hindi names given at birth to ward off the forces of evil. The same belief and similar odd names are found in some Maharashtrian families.

evidenced by the following examples of currently popular names.[7] The names either begin or end with similar sounds. Often the last syllables rhyme.

> (girl twins)
>> *śilā* and *śālū*
>> *padmā* and *pramilā*
>> *manyā* and *banyā*
>> *uśā* and *niśā*
>> *rohiṇi* and *ragiṇi*
>
> (boy twins)
>> *viǰu* and *vilās*
>> *rām* and *śām*
>> *āmod* and *pramod*

Caste

Some castes[8] have their own stock of given names. For example, *dhoṇḍi koṇḍi, kawḍi,* and *jaŋglu* are names of members of low castes; *prakāś, dilip, suhās, wijayā, saroǰ, nalini,* and *rekhā* are names of members of higher castes. Sometimes children of low castes are given modern names or higher caste names, in which case they are addressed by reduced forms of the names, e.g. *tukārām* to *tukyā, pāṇḍuraŋg* to *pāṇḍya, sakhārām* to *sakhyā,* and *candrabhāgā* to *candri.*

Fashion vs. Individuality

Modern trends and fashions in the choice of names,[9] especially the current revival of ancient names, are initiated by educated, urban people in large cities like Bombay, Nagpur, and Poona and then gradually spread throughout rural Maharashtra. In rapid succession a new fashion is introduced before a previous one has been completely adopted by the rural population. Fashions overlap and for a time exist side by side among different social groups.

Fashions also travel among the different regions of India. Just as culture and traditions differ from region to region, so also do personal names, particularly last names, as well as suffixes attached to first names.[10] Examples of suffixes for feminine names are *-bāi* in Marathi,

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[7] It will be of interest to note that this practice of naming twins is also found in the North American society. For a good discussion of this point see Robert Plank, "Names of Twins," *Names,* 12:1 (March, 1964), 2-3.

[8] For general discussion of caste see G.S. Ghurye, *Caste and Class in India* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1950) and M.N. Srinivas, *Caste in Modern India* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1962, and *Social Change in Modern India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966).

[9] For a good discussion of modern trends and fashions in the choice of names see Brender, p. 5.

[10] For regional differences in personal names see Shanta, *Handbook of Hindu Names* (Calcutta: ARNICA International, 1969). It is an impressive collection of Hindu names. It should, however, be

-*ben* in Gujarati, and -*kaur* in Punjabi, and for masculine names, -*rāv* in Marathi, -*sing* in Punjabi, and -*bābu* in Bengali. The names typical of one region come into vogue in other regions for some period. The popularity of girls' names such as *kādambini, riṇā, chārulatā, šonāli,* and *aparṇā,* and the boys' names *nikhil, anil,* and *pradip* indicate that the Bengali names are currently in fashion in Maharashtra.[11]

Some Maharashtrians, however, react against fads and try to show their individuality or originality by choosing unique names such as *sitār* (name of the musical instrument), *samidhā* (the sacred stick), and *prājakta* (name of the flower).[12]

Movies

Movies are the major means of mass education and recreation in India.[13] Bombay, the capital seat of Maharashtra, is also the "Hollywood" of India.[14] Hence it is not surprising that some Maharashtrians and Indians give the names of actors and actresses as well as names of characters in movies to their children. Popular names in this category are *waijayantimālā* (name of the popular actress), *kišorkumār* (a popular actor), *nutan* (an actress), and *sādhanā* (an actress). People also learn Western names from Western movies. So one may run into a girl named *ilizabeth.*

Literature

The literature written in Marathi is one of the richest on the entire subcontinent and one of the oldest of any of the modern Indo-Aryan languages.[15] Ancient Marathi literature, which mainly consists of religious texts, and also ancient pan-Indian Sanskrit religious literature, particularly the great Epics, Mahabharata and Ramayana, has always been a source of names.[16] Examples of names from Sanskrit literature are the boys' names *rām* and *lakšmaṇ* and the girls' names *sitā* and *draupadi.* Examples of names from ancient Marathi literature are the

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pointed out that some knowledge of Indian regions and their diversity is necessary to detect the regional differences in personal names. For a discusion on attachment of suffixes to first names see Iravati Karve, "Personal Names in India," *Papers in Sociology,* ed. G.S. Ghurye (Bombay: 1947), pp. 37-48.

[11] Based on personal observations by the author in Nagpur division of Maharashtra.

[12] This follows the pattern observed by Brender, pp. 5-6, in Western society.

[13] "New Tests for the Wide Screen," *Far Eastern Economic Review,* LXXV, No. 7 (1972), 30. This journal further reported that in the year 1971 India produced 430 feature films and thus displaced Japan, which produced about 400 feature films during the same year, as the world's most prolific movie-producing country. It will be of interest to note that about 66 million Indians watch movies each week.

[14] *Far Eastern Economic Review,* p. 30.

[15] Bloch, pp. 1-38.

[16] Sharma, p. 208.

boys' names *puṇḍlik* and *viṭṭhal* and the girls' names *rukhmiṇi* and *jijā*. In modern times, however, Maharashtrians do not extensively borrow names from ancient religious literature but rather borrow heavily from modern literature, particularly modern Marathi novels, perhaps reflecting a general decline in interest in religion. Examples of names from modern Marathi novels are the boy's name *hemənt* and the girl's name *śobhna*. [17] Bangali novels are being translated in Marathi and may serve as sources of Bengali names, which, as we noted previously, are the fashion in Maharashtra. [18]

Religion

Of the three major religions of India—Islam, Christianity, and Hinduism—Hinduism dominates Maharashtrian society. Almost every Maharashtrian Hindu family has its own hereditary family Hindu deity. A child is often given one of its names or epithets, if his or her sex is the same as the deity's. For example, names of the male deity Shiva are *shambhu, mahādeva, śaŋkar, gaŋgādhar,* and *kāśināth,* and names of the female deity Bhavani are *ambikā, durgā,* and *maŋgalā.* Those who have not continued the tradition of worshipping a family deity may name their children after a god or goddess whom they have personally chosen to worship. Thus, a devotee of Krishna may give his child one of his various names: *murlidhar, śām, mukund, gopāḷ,* etc. The names of Hindu saints, and in Maharashtra particularly the names of Maharashtrian saints like Jnanadeva and Tukaram (boys' names) are used. [19] The children of Muslim and Christian Maharashtrians acquire different names from those of the Hindus. Examples of Islamic girls' names are *vahidā, surayā,* and *nurjahā* and boys' names are *rahim, salim,* and *śahājan.* Some of the Christian names for boys are *Rocky, Samuel,* and *Horace,* and for girls *Tina* and *Helen.* It is possible, however, to come across Christian as well as Moslem children with Hindu names.

Aesthetic Considerations

A child's name may be chosen because it resembles the surname; for example *ganeś* for the surname *gaṇorkar, maŋgalā* for *maŋgalmurti.* In some families all the childrens' names have the same initial sound; for example, *suhās, suśmā, sulbhā,* and *sunitā.* Some names are chosen because they evoke pleasant mental associations with a concept, event,

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[17] These names are found in a novel by N.S. Phadke, *Amṛtātehi Paijāsi Jinke* (Bombay: G.P. Parcure Prakashan Mandir, 1964).

[18] There are a number of examples of this, but probably the best examples are the translations from the Bengali novels of Bankim Chandra Chatterji, Sharat Chandra Chatterji, and Prabhatkumar Mukherji. For further discussion see M.V. Rajadhyaksha, "Marathi Literature," *Contemporary Indian Literature,* 2nd ed. (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1959), p. 155.

[19] Brender, p. 7, noted that people in some societies may name their children after eminent personalities. This seems to hold true in some Maharashtrian families.

or object. For example, the name *manjulā* creates a feeling of sweetness as *manjul* means a sweet sound of music. Sometimes, a girl's name is changed after marriage to match her husband's. If the husband's given name is that of an epic hero such as *rām,* then the wife's name will be changed to that of the hero's wife, in this case *sitā.* If the husband's name is of a modern type, such as *prabhākar,* his wife's name will be changed to a matching form such as *prabhā.*[20]

Nature

Children are often named after the sun, moon, rivers, flowers, precious stones and other natural objects, reflecting the Indians' great appreciation of nature.[21] *Kusum* "flower," *kamal* "lotus," *šewanti* "cresent mum," *gaŋgā* "the river Ganges," *kāweri* "the river Kaveri," *minā* "fish," *soni* "gold" and *hirā* "diamond" are girls' names. *Suryakānt* "sun" and *čandrabhān* "moon" are boys' names. *Māṇik* "ruby" is both a boy's and girl's name.

Time

The Indian awareness of the perpetual cycle of days and seasons is seen in the naming of children after units of time, for example the girl's names *ušā* "morning," *nišā* "night," *prabhā* "morning," and *sandhyā* "evening." Names of the seasons and months are also used, for example the boy's names *wasant* "spring," *grišma* "summer," and *šrāwaṇ* "the fifth lunar month." As Karve has mentioned, names of the days of the week (e.g., *bārsu* "born on the twelfth lunar day," derived from the Sanskrit *dwādaši,* and *tersu* "born on the thirteenth lunar day") are also found among the Bhils and other hill tribes like the Thakurs, Katkaris, and Kolis.[22]

Personal Qualities

As great significance is attached to the meaning of names, some parents often name their child after an attribute that they hope he will develop. Following are some examples:

(girls' names)	
mohini "the attractive one"	*suniti* "one of good ethics"
suločanā "one with good eyes"	*surekhā* "the beautiful one"
(boys' names)	
šāhu "the wise one"	*suhās* "one who smiles nicely"
baḷirām "the strong one"	*sušil* "one with good character"

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[20] For a general discussion of Aesthetic Considerations see Bender, p. 6.

[21] Masani, p. 63.

[22] Masani, p. 62; see also Karve, p. 63.

The following names are derived from nouns expressing ideals of the individual and society:

> (girls' names)
> *premā* from *prem* "love"
> *kirti* from *kirti* "fame"
> *šānti* from *šānti* "peace"
> (boy's name)
> *yašwant* from *yaša* "success"
> *ānand* from *ānand* "happiness"
> *sampat* from *sampatti* "wealth"

Names expressing trust, hope and sympathy are:

> (girls' names)
> *āšā* "hope"
> *dayā* "sympathy"
> (boy's name)
> *visvās* "trust"

LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

Marathi, like other modern Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi, Bengali, and Gujarati, has its origin in Old Indo-Aryan, which is generally considered to be Vedic Sanskrit. Because Sanskrit is the language of Hindu philosophy and ritual, as well as being the origin of modern Aryan languages, it has been a great source of syntactic, phonological, and lexical borrowings. Lexical borrowings are greater than syntactical or morphological borrowings in Marathi grammar, and since names constitute a great part of Marathi lexicon, a number of Marathi names are of Sanskrit origin. For example, boys' names are *rām, govind, prabhākar,* and *šri* and girls' names are *sitā, indirā, premā,* and *snehal.* The names borrowed earlier from Sanskrit (such as *rām, govind, sitā,* and *indirā*) have been assimilated into the structure of Marathi while names that are recent borrowings (such as *prabhākar, šri, premā,* and *snehal*) retain the structure of Sanskrit.

Names Reflecting Sanskrit Phonology

Names reflecting Sanskrit phonology are generally found among the educated classes, for they are aware of the correct pronunciation and have no difficulty with it. Care is usually taken in preserving the Sanskrit pronunciation for fear of being taken for illiterates. Following are some names which contain Sanskrit sounds.

> (boys' names)
> (1) *prakāš* "light"
> (2) *šridhar* "Lord Krishna"
> (3) *tryambak* "Lord Shiva"
> (4) *lakšman* "brother of Rama"

> (girls' names)
> (1) *pratimā* "image"
> (2) *snehalatā* "a vine of love"

Marathi phonology is simpler than that of Sanskrit in terms of morpheme structure rules as well as phonological rules. Marathi does not allow for initial consonant clusters.[23] The rule that puts constraints on sequences for morpheme initial segments can be written in the following way.

$$
\text{A.} \quad [\ \ ] \quad \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cns} \\ +\text{voc} \end{bmatrix} \Big/ \quad \# \quad \begin{Bmatrix} [\ +\text{cns}\ ] \\ [\ -\text{voc}\ ] \end{Bmatrix} \underline{\qquad}
$$

$$
\text{B.} \quad \begin{Bmatrix} [\ +\text{voc}\ ] \rightarrow [\ +\text{cns}\ ] \\ [\ -\text{cns}\ ] \rightarrow [\ -\text{voc}\ ] \end{Bmatrix} \Big/ \quad \# \quad \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cns} \\ +\text{voc} \end{bmatrix} \underline{\qquad}
$$

By rule A, morpheme initial CV, LV, and GV are possible. (L represents the liquids r and l; G represents the glides y and and w.) By rule B, initial VL, VG, and VC are possible, which means CC, CL, CG, and CCC are impossible in the initial position of a Marathi morpheme. Examples 1-3 (boys' names) and 1-2 (girls' names) violate the above Marathi morpheme structure rules, however, and exhibit Sanskrit structure. Example 4 (boys' names) violates another morpheme structure rule which restricts a morpheme medial -CCC-, commonly found in Sanskrit morphemes.

Some Linguistic Changes

Many rural Maharashtrians, who lack formal education, directly or indirectly borrow Sanskrit names but change their forms so as to fit Marathi phonology. Some of the changes in names are due to the fact that people are often not aware of the correct pronunciation or have difficulty in pronouncing some sounds or combination of sounds. This is demonstrated in the following changes.

Metathesis:

Metathesis is very common in the case of names which contain a C + r cluster.

> (boys' names)
>   *prabodh* "consciousness" → *parbodh*
>   *prakāš* "sunshine" → *parkāš*
>   *praphulla* "fully bloomed" → *parphulla*
>   *prawiṇ* "expert" → *parwiṇ*
>   *šridhar* "Lord Krishna" → *širdhar*
> (girls' names)
>   *pramodini* "great joy" → *parmodini*
>   *pratimā* "an image" → *partimā*

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[23] For a more comprehensive treatment of Marathi phonology see Indira Yashwant Junghare, "Marathi Tadbhava Phonology: A Generative Approach," *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute,* XXIX (1970), 37-64.

Epenthesis:

Marathi puts constraints on the occurrence of clusters of three or more medial consonants and of two or more initial consonants. Sanskrit names containing such clusters—initial or medial—are changed by inserting an epenthetic vowel, which breaks the cluster and consequently meets the Marathi morpheme structure constraint. For example:

(girls' names)
>   *lakšmi* "goddess of wealth" → *lakšumi* or *lakšami*
>   *snehalatā* "vine of love" → *isnehalatā*
>   *smitā* "one who laughs well" → *asmitā*

(boy's name)
>   *tryambak* "Lord Shiva" → *tirambak* or *tirmak*

Both of the above linguistic phenomena, metathesis and vowel epenthesis, work together to give Marathi status to Sanskrit names.

Following are some of the linguistic changes that occur in the conversion of standard Marathi to non-standard Marathi in the speech of uneducated Maharashtrians.

Depalatalization of the final and initial š:

(boys' names)
>   *sureš* → *sures*
>   *avināš* → *avinās*
>   *prakāš* → *parkās*
>   *šravaṇ* → *sarāvan*
>   *šridhar* → *sirdhar*

(girls' names)
>   *šilā* → *silā*
>   *ševanti* → *sevanti*

Dropping of initial glides before high or mid vowels:

(boys' names)
>   *wijay* → *ijay*
>   *wišvanāth* → *isvanāth*
>   *witthal* → *itthal*

(girls' names)
>   *wimal* → *imal*
>   *yamunā* → *yemunā* → *emunā*

Deretroflexion of ṇ and ḷ:

(boys' names)
>   *šrāvaṇ* → *sarāvan*
>   *lakšman* → *lakšaman*
>   *hirāmaṇ* → *hirāman*
>   *nārāyaṇ* → *nārāyan*
>   *bāḷu* → *bālu*

The first two rules, metathesis and vowel epenthesis, are structurally more important than the rules, depalatalization, dropping of initial glides, and deretroflexion. The former have more general application and are the means of converting Sanskrit words into Marathi; the latter are the means of converting standard Marathi into non-standard Marathi and are less general in the sense that they do not apply regularly to every applicable lexical item in Marathi.

Affixation

A number of Marathi names, as noted earlier, are of Sanskrit origin and contain Sanskrit affixes. The processes prefixation—adding of an affix before a root, and suffixation—adding of an affix after a root—are not productive; that is to say what affix will be attached to what root is unpredictable. Following are some examples of names containing Sanskrit affixes.

Names with prefixes:

su "well, good":

(boys' names)	(girls' names)
suhās "one with a good smile"	*sulabhā* "well obtained"
sumitra "having good friends"	*sulocanā* "one with good eyes"
subhāš "one with good speech"	*subhadrā* "fortunate"

a "not" (negative prefix):

(boys' names)	(girls' names)
ajay "unconquered"	*atulā* "unequaled"
amar "immortal"	*amitā* "unmeasured"
abhay "fearless"	

pra "very, much, great":

(boys' names)	(girl's name)
pramod "excessive joy"	*pramilā* "fatigue"
prakāš "bright"	

nir "without":

(boy's name)	(girl's name)
nirbhay "without fear"	*nirmalā* "pure, without dirt"

Names with suffixes:

The suffixes *ini, i* and *ā,* which mark feminine gender in Marathi and have their origin in Sanskrit, are often added to boys' names to form girls' names.

(boys' names)	(girls' names)
pramod	*pramodini*
suhās	*suhāsini*
mādhav	*mādhavi*
vasant	*vāsanti*
vijay	*vijayā*
samidh	*samidhā*

The suffix *kar* "doer, maker," derived from the Sanskrit root *kr*, is used in forming masculine names in Marathi as well as in Sanskrit, for example:

> *prabhākar* "sun, or maker of the sun"
> *madhukar* "the honey maker, Lord Krishna"

The possessive suffixes *vant* (masculine) and *vati/ mati* (feminine) also form part of names.

> vant: *yašvant* "having success"
>   *bhagvant* "fortunate"
> vati/mati: *kusumāvati* "having the quality of a flower"
>   *padmavāti* "having the quality of a lotus"
>   *indumati* "having the quality of the moon"

   Socio-linguistic suffixes:

In addition to those suffixes which form part of a given name there are socio-linguistic suffixes which an addressor attaches to an addressee's name in certain situations to indicate his attitude towards the addressee or the social relation between them, which is dependent upon such factors as age and sex difference, socio-economic position, and caste.[24] *Rav* and *panta* are honorific suffixes attached to men's names. Rav, derived from the Sanskrit word *rājā* "king," is generally attached to names of men belonging to the Kshatriya (ruler's) caste; *panta* is attached to names of Brahmins. The honorific feminine suffixes *bāi* and *tāi* are attached to women's names without regard to caste or class. Intimacy or close relation is often expressed by the suffix *u,* which is attached to the first syllable after dropping all other syllables from the boy's or girl's name. For example:

(girls' names)	(boys' names)
samidhā → *samu*	*gajānan* → *gaju*
maŋgalā → *maŋgu*	*vijay* → *viju*
nilimā → *nilu*	*raghunāth* → *raghu*

The suffixes *ya* (for boy's names) and *i* (for girl's names) express anger or contempt and are added on to the first syllable after dropping all other syllables, or in some cases to a full name. For example:

(boys' names)	(girls' names)
madhukar → *madhyā*	*chandrā* → *chandri*
hirāmaṇ → *hiryā*	*gaŋgā* → *gaŋgi*

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[24] See Samuel Martin, "Speech Levels in Japan and Korea," *Language in Culture and Society,* ed. Dell Hymes (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), pp. 407-415. This article vividly points out that age difference, sex difference, social position, and outgroupness influence a Japanese speaker's choice of reference and address forms. For the similar social process in the Bengali language of Eastern India see Pranab Chatterjee, "Familingual and Familinear Relationships: Two Patterns of Control by the Invoking of Family Roles," *American Anthropologists,* 74 (1972), 231-241.

Names with all the above socio-linguistic suffixes are presented below:

Honorific	Familiar	Intimate	Derogative
gajānanrāv	gajānan	gaju	gajyā
vināyakrāv	vināyak	vinu	vinyā
keśavrāv	keśav	keśu	keśyā
raghunāthrāv	raghunāth	raghu	raghyā
vijayābāi	vijayā	viju	viji
maŋgalābāi	maŋgalā	maŋgu	maŋgi
sulocanātāi	sulocanā	sulu	suli

A person is addressed or referred to by honorific, familiar, intimate, or derogatory forms, depending upon the speaker's attitude and social situation and such social factors as age difference, social position, and class and caste distinction.[25] Many of these factors may be at work in a given situation. A master, however angry he may be, will hesitate to use the derogatory suffix -*ya* when addressing an older male servant, especially in the presence of someone of higher social position than himself. A person belonging to a lower caste or class will not be addressed by the honorific form of his name. A student will not address his teacher by his or her intimate name.

CONCLUSION

In the discussion of the socio-psychological aspects of Marathi names, we have seen that the Indian love of nature, idealization of character traits, and religious tradition are important factors influencing the choice of names, although, as we pointed out earlier, traditional religious literature is becoming a less important source of names with the growth of westernization, particularly the influence of Indian and Western cinema and modern, non-religious, Marathi literature. We have seen that reverence for grandparents, superstitions concerning the death of children, and aesthetic considerations also often enter into the choice of names.

In the linguistic analysis of Marathi names, we have seen that educated Maharashtrians maintain two sets of phonological rules, one for Marathi and the other for Sanskrit. Uneducated speakers, on the other hand, have only the set of Marathi phonological rules, and, consequently, their names differ from those of the educated class. The operation of some suffixes is guided by the social situation.

It is possible to make a few generalizations about the Pan-Indian naming system. As the various language groups share a basic culture, they share a common stock of names. Most Indian languages use the names of gods (for example Rama), although each language adds different suffixes to the root, for example, in Marathi *Ram* + *rav* and in

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[25] Martin, p. 410.

Hindi, *Ram* + *lal*.[26] Sometimes, different names or epithets of the same god are used in different languages; Krishna is Murlidhar in Marathi but Bansidhar in Hindi. The names in the Marathi country, as Karve has pointed out, are simply of a deity, e.g., Shiva or Vishnu, while in Uttar Pradesh in North India, names denote one's attitude towards a deity, e.g., sivaprasad "gift of Siva," hardayal "the grace of Shiva," and ramdin "a servant of Rama."[27] Also, Marathi names tend to be simple words, while a majority of Hindi names are compound words, for example, jayakrishna (jaya-krishna), premshankar (prem-shankar), laxminarayan (laxmi-narayan), and venugopal (venu-gopal). Despite a few minor differences, the socio-psychological factors which influence the choice of names in Marathi may also influence the choice of names in other Indian languages. Furthermore, we may expect not only the presence of Sanskrit names in other Indian languages, as Sanskrit is the language of Hinduism, but also the existence of two sets of phonological rules in the pronunciation of names by educated speakers.

University of Minnesota

NECROLOGY

The Secretary-Treasurer regretfully announces the death of the following member:

Ernest Maass

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[26] Karve, p. 40.
[27] Karve, p. 40.