

Alliteration of the Word-initial consonant in Modern Gujarati Compounds

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Like other NIA. languages, in Gujarati also alliteration, rhyme, jingle-formation, sound-symbolism, syllable rhythm and onomatopoeia play quite a significant role in the formation of compounds and phrases. Here I would like to draw attention to those compounds which have alliteration of the initial consonant of their constituents. Gujarati has a large class of *dvandva* ('copulative') compounds¹. The compounds described here form its sub-class. Besides the *dvandva* compounds that can be dissolved with **અને** ('and') or **કે** ('or') (i.g. **નાનુંમોટું=નાનું અને મોટું**, or alternatively **નાનું કે મોટું**), there is a large class of these compounds which can not be so dissolved. They have got certain notable characteristics.

Formally, many of them are marked by various types of rhymes. Many are reduplicative² with vowel-variation of the initial syllable of their first meaningful constituent or are echoic/jingle formations based on the second, meaningful constituent.

Secondly many of them are such that the order of their constituents cannot be reversed. They are irreversible binominals.

The order of the two constituents is determined either by their syllabic structure or by the importance of their individual meanings from socio-cultural view-point in the discourse situation.

As to the meaning, there is a large clan of synonymous compounds, the meaning of many of these compounds is not just the same of the individual meaning of the constituents, but denote 'these and similar things of actions', 'these and so on and so forth', 'these etc'.

In numerous cases the meaning of one or both of the constituents is obscure.

Besides the alliterative compounds, there are numerous phrases or word-groups which have the alliteration of the initial consonant of their constituents. i.g. कमर कसवी, करमनी कठणई, कंजूसनो काको, काळं करम, काळो केर, खमी खावुं, चोरे ने चौटे, जुवान जोध, जूनो जोगी, ढळकती ढेल, तीखु तमतमतुं, नवो निशाळियो, पारकी पंचात, फजेतीनो फाळको, बोडीबामणीनुं खेतर, भगरी भेंस, भुंडु भूख, मथरावटी मेली, मीतुं मध, मों मीतुं कखुं, रामना रखोपा-रखवाळं, रातुं राण, रावळे राव, रांकनुं रतन, रोजनी रामायण.

These are only a few instances from a large class, which requires a separate treatment.

The following list of instances is illustrative. With some effort it can be considerably extended.

The meaning equivalents given are approximate. As to the sources, some words are loans from Urdu or Hindi. Some are from Sanskrit. Some are from literary discourse. Some are dialectal. In the case of a compound which is used now in its secondary or metaphorical meaning, the literal meanings also of the constituents is given where necessary. Where the meaning of one or both of the constituents is obscure, the meaning of the compound only is given.

अडी-ओपटी	difficulty and calamity
आडुं-अवळुं	crosswise and reverse, topry-turby
करवुं-कारवुं	to done, to get done etc.
कलम-किताब	pen and book
काचुं-कोरुं	uncooked and dry
काट-कसर	cuts and commission
काठ-कवाड	wood and timber

काणुं-कूबडुं	one-eyed or hunch-back
काथा-कूट	useless labour (lit. pounding catechu)
कादव-कीचड	mud etc.
काबर-कलह	quarrelling like mainas
काम-काज	work etc.
कुटुंब-कबीलो	family etc.
कोल-करार	promise and agreement
खण-खोद	digging and so-forth
खस-खूजली	ringworm and itch
खाना-खराबी	utter ruin
खारुं-खाटुं	salty and sour
खांड-खीर	sugar and milk
खून-खार	blood-spilling
खोड-खांपण	blemish or blot
गण्युं-गांठ्युं	so few as can be easily counted (lit. countable as knots on a string)
गाळी-गलोच	abusing
गाम-गपाट	common chat of the town
गाम-गामतरुं (करवुं)	(going) to one or another village
गाम-गरास	village or land
गुलाब-गोटे	a nosegary of rose
गोवर-गंदुं	dirty like cowdung
घनघोर	terrific due to clouds

चाडी-चुगली	back-biting etc.
चाल-चलगत	movement, conduct etc.
चेन-चाळा	signs and gestures
छाकम-छेळ	in huge quantity, unbounded such that there are splashes upon splashes
छांनुं-छपनुं	hidden or concealed
छाल-छेतरां	skin and chips
छेकरां-छैयां	children, issues
जर-झवेरात	money and jewellery
जाडुं जोरावर	fat and strong
जाणी-जोईने	knowingly (lit. having known and seen)
जीव-जंतु	worms, insects etc.
जीव-जात	life
जीभा-जोडी	verbal dispute (lit. 'joining of tongues')
जुवानजोध	young and strong like a soldier
जोर-जुलम	force and tyranny
झड-झमक	rhythms and alliteration
झडवुं-झापटवुं	to dust and strike with a cloth
झाकम-झोळ	
झाडी-झांखरां	thicket and thorny shrubs
झाड-झूड	to dust and strike

झांखरां-झरडां	thorny shrubs and dried up branches
यढ-तडको	cold and sun
यंगा-येळी or टींगा-येळी	lifting by two or four persons of somebody by taking hold of his legs and hands and carry him
येळ-टप्पा	joking and chating
ठाम-ठीकरां	utensils of metal or earthen ones
ठाम-ठेकाणुं	place or address
ठेंठ-थापली	slap or smack
डाळ्यां-डांखळां	branches and trigs
डोसा-डगरा	aged, dicrepit persons
ढंग-धडो	manner and/or balance
ढांको-ढूंबो	to cover with a lid
ढोर-ढांखर	cattle and such like
तळयुं-ताव्युं	fried and baked
ताणी-तूसीने	pulling strongly
ताबड-तोब	swiftly
तिथि-तहेवार	holiday and festive day
तीखुं-तूरुं	pungent or astrigent
थिर-थावर	firm and stable
दम-दाटी	threat
दरियाव-दिल	of liberal heart (lit. having sealike heart)

दवा-दारु	medicine
दही-दूध	curds and milk
दुःख-दर्द	grief and pain
देश-दाज्ञ	patriotic feeling
देश-देशावर	various countries
दोर-दमाम	show of rule and power
धणी-धोरी	owner and/or master
धरमनी धजा	banner of religion
धरमनो धोरी	highly religious
धरम-धक्को	fruitless visit (धरम=धरमनो charitable or with no return)
धंधो-धापो	business and such like
धाबड-धीगुं	fat and hefty
धाम-धूमथी	with fanfare and flourish
धीर-धार	lending
धूम-धडाका	loud reports/explosions
धूळ-धाणी	utter ruin
धोयुं-धकोयुं	washed and clean vigorously
नाम-निशान	name and mark
पग-पेसारो	entering by pushing in the feet
पड्य पाथर्युं	staying or remaining habitually
पलंग-पोश	mattress cover
पाट-पोंडी	bandage
पाठ-पूजा	recitation of a religious text and worship

पाणी-पंथो (घोड़ो)	(a horse) running on the road like flowing water
पाणी-पोचु	soft due to excessive water (in cooking)
पालण-पोषण	protecting and nourishing
पाळवुं-पोषतुं	to protect and nourish
पांच-पंदर	five or fifteen
पांच-पचीश	five or twenty-five
पुत्र-परिवार	sons and family
पेट-पूजा	filling the belly i.e. eating (lit. paying worship to the belly)
पेटी-पयरा	small and large boxes
फळ-फूल	fruits and flowers
फाट-फूट	tear and break
फूलवुं-फालवुं	to put on flowers and fruits
फेर-फूदरडी	whirling round and round
फेरो-फांटे	visiting now and then
बगल-बच्चो	underling (lit. like the young of a bird that can be kept under one's armpit)
बटक-बोलुं	talking frankly
बाडुं-बोबडुं	one-eyed or stammering-speaking indistinctly

बारी-बारणां	windows and doors
बाल-बच्चां	children
बूम-बराडा	shouting and uproars
भलुं-भोलुं	good and simple
भाई-भांडुं	brothers and sisters—children of the same parents
भाई-भोजाई	brother and brother's wife
भाडभूजो	baker using a stove dug in the ground
भाडुं-भथुं	allowance for travelling, boarding and lodging
भूल-भुलामणी	
भूडा-भच्चा	vulgar words
मगर-मच्छ	crocodile
मणिमोती	gem and pearl
मन-मानीतुं	favourite
मरी-मसालो	pepper and spices
मान-मरजादा	
मान-मर्तबो	
मामण-मूंडो	
मामा-माशीनां	related as mother's brother's or mother's sister's children
माया-ममता	love and sense of being one's own
माया-महोबत	love and affection

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माल-मता	movable and immovable property
माल-मलीदो	rich sweets
माल-मिलकत	goods and property
मांस-मच्छी	meat and fish
मीठु-मरचुं	salt and chili
मोज-मजा	merrymaking and enjoying
मों-माथुं	face/mouth and head
रख-रखावट	preservation and care-taking
रजरमत	royal game
राजा-राणी	kind and queen
रीडिया-रमण	loud shouting and uproar
रीत-रिवाज	custom
रूप-रंग	form and colour
लख-लूट (खर्च)	spending profusely (lit. so as lacs are looted)
लूलुं-लंगडुं	lame and limping
वग-वसीलो	
वन-वगडो	forest and wilderness
वस्त-वस्तोला	religious observances and vowes
वहेगे-वंचो	difference
वहेंचवुं-वाटवुं	to distribute
वा-वंटोळ	gusty and circular wind
वा-वाझोडु	gale and hurricane

વાંક-વઝેટ	curvature and bent
વાંધો-વચકો	objection or disagreement
વેપાર-વળજ	trade and commerce
વેર-વિખેર	scattered and dispursed
વ્યાજ-વટાવ	interest and commission
સમું-સાજું	in good shape and health
સમું-સૂતરું	straight and easy
સાજ-શણગાર	adornment and ornament
સાન-સૂઝ	understanding and insight
સાર-સંભાલ	caring and serving
સાંચવ્યું-સંઘર્યું	stored and preserved
સુખ-સગવડ	happiness and comfort
હાલ-હવાલ	sorry state

References

- * P. R. Teraiya : ગુજરાતી ભાષાના દ્વિરુક્ત પ્રયોગો (1970) and the bibliography given in it.
- * H. C. Bhayani : ગુજરાતી ભાષાના ઇતિહાસની કેટલીક સમસ્યાઓ (1976) and the references given in it on p. 31.
- * The present paper is a revised, expanded version of a few sections of the first chapter (pp. 1-32). entitled 'on the structure of Gujarati Words (with Respect to the Description and Origin of Their Echoic, Jingling, Sound-symbolic and Rhythmic Aspects)

Notes

1. For their description see Bhayani, p. 2-4. For a systematic classification see Ibid, the table following p. 16.
2. See Teraiya's book.

