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LINGUISTIC MEDIATORS AND THE LONG WAY OF WORDS

This paper deals with the lexical systems of Bulgarian, Hindi and Kannada (the stress is on the first syllable). As known, there is no genetic relationship and territorial proximity between them.

Hindi is the most widely spoken language of the Republic of India, centered principally in the states in the north-central parts of the country. Its 180 million speakers rank it as one of the leading languages in the world, but it is, nevertheless, understood by only about one-third of India's population. Pure Hindi derives most of its vocabulary from Sanskrit. The basis of the language is actually Hindustani, the colloquial form of speech that served as the lingua franca of much of the Indians of Hindustani spoken in the area of New Delhi. Its development into a national language had its beginnings in the colonial period, when the British began to cultivate it as a standard among government officials. Hindi makes a conscious effort to preserve the older Indian words.

Kannada, also known as *Kanarese*, is spoken by about 22 million people in southwestern India, principally in the state of Karnataka (formerly Mysore). It is a member of the Dravidian family, which is a group of over 20 languages, dominant in southern India. The name given to the family comes from a Sanskrit word, *dravida*, which is used in an early text with apparent reference to one of the languages, Tamil. A relationship has been proposed with both the Uralic and the Altaic language families, but the hypothesis is controversial (Caldwell 1975, McAlpin 1981). There is, however, strong support for the view that Dravidian languages were once spoken over much of central, and perhaps even northern, India, before the arrival of the Indo-Europeans about 1000 B.C., and that they were gradually displaced by them in the south, with only those living in isolated mountain regions remaining behind. The few pockets of Dravidian speakers in central India would appear to lend weight to this theory. Kannada is one of the four major Dravidian languages (together with Telugu, Tamil and Malayalam), each of which is recognized as an official provincial language.

Bulgarian appertains to the Indo-European linguistic areal, and to the Slavic family of languages, in particular. The vocabulary has in its main part an all-Slav character. At the same time, for the geographical and historical reasons, the Bulgarian lexis accumulated a noticeable amount of Turkish loan-words. It is common knowledge, that a great amount of the Turkish vocabulary has a Persian and Arabic origins.

This data naturally leads to the formulation of a hypothesis, which allows for the existence of lexical parallels between Bulgarian, Hindi and Kannada, using as a basis, on one hand, the strong influence of Sanskrit, and, on the other hand, the effect of the languages of the invaders, which serve as mediators between three languages that lack genetic relationship or territorial closeness.

In the Bulgarian linguistics (mainly in the field of etymology) series of researches have been conducted which, look for and prove a link of some lexical items with the Indo-European languages, and especially with Sanskrit (Andrejchin 1954; Vankov 1960; Georgiev 1951, 1958, 1978 etc.). We are not aware, however, of any more thorough comparative research neither of Bulgarian and its connection to some of the official languages in India, nor of Kannada and Hindi and its relation to the Western European languages. Thus our goal in this research is to trace the possibility of an existing common lexical layer in the three languages. Our task is to find lexemes with the same or similar pronunciation and an analogical meaning. We are interested not in searching for lexical items from the point of view of comparative history (as we mentioned above, such research has already been done), but mainly in a sociolinguistic comparison between the temporary vocabulary of the three languages, using phonological, morphological and semantic criteria. We have to mention that a large amount of Kannada lexis is identical with the one in Hindi, with very small differences - mainly phonetical and functional. A characteristic trait of the phonological system of Kannada, for example is the change in the borrowed lexic of the phoneme *z* with the phoneme *dj*. Another characteristic feature is the obligatory vocalization of the ending of nouns (Schiffman 1983).

Thus in the classification of the analyzed material we have taken into consideration a given lexeme in the word stock of Kannada, as well as in Hindi.

We attempted to establish a number of lexical items which have analogous or close semantic function in languages and have common roots from an etymological point of view. Here we propose a classification of the analyzed material. The whole number of the words found so far, that are analogous phonetically and semantically in each of the languages, is approximately one hundred and fifty (see Appendix at the end). Three groups of words were differentiated: (I) Words of Indo-Aryan/Indo-European origin; (II) Words of Turkish/Persian/Arabic origin; and (III) Words from the so called International lexis and of a different origin than (I) and (II).

I. Words of Indo-Aryan or Indo-European origin

Indo-Aryan lexical stock in Kannada and Hindi comes from two sources. The early forms, dating from around 1000 BC, are collectively referred to as Sanskrit (the language in which the Vedas, the oldest sacred texts, were written). Later forms, the Prakrits, have lasted for a thousand years, and were the medium of Buddhist and Jain literature (Crystal 1987). Hindi is written in the Sanskrit characters, while the Kannadian alphabet has developed out of the script called Grantha, which appeared in India about

the 5th century A.D. It must be noted, that the portion of Indian loan-words in Kannada is smaller than in the other Dravidian languages as *Telugu* and *Malayalam*.

This (I) common group of vocabulary in Bulgarian, Hindi, and Kannada forms the largest one in our study, but some of the words have not the same occurrence in the three languages. The word *vidh* in Hindi, for instance, (corresponding to *вид* in Bulgarian) is rare from functional point of view, while in Kannada *vidha* is frequent; the word *udaka,uda* in Kannada (corresponding to *вода* in Bulgarian) is used mainly in literary language as a poetic word, in spoken language *niru* is used more often and has the same meaning, while in Bulgarian only *вода* exists; the word *madhja* (*между*) is used more often in Kannada, than in Hindi, where another synonym is present - *biih* (from Urdu); the Kannadian word *polka* (*пола* in Bulgarian) is used in the North part of the state Karnataka, and means 'skirt, worn by a girl'; the word *akshi* (*очу* in Bulgarian) is used only in the poetic style.

II. Words of Turkish/Persian/Arabic origin

This second group consists of words which have come into Bulgarian from Turkish as result of the Ottoman yoke, which lasted for five centuries (IV-XIX). The invasion of Afghan and Middle-Asian dynasties in North India and their rule, which continued for about seven centuries (XI-XVII), lead to the spread of Iranian and Turkic loan-words in Kannada and Hindi. Their influence is most noticed in the literary Persian language by the Muslim feudal aristocracy. Nowadays Hindi contains many words from Persian and Arabic, even though they are less, than the ones present in Urdu, another of the official languages in India. A great quantity of the elements from Arabic origin has been taken directly from Islam - the official religion of the conquerors.

In comparison with the words of group I, the phonetical changes in loan-words of group II are not considerable. From functional point of view in Kannada and Hindi they belong to the neutral vocabulary of the language, while in Bulgarian some of them have only a stylistic function nowadays, and others have taken a permanent place in the basic word stock of the language. **Colloquial** words are in Bulgarian *адет* (lit. обичай, ред, навик), *акъл* (ум), *барабар* (заедно), *джангър* (шум, свада), *душман* (враг), *илач* (лекарство), *нишан* (знак), *рахат* (спокойствие, мир), *руишет* (подкуп), *файда* (полза, изгода), *хамалин* (носач), *харча* (консумирам, изразходвам), *чекия* (сгъваемо ножче), *хал* (положение, състояние); **dialectal**, **archaic** or **historical** words are *джандарин* (полицай), *джелатин* (палач), *дюкян* (магазин), *кадия* (съдия), *кирия* (наем), *махала* (квартал), *пехливан* (борец, юнак), *хаир* (добро, благополучие), *тефтер* (касова книга) - though very the diminutive *тефтерче* (бележник) is very frequent. In Bulgarian the useage of the diminutive form of *нал* - *налче* is more frequent. *Нал* is rarely used.

In Kannada some words also have an occasional usage; *akkalu*, for example, is frequent only in the North, as are *dukanu* and *khubu*. The word *astra* in the modern Kannadian is replaced from functional point of view by the English loan-word *linging*.

Some words as *pajlavana(k.)/pehalvan(h.)* are more frequently used in Kannada, than in Hindi.

III. Words from other languages.

The third group of words consists of loan-words which either belong to the international cultural vocabulary, or have come from different languages in Bulgarian, Hindi and Kannada. The direct loaning from European languages in Kannada and Hindi started with the Age of Discovery in the 16th century. In the beginning the main sources were Dutch, Portugal, and later French, but their influence was insignificant. The European language expansion really began after India was conquered by England. During word formation nowadays, however, a tendency toward the seeking of semantic elements mainly from Sanskrit can be found in Hindi as well as in Kannada. Its purpose is to reduce the European presence in the language; a process, which is long and hard.

The European loan-words begin to be introduced in Bulgarian at the beginning of the Bulgarian Renaissance (17-19B.), and especially after the liberation from the Ottoman yoke. At the beginning they were from Russian, and later from French, Italian, German and, more recently, English. The loan-words from Greek are from a different period.

The list of words from the international lexis, given in this study, does not pretend to be thorough.

From the analysis of the gathered material the following conclusions can be made.

The lexical meaning of some words in one of the languages has got bigger (or smaller) than in the others. For example, the usage of *кандило* (from III.) in Bulgarian is connected with the Christian rituals and means 'icon-lamp', while in Kannada *kandilu* has the meaning of a lamp in general, and also of a lantern; the word *пужама* (III) has been accepted in Bulgarian as an English loan-word from India, but a change in the meaning has occurred - from *pajdzhama/padzhama* 'a pair of pants' (as in Hindi and Kannada) it has changed into 'clothes for sleep - pants and shirt'; the adjective *дивен* (I) in Bulgarian has the meaning of wonderful, marvellous, wondrous - in Kannada *divja* has not only the meaning of the Bulgarian adjective, but also the figurative meaning of godlike, heavenly; the word *земя* (I) in Bulgarian has several meanings, only one of which - 'field', coincides with the usage of word *djaminu/zamin* in Kannada and Hindi; the Kannadian word *hodike* (I) (*одеяло* in Bulgarian) is frequent in the language, but only in the meaning 'a blanket of wool'; the word *qilaf* (II) in Hindi means only 'sleeping sheet (bag, pillow-case)', in Bulgarian this word (*калъф*) is a broad notion with several meanings - case, loose cover, sheath, scabbard, holster

There is homonymy between some words in Bulgarian and in Kannada/Hindi. For instance, *дева* (I) in Bulgarian and *devi* in Kannada/Hindi - in this case the two words coincide phonetically, but are connected etymologically with different Indo-European roots - *deva*, from I-E "to milk, suckle", *devi* from I-E "goddess". These words have different meanings in the three languages: in Bulgarian - 'an unmarried girl or woman

who has never had sexual intercourse; the virgin Mary, the mother of Christ', in Kannada - 'a goddess', in Hindi - 'an address to a rich woman'; the substantive *приятел* (I) in Bulgarian has the meaning of a friend, the use of the same word *prija* as a substantive in Kannada means sweetheart or favourite, if the word is used as an adjective it means 'dear'.

In some words we can conditionally call metonymical the corresponding meanings in Bulgarian, on one hand, and in Kannada/Hindi, on the other. The meaning is changed by reason of different motivating sign in the semantic of the word. For instance, the word *dvara* (I) is not used frequently in Kannada and has the meaning of a door, usually in a large room, gallery or temple. The same word *двор* in Bulgarian means 'an enclosed area outdoors, which immediately adjoins or surrounds a house, public building or other structure'; the word *народ* (I) in Bulgarian has a meaning of a people, while in Kannada and Hindi the only meaning of *nara/nar* is a person, i. e. a part of the continuum; the word *griva* (I) in Kannada means 'a neck of a person', in Bulgarian *грива* is 'long hair on the neck of a horse, lion or another animal, figuratively a hair of a person'; the Bulgarian word *нал/налче* (II) means 'a device of metal on the heel or sole of a shoe to prevent slipping', while *nal* in Hindi means 'a U-shaped iron plate, plain or with calks, nailed to a horse's hoof to protect it from being injured by hard or rough surfaces'; the word *камизола* (III) is coming in Bulgarian from Greek and means 'a short garment worn underneath to conceal the underwear, usually for a baby', in Hindi *kamiz* has a meaning of a shirt.

The presence of a common lexical layer in the vocabulary of Bulgarian, Kannada and Hindi (no matter how small it is) could be used as a basis for foreign language education - both for Bulgarians, studying Hindi or Kannada, and for Indians, willing to learn Bulgarian. We sincerely hope that this research will be useful for them.

APPENDIX

I. Words of Indo-European or Slavic origin

<i>Bulgarian</i>	<i>Kannada</i>	<i>Hindi</i>
алчен (greedy)		lalchi
брат (brother)	bhratru	bhratr/bhrata
бръмбар (beetle)	bhramara	bhramar
бял,бели (white)	bili	
вид (type)	vidha	vidh
вдовица (widow)	vidhave	vidhava
видра (otter)	udra-	
вода (water)	udaka,uda	udak
вълк (wolf)	vrika	vrik
въртя (turn)	vartane	vartan
горещ (hot)	garama	garam
грива .(mane)	griva-	
гърло (throat)	garalu	gala
давам,дам (give)		dena, da
двор (yard)	dvara	
дева (virgin)	devi	devi
девер (brother-in-law)		devar
ден (day)	dina	din
дивен (wondrous)	divja	
дим (smoke)	dhuma	dhum, dhuan
дом (house)	dhama	dham
жив (alive)	djiva	djivit (djiv)
захар (sugar)	sakkare	shakkar
земя (land)	djaminu	zamin
камфор (camphor)	karpura	karpur
люлка (cradle)	ujale-	
мастило (ink)	masi -	
мед (honey)	madhu	madhu
между (between)	madhja	madhja
месец (month)	masa	mas
месо (meat)	mansa	mans
мишка (mouse)	mushaka	mushak
муха (fly)		makhu
мъртъв (dead)	mrata	mrat
народ (people)	nara	nar
небе (sky)	nabha	nabh
нов (new)	nava	nav
нокът (nail)	nakha	nakh, nakhun

нос (nose)	nasika	nasika
нощ (night)	nishe	nisha
огън (fire)	agni/aggi	ag/agni
одеяло (blanket)	hodike	
око, очи (eye)	akshi	akshi
ора (plough)	ulu	
патица (duck)	batu	batakh
пека (bake)		pakkna
перо (feather)		par
пия (drink)		pi
пола (skirt)	polka	
представям (present)	prastuti	prastut
приятел (friend)	prija	prija
пух (down)	pukka	pankh
път (road)	patha	path
пяна (foam)		phen
рана (wound)	rana	vrana
роза (rose)	rodja	
руно (fleece)	unne	un
сух (dry)		sukha
тате (daddy)	tata	
тъма (darkness)	tama	tam
тънък (thin)		tanu
търся (look for)	tarasu	
улулица (owl)	uluka	ullu
ходя (go)	hogu	

II. Words of Turkish/Persian/Arabic origin

<i>Bulgarian</i>	<i>Kannada</i>	<i>Hindi</i>
адет (habit)		adat
акъл (brain)	akkalu	
барабар (together)		barabar
барут (gunpowder)		barud
бакшиш (tip)	bakshisu	bakshish
бадем (almond)	badami	badam
беден (poor)	gariba	
гюлле (cannon-ball)	gola	
гердан (necklace)		gardan
джелатин (executioner)	djallada	djallad
джандарин (policeman)	djamadar	
джангър (quarrel)	djagala	djagra
джоб (pocket)	djobu	djeb
диван (sofa)		divan

душман (enemy)		dushman
дюкян (shop)	dukanu	
илач (medicine)	iladju	
кавал (sheperd's pipe)	kolalu	
кадия (judge)	kadji	kadji
калай (tin)	kalai	kalai
кайма (mince)	kima	kima
калъф (case-cover)		qilaf
касапин (butcher)	kasai	kasai
кехлибар (amber)		kahruba
кирия (rent)		kiraja
килим (carpet)		kalin
късмет (luck)	kismattu	kismat
кюфте (meat-ball)	kofta	kofta
леш (carrion)		lash
махала (quarter)		muhalla
механа (tavern)		mekana
мехлем (balm)	mulamu	malaham
нар (pomegranate)		anar
налче (clout-nail)		nal
нишан (sign)		nishan
пехливан (hero)	pailavana	pehalvan
пазар (market)	badjaru	bazar
перде (curtain)	parade	parda
ренде (grater)	randa	randa
рахат (calm)		rahat
рушвет (bribe)	rushvattu	rishvat
сандък (chest)	sanduka	sanduk
тава (baking dish)	tava	
тамбура (mandoline)	tamburi	tanpura
тефтер (notebook)	daftar	daftar
файда (use)	faide	faida
хаир (good luck)	khairu	khair
хамалин (porter)	hamala	hamal
халва (khalva)	halva	haluva
хастар (lining)	astru	astar
харч (expense)	kharchu	kharch
хубав (good)	khubu	khub
хазна	kadzhane	khazana
хал		hal
шербет (sherbet)	sharbatu	sharbat
шал (chawl)	shalu	shal
шише (bottle)	shishe	shishi
чадър (umbrella)	chatri	chata
чекрък (spining-wheel)	charka	

чекия (knife)	chaku	chaku
чаша (glass)	chashaka	
чорба (broth)		shorba
чешма		cheshma

III. Words from other languages

<i>Bulgarian</i>	<i>Kannada</i>	<i>Hindi</i>
ананас (anas)	anas	anas
апел (appel)	apilu	apil
бамбук	bombu	(bans) ar.
варварин (barbarian)	barbara	
жираф (giraffe)	djirafe	
зебра (zebra)	djebra	
камизола (camisole)		kamiz
кандило (icon-lamp)	kandilu	
канон (law)	kanunu	kanun
кенгуру (kangaroo)	kangaru	
кларинет (klarinet)	klarinet	
корниз (cornice)	karnis/kornis	
пижама (pijamas)	paidjama	padjama
сапун (soap)	sabunu	sabun
сатана (satan)	saitana	shajtan
тайфун (typhoon)	tufanu	
чай (tea)	chaha	chaj

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