Chapter II

Dialects of Western Hindi
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DIALECTS OF WESTERN HINDI

2.1 Linguistic Status

As an Indo-Aryan language, Hindi is a branch of the Indo-European family of languages, and thus is a distant cousin of English, French, Greek, Russian, Spanish and other Indo-European languages. The name "Hindi" is a Persian word referring to the people who lived in the Sindhu river area. Later the word was used as a name for the language spoken around Delhi. This language has been called by other names, such as Hindus, Hindui and Hindustani. Hindi and Urdu are variants of the same language, which in its common spoken form, used to be called Hindustani. Hindi is written in the Devanagri script derived from one of the scripts used to write Sanskrit, while Urdu is written in a modified version of the Persian script, itself derived from the Arabic script. Along with Urdu, Hindi has been the dominant language of modern India and has had an impact on other Aryan and non-Aryan languages spoken in the country. Today it is spoken in most of India. In terms of the total number of speakers, it ranks third in the world after Chinese and English. The percentage of the population of India that speaks Hindi is growing, and ranges upwards from 45%. Large language communities outside of India, including Nepal,
Pakistan, Singapore, Malaysia, Burma, Mauritius, Trinidad, Guyana, and several countries in Eastern and Southern Africa also speak Hindi. Furthermore, Hindi is taught at many universities in the United States, Russia, Britain, and the Near East, as well as in other parts of Asia. Today Hindi is a symbol of Indian Unity and Nationality. It is the national language of India and the Official state language of Bihar, Delhi, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and U.P. Since Hindi has the largest number of speakers of any language in India, it is the medium of a great number of political social and cultural activities. Consequently, the economic and political influence of Hindi in India cannot be over looked.

Grierson proposed the following subdivisions on the three groups of languages mentioned as follows:

A Outer Sub-Branch

I. Northwestern Group

1. Lahnda or western panjabi

2. Sindhi

II. Southern Group

3. Marathi
III. Eastern Group

4. Oriya

5. Bihari

6. Bengali

7. Assamese

B Mediate Sub-Branch

IV. Mediate Group

8. Eastern Hindi [i.e. Awadhi, Bagheli, and Chhattisgarhi].

C Inner Sub-Branch

V. Central Group

9. Western Hindi [i.e. Hindostani, Dakhini Hindostani, Bangaru, Braj, Kannauji, and Bundeli].

10. Punjabi

11. Gujarati

12. Bhili

13. Khandesi

14. Rajasthani
VI. Pahari Group

15. Eastern Pahari or Naipali

16. Central Pahari

17. Western Pahari Unspecified

Grierson pointed out that “of the above, Marathi and Eastern Hindi are groups of dialects, not of languages. The languages of the Pahari Group are those spoken in the lower Himalayas” [LSI, Vol. I:120]

Here we are going to discuss about the dialects of western Hindi which according to Grierson lies in the Central Group of languages.

2.2 Central Group – Western Hindi Dialects

2.2.A Khari Boli

Khari boli (also khadi boli, khadi-boli, or Khari dialect, identified as Hindi by SIL Ethnologue), (khari boli Hindi: Khari boli; Khari Boli, Lit: ‘Standing dialect) is a dialect of the Hindi languages native to western Uttar Pradesh and the Delhi region in India. It is also the standard dialect of Urdu, which is grammatically identical of Hindi. This dialect defines the officially approved version of the Hindi language. It is regarded as the prestigious dialects of the Hindi speaking states of India.
2.2.A.i Early Influences

The region which is native to Khari-Boli Hindi is western Uttar Pradesh, which spoke a decidedly rustic and unliterary tongue before the 18th century. The area was however flanked to west and east respectively by the aristocratic Muslim cultures of Delhi and Lucknow; those aristocrats, whose provenance generally lay outside India, patronized a literature that drew largely upon the Persian, Turkish and Arabic languages, which they had brought with them to this country. It was by the mingling of these several influences that the Khari Boli dialect of Hindi developed.

The area around Delhi has long been the center of power in north India, and naturally, the Khari-Boli dialect came to be regarded as urbane and of a higher standard the other dialects of Hindi. This view gradually gained ground over the 19th century; before that period, other dialects, such as Awadhi, Braj Bhasha and Sadhukaddi were the dialects preferred by litterateurs.

2.2.A.ii Literature

The earliest examples of Khari Boli can be seen in some of Kabir and Amir Khusro's lines. More developed forms of Khari boli can be seen in some mediocre literature produced in early 18th century. Examples are *Chand Chhand Vaman Ki Mahima* by Gangabhatt,
Yogavashishtha by Ramprasad Niranjani, Gora-Badal Ki Katha by Jatmal, Mandovar ka varnan by Anonymous, a translation of Ravirshenacharya’s Jain Padmapuran by Daulatram, etc. (dated 1824).

In 1800, the British East India Company established a College of Higher Education at Calcutta, named Fort William College. John Borthwick Gilchrist, a president of that college, encouraged his professors to write in their native tongue, some of the works thus produced were in the Khari Boli dialect of Hindi. These books included Prem Sagar (Prem Sagur) by Lallu Lal; Naasiketopaakhyan by Sadal Mishra; Sukhsagar by Sadasukhlal of Delhi and Rani Ketaki ki kahani by Munshi Inshallah Khan. Munshi Premchand, whose literature was created in the early 20th century, was one of the greatest of those who contributed to Hindi literature.

Earlier, the Khari-boli was regarded as a mixed brogue unworthy of being used in literature. However, under the government patronage, it has flourished, even as older and previously more literary tongues such as Brij Bhasha, Maithili and Awadhi have declined to virtual non-existence as literary vehicles.

2.2.A.iii Khari Boli in post-independent India

After India became Independent in 1947, the Khari-boli dialect was officially recognized as the approved version of the Hindi
language, which was declared as one of the official languages of the central government functioning. Under governmental encouragement, the officially sponsored version of the Khari-boli dialect has undergone a sea change; it was declared the language of central government functioning in 1950. A major change has been the Sanskritization of Hindi (introduction of Sanskrit vocabulary in Khari boli). Three factors motivated this conscious bid to Sanskritize Hindi, being:

- The independence movement inculcated a nationalistic pride in India's ancient culture, including its ancient classical language Sanskrit;

- Independence was accompanied by partition along religious lines, with Muslim Majority areas receding to form Pakistan, and a partial rejection of Persian and Arabic influence in the Hindu majority areas; Saadat Hasan Manto, the progressive Urdu Writer, opposed to Hindi-Urdu divide stated that the increased Sanskritization of Hindi was probably a move towards establishing a distinct identity of the Hindi language.

- The people of south and east India were averse to the dominance of the language and culture of north India in the affairs of the country. The Hindu populations of these regions did not identify with Hindi itself or with the Mughal (Persian,
Turkish) cultural influences that had shaped Hindi, but they were more receptive to Sanskrit. Sanskritization was thus viewed as a means to make Hindi more palatable as a national language. In its non-Sanskritized form, Khari Boli is the normal and principal dialect used in the Hindi cinema. It is almost exclusively used in contemporary Hindi television serials, songs, education, and of course, in normal daily speech in almost all the urban regions of north India, wherever Hindi is also the state language. The rural dialect varies from region to region.

2.2.A.iv Different views on its naming

(a) Kishori Das Vajpayee

"The dialect of Kurujanapada (Meerut division of Uttar Pradesh) has been named as 'Khari Boli by literary scholars and not by language literatures. But regarding this coinage people are in a stage of suspense. At the starting stage it is named because of the losing of its politeness as felt by the then poets or writers. Bharatendu Harish Chandra has also found the impoliteness or rather said to be crudeness which is just because of the regional distribution in which it is being spoken. For this it has a very famous saying that when the pulse is not being fully cooked then the people comments “dal khari rah gayi he” and for this reason, that Khari boli’s form is khari boli.

The name Khari boli is very much according to the needs of linguistics. As we find (in the end) as sweet/mi: tha: /, fresh/ta:za:/ etc. is only found in this dialect and not in any other dialectal forms. We find /mi: th i: / in Braj and in Awadhi / mi: th / is very much
prevalent. In the same way / mi: th o jal /, / mi t h p a: n i/, /j a: the/, /kha: the / etc. forms are available. Only this crude or impure form is found in Kuru janapad which has been extended up to Punjab as- / midha pa:ni la: vda: /.

That is why this is being termed as Khari Boli. [Vajpayee (1959: 14-15)]

(b) Dhirendra Verma:

Verma believed that the word Khari Boli has been used for the rural dialect of the nearby villages of Delhi – Meerut. Grierson has named it as 'Vernacular Hindosthani.' According to him, in the literary context sometimes adhunik Hindi- Sahitya has been termed as 'Khari Boli Sahitya' to make a discrimination with Awadhi, Braj etc. In this sense 'Khari Boli' word is being used as a synonym to 'standard Hindi'. "This is the general meaning of word, 'Khari Boli' but its first usage in its specific sense." (Verma, 1954: 246)

(c) Suniti Kumar Chatterjee

Chatterjee called it as 'District Hindostani', and linguistically considered it as the basic dialect of standard Hindi, Hindustani and Urdu.

(d) Amba Prasad Suman

Prasad opined that:
Rampur, Mooradabad, Bijnaur, Meerut, Muzaffarnagar, Saharanpur, and the plain areas of Dehradun, the dialect spoken is termed or named as ‘Khari Boli’. The name of this language is the demotion of its nature and values. Hindustani Nagari Hindi, Sirhindi etc. are the synonyms of ‘Khari Boli’. Janapadiya Khari Boli’s literary form is being named as ‘Hindi’. These days ‘Hindi’ is meant as ‘Sahitlyak Khari Boli Hindi’. (Prasad, 1966:135)

2.2.B. Braj Bhasha:

Brij Bhasha also called Braj Bhasha, Braj Bhakha, or Daihaati zaban (country tongue), is a Central Institute of Indian Languages is closely related to Hindi. In fact it is usually considered to be a dialect of Hindi, and was the predominant literary language of North Central India before the switch to Khari Boli in the 19th century. It is spoken by more than 42,000 people in the nebulously defined region of Braj Bhoomi, which was a political state in the era of the Mahabharata wars. According to ancient Hindu texts such as the Shrimad Bhagavatam, the Kingdom of King Kams is described as spreading through the Braj (also known as Vrij or Vraj), where the incarnation of Krishna was born and spent his childhood days. This region lies in Agra-Mathura area, and stretches as far as the envisions of Delhi. In modern India, this area lies mostly in northwestern Uttar Pradesh, the eastern extremities of Rajasthan and the southern extremities of Haryana. Today Braj Bhumi can be seen as a cultural geographical entity rather than a proper state. It is the vernacular of the region and boasts a rich culture and literature by famous poets like Surdas, Bhai
Gurdas and Amir Khusro. Brij Bhasha is very close to Awadhi spoken in neighbouring Awadh region.

Brij Bhasha is spoken in the cities of Mathura, Vrindavana, Agra, Firozabad, Hathras, Etah, Aligarh, Bulandshahar, Bharatpur and Dhaulpur. Much of the Hindi literature was developed in Brij in the medieval period. However, today Khari boli dialect has taken its place as the predominant standard dialect of Hindi.

In modern India, Braj Bhasha exists as an unofficial dialect spoken colloquially by natives of the region of Braj Bhoomi, with great cultural and religious significance. Much of Hindi poetry, especially that of 'Bhakti' or devotional poetry is in this language. Some devotional poems for Krishna are also composed in Braj Bhasha. The pioneering Hindi poet Amir Khusro, also spoke and composed poetry in this language. Famous Braj Bhasha folk songs or poems include 'Chhaap tilak sab chheeni by Aamir Khusro, and the popular devotional song, "Main naahin maakhan Khaayo" by Surdas. Braj Bhasha is also the main language of Hindustani classical music compositions.

2.2.B.(i) Braj Bhasha Literature

Studying Braj Bhasha literature, it can be noticed that most of the literature is of a mystical nature, related to the spiritual union of man with God. This is not at all surprising since virtually all of the poets
were God-realized saints and their words are thus considered to be
directly emanated from a divine source. Much of traditional Northern
Indian literature shares this trait. All traditional Panjabi literature is
similarly written by saints and is of a metaphysical and philosophical
nature.

Important works in Brij Basha are:

- *Vinaya Patrika* by Tulsidas
- *Sur Sagar* by Surdas
- *Buddha Chirt* by Acharya Ram Chandra Shukla
- *Sufi Poetry* by Amir Khusro.

2.2.B.(ii) Different views on its naming:

“By Braj Basha is meant the dialect which is being spoken in
Braj-Pradesh (Braj-region). Braj Basha and Braj Sanskriti is being
read in that particular region or land or area which was being termed in
earlier times as Braj Pradesh”. (Suman,1966:156)

In the subsequent history of the Aryan spoken dialects and the
literary languages which grew out of them, the Midland and the West
and North-west have a predominant position. Sauraseni Prakrit, with
Mathura as its centre, is looked upon as the most elegant of Prakrits or
later Middle Indo-Aryan speeches: and Sauraseni is but an ancient
form of Braj-bhakha, the present day language of Mathura, a sister and a former rival of Hindustani. All cultured classes when not habitually speaking Sanskrit are made to speak saurseni in the Sanskrit drama side by side with sauraseni, another Prakrit appears to have had some predominance. This is maharashtri regarded as the dialect current in the Maharashtra tract, which ultimately became Marathi. But it has been suggested, against this current view, that Maharashtri was not connected with the Maratha country or with Marathi, but it was just the speech of the Midland, one stage younger than sauraseni (c.f. “Maharashtri a later phase of sauraseni”, by Manmohan Gosh, the paper referred to p.91 ante). This statement appears revolutionary, but it would seem that vararuci, the prakrit Grammarian, C. 400 A.D., described only the speech called Prakrta (in the narrow sense of the term-'the vernacular' par excellence) which was his sauraseni, and this speech was in verarui time already in the second MIA. Stage were dropped, then some later hand added to vararuci’s Prakrta-Prakasa a spurious chapter on sauraseni, purporting to give the characteristics of this dialect as belonging to an earlier phase at par with Magadhi. This view deserves full consideration. If it is correct, then we would have the so-called Maharashtri Prakrit as an intermediate stage between sauraseni Prakrit and sauraseni Apabharamsa; and this would establish a continuity of the importance of the Midland speech throughout the first millennium A.D., and even
before as Pali (centuries B.C.) śauraseni Prakrit (early centuries of the Christian era), 'Prakṛta' in the narrow sense, the so-called Maharastri (c. 400 A.D.) an śauraseni Apabhr̥amsa (the rest of this millennium). The Midland formed the heart and hub of India; the dwellers there held the strings of Indian. Brahmanical culture, as it were, and the prestige of the Midland as the sacred land par excellence of Hindudom was admitted everywhere. Brahmavarta, the ara of Kurushetra, the tract between the sacred streams, saraswati and Drishadava, and Brahmarmish-desa or the Doab between the Ganga and the Yamuna both are in the Midland. Paramount empires both in tradition and history has their centre in the Midland or contiguous tracts in Aryavarta. The Midland people too, prided upon their urbanity and their preeminence in culture: witness, for instance, the śloka in the Manu-samhita (3rd Century, A.C.).

\[ \text{etad} - \text{deśa- pra su tasya sa kaśad a-jan manah/} \]

\[ \text{svam svam caritam sik seran prthi vyamsarva-manavaha/} \]

'From the first born ones i.e. Brahmans of this land, let all men in the world learn their own ways of life', witness also the line of the anonymous Sanskrit verse, quoted with approval by Raja – Se Khara (C. 900 A.D.) in his Kavya mimani sa- yo madhye madhya – deśamnivasati, sa ka vih sarva bhasa- nisannah.
‘He who lives in the heart of the Midland is a poet, established in all the speeches.’

Next, after śauraseni (including the so-called Maharashtri), comes western Apabhramśa a great literary language used in the courts of the Rajput princes of Northern India for some centuries immediately before the Turki conquest of North India, which was in general employment from Maharashtra to Bengal: Verses composed by Bengal poets and poets from practically the whole of Northern India in this speech have been discovered. Western Apabhramśa therefore is the immediate predecessor, and partly the ancestor of Braj- Bhakha and Hindusthani.

Braj- Bhakha, as the direct descendant of śauraseni Prakrit, the most elegant prakrit of the centuries immediately following Christ, became the dominant literary dialect in the Upper Ganges Valley, and the most cultivated; and the Muhammadan aristocracy of Northern India also felt its charm and came under its sway. Delhi Hindusthani had at first very little chance against Braj-Bhakha: but little by little it came to the forefront, and gradually it became the queen among its force its sister dialects (and even some of its sister-speeches) to give way to it entirely, themselves retiring into the back-ground of oblivion.
In the other names in which this dialect is also known as ‘Antarvedi’. People sometimes in confusion consider it as ‘Braj Buli’ which is not correct or appropriate for it.

2.2.C. Hariyanavi

2.2.C.(i) View Point regarding its naming

Haryanavi or Jatu or Bangaru is a dialect of Hindi language, spoken in the North Indian State of Haryana, and also is Delhi particularly by Jats.

Haryanvi is usually classified as a dialect of Hindi, and not as a separate language; it has many similarities with khariboli (the prestige dialect of Hindi), and has plenty of words in it. It can be considered as a variation of the early Khadi Boli. Hindi speakers consider it to have a somewhat harsh tone. The literature is almost insignificant, but there are a lot of folk songs available.

Haryanvi dialects have lots of variation, sometimes the dialects vary from village to village which may be few kilometers apart and there may not be any geographical barrier separating them.

2.2.C.(ii) Some special features of the Haryanvi (Bangaru) dialect

It may be said that the Rajasthani dialects agree with the Braj-Bhakha group of Pachhanha is being au or –o dialects (e.g. mharobeto a yo, or a yo – do). Whereas the Panjab dialects are –a dialects like
‘vernacular Hindustani’ and Bangaru (e.g., mera betta [putt or puttar] aea; Hindi us ne mera kaha na mana, in Panjabi os mera akkhea na man e a; (ii) the Braj Bhakha group have forms like ta, wa, ya, ja, ka for the oblique of the various pronouns, whereas the other group has forms like tis, us, is, jis, kis: Panjabi agrees with the ‘vernacular Hindustani’ group in this matter (e.g. is or cs. Os, jis, kis). There are some other points of difference but the above are the most noteworthy. Then, again, it must be mentioned that the Panjabi dialects, whether of Eastern Panjab, or Western Panjab, still preserve the double consonants and the short vowels of Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit and Apabharisa): e.g. Panjabi Kamm ‘work’, wicc ‘within’, camm. ‘skin’, hatth ‘hand’ sacc ‘true’, cand ‘moon, makkhan ‘butter’, etc., whereas the Braj Bhakha group of Pachhanha prefers the characteristic, common to New Indo-Aryan, of one consonant with a long vowel, e.g., Kam, bic, cam, hath, sac (sac), cad, makhani. Normally, Hindusthani (High Hindi, Urdu) should have forms with one consonant preceded by a long vowel: e.g. aj <aija<adya, hath <hattha<hasta, câd <canda <candra, Kām < Kamma< Karma, bā t < vatta < vārtā, Old Hindi sad a <sadda, šabda, etc. But we have quite a number of words in Hindustani which show a short vowel to short or single consonant. These words are properly against the spirit of Hindi or Hindustani, and are to be explained as the result of Panjabi influence. Thus Panjabi sacc influenced or gave the Hindustani sac (instead of sac or sac
which is found dialectally), Kall influenced kal (rather than Kal which is found as a dialectal form in Hindustani), natth influenced nath, sabb helped to establish sab, ratti a red berry’ gave Hindi ratti (instead of rati) etc. There has been generally a tacit acceptance of Panjabi lead or superiority in this matter, that is why a Panjabi pronunciation was thought to be elegant it is so even now, through many will not accept such a suggestion: in the olden days, it also reminded one of the Apabhramsa double consonants and short vowels—and in India conservatism in language has always a charm with even the masses. Bangaru leans to towards the Panjab dialects in preferring double consonants, and ‘vernacular Hindustani’ hesitates in this matter— it present a conflict of tendencies.

Delhi, within Bangaru dialect area, is almost at the junction of Braj-Bhakha, Rajasthani ‘vernacular Hindustani’ and Bangaru tracts; and somehow through an initial Panjabi-cum-Bangaru and ‘Vernacular Hindustani’ influence it would seem—the new speech that grew up in Delhi was based on an-ā dialect, not on an-au or – o dialect. It is not necessary to go into this question in detail now. Suffice it to say that a new form of North Indian speech, on the basis of the Eastern Panjab and Western Uttar Pradesh dialects, come into prominence from after the foundation of a Muhammadan ruling house in Northern India, in Delhi. Although a daughter of the house, at first it was a neglected child: it was treated as waif, by both the Muhammadan ruling
communities of Delhi and their Hindu subjects. The former affected Persian for literary purposes, Persian which was partly the inheritance (of Indianised foreign Muhammadans) and partly the cultural language of adoption (of Islamised Indians who formally affiliated themselves to their conquerors and rulers as their clients received toleration and support from them as their co-religionists.

This dialect is also be known in the names of ‘Hariyani’ or ‘Jatu’. Dr. Hardev Bahri has considered its names’ derivation from ‘Ahīr’ as ‘Hariyani’.

Aahir jha heer (mukh-sukh) + ānā (Sthanwachak Pratyay) jha hariyan a jha hariyani.

He considers it as to be the dialect of ‘Ahir’ community. Here the number of Jats is very high i.e. why it is also be termed or renamed as ‘jatu’ Dr. Grierson has discussed two more names for this as ‘Campha’ (Camāri) and Deshari. But these names are not been accurate and are not been confirmed with full logic. These names with caste wise distribution has only a part of indication to this language or dialect.

According to its region it is more appropriate to say it as ‘Hariyani’.
2.2.C.(iii) Region

Today this dialect has been spoken in Hariyana and Delhi Pradesh. In this the districts of Rohtak and Karnal, the headquarter of Jind, eastern Hissar and south-eastern part of Patiala are included.

In the south west Marwari – Rajasthani, North-West Panjabi, and eastern part lies, khariboli (Kauravi) of Bangaru and that too their boundaries touch it. This is the reason why the impact of Panjabi, Rajasthani and Khari Boli is being viewed clearly on the dialect.

2.2.D Bundeli

Bundeli is a western Hindi language (often considered a dialect of Hindi) spoken in the Bundelkhand region of Madhya Pradesh and in Uttar Pradesh:

- Jhansi, Lalitpur, Hamirpur, Banda, Jalaun.
- Panna, Chhatarpur, Sagar, Damoh, Guna, Vidisha, Datia.

Bundelkhandi is related to Braj Bhasha, which was the literary language in north India until the 19th century. Bundelkhand literature includes:

- Alha-Khand
- Bhaddari’s Verses
2.2.D.(i) Naming

Bundeli or Bundelkhandi derives its name from Bundelkhand, the land of the Bundelas, a region extending south of the river Yamuna in the plains, hills and picturesque valleys of Central India. The word 'Bundela' refers to a clan of Rajputs, the distinguished martial tribe of Rajasthan.

What seems to be most suggestive in the name of 'Bundelkhand' is due to the Bundela kings who founded and ruled unchecked over various states of this territory ever since the glory of the Chandelas has come to its end in the fourteenth century, the time when Bundeli was slowly emerging as a modern vernacular from the contemporary form of Apabhramśa.

In Bundelkhand a verse in very often quoted by the proud native Bundelas in praise of their invincible hero Chhatrasala (18th Century A.D.):

It a Jamunā uta Narmadā, Uta Cambalaita Taūsa, Chatrasāla sō
larana ki rahi na kahu hoūsa.

"Here is Yamunā and there the Narmadā, here is chambal and there the Taūsa. None has the courage (in this arena) to fight against Chatrasala".
The Bundeli region is as large as that of Hindusthani, Braja and Kanauji put together, i.e. it occupies half the western Hindi region with an area of about 27000 sq. miles, equal to the size of Switzerland and Belgium put together. During the last fifteen years since its independence many changes have taken place in the territorial composition of India. Principalities have completely disappeared. Fully independent states have been reorganized on a linguistic basis. According to the present state of affairs Bundeli is spoken in the following districts of the Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra states.

and Balaghat and in north eastern Maharashtra, such as Nagpur and Chanda. There people speak some kind of Bundeli amongst themselves along with the main local dialect, for instance the Lodhis of the Balaghat district. According to the 1951 census the total number of Bundeli speakers is approximately eleven million which is about three million less than the joint population of all the above mentioned districts. These three million people form the population of the non Bundeli parts of those districts which are bi-lingual or multi-lingual, as mentioned above, the word ‘partly’ being in brackets.

2.2.D.(ii) Forms of Bundeli:

Grierson in his LSI (Vol. IX, Part I) distinguishes about twenty different forms of Bundeli. In view of the number of existing districts in Bundelkhand it is rather an unusually large number. The main reason behind these ever changing forms from district to district is the geographical position of Bundelkhand itself. Being in the centre it became a meeting point between north and south, east and west.

Basing ourselves on the LSI (Vol IX, Part I) the following forms of Bundeli may be distinguished.

i. **Standard Bundeli:** The dialect spoken in central Bundelkhand is considered the standard and purest form of Bundeli.
ii. **Khatola**: The Bundeli spoken in the Panna (MP) and Chhatarpur (MP) districts is locally called Khatola but is practically the same as the standard Bundeli of the neighbouring areas. The number of speakers is about one and a half million.

iii. **Lōdhāntī or Rāthōrā**: In a small region covered by the Urai division of the Jalaun district, the Rātha division and parts of the north-western Hamirpur district, the Bawan Chaurasi, Sarila and Jagni areas of the Chhatarpur district a dialect is spoken, called Lōdhāntī often Lōdhā.

iv. **Pāvārī**: This form of Bundeli derives its name from Pāvāra of Paramāra a renowned clan of Rajputs living in the Datia (MP) district, the border areas of the Datia and Gwalior districts and the Bhandār division of Gwalior.

v. **Banāphārī**: It is form of dialect of Bundeli which derives its name from Banaphar, a Rajput tribe inhabiting the region covering the Ajāigarh, Dharampur, Beri, Gaurihar and Naigwan areas of the Panna district, the Chandala and Lauri areas of the Chhatarpur district, some portions of the south-eastern district of Hamirpur and Western parts of the Nagod and Maihar divisions of the satna (MP) district which belong to the Bagheli speaking area.
vi. **Kundri**: It is spoken in the small north-east corner of the Hamirpur district by about 15000 people living on the left bank of the river Ken and a few thousand more on its right bank in the Banda (U.P.) district.

vii. **Nibhatta**: In the district of Jalaun also a kind of mixture of Bundeli and Bagheli is spoken which locally is called Nibhatta.

viii. **Bhadauri** or Tōvaragarhi: On either side of the Chambal river lives a Rajput clan called Bhadavar.

ix. **Lodhi**: This is a rather strange mixture of many dialects and languages spoken by a small community of farmers called Lodhi who immigrated to the southern regions of the Bundeli area, a century ago, from the north.

x. **Bundeli** Sub-dialects of Chhindwara: Chhindwa is a multilingual dialect.

xi. **The so-called Nagpuri ‘Hindi’**: In the great plains of Nagpur (Maharastra) a number of scattered tribes speak an interesting form of Bundeli which is locally known as Hindi.

xii. **Three Caste-dialects of Chhindawara**: There are three small communities of Gaoli, Raghobansi and Kirari casts living in
the Chhindwa district besides speakers of other forms Kosti and Kumbhara.

xiii. Kōstī-Kōstī is the name of a tribe of silk weavers who inhabit the districts of Chhindawa, Chanda, Bhandara, Akola (M) and Buldhana (M). They all speak the same form of Budeli which is called kosti.

xiv. Kumbhari: The Kumbhārā tribe of potters speaks its own dialect in various districts of Madhya Pradesh and Mahārāṣṭra like Kōstī it is difficult to identify this dialect.

2.2.E Kanauji

Kanauji is a language (or dialect) of India, with about 6 million speakers in the Kanauj area of Uttar Pradesh. Kanauji is closely related to Hindi, and some consider it to be a dialect of Hindi, while other consider it a separate western Hindi language. Kanauji has two dialects or variants of its own: Tirhari and Transitional Kanauji, which is between Kanauji and Awadhi.

Kanauji is being used in the 6 districts of Uttar Pradesh – Etawah, Farrukhabad, Kanpur, Shahjhanpur, Hardoi and Pilibhit. It is surrounded by Braj, Bundeli Awadhi, Khari Boli, Kumaoni, and Nepali. Sufficient amount of folk-literature is available in it. On the basis of research works many regional variations (or dialects) were found.
According to 1991 census there are one crore and fifty lakh speakers of this particular dialect of Western Hindi.

2.2.E.(i) Some special features of this dialect are as follows

i. Phonetic or Phonological level

(a) /r/ is used in place of /I/ and /r/. for example - /ta:ro/, /pi:ro/, /ka:ro/, /sa:ro/, /bhoror/ etc.

(b) In the word final position the aspirated consonants and vowel medial position becomes unaspirated usually. e.g. /ha:t/ (ha:th), /du:d/ (du:dh), /jā:g/ (jā:gh), /bhū:k/ (bhu:kh) etc.

(c) /u/ and /u/ are produced as short and murmuring form at the word final position. e.g. /da:ri/ (da:l), /la:ti/ (la:t), /ā:khi/, /ka:nu/, /petu/, /ra:mu/, /gharu/ etc.

(d) Nasalization could be pronounced freely. e.g. /hā:t/ (ha:th), /kā:nu/ (ka:n), /bhū:ko/, /bā:ki/ (šeš), /čā:ri/ (ča:r) etc.

ii. Word level

(a) a: ending words are been converted into o- ending e.g. /ta:ro/, /kā:to/, /sa:ro/, /baro/ etc.

(b) "lērika:/lora:" are the own word of kanauji.

(c) kā:to word is also of this dialect.
(d) /piːro/ is also of this dialect and is found in other dialects as /piːla/.

(e) "cbina:/cəlbo" are verbal noun forms /na/ or /bo/ suffixes, when conjoined with other roots, than other verbal nouns are formed as e.g. ghuːmno/ghuːmbo, uthno/uthbo, bɔntno/bɔntbo, aːno/aːbo, khaːno/ khaːbo etc.

iii. Grammatical level

(a) On joining the /an/ vibhakti with noun words than plural inflected forms (with which are casual forms are joined) are formed. e.g. leriken, gheren, baːtan, kəːten, kitaːben, ghorin etc.

(b) on joining the /et/etu" vibhakti the progressive present tense forms are formed. e.g. cəlet/cəletu, maːret/ maːetu, aːṭ/atu, khaːt/ khaːtu etc.

(c) /o/ vibhakti on joining it forms progressive past tense form. It is changeable according to gender and number. e.g. cəlo (cəli, cəle), likho (likhi, likhe) khaːo (khai, khaːe) aːo (aːi, aːe) etc.

(d) həto/to/ho are past tense helping verbs. Its regional variations are found. They are also changeable according to gender and number. e.g. ek ghoraːhəto, ek ghora həti, kəi ghore həte, ek dhobi to, ek dhobin ti, kəiː dhobi te, ek bhaiː ho, ek bəhinihi, kəiː bhaiː he.
(e) On joining go/ihe- vibhakti is future tense progressive tense are formed. /go/ vibhakti is variated according to gender and number. e.g. čelego (čelegi, čelege), ja:vego (ja:vegi, ja:vège), čelihе, ma:rihе, kha:ihе etc.