0 - INTRODUCTION

0.1 The Panjab and Panjabi

The Panjabi language takes its name from the Panjab, the Land of the Five Rivers, now divided into two parts - East Panjab or Indian Panjab, and West Panjab or Pakistani Panjab. The word "Panjab" is a compound of two Persian words /p5jj/ (five) and /ab/ (water or river). Since Persian came to our country with the Muslim rulers of India, it is evident that these names gained currency only after the Muslim rule was established, though it is not yet finally settled, when these words appeared for the first time.

0.1.1 The Panjab

That the word "Panjab" was in use before the Mughal period is certain. It is quite frequently employed by Emperor Jahangir in his autobiography Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, and by Abul Fazl in his Akbarnama and Ain-i-Akbari. "Panjab" also appears at a number of places in Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi by Abbas Khan Sarwani. This Tarikh (historical account) was

1. Died A.D. 1627.
2. Abul Fazl was a renowned scholar in the court of Akbar who ruled from 1556 to 1605.
completed in the reign of Akbar, but it can safely be assumed from various narrations therein that "Panjab" was a well established name during Sher Shah's rule.

Tarikh-i-Akbari by Nizam-ud-din Ahmad has been accepted by J. Dowson as "an authentie book on history of this period." Here the author gives details of the distribution of the empire of Babur amongst his four sons:

"The territories were then divided. Mirza Hindal received the district of Mewat in Jagir. The Panjab, Kabul and Kandhar were settled as the Jagir of Mirza Kamran...."

Jahangir has briefly narrated the history of his ancestors in the opening chapter of his Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri. While writing about Babur he has repeatedly mentioned Daulat Khan Lodhi as Governor of Panjab, under Ibrahim Lodhi and later under Babur himself.

1. Died A.D. 1546.
2. Tarikh-i-Akbari, English translation by Elliot and Dowson, P. 14.
It is evident from these writings that the name "Panjab" was current before the Mughal period. The first hitherto known use of this name occurs in Kitabur Rahlah of Ibn Batuta, who came to India in A.D. 1333. Since the sound 'p' does not exist in Arabic, Batuta, who was born to this language, writes "Banjab" instead of "Panjab". But here "Banjab" stands for "five rivers" and not for the province of the Panjab.

Again, "Panjab" appears in Tuzuk-i-Taimuri which is an autobiography of Taimur, because it was written as directed or, rather, as dictated by him. Here, too, "Panjab" means "five rivers" only:

"The river passes on and joins the Chanab above Multan. The united waters pass below Multan and then join the Ravi. The river Bayah comes down through another part and joins them, and the three united rivers fall into the Sind or Indus in the neighbourhood of Uch. All these (united) rivers are called the Sind or the Panjab, and the river falls into the Persian Gulf near Thatta...."3

1. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, P. 43.
2. Jhelum.
3. Tuzuk-i-Taimuri, English translation by Chapman and Dowson, P.91.
The use of the word "Panjab" for "five rivers" is evidently a literal translation of "Panjnad", the word which existed long before the arrival of the Muslim invaders, and is used, even today, for the united waters of the five rivers, Sutlej, Bias, Ravi, Chanab and Jhelum, up to their point of confluence with the Indus.

It is, thus, clear that "Panjab," as a name for the five rivers, was in use in the fourteenth century and that it originated as a translation of the native word "Panjnad."

Again, in ancient times, "Panjnad" (tatsama-Panchnada) was also the name for the land of the same five rivers, and it is used in this sense, in the Ramayana the Mahabharata and Rajatarangini. However, on the basis of the available data, it is not possible to confirm whether "Panjnad" (or Panchnada), as a name for this territory, was in use till the time of the Muslim invasions. Similarly, it cannot be confirmed that "Panjab" was the name of this part of the country towards the close of the fourteenth century when Taimur invaded India. But it is

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1. The Survey of India maps give the same name, "Panjnad," for this part of the stream.

certain that the "Panjab" was called "Panjab" towards the end of the fifteenth century, i.e., during the Lodhi period.

0.1.2 Panjabi

During which period the language of the Panjab began to be called "Panjabi", is an even more difficult problem to solve. The early Muslim writings are of a political, or to some extent, of religious nature. We, therefore, can find names of provinces, of towns of political or religious significance, of states and their rulers, but there are very few references to the languages of the country. All the Indian languages were "Zaban-i-Hindi", or the Indian tongue, for the foreigners. Alberuni, who was in India from A.D.1027 to A.D. 1029, repeatedly refers to different Indian languages as "Alhindia;" i.e. Indian language. Jahangir, in his Tuzuk, very often uses "Zaban-i-Hindi," but occasionally calls the languages after the names of the tribes speaking them, such as "Zaban-i-Jattan," 'the tongue of the Jatts;' "Zaban-i-Khokharan,"

1. Alberuni has given a list of some words from "Alhindia". A great many of these words belong to Multani or Sindhi. Examples - /bark&/ (first), /bia/ (second), /tr&/ (three), /nag/ (snake), /bha/ (fire).
'the language of the Khokhars', etc. Amir Khusro\textsuperscript{1} provides a list of the then-known languages of the sub-continent. They are: Sindhi, Lahori, Kashmiri, Dhur Samundar, Tilang, Gujrat, Ma-bar, Gaur, Bengal, Audh and Delhi. Lahori, in this list, is the name for Panjabi.

Abul Fazl gives a similar list in his \textit{Ain-i-Akbari}. Here Sindhi, Multani, Bengali, etc., are given after the names of the provinces, but Panjabi (or Lahori) is missing, though we have seen in the preceding pages that the province of Panjab was called with this name (Panjab) in the empire of Akbar, and the same writer, i.e., Abul Fazl, has quite often used this word in his writings.

It appears that the modern convention of allotting a fixed name to a particular language was not followed in medieval India, and the Muslim rulers, who always considered themselves as foreigners and superior to the subject races, did not worry much about distinguishing between different languages and dialects of the inhabitants. Nor was there much necessity for it. Even Braj Basha, which was then a well-developed language with rich literature\textsuperscript{2}, was

\textsuperscript{1} Fourteenth century.
\textsuperscript{2} Sur Das, the immortal poet of Braj Bhasha, was a contemporary of Akbar.
called only Bhakha, or Bhasha, meaning 'language.'
No doubt, many Sufi poets had adopted local tongues 
as vehicles of poetic expression and in some of the 
modern Indian languages the earliest poetry is of 
these Muslim Sufis. But they gave no designation to 
the language they used. Thus, in most cases, we 
do not find the then prevalent names of the different 
languages of India in the writings of these Sufis.

There are, however, some casual references in 
these writings, on the basis of which it can be proved 
that the language of the Panjab was known as Panjabi 
in the beginning of the sixteenth century, if not 
earlier. The earliest mention of it that I have come 
across is in the Fazil Shareh Akhravat by Malik 
Muhammad Jaisi. This work was completed in the reign 
of Babur or Sher Shah Suri. While trying to justify 
the use of Hindi (Awadhi) for his verse, Jaisi cites 
the examples of earlier Sufis who had used Indian 
languages for their poetry. In this context he states 
that Shaikh Farid, known as Ganj Shakar, had also 
composed verse in Hindi and Panjabi:

/bb bd azd hazzat xfajh gjj-l-plkar dwr 
zoban-l-hlddi va p:jabi bze az lgar 
nzm fcrmduh/

(after that His Holiness Khwaja Ganj Shakar
The Hindi verse of Sunder Das of Rajasthan (Died A.D. 1589) has recently been published. It contains eight stanzas in Panjabi, under the heading "Panjabiashtik," or Eight Stanzas in Panjabi. The same word "Panjabiashtik" is put at the end as well. This shows that the name "Panjabi" for the language of the Panjab was well established by that time, i.e. later half of the sixteenth century.

In the literature of the language itself we find the word "Panjabi" used for the first time by Hafiz Barkhurdar, a contemporary of Aurangzeb, in his Jangnama. Here the poet uses this word in one of his couplets:

\[ t\text{Urt pajabi akh s\text{u}nai je k\text{Ui} hove m\text{ail}/ \]

(I, presently, composed this Panjabi verse for anyone who may have a liking for it.)

Thus it can safely be accepted that the language of the Panjab was called "Panjabi" in the sixteenth century. It is, however, quite possible that this name might have originated earlier than the sixteenth century. Other names for this language, such as Lahori, Multani and Zaban-i-Jattan or Jataki also remained in use till the end of the Mughal rule.

1. Quoted by Maulvi Abdul Haq in Urdu Ki Ibtidai Nashv-o-nama men Sufia-i-Karam Ka Kam, P.88.
2. Emperor of India 1658-1707.
Some distinctive characteristics of Panjabi

We shall, now, discuss some important characteristics of Panjabi, on the basis of which it can be distinguished from the neighbouring languages.

(i) The most conspicuous peculiarity of Panjabi is the form of its present participle (imperfect participle) which contains significant sound /d/ : -/kōṛda/ (doing), /jāda/ (going), /khāda/ (eating) etc. The significant sound in W. Hd. and Rajasthani is /t/, and the above given present participles are /kāṛta/, /jāta/, /khāta/ or /kāṛto/, /jāto/, /khāto/ respectively, in these dialects. Sindhi pr. part. also contains /d/, but the form is different from Panjabi, it has in most cases, the ending /-do/, preceded by a nasalized vowel. Thus Sindhi pr. part. is /pāṛhōdo/, for Pb. /pāṛhāda/ (reading), and /kōṛhōdo/, for Pb. /kārdā/ (doing).

(ii) Again, Pb. has /d/- base postposition of genitive. Unlike other postpositions, this one is inflected to agree, in gender, number and case, with the following noun. Thus /da/ (of) (masc. sing.) has other forms -/dādiā die dīo dio/.
Hindi and Rajasthani have /k/-base postposition, as /ka ke ki/ or /ko/, /kə/, /kera/ etc.

(iii) Panjabi has peculiar forms of first and second person plural pronouns. Unlike other N.I.A. languages, most of which have /m/ as characteristic sound in these pronouns, Panjabi has /s/-base pronouns, though the forms may be slightly different: /əsə/, /tussə/ in Ld.; and /ṣsə/, /tussə/ or /əsə/, /tyseə/ in Dogri.

All dialects of Ph. contain this /s/-base pronouns, though the forms may be slightly different: /əssə/, /tussə/ in Ld.; and /ṣsə/, /tussə/ or /əsə/, /tyseə/ in Dogri.

In this case again, Sindhi is, to some extent, nearer to Ph., because it has /əsə/ for ‘we’.

(iv) The infinitive in Pb. has, mostly, the termination /-na/, while in Hd. and most other Indian languages the nasal before the final vowel is /n/, and not /n/. In Pb. we have /jana/ (to go), /khana/ (to eat), /dhona/ (to wash), but in Hd. these infinitives are:

1. Only after /r/, /ɾ/ and /n/ the ending is /-na/, in all other cases it is /-na/.
/jana/, /khana/ and /dhona/ respectively. Again, many other verbal forms which contain /n/ in Pb., have /n/ in Hd. The Pb. forms /jañ dlo/ (let him go), /khañ nal/ (by eating), /dhone pala/ (is soaked for washing), will be /jane do/, /khane se/, /dhone ke lie dala/ respectively in Hd. /n/, in fact, occurs much more frequently in Pb., than in Hd., Rajasthani etc. Apart from different verbal forms it is obtainable in other parts of speech: /pani/ (water), /mān/ (maund, a measure of weight), /kañ/ (one eyed), /sane/ (alongwith), /hun/ (now) are a few examples. This sound has prominent position in Pb. pronunciation. A Panjabi brings in /n/ even when he speaks Hd., and he will, quite unconsciously, say /mā ne jana tha/, in place of the actual Hd. /mā ne jana tha/ (I had to go).

(v) The geminates preceded by a peri-vowel in the words like /hōtth/ (hand), /kōmm/ (work), /kōnn/ (ear), /sōtt/ (seven) present another important, and very striking, peculiarity of Pb. These words have developed from Sk. /hōstē/,
/kærmə/, /kærə/, /sæpta/ respectively, by eliding the first of the conjuncts and doubling the second. In Hd. and most other N.I.A. languages the form of such words is /hath/, /kam/, /kan/ and /sat/ respectively.

Panjabi, in this case, is preserving a very old form, almost all Pb. words of this type existed in Prakrita, in their present form; even certain words of Pali had forms similar to Pb. words of this category:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pali</th>
<th>Panjabi</th>
<th>Hindi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/hātth/</td>
<td>/hōtth/</td>
<td>/hath/ (hand)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pītth/</td>
<td>/pītth/</td>
<td>/pīth/ (back)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dētā/</td>
<td>/dēdd/</td>
<td>/dēt/ (tooth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pāc/</td>
<td>/pājj/</td>
<td>/pāc/ (five)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sōtt/</td>
<td>/sōtt/</td>
<td>/sat/ (seven)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ātth/</td>
<td>/ātt/</td>
<td>/āth/ (eight)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All dialects of Pb. strictly adhere to this form and numerous words of this category are available in Pb. vocabulary.

(vi) In Pb. the adj. agrees, in gender, number and

1. This is the quality of tadbhava adj., which terminate in /-a/ (masc., sig.). Adjs. with other endings cannot be declined; detailed discussion in 2.3.2.
case, with the noun it qualifies. Thus /kaḷa/ (black) will have the following forms, in different grammatical situations:

- /kaḷa kora/ (a black horse)
- /kaḷi kori/ (a black mare)
- /kaḷe kore/ (black horses)
- /kaḷiā koriā/ (black mares)
- /kallā koriā/ (o black horse)
- /kallē korie/ (o black mare)
- /kallō korio/ (o black horses)
- /kallō korio/ (o black mares)
- /kallā koriā/ (black horses, obl.)

In no other Indo-Aryan language adj. has all these declensions.

(vii) The verb in Pb. agrees, in gender and number, with the subject, (or with the object in the past indefinite of the transitive verbs). Thus we have /khaḍa/ (eating) (masc. sing.) /khaḍe/ (masc. pl.), /khaḍi/ (fem. sing.), /khaḍiā/ (fem. pl.), W. Hd. has first three forms only, fem. sing. and fem. pl. have the same verbal form /khati/.

It is evident from the forms given above
that Pb. has uniform rules, and even uniform endings, for inflections of nouns, adjectives and verbs. These strictly systematic inflections present a geometrical pattern of the language.

These are some of the important peculiarities of Pb. Further details concerning these, and other characteristics, will be discussed at relevant places.

0.3 The dialects of Panjabi

A reference to the controversy about the status of Ld. may be essential before going into the details of dialects of Pb. Some European and Indian scholars have accepted Ld. as an independent language; they do not treat it as a dialect of Pb. Their opinion, in all cases, however, is not based on independent research. Many of these writers have simply accepted the views of others without trying to go into the merits of the case. Some of these authors have, even, quietly followed Dr. Grierson, in giving this dialect a masculine name - "Lannda" (or Lahnda, in Grierson's spellings). Grierson knew the inconsistency and has even tried to explain out the error, but some Hindi and Panjabi writers have also used the same word - "Lahnda", in spite of the apparent oddity of this

1. Spellings discussed in §2§.
masculine form of the title for a language which is feminine in Hindi as well as in Panjabi.

The position of Ld. vis-à-vis Pb. is, however, discussed in a separate chapter (5.3); for the present I proceed further accepting the hypothesis that Ld. is a dialect of Pb.

We, then, have the following three dialects of Pb.—

(i) Western Panjabi or Lanhdi
(ii) Eastern Panjabi or Purbi Panjabi
(iii) Northern Panjabi or Dogri

Introductory information about these dialects is given below.

0.3.1 Lanhdi

Lanhdi is the language of the West Panjab. The word "Lanhdi" means the language of the West. Of all the dialects of Pb. Lanhdi is spoken over the largest area. Its boundaries extend beyond the river Sutlej in the south-east and much beyond the Indus in the west.

As maintained by Sir Grierson, it was impossible

1. Pronounced as /lædi/ by Mj. speakers.
2. Some people prefer calling it "Kendri Panjabi" or Central Panjabi.
to draw a boundary between E. Pb. and Ld. before partition of the Panjab. But the situation is vastly changed now. It can safely be assumed that the language of the Pakistani Panjab is predominantly Ld. and that of the Indian Panjab is E. Pb. The influence of E. Pb. may be neutralised in Pakistani Panjab in about a century, and hardly any trace of Ld. will be left in the Indian Panjab after two generations. Ld. speaking Hindus and Sikhs who have migrated from West Pakistan and have settled in the towns and villages of the Indian Panjab, are fast changing over to the eastern dialects. The language of the new generation of the refugees is much nearer to E. Pb. than it is to Ld.

0.3.1.1 Sub-dialects of Lahndi

There are divergent views about the sub-dialects of Ld. In the introductory chapter of the Linguistic Survey of India, Sir O. Grierson describes only "two main groups" of Ld. He states:

"The number of dialects of Ld. is very great, some twenty are counted in the survey. They fall into two main groups, a southern and a northern, the dividing line being the southern face of the Salt Range."1

But in vol. VIII of the Survey in which Ld. is discussed in detail, he (Grierson) counts three main dialects: Southern or Standard Lahnda, North Eastern Lahnda and North Western Lahnda.

Professor Gurdit Singh Premi, in his article "Jhangi Jan Jangli" accepts only one Northern Ld., but subdivides the Southern into two: "Jhangi" and "Multani."

Dr. Hardev Bahri, who has to his credit valuable research work on Ld., covers the whole Southern group under one heading "Multani," while writing on this dialect in one of his articles.¹

I am of the opinion that Grierson's statement "two main groups of Lahnda" is more appropriate. Ld. has only two sub-dialects: Northern and Southern, popularly known as "Pothohari" and "Multani" respectively. There are, of course, many local forms of speech, like Hindko, Dhami, Awankari, Jhangi etc., but these could be included in one of the above two—"Pothohari" or "Multani."

Pothohari and Multani are treated, by some writers, as separate dialects of Pb., but these two forms of speech have so much in common that they

cannot be accepted as being two entirely different dialects.

Professor Premi, who prefers to separate Jhangi from Multani, has not tried to elaborate his contention. The difference in a few morphological forms is not sufficient to establish separate identity of a dialect. I agree with Dr. Hardev Bahri in accepting Jhangi and Multani under the same heading "Multani." Jhangi is only a form of Multani.

Again, there is not sufficient linguistic data available to prove Grierson's amended statement that North Eastern and North Western Lahnda are separate dialects.

0.3.1.2 Conclusion

The sum total of all this discussion is:

(i) Lanhdí is a dialect of Panjabi (discussed in chapter 5 of this treatise).

(ii) It has two sub-dialects: Northern and Southern.

(iii) Northern and Southern La. are popularly known as "Pothohari" and "Multani" respectively.

Even though these names are not very appropriate, they can be accepted because
it is better to use traditional names rather than to coin new ones.

(iv) Northern and Southern Ld. are sub-dialects of Ld. and cannot be treated as two separate dialects of Pb.

Southern Ld. or Ml. is spoken over a vast area comprising of districts of Multan, Muzaffar Garh, Dera Ghazi Khan, Jhang, Lyallpur and parts of districts Sargodha, Montgomery, Dera Ismail Khan, Mianwali and State of Bahawalpur. The influence of Ml. is conspicuous in parts of districts Shekhupura and Lahore too. But purest form of Ml. is spoken in districts of Multan, Muzaffar Garh, Dera Ghazi Khan and part of Bahawalpur state adjoining Multan district. The language of other parts is influenced to varying degrees, by Ml. in the north east, by Rajasthani in the south east (Bahawalpur state), and by Northern Ld. in the north west. For the sake of convenience I have called Multani proper "Lower Multani" and the rest of Southern Ld., that is the language of Jhang, Lyallpur, Montgomery, etc. "Upper Multani."

0.3.2 Eastern Panjabi

The language of the East Panjab, which alone has been accepted by Dr. Grierson, as Panjabi, (with
Dogri as its dialect) has various local forms. Grierson has listed Mj., Malwai, Puadhi, Doabi, Rathi and Bhatiani. I am inclined to believe that E.Pb. has only two main forms or sub-dialects: Majhi and Malwai, all other forms are slightly different forms of Malwai and can only be treated as local forms of speech, not even sub-dialects. Two of these, i.e., Rathi and Bhatiani, have no existence, now, in East Panjab. Brief introductory notes on all these are given here.

0.3.2.1 Majhi

The language of northern half of the Bari Doab, which includes district Gurdaspur (excluding tehsil Pathankot), whole of district Amritsar and northern Lahore (now in Pakistan), is Majhi proper. This word is derived from Majha, "the mid-land," which is the name given to this part of the Panjab. The standard form of Panjabi is Mj., and the purest Mj. is accepted to be the language of the villages around the town of Amritsar. This is the language of the new Panjabi literature and the same form is the official language of the newly created Panjabi speaking state.

1. The inhabitants of Majha, are called "Majhails," thus Mj. is the language of Majhails.
The language of the Northern Rachna Duab (districts Sialkot, Gujjaranwala and part of Shekhupura) was akin to Mj. There were certain local peculiarities of the language of each of these districts. Again, this tract is a meeting ground of Mj. and Ld. and therefore the language here, though nearer to Mj., has visible influence of Ld. which goes on increasing as we move west and south-west.

Naturally enough the language of these parts of the Panjab, which are now in Pakistan, is going to be dominated by Ld. in the coming years. Even by now it, certainly, differs from Mj. in vocabulary and idiom. This is due to the influence of Persian, Urdu and Lanhdij; Persian being connected with Islam, Urdu being the state language and Ld. being the nearest influential neighbour.

This brings us to the conclusion that Mj., in its present form, is, now, the language of district Amritsar and tehsils Batala and Gurdaspur of the Gurdaspur district. The language of Pathankot tehsil of the Gurdaspur district is considerably influenced by Dogri and therefore bears a few points of variance with Mj.

0.3.2.2 Malwai

According to the common belief Mw. is a separate
dialect of Pb. Again, certain writers have tried to prove Puadhi, distinct from Mw., as a dialect of Pb. It has already been mentioned that Grierson has listed Mw. and Pd. as forms of Pb. and not as its dialects. By weighing pros and cons, I have come to the conclusion that Mj. and Mw. have so much in common that they cannot be accepted as separate dialects. Differences are there, but these differences are only of sub-dialects and nothing more.

Mw. covers the whole of Panjabi speaking area east of the river Beas in the north, and the united Sutlej and Beas down south. Mw. in fact, has much larger sphere of influence as compared to Mj. which has acquired the place of pride as the standard form of Pb. The European missionaries had accepted Mw. as the standard dialect and Dr. Grierson has acknowledged it as representative form of E.Pb.

0.3.2.3 Puadhi

The position of Pd. is quite confusing. I have visited a number of places in those parts of Ambala, Rupar, Ludhiana, Patiala and Sangrur districts which form part of Puadh according to Sir Grierson, and

1. Puadhi takes its name from Puadh, which is the name given to eastern parts of the new Panjab state. There is a sense of inferiority attached to the name Puadh, according to local tradition, therefore every village tries to prove that Puadh lies much to the east, beyond its own boundary.
I have served in the Army, with people from almost all corners of Puadh; but none has so far accepted that he is a Puadhia. Again, I have consulted specimens of Pd. provided by Dr. Grierson and have also taken notes of the language of the villagers in Ambala, Rupar, Ludhiana, Patiala and Sangrur districts. On the basis of these specimens I am convinced that Pd. is not different from Mw. In a way Dr. Grierson has also accepted the same view, because he has written:

"Most western Powadhi—that spoken in the Powadh tract of Ludhiana— is almost the same as standard, and has indeed served as a foundation for most of the grammar of the language rather than Panjabi of Amritsar."

Now, the "standard Panjabi" of Grierson is the Mw. of Ludhiana in which Christian missionaries had translated the Holy Bible. Thus Pd. is nothing but a form of Mw. with a mixture of W. Hd. But all that has been called Pd. by Grierson, is certainly not such, most of it is good and pure Mw.; Pd., at the most, can be the language of the narrow strip which is the meeting place of W. Hd. and Mw. Since this extends from Ambala district down south to the corner of Hissar district, the language all along this strip cannot be very much the same; in fact

1. L.S.I., Vol. IX, Pt. 1, P. 679
the Pd. of Ambala is so much different from the Pd. of Hissar as it may not be from Mw. itself.

0.3.2.4 Duabi

Duabi is not much different from Mw. Duaba, as a proper noun, is the name given to that part of Panjab which lies between the rivers Sutlej and Beas, excluding the northern hilly area. It comprises of the districts of Jullundur, Kapurthala and Hoshiarpur. The language of Jullundur and Kapurthala has close resemblance with Mw. In Hoshiarpur the language of the northern parts is influenced by Kangri and that of western tract by Mj., in spite of this it remains nearer to Mw. than to any other form of Pb.

0.3.2.5 Rathi and Bhatiani

Rathi and Bhatiani do not exist on Indian soil now. The Muslim speakers of these two dialects have since left for Pakistan. Rathi was the language of Pachadha (or Rath) Muslims who lived on both sides of the river Ghaggar in Hissar district. These Pachadhas had settled here after leaving their original homes in Western Panjab, probably in Jhelum or Gujrat district. They were a compact community and as such could retain their original language in spite of
living in Hindi speaking area for a few centuries. Though their language was greatly influenced by the language of the locality, still it remained basically Pb.

The case of Bhatiani is different. The Bhatti Muslims did not form a majority in any locality. Their population was spread over all along the border of Panjab with Bahawalpur and Bikaner states. They had no language of their own, rather they spoke the language of the locality which was Mw. mixed with Rajasthani in the east and with Ld. in the west. Since Bhattis have left the area, their language, if it did exist as a separate dialect, is not traceable in this part now. I have travelled all along this border from Sulemanki on the Sutlej, to the Western most corners, and could find no trace of any language associated with the Bhattis.

0.3.3 Northern Panjabi or Dogri

Dr. Grierson has accepted Dogri of Jammu and Kangra as a dialect of Pb., and has included all other hill dialects of Jammu and Himachal Pradesh under the heading "Western Pahari." The main dialects included in Western Pahari are: Chambiali, Mandiali, Kului, Kiunthali, Baghati, Jaunsari, Sammauri and Bhadrawahi.
Grierson accepts influence of Pb. on most of these forms of speech, but he treats all of these as a group of Pahari dialects entirely separate from Pb.

I have consulted specimens of these tongues provided by Grierson and have also collected, independently, specimens of almost all of these. On the basis of these specimens (Grierson's and my own) I can only partially agree with the opinion of Dr. Grierson. I feel certain that some of these dialects are within the sphere of Pb. Mandiali, Kului, and Chambiali are the chief dialects which have close affinities with Pb., and they are discussed here separately.

0.3.3.1 Mandiali

Mandiali, the dialect of erstwhile state of Mandi, is not much different from Kangri and therefore it is rather surprising how it has been accepted by Dr. Grierson, separate from not only Kangri but also Pb.

Mandiali possesses almost all peculiar characteristics of Pb:

(i) It (Mandiali) has the present participle ending in /da/ as /bolda/ (speaking), /lloda/ (bringing), /radā/ (living) etc.

(ii) Personal pronouns for the first and the
second person (pl.) are /āssi/, /tūssi/. These are the forms peculiar to Panjabi.

(iii) Again, Mandiali has Pb. forms of the words /hātth/ (hand), /kōnn/ (ear), /nākk/ (nose), /kōmm/ (work) etc.

(iv) Pb. words: /ethe/ (here), /othe/ (there) /kītthe/ (where) take after Dogri in Mandiali where they are: /ītthe/, /ūtthe/, /kūtthe/. The same forms are prevalent in Dogri.

(v) Verbs like /ana/ (to come), /khaṇa/ (to eat), and some nouns like /pānī/ (water) contain cerebral /q/, which is another Pb. feature.

Mandiali, no doubt, has some peculiarities of its own, and important one being the use of /ra/, /re/, /ri/, as postpositions of genitive and also as auxiliary verbs. This peculiarity is not found even in Kangri (barring the language of the corner adjoining Mandi). Again, there is difference in vocabulary and also in some morphological forms, but these do not amount to characterising Mandiali as a separate dialect, it is only a form of Kangri and therefore, is within the Pb. family.
Kului, the language of Kulu valley, has some striking peculiarities, on the basis of which it can be accepted as an independent form of speech, out of Pb. fold. Still there is so much of Pb. character in Kului that it is preferable to treat it as a sub-dialect of Pb.

The major point that separates Kului from Pb. is vocabulary. Kului has different words even for near relations like /babu/ (father), /ya/ (mother), /betri/ (wife) etc.

Secondly, Kului differs from Pb. in certain verbal forms. /sa/, /si/ which represent the past in Pb., stand for present in Kului, in some cases. The /th/ of Hindi is used for the past in Kului, rather freely. Future is expressed by the simple method of the infinitive, but /l/ is also used to form future, as in /jala/ (will go), from the root /ja/ (go).

Again, like Mandiali /ra/, /ra/, /ri/ are used as postpositions of genitive.

But Kului possesses some very important Pb. characteristics:

(1) Pr. part. ends in /da/ as in /boluda/
(speaking), /pīda/ (drinking), /dūda/ (placing), /cārdā/ (grazing).

(ii) Kului has the peculiar Pb. form of the words: /hātth/ (hand), /kōmm/ (work), /nēkk/ (nose) etc.

(iii) Pronouns for the first and the second persons (pl.) are /əsē/, /tusē/ which are true Pb. forms.

(iv) The use of cerebral /ŋ/ in verbs and also in other words like /pānī/ (water), /nēnā/ (child), /mānū/ (man) etc. is another important Pb. feature, and in fact, Kului makes much wider use of /ŋ/, even more than Mj.


Now if we consider the points of contrast with Pb., we must accept that the difference of vocabulary is not a strong point to warrant the exclusion of a dialect from the sphere of a language. Even Kangri, which is accepted by Dr. Grierson as a dialect of Pb., has vocabulary, widely different from Pb. In fact Kangri
and Kului are much nearer to each other in vocabulary. As such Kului cannot be treated as separate from Pb. on the basis of this point alone. Similarly postpositions in Jammuali and Kangri are also different from Pb., and different from each other too, in spite of that both these dialect are within Pb.

The peculiar form of verbs in Kului is the only point which has weight. But there is so much of Panjabism in Kului that it is difficult to believe it any thing other than Pb. A few sentences of Kului are given below, from these it is evident that in spite of some peculiar features, this dialect remains a form of Pb.

/sō sābbhe sūtte de si/ (they are all asleep)
/ghorī pānī pīḍī lāgi di sa/ (the mare is drinking water)
/āsē tāmelāddu khaḍe/ (we ate three laddus)
/gā kīlle sēgge bēḍhi di sa/ (the cow is tied with a tether)

0.3.3.3 Chambiali

The case of Chambiali is different from Mandiali and Kului. Whereas these two dialects do not possess any important element which can reasonably establish their disassociation with Pb., the Chambiali has certain features which may keep it out of the Pb. family.
Here are some important points of similarity and contrast:

(a) **Points of similarity**

(i) Present participle ends in /da/ as in /bādda/ (speaking), /kūrīda/ (doing) etc.

(ii) The personal pronouns /asā/, /o/ of Chambiali are clearly and admittedly Pb. forms.

(iii) Morphological forms like /hētth/ (hand), /pīṭṭha/ (atta, flour), /nīkka/ (small), /rūkhh/ (tree) etc. have peculiar Pb. character.

(iv) The use of cerebral /n/ in verbs and other words: /ina/ (to come), /gana/ (to go), /apṇa/ (own) is another important Pb. characteristic.

(v) Declension of nouns is similar to Pb.

(b) **Points of contrast**

(i) The formation of future is strikingly at variance with Pb. The characteristic morpheme denoting future is
/−g−/ in E.Pb and /−s−/ in Ld., but in Chambialial the morpheme denoting future is /−l−/ as in /bəlūla/ (will speak).

(ii) Present and past forms of the verbs are also unfamiliar to Pb. /bɔdda/ (speaks), /bɔddath/ (spoke).

(iii) Chambiali has in certain cases, very peculiar idiom which makes its relationship with Pb. rather impossible. The following sentences may be noted in this respect.

/ɔthi manu khərura/ (he is standing)
/ɔthi manu khərura/ (they are standing)
/aʊ khɪt dɪdda/ (I am running)
/mɑnu hālla kəru kəɾd̪də/ (the people are making noise)

(iv) The vocabulary is much different from Pb., even common and homely words are dissimilar: /əʊ/ (I), /gəbhru/ (son), /bItr/ (wife), /hlzoki/ (yesterday), /dUtta/ (tomorrow).

(v) Chambiali has too much of nasaliz-
ation, and makes peculiar use of vowel duration, /ā/ of /dādi/ (grandmother) is about three times the length of the final /i/.

Considering all these points, I have come to the conclusion that only the southern dialect of Chambiali, can be included in Pb., because this dialect is nearer to Pb. and does not possess all points of contrast mentioned above. The rest of Chambiali, that is, the language spoken to the north of Dalhousie, must be accepted as a separate language.

0.3.3.4 Poonchi

Poonchi has been listed by Dr. Grierson as a form of Lanhdi, he includes it in "North-Eastern Lahnda." Poonchi possesses certain features of Ld., the most important ones being:

(i) The formation of future with /s/, as in /kørsā/ (I shall do), /kørsi/ (he will do) etc.

(ii) The use of prnl. suffs., as in /ādIun/ (they brought), /khadhis/ (he ate); the final /-n/ and /-a/ are the suffs. for III per. pl. and III per. sing. respectively.
(iii) The presence of the Pothohari /n/ in the present participle: /karna/ (doing), /khana/ (eating), and also in the postpositions of genitive: /na/, /ne/ etc.

Poonchi has certain peculiarities of Pahari tongues as well. But basically it remains a sub-dialect of Ld. and not of Norther Pb. or Dogri.

0.3.3.5 Kangri and Jammuali

The language of Jammu and Kangra, popularly known as Dogri, is accepted as a dialect of Pb. by Dr. Grierson and other scholars. It must, however, be conceded that the Dogri of Kangra is slightly different from Dogri of Jammu and each should be treated as a separate sub-dialect.

As stated earlier, Mandiali and Kului have close affinities with Kangri and these can be treated as slightly varying forms of Kangri itself.

Northern Panjabi (Dogri), thus, has three sub-dialects: Kangri, Jammuali and Southern Chambiali.

0.3.4 An estimate of the dialects of Panjabi

After this brief description of various forms of Pb., we get an overall estimate of the whole situation about the dialects of Panjabi, as given below.
Panjabi has the following dialects and sub-dialects:

(i) Eastern Panjabi, comprising of two sub-dialects, Mj. and Mw. Mj. is the spoken form of standard and literary Pb. Mw. covers a much vaster area and has Duabi and Puadhi, slightly different from Mw. proper, as its local forms.

(ii) Western Pb. or Ld. which has two important sub-dialects, Ml. and Pothohari. There are a number of other local forms, Dhanni, Awankari, Hindko, Jhangi etc. But all these fall under one or the other of these two.

(iii) Northern Pb. or Dogri, which has many local forms, three of these, Jammuali, Kangri and Southern Chambiali are important.

As stated in the foreword, this treatise deals with a comparative study of Mj., the standard Pb., and Ml., the southern sub-dialect of Ld.