

## GUJARĀTĪ.

The word 'Gujarāti' means the vernacular language of Gujarat, and this name very

Name of Language. accurately connotes the area in which it is spoken.

It is spoken in the province of Gujarat, and also in the peninsula of Kathiawar.

Area in which spoken. It is the court and business language of Cutch, and has even extended a short distance into Sind. The name 'Gujarat'

is derived from the Sanskrit Gurjaratrā,<sup>1</sup> which apparently means 'the country of the Gurjaras.' The ancient Gurjaratrā only covered that portion of the modern Gujarat which lies north of the river Mahi, i.e. Kaira, Ahmedabad, Mahikantha, Palanpur, and Kadi of Baroda. The country got this name under the dynasty of the Chāwadās, who ruled in Anahilawāda between 720 and 956 A.D. The country south of the Mahi was known to Sanskrit geographers as Lāta, and the extension of the name of Gujarat to this tract seems to have taken place under Musalmān rule.<sup>2</sup>

The Gurjaras (or, in the modern vernaculars, Gūjars) were a foreign tribe who passed into India from the north-west and gradually spread

The Gurjaras.

(A.D. 400—600) as far south as Khandesh and Gujarat.

The present Gūjars of the Punjab and of the United Provinces preserve more of their foreign traits than the Gūjar settlers further to the south and east. Though better looking, the Punjab Gūjars in language, dress, and calling so closely resemble their associates the Jāts or Jats as to suggest that the two tribes entered India about the same time. Their present distribution shows that the Gūjars spread further east and south than the Jats. The earliest Gūjar settlements seem to have been in the Punjab and in the United Provinces from the Indus to Mathura, where they still differ greatly in dress and language from most of the other inhabitants. From Mathura, the Gūjars seem to have passed to east Rajputana, and from there, by way of Kota and Mandasor to Malwa, where, though their original character is considerably altered, the Gūjars of Malwa still remember that their ancestors came from the Doab between the Ganges and the Jamna. In Malwa they spread as far east as Bhilsa and Saharanpur. From Malwa they passed south to Khandesh and west, probably by the Ratlam-Dohad route to the province of Gujarat.<sup>3</sup> In the other direction, the Gūjars extended north and are now found roaming over the Himalayas north of the Punjab and over the hills of Kashmir. It is an interesting fact that where they have not been absorbed into the rest of the population as in the plains of the Punjab (where two districts, Gujarat and Gujranwala, are named after them), they are always found to speak some dialect of one and the same language, closely connected with eastern Rājasthānī and with Gujarāti. The grammar of the Gūjars of Swat is almost the same as that of the Rajputs of Jaipur.

The following is taken from pp. 1 and 2 of the *Early History of Gujarat*, already quoted. The richness of Mainland Gujarat, the gift of the Sabarmati, the Mahi, the Narbada, and the Tapti, and the

Mixed origin of the population of Gujarat.

<sup>1</sup> The intermediate form is the Prakrit Gujjarattā; see Dr. Fleet in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1906, p. 458.

<sup>2</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Part i., p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Nearly all that precedes is taken, and partly verbally quoted, from Chapter I of the *Early History of Gujarat* by Dr. Bhagvānlāl Indrajī, in Vol. I., Part i. of the *Bombay Gazetteer*. He, however, derives the name 'Gujarāt' from the Sanskrit *Gurjara-rāshṭra*, through the Prakrit *Gujjara-rattha*. As shown by Dr. Fleet in the article quoted in note <sup>1</sup>, this is incorrect.

goodliness of much of Saurāshtra,<sup>1</sup> 'the Goodly Land,' have from the beginning of history continued to draw strangers to Gujarat both as conquerors and as refugees.

By sea probably came some of the half-mythic Yādavas (B.C. 1500—500); contingents of Yavanas (B.C. 300—A.D. 100) including Greeks, Bactrians, Parthians, and Scythians; the pursued Pārsis and the pursuing Arabs (A.D. 600—800); hordes of Sanganian pirates (A.D. 900—1200); Pārsi and Nawāyat Musalmān refugees from Khulagu Khān's devastation of Persia (A.D. 1250—1300); Portuguese and rival Turks (A.D. 1500—1600); Arabs and Persian Gulf pirates (A.D. 1600—1700); African, Arab, Persian and Makrān soldiers of fortune (A.D. 1500—1800); Armenian, Dutch, and Fr traders (A.D. 1600—1750); and the British (A.D. 1750 and thenceafter).

By land from the north have come the Scythians and Huns (B.C. 200—A.D. 500); the Gurjaras (A.D. 400—600); the early Jādējās and Kāthīs (now of Kathiawar) (A.D. 750—900); wave upon wave of Afghān, Turk, Mughul, and other northern Musalmāns (A.D. 1000—1500); and the later Jādējās and Kāthīs (A.D. 1300—1500).

From the north-east the prehistoric Aryans and their descendants till almost modern times (A.D. 1100—1200) continued to send settlements of Northern Brāhman; and since the 13th century have come Turk, Afghān, and Mughul Musalmāns.

From the east have come the Mauryans (B.C. 300); the half-Scythian Kshatrapas (B.C. 100—A.D. 300); the Guptas (A.D. 320); the Gurjaras (A.D. 400—600); the Mughuls (A.D. 1530); the Marāthās (A.D. 1660—1760); and the British (A.D. 1780 and thenceafter).

It will thus be seen what heterogeneous elements go to form the Gujarat population.

To the north, Gujarātī extends almost to the northern frontier of the Palanpur state beyond which lie Sirohi and Marwar, of which the language is Mārwarī. Gujarātī has also encroached into Sind, where it is found near the southern coast of the district of Thar and Parkar, here also having a form of Mārwarī to its north. On the west it is bounded by the Rān of Cutch, and, further south, by the Arabian Sea. It does not extend into Cutch, as a vernacular, although it is there employed for official and literary purposes. It has, however, occupied the peninsula of Kathiawar. It extends as far south as the southern border of the district of Surat, where it meets the Marāthī of Daman. On both sides of the border line, the country is bilingual. The two nationalities (the Gujarātīs and Marāthās) are mixed, and each preserves its own tongue. The boundary runs east so as to include the State of Dharampur, and then runs north along the foot of the hills which form the eastern boundary of Gujarat, till it joins the eastern frontier of Palanpur. These hills, here known as the Ārāvali Range, extend further north, as far as Ajmer, dividing Marwar from Mewar, and are throughout inhabited by Bhil tribes. These Bhils have also settled in the plains at the foot of the hills and all of them speak one or other of the dialects which I have grouped together as Bhili.<sup>2</sup> Further east beyond the Bhils lie Eastern and Southern Rajputana, of which the important dialects are Jaipurī and Mālvi. Jaipurī and Mālvi are both closely connected with Gujarātī, and the Bhil dialects may be considered as linking them together.

<sup>1</sup> Saurāshtra of ancient history corresponds to Peninsular Gujarat, or the Modern Kathiawar.

<sup>2</sup> See Vol. IX, Part III.

The following is the number of persons reported for the purposes of this Survey to speak Gujarāṭī in the tract in which it is a vernacular :—

Name of District, State or Agency.	Reported number of Speakers.
Ahmedabad	840,000
Mahikantha	541,500
Palanpur	606,000
Cutch	205,500
Kathiawar	2,571,000
Cambay	82,700
Kaira	840,000
Panch Mahals	188,000
Rewa Kantha	565,000
Broach	290,000
Surat	502,000
Baroda	2,025,759
Surat Agency	56,000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>9,313,459</b>

Gujarāṭī is spoken by settlers in nearly every province and state of India. The Pārsis, whose adopted language it is, are enterprising merchants, and most of the speakers outside Gujarat are of this nationality. In Madras there is also a large colony of silk weavers who immigrated centuries ago from Gujarat, many of whom still (see pp. 447 ff.) retain the language of their original home.

The following are the figures for Gujarāṭī in areas in which it is not a vernacular. Most of them are taken from the tables of the Census of 1891, but those for Kashmir, Rajputana, and Central India are only estimates, as no language census was taken of these tracts in that year.

Province, State or Agency.	Number of Speakers.
Ajmer-Merwara	1,483
Assam	26
Bengal	1,713
Berar	20,954
Bombay (excluding the area in which Gujarāṭī is a vernacular)	1,142,611
Burma	761
Central Provinces	17,050
Coorg	126
Madras	82,594
Punjab	1,457
United Provinces	5,079
Quetta, etc.	240
Andamans	364
Hyderabad State	26,934
Mysore State	2,182
Kashmir State (Estimate)	30
Rajputana Agency } Estimate	27,313
Central India Agency }	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,330,977</b>

To these we must add the Gujarāṭī spoken by some wandering tribes of Bombay and Berar, viz.—

Kākri	122
Tārimāki or Ghisādi	1,669
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,791</b>

The following is therefore the total number of speakers of Gujarātī in all India, according to the figures compiled for this Survey :—

Gujarātī spoken at home . . . . .	9,313,459
” ” abroad . . . . .	1,330,977
” ” of wandering tribes . . . . .	1,791
TOTAL . . . . .	<u>10,646,227</u>

In 1901 the total number of speakers of Gujarātī was 9,165,831.

The only true dialectic variation of Gujarātī consists in the difference between the *Dialects.* speech of the uneducated and that of the educated. That of the latter is the standard form of the language taught in grammars. That of the former differs from the standard mainly in pronunciation, although there are a few “clipped” or contracted verbal forms, especially in the present tense. The differences of pronunciation are nearly all the same over the whole Gujarātī tract, but, as a rule, though they are the same in kind, they are much less prominent in south Gujarātī, and become more and more prominent as we go north. Amongst these we may mention the pronunciation of *i* as *ē*, of *k* and *kh* as *ch* and *chh*, respectively, of *ch* and *chh* as *s*, of *s* as *h*, and a Cockney-like habit of dropping *h*. There is also a general tendency to confuse cerebral and dental consonants and to substitute *r* for *ḍ* and *ḷ*, to double medial consonants, and to pronounce the letter *ā* as a broad *o*, something like the sound of *a* in *oll*. The Pārsis and Musalmāns are usually credited with special dialects, but in pronunciation and inflexion these generally follow the colloquial Gujarātī of their neighbours. Musalmān Gujarātī is noticeable for its entire disregard of the distinction between cerebrals and dentals. Most Musalmāns, however, speak Hindōstānī. The Gujarātī of Pārsis and Musalmāns mainly differs from the ordinary colloquial language of the uneducated in its vocabulary, which borrows freely from Persian and (generally through Persian) from Arabic. Natives give names (based upon caste-titles or upon the names of localities) such as Nāgarī, the language of the Nāgar Brāhman, or Charōtarī, the language of the Charōtar tract on the banks of the Mahi, to various sub-divisions of these dialects, but the differences are so trifling that they do not deserve special mention, although a few of them have been recognized in the following pages. From the nature of the case, it is impossible to give figures for the number of people speaking these dialects or sub-dialects. We can say how many people belong to a certain tribe, or how many live in a certain tract, but we cannot say how many of these speak the standard dialect and how many speak the dialect of the uneducated.

There is one kind of Gujarātī, consisting of several dialects, which is not dealt with here. I allude to the many forms of the Bhil languages. These are dealt with separately.<sup>1</sup> They form a connecting link between Gujarātī and Rājasthānī, and are most closely connected with the former language. The total number of speakers of Bhil languages is 3,942,175, and if we add this to 9,313,459, the number given above for speakers of recognized Gujarātī, we get a total of 13,255,634, which may be taken as the estimated number of speakers of Gujarātī in every form in its proper home.

Gujarātī (with Western Hindī, Rājasthānī and Panjābī) is a member of the Central Group of Indo-Aryan Vernaculars. As explained in the General Introduction to the Group, it is probable that the original language of Gujarat was a member of the outer circle of

Place of the language in connection with the other Indo-Aryan languages.

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. IX., Part III.

Indo-Aryan speeches, but that immigrants from the east, speaking a form of the language of the Central Group, came into the country and imposed their language upon it. How well this agrees with the actual facts of history so far as they are known, is shown by the paragraphs above in which an account is given of the curious mixture of races which now inhabits Gujarat. Even the name of the country is derived from that of a foreign tribe who invaded it from the north and east—the Gurjaras. At the same time, although Gujarāṭi belongs to the central group of languages, it still shows, like Rājasthāni, only more so, many survivals of the old outer language, such as the loss of power of pronouncing *s* and *h*, the use of an oblique form of nouns which ends in *ā*, and the frequent employment of a past participle of which the typical letter is *l*, as in Marāṭhī and the Aryan languages of Eastern India. As might have been expected, these peculiarities (especially the incorrect pronunciation of *s* and *h*) are more prominent in the vulgar language of the uneducated than in the literary form of speech. The latter is more under the influence of the traditions of the central group.

We are fortunate in possessing a remarkable series of documents connecting the modern Gujarāṭi with its immediate parent the Nāgara form of Saurasēna Apabhraṃśa. This was the Apabhraṃśa with which the Grammarian Hēmachandra (fl. 12th century A.D.) was acquainted, and which he made the basis of his work on the language. The Nāgar Brāhman form an important part of the learned Hindū community of Gujarat, and one form of Gujarāṭi (according to some, its purest literary and certainly its most sanskritized form) is called Nāgarī after them.<sup>2</sup> It is probable that the Nāgara Apabhraṃśa also derives its name from this literary caste. Hēmachandra himself lived in north Gujarat and the language which he explained, though most likely dead in his time, was only an old form of the language spoken in the country round him.

The learning of Anahilawāḍa Paṭṭaṇ did not die out with Hēmachandra, and so early as the end of the 14th century (only two hundred years after his death) we find the earliest book written in what can be called Gujarāṭi. It is a grammar of Sanskrit written for beginners in their vernacular language. Fifty years afterwards modern Gujarāṭi literature commences with the poetry of Narsīngh Mētā. We have thus a connected chain of evidence as to the growth of the Gujarāṭi language from the earliest times. We can trace the old Vedic language through Prakrit down to Apabhraṃśa, and we can trace the development of Apabhraṃśa from the verses of Hēmachandra, down to the language of a Pārsī newspaper. No single step is wanting. The line is complete for nearly four thousand years.<sup>3</sup>

The Nāgara Apabhraṃśa described by Hēmachandra was most closely connected with that form of Prakrit known as Śaurasēni, or the Prakrit of the central Gangetic Doab. From this it follows, as is also borne out by history, that the supersession of the old language of the Outer Circle by the one belonging to the Central Group had taken place long before his time.

<sup>1</sup> P. 324.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 378 ff. Some authors derive the name 'Nāgarī' of the well-known Indian alphabet also from this tribe. At the present day, they employ the Nāgarī and not the Gujarāṭi character for their writings.

<sup>3</sup> Owing to the interest which attaches to this unique characteristic of Gujarāṭi, I give at the end of this introduction a note on the connexion between Old Gujarāṭi and Apabhraṃśa (see pp. 363 ff.). The connexion is very close. Indeed some of Hēmachandra's verses are recognized by natives as only old Gujarāṭi.

Gujarāṭī closely agrees in its main characteristics with Western Hindi and still more closely with Rājasthānī.<sup>1</sup> It has the same analytic method of conjugating its verbs and declining its nouns that we find in Western Hindi. There is, however, one noteworthy exception to this remark in which Gujarāṭī agrees with Western Rājasthānī. It is the fact that the genitive and dative of the noun are formed synthetically and not analytically. As this point has not been remarked before, it deserves to be treated at some length.

One of the most striking differences between the languages of the Central Group and of the Outer Circle is that in the former the procedure of declension is conducted analytically, i.e., by the addition of help-words, while in the latter it is conducted synthetically, i.e., by means of terminations. For example in Hindōstānī (belonging to the Central Group) 'of a horse' is *ghōrē-kā*, and 'to a horse' is *ghōrē-kō*, in which the help-words *kā* and *kō* are added to the word *ghōrē*. On the other hand, in Bengali, 'of a horse' is *ghōrār*, and 'to a horse' is *ghōrārē*, in which the terminations *r* and *rē* are suffixed to the word *ghōrā*, and in each case *ghōrār* or *ghōrārē* becomes one simple word, pronounced as one whole, and not a compound like *ghōrē-kā* and *ghōrē-kō*.

The explanation of this is that the analytic languages are in an earlier stage of development than the synthetic ones. The latter were once also analytic, but in the process of linguistic development the two members of the compound became united into one word. What was a soldered joint is now a welded one. This can be best explained by an example, but before doing so, it is necessary to explain a certain phonetic law which existed in Prakrit and in Apabhraṃśa. This is that certain consonants (of which *k* and *t* are two) are liable to be elided when they fall between two vowels in the middle of a word, but are not liable to elision when they are at the commencement of a word, even though the preceding word ended in a vowel. Thus the word *chalati*, he goes, becomes *chalāi* in Apabhraṃśa, through the *t*, which is in the middle of a word and between two vowels, being elided; but in the phrase *kāmassa tatta*, the essence of love, the first *t* of *tatta* is not elided, because, although between two vowels, it is at the beginning of a word. It will thus be seen that the elision of a *k* or *t* (amongst other letters) in Apabhraṃśa is an infallible sign that it is in the middle of a word, and not at the beginning of one.

For our present purpose we may consider three old words which have become suffixes or terminations of the genitive. These are *kīaa*, *kāra* or *karāū*, and *tanāū*. The Hindōstānī *ghōrē-kā* is derived from the Apabhraṃśa *ghōḍai-kīaa*. Here it will be seen that the *k* of *kīaa* has not been elided in becoming *kā*. The *k* is therefore the initial letter of a distinct word, which has not become one with *ghōrē*, and *kā* is a separate postposition, and is not a grammatical termination.

On the other hand, the Bengali *ghōrār* is derived from *ghōḍaa-kāra*, through an intermediate form *ghōḍaa-āra*. Here the initial *k* of *kāra* has been elided. It had therefore become medial, and *kāra* was therefore not a separate word, but was part of one word without a hyphen, thus *ghōḍaakāra*. The *r* is therefore a termination and not a postposition. Bengali grammarians quite properly write *ghōrār* as one word, and not *ghōrā-r*, as if it were two, and the declension is no longer analytical, but has become synthetical.

The case is exactly the same with the Western Rājasthānī *ghōḍārō*, of a horse, usually, but wrongly, written *ghōḍā-rō*. It is derived from *ghōḍaakarāū*, and the elision of the *k* shows that *ghōḍaakarāū* and *ghōḍārō* are each one word and not two. The syllable *rō* is therefore a termination and not a postposition and the declension is here, also, synthetical and no longer analytical.

Finally, let us take the Gujarāṭī *ghōḍānō*, of a horse. This is derived from *ghōḍaa-tanāū*, through *ghōḍaacnāū*. Here again the elision of the *t* shows that *tanāū* has ceased to be a postposition, and has become a termination, just as the letter *i* in *equi* is a termination and not a postposition. *Ghōḍānō* is therefore one word and not two. *Nō*, like *rō*, is a termination, not a postposition, and it is wrong to write *ghōḍā-nō*, with a hyphen as is usually done, just as it would be wrong to write *equ-i* instead of *equi*.

The case of the suffixes of the dative follows that of the genitive, because in all these languages, the dative is always merely the genitive, put into the locative case. *Kō* is the locative of *kā*, as *rē* is that of *r* or *rō*, and as *nē* is that of *nō*.

It will thus be seen that while the typical language of the Central Group, to wit Hindōstānī, forms its genitive and dative analytically, Gujarāṭī and Western Rājasthānī depart from the standard by forming these cases synthetically like the languages of the Outer Circle.

<sup>1</sup> In mediæval times, Gujarat was simply a part of Rajputana. Its separation at the present day is only because one is mostly British territory and falls within the Bombay Presidency, while the other is not British territory, but is owned by native chiefs.

<sup>2</sup> So also Pañjābī. The Pañjābī *dā* is a contraction of *kidā*.

# LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

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COMPILED AND EDITED BY

G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., PH.D., D.LITT., I.C.S. (RETD.)

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BUNGALOW ROAD, JAWAHAR NAGAR, DELHI-7  
NEPALI KHAPRA, VARANASI, (U.P.)  
ASHOK RAJ PATH, (OPP. PATNA COLLEGE) PATNA (BIHAR)

*With kind permission of Govt. of India.*

FIRST EDITION 1927

REPRINT 1967

**Price Rs. 1250/- (\$ 200) for the complete set.**

PRINTED IN INDIA BY SHANTILAL JAIN, AT SHRI JAINENDRA PRESS,  
BUNGALOW ROAD, JAWAHARNAGAR, DELHI-7 AND PUBLISHED BY  
SUNDARLAL JAIN, MOTILAL BANARSIDASS, BUNGALOW ROAD,  
JAWAHARNAGAR, DELHI-7

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