

## PAÑJĀBI.

The name 'Pañjābi' explains itself. It means the language of the Punjab. As will be seen immediately the name is not a good one, for Pañjābi is not by any means the only language spoken in that Province.

Pañjābi is the tongue of about 12½ millions of people, and is spoken over the greater part of the eastern half of the Province of the Punjab, in the northern corner of the State of Bikaner in Rajputana, and in the southern half of the State of Jammu. In the extreme north-east of the Province, *i.e.* in most of the Simla Hill States and Kulu, the language is Pahāri. Further south, in the districts lying on or near the right bank of the river Jamna, *viz.* in the eastern half of Umballa, in Karnal, in most of Hissar (and the neighbouring portions of the State of Patiala), in Rohtak, Delhi and Gurgaon, the language is not Pañjābi, but is some form of Western Hindī. With these exceptions, we may say that the vernacular of the whole of the eastern Punjab is Pañjābi. To the north of this area lie the Himalayas, to its south the arid plains of Bikaner, and to its west the inhospitable *Bāṛ* of the Rechna Doab.

To its north and north-east Pañjābi is bounded by the Pahāri of the lower ranges of the Himalayas. It hardly extends into the hill country. On the east it has the various forms of western Hindī, Vernacular Hindōstāni in east Umballa, and Bāngarū spoken in the country immediately to the west of the Jamna. On the south it has the Bāgrī and Bikanēri dialects of Rājasthāni spoken in west Hissar and Bikaner. The boundary between Pañjābi and all these languages is very fairly defined (although of course there is a certain amount of merging from one language into another), for the difference of language to a large extent connotes a difference of nationalities. More especially on the border-line between Pañjābi and Western Hindī we see that Pañjābi is essentially the language of the Sikhs. We may here roughly put the boundary between the two languages, as coinciding with the course of the river Ghaggar. The people to the east of the Ghaggar valley, excepting stray colonies of Sikhs, all speak Western Hindī.

To the south, on the other hand, there is a gradual merging into Rājasthāni, through an intermediate dialect named Bhattiāni. Like Pañjābi, Rājasthāni is a language which originally belonged to the Outer Circle of Indo-Aryan speeches, a substratum of which still remains. At the same time, this basis has been overlaid and almost hidden by a wave of language belonging to the Inner Group.<sup>1</sup> The two languages, thus closely resembling each other, merge into each other without difficulty. Indeed, it is a curious fact that the Dōgrā, the most northern form of Pañjābi, shows peculiarities of pronunciation (such as the change of the initial *k* to *g* in declensional suffixes) which also exist in Bāgrī.

<sup>1</sup> This will be fully explained when dealing with the characteristics of Pañjābi. *Vide pp. 614 ff., post.*

On the north there is a distinct dialect of Pañjābī, Ḍōgrā,—which is intermediate between standard Pañjābī and the Pahārī of the lower Himalayas.

It will have been observed that hitherto I have said nothing about the western boundary of Pañjābī. The reason is that it is impossible to fix such a boundary. To the west of Pañjābī lies the Lahndā or Western Pañjābī language, which we may take to be firmly established in the Jech Doab. On the other hand Pañjābī of the purest kind is spoken in the upper part of the Bari Doab. Between these two lies the Rechna Doab and the lower part of the Bari Doab. A glance at the map facing page 607 will make my meaning clear. Here the language is a mixture of Pañjābī and Lahndā,—more Pañjābī to the east,—more Lahndā to the west. We shall see that the reason for this is that an old form of Lahndā must once have extended right up to the Sarasvatī, and that it is still the foundation of Pañjābī. The Lahndā influence grows stronger (even in the Pañjābī tract) as we go westwards, as the influence of the wave of the language of the Inner Group, which has encroached from the east and has formed modern Pañjābī, weakens. It thus happens that, although in India we continually see two neighbouring languages gradually merging into each other, nowhere is the process so gradual as in the case of Pañjābī and Lahndā. It is quite impossible to point to any boundary line or approximate boundary line between the two forms of speech. As, however, some kind of boundary between the two languages is necessary for the purposes of this Survey, I have assumed the following conventional line to mark the division between them. Commence at the northern end of the Pabbi range in the Gujrat district, go across the district to the Gujranwala town of Rāmnaḡar on the Chenab. Then draw a line nearly due south to the southern corner of Gujranwala, where it meets the northern corner of the district of Montgomery. Then continue the line to the southern corner of Montgomery on the Sutlej. Follow the Sutlej for a few miles and cross the northern corner of the State of Bahawalpur. Everything to the east of this line I call Pañjābī, and everything to the west of it I call Lahndā; but it must be remembered that this line is a purely arbitrary convention, and that for some distance to the west of that line, the language which I call Lahndā differs but slightly from the language of the east of the Rechna Doab and of north-east Gujrat which I call Pañjābī. I have been guided mainly by the vocabulary. To the west of the line, the language, which is mainly that of the tract known as the *Bār*, or Jungle, has a vocabulary which agrees much more closely with that of Lahndā. Except in Multan, we do not find Lahndā inflexions *established* till we cross the Chenab.

An interesting fact arises from the foregoing discussion. The Punjab, or *Panj-āb*, Pañjābī and the Land of the Five Rivers. is properly the 'Land of the Five Rivers,' the Jhelum, the Chenab, the Ravi, the Beas, and the Sutlej. Now, the Pañjābī language extends far to the east of the Sutlej, the most eastern of these five, reaching up to the Ghaggar. It occupies the Doabs between the Beas and Sutlej, and between the Ravi and the Beas-Sutlej. It also occupies a part of the Rechna Doab between the Chenab and small corner of the Jech Doab between the Jhelum and the Chenab, and the Ravi, but in nearly the whole of the great tract watered by the Chenab and the Jhelum and by the lower part of the Sutlej Pañjābī is not spoken. Pañjābī is hence not the language of the entire 'Land of the Five Rivers.'

Pañjābī has two dialects,—the ordinary idiom of the language, and Ḍōgrā or Ḍōgri.

Dialects and Sub-dialects.

The latter, in various forms, is spoken over the submontane portion of the Jammu State and over most of the headquarters division of the Kangra district with an overflow into the neighbouring parts of the districts of Sialkot and Gurdaspur and of the State of Chamba. It will be dealt with separately, later on.

Ordinary Pañjābī is spoken over the rest of the Pañjābī area in the plains of the Punjab, and has also encroached into the neighbouring Simla Hill States. This standard Pañjābī varies slightly from place to place, and its purest form is admitted to be that of the *Mājh* or middle part of the Bari Doab, centring round Amritsar. This Mājhi sub-dialect may be said to be the language of cis-Ravi Lahore, of Amritsar, and of Gurdaspur. Lower down the Doab, in the district of Montgomery, the language is not pure Mājhi, but is mixed with Lahndā. We may take Mājhi as the standard form of Pañjābī. But, owing to the accidental circumstance that the first serious European students of Pañjābī lived at Ludhiana and not at Amritsar, another standard Pañjābī, which we may call the European Standard Pañjābī, has also come into existence. Ludhiana, where J. Newton wrote his Grammar in 1851, where a 'Committee of the Lodiana Mission' published the first Pañjābī Dictionary in 1854, and where E. P. Newton published the latest and most complete grammar of the language in 1898, has, since the middle of the last century, been the fountain of instruction in Pañjābī for Englishmen. It is only natural that these eminent scholars should have taken as their standard that particular phase of Pañjābī with which they were most familiar, and we hence find that the idiom taught by them contains a few characteristics which are peculiar to eastern Pañjābī and are strange to the Mājh.<sup>1</sup> Of these the most striking is the employment of the peculiar cerebral *ḷ*. The sound of this letter is not heard in the Mājh, although its employment is taught in all the grammars and dictionaries.<sup>2</sup>

We thus see that there are two standards of Pañjābī, that of the Mājh, which is accepted by natives of India and (theoretically) by Europeans, and that of Ludhiana, which is the one practically accepted by Europeans, which is described in most grammars and dictionaries of the language, and into which the Scriptures have been translated.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So definitely do even scholars like Mr. E. P. Newton take the Ludhiana Pañjābī as their standard that they actually give forms peculiar to the Mājh as exceptions. Compare pp. 33, 57, and 73 of his grammar. If he had taken the Mājh dialect as his standard, the forms referred to on these pages would have been given as the regular ones, and their non-use elsewhere, not their use in the Mājh, would have been treated as exceptional.

Dr. Tisdall's little *Simplified Grammar* is the only one I have seen which is by an Englishman and which is confessedly founded on the Mājh dialect.

I may mention here that the Pañjābī versions of the Scriptures are criticized by native scholars as being in the idiom of Ludhiana.

<sup>2</sup> The use of this cerebral *ḷ* is restricted to a well defined tract of country. In the northern plains of India, it is heard between the Bias-cum-Sutlej on the west, and the Ganges on the east. It is hence prominent in the Eastern Punjab, both where Pañjābī and where Hindōstānī and Bāngarī are spoken, and in the Upper Gangetic Doab, where the language is Hindōstānī. It is also common in the Western Pahāri of the Simla Hill States and the neighbourhood, and in the Central Pahāri of Garhwal and Kumaon, but does not appear in the Eastern Pahāri or Khas-kurā of Nepal. The central line from which it here radiates may be taken as the course of the sacred river, the Saraswatī. I have not met with it in Bhaī Bhakha, but, through Bāngarī, it extends south into the Bāgrī country and thence over Rajputana, Central India, Gujarat, and the Marāṭhā country. In the south of India it is heard in Dravidian languages. It does not occur in Sindhi, nor is it in Kāshmirī or Khas, but is heard in Lahndā and the neighbouring Pañjābī tract west of the Mājh. It occurs in the other Himalayan Indo-Aryan dialects west of Western Pahāri, but gradually disappears as we approach Kāshmirī through Pūncḥhī.

<sup>3</sup> The *Dulhan Darpan*, an adaptation of the *Mir'otu'l 'arūs*, by Bhaī Hazārā Singh Ghānī of Amritsar, which is in the purest dialect of the Mājh, does not contain a single cerebral *ḷ* from cover to cover.

The other sub-dialects of ordinary Pañjābī are the dialect of the Jullunder Doab, Pōwādhī, Rāṭhī, Mālwāī, Bhaṭṭiānī, and the Pañjābī of the Rechna Doab and North-east Gujrat. The dialect of the Jullunder Doab closely resembles that of Ludhiana. As we approach the hills, however, we see signs of the influence of Pahārī. Pōwādhī (the Pañjābī of the Pōwādh, or eastern Punjab), as its name implies, is the most eastern form of Pañjābī. It is spoken on the south bank of the Sutlej in the Ludhiana district (and is here identical with the Ludhiana dialect just dealt with at some length), but its main territory is the Pañjābī speaking part of the Punjab east of, say, the 76th degree of east longitude. To its east we have the Western Pahārī of the southern Simla Hill States, the vernacular Hindōstānī of Umballa and East Patiala, and the Bāngarū of Karnal. To its south it has the Rāṭhī Pañjābī to be described immediately, and to its west Mālwāī Pañjābī. As we may expect, Pōwādhī Pañjābī is more and more influenced by Western Hindi as we go eastwards. Immediately to the south of Pōwādhī and Mālwāī Pañjābī, in the valley of the Ghaggar, lies the Rāṭhī Pañjābī of the Rāṭh or 'Ruthless' Musalmān Pachhāḍās of that tract. It is even more strongly infected by the Bāngarū dialect of Western Hindī than Pōwādhī. It is also noteworthy for its preference for nasal sounds. To its south lie the Bāgrī and Bāngarū of Hissar. West of the 76th degree of east longitude as far as the Sutlej lies the Mālwā or old settled dry country of the Sikh Jatts, to the south of which lies the 'Jangal' or unsettled country. The language of these areas is known as Mālwāī Pañjābī or Jangalī. To its south it has the Rāṭhī Pañjābī of the Ghaggar valley, and the Bhaṭṭiānī Pañjābī of South Ferozepore and Bikaner. Mālwāī Pañjābī does not differ materially from the Ludhiana Standard, but as we go south a tendency is observable to substitute a dental *n* and *l* for a cerebral *ṇ* and *ḷ* respectively. South of the Mālwā in South Ferozepore and north-west Bikaner, lies Bhaṭṭiānā, the country of the Bhaṭṭīs. Here Pañjābī is merging into Rājasthānī and we find a mixed dialect which I name Bhaṭṭiānī. Bhaṭṭiānī is spoken on the left bank of the Sutlej a long way up into Ferozepore, and is there locally known as Rāṭhaurī. Crossing the Sutlej we enter the Bari Doab. The central portion of this is the Mājh and has been already dealt with. South-east of Lahore lies the district of Montgomery, like Lahore, lying on both sides of the Ravi. The cis-Ravi portion of Montgomery, although politically within the Bari Doab, belongs linguistically to the next Doab, the Rechna, between the Ravi and the Chenab. It is in this Rechna Doab that we see Pañjābī merging into Lahndā.

As explained above, it is impossible to show any distinct boundary between these two languages, and, for the purposes of this Survey, I have adopted a purely conventional line commencing at the northern end of the Pabbī range of hills near the north-west corner of Gujrat and ending on the Sutlej at the south-east corner of Montgomery, with a slight deflection down the Sutlej, across the north-eastern end of the State of Bahawalpur, where it meets the southern border of Bhaṭṭiānī. Everything to the east of this line I call, for the purposes of this Survey, Pañjābī, and everything to its west Lahndā. This Pañjābī of north-east Gujrat, of the Rechna Doab, and of east Montgomery becomes more and more infected with Lahndā characteristics as we go west.

The following tables show the number of speakers of Pañjābī as estimated for this Survey. Most of the figures are based on those of the Census of 1891. I commence with the number of speakers of Pañjābī in those tracts in which it is a vernacular.

Pañjābī is also spoken in other districts of the Punjab in which it is not classed as a vernacular. The most important figures are those of Karnal and Multan. As regards Karnal, this district immediately adjoins the Pōwādhi-speaking tract of Patiala, and the figures represent an overflow of Sikh settlers from that State. In Multan there is a large colony of Sikhs settled on the Sidhmai canal system. In the other districts, the figures reported call for no remarks. They are as follows:—

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF SPEAKERS OF PAÑJĀBĪ IN DISTRICTS AND STATES OF THE PUNJAB IN WHICH IT IS NOT A VERNACULAR.

Rohtak	238
Gurgaon	178
Delhi	1,784
Pataudi	182
Loharu	7
Dujana	2
Karnal	25,500
Simla	3,280
Simla Hill States:—	
Bashahr	276
Keonthal	194
Baghal	129
Baghat	702
Jubbal	27
Kumharsain	95
Bhajji	36
Balsan	38
Dhawi	30
Kuthar	188
Kunhiar	97
Mangal	10
Bija	65
Tarhooch	12
Nahan	8,197
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	10,096
Mandi	732
Suket	146
Chamba	2,387
Multan	87,102
Dera Ismail Khan	7,238
Dera Ghazi Khan	6,999
Muzaffargarh	8,480
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TOTAL	154,301

We therefore arrive at the following figures for the total number of speakers of Pañjābī in the Punjab, as reported for this Survey:—

In areas in which it is a vernacular	12,409,888
In areas in which it is not a vernacular	154,301
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GRAND TOTAL for the Punjab	12,564,139

At the Census of 1891, 15,754,895 people were recorded as speaking Pañjābī (including Dōgrā) in the Punjab. The difference is accounted for as follows. In the first place, about 4,583,000 people were shown in the Census tables as speaking Pañjābī in Gujranwala (western half), Montgomery (western half), Bahawalpur (north-western portion), Jhang, Shahpur, Jhelam, Rawalpindi, Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat, and Bannu and other localities, who, in this Survey, will be shown as speaking Lahndā. On the

other hand the above figures include 636,500 speakers of the Kangra dialect who, in the Census tables, are shown as speaking Pahāri, and also include the 434,000 speakers of Dōgrā in Jammu territory and 22,000 speakers of Bhattiāni in Bikaner, which do not appear in the Punjab Census tables at all, as Jammu and Bikaner do not fall politically within that province. By making these allowances on each side, we arrive at a Census total of 12,262,395. The difference between this and the above Survey figures, which amounts to 301,744, is due, partly to the fact that round numbers are employed as much as possible in the Survey, partly to the fact that many of the Survey figures are independent estimates made by local officials some seven or eight years after the Census had been taken, and partly to the inclusion, in the Survey figures, of small items which, in the Census tables, are grouped under other languages. In border tracts where one language merges into another, classification necessarily depends much on the personal equation, which must be allowed for in dealing with statistics of this kind.

We now come to the number of people who speak Pañjābī outside the limits of the Punjab. Here we have to resort to the figures of the Census of 1891, and are confronted by two difficulties. At that Census, the speakers of the various languages were not enumerated in Kashmir or in Rajputana and Central India. In the second place, at that Census (except in the Punjab) no distinction was made between Lahndā and Pañjābī, the two being grouped together under one head—Pañjābī. I therefore in the following table cannot give the number of speakers of Pañjābī in Kashmir or in Rajputana and Central India, and instead thereof give the total number of people of Punjab birth (for which figures are available) in these localities. The second difficulty is more serious. We can only estimate. In the Census of 1901 the figures for Lahndā and Pañjābī were kept separate, and their totals bore the proportion of 3 and 17, respectively, to each other. I assume that this proportion was also true for 1891 and deduct from the total of the following figures three-twentieths, to allow for speakers of Lahndā. The remainder should approximately represent the total number of speakers of Pañjābī outside the Punjab.

TABLES SHOWING THE TOTAL NUMBER OF PERSONS WHO SPOKE PAÑJĀBĪ OR LAHNDĀ OUTSIDE THE PUNJAB ACCORDING TO THE CENSUS OF 1891.

Kashmir . . . . .	66,106 (estimated).
Sindh (and Khairpur) . . . . .	22,150
United Provinces (and States) . . . . .	13,080
Quetta . . . . .	10,544
Burma . . . . .	8,105
Bengal (and States) . . . . .	2,857
Hyderabad . . . . .	2,439
Bombay (and States) . . . . .	3,334
Rajputana and Central India . . . . .	99,790 (estimated).
Andamans . . . . .	1,513
Ajmer-Merwara . . . . .	1,154
Central Provinces . . . . .	1,154
Madras . . . . .	498
Berar . . . . .	373
Baroda . . . . .	255
Assam . . . . .	160
Mysore . . . . .	18
TOTAL . . . . .	283,530

Deducting three-twentieths of this, *i.e.* 35,030, for Lahndā, we arrive at an estimated total of 198,500 for the number of people who speak Pañjābī in India outside the Punjab.

We thus arrive at the total number of speakers of Pañjābī in all India :—

Speakers of Pañjābī as a local vernacular in the Punjab and elsewhere . . . . .	12,564,139
Speakers elsewhere in India . . . . .	198,500
	12,762,639
GRAND TOTAL of all speakers of Pañjābī . . . . .	12,762,639

Most of the speakers of Pañjābī outside the Punjab are either Sikh troops or police officers and the like.

Pañjābī, together with Western Hindī, Rājasthānī, and Gujarātī, is one of the members of the Central Group of the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars. Of these the only pure member of the Group is Western Hindī. The others are mixed languages. Although in the main possessing the essential characteristics of the Central Group they each present signs of another language which has been superseded,—overlaid would be a more correct expression—by a central one. We shall see this clearly in the case of Rājasthānī and Gujarātī, and shall also notice in the case of these two languages, that the further we go from the centre from which the Inner Language encroached, the more prominent this submerged layer becomes. In every case this submerged layer was evidently a language of the Outer Circle of Indo-Aryan languages. We may take the centre of dispersion as the central Gangetic Doab between Mathurā and Kanauj. Kanauj, it may be remarked, was the great centre of Indo-Aryan power during the centuries preceding the Musalmān conquest of India.

Pañjābī is the language of the Eastern Punjab, and, at the present day, immediately to its west, in the Western Punjab, we find Lahndā to be the vernacular. Lahndā is one of the languages of the Outer Circle, and is closely connected with Sindhī, Kāshmīrī and the languages of the Indus-Kōhistān. There can be no doubt, if linguistic evidence is of any value, that a language closely akin to this Lahndā was also once spoken over the entire area of which Pañjābī is now the vernacular. Immediately to the east of Pañjābī we have the Hindōstānī forms of Western Hindī which are spoken on both sides of the river Jamnā and in the Upper Gangetic Doab. It is clear from the present linguistic conditions that an old form of this Hindōstānī has gradually spread over the whole of the eastern Punjab, superseding, or overlying, the old Lahndā language, as far, at least, as the upper half of the river Chenab. Indeed, its influence has spread further, and it is not till we get to the great *thal*, or sandy tract between the Jhelum-Chenab and the Indus, that we lose all traces of it. As in Rajputana, the desert has formed a barrier against the advancing tide of the Central language, and, in each case, we find west of it a pure language of the Outer Circle—in the one case Sindhī, in the other Lahndā.

As this tide progressed westward from its starting point, it gradually lost its body and its force. In the extreme east of the Pañjābī tract, on the banks of the ancient Sarasvatī, few traces of the ancient Lahndā are observable. When we come to the Bari Doab, where standard Pañjābī is spoken, we find several characteristics of Lahndā still surviving which have disappeared in the Pōwādh or Eastern Punjab. In the Rechna Doab these characteristics become more prominent and here we come to the conventional

boundary line between Pañjābī and Lahndā. In the Jech Doab they are still more in evidence and Lahndā may be said to be firmly established. In the Sindh-Sāgar Doab all except one or two traces of the influence of the Central language have disappeared, and we are in the presence of a true language of the Outer Circle. We thus see that Pañjābī is a composite language.

To change the metaphor, its substratum is a language of the Outer Circle akin to the modern Lahndā, while its superstructure is a dialect of Western Hindi. The superstructure is so important, and has so concealed the foundation, that Pañjābī is rightly classed, at the present day, as a language of the Central Group.

Coming to details, we find in the first place an initial *w* or *v* in Western Hindi always becomes *b*, while in the Pañjābī it is in certain cases retained. Thus, Western Hindi *bich*, but Pañjābī *vichch*, in.

**Pronunciation.** This is also characteristic of Sindhi, Lahndā and Kāshmirī.

There is another circumstance in Pañjābī pronunciation which is extremely characteristic, and gives the clear-cut tone to the language, that at once attracts the attention of anyone who hears it for the first time. In order to describe it, it will be necessary to discuss a question of derivation. All the various Prakrit dialects of India had, for reasons which it is unnecessary to explain here, a large number of words containing each a double consonant, preceded by a short vowel. For instance, we may take *ghōḍassa*, of a horse; *juttō*, joined; *khaggō*, a sword; *makkhanam*, ointment; *mārisai*, he will strike. By one of the phonetic rules of these languages there was a tendency to simplify these double letters by omitting the first member of the compound, and to lengthen the preceding short vowel in compensation. There was thus a tendency for these words to become respectively *ghōḍāsa*; *jūtō*; *khāgō*; *mākhanam*; *mārisai*.<sup>1</sup> In the modern vernaculars of the Central Group, we observe this tendency acting with no uniformity. In Western Hindi we commonly meet both forms of the same word—often one in the literary language, and the other in colloquial speech. Thus for ‘butter’ the Prakrit *makkhanam* becomes *makkhan* in Literary Hindōstānī, but we often hear *mākhan* in the mouths of the villagers. In Rājasthānī the tendency to simplify the compound increases as we go westward and southward till we arrive at Gujarātī in which language simplification, with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, has become the general rule. We have *mākhan* and never *makkhan*. On the other hand, the Hindōstānī of the Upper Gangetic Doab prefers the pronunciation of the double letter, with the short preceding vowel, so that we have always *makkhan* and not *mākhan*. Pañjābī follows suit in this. It never simplifies such compounds. We always have *makkhan*, not *mākhan*. Similarly we have Pañjābī *kamm*, but Hindōstānī *kām*, work; Pañjābī *vichch*, but Hindōstānī *bich*, in; Pañjābī *uchchā*, but Hindōstānī *ūchā*, high.<sup>2</sup> All this gives a predominant sound of sharply doubled letters throughout a Pañjābī sentence, and gives the well-known clear-cut character to the language as heard by one whose acquaintance with Indian languages was first made in the Ganges Valley.

<sup>1</sup> Amongst the various Prakrit dialects, the older ones and Śaurasēnī show fewer signs of this tendency than some of the others. Śaurasēnī may be looked upon as the parent of Western Hindi, and of the superstructure (as distinct from the substratum) of the other languages of the Central Group.

<sup>2</sup> Lahndā, in this, follows Pañjābī. It has *makkhan*. Sindhi carries the process forward another way. It simplifies a surd compound consonant but does not lengthen the vowel. It has *makhan*. All this is of importance when considering the derivation of Pañjābī words. For instance we may be sure that the Pañjābī word *sītā*, sewn, is not contracted from *\*sittā*. Such a contraction would be against the genius of Pañjābī, Lahndā, or Sindhi.



In the declension of nouns, we find that the termination of strong masculine substantives with *a*-bases, is *ā*, not *au* or *ō* as in pure Western Hindī. Thus we have *ghōrā*, a horse, not *ghōrau* or *ghorō*, as in Western Hindī.

Nominal termination.

This is typical of nearly all the languages of the Outer Circle. Compare the Marāṭhī *ghōḍā* and the Bengali *ghōrā*.<sup>1</sup>

A characteristic of Pañjābī which at once strikes the beginner, and which is, in fact, a most prominent feature of the language, is the employment of the termination *dā* for the suffix of the genitive, instead of the *kau*, *kō* (or *kā*) of Western Hindī. This termination is also employed in Southern Lahndā, and no doubt belongs to the original form of that language which once spread all over the Punjab. It is certainly indigenous in the Eastern Punjab.<sup>2</sup>

Termination of the Genitive.

Literary Hindōstānī employs the suffix *nē* to indicate the case of the agent. This suffix does not properly belong to Western Hindī (of which Hindōstānī is a dialect). In the other dialects of that language an organic case of the agent is employed without any suffix. The *nē* of Literary Hindōstānī is, however, also found in the Vernacular Hindōstānī of the Upper Gangetic Doab, and is clearly borrowed from Pañjābī in which language its employment (under the form of *nai*) is regular.

Termination of the case of the Agent.

The plurals of the pronouns of the first and second persons (*asī*, we, oblique form *asā*, and *tusī*, ye, obl. form *tusā*), are relics of the old Lahndā basis of the language, and do not belong to the true Central Language, which has *ham* and *tum* respectively. Compare Sindhī *asī* (obl. *asā*), we : Lahndā *assī* (obl. *assā*), we ; *tussī* (obl. *tussā*), you ; Maiyā (of the Indus Kōhistān) *tus*, you ; Kāshmīrī *ās* (obl. *asē*), we. Moreover, these pronouns make their genitives *asādā*, *tusādā*. The cerebral *ḍ* in these words is typical of Lahndā.

Personal Pronouns.

The Pañjābī verb occasionally makes a passive voice by adding *ī* to the root.<sup>3</sup> This is common in Lahndā, while a closely connected passive form is current in Sindhī. In Western Hindī this passive has only survived (if this is a survival) in one or two of the so-called polite imperatives.

Passive voice.

<sup>1</sup> In this respect, Pañjābī has reacted on those dialects of Western Hindī which are geographically nearest to it. The dialect of the Upper Gangetic Doab, and the Literary Hindōstānī founded upon it, both have *ā*, not *au* or *ō*. So also Braj Bhāṣā nouns substantive, but not adjectives.

<sup>2</sup> Both *dā* and *kā* are derived from the same old Sanskrit word *kr̥tā*. Both have come down to the vernacular through the Prakrit *kidaḍ* or *kidau*. In Hindōstānī, in process of time, the *ḍ* disappeared, and the word became *kiaḍ*, and hence *kā*, which it will be observed is a postposition,—a distinct word,—and not a termination. On the other hand, the languages of the Outer Circle treated *kidaḍ*, not as a separate word, but as a termination. Thus for 'of a horse,' the speakers of the old language from which Hindōstānī is derived said *ghōḍāhi kidau* (hence *ghōḍē kā*) in which *kidau* is as distinct a word as is 'of' in the English phrase. But the speakers of the old Lahndā said *ghōḍāhikidau*, in which they dealt with *kidau* as if it were a termination like the *i* in the Latin *equi*. Now, there is a well-known phonetic rule that in a case like this a *h* between two vowels in the same word disappears. Hence as *ghōḍāhikidau* was spoken as one word it became *ghōḍāhīdau*, and hence *ghōḍēdā*, without any hyphen between the *ghōḍē* and the *dā*. This tendency to unite old postpositions with the main word, and to treat the two as one, is typical of the languages of the Outer Circle, and is rare in the languages of the Central Group.

The termination *kidau* is noted by Prakrit Grammarians as surviving in Śaurasēnī Prakrit the language of the Central and Upper Gangetic Doab, but its occurrence in Lahndā shows that it must have survived to a comparatively late period over the greater part of North-Western India.

<sup>3</sup> I have met this passive but rarely in the limited course of my Pañjābī reading. Except Mr. Tisdall's, all the grammars include Lahndā under Pañjābī. Mr. E. P. Newton mentions this passive, but all his examples are taken from the *Janam Sākā*, a Lahndā work.

One of the most striking characteristics of the languages of the Outer Circle is the free use they make of pronominal suffixes added to verbs (a procedure totally strange to the languages of the Central Group). Thus, Lahndā has *ākheus*, said (*ākheā*) by him (*us*), *i.e.* he said. In the Māj̄h dialect of Pañjābī, these also occur. Thus, *ākhius*, he said. We rarely hear these further East.

Pronominal suffixes.

Finally, like Lahndā and Sindhī, Pañjābī is a language with a vocabulary mainly composed of honest *tadbhavas*. *Tatsama* words are conspicuous only by their absence, and in this respect the tongue of the Land of the Five Rivers offers a striking contrast to the bastard mixture of Sanskrit and vernacular which the Pandits of Calcutta and Benares imagine to be literature. It is a homely language, redolent of the Punjab of to-day. Mr. Beames<sup>1</sup> puts this well,—

Vocabulary.

‘There is a flavour of wheaten flour and a reek of cottage smoke about Pañjābī and Sindhī, which is infinitely more natural and captivating than anything which the hide-bound Pandit-ridden languages of the eastern parts of India can show us.’

But though thus homely in character, it must not be assumed that it is a rude form of speech incapable of literature. It is no more rude than was the broad lowland Scotch of the poet Burns. Pañjābī can express any idea with its own stock of vocables, and is well adapted for both prose and poetry. It is true that it has hardly any literature, but that is due to its being overshadowed by its near relation, Hindōstānī, and to the fact that for centuries the Punjab has been ruled from Delhi; but the ballads of the people, which are current everywhere, well show its capabilities. Even at the present day there is too great a tendency to look down upon it as a mere dialect of Hindōstānī (which it is not), and to deny its status as an independent language. Its claim mainly rests upon its phonetic system and on its store of words not found in Hindī, both of which characteristics are due to its old Lahndā foundation. Some of the most common Pañjābī words do not occur in Hindōstānī. Such are *piu*, a father; *māū*, a mother; *ākhnā*, to say; *ikk*, one; *sāh*, breath; *tih*, thirst, and hundreds of others, all of which can be found in languages of the Outer Circle.

The mixed character of the languages of the Central and Western Punjab (Pañjābī and Lahndā) is well illustrated by the character given to the inhabitants of those tracts in the Mahābhārata, and by incidental references in the grammar of Pāṇini. Although not distant from the Madhyadēśa or Gangetic Doab, the centre from which Sanskritic civilisation spread, we learn that the laws and customs of the Punjab were at a very early period widely different from those of the Madhyadēśa. The people are at one time described as living in a state of kingless anarchy, and at another time as possessing no Brāhman̄s (a dreadful thing to an orthodox Hindū of the Middle Country), living in petty villages, and governed by princes who supported themselves by internecine war. Not only were there no Brāhman̄s, but there were no castes. The population had no respect for the Vēda, and offered no sacrifices to the gods. They were rude and uncultured, given to drinking spirituous liquor, and eating all kinds of flesh. Their women were large-bodied, yellow, extremely immoral in

Old Accounts of the Punjab.

<sup>1</sup> Comparative Grammar, Vol. I, p. 51.

their behaviour, and seem to have lived in a state of polyandry, a man's heir being not his son, but the son of his sister's.<sup>1</sup> That this account was true in every particular need not be urged. It is given to us by enemies; but, whether true or not, it illustrates the gulf in habits, customs, and languages, which existed between the Madhyadēśa and the Punjab.

Pañjābī has a very scanty literature. The oldest work which is usually said to be written in the language is the *Ādi Granth*, the sacred Scriptures of the Sikhs; but, although the manuscripts of the book are universally written in the Gurmukhī character, a very small portion of its contents is really in the Pañjābī language. It is a collection of hymns by various poets, most of whom wrote in some form of Western Hindī, while others even wrote in Marāṭhī. The best known Pañjābī portion is the *Japjī*, or introductory stanzas by Nānak, who was born in 1469 A.D. The celebrated *Janam Sākhī* (a life of Nānak) is in Lahndā, not in Pañjābī. Later works are the *Sākhī-nāma* (translated into English by Sardār Attar Singh Bhadauriā), another *Janam Sākhī* by Maṇi Singh, and a life of Har Gōbind, the sixth guru (1606-1638 A.D.). Some of these are probably in Lahndā, but I cannot say this for certain, as I have not seen any of them. The *Wārā Bhāi Gurdās-dā* is a collection of verses dating from the guruship of Arjun (1581-1606 A.D.), and has been printed (Amritsar, 1879). The verses are written in the style known as *wār*. A *wār* originally meant a dirge for the brave slain in battle, and hence any martial song of praise, and the poems are intended to describe the battle of good and evil in the human soul. As specimens of the earlier secular literature, Dr. Thornton<sup>2</sup> mentions the *Pāras bhāg* (a collection of ethical precepts), an epic on Akbar's siege of Chitaur, and a much admired epic on Nādir Shāh's invasion. The later literature is mainly composed of translations and imitations of works in Sanskrit, Hindī, or Persian. The most famous of these imitators is Hāshim, who flourished in the time of Rañjit Singh. The *Khair Manukh* is a poetical guide to the Greek system of medicine.

Besides the above, the bardic, or folk-literature, of the Punjab deserves more than a passing notice. It contains several cycles that may almost be called epics, the most important of which are those referring to the famous hero Rājā Rasālū, to Hirā and Rānjhā, and to Mirzā and Sāhibā. The version of the Hirā and Rānjhā legend by Wāris Shāh is considered to be a model of the purest Pañjābī. The folk-poetry of the Punjab has received considerable attention from European scholars, and deservedly so. It has all the swing and music of the border ballads of England and Scotland. The best known work on the subject is Colonel Sir Richard Temple's monumental *Legends of the Panjāb*.

The Serampore missionaries issued a Pañjābī version of the New Testament in 1815. Since then several editions of other parts of the Bible have appeared in the language. There is also a considerable Christian literature.

#### AUTHORITIES—

Carey, the famous missionary of Serampore, was the first to describe the Pañjābī language, in his Grammar published in 1812. The only previous mention of it which I can find is a couple of brief notices in Adelung's *Mithridates* (1808—1817).

<sup>1</sup> Can the author of this description have had the customs of the Japjīs in his mind when writing? The passage referred to above is *Mahābhārata*, VIII, 3020 ff. In 1. 2033 the tribe of Jārtikās is mentioned, and these perhaps were the ancestors of the modern Japjīs.

<sup>2</sup> See the article mentioned under the head of Authorities.

The following is a list of all the works dealing with Pañjābī which have come under my notice. Except in one or two instances, I have excluded reference to texts printed in India. These can be found in Mr. Blumhardt's catalogues mentioned below. I give, however, a pretty full account of editions of the *Ādi Granth*. I have excluded all mention of works in Western Pañjābī, or Lahndā, in which the *Janam Sākhī* and other works are written. This is an altogether different language, akin to Sindhī and Kāshmirī.

# 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)

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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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