

LAHNDĀ OR WESTERN PAÑJĀBĪ.

Lahndā is the language of the Western Panjab. To its east it has Pañjābī, spoken in the Central and Eastern Panjab, and it merges so gradually into that form of speech that it is impossible to fix any

Where spoken.

clear dividing line between the two. For our present purposes we may take a conventional line running north and south through the east Central Panjab and call everything to the east of it Pañjābī and everything to the west of it Lahndā; but it must be understood that the change from one language to the other is so gradual that many typical Lahndā peculiarities will be found on the east of the line, and many typical Pañjābī peculiarities on the west. The further west we go the less traces we find of Pañjābī, and we may consider Lahndā to be finally established on the Districts of Multan and Jhang.

The conventional line adopted for this Survey commences at the south-west corner of the District of Montgomery. It was nearly north through Montgomery and Gujranwala up to the town of Ramnagar on the Chinab in the latter district, dividing each into two nearly equal parts. From Ramnagar it runs across the District of Gujrat up to the south-west end of the Pabbi range of hills, close to the frontier of British India.

From this place the boundary line is more definite. It runs north-eastwards along the Pabbi range, and at the frontier it turns east, along the foot of the lower Himālaya to near the river Chinab; whence it runs nearly due north to about the Pir Panjal pass on the Kashmir frontier. Here it is met by the chain of mountains forming that frontier, and the line follows this range northwards, crossing the valley of the Jehlam a little to the east of the town of Uri. It still continues north along the south side of the Kishanganga valley till it reaches the latitude of the northern extremity of Khagan in the Hazara District. Here it turns round, and follows the western border of Hazara, over nearly the whole of which Lahndā is the principal language. On reaching Attock on the Indus, the line runs a short distance to the east of that river, following its course till we arrive at Kalabagh, where it crosses it so as to include the Isa Khel Tahsil of Mianwali District. It thence embraces the greater part of the Derajat and touches the Indus again at Ahmadpur. Then it turns eastwards, across the State of Bahawalpur, so as to include its northern portion, and joins the southern end of the north and south conventional line at the southern-western end of Montgomery District, from which we started. Besides this Lahndā is spoken by Hindūs in the trans-Indus Districts of Peshawar, Kohat, and Bannu, in all of which the main language is Paṣṭō. Again, Lahndā is spoken in a more or less corrupt form by numerous immigrants over the greater part of the Province of Sind.

The existence of Lahndā as a separate language has long been recognised under various names such as Jaṭki, Mūltānī, Hindkī or Hindkō,

Name of the Language.

and Western Pañjābī. It is called Jaṭki because in some parts most of its speakers are Jaṭṭs, but the name is not applicable in places where Jaṭṭs are not numerically preponderant. It is called Mūltānī, but this name properly applies only to the form of Lahndā spoken round Multan and the neighbourhood. Hindkī and

Hindkō, both of which mean 'the language of Hindūs,' are chiefly used in the trans-Indus districts where Pathāns speak Paṣṭō and Hindūs Lahndā. The only suitable general names are therefore Western Pañjābī and Lahndā. The former name explains itself. 'Lahndā' may be used as indicating 'the language of the West,' just as Powāḍī, the name of one of the dialects of Pañjābī, means 'the language of the East.' The name Western Pañjābī is popular and is used by eminent scholars like Sir James Wilson and Mr. Jukes, but it has inconveniences. In the first place it suggests that the language is a dialect of Pañjābī proper, with which it has really very slight relationship, and in the second place it gives rise to awkward collocations of words, such as 'North-Western Western Pañjābī' or 'Southern Western Pañjābī.' 'Lahndā' on the other hand is short and adaptable, as 'North-Western Lahndā' or 'Southern Lahndā' are at once intelligible. In the present Survey I therefore give the language its formal designation of 'Lahndā or Western Pañjābī' but when writing about it shall simply use the shorter and more convenient term 'Lahndā.'

In the plains of the Panjab, Lahndā has to its east Pañjābī. Towards the north, in the hill country its eastern neighbours are the Dōgri Pañjābī of Jammū, and the Kāshmīrī dialects of the upper Chinab valley. Still further north it has Kāshmīrī and in the extreme north Shiṇā on its east. Shiṇā also lies opposite its northern extremity. Along the western border of Khagan it has the Kōhistān dialects of the Indus. Lower down, along the western border of Hazara, as far as, and including, Dera Ismail Khan, the language on the west is Paṣṭō, and below that, in Dera Ghazi Khan, it is Balōchī. At Ahmadpur, where the boundary line turns to the east, it has Sindhī to its south, and further east, in South Bahawalpur, the language is the Thālī dialect of Rājasthānī.

Kāshmīrī, Shiṇā and the Kōhistānī are all Dardic languages, and we therefore see that in its northern section Lahndā is surrounded by languages of the Dardic type on three sides, east, north, and west. As regards the other languages Pañjābī with its dialect Dōgri, and Rājasthānī belong to the central group of Indo-Aryan languages, and are therefore distinct from Lahndā which belongs to the North-Western Group. The connexion between Lahndā and Pañjābī will be dealt with later, and here it will be sufficient to state that Lahndā shows few points of contact with Rājasthānī. One of these is, however, important. One of the typical characteristics of Lahndā is the formation of the future with the letter *s*. Thus (Mūltānī) *mar'sī*, he will die. There is nothing like this in Sindhī immediately to the south, but the *s* reappears still further south, in Gujarātī where we have *mar'sī*. The connecting link is the Western Rājasthānī immediately to the south of Lahndā. Here, in Thālī, we have *mar'sē*, and, further south, adjoining Gujarātī, in Mārwarī, *mar'sī*. We thus have a line of languages with *s*-futures extending, without a break from the north of Khagan, through the Western Panjab, and Western Rajputana into Gujarat.

Sindhī, on the other hand, though it has no *s*-future, is closely connected with Lahndā. In fact, so nearly related are the two languages that a kind of half and half language, half Lahndā and half Sindhī, is spoken over the greater part of Sind by

¹ The word 'Lahndā' literally means 'West.' If we wished to be accurate we should say 'Lahndādi bōlī,' the language of the West, or some such term. Mr. Tisdall, in his Pañjābī Grammar, calls the language 'the Lahindā dialect,' of which phrase 'Lahndā' must be taken merely as a convenient abbreviation.

immigrants from the Western Panjab. In Southern Lahndā even the Sindhi pronunciation is followed, and we hear the doubled consonants which are usually held to be typical of that language. There are many analogies in the declension of nouns. Here we may mention one, as it is of some importance, and is typical of all the north-western languages. In Kāshmirī, to take an example of a Dardic language, there are many masculine nouns ending in *u* followed by a consonant, as, for instance, *karun*, the act of doing. This was originally *karan*°. In the ablative singular *karan*° becomes *karana*. Here as there is no final °, *karana* does not become *karun*, but remains unchanged. In other words, Kāshmirī nouns ending in a consonant preceded by *u*, change the *u* to *a* in the oblique cases. Exactly the same is the case in Lahndā where *karun*, the act of doing, has its oblique form *karau*. In Sindhi, the old form is still preserved, and we have *karan*°, the act of doing, oblique form *karan*°. In the conjugation of verbs there is also a close resemblance between Lahndā and Sindhi. Specially noteworthy is the fact that they both have an organic passive, as in Lahndā *marṭwau*, Sindhi *mārijau*°, to be struck.

Pashtō and Balōchī are Eranian languages, and in no way influence Lahndā, except perhaps in one mixed dialect called Khêtrānī. There remain the Dardic languages. Lahndā shows many traces of their influence, and indeed it may almost be said that its basis is Dardic. Here it is necessary to point out that this influence extends beyond Lahndā into Pañjābī. Thus, most Indian languages drop a *t* when it comes between two vowels, while the Dardic languages usually preserve it. Thus, the Sanskrit *kṛitah* appears in Hindōstānī as *kiā*, but in Kāshmirī as *kit*° or *kyut*°, and in Lahndā and Pañjābī as *kitā*. Similarly L. and P. *sītā*, sewn; *pītā*, drunk; but H. *siā*, *pīā*. Again, Dardic frequently uses dental letters for cerebrals and *vice versa*. So, in Thalī Lahndā the cerebral is continually used instead of a dental *d*. Dardic is fond of dropping an *r* between vowels. This occasionally occurs in Lahndā, as in *dārō* or *dāō*, from (Dhannī). Such a loss of *r* is unknown in other parts of India.

In Dardic, the soft aspirated letters *gh*, *jh*, *ḍh*, *dh*, and *bh* are always disaspirated and become *g*, *j* (or *z*), *ḍ*, *d*, and *b*, respectively. Several examples of this occur in Lahndā. They are specially common in the Khêtrānī dialect, but they also occur elsewhere. Thus, the Dērāwāl dialect has *giddā*, instead of *ghiddā*, taken, *bukkh* for *bhukkh*, hunger. Another peculiarity of Dardic is that soft letters are liable to be hardened. Thus the Sanskrit *śvā-pada-*, a bear, is *hā-pat-* in Kāshmirī. In Lahndā there is a common word *ḍhiddh* or *ḍhiddh* meaning belly. In Hazara Lahndā it becomes *ḥḍ*, and in the Pōthwārī dialect of the Murree Hills, *ghiddhā*, taken, becomes *khiddhā*. In *ḥḍ* the aspiration is dropped both at the beginning and end of the word, and the resultant initial *ḍ* (for *ḍh*) is hardened to *ḥ*.

A marked feature of the Dardic languages is the tendency to epenthesis. By this is meant that the sound of a vowel is changed by the influence of one in the next syllable. Thus, in Kāshmirī the *a* of *baḍ*°, great, under the influence of the following ° becomes *o* and we have *boḍ*°. So *māl*°, a father, becomes *mōl*°, and *māj*°, a mother, becomes *mōj*°. Exactly the same occurs in Lahndā, where :—

kukkaru, a cock, becomes *kukkur* ;
vāharu, a young bull, becomes *vāhur* ;
kukkarī, a hen, becomes *kukkir* ; and
vāharī, a heifer, becomes *vāhir*.

We have seen on the preceding page how this epenthesis, in the case of *karun*, the act of doing, effects the declension of nouns both in Kāshmirī and in Lahndā.

The case of the personal pronouns is very noteworthy. All over the rest of India the words for 'we' and 'you' are *ham* and *tum* or some such form. Only in Pañjābī, Lahndā and Sindhī do we get different words, and these are closely related to Dardic forms. This will be evident from the following :—

	We.	You.
Dardic	Kāshmirī <i>as'</i>	<i>twah' (tōh')</i> .
	Kōhistānī ...	<i>tus.</i>
Lahndā	<i>assī</i>	<i>tussī.</i>
Pañjābī	<i>asī</i>	<i>tusī.</i>
Sindhī	<i>asī</i>	<i>tawhī.</i>

The Kōhistānī word for 'we' is not given as it is formed from a different base.

These resemblances are most striking, and it must be borne in mind that the forms extend over the whole of North-Western India.

Dardic languages conjugate their verbs largely with the help of pronominal suffixes. Thus, 'I beat him' is in Kāshmirī *mōru-m*, he (was) beaten-by-me. Lahndā and Sindhī do exactly the same. Lahndā has *māre-um* and Sindhī has *māryu-m'*. It is unnecessary to multiply examples here.

The conjugation of the past tense of the verb substantive is also worth noting. In Hindōstānī it is *thā*, but in Pañjābī it is *sā* or *sī*, and in Lahndā *āhā*, *āh*, *asā*, *āsā*, or *sā*, according to locality. If we bear in mind that in these dialects *s* is often changed to *h*, we see at once the resemblance to the following Dardic forms :—

Bashgalī Kāfir	<i>azī.</i>
Veron Kāfir	<i>esso, so.</i>
Kalāshā Kāfir	<i>āsīe.</i>
Khōwār	<i>oshoi.</i>
Shiṇa	<i>asū.</i>
Kāshmirī	<i>ōs' (for ās').</i>
Gārwi	<i>āsḥu.</i>
Maiyā	<i>ās.</i>

The conjugation of verbs does not call for special notice. It may, however, be remarked that in North-Eastern Lahndā the present participle ends in *nā*. Thus, *mārnā*, striking. So, in Kāshmirī we have *mārān*, striking, Bashgalī Kāfir *vin-an*, striking, and so on.

Finally, there are remarkable coincidences in vocabulary. The forms for the verb 'to go' will suffice as an example. In Pañjābī and the rest of India this is *jānā*, or some such form. In Kāshmirī it is *gatsḥ-un*, and so in Northern Lahndā it is *gachh-ūā*.

So much do these languages resemble each other that difficult Kāshmiri words can be explained by their Lahndā equivalents. Thus, there is a famous pass in Kashmir called *Hasti-wanj*, over which there is a story of elephants going. In Kāshmiri *hasti* means 'of an elephant' but there is no word *wanj*. It is not till we hear the South Lahndā *wañjūā* or *waññā*, Sindhī *wañan*¹, 'to go,' that we recognize that the name means 'the pass of the elephant.' The tradition of the passage of the elephants and of a subsequent disaster is preserved in Kashmir, but all memory of the meaning of the name has been lost.

The above considerations lead us to conclusions of some importance for the linguistic history of the North-West of India.

We know that Pañjābī belongs to the Central Group of Indo-Aryan languages. The principal member of the Group is Western Hindī. In the section of this Survey dealing with Rājasthān¹ it was pointed out that in Rājputānā and Gujarat the Aryan languages originally spoken belonged (like Lahndā) to the Outer Circle of Indo-Aryan languages. Over them the language of the Central Group, now represented in its purity by Western Hindī, gradually spread in a wave which diminished in force the further it proceeded from the place of origin. At present the whole of the country between the Gangetic Doab and the sea-coast of Gujarat is occupied by immigrant Aryan tribes who found there other Aryan tribes previously settled. These latter spoke a language belonging to the Outer Circle, and were either absorbed or driven farther to the south, or both, by the new-comers from the Dōāb.

We have historical records of this migration from the Gangetic Valley into Rājputana, but such notices are wanting in the case of the Panjab. It is, however, reasonable to suppose that the same occurred in their case also, for the linguistic conditions are exactly parallel. In the Eastern Panjab the language is an almost pure member of the Central Group, but as we go west traces of Lahndā influence grow stronger and stronger, till, at last, Lahndā is finally established in supersession of Pañjābī in the Districts of Jhang and Multan. It is evident from the phonetic conditions that some language akin to the Modern Lahndā was once spoken over the whole of the Modern Panjab, but that, in the east, it has been superseded by a language hailing from the Gangetic Doab, though traces of its former existence, stronger and stronger as we go westwards, are still observable.

Although, therefore, Pañjābī belongs to the Central Group, it is, to a certain and varying extent, a mixed language. Instances of the survival of Lahndā forms have already been quoted, and here one other general fact may be mentioned.

It is a commonplace of the history of all Indo-Aryan languages that the various Prakrits from which they are derived are full of words containing double consonants. As an example we can take the Sanskrit word *bhaktah*, cooked rice, which becomes *bhattu*, with a double *tt*, in Apabhraṃśa Prakrit. In most of the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars (especially in Western Hindī and Gujarātī) these double letters are simplified by the rejection of one of them, and the preceding vowel is lengthened in compensation. Thus, almost universally *bhattu* is represented in the modern languages by *bhāt*. But in

¹ Vol. IX, Part II, p. 2ff.

Lahndā and Pañjābī this is not the case. The double letter is retained and the preceding vowel remains short. In Sindhī and the Dardic languages and sometimes in Lahndā the compound is, it is true, simplified, but the preceding vowel almost always remains short. There is no compensatory lengthening. Thus, Sindhī has *bhat*¹, not *bhāt*¹, and the Dardic Kāshmīrī *bata*, not *bāta*. This absence of compensatory lengthening is a most important distinction between the Aryan languages of the North-West, and those of the rest of India. It separates them at once as two definitely distinct groups. In the North-West a double letter is either preserved or is simplified without affecting the preceding vowel. In the rest of India it is nearly always simplified and the preceding vowel is then always lengthened.

The following are further examples of this treatment of double letters :—

Sanskrit.	Apabhramśa Prakrit.	Pañjābī.	Lahndā.	Sindhī.	Dardic (Kāshmīrī unless otherwise stated).	Western Hindī.
<i>darbhah</i> , a kind of grass	<i>ḍabbhu</i> or <i>ḍabbhu</i>	<i>dabbh</i>	<i>dabh</i>	<i>ḍabh</i> ¹	<i>ḍab</i>	<i>ḍābh</i>
<i>uchchakāḥ</i> , high	<i>uchchāḥ</i>	<i>uchchā</i>	<i>uchchā</i>	<i>uchḥ</i>	...	<i>ūchā</i>
<i>satyaḥ</i> , true	<i>sachchu</i>	<i>sachch</i>	<i>sachchā</i>	<i>sach</i> ¹	...	<i>sāch</i> or <i>sach</i>
<i>rikshah</i> , a bear	<i>richchhu</i>	<i>richchh</i>	...	<i>richh</i> ¹	<i>itṣ</i> (Bashgali, exceptional long vowel).	<i>richh</i>
<i>śabdaḥ</i> , a sound	<i>saddu</i>	<i>sadd</i>	<i>sadd</i>	...	<i>sada</i>	<i>sād</i>
<i>duḡdham</i> , milk	<i>duddhu</i>	<i>duddh</i>	<i>duddh</i>	<i>ḍḍudh</i> ¹	<i>dōd</i>	<i>dūdḥ</i>
<i>agrā</i> , before	<i>aggahi</i>	<i>aggē</i>	<i>aggē</i>	<i>aggē</i>	...	<i>āgē</i>
<i>adya</i> , to-day	<i>ajju</i>	<i>ajj</i>	<i>ajj</i>	<i>aj</i> ¹	<i>az</i>	<i>āj</i>
<i>chakram</i> , a wheel	<i>chakku</i>	<i>chakk</i>	<i>chakk</i>	<i>chak</i> ¹	...	<i>chāk</i>
<i>tarkayati</i> , he ascertains	<i>takkḥi</i>	<i>takk-</i>	<i>takk-</i>	<i>tak-</i>	...	<i>tāk-</i>
<i>śushkakah</i> , dry	<i>sukkhāḥ</i>	<i>sukkhā</i>	...	<i>sukḥ</i>	<i>hōkh</i> ¹	<i>sūkhā</i>
<i>karma</i> , an action	<i>kammu</i>	<i>kamm</i>	<i>kamm</i>	<i>kam</i> ¹	<i>kām</i> ¹ (exceptional long vowel).	<i>kām</i>
<i>charma</i> , skin	<i>chamm</i>	<i>chamm</i>	<i>chamm</i>	<i>cham</i> ¹	<i>ckam</i>	<i>chām</i>
<i>karnaḥ</i> , an ear	<i>kannu</i>	<i>kann</i>	<i>kann</i>	<i>kan</i> ¹	<i>kan</i>	<i>kān</i>
<i>sarpaḥ</i> , a snake	<i>sappu</i>	<i>sapp</i>	<i>sapp</i>	<i>sap</i> ¹	...	<i>sāp</i>
<i>svatrūḥ</i> , mother-in-law	<i>sasū</i>	<i>sas</i>	<i>sas</i>	<i>sas</i> ¹	<i>hasḥ</i>	<i>sās</i>
<i>bhaktam</i> , boiled rice	<i>bhattu</i>	<i>bhatt</i>	...	<i>bhat</i> ¹	<i>bata</i>	<i>bhāt</i>
<i>raktakah</i> , red	<i>rattai</i>	<i>rattā</i>	<i>ratt</i> , blood	<i>ratḥ</i>	<i>rat-</i> , blood	<i>rātā</i>
<i>kartayati</i> , he cuts	<i>kaṣṭi</i>	<i>kaṣṭ-</i>	...	<i>kaṣ-</i>	<i>kat-</i>	<i>kāṣ-</i>
<i>hastah</i> , a hand	<i>hatthu</i>	<i>hattḥ</i>	<i>hattḥ</i>	<i>hath</i> ¹	<i>atha</i>	<i>hātḥ</i>
<i>prishtham</i> , the back	<i>piṣṭhu</i> , <i>puṣṭhu</i>	<i>piṣṭḥ</i>	...	<i>puṣṭḥ</i>	<i>pēṭḥ</i>	<i>pīṭḥ</i>

¹ There are a few instances of the double letter being preserved without simplification, as in the Sanskrit *makkhaṇaḥ* Prakrit *makkhaṇaḥ*, Hindi *makkhan* or *mākhan*, butter. But these are quite sporadic.

Lahndā has three main dialects, a Southern, or Standard, a North-Eastern, and a North-Western. Each of these has several sub-dialects.

The form of Lahndā which has been taken as the standard is that spoken in the Doāb of the District of Shahpur and illustrated in Sir James Wilson's *Grammar and Dictionary of Western Pañjābī*. It is the typical form of the Southern dialect, which covers the whole of the Lahndā area south of the Salt Range. It has three sub-dialects,—the Standard proper, Mūltānī, and Thālī.

Standard Lahndā.

The Standard proper is spoken in the Districts of Shahpur, Jhang, Lyallpur, Montgomery, Gujranwala, and Gujrat, and has several local or tribal names, which sometimes indicate slight variations. In Shahpur it is spoken in the Jēch Dōāb between the Jehlam and the Chinab. In Jhang and Lyallpur it goes by various names, according to the people who speak it. The most general name is *Jaṭkī*, or the language of the Jaṭṭs. 'Pañjābī' is the broken Lahndā spoken by the Pañjābī immigrants in the Canal Colony in Lyallpur, and Jāngalī is the language of the nomad tribes now settled in that district. The Jaṭkī spoken on the banks of the Chinab is called Chināwarī in Jhang, and in the north of that district the dialect of the Niswānā tribe is called Niswānī. In the Kāchhī, or alluvial portion of Jhang District on the right bank of the Jehlam, we have Kāchhṛī, which is the standard merging into the Thālōchhṛī form of Thālī spoken further west. With the exception of Thālōchhṛī, of which more anon, all these are simply slightly varying forms of the standard of the Shahpur Dōāb.

In Montgomery, we have, as explained above on p. 233, Pañjābī in the eastern and Lahndā in the western half. The latter is the Standard, as spoken in Lyallpur, gradually merging into Pañjābī. In Gujranwala the state of affairs is the same. Lahndā, very similar to that of Lyallpur, is spoken in the western third of the district, while the language of the eastern two-thirds is Pañjābī. The Lahndā of Gujranwala is locally known as *Bārdī Bōlī*, or the speech of the Bār or uncultivated upland.

In Gujrat, there is a similar division between Lahndā and Pañjābī. The Lahndā of this district has various names according to locality. West of the Pabbi Range, which is here the dividing line, it is Pōṭhwārī, a form of the North-Eastern dialect of Lahndā, and does not now concern us. Further south it is known as *Jaṭātardī Bōlī*, or *Bārdī Bōlī*, and resembles the dialect of the Shahpur Dōāb.

The estimated number of speakers of this Standard form of Lahndā is as follows :—

Shahpur	447,000
Jhang and Lyallpur	433,832
Montgomery	204,995
Gujranwala	275,000
Gujrat	147,000
	TOTAL . 1,507,827

We now come to the Mūltānī sub-dialect of the Southern dialect of Lahndā. This is spoken in the Districts of Multan, Muzaffargarh, Dera Ghazi Khan, in the north of the State of Bahawalpur, and by numerous immigrants in Sind. Mūltānī is well-known, owing to its having been described in Mr. O'Brien's Glossary. In Multan it is spoken over the whole district,

Mūltānī.

except in tracts, such as the Sidhmai Canal area, where immigrants from the Panjab have settled. The dialect of North Bahawalpur is the same as that of Multan and is locally known as Bahawalpuri. In Muzaffargarh, Mūltānī is locally known as Hindi, Hindki, or Jaṭki. It closely resembles the dialect of Multan except that in the north-east, on the bank of the river Chinab, adjoining Jhang District, it more nearly resembles the Chināwarī of Jhang, and is known as Chindhāwarī.

Across the Indus from Muzaffargarh lies the District of Dera Ghazi Khan, the principal languages of which are Balōchi, spoken by the Balōches, and Lahndā. The latter is locally known as Hindi, Hindki, Jaṭki, or Dērāwāl. The Balōches call it Jaghdali. It resembles Mūltānī, but is much influenced by the neighbouring Sindhi spoken to its south.

The local name of Upper Sind is Sirō, and the language of the country is a form of Sindhi known as Sirāiki, or 'Up-country' Sindhi. All over the Sirō and, diminishing in number as we go south, also over the rest of Sind, there are numerous immigrants whose native language is Lahndā. The form of Lahndā spoken by them most nearly resembles the Hindki of Muzaffargarh, and is also known as 'Sirāiki' or the 'Up-country language.' In order to distinguish it from the Sirāiki form of Sindhi it is called Sirāiki Hindki in the following pages.

Finally, in this connexion we may mention Khētrānī and Jāfirī, two cognate dialects spoken by independent tribes living beyond our border in the Sulaimān Range. Their language is a mixed one. Its basis resembles the Hindki of Dera Ghazi Khan, but it also shows undoubted points of connexion not only with Balōchi, but also with the Dardic languages spoken far to the north below the Hindū Kush.

Mūltānī and its cognate sub-dialects differ from the Standard of the Shahpur Dōāb mainly in pronunciation. It often employs the peculiar doubled consonants of Sindhi, and at the same time is almost as fond of cerebralizing a dental *d* as the Thalī dialect shortly to be mentioned. The vowels *ā* and *ā* of the Dōāb have disappeared, and have become *ā* and *ē*, respectively. There are also differences of vocabulary.

The number of speakers of the various forms of Mūltānī has been estimated as follows:—

Multan	531,838
Bahawalpur	458,000
Muzaffargarh	720,000
Dera Ghazi Khan	362,270
Sirāiki Hindki of Sind	104,875
TOTAL	2,176,983

The number of speakers of Khētrānī and Jāfirī is put down at 14,581.

The sandy desert west of the river Jehlam is known as the Thal. It has the Indus to its west and extends from the Salt Range on the north to the District of Muzaffargarh on the south. It includes parts of the Districts of Mianwali, Jehlum (Jehlam), Shahpur, Jhang, and the north of Muzaffargarh. In Muzaffargarh the language is the Mūltānī form of Lahndā. Over

the rest of the Thali it is called Thali, and varies very little from place to place. Thali has crossed the Indus, and is also spoken in the Districts of Dera Ismail Khan and Bannu. In the last named district the main language is Pashto, and Thali is only spoken by some 33,000 Hindus scattered over the country. The main difference between Thali and the Standard Southern Lahnda of the Shahpur Doab is the frequent substitution of a cerebral for a dental *d*. There are also differences of grammar and vocabulary. Thali has other names, varying according to locality. Over the whole area it is called Jatki. In Dera Ismail Khan it is sometimes called Hindki and sometimes Derawal, the latter being considered to represent the more polished form of the speech. In Mianwali and Bannu it is called Hindko and Mulki, and in Jhang Thalochari.

The following is the estimated number of speakers of Thali :—

Mianwali	400,000
Jhelum	131,562
Shahpur	21,000
Jhang	2,948
Dera Ismail Khan	170,000
Bannu	33,700
TOTAL	759,210

Although, in the later pages of this volume, the North-Eastern dialect is, for practical reasons, considered before the North-Western, it will here be most convenient to deal with the latter first. North-Western Lahnda begins in the middle of the Salt Range, having the Thali (Southern Lahnda) of Jhelum immediately to its south. In the Salt Range, immediately to its east and west it has dialects of the North-Eastern Group which it separates like a wedge. It extends northwards through Western Jhelum, where it is called Dhanni into the eastern part of the Attock District. Thence it spreads over North Attock into the Hazara District of which it is the main language, and also westwards over Peshawar, where the main language is Pashto, and where it is spoken only by scattered Hindus. In East Attock it is called Sawain. Elsewhere it is generally known as Hindko or Hindki, but the dialect of Peshawar City is called Peshawari, while the Tinawak tribe in Hazara has a special variety of its own called Tinauli.

The North-Western dialect possesses all the appearances of a mixed form of speech, partly agreeing with Southern Lahnda, and partly with North-Eastern Lahnda. Thus it forms its genitive by adding *da*, as in the south, but the oblique form singular of masculine nouns ending in a consonant is formed by adding *e*, as in the North-Eastern dialect. In vocabulary, also, it often agrees with the North-Eastern dialect, when the latter differs from the Southern. In some respects its vocabulary is independent of both. Thus the verb 'to go' is *wainun* in the south, *gachhna* in the north-east, but *janā* in the north-west.

The following is the estimated number of speakers of North-Western Lahnda :—

Jhelum	201,082
Attock—	
Sawain	106,010
Hindko	82,041
	188,051
Carried over	389,133

	Brought forward	389,133
Peshawar—		
(Hindkō and Pēshāwarī)		129 000
Hazara—		
Hindkō	308,867	
Tināuli	54,425	
		<u>363,292</u>
	TOTAL	<u>881,425</u>

The proper home of the North-Eastern dialect of Lahndā is the eastern third of the Salt Range and the Pōṭhwār plain. The latter consists of the eastern part of the District of Jhelum and the plains portion of the District of Rawalpindi. From here it extends northwards into the Murree Hills of the latter district, taking in at the same time a small tract on the east of the neighbouring District of Hazara, inhabited by Dhunḍ and Kairāls. It then covers the Chibhāl country or outer hill region of Kashmir between the rivers Chenab and Jehlam, including the Jāgīr of Punch. It also covers the Jehlam valley in Kashmir between Muzaffarabad and Uri, and, according to Drew, the greater part of the valley of the Kishangangā, up from where it joins the Jehlam at Muzaffarabad. No specimens have been received from the Kishangangā valley, and we must content ourselves with Drew's authority. For the rest of the tract above mentioned plentiful materials are available, and there is no doubt about all the local dialects being various forms of North-Eastern Lahndā.

North-Eastern Lahndā has several names, often based on the names of the tribes which use some particular form, and not always connoting special dialectic differences. The form spoken in the Pōṭhwār tract is always known as Pōṭhwārī. That of the Murree Hills is simply called Pahārī or the Hill Language. The speech of the Dhunḍ and Kairāls is called either Dhunḍī or Kairāli, according to the tribe of the speakers, but it is practically the same as the Pahārī just mentioned. The Chibhāl country is named from the Chibh tribe which is here important, and the local dialect is called Chibhālī. In Punch, where the language is much affected by the neighbouring Kāshmirī, the dialect is called Punchī.

So far we have traced North-Eastern Lahndā in its proper direction to the north-east. On its west, as the map will show, it has, throughout, some form of North-Western Lahndā. In the Salt Range, where it has the Dhanni North-Western dialect to its west, in the west of the Pind Dadan Khan Tahsil of Jhelum, it re-appears again in the western third of the range in the north of the District of Shahpur. The Salt Range has, therefore, North-Eastern Lahndā at each end, and North-Western Lahndā in its centre.

The North-Eastern Lahndā at the Shahpur, or western, end of the Salt Range is due to the presence of Awāns. Sir James Wilson claims their form of speech as the Salt-Range dialect *par excellence*. The Awāns have spread over the south of the District of Attock, where their dialect is called Awānkārī, and across the Indus into Kohat, where it is spoken by Hindūs and Awāns scattered amongst the Paṣtō-speaking Paṭhān population. Here the Lahndā is called by various names, such as Awānkī, Awānkārī, Hindkī, Hindkō, and Kōhātī. The first two represent the dialect as spoken

by Awāns, the third and fourth, the same dialect as spoken by Hindūs, while Kōhāṭī is the general name of the dialect throughout the district.

Finally, North-Eastern Lahndā has spread further north in Attock over the Pindi Gheb Tahsil in the centre of the district. Here it is known as Ghēbī.

We thus see that North-Eastern Lahndā is spoken in two distinct tracts, separated from each other by the North-Western dialect. There is, first, the true North-Eastern dialect of the north-east, and there is, secondly, an overflow to the west covering the north of Shahpur, the south and centre of Attock, and crossing the Indus into Kohat. The dialects of the two tracts are very similar. They differ mainly in vocabulary, the Western dialects showing a tendency to agree with the neighbouring Southern dialect. For instance they use the southern word *vañun* for 'to go,' while the true North-Eastern dialects all have *gachhnā*.

The North-Eastern¹ dialect of Lahndā differs from the Southern dialect in several important particulars. There are wide differences of vocabulary. A list of a number of words peculiar to the north-east is given in the section dealing with the dialect. Some of these are actual shibboleths. Such are *gachhnā*, to go; *achhnā*, to come. These are peculiar to the north-east, the south having *vañun* and *āwun*, and the north-west *jāṇa* and *āṇō*, respectively. Another shibboleth is the words for 'my' and 'thy.' In the north-east they are *māḍā* and *tāḍā*, while in the south they are *mērā* and *tērā*.

In Grammar, very noticeable is the frequent change of *s* to *h*, as in the root *hag*, for *sak*, to be able. Again, in the south and the north-west the postposition of the genitive is *dā*, but in the north-east it is *nā*. Similarly the terminations of the present participle are *dā* and *nā*, respectively. In the declension of nouns, masculine nouns ending in a consonant of the Southern dialect are unchanged in the oblique singular. Thus, *ghar-dā*, of a house. But in the North-Eastern dialect, with which in this particular the North-Western dialect agrees, the oblique singular adds the letter *ē*; thus, *gharē-nā* (North-Western *gharē-dā*), of a house. Feminine nouns ending in a consonant similarly add *ī* in the north, but not in the south. These are the most striking points of difference between the North-Eastern and Southern dialects. Others will be found noted in the sections referring to them.

The following is the estimated number of speakers of North-Eastern Lahndā :—

True North-Eastern Dialects—		
Poṭhwāri	684,362	
Pahāri (including Dhunḍi)	87,777	
Kashmir dialects	741,407	
	1,513,546	
North-Eastern Dialects of the western tract—		
Western Salt Range (Shahpur)	25,000	
Awānkāri (Attock and Kohat)	123,901	
Ghēbī (Attock)	90,308	
	239,209	
TOTAL	1,752,755	

¹ These remarks apply particularly to the true North-Eastern dialects. The North-Eastern dialects of the western tract just described sometimes show more points of agreement with the language of the south.

We are not in a position to give the number of speakers of Lahndā outside their proper home. Outside the Pañjāb they are everywhere confused with speakers of the Pañjābī. From the above figures we see that the number of speakers of Lahndā in its proper home, as estimated for this Survey on the figures of the Census of 1891, is:—

Southern Dialect—		
Standard	1,507,827	
Multāni	2,176,983	
Khētrāni and Jāfiri	14,581	
Thālī	759,210	
	<hr/>	4,458,601
North-Western Dialect		881,425
North-Eastern Dialect—		
True North-Eastern	1,513,546	
Western Sub-Group	239,209	
	<hr/>	1,752,755
		<hr/>
TOTAL		7,092,781
		<hr/>

The total figures for Lahndā in the Census of 1911 were 4,779,138. But these cannot be compared with the above figures, as in many cases, for census purposes it is impossible to distinguish between Lahndā and Pañjābī. As already stated there is a large area over which it is debatable which of these two languages is spoken.

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