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A Study of Lexical Variation Between Dhani and Majhi

Abstract

Present study highlights lexical variation in Dhani and Majhi dialects of Punjabi language spoken in Pakistani Punjab that may lead to communication gap. It focuses on description of vocabulary differences of words of daily use. It is a partly qualitative and partly quantitative research, which was conducted through survey. Data was collected from thirty participants (15 speakers from each variety) from Chakwal district of Rawalpindi Division and Sheikhpura, Nankana Sahib districts of Lahore Division in Punjab province, Pakistan. It was collected through a word list consisting two hundred and sixty vocabulary items that are used in daily conversation. Results retrieved from analysis of the collected data show that two hundred and nine Dhani words i-e 80 % do not exist in Majhi variety at all and have their alternatives in Majhi whereas, fifty-one words i-e 20 % exist but are pronounced in a different way in Majhi.

Key Words: *Dhani, dialect, lexical variation, Majhi*

1. Introduction

1.1 Background to the study

Language variation is present in all languages of the world (Shareah, Mudhsh, & AL-Takhayinh, 2015). It is not a defect of a language and does not make any language less in rank or quality in comparison with other languages. Every language has different dialects or varieties. A dialect is a set of linguistic items with similar distribution (Hudson, 1996). Crystal (2008) defines it as regionally or socially distinct variety of language that has its particular set of words and grammatical structure. It is different from accent that is a distinctive way of pronouncing a language. A dialect is a variety that is characterized by phonological, lexical and syntactic properties (O’Grady, Archibald, Aronoff, & Rees-Miller, 2001).

Pakistan is linguistically a rich country where six major languages including Urdu, English, Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashto and Balochi and fifty nine minor languages are spoken (Rahman, 2006). Simons and Fennig (2017) describe seventy-three languages in the Ethnologue:

Languages of the World, that are spoken in Pakistan. Punjabi is spoken by 38.78% of the total population ("Population Census," 2017).

Lexical differences of everyday language lead to communication gap or failure of communication. This research intends to analyze and describe lexical differences of Dhani (earlier written as Dhanni) and Majhi dialects of Punjabi language in the Punjab province of Pakistan. Dhani is spoken in parts of Rawalpindi Division (Pothohar Plateau), Chakwal, and southern parts of Jhelum and Attock districts whereas Majhi is spoken in Gujranwala, Sheikhpura, Lahore, Sahiwal and areas of Multan Division. It is prestige variety of Punjabi and is standard of written Punjabi.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Vocabulary of Dhani is different from that of Majhi. This study is about lexical differences of Dhani and Majhi dialects of Punjabi language with reference to a few selected words of daily use.

1.3 Aims and Objectives

The objectives of the research are:

- 1) To identify entirely different lexemes in Dhani and Majhi
- 2) To find similar lexemes with variation in both dialects

1.4 Research Questions

The research answers following questions based on the objectives of the study:

- 1) Which lexemes are completely different in Dhani and Majhi dialects of Punjabi?
- 2) Which lexemes exist in both dialects but vary in meanings or pronunciation?

1.5 Significance of the Study

Present study is significant in knowing the lexical differences of two dialects of Punjabi as it gives accurate description of these differences with the help of examples through first hand data. Dhani is one of the undescribed varieties of Punjabi (Waseem, 2017). This research will be beneficial for future researchers to describe some aspect of this variety. It will be helpful to develop educational material and written literature for language learning and teaching to promote this variety and will urge to explore indigenous languages of Pakistan.

1.6 Limitation of the Study

The research is limited to explore lexical differences of both varieties and is delimited to a few selected words of daily use. Other properties of dialect variations i-e pronunciation and syntax are not described.

2. Literature Review

Punjabi is spoken as mother tongue by a large number of people in Pakistan ("Population Census," 2017). It has twenty major and minor dialects. Majhi, Doabi, Malwai, Powadhi, Pothohari, and Multani are the major dialects of Punjabi (Tariq, 2012). Minor dialects include Shahpuri, Jhangochi, Jangli, Hindko, Dhani, Jandali and Chachi etc. Figure 1 below by Mahmood (2010) shows the dialects of Punjabi language spoken in Pakistan:

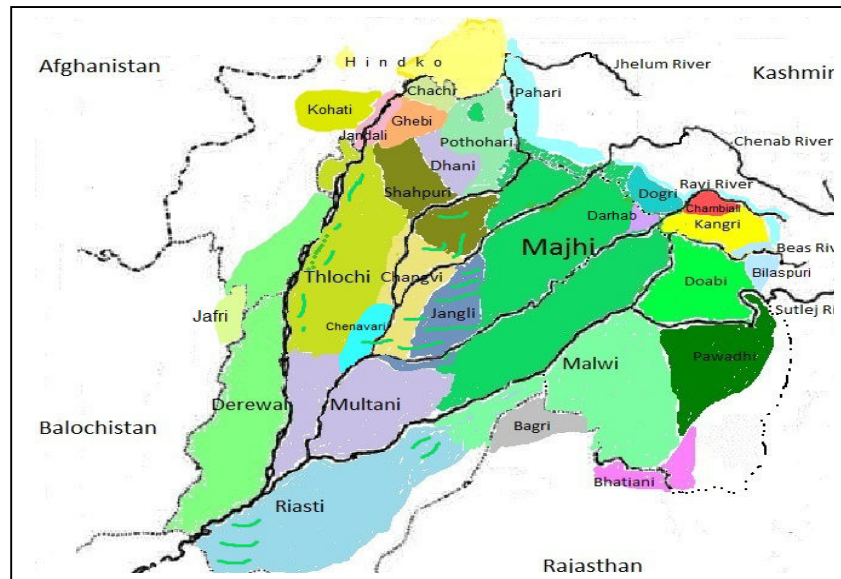


Figure 1. Dialects of Punjabi spoken in Pakistan

Dhani derived its name from ‘Dhan Valley’ that is situated 35 km away from Rawalpindi. Majhi derived its name from Majha district of Indian Punjab where it is spoken as a standard variety. Two main cities of this region are Lahore (Pakistan) and Amritsar (India). People of Lahore call their Punjabi as Lahori Punjabi rather than Majhi.

Dhani was classified by Grierson (1917) as a dialect of Punjabi into Northern cluster of Lahnda. He used word Lahnda in his Linguistic Survey of India (LSI) to identify a group of varieties (dialects) spoken in Western Punjab. These varieties include Pothohari, Jhangochi, Shahpuri, Dhani, Malwi, Dogri, Sariki or Multani, Doabi, Hindko and Pwadhi. Majhi dialect is a binding force to other dialects of Punjabi.

Dialectology, a sub field of sociolinguistics refers to the study of dialects scientifically (Petyt, 1980). Its focus is variation in a language that is based on geographic distribution. Dialect variation is very natural

to the languages of the world. Shareah et al. (2015) discuss example of English language that has many varieties which include Australian, British, American, Nigerian, and South African English etc. British English is very different from American English. Sanyal (2013), in his comparative study of British and American English identifies lexical variation between two varieties. A similar survey study has been done by Di Carlo (2013) to analyze reciprocal comprehension between these two varieties. Both these studies conclude that besides differences British English has many terms adopted from American English and vice versa. It is because of TV programs, Hollywood industry and information and communication technology.

Deáková (2013) discusses classification of vocabulary made by Strevens (1972) as: common word stock, common ideas, different words and words with no counterparts. She also discusses lexical differences marked by Trudgill and Hannah (2002). These differences include same words with different meanings, same words with additional meanings in one variety, same word with difference in frequency of use, connotation and style.

Jamshaid (2016) surveyed on five Punjabi dialects (Majhi, Doabi, Saraiki, Pothohari and Jangli) to see how far lexical variation marks regional boundaries. The research concludes that lexical variation occurs among these dialects and it differentiates the resident of one area from that of another. It also highlights that lexical variation and these differences can mark the existence of regional boundaries. Hasan and Khan (2019) explored English loanwords in Dhani. It discusses phonological variation of these words. These researches are significant because these urged authors of present study to describe lexical differences in Dhani and Majhi dialects of Punjabi in day-to-day language usage that can lead to communication gap or can pose confusion in certain cases.

3. Methodology

This is a descriptive research in design, and it follows mixed method approach. Based on survey it intends to describe variation in lexical items of Dhani and Majhi varieties of Punjabi language. The focus of the study is to highlight vocabulary differences of these dialects as they appear in daily use. The native speakers of Dhani from Chakwal district of Rawalpindi Division and Majhi speakers of Sheikhpura and Nankana Sahib Districts of Lahore Division were the population of the research. A sample of 30 native speakers of Dhani and Majhi (15

speakers from each variety) belonging to different social, regional and educational background was selected from the population. Sample was selected through purposive sampling technique. The sample included males and females of different age groups who had rich knowledge of their language and culture. Elderly people above 50 years of age were given preference in the selection of sample because new generation of these varieties is moving to other cities for education or job purposes and their language is getting mixed with other varieties. The detailed division and selection of informants is as described in Table 3.1 below:

Table 3.1 Division of Participants in Groups

Sr.	Informants	Dialect	Regional Background	Tehsil	District
1	5	Dhani	Bhalla	Chakwal	Chakwal
2	5	Dhani	Kallar	Kallar	Chakwal
			Kahar	Kahar	
3	5	Dhani	Kotli	Choa	Chakwal
			Saidan	Saiden	
				Shah	
4	5	Majhi	Narang	Muridke	Sheikhupura
5	5	Majhi	Sharaqpur	Sharaqpur	Sheikhupura
6	5	Majhi	Panwan	Shah Kot	Nankana Sahib

Data was collected in written form through vocabulary list. Elicitation was also used as backup to record responses of the informants because recorded data allows for play back that facilitates data analysis. Researchers belong to Majhi speaking community and Dhani is not their mother tongue, therefore, two bilingual and educated native speakers (from Chakwal) were hired as research assistants (RAs) for communication, facilitation and acceptability of data during data collection process. One of the RAs was from village Bhalla of tehsil Chakwal. He is a physician (Hakeem) by profession and has vast knowledge of his language and areas where Dhani is spoken as mother tongue. Second RA was from village Pinwal of tehsil Chakwal. He is a university student. He is doing Masters in English language and teaches in a private institute in the evening. Both of them accompanied researcher for data collection from all the three tehsils (Chakwal, Kallar Kahar, Choa Saiden Shah) of Chakwal District, Punjab Pakistan.

A wordlist consisting of 210 items of basic and standardized vocabulary i-e names of birds, animals, colors, days of week, names of

months, seasons, parts of body, relations, names of meals, fruits, vegetables, crops etc, formed by Mathai (2011) and Hallberg et al. (1992) was selected and adapted with the help of RAs to get responses from all the participants of both dialects to draw comparison. Word list in printed form was given to each participant and was explained. Each informant was asked to read and fill the list with words from their language variety against each category. The purpose of wordlist comparison was to determine the extent to which the vocabulary of each speech form is different.

4. Data Analysis

The collected data through elicitation was grouped into relevant lexical categories (word classes). The detail of these categories in percentage has been shown in Table 4.1 below:

Table 4.1 Detail of Word classes

Sr.	Word Classes	Frequency	Percentage
1	Nouns	182	72%
2	Pronouns	12	5%
3	Verbs	30	11%
4	Adjectives	32	12%
5	Adverbs	4	2%
	Total	260	100

The graphical presentation of these word classes in percentage has been given in Figure 2 below:

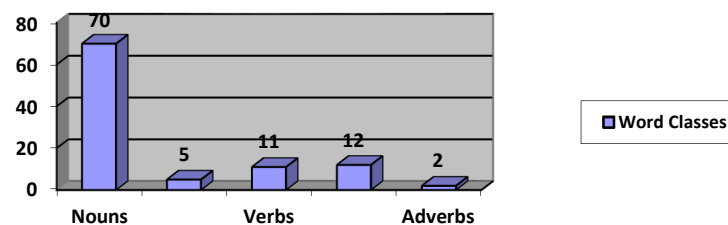


Figure 2. Percentage of Word classes

Data was transcribed into Roman transcription and the analysis was done through comparison by presenting data into tables. Every table contains three columns. First column shows Dhani response, second column presents Majhi response and third column contains gloss (basic vocabulary in the wordlist). Description of the data has been given by dividing it into different word classes as below:

4.1 Nouns

Nouns are first building blocks of a language. They are the most essential category in comparison with other parts of speech and form a long list in any language. Present study discusses following categories of nouns of both varieties of Punjabi:

4.1.1 House vocabulary

Vocabulary items related to house in general which are different in both dialects have been shown in Table 4.2 below:

Table 4.2 House Vocabulary

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
Ghar	ka ^h r	House
Pat	shaṭeer, shaṭeeri	Beam (wooden)
Pat	gader	Girder
Kadh	kandh	Wall
ba ^h ri	bouker	Broom
Pasar	branda	Veranda
ch ^h anch ^h umbi	latreen, cha'ra	Toilet

Dhani word *pat* used for beam and girder exists in Majhi also. Its pronunciation is also same, but it is used for plank of door in Majhi. Similarly, Majhi word *bouker* ‘broom’ is also used in Dhani for the same thing.

4.1.2 Parts of Body

Nouns related to body parts also show variation and have been given in Table 4.3 below:

Table 4.3 Parts of Body

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
dhoṇ	ṭo ^h ṇ	Neck
waṭ	munh	Mouth
bharwatay	perwatay	Eye brows
heṛyon/ haṛon	daṛh	Jaw tooth
aruk	kohṇi	Elbow
jussa	pinda	Body
piploun	palkan	Eyelashes

Dhani word *jussa* ‘body’ exists in Majhi also and is used to describe inner state or temperament of a person rather than a body part. Its pronunciation is same as is in Dhani.

4.1.3 Kitchen Items

Kitchen items include utensils and other cooking related things that are common in both cultures. These lexemes have been presented in Table 4.4 below:

Table 4.4 Kitchen Items

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
rasoi, kut ^h ayali	barachi khana	Kitchen
saṇki	t ^h ali	Plate
ṭrami (metal)	praat	Skillet
Katwi	handi	Pot
lowṇ	salaṇ	Curry
gara’n	burki	Bite
Beenda	piṛhi	A small stool
dat’a	t’akkan	Lid
Kasuk	chamchi	Spoon
Dhakun	chapaṇ	Lid of cooking pot (clay)
jhoṇi	chapṇi	Lid of pitcher
saṇak	kaṇali	Platter (clay)
g ^h eo	k ^h eo, k ^h ey	Ghee
ghugharīan	kungrian	Marende (a dish)
saboon	sabaṇ	Soap
manjral	kuchi	Dish cloth
kop, dullu	magga	Cup
joot	baṭi	Lamp cotton wicks
ṭarakṛi	ṭakṛi	Scale
gachi, pocha	gachṇi	Clay
jolay, jerolay	seinvian	Vermicelli
langri ghotṇa	koondi danda	Mortar (stone/clay)
langri ghotṇa	chathu wata	Mortar (iron)
ch ^h akour	ch ^h aba, ch ^h abi	Basket for loaves
dajji	pouṇa	Cloth for loaves

Dhani word *rasoi*, which means kitchen in English, is also used by Majhi speakers in some areas especially where migrants settled from India after Pakistan-India partition in 1947. It is used with same meanings and pronunciation in both varieties. Dhani word *lowṇ* is also used in Majhi but differently. It is used mostly in villages for a dish made of Split Chickpeas and Sweet Gourd or Tinda (Apple gourd). Similarly, Dhani

word *pocha* ‘clay’ also exists in Majhi and is used differently. Majhi speakers use this word for plaster of mud on walls or floors of houses in remote villages. This mud plaster is not very common these days and this term is used for mopping the floor in cities and villages both.

4.1.4 Food Items

Food items include names of dishes, fruit and vegetables. Table 4.5 below shows a few food items that vary in both varieties:

Table 4.5 Food Items

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
Naakh	nashpaṭi/ naak	Pear
Vidam	badam	Almond
makheyon	sheid	Honey
prot ^{hi}	prot ^{ha}	Paratha
phulka/ taap	roti	Loaf
Khummm	khumbi	Mashroom
khakhṛi	kherbuza	Melon
Gayer	gajar	Carrot
wiṭaon	baṭaon	Egg plant
t ^{hi} per	gonglu	Turnip
Bair	beir	Plum
Muphalli	munghphali	Peanut
ma’ruch	mirch	Pepper, chilli
Herdul	haldi	Turmeric
hadwaṇa	dhawaṇa	Water melon

Dhani word *prot^{hi}* ‘Paratha’ is also used by Majhi speakers for the same. The only difference identified is of size of the thing. If it is big in size, they call it *parot^{ha}* ‘Paratha’ and if it is small, they call it *prot^{hi}* ‘Paratha’ whereas Dhani speakers always use word *prot^{hi}* ‘Paratha’

4.1.5 Days of Week

Some days of week have a little variation in both varieties. For example, Mahji words *mangal* ‘Tuesday’ and *budh* ‘Wednesday’ are used by Dhani speakers with addition of a suffix *-war* with them i-e *mangalwar* ‘Tuesday’ *budhwar* ‘Wednesday’. Dhani word *sounwar* ‘Monday’ is used in Majhi also with same pronunciation and meanings but word *pir* ‘Monday’ is more frequently used by Majhi speakers than *sounwar* ‘Monday’.

4.1.6 Directions

Words for directions used by speakers of Dhani and Majhi have been given in Table 4.6 below:

Table 4.6 Directions

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
uberda/ chaṛhda	mashraq	East
lehnda	magrab	West
quṭab	shamal	North
sohl	janoob	South
dar	al, wal	Towards

Dhani people use words *uberda/ chaṛhda* ‘East’ and *lehnda* ‘West’ with reference to sunrise and sun set.

4.1.7 Seasons

Both Dhani and Majhi cultures have four seasons i-e winter, summer, spring and autumn. Word *garmi* ‘summer’ is common in both dialects whereas rest three seasons have their alternative terms. For example, Dhani word *sial* ‘winter’ is referred as *sardi* ‘winter’ in Majhi. Similarly, *khazan* ‘autumn’ and *phot* ‘spring’ in Dhani are replaced with *paṭ chaṛ* ‘autumn’ and *bahar* ‘spring’ by Majhi people.

4.1.8 Ailments

A few ailments are common in both cultures but are named differently. Words used for such ailments have been given in Table 4.7 as below:

Table 4.7 Common Ailments

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
khag	khang	Cough
bhenṭalṇa	bondalṇa	Insensible
kass, ṭapp	ṭaap	Fever
gun ṭrikki	gowanjṇi	Eye pimple
bakan	phinsi	Pimple
seunkan	chamoone	Pinworms
atṭ ^h run	uṭṭ ^h u	Choke (in throat)
jalleon	joon	Lice

4.1.9 Relations

Understanding relationships is one of the most common issues in genealogy. Different cultures have different terms used for these relations. Some relation terms of Dhani and Majhi have been given in

Table 4.8 below:

Table 4.8 Relations

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
biladri	bradri	Family
sangi	beili	Friend
janna, ghar aala	khasam, khanwand	Husband
sawni, ghar aali	biwi, buddhi	Wife
wadka/chacha	abba	Father
wadki	maan/ amman	Mother
jawatṛa	jawai	Son in law
dad poṭra	chache da puṭ	Cousin (father's brother's son)
moleir	mamey da puṭ	Cousin (mother's brother's son)
maseir	khala da puṭ	Cousin (mother's sister's son)
phupheir	phuphi da puṭ	Cousin (father's sister's son)
bhira	p'raa	Brother
gawadi	gawandi	Neighbor

4.1.10 Colors

Color terms in both varieties are more or less the same. Collected data reveal two terms only which are different in both varieties. Dhani speakers use word *sawa* for green color whereas Majhi people call it *hara*. Similarly, for red color, Dhani people use word *raṭa* and Majhi speakers use *lal* for the same.

4.1.11 Birds and Animals

Birds and animals include names of insects, pets and wild birds and animals. Table 4.9 shows some of them that are different in both language varieties.

Table 4.9 Birds and Animals

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
Pakheru	prinde	Birds
chan chabakhi /anni	chaam chṛik/ cham	Bat
chabakhi	chiti	

kal kuṭi	sundi, babbu kuṭa	Caterpillar
anni dhanjal	ullu	Owl
Bakruta	meimna	Kid
Dand	bould, bald	Ox
Sah	shaha	Rabbit
Hill	ill	Eagle
Ludh	gidh	Vulture
chaki hoṛa	hud hud	Woodpecker
Jha	cho’u, kandeila chua	Hedgehog
Kankol	kan khajora	Centipede
Sana	sanda	Spiny tailed lizard
Goheera	gou	Monitor lizard
Ghughi	kuggi	Dove
Baboya	makṛi	Spider
Terbhoṛi	poond	Wasp
makhayari	sheid di makhi	Honey bee
malla ^h ap	gandoya, gadoya	Earthworm
Buja	bandar	Monkey
bheṛa	soor, bahr la	Pig
Miryun	jangli janwer	Wild animal

4.1.12 Time

Terms related to time include general division of day and time check with reference to prayers. They been given in Table 4.10 below:

Table 4.10 Time

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
dehaṛa	diṇ	Day
uṭṛyon	persoun	Day before yesterday
person/ person	persoun	Day after tomorrow
charokana	baṛay chir ton	For a long time
Agandru	aglay sal	Next year
Per	pich ^h le sal	Previous year
Perar	perar	Next to previous
Fezari	fajar	Fajar
Peishi	zohr	Zohar
deegar	asar	Asar

namashan	maghrib	Maghrib
kuftan	asha	Isha
pich ^h ai	pich ^h la teim	Afternoon

4.1.13 Cloths and Shoes

Description of clothes and shoes is as in Table 4.11 below:

Table 4.11 Cloths and Shoes

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
kheiri	pashori chappal	Chappal
gergabi	boot	Boot
perna	safa	Kerchief
cheṛa	chunni	Dupatta
ṭaruper	juṭi	Shoe
	ch ^h iṭer	
choula	kameez	Shirt
pepni	kameez	Ladies' shirt
majla	t ^h ouṭi	Ladies' lungi

4.1.14 Games

Games are very specific to culture. A few common games that exist in cultures of both linguistic communities with different names have been presented in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12 Games

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
ul ul phalli	seika seika, mar kutai	Playing with ball
panj geiṛa	beetay	Playing with stones
teepu sultan	pit ^h u garam	Pithu garam
cheenjok	shatapu	Hopscotch
ch ^h apan ch ^h oṭ	ch ^h upan ch ^h upai	Hide and seek

Dhani game *ull ull phalli*, which is called *seika seika* (mar kutai) in Majhi is common. It is played mostly in villages. A group of players throws a ball upwards and run to catch the ball to hit others with it. Everyone tries the same to get more chances to hit others with ball.

Another interesting game played by both boys and girls is *teepu sultan* or *pithu garam*. It is played with two teams. Players need a tennis ball and seven stone to be put on each other in form of a tower. A player of one team throws ball to break and rebuild the tower. The opponent

team members stop them and hit them through the ball to get their turn.

Dhani *cheenjuk*, which is called *shatapu* in Majhi is a rural game played by girls in cities and villages both. It is similar to English game *Hopscotch*. Some rectangles are drawn with chalk on the ground and a player of one team tosses an object into the rectangles and then hops through the space between the rectangles to get that object. If he is successful in doing so, he gets the point, otherwise the player of second team gets his turn.

4.1.15 Agriculture

Pakistan is an agriculture state and village people are mostly associated with agriculture field. Terms related to this field include names of crops, agriculture tools and other things used in village life. Table 4.13 below shows a few example words:

Table 4.13 Agriculture

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
kheṭer	kheṭ	Fields
zimmi	zameen	Land
bho	ṭuṛi	Chaff
banh	ṭ'la	Pond
bera	bajra	Maize
phuti	kapah	Cotton
ch ^h umak	soti	Stick
sory	paṭ ^h i	Dung cake
pah	khad	Fertilizer
giran	pind, chak	Village
dhoke	pind	A small village
aiṇ	oulley	Hail storm
bhinna, kassi	neihr	Canal
aad	khala	Drain

4.1.16 Miscellaneous

Table 4.14 shows some words of daily use that belong to different categories. It includes household items, places, belongings and experiences as below:

Table 4.14 Miscellaneous Nouns

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
jakaṭ, jkaṭak, ch ^h or	munda	Boy
jakaṭri, jaṭakri, ch ^h ori	kuṭi	Girl
Khursi	kursi	Chair
Cham	chamṛa	Leather
Mahraj	lahṛa	Groom
Bouti	wohti	Bride
Zanani	ṭinwi	Woman
Ja	jaga	Space
gusṭan	qabarṣṭan	Graveyard
Pura	wah	Breeze
Sail	sair	Walk
Khari	tokri	Basket
hussuṭ	habas	Suffocation
Perseu	paseena	Perspiration
Leif	lehaf	Quilt
foṭeedgi/ marag	foṭgi	Death
Asas	thandi sah	Cold breath
Arman	dukh	Misery
kalwaṭri	ari	Saw
Usman	asman	Sky
Bhuk	poukh	Hunger
kuṛa	chut ^h a	Liar
Khabb	khamb	Wing
Serandu	seraṇa	Pillow
chor baṭi	betri	Torch
gudeṭ	kuṛa	Junk
wat, kuṭ	wat	Anger
jhukandra	faṭeha	Condolence
karaṭ	hindu	Hindu
chabul	chawwl	Numpty
jhoota	chuta	Swing
biladri	bradri	Community

4.2 Pronouns

Pronouns include personal pronouns, possessives, demonstratives, relative and in interrogative pronouns. They have been

given in Table 4.15 below:

Table 4.15 Pronouns

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
t̥usada	t̥uwada	Your
t̥enda	t̥iera	Your (informal)
menda	meira	My
husda	usda	His
ki kun	kinj	How
ji kun	jiddan	As
hinj	inj	Like
hede	iṯ ^h ay	Here
hode	uṯ ^h ay	There
wat	fer	Then
kudun	kidon	When
kour	koŋ	Who

Personal pronouns also vary according to gender in both varieties. For example, in Dhani if the speaker is male, he uses word *menda* to show possession and if speaker is female, word *mendi* is used. These also change with number. For example, for singular words *menda* (masculine) or *mendi* (feminine) are used whereas for plural terms *mende* (masculine) or *mendian* (feminine) are used. Similarly, speakers of Majhi variety also use personal pronouns according to number and gender.

4.3 Verbs

Verbs form second largest category after nouns in a language. Some common verbs used by speakers of these language varieties in their daily life have been presented in Table 4.16 below:

Table 4.16 Verbs

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
wanda	khali	To empty
uberana	balanaa	To call
uberna	bolnna	To speak
turapna	kudna	To plunge
chubbi	tubbi	To dive
fet̥a	fateya	To pray on death
oukeṇa	chukkna	To bend

drokṇa	ṭeruṇa	To drag
napṇa	phaṛṇa	To catch
jhujhaṇa	hallāṇa	To shake forcefully
gouṇ	gana	To sing
bhan'ṇa	pan'ṇa	To break
j ^h ukṇa	faṭeha kehṇa	To condole
d ^h ukna	phabṇa	To suit
akhi nutṇa	akh mechna	To close eyes
wenā	janā	To go
kapṇa	katṇa	To cut
kapṇa	wad ^h na	To harvest
veetna	roṭ ^h na	To throw (liquid)
khusṇa	gawachṇa	To lose
ṭeroṛna	ṭorna	To break
bhiṛna	laṛna	To fight
laghna	langhṇa	To pass
dhaṇa	dighṇa	To fell
bhouṇa	phirna	To walk
satna	sutna	To throw
chapna	lukṇa	To hide
gheenā	leṇa	To take
bhajna	pajṇa	To run
bhowania ownā	chakkar ownā	To feel giddy

4.4 Adjectives

Adjectives collected through data can be categorized into two classes and their description is as below:

4.4.1 Simple Adjectives

Table 4.17 gives a list of simple adjectives used by Dhani and Majhi speakers as:

Table 4.17 Simple Adjectives

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
hakalla	kallah	Alone
chajj	chajj	Tact
cheṛa	choṛa	Wide
gella, mohakalla	khulla	Loose
sowṛa	ṭang	Narrow

t ^h ulla	mota	Fat
dhanai	jangli	Wild
she/sena	gilla	Wet
lokha	holla, halka	Light
roda	ganja	Balled
t ^h ena	tena	Short heighted
wal	t ^h eeek	Alright
ṭrikṛa	ṭagra	Healthy
ṭrikha	ṭikha	Sharp
doura	boula	Deaf
jhalla	kamla	Mad
lagga	l’waras	Derelict
sachayar	sacha	True
meissa	mesṇa	Cunning
dadha	ṭagra	Sturdy
peeda	sakhaṭ	Hard
thada	thanda	Cold
khitetun	khatas	Sour
machla	shokha	Dandy
kuchaja	bechaja	Inefficient
kudab ^h a	bet’anga	Tawdry
see ^h	pala	Winter

4.4.2 Cardinal Adjectives (Counting)

Counting in both language varieties is almost same. A few different terms used by the natives have been given in Table 4.18 below:

Table 4.18 Cardinal Adjectives (Counting)

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
hik	ik	One
ṭre	ṭin	Three
ch ^h ein	ch ^h e	Six
dah	das	Ten
ṭ’ri	ṭ’i	Thirty

4.5 Adverbs

Adverbs of Dhani and Majhi varieties have been described in Table 4.19 below:

Table 4.19 Adverbs

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
aggay	agan/ aggay	Ahead
pich ^h ay, kandeet _i	pich ^h an/ pich ^h ay	Behind
nay	nai	No
ba ^h un	bohat _i , bt ^h eira	Much

Dhani words *aggay* and *pich^hay* used for ahead and behind respectively exist in Majhi dialect also. They are used with the same pronunciation and meanings in Majhi.

Nouns form the largest category in every language. Nouns used in present study were further classified according to different fields. Their detail has been shown in Table 4.20 below:

Table 4.20 Classification of Nouns

Sr	Nouns	Frequency	Percentage
1	House vocabulary	7	4 %
2	Parts of body	7	4 %
3	Kitchen items	25	14 %
4	Food items	15	8 %
5	Days of week	3	2 %
6	Directions	5	3 %
7	Seasons	3	2 %
8	Ailments	8	4 %
9	Relations	13	7 %
10	Colors	2	1 %
11	Birds and animals	22	12 %
12	Time	13	7 %
13	Cloths and shoes	8	4 %
14	Games	5	3 %
15	Agriculture	14	8 %
16	Miscellaneous	32	18 %

The graphical presentation of noun classification in percentage has been given in Figure 3 below:

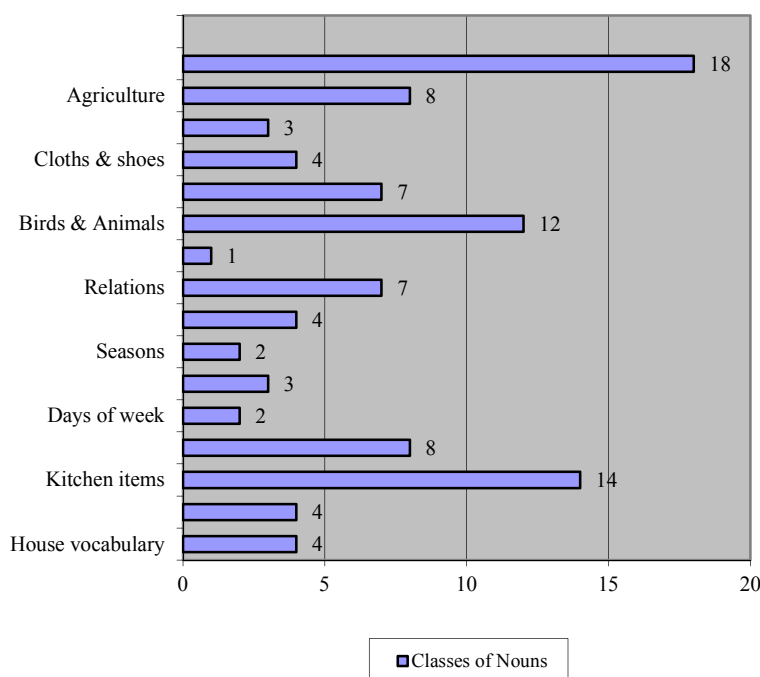


Figure 3. Classification of Noun

Analysis of above vocabulary items (260 words) reveals that 20% i-e fifty-one vocabulary items are same in both varieties but have different pronunciation and 80% i-e two hundred and nine lexical items in one variety have their different alternative in other variety.

5. Conclusion

According to sociolinguistic studies, language varies from region to region and even person to person. Present study investigated lexical differences between Dhani and Majhi dialects of Punjabi. The analysis of the data indicates that both varieties have visible differences in the vocabulary items used in daily conversation. These lexical differences of both Dhani and Majhi varieties can be categorized into two groups. 1st group is composed of fifty-one such lexemes as exist in both varieties but differ only in pronunciation, for example Dhani word *ma'ruch* 'pepper' and Majhi word *mirch* 'pepper' etc. 2nd group consists of two hundred and nine lexemes which are entirely different in both varieties and have their alternative words. Despite dialectal differences, Punjabi leads to unification of people and promotes wide communication among people in Pakistan because of mutual intelligibility. Language as a controlling force controls way of thinking. Differences among different varieties exist because people from different cultures have different views of the

world because of language that can be summed up in the words of Sapir (1929) as:

“No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered representing the same reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct works, not merely the same worlds with different labels”.

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