

**Citation:** Hasan, W., & Khan, A. A. (2021). Study of Lexical Variation between Dhani and Majhi Punjabi. *Global Language Review*, VI(IV), 1-16. [https://doi.org/10.31703/glr.2021\(VI-IV\).01](https://doi.org/10.31703/glr.2021(VI-IV).01)



## Study of Lexical Variation between Dhani and Majhi Punjabi

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### Abstract

*The present study highlights lexical variation in Dhani and Majhi dialects of Punjabi language spoken in Pakistani Punjab that may lead to a communication gap. It focuses on the description of vocabulary differences of words of daily use. It is partly qualitative and partly quantitative research, which was conducted through a survey. Data were 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 of 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 differently in Majhi.*

**Key Words:** Dhani, Dialect, Lexical Variation, Majhi

## Introduction

### 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 a regionally or socially distinct variety of language that has its particular set of words and grammatical structure. It is different from the 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 in everyday language lead to communication gaps or failure of communication. This research intends to analyze and describe lexical differences of Dhani (earlier written as Dhanni) and Majhi dialects of the 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 the prestige variety and is the standard of written Punjabi.

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## Statement of the Problem

The 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, which usually pose difficulty in understanding a message or create a communication gap to the speakers of both varieties. It also intends to document the said lexical items of Dhani, which mainly exist in oral form only.

## 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

## Research Questions

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

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

## Significance of the Study

The present study is significant in knowing the lexical differences of two dialects of Punjabi as it gives an accurate description of these differences with the help

of examples through first-hand data. It also highlights to what extent both varieties can be similar or different from each other. Dhani is one of the undescribed varieties of Punjabi ([Waseem, 2017](#)). This research can be beneficial for future researchers to describe some aspects of this variety. It may be helpful to develop educational material and written literature for language learning and teaching to promote this variety and may urge to explore indigenous languages of Pakistan.

## Limitation of the Study

The research is limited to exploring 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.

## Literature Review

Punjabi is spoken as the 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 the Punjabi language spoken in Pakistan:

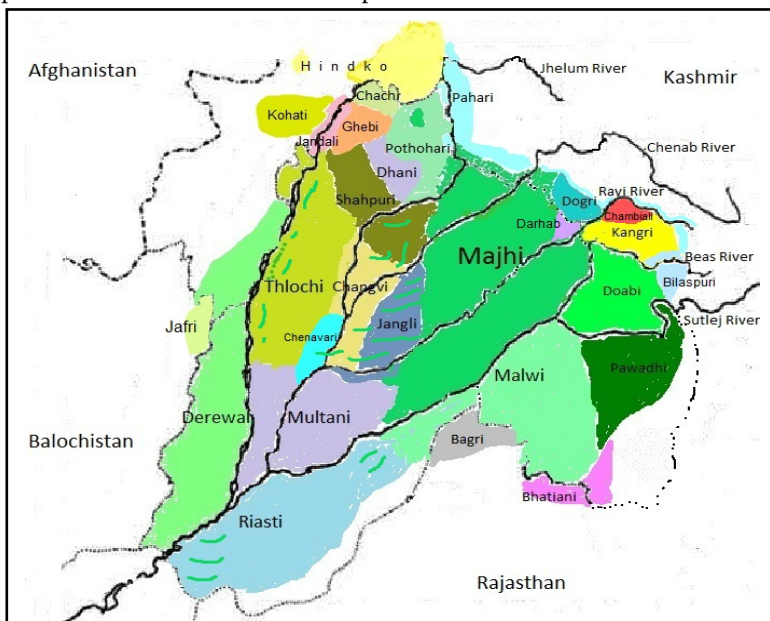


Figure 1: Dialects of Punjabi spoken in Pakistan

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

Dhani was classified by [Grierson \(1917\)](#) as a dialect of Punjabi into the Northern cluster of Lahnda. He used the 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, Shahapuri, Dhani, Malwai, Dogri, Sariki or Multani, Doabi, Hindko, and Pwadhi. Majhi dialect is a binding force to other dialects of Punjabi.

Dialectology, a subfield 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 the example of the 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, the Hollywood industry, and information and communication technology.

[Deáková \(2013\)](#) discusses the 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 the same words with different meanings, the same words with additional meanings in one variety, same words with the

difference in frequency of use, connotation, and style.

[Jamshaid \(2016\)](#) surveyed 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 the phonological variation of these words. These researches are significant because these urged authors of the present study to describe lexical differences in Dhani and Majhi dialects of Punjabi in day-to-day language usage that can lead to communication gaps or can pose confusion in communication in certain cases.

### Methodology

This is descriptive research in design, and it follows a mixed method approach. Based on the 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 the vocabulary differences of these dialects as they appear in daily use. The native speakers of Dhani from the 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 backgrounds was selected from the population. The sample was selected through the purposive sampling technique. The sample included males and females of different age groups who had a rich knowledge of their language and culture. Elderly people above 50 years of age were given preference in the selection of sample because a 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 are as described in Table 1 below:

**Table 1.** Division of Participants in Groups

S. No	Informants	Dialect	Regional Background	Tehsil	District
1	5	Dhani	Bhalla	Chakwal	Chakwal
2	5	Dhani	Kallar Kahar	Kallar Kahar	Chakwal
3	5	Dhani	Kotli Saidan	Choa Saidan Shah	Chakwal

S. No	Informants	Dialect	Regional Background	Tehsil	District
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 a vocabulary list. Elicitation was also used as a backup to record responses of the informants because recorded data allows for playback 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 the data collection process. One of the RAs was from village Bhalla of tehsil Chakwal. He is a physician (Hakeem) by profession and has a vast knowledge of his language and areas where Dhani is spoken as his 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 the researchers 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 the week, names of months, seasons, parts of the 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 a comparison. Wordlist 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.

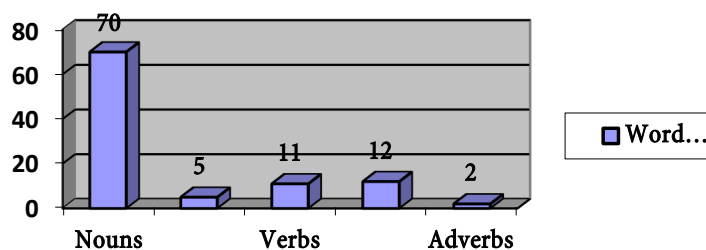
### Data Analysis

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 2 below:

**Table 2.** Detail of Word classes

S. No	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 Indological IPA transcription according to ISO-15919: 2001, and the analysis was done through comparison by presenting data into tables. Every table contains three columns. The first column shows Dhani response, the second column presents Majhi response, and the 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:

**Table 3.** House Vocabulary

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
ghar	ka`rh	House
paṭ	ṣatīr, ṣatīri	Beam (wooden)
paṭ	gāḍar	Girder
kadh	kandh	Wall
bāhri	bokar	Broom
pasār	brāṇḍā	Veranda
chanchūmbī	laṭrīn, cā`rā	Toilet

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

## Nouns

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

### House vocabulary

Vocabulary items related to the house in general, which is different in both dialects, have been shown in Table 3 below:

the same thing.

### Parts of Body

Nouns related to body parts also show variation and have been given in Table 4 below:

**Table 4.** Parts of Body

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
dhaṇ	taṇ	Neck
vāt	mūñh	Mouth
bharvaṭe	parvaṭe	Eye brows
haṛyoñ/ hāṛoñ	ḍaṛh	Jaw tooth
āruk	kohṇi	Elbow
jussā	pinḍā	Body
piploñ	palkāñ	Eyelashes

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

### Kitchen Items

Kitchen items include utensils and other cooking-related things that are common in both cultures. These lexemes have been presented in Table 5 below:

**Table 5.** Kitchen Items

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
rasoī, kuṭheyālī	barchī <u>khānā</u>	Kitchen
sāṅkī	thālī	Plate
trāmī (metal)	prāt	Skillet

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
kaṭvī	hāṇḍī	Pot
lauṇ	sālaṇ	Curry
gārāṇ	burkī	Bite
bīṇḍā	pīrhi	A small stool
ḍaṭā	ṭakkan	Lid
kāsuk	camci	Spoon
ḍhakun	chapaṇ	Lid of cooking pot (clay)
jhaunī	capṇī	Lid of pitcher
sāṇak	kaṇālī	Platter (clay)
gheo	keo, kai	Ghee
ghughriāṇ	kungriāṇ	Marende (a dish)
sābuṇ	sābaṇ	Soap
manjrāl	kūcī	Dish cloth
kop, ḍullū	maggā	Cup
jūṭ	batī	Lamp cotton wicks
tarakrī		Scale
gācī, pocā	gācṇī	Clay
jole, jarole	seṇviāṇ	Vermicelli
lāngri ghoṭnā	kūṇḍī ḍanḍā	Mortar (stone/clay)
lāngri ghoṭnā	caṭhū vaṭā	Mortar (iron)
chakor	chābā, chābī	Basket for loaves
dajī	po`ṇā	Cloth for loaves

Dhani word *rasoī*, which means kitchen in English, is also used by Majhi speakers in some areas, especially where migrants settled from India after the Pakistan-India partition in 1947. It is used with the same meanings and pronunciation in both varieties. Dhani word *lauṇ* 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, the Dhani word *pocā* ‘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 both cities and villages.

### Food Items

Food items include names of dishes, fruit and vegetables. Table 6 below shows a few food items that vary in both varieties:

**Table 6.** Food Items

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
nākh	nāṣpāti/ nāk	Pear
vidām	badām	Almond
mākheyoṇ	śaid	Honey
proṭhī	proṭhā	Paratha
phulkā/ tāp	roṭī	Loaf
khum	khumbī	Mushroom
khakhṛī	kharbūzā	Melon
gair	gājar	Carrot

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
vitāūñ	batāūñ	Eggplant
ṭhipar	goṅglū	Turnip
bair	beir	Plum
muphallī	mūñgphalī	Peanut
maruc	mirc	Pepper, chili
hardul	haldī	Turmeric
hadvāñā	dhavāñā	Water melon

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

### Days of Week

Some days of the week have a little variation in both varieties. For example, Majhi words *mangal* ‘Tuesday’ and *bodh* ‘Wednesday’ is used by Dhani speakers with

the addition of a suffix - *vār* with them i-e *mangalvār* ‘Tuesday’ *bodhvār* ‘Wednesday’. Dhani word *soñvār* ‘Monday’ is used in Majhi also with the same pronunciation and meanings but word *pīr* ‘Monday’ is more frequently used by Majhi speakers than *soñvār* ‘Monday’.

### Directions

Words for directions used by speakers of Dhani and Majhi have been given in Table 7 below:

Table 7. Directions

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
ubardā/ caṛhdā	mašraq	East
lehñdā	maḡrab	West
qutab	šamāl	North
sohl	janūb	South
dār	al, val	Towards

Dhani people use words *ubardā/ caṛhdā* ‘East’ and *lehñdā* ‘West’ with reference to sunrise and sun set.

### Seasons

Both Dhani and Majhi cultures have four seasons i-e winter, summer, spring and autumn. Word *garmī* ‘summer’ is common in both dialects, whereas rest three seasons have their alternative terms. For example, Dhani word *siāl* ‘winter’ is referred as *sardī* ‘winter’ in Majhi. Similarly, *khazāñ* ‘autumn’ and *phot*

‘spring’ in Dhani are replaced with *pat caṛh* ‘autumn’ and *bahār* ‘spring’ by Majhi people.

### Ailments

A few ailments are common in both cultures but are named differently. Words used for such ailments have been given in Table 8 as below:

Table 8. Common Ailments

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
khag	khang	Cough
bhentaṅnā	bondaṅnā	Insensible
kas, tāp	tāp	Fever
gun trikkī	gavāññī	Eye pimple
bakāñ	phinsī	Pimple

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
seuñkāñ	camūṇe	Pinworms
athruñ	uthū	Choke (in the throat)
jalleoñ	jūñ	Lice

### 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 9 below:

**Table 9.** Relations

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
bilādrī	brādrī	Family
saṅgī	belī	Friend
jaṇā, ghar ālā	khasam, <u>khā</u> ñvand	Husband
savāñī, ghar ālī	bīvī, buḍhī	Wife
vaḍkā/ cācā	abbā	Father
vaḍkī	māñ/ ammāñ	Mother
javātrā	javāī	Son in law
dād potrā	cāce dā pot	Cousin (father's brother's son)
moleir	māme dā pot	Cousin (mother's brother's son)
maseir	<u>kh</u> ālā dā pot	Cousin (mother's sister's son)
phupheir	phuphi dā pot	Cousin (father's sister's son)
bhirā	p`rā	Brother
gavaḍī	gavañḍī	Neighbor

### 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 the word *sāvā* for green color, whereas Majhi people call it *harā*. Similarly, for the red color, Dhani people use the word *rattā*, and Majhi speakers use *lāl* for the

same.

### Birds and Animals

Birds and animals include names of insects, pets and wild birds and animals. Table 10 shows some of them that are different in both language varieties.

**Table 10.** Birds and Animals

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
pakherū	prinde	Birds
can cabākhi /annī cabākhi	cām ṛīk/ chām citī	Bat
kalkutī	sunḍī, babbu kuttā	Caterpillar
annī ḍhāñjal	ullū	Owl
bakruṭā	memnā	Kid
dānd	bould, bald	Ox
sāh	śāhā	Rabbit
hil	il	Eagle
ludh	gidh	Vulture
caki hoṛa	hod hod	Woodpecker
jhā	cakundar, kañḍelā cūā	Hedgehog

<b>Dhani</b>	<b>Majhi</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
kankol	kan khajūrā	Centipede
sānā	sānḍā	Spiny tailed lizard
gohīrā	goh	Monitor lizard
ghughī	kuggī	Dove
baboyā	makrā	Spider
tarbhoṛi	pūnḍ	Wasp
makheyāri	šaid di makhī	Honey bee
maḷap	gaḍoyā, gaḍoyā	Earthworm
būjā	bāndar	Monkey
bheṛā	sūr, bahrla	Pig
miryūn	jangli jānvar	Wild animal

### Time

Terms related to time include general division of day and time check regarding prayers. They have been given in Table 11 below:

**Table 11.** Time

<b>Dhani</b>	<b>Majhi</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
dehārā	diṅ	Day
uteryoñ	parsoñ	Day before yesterday
parsoñ	parsoñ	Day after tomorrow
carokanā	baṛe cir toñ	For a long time
agāndrū	agle sāl	Next year
par	pichle sāl	Previous year
parār	parār	Next to previous
fazrī	fajar	Fajar
pešī	zohr	Zohar
dīgar	asar	Asar
namāñšāñ	maḡrab	Maghrib
kuftāñ	išhā	Isha
pichāñ	pichlā ṭaim	Afternoon

### Clothes and Shoes

Description of clothes and shoes is as in Table 12 below:

**Table 12.** Cloths and Shoes

<b>Dhani</b>	<b>Majhi</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
kheṛī	pašorī cappel	Chappal
gargābī	būṭ	Boot
parnā	sāfā	Kerchief
cīṛā	cunñi	Dupatta
tarupaṛ	Juttī chittar	Shoe

coulā	kamīz	Shirt
pipṇī	kamīz	Ladies' shirt
majlā	tou'ti	Ladies' lungi

## Games

Games are very specific to a culture. A few common games that exist in cultures of both linguistic communities with different names have been presented in Table 13.

**Table 13.** Games

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
ul ul phallī	sekā sekā, mār kuṭāi	Playing with ball
panj geiṛā	bīṭe	Playing with stones
ṭīpu sultān	piṭhu garam	Pithu garam
cīnjuk	ṣaṭāpu	Hopscotch
chapan chot	chupan chupai	Hide and seek

Dhani game *ul ul phallī*, which is called *sekā sekā* (mār kuṭāi) 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 the ball.

Another interesting game played by both boys and girls is *ṭīpu sultān* or *piṭhu garam*. It is played by two teams. Players need a tennis ball and seven stones to be put on each other in the form of a tower. A player of one team throws the ball to break and rebuild the tower. The opponent team members stop them and hit them through the ball to get their turn.

Dhani *cīnjuk*, which is called *ṣaṭāpu* in Majhi is

a rural game played by girls in cities and villages. It is similar to the 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.

## Agriculture

Pakistan is an agricultural state, and village people are mostly associated with agriculture fields. Terms related to this field include names of crops, agriculture tools and other things used in village life. Table 14 below shows a few example words:

**Table 14.** Agriculture

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
khetar	khet	Fields
zimī	zamīn	Land
bho	ṭūrī	Chaff
banh	talā	Pond
berā	bājra	Maize
phuṭī	kapāh	Cotton
chumak	soṭī	Stick
sore	paṭhī	Dung cake
pāh	khād	Fertilizer
girān	pinḍ, chak	Village

<b>Dhani</b>	<b>Majhi</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
dhōk	pinḍ	A small village
aiṅ	ōḷe	Hail storm
bhinnā, kassī	naihr	Canal
āḍ	khālā	Drain

### Miscellaneous

Table 15 shows some words of daily use that belong to different categories. It includes household items, places, belongings and experiences as below:

**Table 15.** Miscellaneous Nouns

<b>Dhani</b>	<b>Majhi</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
jākat, jātak, chōr	munḍā	Boy
jākatṛi, jātakṛi, chori	kuṛi	Girl
khursī	kursī	Chair
cham	chamṛā	Leather
mahrāj	lāhṛā	Groom
bouṭi	voḥṭi	Bride
zanāni	tiṅviṅ	Woman
jā	jagā	Space
gustān	qabarstān	Graveyard
purā	vāh	Breeze
sail	sair	Walk
khari	ṭokri	Basket
hussor	habas	Suffocation
parseu	pasinā	Perspiration
leif	lahāf	Quilt
fotiḍgi/ marug	fotgi	Death
asās	ṭhandi sāh	Cold breath
armān	dukh	Misery
kalvatṛi	āri	Saw
usmān	āsmān	Sky
bhuk	po`kh	Hunger
kūṛā	cūṭhā	Liar
khamb	khamb	Wing
sarāndū	sarāṇā	Pillow
cor batti	betṛi	Torch
guder	kūṛā	Junk
vaṭ, kūṛ	vaṭ	Anger
jhukāndrā	fātehā	Condolence
karār	hindū	Hindu
cabul	caval	Numpty
jhūṭā	cūṭā	Swing
bilādrī	brādrī	Community

## Pronouns

Pronouns include personal pronouns, possessives, demonstratives, relative and interrogative pronouns. They have been given in Table 16 below:

**Table 16.** Pronouns

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
tusāḍā	tuvāḍā	Your
teñḍā	terā	Your (informal)
maiñḍā	merā	My
hosdā	usdā	His
ki kun	kinj	How
ji kun	jidāñ	As
hinj	inj	Like
hede	ithe	Here
hode	uthe	There
vat	fer	Then
kudun	kidoñ	When
kour	koñ	Who

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

Majhi variety also use personal pronouns according to number and gender.

## 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 17 below:

**Table 17.** Verbs

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
vandā	khāli	To empty
ubarānā	balānā	To call
ubarnā	bolnā	To speak
turapnā	kudnā	To plunge
cubbi	ṭubi	To dive
fetā	fātehā	To pray on death
okaṛnā	cukṇā	To bend
drokṇā	tarūṇā	To drag
napṇā	phaṛnā	To catch
jhujhāṇā	halāṇā	To shake forcefully
goṇ	gānā	To sing
bhan'ṇā	pan'ṇā	To break
jhukṇā	fātehā kehṇā	To condole
dhuknā	phabṇā	To suit

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
akhi nūṭṇā	akh mīchṇā	To close eyes
vaiṇā	jāṇā	To go
kapṇā	kaṭṇā	To cut
kapṇā	vaḍhnā	To harvest
viṭṇā	roṛhnā	To throw (liquid)
khusṇā	gavācṇā	To lose
tarorṇā	torṇā	To break
bhirṇā	laṛṇā	To fight
laghnā	langhṇā	To pass
ḍheṇā	ḍignā	To fell
bhauṇā	phirṇā	To walk
saṭṇā	suṭṇā	To throw
chapṇā	lukṇā	To hide
ghīṇā	laiṇā	To take
bhajṇā	pajṇā	To run
bhovāniāṅ auṇā	cakkar auṇā	To feel giddy

### Adjectives

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

### Simple Adjectives

Table 18 gives a list of simple adjectives used by Dhani and Majhi speakers as:

**Table 18.** Simple Adjectives

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
hakallā	kallah	Alone
chaj	chaj	Tact
ceṛā	coṛā	Wide
gailā, mohakallā	khullā	Loose
saurā	tang	Narrow
ṭhullā	moṭā	Fat
dhanai	jānglī	Wild
senā	gillā	Wet
lokhā	holā, halkā	Light
roḍā	ganjā	Balled
ṭhenā	ṭenā	Short heighted
val	ṭhik	Alright
tarikṛā	tagrā	Healthy
trikhā	tikhā	Sharp
ḍorā	boḷā	Deaf
jhallā	kamlā	Mad
laggā	lavāras	Derelict
sacayār	sacā	True
mīssā	mīsṇā	Cunning
ḍaḍhā	tagrā	Sturdy
pīḍā	sakhat	Hard
ṭhaḍā	ṭhandā	Cold

khiṭeṭun	khaṭās	Sour
maclā	šokhā	Dandy
kucajā	becajjā	Inefficient
kuḍabhā	beṭangā	Tawdry
sih	pālā	Winter

### Cardinal Adjectives (Counting)

Counting in both language varieties is almost same. A few different terms used by the natives have been given in Table 19 below:

**Table 19.** Cardinal Adjectives (Counting)

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
hik	ik	One
traī	tin	Three
cheiñ	che	Six
dāh	das	Ten
trī	tī	Thirty

### Adverbs

Adverbs of Dhani and Majhi varieties have been described in Table 20 below:

**Table 20.** Adverbs

Dhani	Majhi	Gloss
agge	agāñ/ agge	Ahead
piche, kanḍiti	pichāñ/ piche	Behind
nai	naī	No
bauñ	baut, btherā	Much

Dhani words *agge* and *piche* 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 the present study were further classified according to different fields. Their detail has been shown in Table 21 below:

**Table 21.** Classification of Nouns

S. No	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	Colours	2	1 %
11	Birds and animals	22	12 %
12	Time	13	7 %

13	Clothes 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:

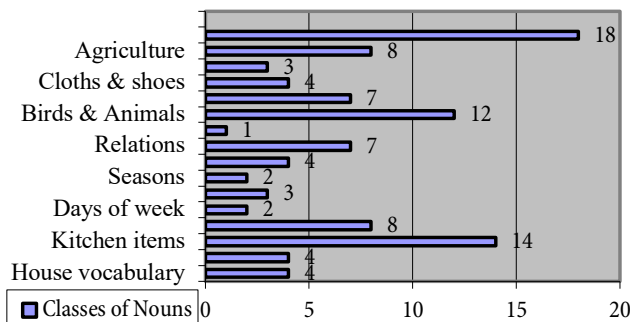


Figure 3: Classification of Noun

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

### Conclusion

According to sociolinguistic studies, language varies from region to region and even person to person. The present study investigated lexical differences between the 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 the unification of people and promotes wide communication among people in Pakistan because of mutual intelligibility. Language as a controlling force controls the 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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