

LINGUISTIC LIMITS.  
OF  
MAHA GUJARAT



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GUJARAT RESEARCH SOCIETY

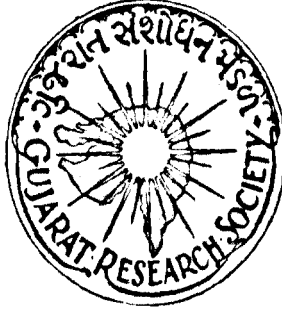
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MAHA GUJARAT



Memorandum Submitted to the  
LINGUISTIC PROVINCES COMMISSION

*by*

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## LINGUISTIC LIMITS OF MAHA GUJARAT

*The Gujarat Research Society is not interested in political and religious discussions. But the question of Linguistic Limits of Gujarat as placed before the Linguistic Provinces Commission has a strong scientific background. The notes submitted by the Gujarat Research Society to the Commission are published for the information of the members of the Society and of the general public.*

### REPLIES TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE\* ISSUED BY THE LINGUISTIC PROVINCES COMMISSION

Q. 1.—A further division of the country on Linguistic basis is not desirable at present for the following reasons :

- (a) The change would not serve any definite purpose which could not be otherwise secured under the present administrative organisation by suitable measures or safeguards securing a proportionate share in the appointments, or in the expenditure for local development or educational facilities for various linguistic groups.
- (b) More urgent problems connected with production, distribution and price control of food, clothing and housing which are the prime necessities require priority.
- (c) The country cannot afford to spare (i) the money for the extra cost of administration, (ii) the human power to run the multiplied administrative machinery and (iii) the time for unproductive efforts on the partition of the country.
- (d) It would arouse controversies and passions which must be avoided in the present critical condition of the country. These would particularly arise in regard to distribution of borderland territories where mixed languages are spoken.
- (e) The frequent conflicts between the non-Brahmin and Brahmin sections of the Maharashtra population indicate that the claims of increased unity and efficiency arising from a homogeneous linguistic culture are not sound.
- (f) The suggestion that the Marathi speaking population should be divided further into separate units, viz. Maha-Vidarbha and Western Maharashtra explodes the theory of linguistic homogeneity and unity and supports the view that the demand for the division of the country at the present juncture appears to be only a bid for power based on irredentism and linguistic imperialism.
- (g) Linguistic isolation leads to exaggerated notions of territorial inviolability and to consequent parochialism at a time when unity of the country is so urgently called for.
- (h) The division would create in Indian politics a new series of problems connected with 'Linguistic Minorities' with all the consequent opportunities for intrigue and jealousy.

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\* Printed as Appendix I.

In these circumstances, it is suggested that the creation of linguistic provinces at present should be given up.

Q. 2.—If the Commission decides to recommend the creation of a united Maharashtra, on the ground of linguistic unity it should recognise that the following areas where the preponderating element in the language spoken is Gujarati cannot be included in the United Maharashtra.

- (a) Portions of Taloda, Nandarbar and Navapur Talukas of Khandesh where the language spoken is Khandeshi (known otherwise as Dhed Gujarati) which is a dialect of Gujarati (*vide* separate Memorandum).
- (b) Portions of Kalvan, Dindori, Baglan and Peint Talukas of Nasik district and the States of Surgana (Dangs) where the Bhili language or one of its numerous dialects is spoken.
- (c) Talukas of Umbergaon, Dahanu, Palghar, Bassein, Vada-Mokhada, Bhivandi-Kalyan, Shahpur-Murbad and the State of Jawahar in Thana district, where Gujarati is spoken by a large number of trading and artisan classes, and where the bulk of the aboriginal population of Bhils, Varlis, Katkaris, Dublas and Kolis speak dialects based on Gujarati.
- (d) The aboriginal population of Khandesh, Nasik and Thana districts speak various Bhili dialects which are forms of Gujarati. The total population of Bhils in Gujarat area, Central India and Rajputana which was estimated by Grierson at about 27 lakhs and the whole of this Bhilwara territory should be attached to Maha Gujarat province if and when it is formed.
- (e) The claim made in the book prepared by United Maharashtra Parishad (pp. 34 & 35) for absorbing Vansda, Dharampur, Jawahar, Surgana and Dang States as well as Dahanu Taluka should be rejected for the simple reason that the bulk of the population do not speak Marathi and their spoken language is Gujarati or a dialect allied to Gujarati.

Q. 3 to 18 are not replied to separately in view of the fundamental opposition to the scheme of the division of the country on linguistic basis. One general statement, however, is made that the whole of the cost of the new provinces should be met by local taxation in the areas desiring separation and no subventions, subsidies or grants on this account should be allowed from even Central funds either at initial or later stages of the formation of these provinces.

Q. 19.—Creation of new provinces should not involve transference of population and human suffering. The partition of the country in August 1947 however has led to disastrous results owing to differences in the outlook of new states that such disturbances should not be unexpected. Every measure, including the stoppage of the proposed division, would be justified to prevent such contingencies. The borderlands between Gujarat and Maharashtra mentioned in the replies to Q. 2 would provide much explosive material, particularly because of the Adivasi population involved.

Q. 20.—The city of Bombay its port and suburbs should be formed into a separate self-sufficient province under the Central Government.

- (a) The present Marathi speaking population of the City of Bombay represents only 33 per cent. of the total and comprises mainly a class of workers, who look upon their village homes as their permanent homes and whose stake in the progress of the City and port of Bombay is confined only to earning wages.
- (b) After the separation of Karachi from the Indian Union, Bombay port has reached such international importance and responsibilities that they cannot be satisfactorily carried out without direct contact with and control of the Central Government.
- (c) Historically, Bombay Island has been a part of Gujarat, for, before it was transferred by the Portuguese to the British, it was assigned to the Portuguese by the treaty of Bassein dated 23rd December, 1534, by Sultan Bahadur Shah, King of Gujarat.
- (d) Even at present Bombay City forms a separate entity with a separate Congress organisation of the status of a province, and the administration of the Port of Bombay together with its customs organisations is already under the direct control of the Central Government.
- (e) Bombay has been an all Indian city with an international outlook and a distinctive non-provincial culture in which people from all provinces of India and even foreigners play their part. A comparison of the traditions of the Bombay University, with the tradition which Maharashtra wants to build up for the Poona University will illustrate the point.

It would therefore be unfair to transfer an international port like Bombay to the province of Maharashtra where the province is sought to be created on the narrow ground of a provincial language.

Q. 21.—As already stated above, linguistic division of the country is not an urgent necessity and should be abandoned. The proposal to form two provinces of Maharashtra viz., Maha Vidarbha and Western Maharashtra can hardly be justified in linguistic unity is the impelling urge. Instead of such fissiparous cutting up of the area if the Marathi speaking people desire a province of their own, only one province of Maharashtra and a separate province for the city of Bombay would be proper.

Q. 22.—If Karnataka and Maharashtra are formed into separate provinces, the remaining five districts of Gujarat cannot exist as a separate entity. They must be combined with Saurashtra and Cutch to form a new Union of Maha-Gujarat including areas with linguistic affinities now included in Danta, Sirohi, Dungarpur, Vanswada and the neighbouring parts of Mewar, Marwar, Rajputana, Khandesh, Nasik and Thana districts, as mentioned in reply to Question 2 above.

Q. 23.—Preparation of estimates of income and expenditure of the areas referred to in this question by private societies is not possible. The information could be obtained from Provincial Governments and then sent to us for verification and acceptance of the principles on which the figures are prepared.

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MEMORANDUM ON THE LINGUISTIC AFFINITIES OF GUJARATI  
LANGUAGE AND THEIR BEARINGS ON THE FORMATION OF  
LINGUISTIC PROVINCES

1. *Scientific Approach Necessary*: Questions concerning boundaries of linguistic provinces cannot be solved without taking into consideration various factors, besides the numerical strength of the inhabitants speaking a particular language, the past cultural contacts and traditions of the area, the geographical, economic and industrial affinities, and the origin of the language. These points can be settled only by sub-committee of a boundary commission taking evidence on the spot and sifting it from all points of view after making such observations as may be necessary. For example, certain areas of Khandesh, Nasik and Thana Districts have a considerable proportion of Gujarati speaking population which has contributed materially to the agricultural, industrial and commercial prosperity of the districts. But it has been, during the last 130 years, subjected to the linguistic domination of Marathi in the schools and law courts, to such an extent that though these people speak either Gujarati or a dialect of Gujarati in their homes, they are shown in the census returns as Marathi speaking. For several decades Marathi speaking lawyers and school masters, who dominated the Thana and Khandesh districts would not permit a Gujarati school coming into existence. For some time past the Marathi people are actuated by what may be called Marathi linguistic imperialism and studied attempts are being made to maintain Marathi as the language of education and courts even in places where the population speak Gujarati in their homes. If, therefore, linguistic affinities are to be considered as the basis for the political division of the country, and if a scientific division of the areas on a linguistic basis is to be made, it should be carried out after a local examination of the preponderating influence of the dialect used in the homes and not to the official language superimposed in schools and courts of law. Further, the linguistic argument has to be scientifically examined with reference to fundamental philological principles. The claim made in the booklet prepared by the United Maharashtra Conference for the states of Vansda, Dharampur, Jawahar, Surgana (Dangs) comprising 2,000 sq. miles area and 2 lakhs of population, is based on the assumption that Bhili, Khandeshi, Ahirani and allied dialects spoken by 70 per cent. of the population in this area has greater affinities with Marathi than with Gujarati, while dispassionate scientific examination points to the fact that Gujarati is the basic language in these territories.

2. *Historical Review*: Before the philological arguments are advanced, a brief historical review would be helpful. The earliest Aryan settlements in the land now called Gujarat were due to the Saryatas, the Anartas who were responsible for the name Anartadesh and Anartapur (Anandpur, modern Vadnagar) and the Bhrgus who had many Bhrgutirthas and founded Bhrgu-Kaccha (modern Broach). When Kartvirya of Mahishmati, now identified to be on the banks of Narmada, was vanquished by the Brahmin soldier Parashuram—accepted as the sixth incarnation of Vishnu by orthodox Hinduism,—the former's empire included Anupa and Anarta (south and north Gujarat), Saurashtra, Avanti (Malwa) and Shurasena (Mathura). These were Aryans of the Outer Band pushed out to the West by the Midland Aryans or

to use Grierson's words Aryans of the Inner Band. The continuity of the culture of the whole of this area was from the earliest times bounded by the ties of language, as seen by the transition of the Shauraseni Prakrit into the Gujarati-Marwari group of languages in this area. The Mauryan Empire of Chandragupta, (B.C. 323-298) which extended to Anarta and Junagadh, has been a landmark in the cultural history of Gujarat. Although Gujarat was outside the Madhyadesha, the inner ring of central Hindu culture, it gradually attracted settlers who founded Anartapura, Girinagar (Junagadh), Prabhasa, Chandratirtha (Chandod), Ujjayani, besides the Ashrams of Vasishtha near Abu of Kapila near Siddhapura, of Bhrgu on Narmada and of Markendeya on Tapti, were centres of culture and spiritual progress since these ancient times.

3. *Shauraseni and Maharashtri Prakrits*: Although Patanjali (B.C. 150) regarded apabhramsa as the form of pure Sanskrit, a more correct description would be that the Apabhramsa was the older language of the masses before the advent of the Aryans who introduced the Sanskrit, "the corrected and the cultured" language. This theory is supported by the opinion of Grierson that the Midland language was Sanskritised while the dialects of the Outer Band remained unreformed, as Prakritas, Apabhramsas and Deshabhasha. The Apabhramsa developed as a result of the impact between the Aryan primary Prakrits and the local Deshabhasha spoken by the non-Aryan earlier settlers.

4. *Maharashtri Prakrit to Marathi*. Shauraseni and Maharashtri Prakrits were separated from the earliest known time. The primary Prakrit spoken of in what may be shortly termed Kartavirya's empire, i.e., North and South Gujarat, Saurashtra, Malva, Rajputana and Mathura region, was called Shauraseni Prakrit. Beyond the Satpura range Maharashtri Prakrit, a primary Prakrit, was the Aryan speech of the people. From the earliest times it was a separate dialect from the Shauraseni Prakrit and evolved on its own lines in the region outside the geographical belt of Rajputana, Gujarat and the Bhili region. This Prakrit as a result of various factors evolved into Old Marathi about 1000 A.D. and into modern Marathi by about 1500 A.D. This would clearly appear from the annexed map showing the northern limit of pure Marathi.

5. *Evolution of Gujarati: Shauraseni Prakrit, Aboriginal Speech and the Speech of Abhirs*: Gujarati had an ancient and independent origin of its own. As stated above, Aryan tribes brought their own Aryan dialect known as Shauraseni Prakrit into Rajputana-Gujarat tract in pre-historic times. The aboriginals or Adivasis living in this area, whose present day descendants are represented by the Kolis, the Dublas, Warlis and the Katkaris, were the relics of the aboriginal population of the pre-Dravidian age. They had their own speech which contributed deshya words to the general speech of the tract and the speech in its turn was influenced by the impact with the Shauraseni Apabhramsa and Abhirokti or the dialect of the Abhirs or Ahirs. About the second century before the Christian era, we have evidence that in this Rajputana-Gujarat region there was a set of tribes known as Abhirs or Ahirs, which occupied considerable parts of Saurashtra, Gujarat and Rajputana. Their speech is referred to by Sanskrit writers as Abhirokti—speech of the Abhirs or Ahirs.

6. *Abhirs and Bhils, in Rajputana-Gujarat Region. The Birth of Gaurjari Apabhramsa*: The Abhirs or Ahirs were closely allied to the present day Bhils and the latter's speech in Khandesh is still called Ahirani. Abhirs, Ahirs and Bhils had their settlement in the Rajputana-Gujarat tract. In the early centuries of the Christian era there flourished Abhir conquerors, the name of one of which at any rate is preserved in an early inscription. Abhirs occupied Saurashtra from the beginning of the Christian Era. In the fourth and fifth century after Christ, Bhil settlements were spread over what is now the Abu Region, Marwad, Udaipur, the Baroda region and the banks of the Sabarmati. In the sixth century there were Bhil settlements on the Narmada and a Bhill general is recorded to have governed Broach. By the sixth century the northern immigrants speaking Shauraseni Apabhramsa had driven the Bhils out of the Abu Region and Marwad. One of the largest settlements of the Bhils was in the Abu Region called Bhillamala, which passed in the sixth century into the hands of the rulers of "Gurjara,"—not the present-day Gujarat but the region which is now called Marwad. These rulers brought Brahminical influence with them and when Huien-thsang in c. 651 A.D. visited Bhillamala it had become a seat of Brahminical learning. The name was slowly transformed into Bhinnamala and later into Srimala, the name by which also the little town is known even today. By about the middle of the seventh century the Gurjara kings had pushed the Bhils from their settlements in Marwad and Gujarat into the mountain and forest tracts on the west and south. By about 800 A.D. Shauraseni Apabhramsa and the language of the Abhirs, Abhirkoti, the language of the Bhils, with a fair contribution from the Adivasi speech, led to the evolution of what some western scholars call Western Rajasthani. Some Sanskrit authorities more accurately call it "Gaurjari Apabhramsha". This language which was generally spoken from Mathura to Tapti was the product of the impact between the Shauraseni Apabhramsa and the speech of the Abhirs and the Bhils.

7. *Western Rajasthani, the Parent Speech*: Western Rajasthani between 1000 and 1400 A.D. was the common speech of the Rajputana-Gujarat tract with different local shades. By about 1400 A.D. these shades became different dialects which eventually became Marwari in Jodhpur, Mewari in Udaipur, Malwi in Malva and Gujarati in Gurajat. The literature of the Rajputana Gujarat tract was common. Certain poems composed in Western Rajasthani on account of oral transmission, have become the common heritage of the whole of this tract, though in Marwar, Mewad, Malva and Gujarat they have undergone local variations. The mountain and forest fringe of the Gujarati speaking population consisted of the descendants of the original Abhirs and Bhils in the West and the Adivasis including the Dublas, Warlis and Katkaris in the south and south-west. Their dialects in structure became a variety of Gujarati and its culture vocabulary was principally taken from Gujarati, though where it touched the Rajasthani or Marathi belt it contained a larger proportion of culture words drawn from these languages. This speech is called Bhili or Bhillori. It is spoken by the Bhils right from Sirohi in the Abu region and running with the boundary of Mewad, Dungarpur and Wanswara the Bhil region of West Khandesh it comes right down to the jungles of Dang and Dahanu. This speech having come into existence on account of the inter-action of Shauraseni Apabhramsa and



the original Bhili has nothing in common with Marathi which as stated above evolved as an independent language in the region beyond the Bhill belt. Bhill language with its numerous dialects, as also Khandeshi, Ahirani or Dhed Gujar, has been classified with Gujarati by Sir George Grierson. Even before him, Rev. C. S. Thomson, in his book the " Rudiments of Bhili Language " had emphasized this feature. A map of the Bhili linguistic area prepared by him is appended to this memorandum.

8. *The speech of the Adivasis : Dublas :* The Adivasis *i.e.* the Dublas, the Kolis, the Warlis and the Katkaris, of the Western and Southern frontiers of Gujarat are the survivors of the oldest known population of India which provided the lowest known strata of Indian culture called by philologists the pre-Dravidian Kolla culture. Of these, the most important are the Dublas, who occupy the forest region at the foot of the Satpura mountains and the tract from Surat to Dahanu. The northern boundary of the Dubla region begins from near Ankleshwar in Gujarat. It extends right down to Umbergaon, Dahanu and Sanjan. The Dublas have their settlements, their own peculiar customs ; they are workers on the soil. Till recently they had their own peculiar religious and social customs and it was only under the influence of Gandhiji working from Bardoli that their isolation was broken down. The Dublas speak a low variety of Gujarati in their contact with others. Among themselves they speak their own language whose structure is highly influenced by Gujarati, while most of its culture words are taken from Gujarati. The population forms over 70 per cent. of the workers on the soil in what may be called the Dubla tract.

9. *Kolis, Warlis and Katkaris :* To the south and west of the Dubla region so called reside the Warlis and Katkaris. The speech of these Adivasi tribes is Gujarati in structure, though on account of their region being included in the Thana district, where the official language is Marathi, their culture words are drawn from that language. It is significant that the land of the Kolis, Warlis and Dublas is almost coterminous with the ancient hat desh. The Kolis of South Gujarat and of Kolaba district have a lot in common and the structural affinities of the dialects spoken point to the continuity of the Gujarati culture right from the Narmady Valley to the middle or at least north Konkan. This is indicated in the map attached to this memorandum.

10. *Gujarat under the Chalukyas of Gujarat :* In the time of the Chalukyas as Gujarat (942-1299) the centre of Gujarati culture was transferred from Bhinnamala to Anahilwad Patan. During that period Gujarat was cleared of the forests, the Bhils had to recede into deeper forests. It was during this period that Gujarat developed a separate consciousness as a unit different from Marwar and Malva. The literature of the period shows a large number of desya words—*i.e.* words derived from the languages of the aboriginals and from other obscure sources—incorporated into Gujarati. A close contact subsisted between the Gujarati speaking people and the Adivasis and the Bhils on the borderland regions of Rajputana, Central India, Central Provinces, Khandesh and the Thana District. The sway of the Chalukyas extended from Shrimala in the north to the Daman region in the south, and the whole territory thus came to be called Gujarat. Gujarati language and culture affected the cultural life of the Adivasis and Bhils in the borderlands abutting on Rajputana, Central India, Central Provinces and Khandesh.

11. *Gujarat under the Sultanate and the Moghuls* : After the disruption of the Hindu kingdom of Gujarat, Gujarati was no longer the official language. But, under the Sultanate of Delhi (1411-1573), under the Imperial Moghuls (1575-1707), and even under the anarchic conditions which prevailed during the Maratha period (1707-1818), Khandesh, Dang as well as Dharampur and Vandsa were included in Gujarat. Mediaeval or classical Gujarati was more or less the language of culture of the whole of this region and was standardised by the Puranik or Gagariya Bhattas—a peculiarly Gujarati institutions—who recited epic stories to the accompaniment of copper-pots all over the area where Gujarati was understood. These Bhattas for four centuries preceding British rule were the strongest cultural agencies in the Gujarati speaking areas. In this connection, it must be remembered that Khandesh was part of Gujarat during this period and the greatest of Gujarati poets Premanand (1686-1734) a Gagariya Bhatta toured Khandesh every year. His recitals were as popular in Khandesh as in parts of Gujarat. The cultural boundaries of Gujarat had southern limits upto Deogiri, northern limits upto Mount Abu, eastern limits beyond Nandurbar in Khandesh and western limits upto the Arabian Sea.

12. *The accident of district making under the British* : Before the control of these regions passed into the hands of the British, no definite political boundaries were fixed between the Sultans of Gujarat or the Viceroys of the Moghul Emperor and the representatives of the chauth collecting army of Marathas. When the land settlement was made under the British, no consideration was shown to linguistic affinities, and districts were formed accidentally on grounds of administrative convenience, or the accident of treaty provisions. The district boundaries of Thana and Khandesh lent undue weightage to Marathi which became the language of schools and courts even though the language in the home of the people of several parts was Gujarati. In these circumstances the test of linguistic affinities are those supplied by Sir George Grierson, who about forty years ago compiled and tabulated them impartially and without political motives.

13. *Dangers of linguistic imperialism* : The problem of the division of a country on a linguistic basis is fraught with many dangers, the worst of which is the passion for power exhibited by many groups in the name, either of linguistic affiliations or past martial glory or so called historical associations. On the one hand, the basis of linguistic unity is violently asserted when claiming territorial consolidation ; on the other, the so called basic unity is surrendered to parochialism, for instance, in this case, by conceding the necessity for separate provinces of Mahavidarba and Western Maharashtra. At the same time demands are made for the inclusion in Maharashtra of territories where the language of the area is not Marathi proper but Gujarati in structure and affinity, on the ground of their possessing Marathi culture words—a touch of linguistic

imperialism. The advocates of United Maharashtra in search of lebensraum claim the following tracts as Marathi speaking :—

	• Area Sq. Miles	Population	The claim for % of speaking Marathi
State Vansda ..	212	48,839	54.7 ?
„ Dharampur ..	719	112,031	94.7 ?
„ Jawhar ..	308	57,261	98 ?
„ Surgana ..	131	15,245	98.8 ?
„ Dang ..	667	33,748	98.0 ?
Taluka Dahanu ..	642	194,012	63.3 ?

(Figures quoted from pp. 34 and 36 of the Pamphlet No. 7 prepared by United Maharashtra Parishad).

It is difficult to understand the claim that the population of these tracts is Marathi speaking. The assumption, that Khandeshi, Ahirani, Bhili and other dialects spoken by the aboriginal population in these tracts belong to the Marathi group of languages and all the inhabitants must therefore be described as Marathi speaking and brought under Marathi political control, cannot stand examination. In the first place, as will be seen from the quotations in Appendix 2, Sir George Grierson's opinion is entirely different. At page I of Vol. IX, Part III, the 26 lakhs speakers of Bhili dialects and 12 lakh speakers of Khandeshi and its sub-dialects are put into a separate category. He says " Khandeshi itself is not a Marathi dialect. Several suffixes, it is true, are identical with these used in Marathi ; but most suffixes and the inner form of the language more closely agree with Gujarati and Rajasthani." The fact however is that the Advasis and Bhills represent about 70 per cent. of the population, speaking dialects like the Dubla dialect, Bhili and Khandeshi (Ahirani) which have recognised linguistic affinity with Gujarati. Besides there is about 20 per cent. of the population belonging to the artisan and trading classes, who speak standard Gujarati. Thus 90 per cent. of the population in these areas is directly under the cultural influence of the Gujarati language. Both Vansda and Dharampur States have been governed by Gujarati rulers using Gujarati as the state language and so also the Dang States have been parts of Gujarat. The states of Sargana, Jawhar, and the Gujarati speaking parts of Khandesh, Nasik and Thana districts, if the subject is viewed independently and without prejudice, are certainly not parts of Maharashtra.

14. *Linguistic Affinity*: The question of linguistic affinity has to be examined dispassionately on sound philological grounds without a trace of irredentism or power politics. With the foreigners having left the country, petty jealousies of provincialism should give way to ideals of public good. If linguistic provinces are to be encouraged, the sole ground is the increased efficiency secured by affinities of language and culture, and the sole criterion to be applied in the present case is whether, apart from the recent imposition of school and court language of Marathi,

the inherent trends of the language spoken by the masses would lead to greater and swifter development towards mass uplift and integration if the state language were Gujarati.

15. *Philological Tests* : For a proper appreciation of the reasons why Khandeshi should be classed as a dialect of Gujarati, a little digression on Methodology is essential. In philology, languages are not studied in isolation, but they are compared with the neighbouring languages and their affinity is decided by the comparative method. This affinity may be superficial or fundamental. In order to decide whether the affinity is real or merely external, the historical method is combined with the comparative method. Superficial affinity relates to vocabulary, pronunciation and the external forms of grammar. Fundamental affinity is decided by the internal structure of grammar and fundamental phonetic changes in the words. As no language is the world is isolated, but is always surrounded by other languages, borrowings of cultural and other elements from one to the other are inevitable. But they are superficial if the contact is recent and small ; and somewhat serious if the contact is thick and of long standing. In every case, however, the original fundamental structure of the language is not completely altered by coming into contact with another tongue. This fundamental structure decides the question of affinity. Now let us apply these principles to Khandeshi.

16. *The argument of surrounding languages* : Khandeshi is surrounded by Gujarati in the West, Bhili Ahirani (which is a dialect of Gujarati) and Malvi (a dialect of Rajasthani) in the North and North-east and Marathi in the South and South-east. With Gujarati, Bhili, Nimari and Malvi, it merges imperceptibly, i.e. it is difficult to draw a line where exactly one language ends and the other begins. This is a sign of high affinity; whereas with Marathi it makes a mechanical mixture, i.e. one can easily find where Marathi ends and Khandeshi begins. This shows that they are so fundamentally different that they are unable to merge with one another.

17. *Historical Argument* : As already stated, Marathi is derived from that form of Prakrit which is called Mahārāṣṭri Prakṛta and Khandeshi, like Gujarati, Rajasthani, etc. is derived from a distinct Prakṛta called the Śauraseni Prakṛta. Now this Mahārāṣṭri Prakṛta was distinguished from Śauraseni Prakṛta and had established its independent existence as early as 250 B. C. For the earliest Grammarian Vararuchi (150 B. C.) gives it as distinct from Śauraseni, Paisāchi and Māgadhi. He says that though Māgadhi and Paisāchi are derived from Sauraseni, this latter is derived from Sanskrit independently as the Mahārāṣṭri has been, though there are many common rules between the two. Now Sauraseni split up (500 A. D.) into the various Apabhramshas and then (1000 A. D.) into the various Modern Indian dialects, such as Rajasthani, Bhili, Gujarati, Khandeshi, Marwari, Mewadi and Malvi. Khandeshi attained its individuality after 1500 A.D. though even to this day it has not completely been segregated from Bhili, Malvi and Gujarati; while the Mahārāṣṭri developed on its own line from about 250 B. C. assuming the forms of Apabhramsha (500 A. D.). Old Marathi (1000 A. D.) and Modern Marathi (1500 A. D.). If Marathi, therefore, has influenced Khandeshi, the influence does not go beyond 1500 A. D. for before

that date Khandeshi was not even born. Therefore, whatever influence Marathi may have on it, the nature of the influence is superficial. As compared with the Marathi influence on Khandeshi, the influence of Gujarati and Malvi (which belongs to the same group to which Khandeshi belongs) is deeper and more fundamental; whereas with Bhili, Khandeshi is so similar that it is difficult, even now, to find out where one begins and the other ends.

18. *Grammar : Direct and Oblique Forms.* The grammatical forms of Marathi are more complicated and numerous. There is the intricate display of about 10 types of declinations most of which differ from one another in many points. This complexity is unknown to all languages derived from the Sauraseni Prakṛta, like Hindi, Gujarati, Rajasthani, Malvi, Bhili and Khandeshi. The declensions of nouns in these latter languages are so simple that only a few forms perform all functions; thus Gujarati, for example, has only two types of nouns (1) the strong or the 'ghor'-type and the weak or 'hāth'-type. The weak nouns show no change whatsoever in gender, number and case. The strong type distinguishes two numbers and two cases (the direct and the oblique) only. As compared with this bare simplicity, Marathi has strong and weak types and many sub-types in each; and they distinguish gender, number and cases. The Oblique is quite distinct from the Direct in almost all unborrowed Marathi words. Compare:—

## Gujarati

		1 Strong m.		2 Strong n.		3 Weak m.f.n.					
						f.		m.		n.	
		sing. pl.		sing. pl.		sg. pl.		sg. pl.		sg. pl.	
Dir.	Ghorā ghorā	māthū mathā	ghorī ghorī	vāt vāt	hāth hāth	ghar	ghar				
Obl.	ghorā ghorā	mātha mathā	ghori ghorī	vāt vāt	hāth hāth	ghar	ghar				

## Khandeshi

				f.		f.		m.		n.	
Dir.	ghorā ghorā	—	—	gai gai	vāt vāt	bap bap	pāp pāp				
				ghorī ghorīya							
Obl.	ghorā ghorās	—	—	ghorya ghoriās	vāt vātes	bāp bāpes	pāp pāpes				
				gai gaiās							

*Marathi*

	1. Strong m.		2. Strong n.		3. Strong f.		4. Weak m.		5 Weak m.	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
Dir.	ghora	ghore	mulge	mulgi	ghori	ghorya	bāp	bāp	māli	māli
Obl.	ghoryā	ghoryā	mulgya	mulgya	ghori	ghorya	bāpā	bāpā	mālyā	mālyā

*Marathi (Contd.)*

	6. Weak f.		7. Weak f.		8. Weak n.		9. Weak n.		10 bāiko.	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
Dir.	bhint	bhinti	māl	mālā	ghoṛ	ghore	moti	motyā	bāiko	bāika
Obl.	bhinti	bhinti	māle	mālā	ghoṛa	ghoryā	motyā	motyā	bāikā	bāikā

19. *Affinity between Gujarati and Khandeshi* : It should be noted that (1) Marathi has more types of declensions than Gujarati and Khandeshi. (2) In each type Marathi has different forms for different numbers of cases. Gujarati and Khandeshi have many common forms. (3) Even weak types of Marathi are more complicated than the corresponding strong types of Khandeshi and Gujarati. (4) It will be noted that the Oblique in Marathi is invariably different from the Direct and that there are different ways of forming obliques; whereas in Gujarati and Khandeshi the oblique is quite identical with the direct in weak forms (Khandeshi adds-s in the oblique plural uniformly); which in strong forms it is identical with the direct pl. This simplicity is unknown to Marathi.

The following table of post-position is significant :—

Language	Loc.	Gen.	Abl.	Dat.	Inst.
Khandeshi	ṁ mā	na	thī	le	nī
Gujarati	ṁ mā	no, nī, etc.	thī	ne	—
Marathi	ṁ āt	cā, cī, etc.	tūn, ūn	lā	nī

It will be seen that no Khandeshi post-position is identical with Marathi. The ablative, genitive and locative *thi*, *na* and *ma* are the same as Gujarati *thi*, *n-* and *ma*. *Inst. ni* looks similar to Marathi, but it is Malvi; the Dative 'le' is not the same as the Marathi *la*, the vowel *e* indicates that it is the same as the Guj.-Mal.-Bhili *ne*. For Bhili, Surti and the neighbouring dialects change *n* to *l*: e.g. Surti, *lakhe che 'casts' = SG. nākhe che*. Thus it is clear that there is no similarity at all between Khandeshi and Marathi so far as declension of nouns are concerned. Some can be ascertained in verbal conjugations. The Marathi system is more complex; it distinguishes strong verbs and weak ones and have different suffixes and forms for each in many tenses and moods. Gujarati-Malvi-Khandeshi does not know of anything like this. They have only one conjugation. Moreover, Khandeshi has the old future with *s-* form which is shared by Gujarati and Bhili (which has *h*) but not by Malvi (which forms the future on the basis of Hindi) nor by Marathi (which has no *s*). This feature brings Khandeshi absolutely close to Gujarati.

## OTHER IMPORTANT FORMS : PARTICIPLES, ETC.

Verb	Present participle	Past participle	Past participle	Pot. Part.	Conjunctive	
Parā 'to fall'	paṛat paṛta	paṛā paṛnā	paṛel paṛelā	paṛwā	paṛi paṛīne paṛīsan	} Khandeshi
Paṛvu 'to fall'	paṛat paṛtā	paṛyā	paṛel paṛelā	paṛwā	paṛi paṛīne	
Uṭhne 'to get up'	uṭhat		uṭhtā uṭhlelā	uṭhnār	uṭhūn	} Marathi
Mārno Mārwo 'to kill'	mārto	māryo	—	mārvo	mārīne mārne	

It will be seen that Marathi has no participle common to Khandeshi, Gujarati and Malvi, except the present part. which is common for all Indo-Aryan languages.

20. A few more arguments are summarised below :—

- (a) The past passive participles in Gujarati and Khandeshi are based on the —t— formation which is the same in Hindi, and Rajasthani but the corresponding Marathi formation is based on —l— formation which is a different philological principle, e.g. Hindi, Rajasthani, Gujarati, Khandeshi, *gayā*, or *gaya*; but Marathi *ge-lā*.

- (b) The verb 'to be' in Guj. is 'che' which in several parts of Gujarat becomes 'sé', which is the same in Khandeshi 'se'; but Marathi has 'hoi' and 'āhe.'
- (c) The Guj. and Khandeshi have the 's'-future; Marathi has not it. Guj. hoṣū, Khān. vhasu; Guj. par̄su, Khan. par̄su, etc. Marathi has no trace of 's': Mar. ūṭhen, ūṭhu, etc.
- (d) Simple present in Guj. and Khan. uses the same formula, viz. verbal present tense + the present tense of 'to be'; Guj. pareche, parese or pares in some backward districts of Gujarat; Khan. paras: it does not distinguish gender. The Marathi present is a participle formation and distinguishes gender; parts, m., parte f., parte n.
- (e) Past habitual, e.g. Marathi, uṭhe and Subjunctive ūṭhāvā (m), ūṭhāv- (f), ūṭhāve (n) are absent in Khan. and Guj.
- (f) Marathi has two conjugations: the first, ūṭhlə and the second, mārītlā in the past tense and future tense. The first is without i, the second is with -i, Guj. Khan. Hindi-Marwari have no such distinctions.
- (g) Two past tenses: the continuous and the habitual in Mar. as mi ūṭha. hotə, mi ūṭhat asto, are absent in Guj. Khan. Hindi, etc. Guj. hu ūṭṭi hət Khan. mi ūṭhtātā.
- (h) Guj.-Khan. have two past participles (i) in el which is common with Marathi: ūṭhel or ūṭhelā (ii) another with old -t- and -n-: Khan. paṛā and paṛnā, Guj. pə:yā; Hindi pəṛā only. This second variety is not possessed by Marathi.
- (i) Conjunctive participle in Guj. and Khan. are the same: pəṛi, pəṛinē, Guj. and Khan.; but Marathi has different principle altogether: pəṛūn. This characteristic is as old as 300 B.C.
- (j) Verbs in Khan. are quoted with -nā as in Hindi and Raj.; not with -ne as in Marathi: ūṭhūē Mar.; ūṭhnā Khan. Hindi, etc.
- (k) The Khan. Neg. nāhi is not Marathi, it is Hindi, Gujarati and Raj.

21. *Language of those who are wedded to the soil*: Khandeshi is the language of those classes in Khandesh who are closely connected with the soil from generations. Thus cultivators, landowners, workers in forests, speak it; while, Marathi is spoken by Government servants and others who have come to stay there recently. Generally those who are closely connected with the soil are more stable and do not migrate often; while those who have come for service or livelihood can go away sooner. The older form, therefore is Khandeshi, not Marathi. Even the name of the language is Dhed Gujri which shows its connection with Gujarati and not Marathi.



22. *Northern Boundary of Marathi* : The same question can be considered from another angle, *viz.* what should be the northern boundary of Marathi language separating it from the Eastern Hindi, Western Hindi, Rajasthani, Khandeshi and Gujarati? In other words, what are the cultural limits for the evolution of Marathi language proper as a medium of culture?

(a). *The North Boundary Line* : The North Boundary of Marathi Language as indicated by Sir George Grierson starts from Nagarwara, 22' 10' North and 80° East, (map 64B/4) and goes west

including Gopalganj (55-0/9)	and excluding Seoni 55N/12
„ Mohkher 55K/13	„ „ Chindwara 55J/16
„ Borachi Khas 55J/8	„ „ Amla 55K/1
„ Betul 55G/13	„ „ Bednur 55G/13
„ Melghat on the south bank of the Tapti 55G/2	„ „ Sohagi on the north bank of the Tapti
„ Manjod ditto	„ „ Berhanpur on the south side of the Tapti.
„ Pal 46/0/15	—
„ Vardi 46/0/7	„ „ Varla 46 0/3
„ Amalner 46/0/4	„ „ Dhulia 46K/13
„ Chalisgaon 46P/3	„ „ Malegaon 46L/0
„ Dindori 46H/16	„ „ Vani 46H/15
„ Shahpur 46E/7	„ „ Bhiwandi 47E 3
„ Kalyan 47E/4	„ „ Thana 47A/16

within and from the Marathi area respectively upto the limit of Bombay. A map giving the rough outline of the details can be prepared from (a) Survey maps of India (scale : 1" = 4 miles nos : 50-0, 55N, 55J, 55K, 55G, 55C, 46D, 46P, 46L, 46K, 46H, 47A, 47B, 47E ; (b) Linguistic survey of India by Sir George Grierson, Vols. VIII (map facing p. 1), Vol. IX, Part II (map facing page 1) *ibid* page 323, Vol. IX, Part III (map facing p. 1).

(b). *Neighbouring Languages* : From Nagarwada to Seoni Marathi comes in contact with the Eastern Hindi, from Seoni to Betul it comes in contact with the Western Hindi, from Betul to Varla it comes in contact with the Malvi and Nimadi dialects of Rajasthani, from Varla to Malegaon it comes in contact with Khandeshi, a dialect of Gujarati, and from Malegaon to Bombay it comes in contact with the various dialects of Gujarati. The Marathi has four main dialects: Konkani, Deshi, Varadi and Nagpuri. Everywhere Marathi makes a mechanical mixture

with the neighbouring languages and does not merge with them, as Marathi differs widely in spirit, grammar, syntax and vocabulary from all of them.

23. *The Argument of the early bifurcation of Marathi*: Gujarati, Khandeshi Rajasthani, Hindi are all offshoots of one prototype which goes back to not more than a thousand years, while the prototype of Marathi goes back to more than 2000 years. Having been segregated from the Hindi group very early, it has preserved the complexity of nominal and verbal inflections of the Prākṛitas which has been later simplified by the central or the Hindi group. Thus, in nouns alone there are in Marathi at present as many as 10 types declined separately. They are 1. hāt 'a hand'; 2. māl 'a garland'; 3. bhint 'a wall'; 4. ghar 'a house'; 5. māli 'a gardener'; 6. ghoḷā 'a horse'; 7. ghoḷī 'a mare'; 8. kelē 'a banana'; 9. kavi 'a poet'; 10. bāyko 'a woman' besides others; whereas none of the Hindi group has more than three; Gujarati, for example, has only two strong types: 1. ghoḷo 'a horse' and 2. chāprū 'a roof' while all other nouns have no declination at all. Even in each type of declination, Marathi has complexity; the direct case distinguishes singular and plural in all types except one (hāt), and the oblique distinguishes singular and plural, and it differs from the direct. While in the Hindi group only the two strong types distinguish number in the direct but not in the oblique, and the direct is different from the oblique. And in all the remaining types there is no change for any case or number. Thus the words ghar, hathi, hath, jibh, bhīt, etc. will have no change whatsoever in Guj-Khandeshi-Malvi, etc. while in Marathi there will be dozens of forms: as mal, mala, male, mala, bhint, bhinti, bhinti, bhinti, ghar, ghara, ghara, ghara, etc. for all these and many other forms in Marathi, there will be only one form in Guj-Khandeshi-Hindi-Malvi languages, as mal, bhint, ghar, etc.

24. *The Argument based on comparative method, Simplicity vs. Complexity; Khandeshi vs. Marathi*. It is therefore clear that the bare simplicity of the Hindi group stands in bold contrast with the intricate complexity of nominal and verbal forms in Marathi. Thus the confusion of Marathi with Hindi becomes impossible. Same is the case with Rajasthani (in this case Malvi) which no Marathi writer on language has asserted to be a dialect of Marathi. But some writers from Maharashtra have stated that Khandeshi is more akin to Marathi than to Gujarati. Their confusion is due to the fact that Khandeshi has come in closer contact with Marathi ever since Khandesh was placed under Maharashtra by the British for administrative convenience. But that influence is superficial and has resulted in a few loan-words or in change of intonation, expressions. The main structure of the language has remained the same in spite of the Marathi influence. The simplicity of nominal and verbal forms in Khandeshi is astonishing. In Khandeshi, the oblique is the same as the Direct in singular and is arrived at by adding 's' to the singular, in all types. There are in Khandeshi only three types as compared with the ten or more in Marathi. For example, the words bap (Khandeshi) and pap (Khandeshi) will have the same forms bap and bapos for all numbers and cases, while the same words in Marathi will have at least 6 forms. Same is the case with other types. In verbs, the Marathi has the two conjugations of uṭh-and-mār-type

respectively and several tenses and moods are formed in different ways for the two conjugations. Khandeshi, like other Bhili-Gujarati languages knows no such thing. Coming to post-positions, Khandeshi has: inst. ni, dat. le, abl. thi, Gen. na, Loc. ma. Of these Loc. ma, Gen. na, Abl. thi are found in Guj. but not in Marathi. The Dat. le is the same as Gujarati ne, because 'n' becomes 'l' in Surti, Bhili and other neighbouring dialects. It should not be confused with the Marathi le, as the vowels in both are quite different and one cannot be changed for the other. Regarding the inst. ni, it is true that it is not in Guj. (which has -e); but it is not Marathi, for Malvi which is more akin to Khandeshi than Marathi has ne for the Instrumental. Thus there is no post-position which can be traced to Marathi alone. Same may be proved for other grammatical forms. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that Marathi is quite different from Khandeshi.

25. *Ethnological and Cultural argument*: When Khandeshi is spoken by the Ahirs, it is called Ahirani. Now these Ahirs are found in Khandesh, North Nasik, Nimad, Surgana, Buldana and a few hundreds in Akola. All these places are in North of Marathi area and none in the south; so the language they are speaking is more akin to the Northern group and in particular Gujarati than with Marathi. It is clear that, originally all Ahirs used to speak a common language, but when they migrated to different parts they slightly mixed their speech with the local elements; but on the whole their language remained uniform. This language of the Ahirs, which is a member of the Bhili group is more akin to Guj. than to Marathi. For Bhili languages form a sort of group by themselves. Khandeshi is but a development of Bhili; therefore it closely resembles to the Bhili dialects. Bhili dialects situated geographically as they are between Guj. and Raj. have close connection with Rajasthani and Gujarati than with Marathi; therefore, Khandeshi is more akin to Guj. than to Marathi.

26. *The Argument of the surrounding languages: Khandeshi vs. Marathi: Surrounding languages and their influence.* Khandeshi is surrounded by Marathi and Gujarati, it is true, but it is also surrounded by Malvi, Nimadi (the two dialects of Rajasthani) and Bhili. While, therefore, speaking of the resemblances it has with Gujarati and Marathi, we forget to compare it with Bhili and Rajasthani with which in fact Khandeshi is more closely connected. Most of the Maharashtra pundits have made this mistake; as soon as they find a point of resemblance between Marathi and Khandeshi (not shared by Gujarati), they jump to the conclusion that the resemblance is due to Marathi influence. But a more careful observation shows that it is due to its close affinity with Malvi or Bhili, as in the case of the inst. post-po. ni stated above. In fact Khandeshi, being a continuation of Bhili and Malvi-Gujarati, is a dialect of Malvi-Gujarati and not that of Marathi.

27. *Boundary line of Gujarat*: So far this note has dealt with the negative side of the boundaries between Gujarati and Maharashtra and discussed the justification for the claims of the latter for the territories included in Vansda, Dharampur, Surgana, Jawahar and Dangs. The next question for discussion that follows is the examination of the boundary line of the Gujarati language for excluding the Marathi areas from those parts which are within the limit of Gujarati linguistic and cultural affini-

ties. For reasons of historical accidents these parts have been subjected to Marathi linguistic influences. These areas are in the Khandesh, Nasik and Thana Districts, where Gujarati is spoken in the homes, is taught in a few schools and is the recognised language of commerce requiring the appointment of Gujarati knowing judicial officers and staff. In the cultural, economic and commercial spheres, the Gujarati speaking population has achieved primary importance and this needs to be recognised if linguistic division of provinces and districts is recognised as the policy of the Indian Union. On these considerations, the border line between Maharashtra should be somewhat as below :—

- (a) Taking the sheets No. 46H, 46L, 46D, 47A, 47B, of the Survey Maps of the Government of India, the border line would start from the south boundary of Khandesh near Piplaner and then include in Gujarati area the Dangs and Surgana State, cut Kalvan Taluka half and join at Vani and Dindori in Dindori Taluka. From Dindori the line would go to Girnara, include in the Gujarati area the whole of Jawhar, step into Thana District, join Bhiwandi, Kalyan and Bombay.
- (b) *Dangs, Surgana* are inhabited by Bhil ruling chiefs. There is not much difference between the speech of the aboriginals of the Dangs and of the residents of Bhili speaking Khandesh. The Bhili languages are closely akin to Rajasthani and Gujarati. The Chief of Surgana is a Bhil and the bulk of the population is that of the Bhils. The language has nothing to do with Marathi. All Bhili languages are derived from Sauraseni Apabhhransa as their structure and geographical positions show. (See pp. 145-46, L. S. I., Vol. IX, iii).
- (c) *Nasik District: Kalvan, Dindori, Baglan and Peint*: These parts are inhabited by Pavris, Mavcis, Konknas, Dhodias and Warlis. They all speak various forms of Bhili dialects though somewhat mixed in vocabulary with Marathi words, are clearly Gujarati-Bhili at the base. As such they come under the Shauraseni Apabhhransa and the Rajasthani-Malvi-Gujarati group of languages. (See L. S. I., Vol. IX, Part III, pp. 151, 157; p. 130).

All references to Grierson are reproduced in full in appendix II.

- (d) *Bhiwandi Kalyan*. The chief language of this portion is Northern Konkni In Dahanu the Parbhi dialect is a form of Gujarati, see specimen pp. 93, L. S. I., Vo., VIII. Thakurs of Thana speak a form of Gujarati mixed with Marathi, p. 113, *ibid.* The chief language of the whole district under review is Kathodi or Kathkari which is a Gujaratic Bhili dialect and is based on Sauraseni Apabhhransa. See pp. 130-31, L. S. I., Vol. VIII, The Warlis of Dahanu Kalyan, etc. speak a language which is based on Gujarati. C. P. L. S. I. pp. 141. The Pachlalsis of Bassein, Mahim, Dahanu come from Gujarat, they speak Gujarati, L. S. I., p. 144-45. Their dialect is called Vadval. Somvadis of Bassein and Mahim speak a form of Gujarati, p. 148 *ibid.*

- (e) In the interior of the forests we find many aboriginal tribes. Their language is not explored. Only those who live near the railway line have come in contact with the outer world. Their language is of the Gujarati-Bhili type and hence resembles Gujarati more than Marathi. The existence of Marathi in this district can be explained on the ground of immigration from the Deccan during the British period, for service, trade, work, etc. Thus the language upto Bombay is mainly Gujarati.
- (f) *Gujarati in Nasik*: The talukas of Kalvan, Peint and Baglan in the north of Nasik District are closely connected linguistically with the Dangs, Surgana, Dharampur and Navsari. For those very tribes which live in the Gujarat districts, viz., Chodhra, Dhodia, Kunkana, Varli, Mavchi, Nayakdas, Pavris are also found in this part of Nasik and they speak the same language as their tribesmen in Gujarat. Their language is a type of Bhili or Khandeshi character which is but a form of Surti and is therefore Gujarati. The Bhils of Surgana speak a dialect of the Bhili group which is a form of Gujarati. Some Ahirs here speak the Ahirani which is a language of the Shauraseni type and hence different from Marathi. These districts should therefore be excluded from Marathi and included in Gujarati.
- (g) *Language in Thana*: The whole sea-coast of Thana is inhabited by Gujarati speaking people. There are many Marathi speaking people also. But whereas the former are closely connected with soil, being either the owners or the cultivators thereof, the latter have come to Thana recently for service or for other form of maintenance. The old stock thus being Gujarati, the indigenous language of the district is Gujarati. It is often found overlaid with Marathi and in many cases dialects like Parbhi, Thakri, Varli, Kathodi, Samvedi, etc. are saturated with Marathi words, but the base is always and in every case a form of Gujarati. The proportion of the Gujarati-speaking people is very large as far as Dahanu and Mahim, and it goes on decreasing slowly as we go to the south upto Bombay. An eminent social worker Swami Anand, who has devoted several years in constructive work in these villages, estimates that 60 per cent. of the population of Bassein Taluka, 70 per cent. of the Umbergaon Peta and large groups in the coastal portions of Dahanu, Bhiwandi, Bassein and Palghar talukas of Thana District speak Gujarati language. In the interior the country is woody and is populated by wood-cutters and charcoal-men who are the native aborigines and are called Warlis, Kunknas, Katkaris, Dublas, Gamits, Bhils (same as those of Surat and Navsari) though their language has been mixed with Marathi to a greater extent. But at the base is a form of Gujarati and its whole structure is Gujarati without any doubt, and some scholars would prefer to call the whole area from Surat to Bombay Island as the land of the Dublas with strong common ethnological, cultural, linguistic and social affinities which can be

noticed by even a casual observer passing through this strip of land. The northern portion of Thana District has, therefore, to be taken out from Marathi and put under Gujarati. In fact, a scheme to transfer the whole of the Umbergaon Peta and some adjoining villages to the Bulsar division of the Surat District has been already prepared; though shelved for the present, it should be revived now. Thana district is already attached to the Northern Division, whose headquarters are at Ahmedabad, and its administrative and cultural relations are with the North. Sopara, the ancient Ophir of the Greeks, Kalyan, Gharapuri (Elephanta Islands), and Shristhanak (Thana) had all commercial and cultural contacts with the northern territories in Gujarat.

28. *Conclusion*: The object of this Memorandum is not to create differences where none exists or to perpetuate them where they do exist. The whole country is astir with enthusiasm and patriotism seeking unity and progress, and the question of linguistic provinces may wait till more urgent problems of national consolidation are solved. But if the final decision is that linguistic unity is to form the basis of provincial divisions, a little plain speaking would help the solution of the problem rather than retard it. Everyone hopes for a time to come when Hindi or Hindustani will become an accepted language of the country to such an extent as to drown all linguistic differences. But if a group preaches expansion of territorial ambitions on doubtful grounds of linguistic affiliations, it becomes the duty of a group of scientific research workers to expose the hollowness of the claims made and to point out the correct position. Linguistic claims for the affiliation to Gujarati language of the Khandeshi, Ahirani, Bhili and allied dialects have been recorded by Sir George Grierson as early as 1908, and urgency of these claims has been felt by all social workers in the districts of Khandesh, Nasik and Thana. The disadvantages of imparting school education in a language other than that spoken in the home, the additional burdens of learning one language for trade and business and another for schools and courts, the inferiority complex arising from comparatively less familiarity with the official language—all these have been cheerfully tolerated for years. There is also a growing feeling among the Gujarati speaking population, which includes all communities that even in their own districts their claims for official appointments both as regards total numbers and superior posts, have been disregarded. It has also been pointed out that the money spent on the development of the resources of the provinces even in matter of roads, buildings and irrigation, is out of proportion either to the revenues contributed or to the area involved, or to the population concerned, e.g., in spite of the existence of the P.W.D. for over a century there is no motorable road between Bombay and Ahmedabad. Similarly, out of the total upto date expenditure of Rs. 10.75 crores on major irrigation works in the Bombay Province, only Rs. 25 lakhs has been spent in Gujarat while Rs. 10 crores has been utilised in the Deccan. Yet the leaders of political thought in Gujarat have refrained, only in the higher interests of the Nation, from claiming isolationist development of the territories which it is the birthright of Gujarati speaking people to develop. But now when the United Maharastra, Pari-

shad chooses to place exaggerated claims for the expansion of Maharashtra at the cost of Gujarat, it has become necessary to submit this detailed Memorandum on the subject in the interests of self-protection.

29. *A Recommendation* : Even if it is decided that no action should be taken for the present regarding the formation of linguistic provinces, it is the duty of the Commission to recommend that sufficient facilities are provided for the provision of schools in those areas where a community is apparently in a minority, e.g., the facilities for Gujarati Schools should be available in such areas in Thana, Nasik and Khandesh districts which are otherwise being taught through Marathi. Further those Adivasi tribes which are now taught the Marathi language but whose linguistic affinities are with Gujarati should be given facilities to receive their education through Gujarati. Unless this arrangement is made at an early date, the cultural evolution of these territories will not be carried out on correct lines as intended by the principles of linguistic evolution of the country.

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APPENDIX I.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA  
LINGUISTIC PROVINCES COMMISSION  
QUESTIONNAIRE REGARDING THE PROPOSED PROVINCES OF ANDHRA,  
KARNATAK, KERALA AND MAHARASHTRA

PART I.

1. Should Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala or Maharashtra be constituted into a separate Province on a linguistic basis ?

2. What should be the boundary of the new Province ? Please mention the districts and taluks which you would wish to be included in the new Province and give reasons in support of your opinion.

3. Should the new Province be constituted into a full-fledged Governor's Province with a Council of Ministers, the Legislature, a High Court, an Advocate-General, a Public Services Commission and an Auditor-in-Chief ?

4. What do you think of the alternative scheme of constituting the proposed Province into a sub-Province of an existing Province with autonomous administrative machinery of its own ?

5. Should the new Province have a separate administrative machinery for all the Government Departments, or should it have joint administration for any of the Departments with a neighbouring Province ? Under this head the following subjects may be considered:—

(1) Justice, (2) Police, (3) Public Works, (4) Medical and Public Health, (5) Higher Education and (6) Forest.

6. What should be the strength of the Council of Ministers ? What pay and allowances would you recommend for each Minister ?

7. Should the Legislature of the new Province be unicameral or bicameral and what should be the salary of its members ?

8. How many Judges should the High Court have besides the Chief Justice ?

9. How many members should the Public Services Commission have including the Chairman and what should be their salary ?

10. Should the new Province have a University of its own ? If so, should it have an honorary Vice-Chancellor or a salaried one and, in the latter case, what should be his salary ?

11. Should there be a head for each Department of Government (including the Board of Revenue) or would you like to have more Departments than one placed under one controlling officer ? Indicate the heads of Departments which you would propose for the Province and the salary that you would allow to each.

12. What scales of pay would you propose for the various Services ?

13. If you find it convenient, please prepare rough estimates of income and expenditure of the new Province under the various major heads.

14. If, according to your estimates, the probable revenues of the new Province are not sufficient to meet the expenditure and the new Province is faced with a recurring deficit, how would you propose to meet the deficit ? What steps would you recommend for increasing the revenues of the Province ? Would you suggest fresh taxation ? If so, please give details.



15. Do you contemplate the merger of any Indian States in your Province? If so, which and why? Has the opinion of the people of those States been ascertained to be in favour of the merger? Suppose the States do not wish to join your Province, would you still have the new Province created?

16. Where should the seat of Government of the new Province be located? How would you meet the cost of the creation of the new capital?

17. What would be the economic consequences of the creation of the new Province? Under this head the following subjects may be considered:—

(1) Agriculture, (2) Industry, (3) Forest, (4) Minerals, (5) Trade and Commerce, (6) Economic Development, (7) Public Health, and (8) General prosperity of the people.

18. What in your opinion should be the basic principle or principles for the division of assets and liabilities?

19. Do you think the creation of the new Province will lead to a large-scale transference of population and consequent human suffering? If you do, what steps would you suggest for its prevention?

20. Have you any proposals to make regarding the cities of Bombay and Madras (including the ports and suburbs)? Do you think they should be included in any Province; if so, which? Would you favour the formation of these cities into separate Provinces or sub Provinces? If so, please give facts and figures in justification of your view-point.

## PART II.

(For *Tamilnad, Gujarat and Hindi C.P.*)

21. Do you agree to the carving out of the proposed new Provinces of Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala and Maharashtra?

22. What effects, administrative, financial and economic, are likely to be produced on the remaining parts of the existing Provinces after the new Provinces have been formed out of them?

23. Please prepare rough estimates of income and expenditure under the various major heads for those parts of the existing Provinces which would remain after the creation of the new Provinces.

*N.B.*—Replies to this questionnaire should reach the Secretary of the Linguistic Provinces Commission, Constituent Assembly of India, Council House, New Delhi, by the 31st August, 1948.

## APPENDIX II

### QUOTATIONS FROM SIR GEORGE GRIERSON—LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

Vol. I, Part I, page 178. KHANDESHI.

Closely allied to Gujarati and Western Rajasthani are two important groups of dialects . . . They are Bhili and Khandeshi, the latter being called also Ahirani or Dhed Gujar.

Page 179.

As we follow these dialects Southwards, we find them borrowing more and more from the neighbouring Marathi, but this is borrowing only. It does not affect the structure of the language any more . . . From the point of view of strict philology, it (Khandeshi) should not be separated from Bhili.

2. Vol. IX, Part III, page 130. KONKANIS.

The Konkanis are found in Navsari Division, Dharmpur and Bansda, Surgana, Peint and Kalwan Talukas, and in Khandesh, especially Pimpalner.

The Konkani dialect is not uniform in all districts. The influence of Marathi in the form which that language assumes in the Northern Konkan is, however, traceable everywhere, though the *base of the Konkani dialect is Gujarati or rather Gujarati Bhili.*

2. Vol. VII, p. 2. KHANDESHI.

Several broken dialects are spoken in various parts of the Marathi territory, and will be dealt with in connection with the various forms of that language. In the northern part of the coast strip belonging to Marathi we find some smaller dialects, such as Kathodi, Varli, Vadaval, Phudagi and Samvedi, which in several points agree with Gujarati—Bhili. *The Khandesi dialect of Khandesh, which has hitherto been classed with Marathi, has in this survey been transferred to Gujarati.* It contains a large admixture of Marathi, but the inner form of the language differs, and its base is a Prakrit dialect more closely related to Sauraseni than to Maharashtri which latter Prakrit is derived from the same base as modern Marathi.

3. Vol. VII, page 9.

*The border line between Marathi on one side and Gujarati, Rajasthani and Western Hindi on the other, is very sharply marked.* In the west we see that Gujarati Bhili and Khandesi gradually become more and more influenced by Marathi. But even when such dialects assume the linguistic form of Marathi, as in the case of Vadaval, Varli, etc., they retain the character of mixed forms of speech and are no real connecting links.

4. Vol. VII, page 62.

KOLIS are found in almost every village in Gujarat, the Konkan and the Dekhan. They are considered to be one of the early tribes, and they usually live by agriculture, or fishing. They have often been connected with the Munda tribes, who are commonly denoted as Kols. The Kolis of Thana include many small tribes, and many broadly be sub-divided into three classes the hill Kolis, the Son Kolis of the coast, and certain low-castes who are not recognised by the rest. They everywhere speak the dialect of their neighbours.

Koli has been returned as a separate dialect from Bombay, Thana, Kolaba and Janjira. The local estimate of the numbers of speakers are as follows:—

Bombay Town and Island	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10,000
Thana	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,63,000
Kolaba	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10,186
Janjira	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	61,000
								1,89,186
							Total .. .. .	1,89,186

5. Vol. VII, p. 130. KATHODI or KATKARI.

The Katkaris are a forest tribe inhabiting the mountain fastnesses in the Konkan and the Sahyadri Hills. Their name is usually derived from *Kath*, catechu, which they extract from the terra japonica, or *Khair* tree. Their dialect is sometimes called Katkari and sometimes Kathodi or Katvadi. The numbers of speakers which have been returned for the use of the Linguistic Survey are as follows:—

Khandesh	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	110
Thana	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	44,500
Jawhar State	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	450
Janjira State	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	700
Kolaba	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	30,940
								76,700
							Total .. .. .	76,700

No specimens have been received from Khandesh and Jawhar. The dialect spoken in Thana, Janjira, and Kolaba is not everywhere the same. The base is however, identical throughout, and Kathodi must be derived from form of speech closely related to Khandesi. The influence of the surrounding Marathi dialects has, on the other hand, been so strong that the speech of the Katkaris all over the Konkan now looks like a form of Marathi. Their dialect is, accordingly no more pure.

6. Vol. VII, page 141. VARLI.

The Varlis are one of the early tribes in Thana where they are estimated at 89,000 individuals. Their headquarters are in the north-west in Dahanu, where they form more than half of the population. They are also found in Mokhada, Murbad, Kalyan, Karjat, and in the Jawhar State. Three thousand Varlis have been returned from Khandesh where they inhabit the Satpura Range. No specimens have, however, been obtained from this latter locality. The Varlis of the Dangis speak a Bhil dialect, founded on Gujarati.

The Varlis of Thana are also Bhils, and their language must originally have been of the same kind as other Bhil dialects and Khandeshi. In the course of time it has however, been so largely influenced by Marathi, that it must now be classed as a dialect of that language, except in the extreme north, where it is stated to be a form of Gujarati.

7. Vol. IX, Part III pages 1 and 2. BHILI AND KHANDESHI :

Number of speakers of Bhil dialects and Khandeshi are as follows :—

Bhil dialects	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,689,109
Khandeshi (and its Sub-dialects)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,253,066
Total	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3,942,175

The dialects in question are mostly bounded towards the north and east by the various dialects of Rajasthani, towards the South by Marathi, and towards the West by Marathi and Gujarati.

Among the dialects spoken within the territory sketched above there is one, *viz.*, Khandeshi, which has hitherto been classed as a form of Marathi. The ensuing pages will, however, show, on the one side, that the so-called Bhil dialects gradually merge into the language of Khandesh, on the other that Khandeshi itself is not a Marathi dialect. Several suffixes, it is true, are identical with those used in Marathi. But most suffixes and the inner form of the language more closely agree with Gujarati and Rajasthani.

The northern and eastern dialects connect Gujarati with Rajasthani, while, in West, there runs a continuous line of dialects southward towards the broken Marathi dialects of Thana. The influence of Marathi increases as we go Southwards, and these forms of speech are thus a link between that language and Gujarati. This latter language is, however, everywhere the original base, and the gradual approaching the principles of Marathi in structure and inflexional system seems to be due to a secondary development. It should however be remembered that the inner Indo-Aryan languages and those of the outer circle have at an early date, met and influenced each other in Gujarati and the adjoining districts.

8. Vol. IX, page 151. BHILI OF KHANDESH.

A large proportion of the population of Khandesh has been reported as speaking various dialects of Bhili. In all essential points, the so-called Bhilodi closely agrees with Khandeshi.

Vol. IX, Part III, page 203.

Gujarati is also spoken by the higher class husbandmen in Khandesh to the North of the Tapti and it is the language of the trade throughout the District. Marathi is to some extent spoken in the South and West.

The pinciple language of the district is however a form of speech which shares some of his characteristic features of Gujarati and in other agrces with Marathi.

Page 208.

The preceding remarks which have shown the mixed nature of the Khandesi verb. Just as the language differs from Marathi and approaches the inner-circle in the formation of oblique case, so it appears with these latter forms of speech in other important test points. The past tense is not formed by means of an l-suffix it has an s-future and its conjunctive participle takes the suffic i.

9. L.S.I. Vol. IX, Part III, page 61. For THANA : DAMAN TO UMBERGAON.

The north part of this territory from Daman to Umergam is divided between Marathi and Gujarati and the influence of the latter language is also felt farther south, the vocabulary being, to some extent, Gujarati.

Page 62. PARBHI.

The Parbus are identical with the Kayasthas of Guj. and Upper India . . . The Parbhus are said to have come from Gujarat and Upper India.

KOLIS :

Kolis are found in almost every village of Gujarat in the Konkan and the Dekhan.

KUNBIS:

The Kunbis of Khandesh speak a form of Khandeshi.

Page 63. THAKRI :

Thakurs are one of the early tribes, they are found all over Gujarat, etc.

Page 93.

The dialect (Parbhi) is said to use a great proportion of Gujarati words, especially in the north.

Page 113.

There is, besides, a slight admixture of Gujarati.

Page 130.

Broken dialects of Thana and the Konkan : ((a) Katkari or Kathodi which is originally a Bhili dialect closely related to Khandeshi, but now has been so much influenced by Marathi, that can conveniently be classed as a dialect of that form of speech (b) Varli : Another dialect of a similar nature is Varli. The Varlis as also Katkaris, are said to be more like the Bhills and Kolis Vadval (d) Phudji, (e) Samvedi which still have preserved many of the characteristic features Gujarati-Bhili.

Vol. IX, Part III, page 141. VARLI.

The Varlis of the Dangs speak a Bhil dialect founded on Gujarati . . . The Varlis of Thana are also Bhils and their language must originally have been of the same kind as other Bhil dialects and Khandeshi . . . The language of the specimen is a mixed form of speech. In most respects it agrees with the current language of Thana, other respects it shared with Marathi of Poona and lastly, there is an admixture of Gujarati.

Page 144.

The Vadvals are one of the sub-tribe of the Pach Kalsi Kunbis. Like the rest of the Pach-Kalsi, they are supposed to have immigrated from Gujarat.

Page 148: SAMVEDI.

Samvedi: They speak a mixed dialect the chief components of which are Marathi of Thana and Vulgar Gujarati. . . The whole Samvedi dialect must be characterised as a mechanical mixture of Konkani Marathi and Gujarati.

Page 153.

In the North of Thana Marathi is gradually superseded by Gujarati. The specimen printed below has been forwarded from Bhiwandi: It will be seen that it is a dialect of the same kind as Vadval, Samvedi, etc. with a strong admixture of Gujarati.

10. Vol IX, Part III, page 124. For NASIK:

Dhoaia is the dialect spoken by the Dhodias, one of the aboriginal tribes of Surat and Thana. Like Naikri, Dhodia has been influenced by Marathi.

Konkani: Konkani is a tribe which is found in Navsari district, Dharampur, Bausda, Surgana and in Talukas Peint and Kalwan of the District Nasik and in Khandesh, especially Pimpalner. . . The influence of Marathi. . . is however traceable everywhere though the base of the Konkani dialect is Gujarati or rather Gujrati-Bhili.

11. Vol. IX, Part III, page 145. For SURGANA—NASIK (North)

Bhils are the principal inhabitants of Surgana State and of the Northern part of Nasik and they are also found in Dang State. Their dialect is very closely related to Khandeshi.

Page 148.

Baghni: Talukas Satara, Malegam, Kalwan, Pimpalner: The dialect does not differ much from Khandeshi.

Page 151.

They (the specimens) are written in a form of speech which is practically identical with Khandeshi.

12. Vol. IX, Part III, page 157. For BHILI OF SAPURAS

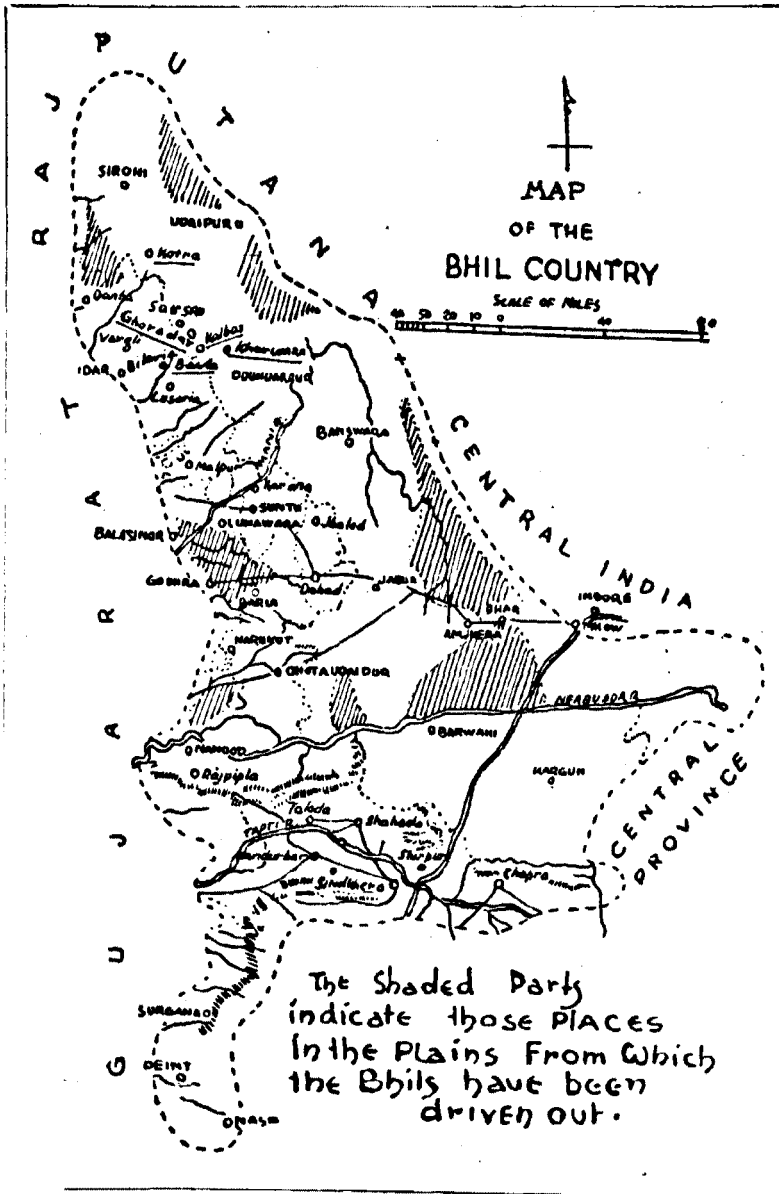
It is therefore probable that the various names of the hilly dialects are only local denominations of slightly varying forms of Khandeshi.

Page 158.

Devali in Taloda, Nardurbar and Mevas. . . is closely related to Bhili.

Page 168.

Kotahi is identical with Khandeshi.



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