

**The Pronunciation of Persian-origin Words among the Punjabi Speakers of Pakistan**

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**Abstract**

Persian is a modern Iranian language which developed from Middle Western Iranian which itself developed from Old Iranian, whereas Punjabi is the language of the region called 'Punjab'. It is a Persian word which literally means "the land of five rivers". The Punjab was divided on the base of religion into Pakistan and India in 1947 during the partition of British India. The Punjabi is a Northwestern Indo-Aryan language which issued from Sanskrit language via Prakrit and Apabhramsh. It is the most spoken language in Pakistan. The Persian and Punjabi both languages belong to Indo-Iranian branch of Indo-European Language family. The Punjabi language possesses a large quantity of Persian words being used in this language since ancient times. This study investigates the pronunciation of these Persian origin words present in the Punjabi language. We recorded and transcribed - in International Phonetic Alphabet - a list of these most common Persian loanwords articulated by some of Punjabi speakers of Pakistan. We found a large difference between two pronunciations especially in vocalic category. We made the categories of these pronunciation differences in order to understand how the Persian pronunciation of Punjabi speakers of Pakistan differs from modern standard Persian spoken in Iran. This study will help us to understand the cultural and linguistic relations between Iran and Pakistan.

**Keywords:** Persian; Punjabi; Pakistan; Iran; Pronunciation.

**1. Introduction**

Punjabi language, spoken in Pakistan and India, possesses a large number of Persian words being used in this language since ancient times. Our study investigates the pronunciation of these Persian origin words present in the Punjabi language. In this section, we will present the history and development of Persian language, the history of Persian language in the Punjab region and the history, origin, dialects, official status and writing systems of Punjabi language.

**1.1. Persian language**

Persian is the official language of Iran<sup>1</sup>. It's two varieties; *Dari*<sup>2</sup> and *Tajik*<sup>3</sup> are the official languages in Afghanistan and Tajikistan, respectively (Windfuhr & Perry, 2009:416-7). It is known as 'Farsi' by its native speakers, which originated from the region of 'Fars'<sup>4</sup> in southwestern Iran (Zanjani, 1999:356). Persian belongs to the Iranian group of the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family (Windfuhr, 2009:1; Karimi, 2005:324).

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<sup>1</sup> (See the Article 15 of the *Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran 1979*).

<sup>2</sup> The Persian of Afghanistan is generally referred to as *Farsi* by Tajiks, *Parsi* by Pashto speakers, and *Dari* by the Government of Afghanistan (Kieffer, 1983:501-516; Ingham, 2006: 89). The standard written Persian has been officially called Dari since 1964 (Farhadi & Perry, 2009:276-280).

<sup>3</sup> (See the Article 2 of the *Constitution of the Republic of Tajikistan 1994*). Tajik is used, particularly in the Republic of Tajikistan and parts of Uzbekistan, especially in the cities of Bukhara and Samarkand (Windfuhr & Perry, 2009:420).

<sup>4</sup> After the Arab invasion in the 6th century, the term 'Pars' was used as 'Fars' in official documents written in Arabic due to lack of the phoneme /f/ in Arabic language. 'Farsi' is now the term used for the official language (Karimi, 2005:324).

The evolution of Persian as the culturally dominant language of the Middle East began with the political domination of the dynasties (Karimi, 2005:324), firstly by the Achaemenids (c.558-330 BC), then by the Sassanids (224 BC -65 AD) (Windfuhr & Perry, 2009:416). Persian has undergone only minor morphological, phonological and syntactic changes over the last 11 centuries. The lexicon of Farsi has been highly influenced by borrowings from Arabic. It has been estimated that 65% of the vocabulary used in modern novels and short stories is of Arabic origin (Karimi, 2005:325).

### **1.2. Persian language in the Punjab**

The Punjab (in Persian “the country of the five rivers”) is defined by the Indus river, and the other rivers: the Jhelum, the Chenab, the Ravi, the Beas, and the Sutlej (Leaf, 1992: 236; Davies, 1995 : 254-255; Bhatia, 2009: 885), all originate from the Himalayas, which cross a large plain in the northwest of the Indian subcontinent (Weinbaum, 2006: 355), to reach the Indus (Davies, 1995: 254-255), near the town of *Uch*, forming a large river known as ‘Panjnad’, which flows into the Indus near *Mithankot* (Ahmad, 1969: 22). So, the Punjab is the upper plain of the Indus (Ibid., 1969: 208). In Sanskrit literature, the Punjab has been called the *Sapta Sindhu* (the land of seven rivers) (Chandra, 2008: 23). The Punjab was divided on the base of religion into Pakistan and India in 1947 during the partition of British India (Gayer, 2010:431-432).

In the region of Punjab, the Persian language comes with the period of Islamization. It begins with the incursions of Muslims from Afghanistan and Central Asia. These Muslims entered India via border passes<sup>5</sup> situated in north of Punjab (Kennedy, 2002: xviii). Thus, the history of Persian language in Indian subcontinent is related to the conquests (Kachru, 2006: 426). Although Persian was not the native language of the Muslim kings of India, yet it was so popular that they used it, instead of Turkish (Qutbuddin, 2007:316).

The beginning of the diffusion of the Persian in Punjab is generally related to the time of Mahmud<sup>6</sup> of Ghazni<sup>7</sup> (du 1001 au 1026) (Abidi & Gargesh, 2008: 103; Windfuhr & Perry, 2009:418). He continued the policy of incursions of his father, Sebuk-Tigin<sup>8</sup>, in the Indian subcontinent. (Bosworth, 1991:63). The ‘Hindushahi’ dynasty in northwestern India was attacked during several campaigns by Mahmud. The power of this Hindu state was completely broken by Mahmud who annexed the Punjab, which became a frontier province of his vast empire whose capital was Lahore<sup>9</sup> (Davies, 1995:255).

Thus, the city of Lahore become a significant urban and cultural center (Walsh, 2008f: 140). Mahmud built a fortress there and gave the name of Mahmudpur to this city (Jackson, 1986b:601). Lahore became the center of the Ghaznavids<sup>10</sup> for two centuries (Bosworth, 1991:63), So, it became the center of the literary activities of the Persian language. Abu Abdullah Nuqati, the first Indian-born poet who composed in Persian was from Lahore (Abidi & Gargesh, 2008: 103). Another view about Islamization in India says that Sufis and Ismaili missionaries converted Hindus by preaching and that Islamization was not made by

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<sup>5</sup> The *Khyber Pass* is one of the main passes, which separate the plains of the Indus from Afghanistan (Bosworth, 1978 :1174).

<sup>6</sup> Abul-Qasim Mahmud, the eldest son of Subuktigin, the Sultan of the Ghaznavid dynasty who ruled from 998 to 1030 in the eastern parts of Islam State (Bosworth, 1991 :62).

<sup>7</sup> City of Eastern Afghanistan, 145 km southwest of Kabul (Bosworth, 1965 :1073).

<sup>8</sup> Sebuktigin (r. 977–997) was a former slave who founded the Ghaznavid empire (Walsh, 2008f: 139).

<sup>9</sup> Lahore is the second largest of city of Pakistan (Jackson, 1986b :601).

<sup>10</sup> Name given to the dynasty of Turk origin founded by Sebuktigin (Spuler, 1965:1074).

iron and blood (Boivin, 1996 :18). So, the scholars like Al-Biruni<sup>11</sup> and Muslim mystics like Hujwiri<sup>12</sup> arrived in India with the conquering troops of Mahmud (Suvorova, 2004).

After the Ghaznavids the power came into the hands of the Ghaurids<sup>13</sup>. In 1193, the Turk Sultan Muhammad Ghauri conquered Delhi and established the definitive Muslim dominion in India. From the thirteenth to the mid-nineteenth century, Muslim kings closely controlled the entire subcontinent. Over time, a large number of the local population converted to Islam (Qutbuddin, 2007a:325). Persian flourished in the subcontinent largely with the patronage of the court. He had an important place in Indian society, at all levels, both in his Muslim and non-Muslim segments, with mainly the literary and governmental functions, as well as in Sufism (Qutbuddin, 2007:317).

Throughout the period of Muslim sovereignty in South Asia, the main written language in use was Persian (Shackle, 2002:942). Several authors have studied the influence of the Persian language, on South Asian languages. For example (Abidi & Gargesh, 2008) have studied, in detail, “the literary history of the Persian in South Asia”. According to the authors at the time of the king *Qutbuddin Aybak*<sup>14</sup>, the center of literary activities shifted to Delhi. The golden age of Persian language and literature in South Asia is considered the Mughal period (1526-1707), especially Akbar (r, 1556-1605), who officially declared it the language of the Mughal administration at all levels; it has become an important tool for career advancement, especially in the public service (Qutbuddin, 2007:317).

In Indian subcontinent, the Muslim children were taught Persian classics (Rahman, 2006: 409). Persian was taught in makhtabs and madrassas, where students studied Persian in classical literature. Due to its official status, the large number of Hindu joined madrassas to acquire education in Persian language and literature, with the intention of pursuing civilian service career. The Sufi khanqahs also played a vital role in the popularization of the Persian language. In the nineteenth century, after the end of the Mogul period, the study of Persian in Indian madrasas also declined (Qutbuddin, 2007:317, 324). Finally, Persian lost its power when it was replaced by English between 1835 and 1837 (Rahman, 2006: 409).

In all the languages of South Asia, Persian has been so popular that it has been used as an official language by non-Muslims, as in the Maratha State of *Chatrapati Shivaji* and in the Sikh State of *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*<sup>15</sup>. Several local poets who composed their poetry in Persian, include the Muslim poets as *Ghalib*<sup>16</sup> and *Iqbal*<sup>17</sup> and Non-Muslim poets like *Guru Gobind Singh* (Abidi & Gargesh, 2008).

### **1.3. Punjabi language**

Punjabi is a modern Indo-Aryan language spoken mainly in two South Asian countries: India and Pakistan (Bhatia, 2009:885). The word ‘Punjabi’ is an adjective, which literally means ‘the language of the region of five rivers’. The term ‘Punjabi’ means both the inhabitant of ‘Punjab’ and the speaker of the Punjabi language (Leaf, 1992: 236).

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<sup>11</sup> Al-Biruni (973-1048) was a learned mathematician and philosopher of Iranian origin (Clémentin-Ojha, et al., 2009:457).

<sup>12</sup> The first Sufi saint of Muslim India (Speziale, 2010 :475), Abu l-Hasan Ali bin Uthman bin Ali al-Ghaznavi al- Jullabi al-Hujwiri, born in Hujwir, a suburb of Ghazni (Hosain, 1971:565) and died in 1072, at Lahore (Speziale, 2010 :475).

<sup>13</sup> Ghaur is the mountainous land of Afghanistan, from where the medieval Ghaurid dynasty took its name (Bivar, 1965:1122).

<sup>14</sup> First ruler of the Indo-Muslim state (Jackson, 1986a:550).

<sup>15</sup> Sikh ruler who dominated a large northwestern region of India (Rothermund, 2006b: 73-74).

<sup>16</sup> Mirza Asad Allah Khan, one of the greatest Muslim poets of the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent (Bausani, 1965:1023).

<sup>17</sup> Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938) is a poet of Persian and Urdu languages and is the spiritual father of Pakistan (Schimmel, 2004:197-200).

Although the ‘Punjabi’ means ‘the language of the land of five rivers’, this language is not limited to the modern boundaries of Punjab. (Leaf, 1992: 236) explains that the Punjabi culture region includes the states of Punjab in Pakistan and India, as well as portions of the present in the Pakistani province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and the state of Jammu, Rajasthan, and Himachal Pradesh in India (Parkash Singh, 2013 :359). (Bhatti, 2014) explains that there exists a Punjabi speech variety spoken in the urban areas of Afghanistan. The author proves, with examples, that this Punjabi variety spoken by Non-Muslim community (Afghan Hindus and Sikhs) is very close to the Western dialects of the Punjabi language, especially the variety of the city of Peshawar.

Punjabi is the most spoken language in Pakistan. It is the most important language in the country, although Urdu is used as a written language (Malherbe, 2010: 210). Punjabi is spoken by about 60% of the population<sup>18</sup>. It is ranked among the 20 most spoken languages in the world (Bhatia, 2009:886).

There are different theories regarding the origin of Punjabi language, but the Indo-Aryan theory is widely accepted. The researchers like (Grierson, 1919; Chatterji, 1926; Shirani, 1928; Bahri, 1958; Smirnov, 1970; Shackle, 1980; Masica, 1991) believe that Punjabi is an Indo-Aryan language. So, the Punjabi is a descendant of the Sanskrit language (Bhatia, 2009:886). In this way, the Punjabi is part of the Indo-Aryan languages of the subdivision of the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European family. Therefore, Punjabi is an Indo-European language, which has close relations with Hindi (Leaf, 1992: 237), and Urdu (Malherbe, 2010: 210). According to (Parkash Singh, 2013 :163) the Punjabi language is the continuity of Vedic Sanskrit and classical Sanskrit.

The history of Punjabi as a distinct language began almost in 1000 AD (Parkash Singh, 2013 :166). Punjabi is used as a literary language since the eleventh century (Bhatia, 1993: xxviii). The early literature is religious in Punjabi (Jafri, 1997 :39). (Fazl-i-Haque, 2004) describes that Punjabi literature is created by Muslims. He explains in detail the Islamic subjects treated by the Punjab poets, for example, *Tafseer*, *Tajweed*, *Hadith*, *Seerat-a-nabi*, *Fiqha*, *Tarikh*, *Tasawuf* etc. The most important work of the old Punjabi is ‘Adi Grantha’, the sacred poetry of the Sikhs (Bhatia, 2009:886).

Punjabi has several regional, varieties (Bhatia, 2009: 886). According to the Faculty of Linguistics, Punjabi University, Patiala, India, 28 dialects of the Punjabi language are as follows<sup>19</sup>: Bhattiani, Rathi, Malwai, Powadhi, Pahari, Doabi, Kangri, Chambiali, Dogri, Wajeerawadi, Baar di Boli, Jangli, Jatki, Chenavri, Multani, Bhawalpuri, Thalochri, Thali, Bherochi, Kachi, Awankari, Dhani, Ghebi, Hindki, Swaen, Chacchi, Pothohari, Punchi.

The ‘Majhi’ dialect is considered as the standard dialect of Punjabi language (Leaf, 1992: 237). It is spoken in the region called ‘Majha’. It is derived from Sanskrit word ‘Madhya’ meaning ‘central’. The ‘Majha’ region is divided into India and Pakistan (Parkash Singh, 2014: 237). In India, it is spoken in Amritsar and Gurdaspur (Bhatia, 2009: 886), in certain areas of the Ferozepur district (Brar, 2012: 253) and in Lahore (Grierson, 1916: 651), and in adjacent parts of Pakistan like Gujranwala and Sialkot etc. (Masica, 1991: 440). It is also spoken, even in some areas to the Doaba region, that is, on the other side of the Beas River (Parkash Singh, 2014: 237). The people of Majha consider the city of Patti (in Amritsar district) and Kasur (a district of Pakistan) as the center of Majha region (Ibid., 2014 :238).

In India, Punjabi is the official language of the state of Punjab. It is among 22 officially recognized languages, in post-colonial India (Bhatia, 2009: 885). In Pakistan, it has not yet gained the official status, even though it is the most spoken language in the country.

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<sup>18</sup> This percentage is different from the 2001 census. It, perhaps, includes all dialects of Punjabi, for example, Saraiki, Hindko, Pahari etc.

<sup>19</sup> (Source : <http://www.learnpunjabi.org/intro1.asp>, retrieved on 15-11-2019).

Punjabi is written mainly in three writing systems: Gurmukhi<sup>20</sup> among Sikhs<sup>21</sup>, Devanagari<sup>22</sup> among Hindus<sup>23</sup> and Persian among Muslims (Bhatia, 2009:886). The Persian script used in Pakistani Punjab is also called as 'Shahmukhi' (Ibid., 2009:886). It has the same modified graphemes as used for Urdu. It is also important to mention that Urdu and Punjabi have more than 60% vocabulary in common, as mentioned by (Sheerani, 1928:8).

The orthography of the Punjabi of old manuscripts is very close to Persian standards. The influence of the rules of Urdu is increased in the nineteenth century (Shackle, 2003:598). Four letters from Persian have been adopted for the languages of the subcontinent: the < پ > [p], < چ > [tʃ], < ج > and < گ > [g] (Masica, 1991:444). The Persian letters were further modified and the new letters were developed to represent the Indian sounds that were absent in Persian, like the retroflex sounds < ٹ > [ʈ], < ڈ > [ɖ], < ڙ > [ɽ]. These modifications included the representation of Indian aspirated sounds as well (Parekh, 2013:17; Kaye, 2006:135).

Punjabi is also written in Latin script by a very large number of young people and adolescents, especially on social media. We have observed that the Romanization of the Punjabi has erased the differences in the scripts based on religious identity.

## **2. Review of Literature**

The Punjabi vocabulary consists mainly of the words called *Tadbhavs*, which means the words derived from Sanskrit (Bhatia, 1993: xxxii). Punjabi has also borrowed from Persian, Arabic, Hindi-Urdu and, recently from English (Bhatia, 2009:889). Since Punjabi is an Indo-Aryan language, it has a large repertoire of Indian words. But it also possesses foreign elements that are marked by invasions as well as foreign religious influences. (Fareedkoti, 1997) searched for foreign elements in the Punjabi language. His presentation on the Arabic and Persian elements in Punjabi justifies religious influences (Ibid., 1997 :36-37). (Shackle, 2005a) also studied Persian elements in Punjabi language and literature. This author explains that Persian has for a long time served as a literary language in Punjab. The name "Punjab" is also given by Persian speakers.

Persian is a rich source of literary vocabulary for Urdu language. Elements of Persian grammar have also been borrowed as well as vocabulary. Schmidt (1999:246-257) dedicated a separate chapter for the description of Persian elements in the Urdu language. The chapter entitled « *Persian elements in Urdu* » relates to the description of the patterns of these elements. The author gives several examples of the Persian words being used in Urdu. The use of Persian *izafat*, Persian nouns, verbs, adjectives, Plurals, Prefixes, Suffixes and Compound words are also described by the author.

According to (Abidi & Gargesh, 2008), in South Asia, Persian and English are the two foreign languages that have gone through a process of Indianization at different times. They discussed that Indian Persian is a nativized variety which was called as "*Sabak-e-Hindi*" (the Indian Study). A strong process of Persianization of Indian languages has also been studied by these authors. Linguistically, the influence is visible in two areas: First, in borrowings in Indian languages, secondly, there are many localized adaptations. The Influx of Persian vocabulary in India includes the words Arabic and Turkish words that have entered Indian

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<sup>20</sup> Gurmukhi literally means 'the mouth of the guru, the master' (Malherbe, 2010: 210).

<sup>21</sup> Sikhism takes its name from the Punjabi word 'Sikh' (a student or disciple) (Ganda Singh, 2011: 129). It is a strictly monotheistic religion (Malherbe, 2010 : 210), which was born in Punjab in the revelation of Guru Nanak (1469-1539) and his nine successors (Talib, 2004: 148).

<sup>22</sup> Devanagari writing system is of Brahmi origin and is used to write Hindi, Sanskrit, Marathi Nepali and other languages of India (Jain, 2003:51).

<sup>23</sup> Initially the populations who lived near the Indus river were called as 'Hindus' (Jones & Ryan, 2007: xvii), then it became a religious term (Killingley, 2001: 52).

languages via Persian. Persian words used in Indian languages cover different areas of life such as proper names, titles, names of body parts, kinship terms, food, clothing, place names, households, ornaments, fruits, animals, birds, vegetables, trees, plants, flowers, liberal professions, agricultural, vocabulary, law, administration, army, writing and measuring etc. The authors noted that some prefixation and suffixation were also borrowed. In compound words we usually find a Persian word after a word of Indo-Aryan origin. The large-scale influence of Persian forms enriched the languages of India. Thus, a Persianized version, now known as Urdu, came into existence (Witzel, 2006: 55).

Chaudhri (1996:22) also studied the presence of Persian words in Urdu. In his dictionary of Persian words in Urdu, entitled « *Farhang Vaja hae Farsi Dar Zaban-e-Urdu* » (فرهنگ واژه های فارسی در زبان اردو) pointed out that the national anthem of Pakistan (سرود ملی پاکستان) was composed in the Persian language.

It has been noted that the religious vocabulary of Persian, of non-Arab origin has also been integrated into Indian languages. So, Indo-Pakistani Muslims use some Persian words instead of Arabic words. (Qutbuddin, 2007:328) gave examples of these words. for example, *namaz*/نماز/ 'ritual prayer' instead of *salat*/صلوة/, *roza*/روزه/ 'breakfast' instead of *sawm*/صوم/ of Arabic.

Many features of Persian pronunciation and writing of Arabic words also apply to Urdu and other languages of Sub-continent (Kaye, 2006:135). We found no work on the Punjabi Pronunciation of Persian-origin words. This is the reason why we chose this topic for our research.

### **3. Method**

The Punjabi language possesses a large quantity of Persian words being used in this language since ancient times. This study investigates the pronunciation of these Persian origin words present in the Punjabi language. We recorded and transcribed, in International Phonetic Alphabet, a list of these most common Persian loanwords articulated by 42-years-old male Punjabi speaker from Faisalabad, Pakistan. Our analysis of pronunciation is based on an articulatory approach, which will allow us to detect general tendencies of pronunciation of Persian-origin words among the Punjabi speakers of Pakistan. The corpus contains lists of Persian words written in Standard orthography in *Nastaliq* style as it is commonly used in Urdu or Punjabi. We prepared lists of these words in the following order: 1. Vowels (monophthongs and diphthongs) 2. Consonants 3. Consonant Clusters.

In the preparation of these lists, we put the words having all phonemes of Modern Standard Persian in order to see their pronunciation in Pakistani Punjab. We made the work of (Majidi & Ternes, 1999) as our reference for the phonemes of Persian language. For example, List 1 contains the words having the monophthongs: /i e æ ɒ o u/ and the diphthongs /aw ow ej/. List 2 contains the words having the consonants: /p b t d k g ʔ f v s z ʃ ʒ x ɣ h m n ʃ dʒ r l j/. List 3 was introduced to study the treatment of consonant clusters.

The recordings were made in a studio at the Radio Campus of the National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad, Pakistan. The words were presented, one by one, with PowerPoint software in the conventional form of *Nastaliq* writing, on an HP branded laptop screen.

### **4. Results and Discussion**

In this section, we are going to present the findings of our study. We will discuss different categories of phonemes, separately. Let us start with the vowels.

#### **4.1. Vowels**

The majority of languages spoken in Pakistan have a very rich vocalic system. The Punjabi has a system of ten vowels: /i i: u u: a a: e ε o ə/. It distinguishes long vowels /i: u: a:/ and short vowels /i u a/. The three short vowels /i, u, a/ do not occur at the final position of the words. In the dialectal Punjabi the monophthongs /ɔ ε/ are often replaced by the diphthongs /aw aj/ or /ao ae/. The Punjabi also possess ten nasalized vowels. We are going to study the monophthongs and diphthongs, separately.

##### **4.1.1. Monophthongs**

The monophthong is a speech sound that consists of only one vowel sound. So, in this part, we will study the monophthongs. According to (Karimi, 2005:325) the phonological system of Persian consisted of eight vowels in its early stages, six of them short and two are long. This author studies that the long vowels did not survive, and the disappearance of the feature [long] in the phonological system created a number of homophones in this language. (e.g. شیر [ʃir] ‘milk’ and شیر [ʃer] ‘lion’, both pronounced in the same way as [ʃir]).

By comparing the vocalic system of two languages, we come to know that the vowels of Modern Standard Persian which are not present in the Punjabi language are /æ, ɒ/. It is important to note that Punjabi makes difference between short vowels and long vowels, but the Persian does not make this difference. Thus, the vowel length is not distinctive. Followings are the realizations of Persian vowels by the Punjabi speakers of Pakistan:

- The Punjabi language lacks the near-open front unrounded vowel /æ/ so, this is realized as the open front unrounded vowel /a/ in Punjabi Pronunciation of Persian words, like: سفر ‘journey’ /sæfær/ > /safar/, نمک ‘salt’ /næmæk/ > /namak/, پرچم ‘flag’ /pærʃæm/ > /parʃam/, پرورش ‘brought up’ /pærværeʃ/ > /parvarifʃ/, شربت ‘beverage’ /ʃærbæt/ > /ʃarbat/.
- The Punjabi phonemic inventory also lacks the open back rounded vowel /ɒ/ which is very common in Persian words. This vowel is replaced by the long open front unrounded vowel /a:/ in Punjabi pronunciation: بازار ‘market’ /bɒzɒr/ > /ba:za:r/, داماد ‘son-in-law’ /dɒmɒd/ > /da:ma:d/, شایبش ‘bravo’ /ʃɒbɒʃ/ > /ʃa:ba:ʃ/, سامان ‘luggage’ /sa:ma:n/ > /sɒmɒn/, پامال ‘destroyed’ /pɒmɒl/ > /pa:ma:l/.
- The close-mid front unrounded vowel /e/ of Persian is realized as the short close front unrounded vowel /i/ in Punjabi pronunciation: ابتدا ‘beginning’ /ʔebtedɒ/ > /ibteda:/, اتحاد ‘unity’ /ʔettehɒd/ > /ittehɒd/, افتخار ‘honor’ /ʔeftexɒr/ > /iftexa:r/, امتحان ‘examination’ /ʔemtehɒn/ > /imteha:n/, انتظار ‘wait’ /ʔentezɒr/ > /inteza:r/.
- The same is realized in intervocalic positions: بارش ‘rain’ /bɒreʃ/ > /ba:riʃ/, جگر ‘liver’ /dʒegær/ > /dʒigar/, جنس ‘gender’ /dʒens/ > /dʒins/, نرخ ‘rate’ /nerx/ > /nirx/, پسته ‘pistachio’ /peste/ > /pista:/.
- Long close front unrounded vowel /i:/ is realised as /e/ in Punjabi pronunciation: سیب ‘apple’ /sib/ > /seb/, بیدار ‘awake’ /bidɒr/ > /beda:r/, پیچ ‘twist’ /piʃ/ > /petʃ/, دیگ ‘caldron’ /dig/ > /deg/, نیک ‘pious’ /nik/ > /nek/.
- The long close front unrounded vowel /i/ is realised as long close front unrounded vowel /i:/ چیز ‘thing’ /ʃiz/ > /ʃi:z/, دیوار ‘wall’ /divɒr/ > /diva:r/, تیر ‘arrow’ /tir/ > /ti:r/, ریش ‘beard’ /riʃ/ > /ri:s/, پاکیزه ‘cleanliness’ /pɒkize/ > /pa:ki:za:/.
- The long close front unrounded vowel /i:/ is long in Persian which is realized as short close front unrounded vowel /i/ in Punjabi pronunciation in the following words: پيشاب ‘urine’ /pi:ʃɒb/ > /piʃa:b/, ميرزا ‘a title’ /mi:rɒ/ > /mirza:/.

- The long close back rounded vowel /u/ is realized as the close-mid back rounded vowel /o/ in Punjabi pronunciation: دوست 'friend' /dust/ > /dost/, پوشاک 'dress' /puʃʌk/ > /poʃa:k/, شوخ 'vivid' /ʃux/ > /ʃox/, جوش 'boil' /dʒuʃ/ > /dʒoʃ/, افسوس 'alas!' /ʔæfsus/ > /afsos/.
- The long close back rounded vowel /u/ is same as in the Persian Pronunciation in the following words: آبرو 'honor' /ʔɒbru/ > /a:bru/, آزموده 'tested' /ʔɒzemude/ > /a:zmuda:/, بازو 'arm' /bɒzu/ > /ba:zu/, تابوت 'coffin' /tɒbut/ > /ta:but/, طوفان 'storm' /tufɒn/ > /tufa:n/.
- The close-mid back rounded vowel /o/ is realized as short close back rounded vowel /u/ as in: بت 'idol' /bot/ > /but/, بزدل 'coward' /bozdel/ > /buzdil/, بزرگ 'senior' /bozorg/ > /bazurg/, پشت 'back' /poʃt/ > /puʃt/, ترش 'sour' /torʃ/ > /turʃ/.
- The long close back rounded vowel /u/ is realized as short close back rounded vowel /u/ in the following words: جوراب 'socks' /dʒurɒb/ > /dʒura:b/, سوراخ 'hole' /surɒx/ > /sura:x/.
- The close-mid back rounded vowel /o/ is realized as the short open front unrounded vowel /a/ in the following Punjabi words of Persian origin: چادر 'veil' /ʃɒdor/ > /ʃa:dar/, خانم 'dame' /xɒnom/ > /xa:nam/, یکم 'first' /jekom/ > /jakam/, اشتر 'camle' /ʔoʃtor/ > /uʃtar/.

The nasalization is phonemic in Punjabi. Ten oral vowels of Punjabi /i, i:, u, u:, a, a:, e, e:, o, ɔ/, have their respective nasalized forms: /ĩ, ã:, ũ, ũ:, ã, ã:, ẽ, ẽ:, õ, õ:/. The phonemic contrast between simple and nasalized vowels is strongest in the final position of words, where it often marks a significant morphological distinction (Shackle, 2003:588). Here is the phonemic contrast that exists between simple and nasal vowels in Punjabi:

/a/~/ã/ جگ 'jug' /dʒag/ > /dʒãg/ 'war'

/ɛ/~/ẽ/ ہے 'he/she is' /hɛ/ > /hẽ/ '(you) are'

We have observed that in Punjabi pronunciation of Persian words, the word-final /n/ is pronounced as nasalized vowel with the drop of final /n/: موزون 'suitable' /mowzun/ > /mɔzũ:/, ارزان 'cheap' /ʔærzɒn/ > /arzã:/, نام 'name' /nɒm/ > /nã:/ etc.

#### 4.1.2. Diphthongs

The Persian-origin words having /aw, ow, ej/ were listed to know their pronunciation in the Punjab. We are going to discuss these diphthongs, separately, in the following lines.

- Diphthong /aw/ and /ow/ are realized as monophthong the mid-open back rounded vowel /ɔ/ in Punjabi: سوداگر 'merchant' /sowdɒgær/ > /sɔda:gar/, شوهر 'husband' /ʃowhær/ > /ʃɔhar/, نوکر 'servant' /nowkær/ > /nɔkar/, زوجه 'wife' /zowdʒe/ > /zɔdʒa:/, چوگان 'polo' /ʃowgɒn/ > /ʃɔga:n/.
- Diphthong /ej/ is realized as monophthong the mid-open front unrounded vowel /ɛ/ in Punjabi pronunciation: سیلاب 'flood' /sejlɒb/ > /sɛla:b/, خیمہ 'tent' /xejme/ > /xɛma:/, پیمان 'pact' /pejmɒn/ > /pɛma:n/, پیوند 'linkage' /pejvænd/ > /pɛvand/, پیروی 'discipleship' /pejrævi/ > /pɛrvi/.

#### 4.2. Consonants

In this part we are going to present our findings about the Punjabi pronunciation of the Persian words having different types of consonants. We are going to present the consonants, separately, according to their mode of articulation. Let us start with the plosive consonants.

##### 4.2.1. Plosives

The Persian language has seven plosives in its phonemic inventory: /p, b, t, d, k, g, ʔ/. The unvoiced plosives /p, t, k/ are strongly aspirated in word-initial position, whereas in other positions these plosive consonants are slightly aspirated. In Punjabi, there is a series of

plosive consonants /p, p<sup>h</sup>, b, b<sup>h</sup>, t, t<sup>h</sup>, d, d<sup>h</sup>, t̤, t̤<sup>h</sup>, d̤, d̤<sup>h</sup>, k, k<sup>h</sup>, g, g<sup>h</sup>/ which occur at three positions. The consonants /p<sup>h</sup>, t<sup>h</sup>, t̤<sup>h</sup>, k<sup>h</sup>/ are aspirated and the consonants /b<sup>h</sup>, d<sup>h</sup>, d̤<sup>h</sup>, g<sup>h</sup>/ are breathy voiced.

Thus, the aspiration and breathiness are distinctive in Punjabi, which means that Punjabi makes a difference in the meaning of the words with the presence or absence of aspirated consonants and unaspirated consonants like, /pul/ 'bridge' vs. /p<sup>h</sup>ul/ 'flower' etc. In the same way the Punjabi makes the difference in the meaning of words with the presence or absence of the breathy voiced consonants, like, /ba:ri:/ 'window' vs. / b<sup>h</sup>a:ri:/ 'heavy' etc. We have observed that the Persian origin words having /p, t, k/ in all positions are always realized as unaspirated by the Punjabi speakers. It has also been noted that some Persian-origin words are devoiced in Punjabi, like پليد 'filthy' /pali:d/, which became پليت /pali:t/, in Punjabi.

The consonants of Modern Standard Persian which are not present in the Punjabi language include the /ʔ, ɣ/. In Persian, word-initial vowels are preceded by glottal stop [ʔ]. As the glottal stop is absent in Punjabi phonemic inventory, so the Persian words having [ʔ] in their pronunciation are pronounced without word-initial [ʔ] in Punjabi as in the words: آباد (q) /ʔɑbɑd/ > /ɑ:bɑ:d/, ابتدا 'beginning' /ʔɛbtɛdɔ/ > /ibtɑdɑ:/, ابر 'cloud' /ʔæbr/ > /abr/, آتش 'fire' /ʔɒtɛʃ/ > /ɑ:tɪʃ/, استره 'razor' /ʔostore/ > /ustra:/.

According to (Majidi & Ternes, 1999), in Persian the /q/ is realized as [g] in word-initial position and /ɣ/ in other positions. We observed that the /q/ is totally absent in the pronunciation of Punjabi speaking population. The Persian words having the grapheme < ق > at all positions are pronounced with /k/ in Punjabi. We have also observed that /q/ is sometimes realized as /g/ in illiterate speech like, نقد 'cash' /næqd/ as /nagɑd/.

#### **4.2.2. Fricatives**

The Persian has nine fricatives: /f, v, s, z, ʃ, ʒ, x, ɣ, h/, whereas the Punjabi has only three native fricatives /s, ʃ, h/. So, for the fricatives present in Persian-origin words, we have observed that there are two kinds of Punjabi pronunciation: educated speech and illiterate speech. In illiterate speech /f, z, x, ɣ/ are realized as /p<sup>h</sup>, dʒ, k<sup>h</sup>, g/ respectively.

In Punjabi, the voiceless labiodental fricative consonant /f/ and its voiced counterpart /v/ both are absent. With the use of Arabic in the religious environment and English in the official environment, the /f/ is being used among the educated. The voiced labiodental fricative /v/ in Persian words is replaced by the voiced labiodental approximant /ʋ/.

The voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ is present in Punjabi but its voiced counterpart /z/ is absent. So, in the Persian words having /z/ are pronounced with the voiceless affricate /dʒ/ in illiterate speech. Historically /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ both are foreign to Punjabi. In fact, the voiced postalveolar fricative /ʒ/ is totally absent in the Punjabi pronunciation. Hence, the Punjabi speakers replace /ʒ/ with the voiced palatal approximant /j/ or the voiced alveolar fricative /z/ in educated speech. The /x/ and /ɣ/ are as well foreign to Punjabi sound system in illiterate speech.

The glottal fricative /h/ at word-initial position is pronounced in Punjabi but historically at other positions it has been changed into tone. It is important to note that the Punjabi is the only modern Indo-Aryan language that has developed this tonal feature (Bhatia, 1993:xxv). The literature available on Punjabi tones reveals that the majority of Southwestern Punjabi dialects, spoken in Pakistan have retained the series of breathy voiced plosives /b<sup>h</sup>, d<sup>h</sup>, d̤<sup>h</sup>, g<sup>h</sup>/ as well as one breathy voiced affricate /dʒ<sup>h</sup>/. In these dialects, they are pronounced as in Hindi, Urdu or Sindhi. But in Northeastern Punjabi dialects, these breathy voiced consonants have changed into low tone. In the tonal dialects, the /b<sup>h</sup>, d<sup>h</sup>, d̤<sup>h</sup>, g<sup>h</sup>/ have become non-breathy voiced /b, d, d̤, g/ in medial and final position of the words. The Punjabi language possess three tones: falling tone or low tone /˨/, level tone /˨˨/, and the rising tone or high tone /˨˨˨/.

Therefore, the tone in Punjabi is, indeed, the result of the disappearance of the breathy voiced consonants. According to (Shackle, 2003: 593), there is a relation between historical breathy voiced, the word accent and the tone.

|            |                 |
|------------|-----------------|
| Low tone   | /kòɾa:/ 'horse' |
| Level tone | /koɾa:/ 'whip'  |
| High tone  | /kóɾa:/ 'leper' |

In the Dogri dialect, /h/ gives the pronunciation of the high tone, even in initial position of the words, which is unique, because in the other dialects the / h / is well retained in initial position. In Dogri, the words like /ha:r/ 'garland', and /hor/ 'other' are pronounced like /à:r/ and /ò:r/, respectively. The /h/ in medial and final position also gives the pronunciation of high tone. In word medial position, the /h/ gives the pronunciation of high tone, if the stress is on the vowel which comes before the /h/, e.g., /bá:r/ 'outside', /ká:l/ 'in a hurry'. In final position, it always gives the high tone like /ʃá:/ 'tea', /dʒá:/ 'go-on'.

Thus, the following Persian words are being pronounced with the high tone in Punjabi: پناه 'shelter' /pænəh/ > /paná:/, پهلوان 'wrestler' /pæhlævən/ > /pɛ'lvɑ:n/, تباہی 'destruction' /tæbəhi/ > /tabá:i:/, چہرہ 'face' /ʃehre/ > /ʃéɾa:/, وہم 'superstition' /vəhm/ > /vɛ'm/.

#### 4.2.3. Affricates

The Persian has two postalveolar affricates /tʃ, dʒ/, whereas the Punjabi has four affricates in its phonemic inventory. The /tʃ, dʒ/ are unaspirated, whereas the /tʃ<sup>h</sup>, dʒ<sup>h</sup>/ are aspirated and breathy voiced, respectively. So, the Punjabis pronounce well the Persian origin words having the affricates /tʃ, dʒ/.

#### 4.2.4. Nasals

There are two nasal consonants in Persian phonemic inventory: the bilabial voiced nasal /m/ and dental voiced nasal /n/. The Punjabi language has three nasal consonants /m, n, ŋ/, where the /ŋ/ is retroflex nasal, which is very common in Punjabi lexicon. In some Persian-origin words spoken in Punjabi, the dental nasal /n/ is replaced by the nasal retroflex the /ŋ/, like the word رونق 'splendor' /rownæq/ is pronounced as /rəŋək/ and دشمن 'enemy' /doʃmæn/ as /duʃmən/ in Punjabi. The same happened with some of English-origin words, like the word انجن 'engine' /endʒin/ which is pronounced as /indʒən/ in Punjabi.

#### 4.2.5. Trill

The Persian has one alveolar trill /r/ varies between the alveolar tap or flap [ɾ] and the alveolar approximant [ɹ]. In Punjabi phonemic inventory the alveolar trill /r/ exists. So, the Persian-origin words are well pronounced in Punjabi with the same alveolar trill /r/.

#### 4.2.6. Approximant

The Persian has one palatal approximant consonant /j/. In the Punjabi spoken in Pakistan the approximant /j/ does not occur at word-medial and word-final positions, so the Persian words having /-j/ are realized with /e/ or /i/, like: آئندہ 'next' /ʔɔjənde/ as /a:inda:/, برای 'for' /bæɾɔje/ as /bara:e/, پایندہ 'lasting' /pɔjənde/ as /pa:inda:/, پیالہ 'bowl' /pijɔle/ as /pea:la:/, دریا 'river' /dæɾjɔ/ as /darea:/, فائدہ 'benefit' /fɔjede/ as /fa:ida/.

#### 4.2.7. Lateral Approximant

The Persian has only dental lateral approximant /l/, whereas the Punjabi has not only the dental lateral approximant /l/ but also the retroflex dental approximant /ɭ/. The Punjabi is the only language of Pakistan which has this approximant in its phonemic inventory. We observed that the pronunciation of /l/ in Persian origin-words of the Punjabi language is not different from Persian pronunciation.

### 4.3. Treatment of Consonant Clusters

According to (Karimi, 2005:325), unlike Middle Persian, Farsi does not allow initial consonant clusters, although final consonant clusters are very common in this language. In

Punjabi, consonantal groups are not present in native words. They are present in words borrowed from other languages such as English, Arabic, Persian or Sanskrit (Shackle, 2003:591). The Sanskrit, the ancient Indo-Aryan language, had many consonant groups, which were later reduced in the period of the Middle Indo-Aryan (Parkash Singh, 2014 :377). In Punjabi words, the consonant clusters at initial position are only found in a few words of Sanskrit origin (Parkash Singh, 2014 :377). It has been observed that the use of these clusters is now declining. It is important to note that no initial consonant cluster can come to the final position of words in Punjabi (Brar, 2012:211). For (Shackle, 2003:591) all initial consonant clusters are of uncertain status. Thus, Punjabi has a strong tendency to insert an epenthetic vowel, mostly short open front vowel /a/ to break consonant clusters, (Masica, 1991:126; Shackle, 2003:592).

Consonant clusters in the middle position are as well present in Punjabi (Parkash Singh, 2014 :377), but they occur between two vowels. Most of these clusters come at the border of two syllables. They can be two or three (Brar, 2012:212). Here are some examples of the words, in which the Pakistani Punjabi has a tendency to break the final consonant groups with the insertion of epenthetic vowels /a/ or /ɛ/ in Persian-origin words:

- /-a-/, For example, صبر ‘patience’ /sæbr/ > /sabar/, نبض ‘pouls’ /næbz/ > /nabaz/, نثر ‘prose’ /næsr/ > /nasar/ , فکر ‘thought’ /fikr/ > /fikar/, ذکر ‘prose’ /zikr/ > /zikar/, ظلم ‘oppression’ /zulm/ > /zulam/, دوست ‘friend’ /dust/ > /dosat/, گوشت ‘meat’ /guʃt/ > /goʃat/ etc.
- /-ɛ-/, For example, رحم ‘pity’ /ræhm/ > /rehɛm/, اہل ‘inhabitant’ /ʔæhl/ > /ehɛl/, عہد ‘promise’ /ʔæhd/ > /ehɛd/, محض ‘only’ /mæhz/ > /mehɛz/ etc.

We have observed that in old Persian (or perhaps in the common Indo-Iranian vocabulary) the group /-ʃt/ is changed to /-ʃt/ in Old Indo Aryan with the change of the dental consonant /t/ to the retroflex consonant /ʈ/, under the Dravidian influence, which gave the /-ʈʰ/ in the Middle Indo-Aryan. It is interesting to note that this group of MIA /-ʈʰ/ is well retained by the Punjabi language.

ہشت /haft/ > /(h)astʰa/ > /atʰʰa/ > /atʰʰ/ ‘eight’  
مشت /muʃt/ > /muʃtʰa/ > /mutʰʰa/ > /mutʰʰ/ ‘fist’  
پشت /puʃt/ > /puʃtʰa/ > /putʰʰa/ > /putʰʰ/ ‘back’  
اشتر /uʃtr/ > /uʃtra/ > /utʰʰa/ > /utʰʰ/ ‘camel’

It has been observed that the consonant clusters in Punjabi language are developing nowadays due to the language contact of the Punjabi speaking population with other languages of the world, especially with English (Parkash Singh, 2014 :377).

## 5. Conclusion

In this study, we tried to present the Pronunciation of Persian origin words articulated by Punjabi speakers of Pakistan. We found a large difference between two pronunciations especially in vocalic category. We made the categories of these pronunciation differences in order to understand how the Persian pronunciation of Punjabi speakers of Pakistan differs from modern standard Persian spoken in Iran.

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