

The book cover features a teal background with a decorative border of stylized flowers and leaves in orange, purple, and green. The title is centered in a white, bold, sans-serif font.

**THE
LAHNDI (SARAIKI)
LANGUAGE**

U.A. SMIRNOV

The
LAHNDI (*Saraiki*) LANGUAGE

Written (in Russian) by
U.A. SMIRNOV (1970)

Translated (in English) by
E.H. TSIPAN (1975)

Introduction of the Reprint by
SHAUKAT MUGHAL(2006)

Siraiki Adbi Board (Regd.)
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THE FIRST PAGE

"The Lahndi Language" by U.A. Smirnov, a Russian scholar of languages, is the 70th presentation of the Siraiki Adbi Board Multan. Before this book on Siraiki language, three books namely, "Glossary of the Multani Language" (E. O'Brein), "Dictionary of The Jatki or Western Punjabi" (Andrew Jukes) and "The Lahnda Language" (Grierson) have been published by the Board. Now in the context, Smirnov's "The Lahndi Language" is the fourth one in which he deals actually with the Siraiki language. In his introduction, Professor Shaukat Mughal has written that:

"Lahndi is the language which is called Siraiki these days. Smirnov calls it Seraiki or Saraki. In recent years, the language under discussion comes to be mostly termed in Pakistan Seraiki or Saraiki. Smirnov is quite clear in describing the area of the Lahndi and he says that Lahndi is surrounded by Pushto, Balochi, Sindhi, Rajasthani, Punjabi, Kashmiri, Shina and Kohistani. In other words, the effects of these languages can easily be traced in the border areas of both the languages. Smirnov's concept about Siraiki language is very clear."

It is a fact that Smirnov's work about Siraiki language is marvellous and based on truth and reality because he has inferred results from the opinions of the people residing in this area. His book is very valuable as it shows that Siraiki is the oldest language of the sub-continent. Now, it is the duty of the scholars to come out and do research work about the Siraiki Language and Literature.

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The Siraiki Adbi Board has once again taken a step forward by publishing the linguistic work of Smirnov i.e. "The Lahndi Language". I hope that the research work of O'Brein, Jukes, Grierson and Smirnov will be translated into Siraiki particularly to prove by facts and figures that Siraiki is an independent and ancient language of the Indus valley.

Dr. Tahir Taunsvi

Secretary General (Honorary)

Siraiki Adbi Board (Regd.),

Multan.

(i)

Introduction:**THE LAHNDI LANGUAGE**

The Lahndi Language in English (1975) was first printed in Russian Language in 1970 in Moscow by Nauka Publishing House - Central Deptt. of Oriental Literature. In U.S.S.R an Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies was set up in which a research work was carried on for the Languages of Asia and Africa. The institute founded by Prof. G. P. Serdyuchenkov published a series of books. The first publication came to light in 1959 and up to the death of Prof. G. P. Serdyuchenkov (1966) 75 language monographs were published (see the list given in the Editor's note of the book). After the death of the said Professor an Editorial Board was set up under whose supervision the work continued and upto 1975 (when the Lahndi Language was published in English) the number of publications increased to 100. All these monographs were first printed in Russian Language and later on translated in English. In addition to these monographs, 11 essays on different languages were also published in English.

The Lahndi Language was written by U.A. Smirnov in Russian Language and was translated by E.H. Tsipan in English Language. The English translation before me is called 'an authorized translation' as it is verified by the Editorial Board consisting of 5 members while V. M. Solntsev is the Chairman of the Board among them.

'The Lahndi Language' deals with the Phonetics, morphology, syntax and many other aspects of Saraiki Language. In the words of the

Editorial Board:

"The book describes the language of 13.5 million Lahndi (Siraiki) speaking people who inhabit a rather vast territory in Pakistan. 'The Lahndi Language' considers in detail phonetics, morphology, syntax and other aspects of the given form of speech. The author propounds a number of his own theoretical propositions dealing with Linguistics." (Editor's Note)

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Under the 'Nauka Publishing House' the books on the following

Pakistani Languages were published:

1. The Pashto Language (1960)
2. The Punjabi Language (1960)
3. The Baluchi Language (1960)
4. The Urdu Language (1962)
5. The Sindhi Language (1966)
6. The Lahndi Language (1970)
7. The Brahvi Language (1971)
8. The Kashmiri Language (1971)
9. The Sindhi Language (1971) An Essay

The Lahndi language written by Smirnov in Russian Language was published in 1970. It was translated into English by Mr. E.H. Tsipan and the translation was published in 1975 by the same publishing house.

The Editor's note is worth-mentioning here to see the reason and cause of the publication of so many books about different languages of Asian & African countries. Giving the noble reason the Editor writes:

"The monographs comprising the series describe either the living languages of African and Asian countries or the languages of the past which played an important historical role in the life and culture of the people of the east. The series is intended for a

broad circle of linguists and historians, research workers and postgraduate students as well as lecturers and under graduates of the Oriental, philological and historical departments of the Universities. The monographs may be useful for readers interested in general linguistics or studying Oriental languages." (Editor's Note).

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LAHNDA / LAHNDI

The word Lahnda was used by the linguists for the language spoken in the west of Punjab. It was termed against the word 'Panjabi' used for the language of Eastern Punjab.

i) 'Lahnda' was first used in 1889. According to Shackle:

"The term 'Lahnda' was first coined by a C.M.S. missionary, the Rev. William St. Clair Tisdall (d:1928) in his book 'A Simplified Grammar and Reading Book of the Panjabi Language', London 1889 (Reprinted New York 1961) to describe the mixed literary language used in a 17th Century Sikh account of the life of Guru Nanak. Later writers have often preferred the feminine 'Lahndi'.

(A Century of Siraiki Studies in English, P:70)

ii) Sir George Grierson (1851-1941) used the term Lahnda in his Linguistic Survey of India (1919). He writes:

"Lahnda is the language of Western Panjab. To its east it has Panjabi spoken in the Central and Eastern Panjab and it merges so gradually into that form of speech that it is impossible to fix any clear dividing line between the two."

iii) Dr. Sudhesh Verma (1922) used the term Lahndi in his book

“آریائی زبانیں”.

iv) Syed Mohy-ud-Din Qadri Zore (1932) used the term Lahnda in his book “ہندوستانی لسانیات”. He writes:

"Western Panjabi or Lahnda language is also called Hindko, Jatki, (iv)
Multani, Pothohari etc. This is a combination of many dialects
spoken among nearly five million inhabitants of Western Panjab."

(Translation)

(Chapter- Present Indian Aryan Languages - the north-western
Group)

v) Dr. Mehr Abdul Haq (1967) called it Lahnda in his book

”ملتانی زبان اور اس کا اردو سے تعلق“.

vi) U.A. Smirnov (1975) called it Lahndi in his book, 'The Lahndi
Language'.

Sir George Grierson divided Lahnda in three categories:

- a) Southern Lahnda (b) North-Eastern Lahnda
c) North-Western Lahnda

Among these, Grierson calls Southern Lahnda a Standard
Lahnda. In Standard Lahnda according to Grierson the dialects
of Shahpur, Multan, Muzaffargarh, Bahawalpur, Der Ghazi Khan
are included.

Reaching to the language 'LAHNDA' is a long journey, covered
in a century. In 1813 it was called 'Wuch' language by Willam Carey
(1761-1834) a Serampore Missionary, while Grierson called in Southern
Lahnda in 1919. Umar Kamal Khan rightly said:

"The Englishmen discovered the Siraiki Language
gradually. At first they thought it to be 'Wuch' and
later on they came to think of it as Southern Lahnda."
(A Century of Siraiki Studies in English ___ P:viii)

Before going ahead, some words about the writer and author of
the Lahndi Language are worth quoting:

DR. U.A. SMIRNOV

(v)

Dr. U.A. Smirnov was born in U.S.S.R. in 1923. After completing college education, he joined the army. After the 2nd World War he left the army and got admission in U.S.S.R Academy of Sciences, Institute of Oriental Studies for studies in Linguistics. Here he was much interested in Punjabi Language. He made a research in Punjabi and presented a research thesis on Punjabi Language. He was awarded the Ph.D. Degree. In 1965 Dr. Smirnov visited India as a linguist where he was received with open arms. There he studied many other languages. During his stay in India he knew a lot about the SIRAIKI LANGUAGE which was called LAHNDI by the linguists in the past, feeling much interest in Siraiki / Lahndi he met many immigrants of the Siraiki Waseb to know about Siraiki. Consequently he learnt a little Siraiki in India. In 1966, he presented a report of his research in Patiala University, which was published by the University. The then Head of Punjabi Department Dr. Sirbinder Singh gave his compliments on the research and declared the research about Compound Sentence in Punjabi, an extra-ordinary one and this was said to be an important addition in Punjabi Grammar. This research can be said a scientific and extensive work in Punjabi Grammar, etymology and syntax. "For the valuable addition Dr. Smirnov really deserves congratulations." In addition to the above compliments from Dr. Sirbinder Singh the Indian Daily Tribune paid great tributes to Dr. Smirnov in his editorial and the editor appreciated the author's research work about Pnjabi Language. During that visit Dr. Smirnov gave extensive lectures to the University students and teachers at Chandi Garh University also.

In 1970 Dr. Smirnov wrote a book on Siraiki Language "The Lahndi Language" in Russian language. Later on it was translated in English and was published in 1975 from Moscow.

In 1978 Dr. Smirnov was awarded a degree of D.Lit. This time his paper for research was "Theoretical Discoveries in Punjabi

(vi) Language". In addition to this work, Dr. Smirnov worked on the theoretical and Linguistic problems in Indo-Aryan Languages. In addition to Punjabi Dr. Smirnov is considered to be a specialist in Siraiki, Dogri and Rajsthani languages.

In Lahndi languages Dr. Smirnov considers Punjabi & Siraiki as two different languages which are connected with Indo-Aryan languages. Two decades back, Dr. Smirnov was working on the 2nd Revised Edition of the Lahndi Languages while he was working as Senior Research Scholar of the Institute of Oriental Studies.

(What happened next to him not known now).

THE WORK OF SMIRNOV

In the early days the linguists did not take notice of the words Lahnda or Lahndi and both the words were used for the same language spoken in the West of Punjab. But U.A. Smirnov differentiated both the words. He writes:

"Lahndi is a modern Indo-Aryan language belonging to the Indo-European family. the word 'Lahndi' means 'the language of the west'."

In the foot note he further explains:

"We have found out the exact pronuciation of the name of the language by asking person whose mother-tongue it is, particularly philologists. The point is that the sign 'h' used in the English transliteration Lahndi (Lahnda) instead of a certain sign employed in Lahndi, is not pronounced but only indicates the rising tone of the given word which is pronounced as Lendi or Lenda."

The words 'Lahnda' and 'Lahndi' need to be explained and differentiated here. In Siraiki it is commonly said, Lahnde kan/du

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(لہندے کن/دو), Lahnde aley pase (لہندے آ لے پاسے), which means towards west or towards the direction where the sun-sets. Similarly the Direction of west is called Lahnda. It means the word Lahnda represents the direction and this is a geographical term while Lahndi means the language of Lahnda area (west). The words of Smirnov mentioned earlier.

Lahndi is the language which is called Siraiki these days. Smirnov calls it Seraiki or Saraiki. In recent years the language under discussion comes to be mostly termed in Pakistan Seraiki or Saraiki.

Smirnov is quite clear describing the area of Lahndi and he says that Lahndi is surrounded by Pushto, Balochi, Sindhi, Rajsthani, Punjabi, Kashmiri, Shina and Kohastani. In other words the effects of these languages can easily be traced in the border areas of both the languages. Smirnov's concept about Seraiki language is very clear.

As far as the salient features of Smirnov's work are concerned, these can easily be noted if one goes thorough the Lahndi language. The following points are to be noted during the study of the book.

1. A detailed introduction of Lahndi language is given in which area of the language, population of Lahndi speaking people. Distinction of Lahndi from Punjabi (based on 16 points), history, early books in Lahndi, periodicals, dialects of Lahndi and characters in Lahndi etc. are discussed with references. This introduction is worth reading for Lahndi learners and research scholars.
2. Phonetics of Lahndi are discussed in detail.
3. Grammar, Syntax, Derivatives of verbs are also discussed.
4. Smirnov has dealt with the Lahndi language scientifically.
5. Special sounds in Lahndi have been shown with special signs

as: ٹ، گ، ج، ڈ، چ، پ

According to Smirnov special sounds in Lahndi are six in number.

- (viii)
6. Tables, diagrams etc. show the complete understanding of the author about Lahndi. In certain tables the difference of dialects of Lahndi is shown.
 7. All parts of speech, their rules, formation of words (spoken or written) are discussed in detail. i.e. Noun, Pronoun, Verb, Adverb, Conjunction, Interjection all discussed. Much stress has been given on the verb. Its discussion is spread over 35 pages.
 8. In the end the syntax (the construction of sentences) is discussed. This is also an important part of the book.
 9. In the second portion (Appendix) of the book, the author has given one text of spoken languages. This is taken from Grierson's LSI. The text has been written first in Arabic characters, then in Lahndi characters, then transliterated in Roman characters and lastly translated into English. At the end the vocabulary of the text has also been discussed.
 10. In the end complete bibliography is also given (36 books).

Once again credit goes to Siraiki Adbi Board (Regd.), Multan who initiated to get the Lahndi Language reprinted. The book was out of print since long. After 32 years the print of the book has been brought to light. The teachers, scholars and learners of Siraiki Language were longing for the book. Before this book the following books:

- (i) Glossary of Multani Language (E.O. Brein)
- (ii) Dictionary of Jatki or Western Panjabi (Andrew Jukes)
- (iii) The Lahnda Language (Grierson)

have also been reprinted by the Board. I hope the learners of Siraiki Language especially in the Universities of Multan & Bahawalpur will get full benefit of this book. I hope the time will certainly come when these books will be translated and transliterated in Siraiki.

Hoping for the best.

Shaukat Mughal

Multan

U. A. SMIRNOV

THE LAHNDI

LANGUAGE

*LANGUAGES
OF ASIA
AND AFRICA*

The series was founded
prof. G. P. Serdyuchenko

U. S. S. R. ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

U. A. SMIRNOV

THE LAHNDI LANGUAGE



«NAUKA» PUBLISHING HOUSE
Central Department of Oriental Literature
MOSCOW 1975

Translated from the Russian
by E.H. Tsipan
(an authorized translation)

Editorial Board:

V.M. Solntsev (Chairman), N.A. Dvoryankov,
N.A. Lisovskaya (Scientific Secretary),
Y.Y. Plam, G.D. Sanzheyev

The book describes the language of 13,5 million Lahndi (Saraiki) speaking people who inhabit a rather vast territory in Pakistan. "The Lahndi Language" considers in detail phonetics, morphology, syntax and other aspects of the given form of speech. The author propounds a number of his own theoretical propositions dealing with linguistics.

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EDITOR'S NOTE

The "Languages of Asia and Africa" series was founded in 1959 by the late Prof. G.P. Serdyuchenko, under whose general supervision more than 75 language monographs were published. These publications met with considerable interest among the Soviet and foreign readers.

After Prof. G.P. Serdyuchenko's death the publication of the series continued under the Editorial Board.

The monographs comprising the series describe either the living languages of African and Asian countries or the languages of the past which played an important historical role in the life and culture of the peoples of the East.

The series is intended for a broad circle of linguists and historians-research workers and postgraduate students as well as lecturers and undergraduates of the Oriental, philological and historical departments of the universities. The monographs may be useful for readers interested in general linguistics or studying Oriental languages.

Below we give the full list of all monographs which appeared up to date.

1959

Н.В. Юшманов, Амхарский язык.
(N.V. Yushmanov, The Amharic Language).

1960

М.С. Андронов, Тамильский язык.
(M.S. Andronov, The Tamil Language)

- Н.А. Дворянков, Язык пушту.
 (N.A. Dvoryankov, The Pashto Language).
- Н.К. Дмитриев, Турецкий язык.
 (N.K. Dmitriyev, The Turkish Language).
- Л.Н. Дорофеева, Язык фарси-кабули.
 (L.N. Dorofeyeva, The Farsi-Kabuli Language).
- Г.А. Зограф, Языки Индии, Пакистана, Шейлона и Непала.
 (G.A. Zograph, The Languages of India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Nepal).
- В.В. Иванов, В.Н. Топоров, Санскрит.
 (V.V. Ivanov, V.N. Toporov, Sanskrit).
- Т.Е. Катенина, Язык хинди.
 (T.Y. Katenina, Hindi).
- Ю.Н. Мазур, Корейский язык.
 (Y.N. Mazur, The Korean Language).
- Е.Н. Мячина, Язык суахили.
 (Y.N. Myachina, The Swahili Language).
- Э.Н. Наджип, Современный уйгурский язык.
 (E.N. Nadzhip, The Modern Uigur Language).
- В.М. Насилов, Язык орхоно-енисейских памятников.
 (V.M. Nasilov, The Language of the Orkhon-Yenisei Inscriptions).
- З.Н. Петруничева, Язык телугу.
 (Z.N. Petrunicheva, The Telugu Language).
- Ю.А. Рубинчик, Современный персидский язык.
 (Y.A. Rubinchik, The Modern Persian Language).
- Г.Д. Санжеев, Современный монгольский язык.
 (G.D. Sanzheyev, The Modern Mongolian Language).
- М.А. Смирнова, Язык хауса.
 (M.A. Smirnova, The Hausa Language).
- В.М. Солнцев, Ю.К. Лекомцев, Т.Т. Мхитарян, И.И. Глебова, Вьетнамский язык.
 (V.M. Solatsev, Y.K. Lekomtsev, T.T. Mhitaryan, I.I. Glebova, The Vietnamese Language).
- А.С. Теселкин, Н.Ф. Алиева, Индонезийский язык.
 (A.S. Tesyolkin, N.F. Aliyeva, Bahasa Indonesia).

Б.Х. Тодаева, Монгольские языки и диалекты Китая.
(B.Kh. Todayeva, The Mongolian Languages and Dialects of China).

Н.И. Толстая, Язык панджаби.
(N.I. Tolstaya, The Punjabi Language).

Н.И. Фельдман, Японский язык.
(N.I. Feldman, The Japanese Language).

В.А. Фролова, Белуджский язык.
(V.A. Frolova, The Baluchi Language).

1961

В.Д. Бабакаев, Ассамский язык.
(V.D. Babakayev, The Assamese Language).

Ю.Ф. Горгониев, Кхмерский язык.
(Y.A. Gorgoniyev, The Khmer Language).

М.А. Коростовцев, Египетский язык.
(M.A. Korostovtsev, The Egyptian Language).

Н.Н. Коротков, Ю.В. Рождественский, Г.П. Сердюченко, В.М. Солн-
цев, Китайский язык.

(N.N. Korotkov, Y.V. Rozhdestvensky, G.P. Serdyuchenko, V.M. Solnt-
sev, The Chinese Language).

К.К. Курдоев, Курдский язык.
(K.K. Kurloyev, The Kurdish Language).

Н.В. Охотина, Язык зулу.
(N.V. Okhotina, The Zulu Language).

Ю.Я. Плам, Л.Н. Морев, М.Ф. Фомичева, Тайский язык.
(Y.Y. Plam, L.N. Morev, M.F. Fomicheva, The Thai Language).

Ю.Н. Рерих, Тибетский язык.
(Y.N. Roerich, The Tibetan Language).

Г.П. Сердюченко, Чжуанский язык.
(G.P. Serdyuchenko, The Chuan Language).

А.С. Теселкин, Яванский язык.
(A.S. Tesyolkin, The Javanese Language).

Г.Ш. Шарбатов, Современный арабский язык.
(G.Sh. Sharbatov, The Modern Arabic Language).

И.П. Яковлева, Язык ганда (луганда).
(I.P. Yakovleva, The Ganda /Luganda/ Language).

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1962

- М.С. Андронов, Язык каннада.
(M.S. Andronov, The Kannada Language).
З.М. Дымшиц, Язык урду.
(Z.M. Dymshitz, The Urdu Language).
С.Н. Соколов, Авестийский язык.
(S.N. Sokolov, The Avestan Language).

1963

- В.Д. Аракин, Мальгашский язык.
(V.D. Arakin, The Malagasy Language).
Ю.Н. Завадовский, Арабские диалекты Магриба.
(Y.N. Zavadovsky, Arabic Dialects of the Maghreb).
В.В. Иванов, Хеттский язык.
(V.V. Ivanov, The Hittite Language).
Т.Е. Катенина, Язык маратхи.
(T.E. Katenina, The Marathi Language).
Маун Маун Ньун, И.А. Орлова, Е.В. Пузицкий, И.М. Тагунова,
Бирманский язык.
(Maun Maun Nyun, I.A. Orlova, Y.V. Puzitsky, I.M. Tagunova, The
Burmese Language).
В.М. Насилов, Древнеуйгурский язык.
(V.M. Nasilov, The Old Uigur Language).
И.М. Оранский, Иранские языки.
(I.M. Oransky, Iranian Languages).
Б.К. Пашков, Маньчжурский язык.
(B.K. Pashkov, The Manchu Language).
Э.Р. Телишев, Саларский язык.
(E.R. Tenishev, The Salar Language).
А.С. Теселкин, Древнеяванский язык.
(A.S. Tesyolkin, The Old Javanese Language).
И.Ш. Шифман, Финикийский язык.
(I.Sh. Shifman, The Phoenician Language).
В.К. Яковлева, Язык йоруба.
(V.K. Yakovleva, The Yoruba Language).

1964

- Т.В. Вентцель, Цыганский язык.
(T.V. Ventsel, *The Gipsy Language*).
- В.В. Выхухолев, Сингальский язык.
(V.V. Vykhukholev, *The Singhalese Language*).
- А.И. Еланская, Коптский язык
(A.I. Yelanskaya, *The Coptic Language*).
- Б.М. Карпушкин, Язык ория.
(B.M. Karpushkin, *The Oriya Language*).
- А.А. Липин, Аккадский язык.
(A.A. Lipin, *The Akkadian Language*).
- Г.А. Меликишвили, Урартский язык.
(G.A. Melikishvili, *The Urartean Language*).
- Г.Д. Санжеев, Старописьменный монгольский язык.
(G.D. Sanzheyev, *The Ancient Literary Mongolian Language*).
- В.П. Токарская, Язык малинке (мандинго).
(V.P. Tokarskaya, *The Malinke (Mandingo) Language*).
- К.Г. Церетели, Современный ассирийский язык.
(K.G. Tsereteli, *The Modern Assyrian Language*).

1965

- М.С. Андронов, Дравидийские языки.
(M.S. Andronov, *Dravidian Languages*).
- В.Д. Аракин, Индонезийские языки.
(V.D. Arakin, *Indonesian Languages*).
- Л.Г. Герценберг, Хотаносакский язык.
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INTRODUCTION

Lahndi is a modern Indo-Aryan language belonging to the Indo-European family. The word "Lahndi"¹ means "the language of the West". It is spoken in Pakistan over a vast area lying approximately between 70° and 74° east longitude and 28° and 34° north latitude.

Commencing somewhat south of the point where the Sutlej River merges into the Indus River the western boundary of the Lahndi tract runs northwards along the right bank mountainous regions of the Indus to reach its destination somewhat north of Peshawar. The eastern boundary begins south of the town of Bahawalpur, passes northwards through the towns of Sahiwal, Gujranwala and Jehlum and terminates somewhat north of the city of Muzaffarabad. The area mainly covers the bigger, western part of the Pakistani Punjab (roughly two-thirds of the total) and the former District of Bahawalpur situated to the south of the above district. It stands to reason that these boundaries are rather conventional, since, for instance, the change from Lahndi to its eastern "neighbour" Punjabi is gradual and in the western subdialects of the latter, e.g. in Lahauri we can detect peculiarities typical of Lahndi. West of the conventional eastern boundary there occur forms of speech with some peculiarities of Punjabi. The further west we go, the less traces we find of Punjabi and, according to George Grierson we may consider, Lahndi to be finally established on the Districts of Multan and Jhang.

¹ We have found out the exact pronunciation of the name of the language by asking persons whose mother tongue it is, particularly philologists. The point is that the sign *h*, used in the English transliteration Lahndi (Landa) instead of a certain sign employed in Lahndi, is not pronounced, but only indicates the rising tone of the given word which is pronounced as *lëndi* or *lëndā*.

The linguistic environment of Lahndi is roughly the following. To the west of its zone Pushto and Balochi are spoken, with Sindhi in the southwest, Rajasthani in the south, Punjabi in the east, Kashmiri in the northeast, Shina in the north, and Kohistani in the northwest. Pushto and Balochi are Iranian languages; Sindhi, Rajasthani and Punjabi are Modern Indo-Aryan; Kashmiri, Shina and Kohistani are Dardic languages.

Since the bulk of Lahndi speaking people live in the pre-partition western Punjab, British linguists termed the language Western Punjabi, pointing, however, to the features that distinguish it considerably from Punjabi. Since most of the Jats speak Lahndi, the language is sometimes called Jatki. And in view of the fact that Multan is the central area in which the language is a vernacular, it is also referred to as Multani. Actually, however, the names Jatki and Multani have a narrower meaning and in correct usage denote only two corresponding dialects of Lahndi. In recent years the language under consideration comes to be mostly termed in Pakistan *Seraiki* or *Saraiki*.

According to the returns of the 1931 Census /Candar, 38/, 8,566,000 people spoke Lahndi. Prior to the partition of India in the rural areas, where the overwhelming majority of Lahndi speaking people reside, there was a 9:1 ratio between the Muslims, on the one hand, and the Hindus and Sikhs, on the other. In the towns it was 1:1 (Jukes, V). After the partition nearly all the Hindus (except a small number of representatives of the lowest castes) and all the Sikhs moved to India. Therefore, nearly all the Lahndi speaking people in Pakistan are Muslims. There is no exact data now on the number of people speaking the tongue, since the Census of 1961 in Pakistan deliberately did not single them out, regarding such people as among the 26,196,000 who spoke Punjabi. The figure is obviously exaggerated, since many Muslim refugees from India in their attempt to settle in Punjab, an economically more developed area, declared themselves Punjabis, though in effect they were not.

Estimates put the number of Lahndi speaking people in 1960 at 10 million /Chatterji, 145/. If we take into account the growth of the population, 1973 saw over 13 million people in the country, whose native tongue was Lahndi. In addition, in India Lahndi is known by at least several tens (if not hundreds) of thousands of people. Unfortunately, no special efforts were made in that country to detect Lahndi speaking population on a nationwide scale. And in

the areas where it was done, not all the population was covered. For instance, the figures given in the Handbook by Amal Sarker /Sarker, 48, 58 and others/ are obviously understated (for instance, 1971 for Hyderabad and Uttar Pradesh State). The author does not take into account precisely the territories (such as Punjab, Delhi and others) where most of the Lahndi speaking people reside.

Peculiarities of Lahndi are examined in works by such eminent scholars as George Grierson /Grierson¹, Grierson²/, G. Bailey, A. Jukes and others. It is noteworthy that, G. Bailey, comparing Lahndi with Punjabi, points to a very great difference existing even between the subdialects of Punjabi merging into Lahndi (the District of Wazirabad) and Lahndi proper (he terms the latter Western Punjabi) /Bailey, 1/.

Great attention is paid to Lahndi by India's most prominent linguist, S.K. Chatterji. Placing Lahndi in the same row as other modern Indian languages, he at the same time points to the peculiarities of the language, and on this ground contrasts it and Sindhi to the other languages of the group /Chatterji, 66, 83, 116, 117, 129/. Peculiarities and issues concerning Lahndi as an independent language are stressed in the works of the Punjabi linguists V.B. Arun /Arun¹, X, Arun², 38-65/. Duni Chandar /Chandar, 39/, B.S. Sandhu /Sandhu, 26/.

Indian and Pakistani scholars point out in their works Lahndi's considerable influence on a number of modern Indian languages, including Punjabi and Urdu. Thus, the linguist Prem Prakas Singh of Punjab writes that "Punjabi's specific features stem, first and foremost, from Lahndi" /Prakas, 320/. He also speaks about Lahndi's influence on Urdu, and in particular about the penetration into the latter of Lahndi postpositions beginning with the sound /k/.

The Pakistani linguist Sheikh Ikram-Ul-Haq writes of the influence of Multani, the central dialect of Lahndi, on Urdu, Punjabi and some other modern Indian languages /Haq, 47/.

It should be noted that some writers tend at times to confound Lahndi with Punjabi. The explanation lies either in the fact that they are not adequately informed, or in their desire to exaggerate the importance of Punjabi. This view reminds one of the erroneous position taken by the scholars who in their turn regard Punjabi and some other Indian languages merely as dialects of Hindi.

Lahndi despite its peculiarities, is kindred to Punjabi and Sindhi. This kinship was emphasised by Prof. Kohli who wrote: "Lahndi and Sindhi are the sister languages which have a near relation... with Punjabi" /Kohli, 62/.

According to Grierson the substratum of Punjabi is a language which had features common with peculiarities of modern Lahndi and was spoken on the territory now covered by Indian and Pakistani Punjab. However, in the process of its development this language in the eastern areas came under such an extensive influence of one of the dialects of Western Hindi, that the latter overlying the former obliterated or hid many of its important peculiarities. All this is reflected in modern Punjabi. In the western areas (mainly the greater part of Pakistani Punjab) the language under investigation was not subjected to the influence of Western Hindi or had little of that influence and therefore preserved its peculiarities, as seen in modern Lahndi /Grierson², 615/.

Despite the Hindi influence on Punjabi, the latter nevertheless preserved a number of grammatical and lexical peculiarities. As the more archaic Lahndi, it has, for instance, many words with double consonants.

Though Lahndi is kindred to Punjabi, it has the following basic distinctions:

1) whereas Punjabi is mainly an analytic language, Lahndi, as we shall attempt to show further on, reveals a considerable amount of synthetic forms;

2) Lahndi possesses many specific phonetic features which make it differ from Punjabi, such as the presence of special sounds, peculiarities of tones (see the "Phonetics" section and other sections);

3) as distinct from Punjabi, it is typical of both Lahndi and Sindhi to frequently use pronominal suffixes attached to a word agglutinatively. In Punjabi these suffixes are found only in transitional forms of speech coming from Lahndi and in the written literary language of authors who know Lahndi, but write in Punjabi;

4) it is typical of Lahndi to build the future tense forms by suffixing -s-, whereas Punjabi builds the same by using the suffix -g-, not to mention a number of other distinctions;

5) Lahndi is void of durative forms of the predicate, typical of Punjabi and Hindi, but possesses its own pattern expressing the equivalent aspect of the verb;

6) in Lahndi there is a peculiar system of personal negative verbs of being, which is not characteristic of Punjabi;

7) in both languages there is a considerable difference between the systems of the verb "to be", with Lahndi having two verbs of being possessing multivarious and ramified systems:

8) there are peculiar forms of the verb, for instance, verbal-adverbial and participial;

9) widely used in Lahndi are synthetic forms of the passive, which is not typical of Punjabi. In the latter we rarely find synthetic forms of the passive (formed by suffixing *-ṛ-*) which are borrowed from Lahndi. Typical of both Panjabi and Hindi is an analytic passive;

10) it is typical of the ergative voice of the main dialects of Lahndi to use the word denoting the agent (doer) of an action without a special postposition. Moreover, instead of the ergative construction there frequently occurs a mononuclear sentence with a predicate containing a pronominal suffix expressing the doer of an action. Punjabi is characterised by using a special ergative postposition;

11) Lahndi possesses a specific declension system distinct from that of Punjabi;

12) the presence of an internal inflexion that serves to build forms of certain grammatical categories;

13) peculiarities of other parts of speech, for instance, of pronouns, adverbs, postpositions, etc.);

14) a number of syntactic peculiarities, such as, for instance, the semi-ergative construction, specific features of the ergative construction, the presence of special word-sentences, sentences without a link-verb etc;

15) the specific character of much of the Lahndi vocabulary. A. Jukes, the compiler of the biggest Lahndi dictionary, writes: "The Western Punjabi, or Jatki language is quite a different language from that spoken in the Eastern Punjab." Jukes observes that the linguist H. Martin Clark, when comparing the dictionary with that of Bhai Mai Singh, found on every page of the Lahndi dictionary, containing an average of 36 words, only about two that coincided with Punjabi ones /Jukes, V/.

Naturally, a specific vocabulary is characteristic primarily of the language of rural localities, where Lahndi is less under the influence of Punjabi and Urdu, all the more that the bulk of the population is illiterate there or semi-literate and does not read the publications in Urdu and Punjabi that come out in Lahore in the Arabic script. As to the urban population, part of it speaks Lahndi influenced to a certain degree by Urdu and sometimes by Punjabi;

16) all the above-mentioned peculiarities of Lahndi make the language difficult to understand for speakers of Punjabi, as we have ascertained in practice.

In addition to the kindred ties with Punjabi and Sindhi Lahndi also experiences the influence of Dardic languages in the field of grammar and vocabulary.

Lahndi is a language deep-rooted in history and closely linked with ancient culture. This applies particularly to the language's most significant dialect, Multani, which according to the contemporary Pakistani linguist Sheikh Irkam-Ul-Haq is the most widely spoken form of speech in Pakistan. Five million speakers of Multani reside on a vast area amounting to 75,000 square miles /Haq. 44/. Multan is the ancient cultural and economic centre of the rich Indus valley. Four thousand years ago the Arvans coming down from the North found this flourishing town which they called Mool-Asthan, or Mool-Taran, which means "basic city". The richness of Indus Valley had over the centuries attracted conquerors. These included Egyptians, Babylonians, Aryans, Persians, Greeks, Arabs, Turks, Mongols, Afghans and English /Haq. 44/.

Lahndi has certain literary traditions. The famous *Adi Granth* (the Scripture of the Sikhs) includes not only the compositions of Sikh Gurus, but also the hymns and verses of various Hindu and Muslim saints and poets. The *Adi Granth* contains sections in Persian, Hindi, Punjabi and Lahndi. The ancient base of Lahndi is revealed in the verses of the poet Sheikh Farid Shakarganj who was born in a village near Multan in 1173 A.D. and died in 1266 A.D. His verses also contain borrowed Persian and Arabic words.

Prior to the dissemination of Islam (714 A.D.) the language-predecessor of Lahndi was subjected to considerable sanskritisation. This is borne out by the family-hymns of Dutts, one of the most ancient branches of Brahmans. These hymns retain ancient Lahndi verbs, but contain many Sanskrit nouns.

With the dissemination of Islam there came a period when many borrowings from Persian and Arabic found their way into Lahndi.

In the Middle Ages and even earlier inhabitants of the Lahndi tract (mainly those of Multan) several times migrated in large numbers to Delhi. These included the armies they made up, which were entering the city (e.g. 9th and 14th centuries). According to some scholars, from that time on Lahndi began to exercise its influence upon Urdu.

Of the early works in Lahndi one should note a versified book on the Muslim rules of bathing, shrouding and burying the dead, entitled

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Masail-i-Chusal-o-Kafan-o-Dafan written in 1137 A.D. by Nur Muhammad of Shergarh, and a more famous book by Hazrat Mian Abdul Hakim "Yusuf and Zuleikha", produced in 1218 A.D. /Haq. 51/.

In 1819 the Bible was translated into Multani, and later the Koran. The following books have been also written in the language: *Pakki Roti*, a book on religious observances, *Bagh o Bahar* - translation of Story of four Derveshes, *Shahnamah-i-Hind*, a history of events from the Arab conquest of Multan to the time of Emperor Aurangzeb, and *Lok Geet*, a collection of Multani popular songs compiled by Dr. Mehar Abdul Haq.

Other collections of songs, stories and tales have also been published in Lahndi. For instance, 1954 saw the publication of tales in Pothohari, a dialect of Lahndi. These tales were collected by Prof. Vanjara Bedi. The Lahndi folklore is very rich and varied.

Also noteworthy are the following poetical books written in Lahndi: *Khyaban-i-Khurram* (of Bahawalpur), *Dewan-i-Farid*, the work by philologist Sheikh Ikram-Ul-Haq (Farid the Lyricist) who examines the original divan by Farid; *Nijat ul-Momineen* by Abdul Karim, *Noor Namah* by Noor Mohd, *Karbala Namah* by Akbar Shah, *Bazar Be Khizan* by Jala, *Saiful Maluk* by Lutf Ali Sayad, and versified stories of *Sassi Punnu Mirza Sahban*, *Shah Bahram*. In 1967 an anthology of Multani poets by Kaifi, was under print.

The well-known book "Janam Sakhi" on the life of the Sikh Gurus (Jan) is written in Lahndi mixed with many elements of Punjabi.

Lahndi is a research subject of a number of monographs, articles, and dictionaries (for details see Bibliography). Particularly noteworthy are the Persian-Multani dictionary *Nisab Zaroori*, George Wilson's grammar and dictionary, a rather comprehensive work by George Grierson /Grierson¹/, the monographs by H. Bahri on Lahndi phonetics and phonology /Bahri¹, Bahri²/, the dictionary by A. Jukes, and the dictionary of the Pothohari dialect (Poth) compiled in Indian Punjab.

Nowadays some Lahndi speaking scholars in Pakistan are trying to create research works on their native tongue. Akhtar Waheed, who died young, wrote and published a short Multani grammar /Haq. 53/. Unfortunately, the manuscript on Multani grammar by Sadullah Khan Mallezai /Haq. 53/, has been lost. Dictionary of Seraiki has been compiled by Bashir Ahmad Zami from Bahawalpur.

Different problems of Multani and Multani literature are being tackled by philologist Shoikh Ikram Ul-Haq, who has been mentioned repeatedly.

There are a number of periodicals in Lahndi. For instance "Akhtar", a weekly published in Multan and the monthly Journal *Seraiki Adab* published in Bahawalpur. Newspapers *Al-Aziz* and *Punjad* were also published, but are now defunct.

In the districts inhabited by Lahndi speaking people there are several cultural and research centres (for instance, the Multan Academy and the Bahawalpur Academy), which also carry out research into literature in Lahndi, its grammar, and where research works are published.

In view of a number of unfavourable historic conditions Lahndi speaking people have not as yet developed an extensive literature of their own. A considerable role is also played by the fact that Urdu is the only national language in Pakistan, and that it is actively used in the schools.

As Pakistani scholars point out representatives of Lahndi speaking intellectuals call for a more intensive development of the written form of their mother tongue and the creation of broad foundations for native literature. Speaking in 1962 at the first linguistic conference in Pakistan Sheikh Ikram Ul-Haq said:

"It is an irony of fate that political re-groupings have brought into prominence regional languages like Panjabi, Sindhi and Balochi, and the parent language has been relegated to a comparatively secondary position. The importance of Multani could be judged from the fact that it is the most widely spoken language in West Pakistan... The problems of this language arise out of neglect. There has been no attempt to collect, print and publish the various works that lie scattered about. There has been no attempt to compile its authoritative dictionary." /Haq. 44, 52/.

During the last decade or so a certain degree of progress has been observed in the field. This is testified by compiling a new dictionary of Multani by B.A. Zami, the publication of an anthology of Multani poets by Kaifi and opening in December 1966 a special section of literature in Multani (Seraiki) in the Central library of Bahawalpur, since, as the press pointed out, there existed in the dialect valuable literature and historical works /*Pakistan Times*. 11.XII, 1966/.

According to the Pakistani press, some time back representatives of the Lahndi (Saraiki) speaking people demanded official status for their mother tongue and even pointed out that it was necessary to establish a new province out of the areas inhabited by the Lahndi (Saraiki) speaking people. Thus, the Pakistani newspaper *Dawn*,

September 2, 1969 (p. 10), carried an article under the heading "Official Status for Saraiki Demanded". The newspaper says that early in September 1969 a Saraiki Adabi (literary) Conference was held in Multan "attended by representatives of various Saraiki literary organisations of Multan, Muzaffargarh, Dera Ghazi Khan, Mianwali, Dera Ismail Khan, Bahawalpur, Rahimyarkhan and Bahawalnagar... A resolution adopted at the Conference said Saraiki was an independent language having a very rich literary heritage which needs to be given proper recognition. It also demanded that... a new province for Saraiki speaking people comprising Multan and Bahawalpur Division and Districts of Mian Wala and Dera Ismail Khan be established... The participants of the Conference demanded that Saraiki should be given its due status at the University level along with Punjabi, Pushto, Sindhi and Baluchi... Mr. Nahar Abdul Haque a prominent philologist has demanded the introduction of Saraiki language as medium of instruction at primary level".

The central dialect of Lahndi is Multani. It is spoken over a greater area than that of each other dialect, the number of its speakers being also bigger, and it serves as a vernacular in the region which is culturally and economically most developed throughout the Lahndi tract. Multani has influence on all other dialects, gradually turning into the prop dialect. There can be no doubt that with the creation of broad foundations for literature the centralising role of Multani will become still greater.

Lahndi is represented by two groups of dialects: 1) an extensive southern group (that of the Plains) and 2) a relatively less important northern group (that of mountains). The conventional boundary line between them runs along the southern foothills of the Salt Range, though on the territory of Gujranwala and Gujrat part of the Plateau is included in the zone of the southern dialects.

The main dialects of the southern group are as follows:

- a) Multani. As has been already pointed out, this is the central, most important and most influential dialect of Lahndi having 5 million speakers. It is the vernacular of Multan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh and Bahawalpur. Its sphere also includes part of the territory of Jhang, Sahiwal, Khairpur and Baluchistan;
- b) Jatki is spoken in Shahpur (between the Jehlum and Chenab rivers), Jhang, Lyallpur, Sahiwal, Gujranwala and Gujrat. Grierson for some reason regards the dialect as the "standard proper" /Grierson, 239/, although it plays a role of lesser importance than Multani.

Apparently the fact that the dialect had been relatively well described by Wilson in that period of time influenced Grierson who therefore let other factors determining the importance of the dialect escape his attention;

c) Thali, whose speakers inhabit the Thal desert and parts of the territory of Mianwala, Jehlum, Shahpur, Jhang, Dera Ghazi Khan and Bannu.

The mountainous northern dialects are spoken in the Salt Range area and north of it. These are Pothohari, Chibhali, Poonchi, Awankari, the Shahpur dialect of the Salt Range, Ghebi, Dhanni, Peshawar Hindko, Tinali and Dhundi-Kairali. George Grierson divides the northern dialects into two groups; 1) the north-western and 2) the north-eastern. But such a classification seems inexpedient, since it is difficult to draw a dividing line between these groups of dialects.

The main differences between the northern dialects and the southern are as follows;

1. In the northern dialects many nouns take the termination *-e* or *-ī* in analytic cases.

2. More typical of the north is the usage of the coordinating-relational postposition (our term) *nā̃* or *nā* instead of *dā* (though the dialects Dhanni, Tinali and the Hindko of Peshawar use *dā*).

3. More typical of the north is the participle I attaching *-nā̃* (*-nā*), instead of *-dā* (the same three dialects providing the exception).

4. In some northern dialects there is a tendency to use *r* instead of the cerebral *ṛ*, e.g. *kor* instead of *koṛ* 'who?' and *intrā* instead of *itṛā* 'so numerous'.

5. Tones in the northern dialects have their peculiarities. Whereas it is typical of the southern dialects to use a rising tone of one variety (which starts in a rather low register, rises considerably and falls a little at the end), contrasted by a level (even) tone, the northern dialect Awankari, for instance, in addition to such a rising tone has a second variant. Its peculiarity is to start in the middle register, to relatively slightly rise and then to fall beneath the middle register. Both variants phonologically combine with the level tone. A small group of words in Awankari also has a falling tone.

6. There are differences between the northern and southern dialects in vocabulary as well. Whereas it is more typical of the southern dialects to use the verbs *vañjuṇ* 'to go' and *āvunṇ* 'to come', in the north *gachṇā* (*juḷaṇ*) and *achṇā* respectively are rather widely employed (although in Awankari and Ghebi *vañjuṇ* and *āvunṇ* are used

more frequently; in the north one may more often come across *hagan* 'to be able', whereas in the south they use *sakkun*. The southern dialects also see more frequent employment of the possessive pronouns *merā* 'my' and *terā* 'thy' borrowed from Punjabi, but this is parallel with the Lahndi vernaculars *māṅḍā* and *tāṅḍā*.

However, it should be taken into account that it is impossible to sharply delimit the dialects of both groups, since they are variants of one and the same language. Frequently forms, on the whole more typical of one group of dialects, are used in the other. Thus, in the northern dialects Dhanni, Tinali and the Hindko of Peshawar there occur the postposition *dā* and participle I in-*dā*, which is more characteristic of the southern group. However, in one of the plays by Sant Singh Sekhon written in the southern dialect Jatki (the Lyallpur area) we have come across participles both in -*dā* (*karendā*, *dasendī*) and in -*nā* (*puchnī*, *ahnī*). As illustrative material for this treatise we have used the play by Sant Singh Sekhon "*Siālā dī naḥī*" written in Jatki (spoken in Lyallpur), the modern newspaper "Akhtar" in Multani, texts in Lahndi collected by Grierson /Grierson¹/, Wilson /Wilson/, Dames /Dames/, Rose /Rose/, Bomford /Bomford/, Bahri /Bahri¹/, small texts from different sources, etc., and also dictionaries of Lahndi by Jukes /Jukes/, Wilson /Wilson/, O'Brien /O'Brien/, as well as the dictionary of the Pothonari dialect issued in 1960 in the town of Patiala Punjab /Poth/.

Since it is very difficult to illustrate all the propositions of the work solely with material of the Multani dialect, the author resorts at times to examples from other dialects. This material enriches our notion of the language, since apart from Multani other dialects of Lahndi are rather widely spoken as well. In a number of places forms of several dialects are compared. This is not only of practical importance, but also provides useful material for further research. When presenting the theoretical points which do not necessarily require comparison and in which the general tangibly prevails over the particular, especially in the section dealing with syntax, the author provides illustrations from various dialects without distinctive marks.

Dissatisfied with a number of traditional unhappy methods of describing linguistic material, and also confronted with specific cases which have not been described, the author offers his own solution of several issues, some additions and changes and new terms involved by all this. This applies, first and foremost, to a new tense-aspect system, the mutually subordinating type of connection bet-

ween parts of the sentence, called "interaction", the notions and terms "the qualitative-predicative part", "the semi-ergative construction", "the semi-correlative construction", a new system of voices (including the ergative, causative, ergative-causative, passive-causative), a new notion of voice connected with the development of a more suitable concept regarding the category as syntactic-morphological (see Panfilov), a number of observations concerning the system of cases. New terms have been introduced where we deal with phenomena earlier not described, or where described phenomena are either denoted by obviously unhappy terms, or are not denoted at all. In the "Gender" section the material is analysed by a statistics method.

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CHARACTERS

Lahndi possesses no characters of its own. Since the overwhelming majority of Lahndi speaking people are Muslims, a variant of the Arabic alphabet is used for writing and printing. This kind of alphabet is the most common in the tract. Thus the Multani dialect has the following system of characters (Table 1).

Table 1

The Lahndi alphabet

Transcription	The character	Transcription	The character	Transcription	The character
a, i, u	ا	dd	د	k	ک
b	ب	z	ز	g	گ
bb	بب	r	ر	gg	گگ
p	پ	r	ر	l	ل
t	ت	z	ز		

(Continued table 1)

Transcription	The character	Transcription	The character	Transcription	The character
l	ل	s	س	m	م
s	ث	ṣ	ش		
j	ج	s	ص	n	ن
jj	جج			n	نن
c	چ	z	ض	nr	نر
				w, v, o, u	و
h	ح	!	ط	h	ه
		z	ظ		
x	خ	!	ع	γ, ̄	ی
n̄	نج				
d	د	G	غ		
ḍ	دط	f	ف		
		q	ق		

ب, ج, چ, جج, جط, جگ and ن indicate the sounds also employed in Sindhi. Vowels are represented by the characters ا, و, ی and sometimes by the vowel signs َ, ِ and ُ.

In some texts, particularly in old ones, and in the above-mentioned dictionary by Jukes ج is used instead of چ and ن instead of ن.

Four of the graphemes represent long consonants ب bb, ج jj, جج jjj, دد dd, جگ gg, usually occurring initially in a word, whereas ج or جج convey the n̄-sound, which is something between nj and ny. The character ن or نر denotes the cerebral n̄, which in Multani has something of the cerebral r. This sound, something between n̄ and r, sometimes even resembles the nasalised r. The grapheme ن (without a dot) is ordinarily used at the end of the word, while the variants ن (with a dot) are employed in the middle (ن) and at the beginning of the word (ن). As in Sindhi, Urdu and some other languages, several Arabic characters can represent one and the same sound. Thus, ظ, ض, ز, ذ stand for the consonant z, while ح and ه convey h. The character ل, on the other hand, can denote two sounds: the alveolar l and the cerebral l̄; the character م may convey both the glottal sound (particularly at the beginning of the word) and a tone (especially at the end of the word or syllable).

Lahndi speaking Hindus, who are few now in Pakistan (representatives of low castes) employ their own variant of the Laṇḍā alphabet closely related to the Mahājanī character of Marwar and to the Sharada alphabet used in Kashmir. This alphabet is rather imperfect, since in most cases vowels are not indicated, and even if they are, one and the same character may correlate with several vowels simultaneously. For instance, the vowels /a/ and /e/ and /u/ and /o/ are denoted in one and the same way respectively. Similar is the case with consonants, since one and the same character serves, for instance, to denote the sounds /s/ and /ś/, and one and the same letter stands for both /b/ and /bh/. Another letter represents /r/ and /ṛ/, etc.

Here is the variant of Laṇḍā used in Multan, as compared with the invariant Laṇḍā alphabet (Table 2).

Table 2

Laṇḍā alphabet*

Transcription	The character of the Multan Laṇḍā	The character of the invariant Laṇḍā	Transcription	The character of the Multan Laṇḍā	The character of the invariant Laṇḍā
a	म	म	d	४	उ
i	इ	इ	dh	५	२
u	७	७	n	६	२
e	म	म	t	३	उ
o	७	७	th	५	५
s	५	५	d	५	५
h	५	५	dh	५	५
k	५	५	n	५	५
kh	५	५	p	५	५
g	५	५	ph	५	५
gh	५	५	b	५	५
ṅ	५	५	bh	५	५
c	५	५	m	५	५
ch	५	५	y	५	५
	५	५	r	५	५

Handwritten notes in Urdu script on the left margin, including the word '(پیشی)'.

Handwritten notes in Urdu script on the right margin.

(Continued table 2)

Transcription	The character of the Multan Lappa	The character of the invariant Landa	Transcription	The character of the Multan Landa	The character of the invariant Landa
j	ਯ	ਯ	l	ਲ	ਲ
jh	ਯ	ਯ	v	ਵ	ਵ
n	ਨ	ਨ	r	ਰ	ਰ
t	ਤ	ਤ	rh	ੜ	ੜ
th	ਠ	ਠ			

Grierson¹, 311

Lahndi speaking Sikhs frequently use the Gurmukhi alphabet to write texts in the language.

PHONETICS²

VOWELS

Like most of the Indo-European languages Lahndi has short and long vowels which differ from one another in rise and zone. There are eight short sounds: $i, \tilde{i}, a, \tilde{a}, u, \tilde{u}$. The long ones are represented by $\bar{i}, \tilde{\bar{i}}, e, \tilde{e}, \bar{a}, \tilde{\bar{a}}, \bar{u}, \tilde{\bar{u}}, o, \tilde{o}, \bar{a}\bar{u}, \tilde{\bar{a}}\bar{u}, \bar{a}$ and $\tilde{\bar{a}}$ (Table 3).

Table 3

Lahndi vowels

Degree of rise	Zone		
	Front	Central	Back
High	$\bar{i}, \tilde{\bar{i}}$ i, \tilde{i}		$\bar{u}, \tilde{\bar{u}}$ u, \tilde{u}
Mid	e, \tilde{e}	$\bar{a}, \tilde{\bar{a}}$ a, \tilde{a}	o, \tilde{o}
Low	$\bar{a}, \tilde{\bar{a}}$		$\bar{a}\bar{u}, \tilde{\bar{a}}\bar{u}$ $\bar{a}\bar{u}^*, \tilde{\bar{a}}\bar{u}$

* This symbol is taken from the work by H. Bahri¹.

² The description of Lahndi sounds is given mainly on the basis of Multani, with certain comparisons made with other dialects.

i is a short vowel of the front zone, high rise, usually occurs in an unstressed position initially in a word, e.g. *imān* 'fate', *bhirā* 'brother'.

ī is a long vowel of the front zone, high rise, narrower than \hat{i} since it occupies the highest and frontmost position among the vowels. It is obtainable in all positions of the word, as in *bīṛā* 'button', *māhīnā* 'month', *phūhī* 'a mat'.

e is a long vowel of the front zone, mid rise, obtainable in all positions of the word, e.g. *ḍere* 'resting places' (initially and finally), *pādhahērā* 'a mushroom' (medially).

ä is a long vowel of the front zone, low rise, similar to the vowel of English 'glad'. Most commonly occurs in monosyllabics and initially in bisyllabics such as *trā* 'three', *māṇḍhe* 'my' (pl.).

a is a short vowel of the central zone, mid rise. Like ä most frequently occurs in monosyllabics and initially in bisyllabics containing two short vowels, as in *paḍ* 'uproot', *caṭṭuṇ* 'to lick'.

ə is a short weak vowel of the central zone, mid rise, a neutral sound, occupying a more front and higher position than a. Most commonly it is an allophone of a, but sometimes also that of u in unstressed positions when a reduction of these vowels occurs, as in *əgās* 'sky', *odər* 'sad'.

u is a short vowel of the back zone, high rise, most frequently occurring in monosyllabics and disyllabics with two short vowels, e.g. *udhul* 'violence', *buḍ* 'drowned'.

ū is a long vowel of the back zone, high rise, but higher and more back than u. It is obtainable in various positions, as in *lūḍā* 'dear', *barūṛī* 'a pimple', *māū* 'mother'.

o is a long vowel of the back zone, mid rise. Most commonly it occurs medially and finally, e.g. *bāroṭā* 'a small tree', *pāṛo* 'tear up'.

āu is a long vowel of the back zone, low rise, more velar than o. It sounds like something between o and a with a faint glide with u sound. āu is almost a diphthong. It is obtainable in all positions, e.g. *makhāūrā* 'a grass-hopper', *lahāūr* 'Lahore', *bāuhnā* 'sitting'.

ā is a long vowel of the back zone, low rise. It can be found in all positions, as in: *āṇ* 'bringing', *makhāṇe* 'sweets', *viā* 'gone'.

\hat{i} , \hat{i} , \hat{e} , \hat{a} , \hat{a} , \hat{u} , \hat{u} , \hat{o} , \hat{a} and \hat{a} are the nasal correspondents of \hat{i} , i , e , \hat{a} , a , \hat{u} , u , o , \hat{a} and \hat{a} respectively. Examples of minimum pairs are as follows: *sā* 'hundred' - *sā̃* 'asleep', *ghine* 'He would take' - *ghinē̃* 'Thou would take'. The enumerated nasal phonemes should not be confounded with nasalized vowels whose nasalization is caused by accommodation, i.e. under the influence of a nasal con-

sonant occurring in the same or neighbouring word, as in *māhmū* ^{or} *nahī* *vānā* 'Mahmun is not coming'. Nasalization may be optional, as in *sī* 'cold' instead of *sī̃*.

A number of dialects or sub-dialects have a strong tendency to vowel nasalization even if it involves disappearance of a nasal consonant in a word. Thus, for instance, whereas in Central Multani Participle I sees finally *-ndā* or *-endā*, in the Hindki sub-dialect of Dera Ghazi Khan it often acquires the segment *ādā* or *ēdā*: *ādā* 'coming', *phulrēdā* 'searching'. From amongst the northern dialects the Shahpur dialect of the Salt Range, Pothohari and Dhanni are very much inclined to nasalization. In these dialects practically every long vowel at the end of the word is nasalized, though one also comes across parallel non-nasalized variants, for instance the postposition *nā* and *nā̃*, the numeral *bahū* and *bahū̃* 'many'.

George Wilson and George Grierson mark out in the southern dialect Jatki (a sub-dialect of Shahpur) *e* and *ẽ*, *o* and *õ*, *ā* and *ā̃*, i.e. long and short *e*, *o* and *ā*. Actually all these sounds always are long if they preserve their main quality. When, however, they are greatly reduced (for instance, in an unstressed position), they actually change their quality turning into the neutral *ə* or short *i*. Therefore we deem it not expedient to carry out such a delimitation.

It should be noted that in some southern forms of speech of Multani called Saraiki Hindki (for instance, in the former state of Khairpur) and finding themselves under a stronger influence of Sindhi, masculine nouns and sometimes pronouns with a consonantal stem final attach a considerably reduced short *a* or *u*, which approximate the neutral vowel *ə*, bearing however, a respective shade. These short sounds are pronounced quickly and abruptly, and are hardly audible. Rather often these sounds are not denoted in writing. Not infrequently the sound with a *u* shade serves as an indication of the nominative case, whereas that with an *a* shade functions as the termination of an analytic case, singular, or that of the nominative case, plural, as in *lāḍu* 'love', *ḍḍū puṭa āhin* 'There were two sons'.

Since unlike all other Lahndi dialects Pothohari sees a stress mostly falling on the ultimate syllable, the sound *i*, occurring in an unstressed position, loses its tension and turns into a sound resembling *a*: *bīmār-bamār* 'sick'.

CONSONANTS

Lahndi is no exception among a number of languages of India and Pakistan in that the sounds *p, b, f, m, n, t, d, k, g, s, z* and *r* bear a general similarity to consonants of this kind in Indo-European languages.

The sounds *p, b, t, d, k* and *g* have the aspirated correspondents *ph, bh, th, dh, kh* and *gh*. When pronouncing one of the latter group there occur a greater tension of the organs of speech concerned (the lips, tongue, pharynx etc.) and a more vigorous separation-explosion, indispensably followed by aspiration.

v is a fricative, voiced labio-dental, noise consonant. Its consonantal nature is especially prominent initially in the word, as in: *vānā* 'going', *vat* 'then'. Intervocally its degree of voice is greater and this being the case, it justifies its name "semi-vowel", e.g.: *dāvur* 'spider'

l is a lateral fricative sonant. The dorsal portion of the tongue rises rather high, which causes greater softness. Most commonly this sonant is obtainable initially, e.g. *laggā vānā* 'is leaving', *līssā* 'weak'.

c is a palato-alveolar medio-lingual affricate, more palatal than alveolar, since the alveoli feel only a slight touching.

j is the voiced correspondent of *c*, whereas *jh* is the aspirated correspondent of *j*.

ś is a medio-lingual fricative consonant produced by the tip of the tongue touching the teeth and the middle part of the tongue being raised towards the hard palate. It is obtainable in all positions, e.g. *śak* 'suspicion', *paśum* 'hair', *ānś* 'pleasure'.

ṛ is a medio-lingual fricative sonant occurring only initially and medially, as in: *yār* 'a friend', *mūhṛe* '/of/ a face' (a submorphised autoseme)*.

χ is a uvular fricative consonant which found its way into the language through Persian and Arabic borrowings, but more front than the Persian *x*. It occurs in all positions, e.g. *χarcā* 'expenditure', *niχtī* 'appeared', *yaχ* 'frozen'.

G is the voiced correspondent of *χ*. It is a borrowed sound as well. The number of words containing it is limited, since most commonly *g* is used instead of *G*.

* This term is defined in the "Case and Declension" section.

h-is a voiced glottal consonant, with a prominent glottal sound. It begins either a word or a stressed syllable, e.g. *havāz* 'voice', *lahāūr* 'Lahore'

The cerebral sounds *ʎ*, *ɳ*, *ɖ*, *ɖh*, *ʈ*, *ʈh* are articulated by curling the fore part of the tongue up and backwards till it contacts the point between the hard palate and the soft palate. After an energetic occlusion the tongue curls back, to a greater extent for *ʈ*, *ʈ* and *ɳ* than for *ɖ*, *ɖh*, *ʎ*, and *ʈh*. Cerebral sounds are particularly common in the Thali dialect. Of the four non-labialized nasal consonants *ɳ* is the most frequently used. It is obtainable in all positions. The cerebral *ɳ* occurs only medially and finally, as in: *ghin kaṇī* 'having taken', *ghinun* 'to take'. The consonants *ṅ* and *ɟ* mostly precede the medio-lingual *c*, *ch*, *j*, *jh* and the backlingual *k*, *kh*, *g*, *gh*, respectively, e.g. *mañjī* 'a bed', *traggur* 'a net'.

Referring to the medio-lingual *ṅ*, Jukes /VI/ points out that its pronunciation is something between *nj* and *ny*, sometimes leaning more to one side, sometimes to the other. In the imperative *vañj* 'go' the sonant sounds more like *nj*, whereas in Participle I *vañjendā* - more like *ny*. This is understandable, since *j* and *y* being both medio-lingual sounds, *ṅ* is superimposed by *y* when the degree of voice is greater, and by *j* when it is lesser.

One should also mention other peculiar sounds of Multani, mainly borrowed from Sindhi. These are long double consonants mostly occurring at the beginning of a word, e.g. *bb*, *bbahūṇ* 'many'; *jj*, *jjūven*, 'also', *ɖɖ* (something between *z* and *ɖ*), *ɖɖā* 'way', 'method', *gg* (a sound with some nasal shade), as in *ggārhā* 'thick'.

According to Ikram Ul-Haq /52/, Multani possesses one more *g* with a guttural shade: *ḡ* as in *ḡk* 'insult'. But A. Jukes regards this *g* sound in the word as belonging to the *gg* type /Jukes, V/.

In the Multani of Dera Gazi Khan the cerebral *ʎ* almost never occurs. To make up for it the same is widely used in the forms of speech of Central Multan.

In some dialects of Lahndi there is a tendency to replace the fricative *s* with the stop *t*, particularly at the end of the word. Thus, in the Multani of Muzaffargarh we come across *āpat* instead of *vāpas* 'between each other', and *ṣakht* instead of *ṣakhs* 'a man'. In the Thalochari of Jang (the dialect Jatki) it is *ṣakhat*. In the Pothohari of Jehlam *kāgat* 'paper' is used instead of *kāgaz*.

In the Multani of Muzaffargarh and the Pothohari of Jehlam and Rawalpindi Lahndi speakers prefer to use the consonant *j* instead

Table 4

Lahndi consonants

In terms of the positions of articulation		Bilabial	Labio-dental	Forelingual				Medio-lingual	Backlin-gual	Uvular	Glotal
				Dental	Dento-alveolar	Alveolar	Cerebral				
Noise consonants	Stops	p, ph b, bb, bh		t, th d, dh		t, th, d, dd, dh		k, kh g, gg, gh	q		
	Affricates						c, ch j, jj, jh				
	Fricatives		v, f		z, s		v̄ s̄		G* _f X*	h	
Sonants	Nasal stops	m				n̄					
	Fricatives					l̄	y				
	Rolled					r̄					

* The symbols are taken from the work by H. Bahri.

of the borrowed sound *z* or the cluster *zd* which found their way into Lahndi together with Persian words. In the text concerned we have come across the following words: *najīk* 'near' (compare with *nazdīk*), *bajār* 'bazar' (compare with *bāzār*), *najir* 'sight' (compare with *nazir*), *darvājā* 'a door' (compare with *darvāzā*), *janānī* 'wife' (compare with *zanānī*).

In some northern dialects of Lahndi there is a permutation of sounds and syllables. Thus, in an Awankari text we have discovered *iškār* 'hunt', instead of *šikār*. George Grierson also cites examples of metathesis in Pothohari: *jākat* 'boy' instead of *jātak*, *mahešū* 'always' instead of *hamešā*, *sabāb* 'goods' instead of *asbāb*, etc. Not infrequently the north sees the sounds *r* and *l* interchanged.

It is typical of the phonetics of Lahndi and particularly of that of the northern dialects to begin very frequently a word not with a vowel, but with the glottal *h*. Thus, in Pothohari we come across the sub-morphised autoseme of the pronoun *hus*, *his* 'he', 'that', the numerals *hik* 'one' and *hitnā* 'so many', 'this much'; in Awankari there occur *hik* 'one', *hikatthe* 'together', *havāz* 'voice', *hamsos* 'regret', *hinnā* 'they'. Frequently such words are also found in the Jatki of Lyallpur. In the play by Sekhon we have discovered such words as *hasā* 'we', *his* 'this', *hitthe* 'here', *ho* 'that', *hiv* 'so', etc.

One of the major phonetic differences between Lahndi and Punjabi is that whereas Punjabi is void of voiced aspirated sounds (and they are replaced by voiceless or sometimes voiced non-aspirated consonants in words with a falling or rising tone), in the overwhelming majority of the dialects of Lahndi (excluding, perhaps, Pothohari) these sounds are present.

TONES

Two tones are typical of Lahndi: level (even) and rising. A rising tone is often graphically indicated by the letter *h* (in transcription), e.g. *koh* (*ko^h*) 'a mountain', *diḍḍh* (*diḍḍ^h*) 'one and a half'. However, some northern dialects have two common tones and one uncommon. Thus, in Awankari there is a level tone, two variants of a rising tone, and in a small group of words a falling one much alike in principle to a similar tone in Punjabi, as in *m'amdā* 'Oh, Mohammed', *p'ivā* 'we can thresh'.

Typical of Pothohari is a level tone and a falling one. In addition, a rising tone is used, but rarely. Here are two examples of the

falling tone in the dialect: *k'ār* 'shortage', *t'edī* 'a swelling'.

Tones have certain effects on sounds /Bahri¹, 192/. In a toned syllable (in case of a rising tone — U.S.) the vowel is somewhat shortened, close vowels become closer, open ones more open, the consonants covering such syllables become more prominent, the plosion of stops is increased and the aspiration of aspirated consonants is more marked. The cerebralisation of cerebrals becomes stronger, the trills in the rolled consonants and the friction in the fricative ones increase as well. The stress becomes more pronounced.

While distinguishing Lahndi from Punjabi it should be noted that the existence of two tones (excluding perhaps, Pothohari) is typical of the former language, whereas that of four tones is characteristic of Punjabi (the fourth tone we have discovered in Punjabi and Dogri and called it the clear falling tone. It is possible that this tone exists in Lahndi too, but this requires extra research work).

SYLLABICATION

The Lahndi vocabulary is mainly represented by monosyllabics and disyllabics. Words with three, four and more syllables occur rarely.

The syllable in Lahndi can be made up of:

1) a vowel, including a nasal one, e.g. *e'* or *ī'* 'this', *o'* or *ū'* 'that', *ī̃'* 'he' 'that' (in the ergative);

2) a vowel and a consonant, e.g. *in* 'they are', *ach* 'come here', *am* in *amrī* 'mother';

3) a consonant and a vowel, e.g. *nā*, *nā̃* or *nā̃* (a postposition), *dā'* 'ten';

4) a double consonant and a vowel, e.g. *ḍḍū̃* 'two';

In Nos 3 and 4 the syllables are open.

5) a consonant, a vowel and a consonant, e.g. *sīs* 'nod', *tith* 'so much';

6) two consonants, a vowel and a consonant, e.g. *bbār* 'thirst', *jjat* 'wool'.

STRESS

In Lahndi stress can be distributed equally between two syllables, or one syllable is more accentuated than any other. In some

words only one syllable is prominent. In Pothohari stress falls as a rule on the last syllable.

On the whole stress in Lahndi is of aspiratory-tonal nature. In disyllabics stress is as follows:

1) if the first syllable is short and the second long, the latter bears a prominent stress, e.g. *ghiddā* 'taken', *kaḥū* 'from', *caṛī* 'a small ditch';

2) when the first syllable is long and the second short, stress is on the first syllable, though not as strong as in the examples above, e.g. *ṭhīvun* 'to be', *ārang* 'a gloomy weather', *jīkun* 'how', *cīkun* 'to shout';

3) if vowels in two syllables are both long or both short, stress is distributed equally, e.g. *jārā* 'a double', *cālā* 'a custom', *ālū* 'potatoes', *udhul* 'rape', *battar* 'worse'.

In Awankari trisyllabics, as a rule, the penultimate syllable is stressed /Bahri¹, 204/. In such words the pre-stressed syllable is shortened considerably; *udhālā* 'rape', *kuḥārī* 'an axe', *baroṭā* 'a small tree'.

In quadrisyllabics stress is also on the penultimate syllable and if the first syllable is long, it is considerably reduced, as in *belihārā* 'regardless of', *harām zidkī* 'treachery'.

CHANGE OF SOUNDS IN THE SPOKEN CHAIN (SANDHI)

Sounds in Lahndi may change in the following cases: on the morpheme boundary when a grammatical category of a word changes; on the boundary between a word and an emphatic particle when emphasis occurs; on the boundary between a word and a formant when forming a new word; on the word-boundary in general. This is characteristic of both vowels and consonants.

Vowels may be subjected to the following changes:

1) if a formant beginning with a vowel of a different articulation, or constituting such a vowel, is added to a word ending in a long vowel, the latter undergoes some reduction, e.g. *naḥī* 'a girl' + *ā* = *naḥiā* (the final *ī* reduced).

The same occurs in the spoken chain on the boundary between a word and formant, even if the latter is not attached to the former, as in:

e > i: *rehne ālā* / *rehniālā* / 'an inhabitant',

ī > i: *javātrī ā* / *javātriā* / 'to the daughter's husband',

$\bar{u} > u$: $pi\bar{u} \bar{i} k\bar{u}$ / $piuik\bar{u}$ / 'only to the father';

2) if one word ends in a long \bar{a} , while the next begins with \bar{a} , a sound very much alike to \bar{a} is heard on the word-boundary, e.g. $habbh\bar{a} \bar{a}h\bar{a}$ / $habbh\bar{a}\bar{a}$ / 'it was as a whole';

3) if a word ending in a certain vowel is followed by a word beginning with the same vowel, or represented by this, it results in a lengthened sound of the same quality, e.g. $puttr\bar{a} \bar{a}$ / $puttr\bar{a}$ / 'to the sons', $dh\bar{i} \bar{i}$ ($dh\bar{i}$) 'only the daughter';

4) if the first component of a compound word ends in a long vowel (particularly a numeral), the latter is reduced in rapid speech and frequently with a qualitative change, as in $doakk$ ($duakk$) 'having two teeth', $dotah\bar{i}$ ($dutah\bar{i}$) 'a double sheet', $kill\bar{i}-phit\bar{a}$ / $killiphit\bar{u}$ / 'a game', $th\bar{a}n\bar{e}d\bar{a}r$ / $th\bar{a}nid\bar{a}r$ /, 'a policeman';

5) if in a disyllabic the first syllable is stressed and the second containing a nasal consonant, is unstressed, the vowel of the latter is nasalized, e.g. $son\bar{a}$ 'gold', $k\bar{u}n\bar{i}$ 'a clay vessel';

6) if in rapid speech a short word ending in a nasal vowel precedes a word, the first syllable of which is stressed and devoid of nasal sounds, the nasal vowel loses its nasality, e.g. $m\bar{a}$ in $m\bar{a} hitthe r\bar{a}h\bar{s}\bar{a}$ 'I shall remain here'.

Changes of consonants in the spoken chain of Lahndi mainly boil down to regressive assimilation. They are as follows:

1) a voiced consonant gets devocalized preceding a voiceless one, e.g. $barb\bar{a}d k\bar{u}$ ($barb\bar{a}tk\bar{u}$) 'destruction';

2) a dental stop preceding a medio-lingual consonant gets completely assimilated, e.g. $vat c\bar{a} ghin$ / $vacc\bar{a}$ / 'then take';

3) an aspirated consonant preceding a stop, s or \check{s} loses its aspiration, e.g. $t\bar{a}kh t\bar{a}\bar{i}$ / $t\bar{a}kt\bar{a}\bar{i}$ /, 'for a beast of prey', $rakh \check{s}\bar{u}$ / $rak\check{s}\bar{u}$ / 'put the thing down';

4) a voiceless consonant preceding a voiced one turns into a voiced itself, e.g. $as zar\bar{u}r$ ($azzar\bar{u}r$) 'we shall certainly';

5) a consonant loses its aspiration if preceding another aspirated sound, e.g. $vekh kh\bar{a}$ ($vekkh\bar{a}$) 'take a look'.

VOCABULARY

According to origin the Lahndi vocabulary falls into the following groups:

1) *Deshis* (the words which have not been traced back to a

Sanskrit or Prakrit root and whose origin has not been established /Guru, 47/;

2) Indo-Aryan Sanskrit *Tatsamas* or *Semi-tatsamas* (*Tatsamas* are the words which have found their way into the language directly from Sanskrit, *Semi-tatsamas* are Sanskrit words somewhat altered by the speakers of the Prakrit concerned);

3) Indo-Aryan *Tadbhavas* are Middle Indo-Aryan Prakrit vocables, including Sanskrit words which have undergone changes in Prakrit. Sh. I. Haq. /Haq. 44/ simply calls this source "Buddhist Prakrit";

4) borrowings from Arabic, Persian, English, Kashmiri and other languages.

Note. In the early 1930's H. Bahri /Bahri¹, 31/, on the basis of four texts, made statistically an interesting etymological analysis of the Awankari vocabulary, one of the Lahndi dialects. The results of his calculation show that the absolute majority of the Awankari vocables are tadbhava words, relegating to the second place relatively late borrowings:

Indo-Aryan tdbh. vocables	- 60 per cent
foreign loans	- 20 per cent
Deshi words	- 15 per cent
words of obscure origin	- 4 per cent
tsm or stsm words	- 1 per cent

In general the vocabulary of Lahndi does not differ from that of Awankari. After the foundation of Pakistan the Lahndi speaking areas saw an intensive employment of Urdu (particularly Urdu literature) which, as Lahndi periodicals show, promotes an active penetration of Persian and Arabic words into the latter.

The above-mentioned lexical groups can be illustrated by examples from Multani /Haq. 45-46/:

Sanskrit: *manda* 'slow' > *mandā*,

Sanskrit: *ninānda* 'the husband's sister' > *ninān*,

Prakrit: *masanā* 'place of cremation' > *smasanā* (śamśan),

Prakrit: *nehā* 'love' > *snehā* 'love-message'.

Arabic: *baṣal* 'onion' > *vaṣal*

Arabic: *miqrāz* 'scissors' > *miqrāz*,

Arabic: *fajar* 'morning' > *fajar*;

Persian: *hāvan dastah* 'Pestle and Mortar' > *hamām dastah*,

Persian: *zāl* 'woman' > *zāl* 'wife',

Persian: *ḍol* 'earthen vessel' > *ḍol*,

Assyrian: *sangu* 'respected' > *saggi* 'friend'.

Kashmiri and other Dardic languages influence the northern

Lahndi dialects not only in phonetics and grammar, but in the vocabulary as well:

Kashmiri: *gatsun* 'to go' > *gachpā* (Pothohari, Chibhali and others);

Kashmiri: *bozun* 'to hear' > *bujjhā* (ibid),

Kashmiri: *daw* 'run' > *daw* (Chibhali).

English borrowings:

English: *report* > *rapat*,

English: *appeal* > *apīl*,

English: *rail* > *rel*,

English: *chief-court* > *cip-kort*.

WORD-FORMATION

COMPOUNDING

Compounding is a rather common way of forming words in Lahndi. According to the manner of connection and functional relation of their components compound words fall into two main groups: coordinatively-cohered and subordinatively-cohered.

Coordinatively-cohered compound words are made up of tantamount parallel components connected with one another most frequently in their invariable form. Such a pattern is most common. The cohesion of its components is less tight than of those of subordinatively-cohered words. This is corroborated not only by the preservation of the previous form of the words-components but also by frequently joining one to another by means of a hyphen e.g.

mār-kut 'beating' (lit. 'blow-blow'),

mār-kuttāi 'beating' (lit. 'blow-beating-up'),

dārū-dirmal 'treatment' (lit. 'treatment-medicine'),

māl-sabāb 'things', 'goods' (lit. 'things-things').

Subordinately-cohered compound words express a liaison based on syntactic-functional subordination of one component to another, which is revealed when analysing the integrated lexical unit.

Most commonly the subordinate element functions as an attribute to the other, if the latter is a noun.

The ways of forming the given words are more varied and their cohesion is firmer since not infrequently their components get deformed when joined to each other and as a rule, such a word is

written in one. Here are examples of the syncope pattern characterised by a sound or sounds of a component having dropped:

jidēh 'which day', 'when' (*jis* 'which' + *dēh* 'day');

hudēh 'that day', 'then' (*hus* 'that' + *dēh* 'day').

guṛākū 'tobacco mixed with sugar' (*guṛ* 'sugar' + *ākū* < *tamākū* 'tobacco').

Sometimes the deformation is expressed not only by a syncope, but also by a change of one more sound or by adding a sound, e.g.

liḍḍakā 'a depraved boy' (*liḍḍ* 'dung' + *akkā* < *kākā* 'boy' - a reduction of a vowel and a lengthening of a consonant);

zumerāt 'Friday' (*zume* < *zumnā* 'Friday' + *rāt* 'night' - *mm* > *m*, *ā* > *e*).

Compounding may be also accompanied by adding affixal morphemes, for instance:

sirmunnī, 'a girl with a shaven head' (*sir* 'head' + *mun* 'shave' + the morpheme - *nī*);

dollatī 'a kick with two legs' (*do* 'two' + *latt* 'a leg' the inflexion - *ī*).

Components may also be joined by a connective vowel, for instance:

aṭhovārī 'a week' (*aṭh* < *aṭṭh* 'eight' + the connecting morpheme -*o-* + *vārī* 'a day of the week').

DERIVATION

1. Suffixation:

lohā 'iron' - *lohār* 'smith' (*loh* + -*ār*),

soṇā 'gold' - *soṇiārā* 'goldsmith' (*soṇ* + *iārā*),

zamīn (the Jatki of Shahpur) 'land' - *zamīndār* 'zamindar' (*zamīn-* + *dār*),

zim (Awankari, a shortened form of *zamīn*) 'land' - *zimdār* (*zimidār*) 'zamindar' (*zim* + *dār*),

mūṇjh 'sorrow' - *mūṇjhā* 'sorrowful' (*mūṇjh* + -*ā*),

bbāl 'a boy' - *bbālṛī* 'a girl' (*bbāl* + -*ṛī*),

ḍḍom (the Multani of Dera Gazi Khan) 'a musician' - *ḍḍomṛī* 'a woman-musician' (*ḍḍom-* + -*ṛī*),

ḍūm (the Jatki of Shahpur) 'a musician' - *ḍūmṛī* 'a woman-musician' (*ḍūm* + *ṛī*),

jatt 'a farmer' - *jattī* 'a woman-farmer' (*jatt* + -*ī*),

maggan 'to ask' - *magganḥār* 'a beggar' (*maggan* + -*hār*),

Mahmūd 'Mahmud' - *mahmūdantī* 'the son of Mahmud' (*mahmūd* + -*antī*).

By means of suffixation one can form nouns with augmentative or diminutive meanings, e.g.

jins 'property' - *jinsār* 'big property' (*jins* + *-ār*),

cappā 'an ear' - *cappī* 'a small ear' (*ā* > *ī*),

bannh 'a pond' - *bannohī* 'a small pond' (*-o*, *-ī*).

Suffixation may be secondary as well, e.g.

lohā-lohār-lohārī 'the wife of a blacksmith' (*loh* +, *-ār* + *-ī*),

zamīn-zamīndār-zamīndārī 'the wife of a zamindar' (*zamīn* + *-dār* + *-ī*).

2. Prefixation:

jhakk 'be afraid' - *nijhak* 'fearless' (*ni* + *-jhak*),

pīteō 'having drunk' - *vaṅpīteō* 'not having drunk' (*vaṅ-* + *-pī-* *teō*),

khādeō 'having eaten' - *vaṅkhādeō* 'not having eaten' (*vaṅ-* + *-khādeō*),

puttur 'son' - *kuputtur* 'a bad son' (*ku-* + *puttur*), *suputtur*, 'a good son' (*su-* + *puttur*).

3. Alternation and internal inflexion:

sāt 'a master' - *sāṅ* 'the wife of a master',

dhaṅāt 'a shepherd' - *dhaṅāṅ* 'a shepherd's wife',

oṛukk 'end' - *oṛikk* 'at last',

kukkar 'a fowl' - *kukkur* 'a cock'.

Alternation may be accompanied by suffixation, e.g.

māchī 'a baker' - *macheāṅī* 'a baker's wife',

kāzī 'a judge' - *kazeāṅī* 'a judge's wife',

karan 'to do' - *kandar* (or *kandal*) 'a doer'.

4. Conversion. The following pairs serve as examples of conversion in Lahndi:

mār 'beat' - *mār* 'beating',

kuṭ 'beat' - *kuṭ* 'beating',

rākhī 'having set', 'set' - *rākhī* 'guard',

diṭṭhā 'having seen' - *diṭṭhā* 'view',

ākḥā 'having said' - *ākḥā* 'speech', 'what has been said',

giddhā 'taken', 'having taken' - *giddhā* 'took',

vilhatā 'having divided', 'divided', - *vilhatā* 'divided'.

5. Of importance for derivation is the particle *ālā* (*vālā*). On the basis of Punjabi, Dogri and Lahndi materials we have managed to detect the functions of the above formant, due to which we deem it expedient to class the same as a particle. The latter positionally follows the submorphised autoseme of an infinitive or a noun and possesses a general meaning which can be approximately expressed

as "the doer of an action" or "the possessor of an object" respectively. These functions are as follows:

1) form-building functions, of which there are two: a) the capacity to form an analytic participle (the author's term), made up of the submorphised autoseme of an infinitive and the given particle which should be named the modifier of participle-ness (a variety of a form-building morph) (both terms are the author's). In this case one infinite form (an infinitive) changes into another infinite form (a participle) within the common or big paradigm of a verb. Hence this function is form-building, as in *assāḍā sāi maraṇ ālā he* 'Our master is dying'; b) the capacity to form an analytic gerund (the author's term), made up of the submorphised autoseme of an infinitive and the modifier of gerundness (the author's term) represented by the particle *ālā (vālā)*. This modifier is a form-building morph. The analytic gerund always expresses the doer of an action, as in *snehā pucāṇ ālā* 'one delivering a message';

2) word-building functions, of which there are two as well: a) the capacity to build an analytic adjective (the author's term) (most commonly out of a noun), made up of the submorphised autoseme of a noun and the word-building morph (the author's term), represented by the particle *ālā(vālā)*, as in *javvā ālī sakārī* 'a granary of barleys'; b) the capacity to build an analytic noun (the author's term), made up of the submorphised autoseme of a noun and the word-building morph represented by *ālā(vālā)*, as in *lakṛīā ālā* 'a wood-cutter', *haṭṭ āle kī* 'to the owner of the shop';

3) equating functions (the author's term), which are neither form-building, nor word-building, but they approximate the latter along the lines of equivalence, since they equate an attributive word-combination with an adjective or a noun. There are two of such functions: a) the adjectivally equating function (the author's term) transforming an attributive word-combination into an equivalent of an adjective. Such a pattern is made up of a prop word, represented by the submorphised autoseme of a noun, an attribute preceding the submorphised autoseme and relating solely to the latter, and the adjectivally equating morph *ālā(vālā)* (the author's term), as in *cāndī nī sāmā ālī ḍāṅg* 'a club with a silver ferule'; b) the substantivally equating function (the author's term), transforming an attributive word-combination into an equivalent of

a noun. The given pattern consists of the same components as in point a) and besides, not rarely, of a postposition, but the particle *ālā(vālā)* functions as a substantivally equating morph (the author's term), as in *caṅgī dācī āle kol* 'with the owner of a good she-camel'.

MORPHOLOGY

Lahndi is predominantly a synthetic language with elements of agglutination. However, it is not devoid of analytic nature and possesses a rather developed system of postpositions and other elements concerned.

Just as in other languages it is expedient to distinguish parts of speech as lexical-grammatical classes of words proceeding from a combination of features which should comprise lexical-semantic, morphological and functional-semantic peculiarities. Apart from the fact that each part of speech is characterised by a general meaning, it may also possess a specific, both qualitatively and quantitatively, combination of features of its own, widely differing from that of another part of speech. That is why it is difficult at times to compare one part of speech with another, since some of their features may find themselves in different planes.

There are the following parts of speech in Lahndi:

- a) independent represented by the noun, the adjective, the adverb, the numeral and the verb;
- b) a semi-independent part of speech with its substituting function represented by the pronoun;
- c) a specific part of speech expressing emotions and will represented by the interjection.
- d) form-words represented by: postpositions, conjunctions and particles.

THE NOUN

GENDER

Gender in Lahndi is of lexical-grammatical nature, since this category is expressed not only by grammatical forms and syntactic combinability, but also by lexical-semantic features. There are two genders in the language: Masculine and Feminine.

Since in Lahndi, just as in a number of other languages of India and Pakistan, it is difficult to make strict rules for determining the category of gender, we have decided to resort to a method of statistic analysis. We have studied the Wilson's dictionary (Wilson) which contains a little more than four thousand words. Among them there are 2642 nouns (2127 are inanimate and 515 animate), out of which 1561 are masculine, and 1081 feminine.

It is expedient to begin examining the categories of gender with nouns denoting inanimate objects. In the Wilson's dictionary such nouns amount to 2127, out of which 1210 are masculine, and 917 feminine (1210 masc. - 917 fem.).

The inventory of inflexions of the given subclass of words (the word is taken in the initial form of the Nominative case, Sing.) is richer in the masculine than in the feminine (20 masc. to 16 fem.; see Table 5).

Table 5

*Inventory of inflexions of inanimate nouns,
on the basis of diminishing frequency*

N	Frequency	Masculine gender	N	Frequency	Feminine gender
1	550	-C(C) (C)*	1	440	-C(C) (C)*
2	424	-ā	2	415	-ī
3	116	-a	3	16	-ai
4	31	-ōl	4	12	-ī
5	24	-ēl	5	8	-ōl
6	16	-ē	6	6	-ō
7	12	-ēl	7	4	-ōl
8	7	-ēl	8	3	-ōl
9	6	-ōl	9	3	-ōl
10	5	-ōl	10	3	-ōl
11	3	-ōl	11	2	-ōl
12	3	-ōl	12	1	-ōl
13	3	-ōl	13	1	-ōl
14	2	-ōl	14	1	-ōl
15	2	-ōl	15	1	-ōl
16	2	-ōl	16	1	-ōl
17	1	-ōl			
18	1	-ōl			
19	1	-ōl			
20	1	-ōl			

* Consonant or a cluster of consonants at the end of the word.

The following inflexions have proved to be dominant for the masculine: $-\bar{a}$ (424 masc. to 16 fem.), $-a$ (116 masc. to 3 fem.), $-\bar{u}$ (24 masc., to 0 fem.) and $-u$ (16 masc. to 0 fem.). As seen, the last two ($-\bar{u}$ and $-u$) are typical only of the masculine. Examples of the masculine: *bādhā* 'a dam', *cāhā* 'a measure of capacity', *daskārā* 'quick breathing', *charcha* 'a tree' (*butea frondosa*), *bidānā* 'sweet meat', *āṛūdārū* 'a peach', *gokū* 'the span from thumb to forefinger', *ḍutthru* 'a fit of choking', *unnu* 'a ring put on the head under a burden'; examples of the feminine: *māhlā* 'string of beads', *chā* 'a sediment of melted butter', *lakva* 'facial paralysis'.

Only the $-\bar{i}$ inflexion is the dominant of the feminine (415 fem. to 12 masc.). Examples of the feminine: *chimkī* 'a twig', *dehī* 'a domed tomb', *gaḍḍī* 'a sheaf'; examples of the masculine *cattī* 'a grain-parcher's pan', *lembī* 'plastering with mud'.

Most common nouns both in the masculine (550 units) and in the feminine (440 units) are those whose ultima sees a consonant or a cluster of consonants. Hence, a form with a consonantal stem and zero inflexion, despite its frequent occurrence cannot be specific for either gender. The cases are practically balanced. True, words of Arabic origin having $-at$ stem are feminine, but they are not so common (two words out of 990 whose stem final sees a consonant or a cluster of consonants). Examples of the masculine: *bhāṇ* 'a temporary dwelling in the fields', *cattū* 'grain parcher's oven', *garmand* 'a neck-rope to keep saddle forward', *jāhl* 'a tree' (*salvadora oleoides*); examples for the feminine: *ciñj* 'a beak', *dākh* 'grape', *furšat* 'means', *sāmat* 'a curse'.

As compared to the feminine the termination \tilde{a} is relatively common in the masculine (31 masc. to 8 fem.), whereas the inflexion $-i$ is more common in the feminine (12 fem. to 3 masc.). Examples of the masculine: *aḥrūā* 'sitting with buttocks on heels', *kuftā* 'bed-time about 9 p.m.', *bāulī* 'the milk of a cow newly calved'; examples of the feminine: *kacāuri* 'kachori' ('pastry'), *bitti* 'a Russian gold coin', *parehā* 'meeting'.

Apart from this we have found out in the masculine seven nouns ending in $-\tilde{u}$, six in $-o$, five in $-\tilde{e}$, three each in $-\tilde{o}$, and $-e$, two each in $-\tilde{u}$, $-\tilde{i}$ and $-\bar{a}u$, and one each in $-\tilde{a}$, $-\tilde{ā}$, $-\tilde{ā}u$ and $-\tilde{i}$, while in the feminine six nouns ending in $-o$, four in $-e$, three each in $-\tilde{o}$ and $-\tilde{ā}$, two in $-\tilde{u}$ and one each in $-\tilde{e}$, $-\tilde{ā}$, $-\bar{a}u$, $\tilde{ā}u$ and $-\tilde{ā}$. Examples of the masculine: *kiliū* 'a dwarf-palm', *lo* 'a hot wind', *dehē* 'sun', *killehō* 'a dwarf-palm', *parse* 'sweat', *dārū* 'gunpowder', *pirhāi* 'drummer caste',

sāu 'hundred', *jawāh* / *jawā* 'a plant' (alhagi maurorum), *bā* 'purchase', *nāuh* / *nāu* 'nail', *mīh* / *mī* 'rain'; examples of the feminine: *hiblo* 'splashing water over one another in sport', *reh* / *re* 'a spot', *arheō* 'mustard', *hubbiā* 'strangles', *lū* 'animal's hair', *bhoē* 'land', *ja* 'a perennial stream', *chāu* 'a pillow-case', *sāu* 'oath', *kā kā* 'quack of duck'.

If we take nouns denoting animate objects, the picture changes somewhat. First of all, the given subclass of nouns occurs more rarely (515 to 2127). Secondly, in both genders the inventory of subclasses of noun according to the type of inflexion decreases (in the masculine it is 14 to 20, in the feminine 10 to 16). Thirdly, the ratio of dominantness of the inflexion \bar{r} in the feminine diminishes (96 fem. to 39 masc. opposed against 415 fem. to 12 masc.). Fourthly, there is a disturbance of the proportionality of almost equal quantities of nouns whose stem final sees a consonant or a cluster of consonants, with a shift in favour of the masculine (139 masc. to 58 fem. opposed against 550 masc. to 440 fem.) and with the words of the given subclass having ceased in the feminine to be the most frequent ones (Table 6).

The following terminations remain in the masculine dominant: \bar{a} (112 masc. to 1 fem.), a (27 masc. to 0 fem.), \bar{u} (15 masc. to 0

Table 6

Inventory of inflexions of animate nouns on the basis of diminishing frequency

N	Frequency	Masculine gender	N	Frequency	Feminine gender
1	139	-C(C)(C)	1	96	\bar{r}
2	112	\bar{a}	2	58	-C(C)(C)
3	39	\bar{r}	3	2	-e
4	27	a	4	2	-o
5	15	\bar{u}	5	1	-a
6	6	-u	6	1	-o
7	3	-a	7	1	-e
8	3	-u	8	1	-a
9	2	-o	9	1	-e
10	1	-i	10	1	-o
11	1	-i			
12	1	-o			
13	1	-u			
14	1	-e			

fem.) and *-u* (6 masc. to 0 fem.), with not only *-ū* and *-u*, but also with *-a* becoming obviously specific for the gender. Examples (including nouns with the inflexion *-ī* and consonantal stems):

Masculine: *botpā* 'a young donkey', *aygā* 'a vaccinator' *caḥoa* 'a washerman', *mehṛū* 'buffaloes' (a collective noun), *leṭu* 'the owner of stolen cattle', *ḍhāḍhī* 'a poet', *dāwar* 'a spider', *ḍānd* 'bullock fit for the plough'.

Feminine: *ḍācī* 'a she-camel', *bālī* 'a girl', *bhuṇḍ* 'a sow', *hil* 'a kite', *kaḥā* 'a cry'.

In addition, the masculine animate nouns see the below given inflexions each of which is represented by the following quantity of nouns: *-ā* and *-ū* by three, *-ō*, by two, *-o*, *-ū*, *-i*, *-ī*, *-e* by one, while in the feminine (for animate nouns) we have the following results: *-o* and *-e* by two, *-ā*, *-ō*, *-ū*, *-ē* and *āū* by one.

Examples of the masculine: *dakkhṇā* 'a camel-driver', *dehmū* 'a wasp', *mirhō* 'a ravine-deer', *peo* 'father', *ḍihmū* (a variety) 'a wasp', *khattri* 'a member of the Khattri caste', *arāī* 'a market-gardener', *peke* 'father's family' (a collective noun); examples of the feminine: *goh /gō/* 'a large lizard', *seh /se/* 'a porcupine', *gā* 'a cow', *dhaneō* 'a milk cow', *nūh /nū/* 'daughter-in-law', *gaddē* 'female donkey', *nāūh /nāu/* 'daughter-in-law' (a phonetical variant).

Animate feminine nouns are formed in Lahndi from Masculine nouns after several patterns (real primariness is not taken into consideration, since we deal here only with ways of transforming words of one gender into those of another):

1) by changing the final vowel:

-ā (-a) → ī: *bagroṭā* 'a male kid' > *bagroṭī* 'a female kid', *triḍḍā* 'a male grasshopper' > *triḍḍī* 'a female grasshopper', *ḍhagga* 'a weak male bullock' > *ḍhaggī* 'a weak female bullock';

-ō → ē: *gaddō* 'a male-donkey' > *gaddē* 'a female-donkey', *mirhō* 'a male ravine-deer' > *mirhē* 'a female ravine-deer';

-ā → aṇ (a Pothohari pattern): *chīmā* 'a washerman' > *chīmaṇ* 'the wife of a washerman';

-ī → iṇ, *eāṇī* (coupled with a reduction of the vowel in the preceding syllable, if it is long): *kureṣī* 'a man of the Kuresh tribe' > *kureṣiṇ* 'a woman of the Kuresh tribe', *māchī* 'a baker' > *macheāṇī* 'a baker's wife';

-i → iṇ, *āṇī*: *sansi* 'a gypsy-tribe' > *sansiṇ* 'a woman of a gypsy-tribe', *khattri* 'a male member of the Khattri caste' > *khattrāṇī* 'a female member of the Khattri caste'.

-āī → āṅ, eāṅī: pīrhāī 'a drummer' > pīrhāṅ 'the wife of a drummer', nāī 'a barber' > neāṅī 'the wife of a barber';
-āi, āi, āī → āṅ:

dhaṅāī 'a milk-man' > dhaṅāṅ 'a milk-maid', arāī 'a market-gardener' > arāṅ 'the wife of a market-gardener'; sāī 'a master' > sāṅ 'a mistress';

2) by vocalic mutation coupled with omission of sounds (the Multani of Dera Gazi Khan):

ṭaṭṭū 'a male pony' > ṭaṭṭvānī 'a female pony';

3) by vocalic-consonant mutation (Jatki):
ṭaṭṭū 'a male pony' > ṭār 'a female pony';

4) by omission of sounds:

gohirā (guhīrā) 'a large male lizard' > goh/goḷ 'a large female lizard', jhoṭā 'a male adolescent-buffalo up to 2 1/2 years' > jhoṭ 'a female adolescent-buffalo up to 2 1/2 years';

5) by an internal inflexion: in words of two and more syllables *u* of the last syllable changes to *i*. The internal inflexion doubles if the penultimate syllable contains the vowel *āu*, since the latter changes to *ä*:

-u → i (+ āu → ä): kukkuṛ 'a cock' > kukkiṛ 'a hen', vāuhur 'a young bull' > vāhiṛ 'a heifer', niṅgur 'a boy' > niṅgir 'a girl';

6) by an internal inflexion coupled with a consonant mutation:
kāuṅk 'a male hill partridge' > kakk 'a female hill partridge' (āu → a + ṅ → k);

7) by adding an affix to a noun whose stem final sees a consonant or a cluster of consonants:

-ī: jaṭṭ 'a farmer' > jaṭṭī 'the wife of a farmer', dhirkhāṅ 'a man of the carpenters caste' > dhirkhāṅī 'a woman of the carpenters caste'

-rī: bāl 'a boy' > bālṛī 'a girl';

-nī: naṭṭ 'an acrobat' > naṭṭnī 'the wife of an acrobat', pīr 'a saint' > pīrnī 'the wife of a saint';

-āṅī: malik 'a chief' > malikāṅī 'the wife of a chief';

-ṅī: jatt 'a camel driver' > jattṅī 'the wife of a camel driver';

8) by adding an affix and dropping a vowel:

kāṅjul 'a male partridge' > kāṅjli 'a female partridge', lūmbur 'a male fox' > lūmbṛi 'a female fox'.

9) by finding out gender pairs :

peo 'father' - mā 'mother', puttur 'son' - dhī 'daughter', sāṅ 'a bull' - gā 'a cow'.

Inanimate feminine nouns formed from their masculine correla-

tives most commonly convey the ideas of diminutiveness or of a lesser degree of quality. The number of patterns for forming this sub-class of nouns is rather small:

1) by adding an affix to a word whose stem final sees a consonant:
 -ī: *khittī* 'a lump' > *khittī* 'a small lump', *gaddhar* 'a knot' > *gad-dharī* 'a small knot';
 -otī: *van* 'a van tree' (*salvadora oleoides*) > *vanotī* 'a small van tree';

2) by adding an affix and shortening a vowel:
lāt 'the tail of a fat-tailed sheep' > *latūnī* 'the tail of a cross between the fat-tailed and the ordinary sheep' (-ā → a + ūnī);

3) by changing the final vowel:
 -ā → ī: *hullā* 'a fireplace' > *hullī* 'a small fireplace', *gadvā* 'a brass vessel' > *gadvī* 'a small brass vessel', *kavhārū* 'an axe' > *kavhārī* 'a small axe'.

It should be borne in mind that sometimes nouns formed by affixation from masculine ones acquire an idea of diminutiveness without turning into feminine nouns, e.g.,

van 'a van-tree' (masc.) > *vanotā* 'a small van tree' (masc.)
 in addition to *vanotī* (fem.) 'a small van tree'.

Some Lahndi nouns are affected by gender fluctuation, appearing in both the masculine and feminine, e.g.,

hariār 'a wandering animal', *mazāt* 'a camel up to two years',
khulāk 'a calf still sucking its mother', *ghāṭ* 'a shortage'.

NUMBER

There are two numbers in Lahndi: singular and plural. The main ways of forming the plural are as follows.

1. Masculine nouns ending in -ā change it to -e in the nominative:
ḍālā 'a wheat dish' - *ḍāle*,

kuṅgrā 'a pup' - *kuṅgre*,

gīgā 'a little child' - *gīge*.

An exception is provided by the noun *bhirā* (*bhrā*), 'brother' which retains the same form in the plural.

The Jatki noun *mannhā* 'a branch of Biloches' > *manekh* changes for number peculiarly.

Some words may end in the nasal long -ā̃ in the singular and -ē̃ in the plural, as in the Multani of Dera Gazi Khan *jjaṇū* 'a person' -

jjaḡē 'persons'; apart from the latter there exists an irregular plural form *jjanīā*. Pothohari sees *p'alvā* 'a mistake' > *p'alvē* 'mistakes', *pichāvā* 'a shadow' > *pichāvē* 'shadows'.

2. Masculine nouns ending in other vowels most commonly remain unchanged in the nominative plural:

peo 'a father' - *peo* (Jatki),

piū 'a father' - *piū* (Multani and Awankari),

ghoblū 'a great number' - *ghoblū* (Pothohari),

nirālī 'an indigo dyer' - *nirālī*.

However, in the northern dialect Chibhali and the forms of speech in the Murree hills the noun *peo* takes in the plural the forms *pere* and *peve* respectively, whereas the word *ādmī* 'a man' assumes in the Multani of Dera Gazi Khan the form *ādmī* 'people'.

In Thali the masculine noun *dhohē* 'a large thatched shed' changes in the plural -*ē* to -*ī*, with a vocal mutation taking place: *āhūhī*.

3. Masculine nouns (of the Khairpur area) ending in a short -*u* take the short -*a* in the plural:

puṭu 'a son' - *puṭa*,

mālu 'wealth' - *māla*.

In some forms of speech in the southwestern portion of the Pakistani Punjab and other areas one can come across such nouns taking a short -*a* in the nominative singular and having two variants of the same case in the plural formed by adding the terminations -*a* and -*ā*: *puṭa* 'a son' - *puṭa* (*puṭā*).

4. In the main dialects masculine nouns of two and more syllables, whose stem final sees a consonant preceded by a vowel, form their plural by internal inflexion. The given *u* changes to *a* and if the penultimate syllable contains *āu*, that changes to *ā*, e.g. *muṇḍur* 'a stump' - *muṇḍar*, *śāuḥar* 'a village' - *śāhar*. In the Multani of Muzaffargarh such nouns whose stem final sees -*a* + a consonant remain unchanged in the plural, e.g. *kukkar* 'a cock' - *kukkar*.

To form the plural Thali may see an internal inflexion in the first syllable, as in: *potar* 'a son' - *puttar* (coupled with doubling the consonant *t*).

5. Other masculine nouns do not change in the nominative, plural.

bubbhar 'a bubble' - *bubbhar*,

tog 'a large bustard' - *tog*,

mun 'the end of the beam of the Persian wheel' - *mun*.

Table 7

Types of the plural formation and their variants
(where S is a segmental portion of a noun without its remainder denoted by the symbols V, C, e and others, with V standing for a vowel and C for a consonant)

N	Gender	Type		A variant of the type	
		singular	plural	singular	plural
1	masc.	S-ā: dālā	S-e; qāle	a) S-ā̃: jjaṇā̃ b) bhirā (bhrā)	S-ē: jjaṇē bhirā (bhrā)
2		S-V: peo, piū, ghoblū, nirālī	S-V: peo piī, ghoblū, nirālī	a) S-u: puṭu b) S-a: putra c) peo d) ādmī	S-a: puṭa S-a(ā̃): putra (putrā̃) pere (pevre) ādmī (ādmū)
3	fem.	S-uC: mundur	S-aC: mundar	a) S-ā̃CuC: sāhur b) S-aC: kukkar	S-aCaC: sāhar S-aC: kukkar
4		S-C: mun	S-C: mun		
5		S-C: pirt	S-Cā̃: pirtā̃	a) S-C: zāl b) S-C: pīlh c) S-C: patī d) S-C: sāṅg e) S-C: tand	S-Cī: zālī S-Cū: pīlhū S-Cī: patī S-Cā̃: sāṅgā̃ S-Cū: tandū
6	masc.	S-V: khaṭrī	S-Vā̃: khaṭrīā̃	a) dhī b) S-V: goh/go c) S-V: reh/rē	dhī (dhīā̃) S-Vī: gohī/gōhī S-Vā̃: rehā̃/rēā̃

6. Feminine nouns frequently form the nominative case, plural, by suffixing -ā̃(vā̃) as in:

pirt 'a custom' - pirtā̃

khujjat 'an argument' - khujjatā̃

khaṭrī 'a bed' - khaṭrīā̃

dhī 'a daughter' - dhīā̃ (southern dialects), dhīrī (Poonchi),

mā 'a mother' - māwā̃

7. A number of feminine nouns take the suffix -ī̃ in the plural (sometimes dropping the vowel of the last syllable):

chohir 'a girl' - chohirī̃

zāl 'a woman' - zālī̃

8. Some feminine nouns take the suffix -ū̃ to form the nominative plural, as in:

pīlh 'a ripe fruit of van' - *pīlhū*,
khumbh 'mushroom' - *khumbhū*.

9. Jatki feminine nouns may take in the plural terminations represented by the short nasal vowels *ĩ*, *ã* and *ũ*, as in *paṭṭĩ* 'a beam', *paṭṭĩ*, *goh* 'a large lizard' > *gohĩ*, *sāṅg* 'a spear' > *sāṅgã*, *reh* 'a spot' > *rehã*, *tand* 'yarn' > *tandũ*.

In the case of some nouns adding the inflexion *ĩ* is accompanied by omission of a vowel: *sāukīṅ* 'the second wife' > *sāukṅĩ*.

The noun *seh* 'a porcupine' has two forms of the plural: *sehã* and *sehĩ*.

If we compare different dialects, there may also be other fluctuations in the formation of the plural of some words. Thus, while the Multani word *bhen* 'a sister' takes in the plural the suffix *-ĩ* - *bhenĩ*, the Jatki word *bhān* 'a sister' assumes the suffix *-ã*: *bhānã*.

CASE AND DECLENSION

The evolution of Lahndi's case system is closely connected with postpositional combinations, postpositional complexes, which, like the prepositional combinations in some languages described by V.M. Zhirmunsky /AK, 5-57/ and by a number of other research scholars, compete with synthetic cases and partially or completely replace them on an equivalent basis. This being the case, the postpositional complexes express case relations with greater flexibility and many-sidedly, which is favoured by a considerable inventory of postpositions.

Turning into a postposition, the word weakens and sometimes even loses its primary lexical meaning, including the material one (if any), generalizes the same and recodes it to a considerable (or even to a full) degree to expressing abstract grammatical (case) bonds. When this occurs, the combinations including such postpositions get morphologized, and begin representing an analytic form of a word. Writing about the general outlines of such morphologization O.P. Sunik aptly remarks the following: "Inflexional morphology (or, to be more precise, the morphology of affixes) is a means of making synthetic forms of a word. Non-inflexional morphology (or, to be more precise, the morphology of form-words) is a means of making analytic forms of a word" /AK, 77/.

One may positively declare that in Lahndi there exists an analytic postpositionalised form of the word and postpositional declension.

sion. To use the happy term introduced by V.S. Khrakovsky, this form in a more general sense may be called "an analytic word-form" /AK, 214/.

The postposition in principle performs the same grammatical function as the inflexion of a synthetic case. In this connection it is appropriate to cite the following statement by E. Kurilovich: "The decisive role is played by function, not by origin. No one would deny the case nature of the Old Indian Dative only because the form contains the postpositive element *-a*, which makes it different from the Dative of pronouns and other Indo-European languages" /Kurilovich, 192/.

A rather generalised meaning of postpositions enables some of them to be polysemanti and, therefore, to express case relations on a larger scale.

These considerations and the material researched allow us to draw the conclusion that apart from synthetic cases in Lahndi there are also analytic ones. If we take into account that case is a grammatical category, it represents not barely a form, but a form provided with a grammatical meaning (or meanings).

In addition to synthetic variants of cases Lahndi in most instances also possesses analytic ones. Both groups differ from one another either stylistically or along the lines of grammatical categories.

Thus, Lahndi sees the phenomenon of case synonymy or case variation.

The examined material has allowed us to detect four groups of cases: 1) the subjective, 2) the objective-adverbial, 3) the adnominal, 4) the concrete-prosecutive.

Standing aloof is the vocative case which, as distinct from the symbolic-representative function of the above-mentioned cases, possesses an expressive-vocative function.

The subjective cases are represented by the nominative and ergative, the objective-adverbial - by the accusative, dative, indirect objective, instrumental and the secondary ablative, the adnominal by the coordinating-relational, and the concrete-prosecutive cases - by the main consecutive, the secondary instrumental and the ablative.

It should be borne in mind that in addition to the coordinating-relational case there exist other varieties of adnominal cases, such

as, for instance, the adnominal ablative, the adnominal indirect ob-
jective case, but since they are rarely used, we do not cite them.

The nominative case is expressed by the prime, initial form of the noun, a form that can change in the plural, depending on the type of the noun. This is a synthetic case which is the most common variety of the subject. For examples see the "Number" section.

The ergative case is a case of a noun denoting the subject, the agent (doer) of an action, in the ergative construction. It frequently has a case termination, homonymously similar to that of analytic cases. However, unlike the latter the form of the ergative case or the ergative case itself is fully determined by the termination, while the case inflexion of an analytic case is only part of its form, with a postposition or a combination of postpositions serving as another part (for details see below).

In some northern dialects, however, the inflexions in the cases under comparison may be different: one in the analytic, and another in the ergative. Thus, in Poonchi the suffix *-ā* indicates the ending of the former, while the suffix *-e* - the ending of the latter, as in *muṇḍī* 'a head', *muṇḍīā* + a postposition (an analytic case), *muṇḍīe* (the ergative case).

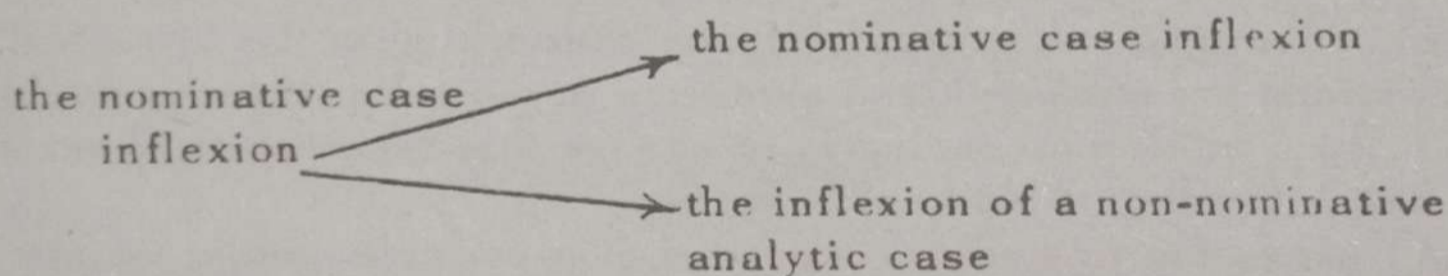
It should be borne in mind that, in Lahndi as compared to other Indian languages, the ergative is employed relatively seldom, since in its place there is frequent usage of a mononuclear (one-member) construction with a predicate formally arranged with pronominal suffixes, to be considered further. For more detailed examples of the given case see the section "The ergative aspect and the ergative construction".

The accusative case is represented by two variants:
1) a synthetic word-form, homonymically coinciding with that of the nominative case (as, for instance: *lāle orā* am *ānden* 'my father brought a mango fruit', *mā vī puch ghisā* 'I shall also take measures'; *cā khā māū pīū nī sāūh* 'Swear by your parents'); 2) an analytic word-form. It is worthwhile to examine the latter in greater detail and determine the initial material of all analytic cases.

If we critically employ the dichotomy of E.K. Kurilovich, applied by him to prepositional combinations, and in its elaboration take into account the results of our observations on varieties of synsemantic morph, introduce new cases, notions and terms required for describing linguistic material, the dichotomy of any analytic case (including that of the accusative) will be represented by the autosemantic (independent) morph (autoseme) equal to a root or a stem, on the one

hand, and the synsemantic (dependent) morph (synseme) equal to a postposition (or a combination of postpositions) and an inflexion, on the other. The synsemantic morph is made up of the main submorph (a postposition or a combination of postpositions) and the additional submorph (an inflexion).

As the analysis of the material we have collected has shown, depending on the phonemic composition of a word, its prosodic characteristics and some other factors, there can be four varieties of synsemantic morph (synseme) as follows: - 1) either it is made up of the main submorph (a postposition or postpositions) and the additional submorph (an inflexion including an internal one, as is the case in Lahndi) implied by the former; 2) or it consists of the main submorph and the additional submorph represented by a zero inflexion; 3) or it is composed of the main submorph and an already existing inflexion employed by the main submorph as the additional submorph. In our view, the inflexion concerned has come into being as a result of the splitting of the nominative case inflexion into two grammatical homonyms as follows:



4.) or still it is made up of the main submorph and an inflexion formed by adding an affix to an already available termination of the Nominative case.

If we designate the autoseme as A, the synseme as S, the additional submorph (an inflexion) as I and the main submorph (a postposition) as P, the dichotomy of any analytic case may be symbolically expressed as follows: $A - S / = I + P(P)(P) /$.

In the function of the accusative case main submorph Lahndi sees postpositions of the $kũ$ type (i.e. \tilde{a} , $\tilde{a}h$, $h\tilde{a}$, ko , $t\tilde{a}i$, $k\tilde{i}$ etc.) which are pure formants indicating a syntactic (verb-attached) function of the noun given case. Examples: $bu\check{s}k\tilde{a}$ 'a bundle of clothes' (Nom.) - $bu\check{s}ke\ k\tilde{u}$ 'the bundle of clothes' (Accus.), $mun\check{d}ar$ 'a stump' (Nom.) - $mun\check{d}ar\ \tilde{a}h$ 'the stump' (Accus. an internal inflexion), $to\check{g}$ 'a large bustard' (Nom.) - $to\check{g}\ k\tilde{u}$ 'the large bustard' (Accus.), $pr\tilde{a}bh\tilde{u}$ 'sir' (Nom.) - $pr\tilde{a}bh\tilde{u}\ k\tilde{u}$ 'the sir' (Accus.), $\tilde{a}dm\tilde{i}$ 'a man' (Nom.) - $\tilde{a}dm\tilde{i}\tilde{a}\ k\tilde{i}$ 'the man' (Accus.). Taking into account the above four varieties of synseme we can express the dichotomy of these word-forms as

follows (where the left portion is the autoseme and the right, in brackets, the synseme. O denoting a zero inflexion): *bušk* + (-e + $\tilde{k}\tilde{u}$) (variety 1), *mund...* + (a + $\tilde{a}\tilde{h}$) (variety 1), *log* + (O + $\tilde{k}\tilde{u}$) (variety 2), *prābh* + (- \tilde{u} + $\tilde{k}\tilde{u}$) (variety 3), *ādm* + (- $\tilde{i}\tilde{a}$ + $\tilde{k}\tilde{i}$) (variety 4, $\tilde{i}\tilde{a} = \tilde{i} + \tilde{a}$).

The analytic variant of the accusative differs from the synthetic in two points: 1) in the category of definiteness, since the postposition makes a noun prominent and like the definite article in other languages provides it with the category of definiteness; 2) in the category of animateness, since the postposition is more frequently used with nouns denoting living beings.

The accusative case has a syntactic function caused by government. Therefore it belongs to the type of objective-adverbial cases.

Since when describing linguistic material it is often necessary to deal with the autoseme coupled with the additional submorph (an inflexion), we propound to term this combination of elements the submorphised autoseme or suboseme (a shortened form of the term). Before going over to considering other cases it is necessary to examine variants of building the suboseme, proceeding from the forms of the nominative case.

In the singular the types of nouns enumerated in the "Number" section form the submorphised autoseme in the following ways.

1. As a rule nouns ending in $-\tilde{a}$ change this termination to $-e$, as in *buškā* 'bundle of clothes' - *buške*,

An exception is made by a number of invariable words, mainly those of Arabic-Persian origin, as for instance: *dānā* 'a wise man', *maulā* 'sir', *khudā* 'God', *mīrzā* 'a prince', *rājā* 'a rajah', *kabitā* 'verses', *lālā* 'sir'. The word *bhirā* (*bhrā*) 'a brother' changes to *bhirāū* (*bhrāū*). In the northern dialect Dhundi-Kairali many nouns in $-\tilde{a}$ do not change this termination in analytic cases, e.g. *velā* 'time' - *velā*. In Chibhali, however, $-\tilde{a}$ in the given word is transformed into $-\tilde{a}$: *velā* - *velā*.

2. Masculine nouns ending in other vowels possess a submorphised autoseme which is homonymous with the word-form of the nominative case, e.g. *prābhū* 'sir' - *prābhū*. But in northern dialects, such as Pothohari, on the one hand, and Dhundi-Kairali, Chibhali and Poonchi, on the other, the suffixes $-e$ and $-\tilde{a}$ are added respectively, e.g. *desrī* 'local tobacco' - *desrīe kī* 'local tobacco' (the accusative of Pothohari), *ādmī* 'a man' - *ādmīā kī* 'a man' (the accusative of Dhundi-Kairali and Chibhali).

In dialects which have the nominative case form *peo* 'a father', the submorphised autoseme is represented by *pīū*.

3. In the Multani of the Khairpur area masculine nouns change the *-u* of the nominative case to *-a*, as in *puṭu* 'a son' - *puṭa*.

4. In the Jatki of Shahpur and a number of other dialects masculine nouns whose stem final sees *u* + a consonant change *-u* to *-a*, e.g. *munḍur* 'a stump' - *munḍar*.

In the Multani of Muzaffargarh which has a variant of similar nouns in *-a* + a consonant there are no changes: *kukkar* 'a cock' - *kukkar*.

5. In most southern dialects masculine nouns whose stem final sees a consonant, do not change, e.g. *mun* 'the end of the beam of the Persian wheel' - *mun*. However, in northern dialects the singular suboseme is formed by adding *-e*, *-ä*, *ã* or *ā*, e.g. *bubbhar* 'a bubble' - *bubbhare* (Pothohari), *girāv* 'a village' - *girāvã* (Dhanni), *šakhs* 'a man' - *šakhsã* (Chibhali), *naukar* 'a servant' - *naukrā* (Poonchi).

6. Most feminine nouns both ending in a vowel and having a consonantal stem and zero inflexion do not change in the singular: *pirt* 'a custom' - *pirt*, *khatrī* 'a bed' - *khatrī*. But in northern dialects feminine nouns with a consonantal stem (and sometimes ending in a vowel) frequently take the termination *-ī* or *-ū*, e.g. *akkh* 'an eye' - *akkhī*, *bhān* 'a sister' - *bhānū*, *dhī* 'a daughter' - *dhīū*.

In the plural the submorphised autoseme is formed in the following ways:

1) nouns of the 1st type mostly see *-ā* changing to *-eā*, e.g. *buškā* 'a bundle of clothes' - *buškeā*. But in the Multani of Muzaffargarh and Dera Gazi Khan *-ā* is transformed into *-ē*, e.g. *ghoṛā* 'a horse' - *ghoṛē*, while in the Thali of the Mianwali area - into *-ã*, e.g.: *varhā* 'a year' - *varhã*; nouns of the *dānā* 'a wise man' type, unchangeable in the singular, in the plural mostly change *-ā* to *-vã* - *dānāvã*. The noun *bhirā* (*bhrā*) 'a brother' changes in the same way: *bhirāvã* (*bhrāvã*);

2) nouns of the 2nd type most commonly form the plural submorphised autoseme by adding *-ã*. Sometimes the final vowels *-ū* and *-ī* may drop, e.g.: *prābhū* 'a sir' - *prābhūã* (*prābhū*), *kawī* 'a poet' - *kawīã* (*kawā*), *peo* or *piū* 'a father' turns into *pewã*. However, in Pothohari there is also the form *peoriã*, and in Chibhali *pereã*. In the Poonchi dialect the suffix *-ē* is used instead of *-ã*, e.g. *ādmī* 'a man' - *ādmīē*, while in the Multani of Dera Gazi Khan we come across *ādmē*;

3) nouns of the Multani of the Khairpur area change the ending *-u* of the nominative case, singular, to *-ã*: as *puṭu* 'a son' - *puṭã*.

4) nouns of the 4th type lose the *u* of the initial form and add *-ã*:

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munḍur 'a stump' - *munḍrā̃*. In a similar variant of the Multani of Muzaffargarh the vowel -a is dropped and -ē added: *kukkar* 'a cock' - *kukkrē̃*.

5) most frequently nouns with a consonantal stem add -ā̃ to build the form under consideration, e.g. *purb* 'a holiday' - *purbā̃*. However, in the Multani of Muzaffargarh and Poonchi -ē̃ is added, e.g. *ghar* 'a house' - *gharē̃*, *naukar* 'a servant' - *naukarē̃*.

6) In most dialects feminine nouns ending in the nominative case, plural, in -ā̃, -ī̃ or -ū̃, do not change them: e.g. *khatrīā̃* 'beds', *pīlhū̃* 'fruit', *zālī̃* 'women', *māwā̃* 'mothers'.

In Poonchi the form *dhīrī̃* 'daughters' does not change either. But in the Multani (Hindki) of Dera Gazi Khan feminine nouns which in the plural of the nominative case have the suffix -ā̃ change it in analytic cases, plural, to -ē̃, e.g. *ghorīā̃* 'mares' - *ghorīē̃*.

The dative case is represented only by an analytic word-form and is fully homonymous with the analytic variant of the accusative. This is also an objective - verb-attached (i.e. adverbial) case, but in the sentence it occupies a position less central than the accusative. It expresses an indirect object-addressee, as in: *putr kū̃ ākhiā* 'He said to his son', *Murād tāĩ* 'to Murad'.

The indirect-objective case expresses an indirect object with the exception of the object-addressee related to the dative case and the objects presented by the instrumental case and the secondary ablative. In the scope of syntactic ties it is more extensive than each of the cases compared. and is richer in shades, since a rather big inventory of postpositions can function as the main sub-morph in its word-forms. This case mostly expresses an object towards which an action is directed or with which it is connected. Since the given case is the most representative and extensive in its ties out of all the cases that can represent the indirect object, we regard it expedient to call the case simply the indirect-objective.

From the standpoint of structure we have found out two varieties of the case: the synthetic /built by means of the suffix -ē̃(e)/ and the analytic. Examples: *ū̃ de hathē̃ hik mundrī̃, atīē̃ pārē̃ hik juttī̃ pawāo* 'Put a ring on his hand (lit. "hands") and a pair of shoes on his feet'; *āsmān ḍḍe mūh kar murkiā* 'He turned his face to the sky'; *apne piū dhir tūrīo* 'He went to his father'; *hik raīs kannē̃ van̄ pōhtā* 'He came to a rich man'; *pārā̃ ī̃ juttī̃ luāo* 'Put shoes on his feet', *raīs de kolhū̃* 'at a rich man's'; *raīs nāl* 'with a rich man'; *hikk kuttī̃ janānī̃ tāĩ e* 'A dog for the wife'; *mā̃ ḍakdar kol vānā̃* 'I'm going to the doctor'.

The coordinating-relational case has a syntactic function based on such a type of bond between words as agreement. This case makes it possible to coordinate a part of a sentence expressed by a noun (as well as by other parts of speech) with another part of the sentence, mostly expressed by a noun (and sometimes by a noun-pronoun or infinitive). That is why it is expedient to refer the given case to the adnominal type. It is analytic and includes in its word-form the coordinating-relational postposition *nā* (*nā̃*) or *dā̃*. We called the latter so (from which the name of the case stems), because following the submorphised autoseme of a word it refers us to another word, a part of the sentence, and changing for gender and number (and sometimes for case) coordinates the first word with the second.

Most frequently the coordinating-relational case expresses an attribute in concord, a predicative in concord or a qualitative-predicative part in concord (for the latter see below). Examples: *vaddeā̃ nā velā̃* 'the epoch of ancestors', *caū̃ mahīniā̃ nā̃ jātuk os trimtī nā̃ e* 'That woman has a four month baby' (lit.... 'the child of that woman is'), *adal ādmī dā̃ mangde hin* 'One asks a man for justice'.

It should be borne in mind that in addition to the main function - i.e. to be the main submorph of the synsemantic morph of the coordinating-relational case - the postposition *nā*(*dā̃*) also has a secondary function consisting in the fact that frequently combining with a postposition it tautologically signalizes in general (apart from another postposition) about the existence of an analytic case, as a rule, the main prosecutive case. For this postposition see the "Postpositions" section.

The main prosecutive case. In Lahndi there is a special case expressing a general grammatical meaning of an adverbial (or prosecutive) modifier (mostly that of place, direction, time and purpose). It is more common (and wider in its scope) than other prosecutive cases (the secondary instrumental and ablative). That is why we called the case the main prosecutive case.

It should be pointed out that some linguists /Wilson, II for example/ call the case "locative" which term is incorrect and too narrow in meaning, since it conveys only an idea of adverbial modifier of place.

The case has two main varieties: 1) the synthetic and 2) the analytic.

The forms of the synthetic case have variants sometimes depending on gender, number (of a noun) or a dialect.

1. The masculine noun with a consonantal stem and zero inflexion can have in the singular the following variants:

- a) that with a zero affix: *-ghar roṭī khā karāhī* 'having eaten at home';
- b) that with the suffix *-e*: *-ghare* 'at home';
- c) that with the suffix *-ī*: *-haṭṭī* 'in the shop';
- d) if a noun's stem final sees *u* + a consonant, the form of the given case is made by changing *u* to *i*, and if there is *āu* in the penultimate syllable, it is changed to *ā*: *chekur* 'an end' - *chekir* 'at last'; *cāukhur* 'cattle' - *cākhir* 'with the cattle'; *cetur* 'the Cetur month' - *cetir* 'in the Cetur month'.

2. Masculine nouns in *-ā* change it in the singular to *-e*: *hikk dihāre* 'once', *ḍoygā* (the name of a built-up area) - *boṅge vañ latthose* 'Having come to Bonga, we got out'.

3. Feminine nouns, singular, make the main prosecutive case forms in the following ways:

- a) by adding the suffix *-ī*: *jā* 'a place' - *salānī jā* 'in a certain place', *dā* 'direction' - *dū* 'in the direction', *akkh* 'an eye' - *akkhī* 'in the eye';

b) sometimes feminine nouns remain unchanged, e.g. *kure sadāgarī gach* 'Go somewhere to trade' (lit. 'somewhere trade go'). Here the word *sadāgarī* is an adverbial modifier of purpose.

In the plural masculine nouns most commonly take the nasal *-ē* or *-ī*: *dū pāhrē* 'at midday' (lit. 'in two pahars') and *do pāhri* 'at midday', *gharē* and *gharī* 'in the houses'. Nouns whose stem finals see *u* + a consonant drop their vowel in the last syllable and take *-ī*, e.g. *jaṅglī* 'in the forests', *oṛkī* 'on the ends'. In a present-day text in the Jatki of Lyallpur we have come across the suffix *-ī*: *pārī paune ā*, *nāthā* 'I fall to your feet, yogi'. In the Multani of Muzaffargarh the plural of the given case may also take the suffix *-e*: *pāre peā* 'fell to /his/ feet'.

To make the plural forms of the given case, feminine nouns generally add the suffix *-ī*, so that the forms of both numbers may coincide, as in *akkhī* 'in the eyes' and 'in the eye', *rāṭī* 'at nights' and 'at night'.

The analytic variety of the main prosecutive case is mostly used for stylistic variations: *raḥ do vañjun* (instead of *raḥ vañjun* 'to go to the field').

This version of the case varies, just as its synthetic correspondent, both in content (in shades) and in expression, but owing to a relatively wide inventory of postpositions and polyfunctionalism

(polysemy) of some of them, it expresses more shades, though within the limits of the general prosecutive meaning.

Postpositions of the *kū̃* type, also employed in the accusative and dative forms are widely used as the main submorph of the synsemantic morph. This is indicative of polyfunctionalism (polysemy) of these postpositions-formants which are entirely devoid of concrete content. Therefore one and the same postposition can be part not only of different cases, but also of one and the same case, imparting to it various shades. Here are two examples of the main prosecutive case, where the postposition *kī* first expresses an adverbial modifier of time, and then an adverbial modifier of purpose: *thoṛeā̃ dihāreā̃ kī* 'in a few days'; *o' bāhar sadāgrī kī nahī sī jānā* 'He did not go to trade' (lit 'for trade').

Other examples where postpositions of the *kū̃* type function as the main submorph of the synsemantic morph are as follows: *dīgīr kū̃* 'during the evening prayer', *himatī ā̃ āṇ latthum* 'Having come to Himati, I got off; *cugāṇe tā̃̃* 'for feeding', *paṛbhat kū̃* 'in the morning'.

Examples of both the synthetic and analytic varieties of the given case show that type of an adverbial modifier depends not only (probably, not so much) on polyfunctionalism of postpositions-formants of the *kū̃* type, but also on the meaning of a noun concerned. If it has a semantic shade of time, a certain inflexion or a synsemantic morph (an inflexion + a postposition) form-arranges an adverbial modifier of time. If, on the other hand, it denotes place, the same form-arrangers will denote an adverbial modifier of place, etc. In other words, it is the concrete content, the semantics of a noun which is of importance under the circumstances, whereas for the nominative, ergative, accusative, dative and coordinating-relational cases the semantics of a noun is not at all, or almost not at all, significant. That is why the significance and form-arrangement of the cases is determined by the grammatical ties of a word and its functions (government, agreement, etc.), i.e. by syntactic factors. In view of this some linguists call the cases of the latter kind grammatical or syntactic, while the cases analogous to the prosecutive ones in Lahndi are termed semantic or concrete. Therefore we have marked out the main prosecutive case, the secondary instrumental and the ablative as a special group and called it concrete-prosecutive. Above we have already cited examples indicative of the significance of the concrete content of a noun. Thus, the words *dihārā̃*, 'a day' and *dīgīr* 'an evening prayer' convey an idea of time. That's why the addition

of a synsemantic morph to these imparts to them the function of an adverbial modifier of time: $dihār + (eā+kī) = dihāreā kī$ 'in several days', $dīgīr + (0+kū) = dīgīr kū$ 'during the evening prayer'. Likewise $rāt$ 'a night' acquires the same function by adding an inflexion or a morph: $rāt + \tilde{i} = rā\tilde{t}$ 'at night' or $rāt + (0+kū) = rāt kū$ 'at night'.

The words $bogḡā$, $ghar$, $himatī$ and $akkh$ denote place or position. Therefore the addition of the same formal markers to these with changes involved imparts to them the function of an adverbial modifier of place: $bogḡā$ 'Bonga' - $bogḡ + -e = bogḡe$ 'to Bonga', $ghar$ 'a house' - $ghar + \bar{O} = ghar$ 'at home', 'homewards' or $ghar + -e = ghare$, $himatī$ 'Himati' - $himat + (-\tilde{i}+\tilde{ā}) = himatī \tilde{ā}$ 'to Himati', $akkh$ 'an eye' - $akkh + -\tilde{i} = akkhī$ 'in the eye', 'in the eyes'.

The words $sadāgrī$ 'trade' and $cugāṇā$ 'feeding' denote a process of an action. Therefore the addition to them of the same formal markers imparts to them the function of an adverbial modifier of purpose: $sadāgrī kī$ 'for trade', $cugāṇe tāi$ 'for feeding'.

The analytic main prosecutive case may also include other postpositions - form-words which impart various shades to adverbial modifiers, e.g.: $tē$ 'in', ich , $vich$ 'in', $appar$ 'near' and others: $ū hī$ $dāh tē$ 'on the same day', $darvāje appar$ 'near the door'. The postposition ich ($vich$) 'in' has a tendency to get much reduced and to merge with a noun. Having even an apostrophe the word-form with such an altered postposition resembles the possessive case in English, but differing from it in meaning, e.g. $jholī'c$ 'on the knees' (a variant of ich , $vich$).

As already stated above, the postposition $nā$ ($dā$) may have a secondary function, combining with other postpositions as a tautological signal of an analytic case, e.g. $trappar de tale$ 'under the floor-board'; $šarmī nā ghīddā$ 'because of shame', $kolhū mauqa de$ 'near /that/ place', etc. Here are examples of the main submorph made up of another combination of postpositions: $bandobast kannū picchē$ 'after settling' $dū dihāreā kanū bād$ 'in two days', $pitī kanū sivāi$ 'except the liver'.

The instrumental case has a general meaning of instrumentality. We have detected two varieties of the case: the objective adverbial instrumental (the function of an indirect object), which we have simply called the "instrumental", and the prosecutive (the function of an adverbial modifier of manner) which we have called "the secondary instrumental".

From the standpoint of structure there are also two varieties of the instrumental case: the synthetic (formed by using the suffixes

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~ā and ~ū) and the analytic (formed by means of the main submorph *nāl* (nāl)).

The instrumental case (the objective-adverbial). Examples: *kufiā dāhmōṭ nāl kuṭen* 'The girls are beating them with a stick'; *khabbe hatthe nāl dāhṭi nap rakhīus* 'He seized the beard with his left hand'.

The secondary instrumental (the prosecutive). Examples: *zorī* or *zore nāl* 'forcibly', 'with force'; *vat vag paṭ nā vā tā pūre zore nāl* 'Then the wind blew with all its force' (lit. 'with full force'); *tū tā bhukhā nāl moṭ vaṭ e* 'You have been tortured with hunger' (lit. 'you are dead by hunger'); *zabāni* or *gallū* 'by word', 'verbally'.

The ablative has a general meaning of separation. This case also possesses two varieties: the prosecutive ablative (the function of an adverbial modifier of place), which we call simply the "ablative", and the indirect-objective ablative (the function of an indirect object) which we call "the secondary ablative".

From the standpoint of structure there are also two varieties of the ablative: the synthetic (mostly for the singular) formed by adding the suffixes ~ō and ~ū; and the analytic whose word-forms most frequently include the main submorphs *kannū*, *kanū*, *thāō*, *thī*, *thū*, *uttū* 'with', 'from'.

The ablative (the prosecutive one). Examples: *dākō* 'from a plot of land', *gharō* 'from home', *māl uttū* 'from the fair'.

The secondary ablative (the indirect-objective). Examples: *rabbū* 'from God', *khirsō* 'from a bear', *ghoṛeāō* 'from horses', *piū thī* 'from the father', *ghoṛe thāō* 'from a horse', *ghoṛeā thū* 'from horses', *bbal piū kannū marīndā* 'The boy is beaten by his father'.

We have come across an example in which the additional submorph is represented not by one of conventional inflexions of analytic cases, but by the ablative termination ~ō: *bin rannēō* 'without permission'.

It must be pointed out that one of the word-forms of an independent part of speech (for instance, of a noun or adjective) can be used in the function of a postposition. Examples:

velā 'time' - *iṣā vele* 'during the morning prayer',

tarf 'side' - *putr nē tarfō* 'on behalf of the son',

jogā 'worthy' - *saḍḍvāvan jogā* 'worthy to be called'.

The vocative case. Masculine nouns can have in the singular the following variants of the vocative, frequently caused by dialectal differences (sometimes in addition to an affix an interjection is added, such as *ā* or *vā*):

1) formed by adding the suffix \bar{a} , as in *pāṛī pāṛne ā*, *nāthā* 'I am falling to your feet, oh yogi', *bhane lokā* 'Oh, good man', *bandiā* 'Oh man', *ā puttrā* 'Oh, son'. In the Jatki of Shahpur there are such forms of the vocative case as *pūā* and *bābū* 'Oh, father';

2) in texts in the Hindko of Peshawar we have found a form ending in $-e$: *bāwe* 'Oh, father', *mīrze* 'Oh, sir';

3) not infrequently there occurs a form with the zero affix, e.g. *putr* 'Oh, son' (the Multani of Dera Gazi Khan), *vīran*, *mādā akheā mannē* 'Brother, listen to my words with attention'.

Feminine nouns mostly take in the singular the suffix $-e$. A word in the vocative may be preceded by the interjection *nī*, but not always. Examples:- *sahitīe*, *nadhīe*, *ke pat ākhnī e he tūh?* 'Sati, girl, what are you saying?', *nī bhārīe* 'Oh, poor thing', *akkhīe* 'Oh, my eye'.

In texts in the Jatki of Lyallpur we have come across the vocative form in \bar{a} used for the word *bhāṇ* 'sister': *bhāṇā*, *tāṇḍhe kolū ke lukāi?* 'Oh, sister, what have I hidden from you?' In the northern dialect of the Salt Range (in the area of Shahpur) the same word is used in the form of *bhāṇue* 'Oh, sister'.

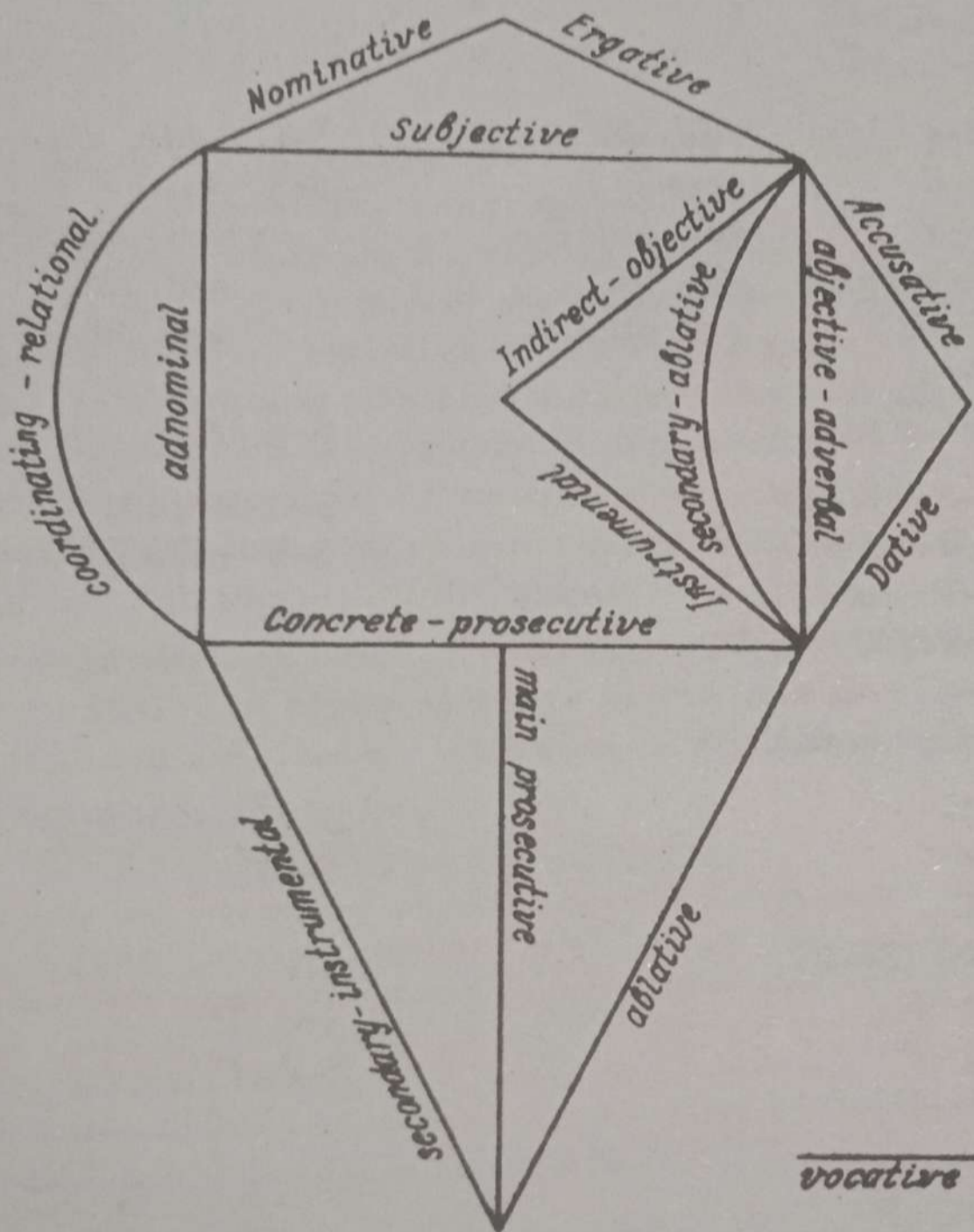
In the plural nouns of both genders take the suffixes $-o$ or $-ho$ sometimes being accompanied by the corresponding interjections (*ū*, *vā*, *nī*, etc.), e.g.: *choro* 'Oh, boys', *vā pitrērāo* 'Oh, nephews', *nī saṭīāho* 'Oh, sisters of the wife', *akkhīho* 'Oh, eyes'.

The case system of Lahndi can be represented in the following diagram (see below).

Each case has its own set of formal markers (inflexions, including internal ones, synsemantic morphs, or both kinds of formants) which differs from that of any other case. Below we present the sets of markers of all the representative cases in the singular (where S is a segmental portion of a noun without its remainder denoted by a symbol or symbols V, C, \bar{a} and others, with V standing for a vowel, C for a consonant and P for a postposition):

	Masculine	Feminine
Nominative	S- \bar{a}	S-C
	S-V	S-V
	S-uC	
	S-C	
Ergative	S-e	S-C
	S- \bar{a}	S-V

- S-V
- S-Ve(\bar{a})
- S-aC
- S-C



Accusative

S- \bar{a}

S-C

S-V

S-V

S-uC

S-C

S-e+kū̃	(or of the kū̃ type)	S-C+kū̃ (or of the kū̃ type)
S- \bar{a} +kū̃	(" " ")	S-C+kū̃ (" " ")
S-V+kū̃	(" " ")	
S-Ve(\bar{a})+kū̃	(" " ")	
S-aC+kū̃	(" " ")	
S-C+kū̃	(" " ")	

Dative	S-e+kũ̃ S-ä+kũ̃ S-V+kũ̃ S-Ve(ā)+kũ̃ S-aC+kũ̃ S-C+kũ̃	(or of the kũ̃ type) (" " ") (" " ") (" " ") (" " ") (" " ")	S-C+kũ̃ (or of the kũ̃ type) S-V+kũ̃ (" " ")
Indirect- objective	S-e S-ä S-V S-Ve(ā) S-aC S-C S-Cē(e)	ḍḍe, dhir kannē, ī̃ kol, kolhũ̃ nāl, tāī̃, and others	S-C ḍḍe, dhir S-V kannē, ī̃ kol, kolhũ̃, nāl, tāī̃, and others S-ē(e)
Coordinating relational	S-e+nā̃(dā̃) S-ä+nā̃(dā̃) S-V+nā̃(dā̃) S-Ve(ā)+nā̃(dā̃) S-aC+nā̃(dā̃) S-C+nā̃(dā̃)		S-C+nā̃(dā̃) S-V+nā̃(dā̃)
Main prosecutive	S-C S-e S-ī̃ S-iC (Šä-iC) S-e+P S-ä+P S-V+P S-Ve(ā)+P S-aC+P S-C+P		S-Vī̃ S-Cī̃ S-C S-V S-C+P S-V+P
Instrumental	S-ī̃ S-ū̃ S-V+nāl (or of its type) S-C+nāl (or of its type)		S-ī̃ S-ū̃ S-V+nāl (or of its type) S-C+nāl (or of its type)
Ablative	S-Cō̃ S-Cū̃ S-Vō̃ S-Vū̃		S-Cō̃ S-Cū̃ S-Vō̃ S-Vū̃

S-e+kannũ̃ (or of its type)

S-C+kannũ̃ (or of its type)

S-ä+kannū (" " ")
 S-Ve(ā)+kannū (" " ")
 S-aC+kannū (" " ")
 S-C+kannū (" " ")
 S-V+kannū (" " ")

S-ī+kannū (" " ")
 S-V+kannū (" " ")

Below the cases are tabulated. On the left-hand side the main types of nouns in the nominative case, singular, or their less common variants are given, while on the right-hand side-a number of non-nominative cases. Since the forms of the submorphised autosemic coincide in all the analytic varieties of the cases and in the dative, we, abstracting from concrete postpositions and denoting them by the common symbol P, show on the right-hand side examples of analytic cases in a somewhat generalised form. If we replace P by a corresponding postposition, we can obtain a more concrete example of one or another analytic variety of the cases or of the dative.

Since the quantities of types of non-nominative cases do not coincide, the quantities of types of nouns in the nominative case, cited on the left-hand side, do not coincide in different tables (Tables 8-12) either.

Table 8

*Types and variants of analytic cases in the singular
 (where S is a segmental portion of a noun
 without its remainder denoted by a symbol or symbols,
 such as V, C, e and others, with V standing for a vowel,
 C for a consonant and P for a postposition)*

N	Gender	Type		Variants of the type	
		The nominative case	An analytic case	The nominative case	An analytic case
1	Mas- culi- ne	S-ā:buškā	S-e+P:buške+P	a) S-ā:lālā, velā	S-ā+P:lālā+P
		S-V:prābhū	S-V+P:prābhū+P	b) S-ā:velā	S-ā+P:velā+P
				a) S-V:desrī	S-Ve+P:desrīe+P
				b) S-V:ādmī	S-Vā+P:ādmīā+P
3	S-uC:munḍar	S-aC+P:munḍar+P	c) S-u:puṭu	S-a+P:puṭa+P	
			S-aC:kukkar	S-aC+P:kukkar+P	
4	S+C:mun	S-C+P:mun+P	a) S-C:bubbhar	S-Ce+P:bubbhare+P	
			b) S-C:šakhs	S-Cā+P:šakhsā+P	
5	Femi- ne	S-C:pirt	S-C+P:pirt+P	c) S-C:naukar	S-Cā+P:naukrā+P
				d) S-C:girāv	S-Cā+:girāvā+P
6	Femi- ne	S-V:khatrī	S-V+P:khatrī+P	a) S-C:akkh	S-Cī+P:akkhī+P
				b) S+C:bhān	S-Cū+P:bhānū+P
7				c) S-V:dhī	S-Vū+P:dhīū+P

Table 9

Types and variants of analytic cases in the plural

N	Gender	Type		Variants of the type	
		The nominative case, singular	An analytic case, plural	The nominative case, singular	An analytic case, plural
1		S-ā:buškā	S-eā+P:buškeā+P	a) S-ā:ghoṛā b) S-ā:varhā c) S-ā:lālā	S-ē+P:ghoṛē+P S-ā+P:varhā+P S-āvā+P:lālāvā+P
2	Masculine	S-V:prābhū, kavī	S-Vā(S-ā)+P prabhūā(prābhā), kavīā(kavā)	a) S-V:ādmi b) S-u:putu	S-Vē+P:ādmiē+P S-ā+P:putā+P
3		S-uC:mundur	S-Cā+P:mundrā+P	S-aC:kukkar	S-Cē+P:kukkiē+P
4		S-C:mun	S+Cā+P:munā+P	S-C:naukar	S+Cē+P:naukiē+P
5	Feminine	S-C:pīri	S-Cā+P:pīriā+P	a) S-C:pīlh b) S-C:zāl	S-Cū+P:pīlhū+P S-Cī+P:zālī
6		S-V:khatī	S-Vā+P:khatīā+P	a) S-V:ghoṛī b) S-V:mā	S-Vē+P:ghoṛē+P S-Vvā+P:māvā+P

Synthetic types and variants
of the main prosecutive case in the singular

Table 10

N	Gender	Type		A variant of the type	
		The nominative case	The main prosecutive case	The nominative case	The main prosecutive case
1	Masculine	S-C:ghar	S-Ce:ghare	a) S-C:haff	S-Ci:haffi
2		S-uC:cctur	S-iC:cetir	b) S-C:ghar S-āuCuC: cāukhur	S-C:ghar S-üCiC:cūkhur
3		S-ā:Boḡgā	S-e:Boḡge		
4	Feminine	S-V:jā	S-Cī:jāi	S-C:sadāgarī	S-C:sadāgarī

Table 11

Synthetic types and variants
of the main prosecutive case in the plural

N	Gender	Type		A variant of the type	
		The nominative case, singular	The main prosecutive case, plural	The nominative case, singular	The main prosecutive case, plural
1	Masculine	S-C:ghar	S-Cē:gharē	a) S-C:pār b) S-C:pāhr c) S-C:pār	S-Ce:pāre S-Cī:pāhri S-Cī:pārī
2	Feminine	S-C:akkh	S-Cī:akkhī		

Table 12

Types of the vocative case
in the singular and plural

N	Gender	Types			
		Singular		Plural	
		The nominative case	The vocative case	The nominative case	The vocative case
1	Masculine	S-C(V):nath	S-C(V)ā:nathā	S-C(V):chor	S-C(V)o(ho): choro, chorho
2		S-ā:mirzā	S-e:mirze		
3		S-C:putr	S-C:putr		
4	Feminine	S-C(V):naḡhī	S-C(V)e:naḡhīe	S-C(V):akkhī	S-C(V)o(ho): akkhīo, akkhīho

The given case system we propound is applicable not only to Lahndi (Saraiki), but also to all New Indo-Aryan languages possessing postpositions.

THE VERBAL NOUN

The class of nouns also includes nouns of a verbal character formed, to all appearances, by substantivization of certain forms of the verb and thereby converted into the given part of speech. At bent (even then not always) they denote an action but as an object, not as a process. All of them have noun paradigms. First and foremost they include a substantivized initial verbal form, e.g. *mār* 'beating', *pakkar* 'seizure', 'catching'. And here is a textual example: *mār attē rat vahan kannū* 'because of the beating and loss of blood'.

THE ADJECTIVE

In Lahndi, as in other modern Indian languages, adjectives fall into two subclasses: the inflected and the uninflected. Both can be qualitative and relative. The latter are restricted in number, since relative ties are more frequently expressed by the coordinating-relational case of the noun (for this see the "Coordinating relational Case" section).

Examples: *-piū nā* 'paternal', *havāz nā* 'vocal', *chohar dā* 'of the boy'. Semantically (but not morphologically) these forms are in the same row with such relative adjectives as, for example, *bhedā* 'of the sheep', 'pertaining to the sheep' (from *bhed* 'a sheep'), *parokā* 'last year's' (from *par* 'last year').

On the whole such categories as number, gender, case and degrees of comparison are characteristic of the adjective in Lahndi. Most commonly this is formally expressed in case of inflected adjectives. Mostly the adjective functions in Lahndi as an attribute, and not infrequently in postposition. It is also used as a predicative and in a special function.

The most employed are inflected adjectives ending in *-ā*. Agreeing with the noun they, depending on a dialect, change for gender, number and case, e.g. *bhuslē ghoṛē kū* 'to the brown horses', *bhuslē ghoṛē kū* 'to the brown mares', *nikrā sadhā* 'a little buffalo', *ḍabbī vadhri* 'a checkered belt' etc. In the Muḥtani of Dera Gazi Khan the adjective *bbeā* 'another' has special forms of inflexion:

bbeā (Nom. Case, Sing., Masc.) - *bbaī* (Nom. Case, Sing. Fem.);
bbee (the suboseme, Masc., Sing.) / *bbaī* (the suboseme, Fem., Sing.);
bbihā (Nom. Case, Masc., Fem., Plural) - *bbihē* (the suboseme, Masc., Fem., Plural).

The final vowel of an adjective may be nasalized, e.g.
cangā 'good' - *cangē* 'good' (pl.)

sakhrā 'abundant' - *sakhrē* 'abundant' (pl.)

kalōbrā 'hideous' - *kalōbrē* 'hideous' (pl.).

Some adjectives which in the Singular, Masculine, end in *-ī* take the suffix *-ā* in the Feminine, as for example:

āhrī munṣ 'an industrious man' - *āhrī savānī* 'an industrious woman':

namāzī bhirā 'a devout brother' - *namāzī bhān* 'a devout sister';

azarī peo 'a sick father' - *azarī dhī* 'a sick daughter'.

Uninflected adjectives are those having consonantal stems and zero inflexions, as in *ḍarākul chohur* 'a shy boy', *ḍarākul chohar* 'shy boys', *ḍarākul chohar kannū* 'from a shy boy', *ḍarākul chohir* 'a shy girl', *ḍarākul chohir kū* 'to a shy girl', *ḍarākul chohrī* 'shy girls', etc.

Adjectives are formed by suffixation and conversion. The following adjective-forming suffixes are common:

1) *-ā* (for building from nouns):

majjh 'a female buffalo' - *mājhā* 'pertaining to a female buffalo' (coupled with lengthening a vowel and dropping one of the identical consonants);

tass 'thirst' - *tassā* 'thirsty';

2) *-lā* (for building from nouns and other parts of speech):

pār 'that side' - *parlā* 'outside', 'remote' (coupled with shortening a vowel);

vic 'in', 'inside' - *viclā* 'middle';

3) *-rā* (for building from nouns):

janānī 'a woman' - *janānrā* 'womanlike';

4) *-ī* (for building from nouns):

xamīr 'yeast' - *xamrī* 'pert. to yeast' (coupled with dropping a vowel);

5) *-caṛ* for building from nouns (with a change in the ending, and sometimes in the noun stem);

lammā 'the South' - *lamacaṛ* 'southern';

lehndā 'the West' - *lehndocaṛ* 'western';

6) in the Jatki of Shahpur /Wilson, 16/ the suffix *-okā* is common. It is mostly added to nouns denoting time: *par* 'last year' - *parokā* 'last year's'; *cir* 'a period' - *cirokā* 'of old time'.

Adjectives can also be formed by conversion, e.g. *tārū* 'a swimmer' - *tārū* 'deep enough for swimming' (about water).

Degrees of comparison. The comparative degree is formed in two ways:

1) synthetically and 2) analytically. The synthetic method is employed for adjectives ending in *-ā*. It is typical of the suffix *-erā*:
cirvā 'irritable' - *cirverā* 'more irritable';
māgghā 'dear' - *māggherā* 'dearer';
muṇḍā 'lame' - *muṇḍerā* 'lamer'.

The analytic form of the comparative degree is made up of an adjective in the positive (zero) degree and one of prepositional forms which merely denote a greater or lesser degree of quality (and in comparison with synthetic forms are equivalent to corresponding affixes). Such words may be exemplified by *vadhīk* 'more' (which in such cases is mostly not translated). The given form of the adjective is accompanied by one more grammatical means, since the noun, pronoun concerned (or some other part of speech) whose degree of quality is compared with that of some other object, has a form of the analytic ablative, e.g.:

cann tū vadhīk, nīṅgar ve bhirā māṇḍhā 'My brother is more handsome than the moon, (the modern Jatki of Lyallpur).

It should also be noted, that instead of the above-mentioned two variants of the adjective's comparative degree Lahndi commonly enough employs a syntactic palliative which is a combination of a noun or pronoun in the ablative with an adjective in the positive degree following the former. The postpositions *kannū*, *kolū*, *thī*, *thū*, *tū* serve as the main submorph, as in: *māṇḍā bhirā māṇḍā bhān kannū cirvā e* 'My brother is more irritable than my sister'.

The superlative degree is also expressed in two ways:

- 1) by using the pronoun "all", e.g. *sabhṛāē* (*sabhṛē*) or *sabhṇē* *kannū caṅgā* 'the best' (lit. 'the best of all');
- 2) by repeating an adjective and employing a postposition: *caṅgī thū caṅgī pūṣāk* 'the best clothing' (the Hindki of Mianvali).

As in other languages the Lahndi adjective can get substantivized, as in *nandhe pīū kū ākhīā* 'the younger (son) said to his father'.

THE NUMERAL

In Lahndi there are cardinals and ordinals.

The cardinals are divided into the definite and the indefinite. As of illustration we cite the definite cardinals of the Multani (Hindki) of Dera Gazi Khan /Grierson, 339/ (Grierson's transcription being somewhat changed):

hik, hikāṛā,
hikṛā - 1

ḍḍū - 2

trāe - 3

cār - 4

pañ - 5

chī - 6

sat - 7

aṭh - 8

nō - 9

ḍḍūh - 10

yārḥā - 11

bbārḥā - 12

terḥā - 13

cāuḍḍhā - 14

pandrahā - 15

solhā - 16

satārḥā - 17

aṭhārā - 18

unvī - 19

vīh - 20

ikvī - 21

bbāvī - 22

trēvī - 23

cavvī - 24

pañvī - 25

chavvī - 26

satāvī - 27

aṭhāvī - 28

unatrī - 29

trīh - 30

ikatrī - 31

bbatrī - 32

tetrī - 33

cāutrī - 34

pāntrī - 35

chatrī - 36

satatrī - 37

aṭhatrī - 38

untālī - 39

cāhlī - 40

iktālī - 41

bbeṭālī - 42

tirtālī - 43

cāuntālī - 44

pāntālī, pīntālī - 45

chitālī - 46

sattālī - 47

aṭhālī - 48

unvañhā, unañhā - 49

pañhā - 50

ikvañhā - 51

bhavañhā - 52

tirvañhā - 53

cāuvañhā - 54

pañvañhā - 55

chivañhā - 56

satvañhā - 57

aṭhvañhā - 58

unāiṭh - 59

saṭh - 60

ikāiṭh - 61

bbāiṭh - 62

trīaiṭh - 63

coaṭh, cavaṭh - 64

pañāiṭh - 65

cheāiṭh - 66

satāiṭh - 67

aṭhāiṭh - 68

unhattar - 69

sattar - 70

ikatarr - 71

bbahattar - 72

tirhattar - 73

cāurattar - 74

pañhattar - 75

chehattar - 76

satattar - 77

aṭhattar - 78

uṇāsī - 79

assī - 80

ikāsī - 81

bbeāsī - 82

trīāsī - 83

cāūrāsī - 84

pañāsī - 85

chiāsī - 86

satāsī - 87

aṭhāsī - 88

unānme - 89

niwwe - 90

ikānme - 91

bbeānme - 92

trīānme - 93

cāūrānme - 94

pañānme - 95

chiānme - 96

satānme - 97

aṭhānme - 98

vadhānme - 99

sāu - 100

In different dialects numerals somewhat differ from one another, as seen from Table 13 which contains the cardinals of five dialects from 1 to 10 inclusive.

Names of hundreds are formed by combining a cardinal denoting a number of hundreds with the word *sāe*: *trā sāe* - 300, *cār sāe* - 400,

Table 13

Numerals	The Jatki of Shahpur	Multani	The Multani (Hindki) of Dera-Gazi Khan	Awankari	Dhanni
1	hekk, hikk	hikk, hckk	hik	hikk	hikk
2	doē	ḍū	ḍḍū	ḍō	do
3	trā, trāe	trāe	trāe	trā	trāe, tarai
4	cār	cār	cār	cār	cār
5	pañj	pañj	pañ	pañj	pañj
6	che	che, chī	chī	chē	chē
7	satt	satt	sat	satt	satt
8	aṭṭh	aṭṭh	aṭh	aṭṭh	aṭṭh
9	nā	nā	nō	naū	naū
10	dāh	dāh	ḍḍāh	dāh	dāh

pañ sāe - 500, etc. In precisely the same way higher numbers combine: *hazār* 'one thousand', *lākh* 'hundred thousand', *kiroṛ* 'the million'.

Certain numerals, particularly simple ones, change for case. Thus, in Awankari, Pothohari and Dhundi-Kairali the nominative case and the submorphised autoseme of the numeral "one" are respectively as follows: *hikk* - *hikkī*, *hikk* - *hikkas*, *hikk* - *hiks*. The forms of the non-nominative cases of the numeral agree with the case forms of the noun, e.g. *hikkī jāṇe nā* 'of one man', *hikkas nauḳre kī* 'one servant'.

Below we give a comparative table of the nominative case forms and the submorphised autoseme for a number of cardinals in Multani and the Jatki of Shahpur (Table 14).

Table 14

Multani		The Jatki of Shahpur	
The nominative case	The submorphised autoseme	The nominative case	The submorphised autoseme
ḍū 'two'	ḍoā	doē	ḍoā
trāe 'three'	trīā	trā	trīā
cār 'four'	cāū	cār	cāū
pañ 'five'	pañe	pañj	pañjā
dāh 'ten'	ḍāhā	dāh	ḍāhā

Collective numerals are used in Lahndi substantivally. They also change for case, as seen from comparative table 15 citing these numerals taken from the same dialects.

In the Multani (Hindki) of Dera Gazi Khan collective numerals are somewhat modified: *ḍḍūhē* 'both', *trīhe* 'all three', *cāre* 'all four', *ḍḍehe* 'all ten'.

When counting in ordinary speech one usually resorts to employing scores, as in *chēutte satt vihā* = 146 (lit. 'seven scores upon six').

Note: in Lahndi also there are nouns of quantity: *dahākā* 'a ten', *vihārā* 'a score', *trihārā* 'a thirty', *sākṛā* 'a hundred', and others.

Table 15

Multani		The Jatki of Shahpur	
The nominative case	The submorphised autoseme	The nominative case	The submorphised autoseme
<i>ḍohē</i> 'both'	<i>ḍohā</i>	<i>dohe</i>	<i>dohā</i>
<i>trāe</i> 'all three'	<i>trā</i>	<i>trāe</i>	<i>trāhā</i>
<i>cāre</i> 'all four'	<i>cavāhā</i>	<i>cāre</i>	<i>cavāhā</i>
<i>pañe</i> 'all five'	<i>pañā</i>	<i>pañje</i>	<i>pañjā</i>
<i>dāhe</i> 'all ten'	<i>dāhā</i>	<i>dāhā</i>	<i>dāhā</i>

Fractions: *pā* - 1/4, *addh* - 1/2, *munnā* - 3/4, *ḍiḍḍh* - 1 1/2, *triā* - 1/3, *pañjvā* - 1/5, *chevā* - 1/6, *savā* 'one quarter more than', *pāune* 'one quarter less than' (the Jatki of Shahpur).

The numeral in Lahndi may either precede the noun or follow it.

In *Kissa Chajju Bhagit* /Grierson¹, 325-327/, an original text in the Multani of Muzaffargarh, the word-combination *mohṛā ḍū* (*ḍū mohṛā*) 'two gold coins' occurs eight times, and out of these in six instances the numeral is in postposition (*mohṛā ḍū*) and only twice in pre-position (*ḍū mohṛā*): *mohṛā ḍū khutt pā* 'Two gold coins were lacking' (in postposition).

The indefinite cardinals include: *khutt* 'few', *ghaṇā* 'many', *baūh* (*bahū*) 'many' (one must bear in mind that in word-combinations like *bahū parē* 'at a great distance' *bahū* is an adjective homonymous with the numeral *bahū* 'many'), *tholā* 'several', *kā* 'several', *itrā* 'so many' (as this), *utrā* 'so many' (as that), *kitrā* 'how many'. Examples: *kitrē ghorē* 'how many mares', *tholē ḍihā pucchū* 'in a few days' (the Jatki of Jang), *tholē ḍihāre kannū pichē* 'in a few days' (the Multani of Dera Gazi Khan), *baūh jjanē* 'many people'.

Structurally cardinal numerals expressing whole numbers may be divided into the simple, the compound and the multilexical. They are very close to the numerals of Panjabi and have been traced back to the same roots.

While detecting the structure of the given numerals we, in addition to employing a morphological analysis, also resorted to a method of comparing them with the elements of Sanskrit and Prakrit.

Simple numerals are one-word units with an underived stem. They comprise all numbers from one to ten inclusive, *vīh* - 20, *trīh* - 30 (apparently with a simplified stem, compound in origin, since its likeness to the stem of the numeral "three" is tangible not only in the Sanskrit, to which both have been traced back, but even in the Prakrit: skr. *trīni*, 'three', *trinśat* 'thirty', Prk. *tip̄ni* 'three', *ūnsa* or *ūsā* 'thirty'), *cāhlī* - 40, *saph* - 60, *assī* - 80, *niuwe* - 90 (as the Sanskrit and Prakrit numerals to which these four numerals have been traced back show, they have apparently simplified stems, too), *sau* (*sāu*) 'hundred', *hazār* 'thousand', *lākh* 'hundred thousand', *kiroṛ* 'ten million', etc. The reason of the sound *r* arising in the variant of the numeral *hikārā* (or *hikrā*) 'one' has not been found out.

Compound are cardinals between 11 and 99 inclusive. They can be subdivided into the dimorphemic and the trimorphemic.

The dimorphemic numerals comprise cardinals from 11 to 18 inclusive in which the meaning "ten" is conveyed by the allomorphs *rhā*, *ḍḍhā*, *drahā*, *lhā*, *rā* (units in the numerals *yārḥā* - 11 and *bbārḥā* - 12 are represented by one remaining consonant *y-* only and the double *bb-*, respectively traced back, in the final analysis, to the Sanskrit *ek* 'one' and *dvao* 'two' (prakrit: *v > b*); the numerals from 21 to 28 inclusive in which the meaning "twenty" is conveyed by the allomorphs *vī* and *vvī*; the numerals from 31 to 38 inclusive in which the meaning "thirty" is conveyed by the allomorphs *trī* and *ttī*; the numerals from 41 to 48 inclusive in which the meaning "forty" is conveyed by the allomorphs *tālī* and *ālī*; the numerals from 61 to 68 inclusive in which the meaning "sixty" is conveyed by the suffix *th*; the numerals from 91 to 98 inclusive in which the meaning "nineten" is conveyed by the morpheme *ānme*; the numeral *pañhā* - 50 in which the morpheme *pañ* - 5 has cohered with the morpheme *-hā* which means "ten" and is a remainder of the Sanskrit morpheme *āśate* "ten" and the Prakrit *āsā* 'ten', which can be clearly traced as distinct from the words of *cāhlī* - 40, *assī* - 80 (and the like) type with their obscure structure which therefore should be regarded as simplified. On

the same ground the numeral *sattar* = 70 pertains to the subclass; numerals beginning with *un-* or *uṇ-*, traced back to the Sanskrit *ūn* = 9 which as an allomorphic component of compound numerals was used alongside with *nawe* = 9. The allomorphs *un-* and *uṇ-* are joined to a morpheme that denotes a number consisting of round tens and implies a number ending in 9 and one unit less than the respective number composed of round tens. In modern Lahndi, as in a number of other modern Indian languages, the meaning "nine" of the allomorphs *un*, *uṇ* has been lost and instead the meaning "one unit less" has got fixed. Such numerals are represented by the cardinals *unvī* = 19, *unatrī* = 29, *untālī* = 39, *unāiṭh* = 59, *uṇāsī* = 79, *unānme* = 89.

The trimorphemic numerals comprise cardinals from 51 to 58 inclusive whose composition consists not only of morphemes denoting units, but also of the dimorphemic form *vañhā* meaning "fifty"; numerals from 71 to 78 inclusive containing the dimorphemic form *attar* (*hattar*) meaning "seventy"; the numerals *unvañhā* (*unañhā*) = 49 and *unhattar* = 69 made up not only of the morpheme *un-*, but also of the dimorphemic forms *vañhā* (*añhā*) and *hattar* respectively.

Multilexical numerals consist of two and more lexical units. These include all numbers above one hundred, naturally, except the simple ones. Examples: *pañ sāe* = 500 (lit. 'five hundreds'), *hik sau hik* = 101, *hik hazār trā sāe dḍū* = 1302.

The ordinals after "fourth" are formed by adding the suffix *-vā* (*-vī* in the Feminine Gender) to the cardinals as in

pañ 'five' - *pañvā* 'fifth',

chī 'six' - *chevā* 'sixth',

uṇāsī 'seventy-nine' - *uṇāsīvā* 'seventy-ninth'.

The ordinals corresponding to the cardinals *hik* (*hikāṛā*, *hikṛā*) 'one', *dḍū* 'two', *trāe* 'three', *cār* 'four' have their own forms of word-building: *pāhlā* 'first', *dūjhā* 'second', *trījā* 'third', *cāuthā* 'fourth' (Multani).

THE PRONOUN

Pronouns in Lahndi are represented by two main groups: 1) noun-pronouns (pointing out an object) and 2) adjective-pronouns (pointing out qualities). Some pronouns may have both functions.

Depending on their meanings and syntactic functions pronouns in Lahndi are also classed otherwise: as the personal, demonstrative, possessive, interrogative, indefinite, attributive, reflexive, relative and correlative.

Personal pronouns belong to the group of noun-pronouns, since they point out a person (an object) or persons (objects). Depending on a dialect (a form of speech) and the category of person these pronouns reveal variations in declensional forms (and sometimes in the number of cases). Below we give comparative tables of the personal pronouns of the first, second and third persons in the Multani of Dera Gazi Khan and Pothohari. It should be borne in mind that, just as in other Indian languages, the demonstrative pronouns "this", "that", "these", "those" (Tables 16-18) are used instead of the pronouns of the 3rd person q/a.

Table 16

First person pronouns

Case	Singular		Plural	
	Multani	Pothohari	Multani	Pothohari
Nominative	mā	mā	assā	as, ast
Ergative	mā	mā	assā	asā
Analytic ones	mā, mā+post.	mā+post.	assā+post.	asā+post.
Accusative (Dative)		mighī	-	-

Table 17

Second Person Pronouns

Case	Singular		Plural	
	Multani	Pothohari	Multani	Pothohari
Nominative	tū	tū	tussā	tus, tust
Ergative	tā, tā	tuddh, tū	tussā	tusā
Analytic ones	tā, tā+post.	tuddh, tā+post.	tussā+post.	tusā+post.

Table 18

Case	Third Person Pronouns			
	Singular		Plural	
	Multani	Pothohari	Multani	Pothohari
Nominative				
a) near	e, ih 'he', 'this'	eh	e, ih 'they', 'these'	in, eh
b) remote	o, uh 'he', 'that'	oh	o, uh 'they', 'those'	un, oh

Continued table 10

Case	Third Person Pronouns			
	Singular		Plural	
	Multani	Pothohari	Multani	Pothohari
<i>Negative:</i>				
a) near	is̄	is	inh̄	inā̄, inhā̄
b) remote	u	us	unh̄	unā̄, unhā̄
<i>Analytic ones:</i>				
a) near	ī + post.	is + post.	inh̄ + post.	inā̄, inhā̄ + post.
b) remote	u + post.	us + post.	unh̄ + post.	unā̄, unhā̄ + post.

Where in a number of other dialects pronouns begin with a vowel, in the Jatki of Lyallpur they begin with the sound *h*, as in *he* 'this', *ho* 'that', *hasā* 'we', *his* (compare with *is*). etc.

Demonstrative-personal pronouns of the third person can be both substantival (*ū hikk goṭī ghinn diti* 'He left a servant girl') and adjectival (in *gṭige* 'these boys').

It is noteworthy that, unlike a number of Indian languages, in several dialects of Lahndi demonstrative-personal pronouns of the third person, discriminate number in the Nominative, as is the case, for instance, in the Shahpur dialect of the Salt Range: *e* 'he', 'this' - *in*, *innh* 'they', 'these', *o* 'he', 'that' - *un*, *unnh* 'they', 'those'; in Awankari: *ch* 'he', 'this' - *innh* 'they', 'these', *oh* 'he', 'that' - *unnh* 'they', 'those'. The same is the case in Pothohari: *e* - *in*, *o* - *un*.

In some dialects special synthetic objective cases are observable in all persons, singular. Thus in a modern text in the Jatki of Lyallpur one comes across *māh* 'to me', 'me', *tuhā* 'you', 'to you', *husā* 'to him', 'to her', in Awankari there is *māh* 'me', 'to me', *tāh* 'you', 'to you', *isāh*, *isāh* 'to him', 'to this', *usāh*, *usāh* 'to him', 'to that', in the Shahpur dialect of the Salt Range there is *māh*, *tāh*, *asāh*, *tusāh*. In a number of dialects, however, objective cases occur only in one or two persons.

In all other instances objective cases are analytic and their forms include a postposition concerned (*kū*, *ko*, *kī*, *ā*, etc.).

Dialects of Lahndi also have the ablative case, e.g. *mānthā*, *menthē*, *mānthī*, *medethō* 'from me', *sānthī*, *ānthō* 'from us', *tūnthō*, *totō* 'from you', *tusānthō*, *tuhāthō* 'from you', etc.

Besides there are special emphatic forms of personal and demonstrative-personal pronouns:

Continued table 18

Case	Third Person Pronouns			
	Singular		Plural	
	Multani	Pothohari	Multani	Pothohari
<i>Ergative:</i>				
a) near	in	is	inhē	inā, inhā
b) remote	un	us	unhē	unā, unhā
<i>Analytic ones</i>				
a) near	i + post.	is + post.	inhē + post.	inā, inhā + post.
b) remote	u + post.	us + post.	unhē + post.	unā, unhā + post.

Where in a number of other dialects pronouns begin with a vowel, in the Jatki of Lyallpur they begin with the sound *h*, as in *he* 'this', *ho* 'that', *hasū* 'we', *his* (compare with *is*). etc.

Demonstrative-personal pronouns of the third person can be both substantival (*ū hikk golī ghinn dittī* 'He left a servant girl') and adjectival (in *gīge* 'these boys').

It is noteworthy that, unlike a number of Indian languages, in several dialects of Lahndi demonstrative-personal pronouns of the third person, discriminate number in the Nominative, as is the case, for instance, in the Shahpur dialect of the Salt Range: *e* 'he', 'this' - *in*, *innh* 'they', 'these', *o* 'he', 'that' - *un*, *unnh* 'they', 'those'; in Awankari: *ch* 'he', 'this' - *innh* 'they', 'these', *oh* 'he', 'that' - *unnh* 'they', 'those'. The same is the case in Pothohari: *e* - *in*, *o* - *un*.

In some dialects special synthetic objective cases are observable in all persons, singular. Thus in a modern text in the Jatki of Lyallpur one comes across *māh* 'to me', 'me', *tuhā* 'you', 'to you', *husā* 'to him', 'to her', in Awankari there is *māh* 'me', 'to me', *tāh* 'you', 'to you', *isāh*, *isāh* 'to him', 'to this', *usāh*, *usāh* 'to him', 'to that', in the Shahpur dialect of the Salt Range there is *māh*, *tāh*, *asāh*, *tusāh*. In a number of dialects, however, objective cases occur only in one or two persons.

In all other instances objective cases are analytic and their forms include a postposition concerned (*kū*, *ko*, *kī*, *ā*, etc.).

Dialects of Lahndi also have the ablative case, e.g. *mānthā*, *menthē*, *mānthī*, *meḍethō* 'from me', *sānthī*, *ānthō* 'from us', *tūnthō*, *totō* 'from you', *tusānthō*, *tuhāthō* 'from you', etc.

Besides there are special emphatic forms of personal and demonstrative-personal pronouns:

- a) with the suffix $-ā$: *ihā* 'only he', *ihā te gall e* 'That's what it is', *uhā nakhre* 'the very same mincing manners', *ūhā... mā pāt āhū ā* 'I am saying the very same';
- b) with the suffix $-e$: *ise* 'just to him';
- c) with the suffix $-ū$: *ihū bhirā tāddā* 'this very same your brother';
- d) with the suffixes $-ā̃$ and $-ē̃$ in the ergative case: $-mēhā̃$ 'just me', $tūhē̃$ 'just you', $unāhā̃$ 'just they' (the Jatki of Shahpur) / Wilson, 20/.

In addition, there are in Lahndi lexical ways of emphasizing pronouns (by employing particles).

Possessive pronouns are mainly adjective-pronouns, since it is mostly they that point out qualities. Commonly with the nouns to which they refer they change for case and number and agree with them in gender.

Possessive pronouns are divided into the personal-possessive and the reflexive-possessive.

Personal-possessive pronouns are more common which is also due to dialectal variants, e.g.

"my" - *medā* (Multani), *māṇḍā* (Ghebi), *māṇḍhā* (the Jatki of Lyallpur), *mahārā*, *mahāḍā* (Pothohari), etc.;

"your" - *tusāḍā* (the Jatki of Shahpur), *tusiḍḍā* (the Shahpur dialect of the Salt Range), *tusārā* (Pothohari), *suāhṛā* (Poonchi) and others;

"our" - *hasāḍā* (the Jatki of Shahpur), *assāḍā* (Multani), *sahṛā* (Chibhali and Dhundi-Kairali), *asārā* (Pothohari), etc.

Possessive pronouns may sometimes function substantivally, combining with postpositions, e.g. *tāṇḍhe kolū* 'from you', *tāḍhe māṇḍhe vicār* 'between us', etc. In such cases they cease to be possessive and transfer to other subclasses of pronoun.

In colloquial Lahndi there exists a specific phenomenon connected with clipping some forms of possessive pronouns. Combining with a link-verb expressed by a vowel a possessive pronoun may drop its final vowel, as in *jo māḍḍe*, *o' tāḍde* (instead of *māḍḍā e*, *tāḍḍā e*) 'What is mine is... yours'.

This is caused by a strong tendency of Lahndi towards coalescence of words, and in this particular case that of a pronoun with a link-verb.

Possessive pronouns in Lahndi do not always express possessive relations, and this being the case, they function to indicate relations of another type, as in: *abhā, mā... tāḍḍā gunāh kīte* 'Father, I... have

done a sin
kinh kū ḍḍe
complaint

The
sons and n
(āpṇā) 'my
my father'

Attri
(āpṇā lagā
habhe 'al
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Dem
(e, ih, eh
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Example

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done a sin against you'; *māh* *tusiḍḍā* *fikar e* 'I'm anxious about you'; *kink kũ dḍevā* *tedḍḍ faryād* 'How (lit. 'to whom') should I convey my complaint to you?'

The reflexive-possessive pronoun refers to all persons and numbers. The most common forms are *āprā* (*āprā*), *apḍā* (*āprā*) 'my', *apḍā* 'your', *apḍā* 'his', *apḍā* 'her', *apḍā* 'our', *apḍā* 'your', *apḍā* 'their', e.g.: *āprē pīū kũ* 'to my father', *apḍā tarkā* 'my property'. A more rare form is *apadā*.

Attributive pronouns: *āpū* 'myself', 'yourself', 'ourselves' etc. (*āpū lagā vadā e* 'I have gone myself'), *habho* 'everything', 'whole', *habhe* 'all'. Occasionally an attributive pronoun may combine with another pronoun, as in *habhā kijjh* (*sabho kujh*) 'everything'.

Demonstrative pronouns. These comprise *e* (*ih*) 'this', *inn*, *in* (*e*, *ih*, *eh*) 'these', *o* (*ūh*) 'that', *un* (*o*, *ūh*) 'those', *ehḍā* 'such', *ijehā* 'such' (as this), *ujehā* 'such' (as that), *ejhā* 'such' (Awankari).

Examples:

ehḍā hālat 'such a situation', *ijehā nīḍgar* 'such a boy', *inn gallā* 'these remarks'.

Correlative pronouns. Practically all the demonstrative pronouns can take part in providing correlational connection of the complex sentence (CS) while functioning as correlation signalers /Smirnov⁶ 38, 39, Smirnov¹, 167/. Therefore conformably to the CS they are correlative pronouns (for more details see the section on "The Syntax of the Composite Sentence").

In the Multani of Dera Gazi Khan one comes across a frequent usage of the correlative pronoun *tā* 'that' which doesn't change in the singular; as for the plural, the nominative case and the submorphised autoseme are *tinhā* and *tinhē*, respectively. In the Multani of Khairpur the pronoun *so* 'that' is often employed in this function, as in *je ko bhāggā māl dū meḍḍā thīvc*, *so me kũ dḍe* 'Whatever share of the property may be mine, give it to me'.

Relative pronouns also belong only to the sphere of the complex sentence and ensure not only correlational, but also relative ties in constructions of the kind (for examples see the section on "The Syntax of the Composite Sentence"). This subclass of pronouns includes for example, the following words introducing the subordinate clause: *jo*, *jerā* (the Thali of Mianwali), *jerā*, *jehḍā* 'who', 'which', *jā* or *jis* in the singular and *jinhā* in the plural are the subosemes of *jo* and *jehḍā*, while in the Multani of Dera Gazi Khan the nominative case, plural, of *jo* is *jinhā* and the suboseme *jinhē*.

Interrogative pronouns also have form variations depending on dialects. Thus, "who" in Awankari is conveyed by the pronoun *kor*,

and the suboseme, singular, by *kāṇḍhā*. In the Shahpur dialect of the Salt Range it is also *kor*, with *kāi* or *kā* as the suboseme, singular, and *kinhā* as that, plural. In Poonchi it is *kun*, with the suboseme *kusā*. In Pothohari it is *kun*, with the suboseme *kis*. In the Jakti of Shahpur it is *kāun*, with the suboseme *kā*. In Multani it is *kaun*, with the suboseme, singular, *ke*, and with that, plural, *kinhā* (*kinhā*) etc. An analytic case of the pronoun "who" in the Multani of Khairpur is *kinh* + a postposition, as in *kinh kū ddevā teḍḍī faryād?* 'How (lit. 'to whom') should I convey my complaint to you?'

In Multani "what" is conveyed by the pronoun *keā* or *cā*, with *kitt* being the suboseme; in the Multani of Dera Gazi Khan the pronoun is *keā ke* or *cā*, with *kit* being the suboseme; in Pothohari it is *kāh* and *kis*, respectively; in Poonchi *kāh*, *kā* or *kū*; in the Jatki of Lyallpur it is *kī*, in the Jatki of Shahpur it is *ke*, etc.

In Tinauli and the forms of speech of the Kohat area the pronouns *kahṛā* and *keṇḍā* respectively stand for "whose". In a number of dialects the interrogative pronoun *kehṛā* "which" is used.

Indefinite pronouns. In Multani and the Jatki of Lyallpur there often occurs the adjective-pronoun *kāi* 'some', 'a', 'an', 'of some kind' with the suboseme *kāhē* (*kāhī*). Examples: *kāi punāh* 'some protection', *kāi shai* 'a thing' (Multani), *kāi hus tū munikar hūsu?* 'Is she an apostate in relation to him?' (Jatki); *kāhī cokṛē kū patheus* 'She sent a boy', *kāhē bae afsar kolū* 'from some other official' (Multani). In Pothohari the word *koī* with the suboseme *kussā* (*kusā*) is a variant of this pronoun.

In the Multani of Dera Gazi Khan, in Poonchi and Pothohari the pronoun *kijjh* 'something' is used, while in Awankari *kijh* is employed.

The reflexive pronoun is always an indirect or (more rarely) a direct object and along the lines of agentival-patient relations refers to the subject, the doer (agent) of some action expressing the relation of one of three persons to oneself.

The reflexive pronoun is a homonym of the reflexive-possessive *āprā* (*āprā*), *apṇā* (*āpṇā*), *apadā* and differs from the latter in two respects: 1) morphologically, since the former is a noun-pronoun and the latter an adjective-pronoun; 2) syntactically, since the former functions as an object, whereas the latter as an attribute. Examples: *tāḍe piū āpṇe tāi vaddī ziyāfat kītī he* 'Your father has made a great feast for himself'; *taū ih āpṇe kāṇ cātā* 'You picked it up for yourself'; *mā i āpṛē kāṇ jhotā* 'I harnessed it (the bull) for myself'.

As in other Indian languages there are no special negative pronouns in Lahndi. The idea of the absence of an object is conveyed

by a combination of an indefinite pronoun with a negative particle belonging to the predicate. It is also possible to use concurrently two such pronouns referring to one negative form of the predicate only, as in *koī kaxs ū kū kāī shai d̄dendā na hā* 'Nobody gave him anything'.

VERBAL-PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

Pronominal suffixes occupy a special place in Lahndi grammar. They constitute one of the peculiar features of the language, which renders its closeness to Sindhi and Kashmiri and makes it differ from other languages of India and Pakistan. True, in Kashmiri these suffixes are only attached to the verb, whereas in Lahndi and Sindhi they are added to both verbal forms and nouns. Apart from this they, unlike Sindhi and Kashmiri, being attached to a clipped negative particle form in Lahndi a special system of negative finite forms of the verb. The pronominal suffixes bear an agglutinative character and may in one and the same form express four main meanings: a) that of the agent (doer) of an action, b) that of the main patient which syntactically is equal to a direct object, c) that of an indirect patient, an addressee, which syntactically is equal to an indirect object, d) that of possessiveness. In addition, they potentially have one more, parallel meaning, a verbal one, since they possess a certain charge of predication which displays itself especially prominently in compositions including nouns, participles and clipped forms of a link-verb (or a form of the verb "to be" in analytic patterns). Precisely for this reason we propound to call these suffixes verbal-pronominal.

It stands to reason that when added to an independent verb in a synthetic form the verbal meaning of the suffix fades out against the background of the verb predication. Although verbal-pronominal suffixes are not independent lexical units and are not used separately from words, they ensure various syntactic connections. Precisely for this reason their meaning is not infrequently revealed by comprehending a whole sentence, if not a wider context. Rather frequently even two suffixes may combine with one and the same word.

The suffixes are void of gender markers and form-arrange nouns of both genders.

On the basis of different sources their main inventory comprising also dialectal variants may be roughly presented (according to persons) as follows.

First person

Singular
-m, -s

Plural
-se, -hse

Suffixes of all persons may have -a-, -e-, -i-, -o-, -u- as connecting vowels. For the 1st person, singular, the most frequently used suffix is -a-, while for the plural -o- and -a-.

Examples with agentival meanings: *ū hī kīle mele uttū vall peum* 'Just because of this I returned from the fair'; *is karāre appar nāh* 'As promised, I shall not return'; *mele gāose* 'We set out for the fair'.

Sometimes a speaker in addition to an agentival suffix also uses a personal pronoun of the same person and number thus "dooming" the former to a backing up function. Occasionally a backing-up suffix is used to emphasize a preceding noun or pronoun, or both. This being the case, it is quite proper to regard a verb with such a suffix as finite, e.g. *mā apī jhugge dū vendā piā ham* 'I was going to my hut'; *assā rehyose* 'We remained'; *bulāqī, kīrār te rakhyā te nabbu te mā rel te carh karāhī boyye van latthose* 'Bulaki, Kirar, Rakhya, Nabbu and I having boarded the train, got off on coming to Bonga'.

Examples with patient meanings: *ū māreum* 'He beat me'; *kijh caytā na ladgā hāim* 'Nothing seemed to me favourable'; *hukm dītā hāse* 'We were given an order'.

Examples with a meaning of possessiveness: *-kassisse* 'We have fever', *gharum* 'I have a house'. In these examples the suffixes are added to the nouns and express predication. It is not fortuitous that there are such parallel variants as *kasshisse* and *gharhim*. Such forms as *him* and *hisse* are made by combining a modified verb form *he* 'is' with a corresponding suffix, i.e. *him* = *he* + *m*, whereas *hisse* = *he* + *isse* /Grierson¹, 262/.

Second person

Singular
-ī or -vī, -ī, -vī, -ū, -ū
(after ī), -su

Plural
-ne, -nihe, -ve or -vve

Examples: *ke karī?* 'Tell me what to do'; *trimut āī havī?* 'Did a woman come to you?'; *mang je kijh mangnāī* 'Demand what you want'; *tū minnat kīū hāvē* 'You made a request'; *sārū* 'I'll burn you'; *he vahūtī siālī vī jāsiā* 'Do you hear, this woman shall also go to Siala'.

The Jatki of Lyallpur sees a frequent usage of the suffix *-su*, which can express both the second and the third person. Here are examples of the first case: *tāṇḍhā man... kidhre hor dhire lagā vāsu* 'Do you hear, your heart is inclined in some other direction'; *hinā badlā uḍā desu* 'Disperse these clouds'; in the Jatki of Shahpur the pronominal suffixes *-ne*, *-nihe* are employed, while in Multani *-vve*, e.g. *ke kālne?* 'How do you do?'; *purinihe?* 'Do you have a millstone?' (Jatki); *sārhivve?* 'Do you have a burning pain?' (Multani).

Third person

Singular
-s, -su

Plural
-ne, -n, -nen, -nhē

Examples: *kijh nā baṇeus* 'He (lit. 'to him') didn't manage'; *ḍū mohṛā udhārā ghiddus* 'She borrowed two gold coins'; *janānṛā jahā te hesu* 'He is like a woman'; *O māḍḍe uttē kūṛ lendin* 'They slander me'; *mā kūṛ sādḍione* 'They called me out'; *mūhye'c paṇā painen* 'They put dust into his mouth'; *zamīn kūṛ pationhē* 'They dug up the ground'.

One and the same verb can simultaneously take two pronominal suffixes: one with an agentival meaning and another with a patient meaning, e.g. *jutamī joṛā (-m- + -ī)* 'I have harnessed a pair for you', *rupāe ḍitteimis (-m- + -s)* 'I gave him the rupees', *rupāe ḍittumve (-m- + -ve)* 'I gave you the rupees', *rupāe ḍittionum (-n- + -m)* 'I gave them the rupees' /Bomford, 158/.

In the texts in the Multani of Muzaffargarh and Bahawalpur /Grierson¹, 325-327/ there are two sentences which to all appearances represent a peculiar emphatic construction. Its basis is provided by an accentuated noun and a verb's pronominal suffix peculiarly backing up the former. In its character this construction resembles the pattern with the representative pronoun (or a group part of the sentence) which we have examined in Panjabi /Smirnov⁷, Smirnov²/, the difference, however, being in the fact that the latter language employs an independent lexical unit, i.e. a pronoun, whereas the former an affix. Examples: *- mohṛā ḍikhāeonas (-n- + -s)* 'He showed the gold coins' (lit. 'The gold coins, he showed them'); *mā kūṛ gālhi ḍittonas (-n- + -s)* 'He insulted me' (lit. 'to me insults, he gave them'). In both cases one verb has two suffixes: the suffix *-s* with the agentive meaning 'he' and the suffix *-n-* with the patient meaning 'them', which backs up an emphatically accentuated noun.

Combining with a clipped negative particle, the pronominal suffixes form special finite negative verbs of being, used mainly in the

Perfect and in the Present Tense. Compare the variants of these verbs in the Jatki of Shahpur with those in Multani:

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	Jatki: <i>nīmḥū</i> , <i>nissū</i> 'I am not'	<i>nisse</i> 'We are not'
1st	Multani: <i>nimhē</i> , <i>nīmḥī</i>	<i>nīhse</i> , <i>nisse</i>
2nd	Jatki: <i>nīhū</i> , <i>nūh</i> 'Thou is not'	<i>nīhe</i> 'You are not'
2nd	Multani: <i>nivē</i> , <i>nīvhī</i> , <i>nehī</i>	<i>nīhve</i> , <i>nivve</i> , <i>nivhe</i> , <i>nehe</i>
3rd	Jatki: <i>nissū</i> , <i>nēih</i> 'He is not'	<i>ninne</i> , <i>ninnhe</i> 'They are not'
3rd	Multani: <i>nīhsī</i> , <i>nīsī</i> , <i>nāh</i>	<i>ninnhē</i> , <i>ninhē</i> , <i>nivve</i> , <i>nehn</i>

Examples: - *nimḥū laddhā* 'I did not receive'; *ninne diṭṭhā* 'They did not see'; *nukm nīne dḥeā* 'You were not given the order'; *nisse dūl manā dā khatrā* 'We are not afraid of enemies'.

It should be borne in mind that in Lahndi there are also another variety of negative finite verbs of being formed by combining a clipped negative particle with the forms of the verb "to be" (For this see "The Verb" section).

THE VERB

The verb in Lahndi is a part of speech which comprises various forms possessing such categories as person, number, tense, mood, aspect, transitivity, voice and gender (not always).

NON-FINITE FORMS

The verb in Lahndi has finite and non-finite forms (verbals).

The latter are represented by the initial verbal form, the infinitive, the gerund, the gerundival-modal participle, participle I, participle II and the verbal adverb.

The initial verbal form. In the morphological structure of verbal forms one can distinguish a common short form which is used itself in various analytic compositions, or gets converted into other verbal forms and even parts of speech, or still by adding various affixes makes derivative forms: the infinitive, gerundival-modal participle, participles and various synthetic finite forms. This phenomenon occurs in other Indian languages, too. It is not fortuitous that scholars studying Lahndi (as well as many linguists dealing with other Indian

languages) adduce the verb exactly in this, that is, in its primary form, but not in the form of an infinitive.

Since this form is used as a word conveying a general idea of a pure process (which cannot be said of the infinitive), it had better be called the initial verbal form, but not stem or root. The latter two terms are justified only for the derivative synthetic forms. Examples: - *van* (*vanuṅ* 'to go'), *gach* (*gachṅā* 'to go'), *ach* (*achṅā* 'to come'), *samm* (*sammunṅ* 'to sleep'), *dahl* (*dahlunṅ* 'to be afraid'), *kar* (*karunṅ* 'to do'), *miṅṛ* (*miṅṛunṅ* 'to measure').

The Infinitive. In Lahndi there are three types of the infinitive:

- 1) the initial form+the morpheme *-unṅ* (*-vunṅ*), e.g. *bhiṅṅunṅ* 'to struggle', *ihivunṅ* 'to be', 'to become', *pivunṅ* 'to drink';
- 2) the initial form+the morpheme *-aṅ*: *cambaraṅ* 'to stick', *kapaṅ* 'to cut off', 'to separate';

- 3) the initial form + the morpheme *-ṅā*, *-nā* (a less common type): *mārṅā* 'to beat', *gaṅā* 'to sing'.

In many dialects the first and third types of the infinitive change for case and have the submorphised autoseme in *-aṅ* (*bhiraṅ*) and in *-ṅe*, *-ne* (*mārṅe*, *gaṅe*), respectively. However, it should be pointed out that in Awankari the infinitive is frequently not affected by case in non-nominative cases, as in *āp kujh lāvunṅ ānunṅ laggā geā* 'Himself went out to fetch some vegetable', *jā paṅhun vānā...* 'Whenever he goes to study...'

In Tinauli the form of the infinitive in *-nā* (*-ṅā*) is at times not subjected to case changes either.

The infinitive form of the 2nd type remains unchanged in all cases.

The first type of infinitive occurs, for instance, in such dialects as the Jatki of Shahpur, the Shahpur dialect of the Salt Range, Awankari, (the central) Multani, and others; the second in the Multani of Muzaffargarh, Dera Gazi Khan and others; the third in Pothohari, Chibhali etc. In some dialects two types of infinitive are employed concurrently. Thus, the 1st and 3rd are used in the northern dialect Tinauli and the Kohat forms of speech.

The infinitive of Lahndi is a specific form of the verb which occupies an intermediate position between the verb and the noun and possesses features of both, with noun characteristics predominating over verb characteristics. It is not by chance, therefore, that some scholars (for instance, Wilson and Grierson) are inclined to regard it as a verbal noun. We should ascribe to the infinitive's noun characteristics the following:

1) it can change for case, with various postpositions being employed as the main submorph in analytic cases. Examples of the 1st type of infinitive: - *lokā nā āvun vaṇuḡ ghatt āhā* 'The flow of people (lit. 'coming, going') was slight', *ū khafā thī ke andar vaṇan nā cāheā* 'Having grown angry, he did not want to go in'; *khāvaṇ dāi* 'for eating'. In the first example the infinitive *vaṇun* 'to go' is in the nominative case, and in the second - in the accusative (*vaṇan*);

2) it can be preceded by attributes (either with the coordinating-relational postposition, or without it); e.g. *meddā maraṇ* 'my murder' (lit. 'killing'), *āṇe piū ne ākhaṇ mūjib...* 'as my father said' (lit. 'according to the saying of my father');

3) due to the existence of the coordinating-relational postposition it can function as an attribute in concord pertaining to a noun, as in *medde kuḡaṇ nā hukm* 'an order to kill me';

4) due to the possibility of having the forms of the prosecutive cases it can be used as an adverbial modifier, e.g. *kusā siyāṇe kī loṇe tāi gach* 'Go to seek a wise man'; *sammaṇ āeus* 'He has come to sleep'.

Verb characteristics of the infinitive are as follows:

1) it can change for voice, as in Multani: *māruṇ* 'to beat' - *marījuṇ* 'to be beaten'; *karuṇ* 'to do' - *karvāuṇ* 'to cause someone to do something' ('to do through somebody') etc.;

2) it can be modified by an adverb, as in *ajjā ddekhaṇ caṅgā nahī* 'to see it now is bad';

3) it can be transitive or intransitive.

Thus, expressing a process the infinitive objectifies it to a certain degree.

The gerund is a form of the verb which, just as the infinitive, possesses both substantival and verbal features. To all appearances, its substantival features predominate over the verbal ones which is testified by examples occurring in oral and written speech. Mostly the gerund coincides in form with Masculine Participle II (for this see below "The Participle" section), but sometimes the homonymy may be observed in the feminine gender. The gerund may have various attributes in concord and change for case (mostly being affected by analytic cases in which it uses various postpositions as the main submorph). The gerund can most commonly function as a subject, object or an adverbial modifier. Examples: - *māḡā ākheā* 'my word' (lit. 'my saying'); *mā kū munsifā dā kītā manzūr nahī* 'The decision of the arbitrators is unacceptable for me', *oh us nē ākhe appar kudhrc tuṇ peā* 'After she had said it (lit. after her saying) he went some-

where'; us *janānī kī hikk kuttī ghare nī rākhī tū ghinn dītū* 'He left a dog for his wife to guard the house'.

The gerund's verb characteristics can be illustrated, for example, by the presence of a direct object, if the former is made from a transitive verb: *hasādā ghar dītthe bājh* 'without taking a look at our house'.

The gerund is part of a verb complex expressing the frequentative aspect (for which see sections dealing with the tenses and aspects of the verb).

The gerundival-modal Participle (GMP) is a verbal adjective and does not coincide in form with the infinitive of the 1st and 2nd types. Only its masculine forms, singular and plural (in *-nā*, *-ṇā* and in *-ne*, *-ṇe*), are analogous to those of the infinitive of the 3rd type whose ultima sees in the nominative case *-nā* (*-ṇā*) and in non-nominative cases *-ne* (*-ṇe*). If one takes into consideration a relatively rare usage of the infinitive of the third type, the GMP of Lahndi most commonly differs in form from the infinitive. Differences between these forms of the verb are seen in other respects, too.

Unlike the infinitive the GMP does not change for case, does not combine with postpositions and cannot have attributes. But instead it agrees with the noun to which it refers in gender and number and, as a rule, in the nominative case and in the synthetic accusative. Sometimes the GMP may also coincide in form with Participle I whose ultima sees *-nā*, and *-ṇā*. It is often used in the function of a predicate and in this case frequently has a modal meaning (necessity, duty, obligation, wish, determination, possibility, expediency, etc.), e.g.: *hus'c ke ghāt honī ai, naṇd rānī?* 'What shortcoming can he possess, sister-in-law?'; *muṛ hisā kā snehā pagām deṇā ī te desu* 'If you want to convey some news to her, do it'.

Just as in Panjabi, the GMP in Lahndi can be used in the ergative construction and denote a future tense. This fact refutes the viewpoint of the linguists who assert that as if the ergative construction in the modern Indian languages merely means a past perfective action (let alone the fact that a predicate represented by an ordinary form of the verb can in the ergative construction express a repeated, non-perfective action), as in *tuddh ū kū khallī ddeṇī ā* 'You will have to give him the wine-bag'; *ū māddā gunāh nahī karnā* 'He will not sin against me'; *habbnā pānī piṇā e?* 'Will all drink water?'.

Hence, the GMP imparts to the process it expresses a meaning of qualities and not infrequently of modality.

The Participle

Participle I is mostly formed by adding to the initial verbal form the segments $-nā$, $-nā̃$ (sometimes $-nā$, $-nā̃$, as in Pothohari), $dā$, $-ndā$, $-undā$, $-āndā$, $-endā$. Examples: - $kuṭṭnā$ ($kuṭṭnā̃$) 'beating', $khalondā$ 'standing', $appṛāndā$ 'making reach', $karendā$ 'doing', $puchēnā$ 'asking', $vānā$ 'going', etc.

In Thali Participle I is often formed by adding the segments $-īndā$, $-āndā$; $karīndā$ 'doing', $vikāndā$ 'selling'. In this dialect the verb $dekhun$ 'to see' has Participle I $deḍhā$ 'seeing'. In Poonchi Participles I of the verbs $gachṇā$ 'to go', and $achṇā$ 'to come' are $genā$ 'going', and $enā$ 'coming', respectively.

Like the adjective, Participle I changes for gender, number and case, following the changes of the noun to which it refers. Expressing various categories it can function independently, or be part of a synthetic compound form, or else be a component of an analytic complex (see below).

In Lahndi there is also a passive participle mostly formed in the masculine, singular (we take this form as initial for the participle) by adding to the initial verbal form the segments $-īnā$, $-īnā̃$, $-īndā$, $-īdā$, as in $karīnā$ ($karīnā̃$) or $karīdā$ $karīndā$ 'being made', $marīndā$ or $marīnā$ 'being beaten', $ḍhaīndā$ 'being sought for'.

If the initial verbal form contains a long vowel, it is shortened when forming a passive participle, which is seen from the example of the participle $marīndā$ or $marīnā$ 'being beaten' just adduced above. For additional details pertaining to the passive participle also see the "Passive Voice" section.

Participle II. Depending on transitivity, the lexical character of the verb and the type of syntactic pattern in which Participle II is used, it can possess either an active, or a passive meaning. Thus, Participles II of all intransitive verbs are only active in their character. The same meaning is always possessed by Participles II of transitive verbs in the ergative construction with a perfect or past perfect form of the predicate. In other cases (see the "Finite Forms" section) there can sometimes be a passive meaning of Participles II derived from transitive verbs, which points to a heterogeneous character of its meaning.

Rather often Participle II is formed in various dialects of Lahndi by adding the morphemes $-eā$, $-iā$, $iyā$, $-ā$ to the initial or changed initial form, e.g.

$povan$ 'to fall' - $piā$, $piyā$ 'fallen',

$thivun$ 'to
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thīvaṇ 'to become', 'to be' - *thīā* 'become', 'been'.

cāvaṇ 'to lift' - *cāiā* 'having lifted', 'lifted'.

Not infrequently Participle II is formed by adding the segments

-thā, *-hā*, *-tā* to a changed stem, as in:

vilhappan 'to divide' (intransitive) - *vilhatā* 'divided',

vathan 'to seize' - *vathūtā* 'having seized', 'seized',

niklan 'to go out' - *nikhtā* 'gone out',

ghinnan 'to take' - *ghidā*, *ghiddā* (*ghidhā*) 'having taken', 'taken'.

Sometimes there occurs suppletion, e.g.:

vaṇun 'to go' - *geā* 'gone',

vassun 'to rain' - *uṭṭhā* 'rained'.

Participle II is also inflected for gender and number.

It should be borne in mind that in Lahndi, as, in our opinion, in a number of Modern Indian languages, there is a past tense form of the verb, homonymical to Participle II, which expresses an active action, possesses predication and is used independently as the central, constituting part of the sentence, e.g.

o'julēā 'He is gone'; *us hikk sotī ghiddī* 'He took a club' (an ergative construction).

Participles bear an adjectival character and impart to the process they express a shade of quality.

An analytic word-form of Participle II. Participle II can be a notional component of an analytic word-form which also includes Participle II of the verb 'to be', imparting to it the meaning of the category of the aspect of state (the modifier of the verbal aspect). In its essence this is an aspectual variety of Participle II. Such a complex with its pronouncedly expressed meaning of state frequently functions as an attribute or a notional-aspectual component of an analytic predicate (being itself analytic). Examples: - *vagindā huā šaks* 'a man playing a musical instrument'; *ū velhe ū dā vadḍā putr raḥ do ggiā hoiā hā* 'At that time his eldest son was going to the field'; *sap peā oiā siā* 'The snake was lying'; *suṇā hoyā hā* 'was listening'; *likhiā hoyā* 'written', 'having written'.

Reduplication of a participle is also possible, e.g. *xabar uḍḍī uḍḍī havāī pāt gāt* 'The news spread' (lit. 'the flying, flying news spread').

The participle can also be part of other complexes.

The verbal adverb has several varieties:

1) one as a variety of the initial form of the verb: *qāzī mauqā vaī dīṭhā* 'The Kazi going to the place, examined it'; *unhā kū ghaṇṭ*

duniā-daulat dde xuš kītus 'Having given them many riches he made them happy';

2) one formed by adding the affix *-ī* to the initial form: *bahū capēt pušāk kaḥī te ghinnī acho* 'Having taken out the best raiment (and taking it along), bring it here'.

Verbal adverbs of these two types can combine in one and the same sentence: *ivē ākh un hī niṅgar kū bhākur pāī cumā dditus* 'Having said that and having embraced the fellow, he kissed him';

3) one formed by combining the derived form in *-ī* with the formant *kā* (in Chibhali and others) or *ke* (Pothohari, Awankari and others). (The form ending in *-ī* can be not only a verbal adverb, but also part of intensive verbs, i.e. can replace the initial form). Examples: *-habbā kijjh ghatthā karī ke* 'having collected everything', *karī kā* 'having done', *āī kā* 'having come', *marorī ke* 'having twisted';

4) one formed by combining the initial form with the formant *kaṇī* (Awankari): *āṇ kaṇī* 'coming up'.

Verbal adverbs of the third and fourth types may combine in one and the same sentence: *gaṇ ke ca denā te totā ghin kaṇī ghar laggā ānā* 'Having counted /the money/ he gives /it/ and taking the parrot, comes up home';

5) one formed by combining the initial form with the formant *karāhī* or *karahī*. This type of verbal adverb occurs in the Multani of Dera Gazi Khan, Bahawalpur and other areas bordering with the zone where Sindhi is spoken. Examples: *-ā karāhī ū kū minnat kītus* 'Having come up he made a request to him', *sabho gaḍḍ kar karahū* 'Having collected everything', *dīgir kū rel utte caḥ karāhī iṣā vele* 'Having boarded the train during the evening prayer he came to Himati during the morning prayer and got off there';

6) one formed by combining the initial form with the formant *kar*: *mohṛā giṇ kar āpnī guthlī c pāvaṇ laggā* 'Counting the gold pieces, he began to put them into his bag';

7) an analytic verbal adverb consisting of the initial verbal form with the affix *-ī* attached, which is used as a notional component, and the form *hoī* of the verb "to be": *o mā kū māī hoī vale vende han* 'Having beaten me, they were going back';

8) a passive verbal adverb as a variety of the passive initial verbal form, e.g. *marīj* 'being beaten', 'having been beaten';

9) a verbal adverb of participial origin. This is an uninflected form of Participle I ending in *-eā* and bearing an obviously verbal adverbial character: *turṇeā janānī us kī ākheā ke...* 'When he was

about to go, the wife...); *rāh vi*
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about to go, the wife told him that...' (lit. 'he being about to go', the wife...); *rāh vich vāndeā hikk lakṛīā āḷā takkeus* 'Going along the road he saw a wood-chopper'.

FINITE FORMS

These comprise all synthetic forms having finite markers, as well as analytic complexes consisting of a participle and an auxiliary verb changing for person.

The verb of Lahndi is characterised by the following categories of mood: the indicative, the imperative, the subjunctive, the conditional and the suppositional. In sections dealing with moods we shall consider the category of tense and other characteristics of the given part of speech.

The Indicative Mood

The Present Tense

First we should consider the present tense forms of the verb "to be", "to exist" – *hovun* (*hovan*) or *thīvun* (*thīvan*) taking part in many complexes. The given verb has a developed and multi-various system of conjugation represented by full, contracted and even emphatic forms (Table 19).

Table 19

*The conjugation of the verb hovun (hovan)
'to be' in Multani**

Person	Singular		Plural	
	Full Form	Contracted Form	Full Form	Contracted Form
1st	<i>hā</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>hā</i>	<i>ā</i>
2nd	<i>hī</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>ho</i>	<i>o</i>
3rd	<i>he</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>hin</i>	<i>in</i>

* Grierson¹, 342.

Dialectal variations are also reflected in the fact that in a number of dialects there are several variants of conjugation for the verb *hovun* (*hovan*). What is more, conjugation systems may exist simultaneously for the verbs *hovun* (*hovan*) and *thivun* (*thivan*). This can be illustrated by the Poonchi dialect. Taking into account the two verbs, it has four variants of conjugation (Tables 21, 22).

Table 20

The conjugation of the verb "to be" in the Jatki of Shahpur*

Person	Singular			Plural		
	Full Form	Emphatic Form	Contracted Form	Full Form	Emphatic Form	Contracted Form
1st	<i>hā</i>	<i>āhā, āhā</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>hā, hā</i>	<i>āhā</i>	<i>āh</i>
2nd	<i>hē</i>	<i>ihē</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ho</i>	<i>eho</i>	<i>o</i>
3rd	<i>he</i>	<i>ihe</i>	<i>e(ve)</i>	<i>hin</i>	<i>ehin, ehinn</i>	<i>in</i>

* Wilson, 45.

Table 21

The conjugation of the verb "to be" in Poonchi*

Person	Singular			
	Variant 1	Variant 2	Variant 3	Variant 4
1st	<i>es</i>	<i>nāes</i>	<i>dāes</i>	<i>thes</i>
2nd	<i>ē</i>	<i>nāī</i>	<i>dī</i>	<i>thī</i>
3rd	<i>ā</i>	<i>nā, nāe</i> (fem. <i>nī</i>)	<i>dā</i> (fem. <i>dī</i>)	<i>thā</i> (fem. <i>thī</i>)

* Grierson¹, 510.

Table 22

The conjugation of the verb "to be" in Poonchi*

Person	Plural			
	Variant 1	Variant 2	Variant 3	Variant 4
1st	<i>ā</i>	<i>neā</i> (<i>neō</i>)	-	<i>theā</i>
2nd	<i>ā</i>	<i>neā</i>	-	<i>theā</i>
3rd	<i>e</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>thae, the</i> (fem. <i>thīā</i>)

In the dialect Dhundi-Kairali the systems of the two verbs look somewhat different (Table 23).

Table 23

The conjugation of the verb "to be"
in Dhundi-Kairali*

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	ā, eā	theā	ā, eā	theā
2nd	ē, ā	theā	o, eo	theo
3rd	ā, ā, (Fem. ī)	theā (Fem. theī)	e, de (Fem. eīā)	theā (Fem. theīā)

* Grierson, 496.

In the Jatki of Lyallpur there occurs a peculiar form *nu*, which is used alongside with the form of the 3rd person, plural, of the verb "to be" and does not discriminate gender, e.g. *āhde nu* 'they say'; *nadhīā bahū pūjāīā nu* 'The girls like very much'; *māh badxāh khārxāh habhe hik harobar nu* 'For me ill-wishers and good-wishers are all the same'. This short word resembles the similar form *ne* in Panjabi.

Finite negative verbal forms of the present tense "not to be" include the pronominal suffixes already analysed above on the basis of the dialects Multani and the Jatki of Shahpur. We shall consider in the dialects Dhundi-Kairali and Thali the negative word-forms not based at all or based partially on the pronominal suffixes.

Table 24

Finite negative forms of the present tense "not to be"
in Thali and Dhundi-Kairali

Person	Singular		Plural	
	Dhundi-Kairali	Thali	Dhundi-Kairali	Thali
1st	nā	nāh, nāhā	nā	nise, nāpē
2nd	ne	nihā, neh	neo	nihe, nīhye, nīhe
3rd	nā (Fem. neī)	nahē, nāhē, nahnē	ne (Fem. neīā)	nahī, nīh

Present tense forms of the verb in Lahndi may be synthetic and analytic and have varieties corresponding to aspect categories. The present tense of the indicative mood has the following categories of aspect:

The habitual non-perfective aspect is formed either analytically, by combining Participle I which is a notional component with one of

the finite forms of the verb "to be", which is the modifier of finiteness, or synthetically by some forms including those with pronominal suffixes. Let us consider analytic forms in the Multani of Dera Gazi Khan (exemplified by the verb *mārun* 'to beat'):

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<i>marendā hā</i>	<i>mārende hā</i>
2nd person	<i>marendā hī</i>	<i>mārende ho</i>
3rd person	<i>marendā hē</i>	<i>mārende hin</i>

The given dialect possesses finite synthetic forms in all persons, except for the 2nd person, plural, e.g.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<i>marendā</i>	<i>mārendū</i>
2nd person	<i>marendī</i>	<i>mārende ho</i>
3rd person	<i>mārende</i>	<i>mārendin</i>

In Pothohari synthetic finite forms occur in all persons, singular, and in the 3rd person, plural (exemplified by the verb *kuttānā* 'to beat'):

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<i>kuttānā</i>	<i>kuttāne ā</i>
2nd person	<i>kuttānā</i>	<i>kuttāne o</i>
3rd person	<i>kuttānā</i>	<i>kuttāne</i>

There are parallel synthetic and analytic forms in a number of other dialects, as well.

The habitual non-perfective aspect expresses:

- 1) an action connected with an invariable process affecting the past, present and future on a large scale, as in:
mardā nē dhiqhe cō jātuk jammen 'Children are born from the womb of a human being' (a synthetic form);
 - 2) an action connected with a period of the present which may include or exclude the moment of speaking, e.g. *tussī dhiāri c athāhrā ghaṅṅe kam karēno* 'You work 18 hours a day' (a synthetic form);
 - 3) an action at the moment of speaking, e.g. *mā āpū puchnī ā* 'I myself am asking'; *c kur mārenē* 'They are lying'.
- This aspect conveys a general idea of an action taking place without any concrete details of the process of action.

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The concrete-processive aspect expresses an idea of an action in process, with the stress on the concrete character of the former. Therefore we deem it expedient to call the aspect concrete-processive (it is not by chance that the components of this form in Lahndi *piā e* mean 'finds itself', 'is', i.e. finds itself in the given action). Its concrete character makes it similar to the continuous aspect in English and to the durative forms of the verb in Panjabi, Hindi and other Modern Indian languages. However, such forms (durative) have not come to be employed in Lahndi, since typical of it is a complex either including Participle I as a notional component, Participle II from the verb *pavun* 'to fall' as the modifier of the aspect plus a form of the verb "to be" including a negative one (or a negative particle) as the modifier of finiteness; or comprising a form, which is simultaneously a notional component and the modifier of finiteness, plus Participle II from the verb *pavun* as the modifier of the aspect. This aspect frequently expresses a concrete action taking place at the moment of speaking, as in *ke paī ākhnī e tūh?* 'What are you saying?'; *ke paī ākhnī ā?* 'What am I saying?'; *uhā te mā paī āhnī ā* 'I am saying the same'; *bādsāh meddā maran piā ddekhdā he* 'The king is watching how I'm being killed'; *So tadāhā sīvāī allāh-sāī de kār panāh nahā piā ddekhdā* 'So I don't see now any saviour other than Allah'; *lok abbāse sohde nā armān pae karen* 'The people sympathise with the poor wretch Abbas'.

Sometimes forms of the given aspect may convey a concrete action of a larger scale, taking in the past as well. Examples: - *har vele hazārā admī pae laghnen* 'Every time thousands of people keep passing'; *bahū muddat thī mā tonḍhī xizmat peā karenā* 'I've been serving you for a long time'.

It is necessary to bear in mind that an action taking place at the moment of speaking may, as has already been pointed out, be conveyed by forms of the habitual non-perfective aspect, as in *e'kur marenen* 'They are telling a lie'. However, this form draws one's attention not to the concreteness of an action process, but only to the fact that such an action takes place in general.

The continuous aspect conveys an idea of a continuance of an action and is to a lesser degree connected with the concreteness of a process. Forms of this aspect are mostly built by combining Participle I as a notional component with either a perfect form of the verb *rahuṅ* (*rāhuṅ*) or with its pronominal-suffixal form, as in *is girāe' hik darzī kam kār karenā rāhā āh* 'A tailor has been working in this

village'; *itle varhē torī tāḍī xidmat karendā rehum* 'I've been doing service to you for so many years'. In the first case Participle II of the perfect form serves as the modifier of the aspect and the form of the verb "to be" as the modifier of finiteness. In the second case the synthetic form of the verb *rahun* is simultaneously the modifier of the aspect and the modifier of finiteness.

The frequentative aspect expresses a process repeating itself regularly or a frequentative action. The forms of the given aspect are also formed analytically by combining a gerund with a form of the verb *karun* 'to do', e.g.: *e'sāl karun gāe karnen* 'They regularly go for walks'; *o'āpnā ḍitthā suneā kar ghindā ā* 'He always makes his conclusions' (lit. 'makes always his looking and listening').

The inchoative aspect denotes an action begun at the moment of speaking at the present time or at the present time in general.

It is formed analytically by combining the submorphised autoseme of an infinitive with a perfect (for the present tense!) form of the verb *laggun* (*laggan*) 'to touch'. For example: - *ḍḍekhā, mohṛā āpnī guthli* *c pāvan laggīā e* 'Take a look, he began to put gold coins in his sack'.

The aspect of an action on the verge of beginning conveys an idea of an action on the verge of beginning and sometimes expresses an action that has barely started. The aspect forms are made analytically by combining the initial verbal form with a perfect form of a verb of movement (most frequently). For instance, in Pothohari the verb *julnā* 'to move', 'to go' is used: *tū tur te juleā e*. 'You are about to go, but...'; *mā unā lawā juleā e* 'I've just applied them (the leaves)'.

The resultative-completive aspect expresses an action that has been already completed by the moment of speaking at the present time, but actually refers to the past. However, through its results it is closely connected with the moment of speaking and these results are a peculiar state of an accomplished action of this or that object which may be in the former at the present as well.

The given aspect forms are made in several ways:

1) either by a perfect form consisting of Participle II rather often expressing completeness and of a form of the verb "to be", or by a synthetic form of a verb. Examples: - *māḍā uṭṭh kidde geā e* 'Where has my camel gone?' (lit. 'Where gone is my camel?'); *hun tāndhā putur jamiā* 'A son has just been born to you'; *giā* 'I have gone'; *giā* 'Thou has gone'; *giā* 'He has gone'; *geā* 'We have gone'; *geo* 'You have

gone'; *gā* 'They have gone' (the last six examples are perfect synthetic forms of the dialect Tinauli);

2) by combining the initial verbal form with Participle II of the verb *rahun* 'to remain', 'to be' and a form of the verb "to be". Outwardly this complex coincides or almost coincides with the durative of Panjabi and is analogous in its composition to a similar form in Hindustani both of which express the concrete-processive aspect. However, the complex under consideration widely differs from the patterns under comparison, since it expresses completeness, e.g. *ṭoṇḍhā bhirā ā rihā āh* 'Your brother has come';

3) by combining the initial verbal form with Participle II of the completive verb *cukkuṇ* (*cukkaṇ*) 'to get completed' and a form of the verb "to be": *oh apṛā māl khā pī cukkiā e* 'He has eaten-drunk away his property';

4) by combining the initial verbal form with Participle II of the verb *bāṭhun* (*bāṭhaṇ*) 'to sit', 'to sit down' and a form of the verb "to be", e.g. *o'habbhā kijjh kharc kar bāṭhā e* 'He has spent everything he had'.

The aspect of state expresses an idea of state in which an object finds itself after the completion of a certain action, or after the action has begun. The forms of the given aspect are analytic and are built in three ways, as follows: 1) by combining Participle II as a notional component with Participle II of the verb *hovun* (*hovan*) 'to be' as the modifier of the aspect and with a form of the verb *hovun* (*hovan*) as the modifier of finiteness (in this complex the first two components constitute an analytic participle of state); 2) by combining Participle II as a notional component with a form of the verb *hovun* (*hovan*) built by adding to it a pronominal suffix; 3) by combining Participle II as a notional component with a form of the verb *hovun* (*hovan*), homonymous to Participle II and functioning both as the modifier of the aspect and as the modifier of finiteness. In the patterns of this aspect Participle II may often have a passive meaning. Examples: - *us vicc trā lāl rakkhe hoen* (-*hoe in*). 'There are three rubies in it' (lit. 'placed are'); *hun makadmā piā oiā* 'Now a law-suit is going on'; *māl laddeā hoeā e* 'The property has been laded'.

Sometimes a form of the aspect of state is built only by combining Participle II with a form of the verb "to be", as in *chajjū ajjan* *ṭarī gussā bethā he* 'The money-lender is still sitting angry'; *musal-* *mānī nāl hasāḍī kadokaṇī sāk sakīrī thī e?* 'Since what time have we been akin to Muslims?'

The Past Tense

Table 25

The conjugation of the verb "to be" in the Past Tense in the Multani of Dera Guzi Khan and the Jatki of Shahpur*

Person	The Multani of Dera Guzi Khan		The Jatki of Shahpur	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st	hāim, ham, hāus, hāsū	hāse, hāsē	āhus, āhis	āhase
2nd	hāwē	hāwe	āhē	āhe
3rd	hā (Fem. hāī)	hāī, han	āhā (Fem. āhī)	āhin (Fem. āhī, āhin)

*Grierson, 342, Wilson, 46.

As distinct from Multani and the southern dialects the employment in most northern dialects of the suffix -s in all persons is typical of the conjugation system of the given verb in the past tense. It can be exemplified by a multi-variant system in Poonchi and the system in Dhundi-Kairali (cf. tables 26 and 27).

Table 26

The conjugation of the verb "to be" in the Past Tense in Poonchi*

Person	Singular		
	Variant 1	Variant 2	Variant 3
1st	ases	ses	nāases
2nd	asī	sī	-
3rd	asā (Fem. asī)	sā (Fem. si)	-

*Grierson, 510-511.

Table 27

The conjugation of the verb "to be" in the Past Tense in Poonchi

Person	Plural		
	Variant 1	Variant 2	Variant 3
1st	aseā, aseō	seā, seō	neseā, neseō
2nd	aseā	seā	neseā
3rd	ase	se	nese

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In Dhundi-Kairali there are several distinctions (cf. Table 28).

Table 28

The conjugation of the verb "to be" in the Past Tense in Dhundi-Kairali*

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	aseā̃	aseā̃
2nd	asaī̃	aseō̃
3rd	asā̃ (Fem. asī̃)	ase (Fem. asiā̃)

*Grierson, 496.

Finite negative forms of the verb "to be" are made by adding the negative affix *n-* to their corresponding affirmative forms (cf. Table 29).

Table 29

The conjugation of the personal negative forms of the verb "to be" in the Jatki of Shahpur and Dhundi-Kairali (a comparative plan)

Person	The Jatki of Shahpur		Dhundi-Kairali	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st	nāhus	nāhsse	naseā̃	naseā̃
2nd	nāhē̃	nāhe	nasaī̃	naseo
3rd	nāhā̃ (Fem. nāhī̃)	nāhin (Fem. nāhīā̃)	nasā̃ (Fem. nasĩ)	nase (Fem. nasiā̃)

Just as in the present tense, the past tense forms of the Lahndi verb may be synthetic and analytic, although the formation of synthetic forms on the basis of Participle I is unproductive.

The Past Tense is based on the same aspects as the Present, plus the resultative-completive aspect based on the past tense form homonymous to Participle II. A form of the past tense may also take pronominal suffixes. True, this form does not always express the resultative-completive aspect, and there are cases in which it represents the habitual non-perfective aspect.

The habitual non-perfective aspect forms are made either by combining Participle I with the past tense forms of the verb "to be", or is expressed solely by the past tense forms of the verb "to be"

(including the verb *thīvuṇ*). Examples: - *unnhā cillū ā sūr khānē āhe* 'The swines were eating those husks'; *ho cāk nahū hā nirā hasādā* 'He was not only our servant, but also /was/ our relative'; *pahilū hindū thīe* 'At first they were Hindus'; *hik sudāgar sīā* 'Once there lived a merchant'.

The concrete-processive aspect conveys an idea of being in the state of a concrete process in the past and outwardly differs from its counterpart in the present in that it employs the forms of the past tense of the verb "to be", but not those of the present tense, e.g. *mā ānā pā siāt* 'I was coming up'; *sā^α ajj peā ahdā āhī* 'Today the master was telling'; *bādsāh sunēnā piā āiā* 'The king was listening'.

The continuous aspect conveys an idea of continuance of an action in the past. Its forms are made by combining Participle I as a notional component with the past tense forms of the verb *rahuṇ* (*rāhuṇ*) 'to remain', 'to be in a state' including an ordinary synthetic form similar to Participle II, e.g.: *hale hale asā ko ber jhuṇenā rehā* 'Slowly and slowly he kept shaking down jujubes for us', *o:kahī girāe'c kam kār krenā rāhnā āhā* 'He used to do his business in some village'.

The frequentative aspect forms are made by combining a gerund with a form of the verb *karuṇ*, e.g. *oh mighī kutteā karnā āhā* 'He would always beat me'.

The inchoative aspect conveys an idea of the beginning of an action at some moment in the past. It can be expressed in two ways: 1) by combining the submorphised autoseme of an infinitive with a past tense synthetic form of the verb *lagguṇ* (*laggaṇ*) 'to touch'; 2) by combining the same form of an infinitive with an intensive form of *lagguṇ* including the forms of the verb *pavuṇ* (*pavaṇ*) 'to fall'. Examples: - *o'muthāj thīvaṇ laggā* 'He began to become poorer'; *chajjū kī ākhaṇ laggā* 'He began to speak with the money-lender'; *jaṇā trīmat rahvaṇ lag pae* 'The husband and the wife began their family life'.

The aspect of an action on the verge of beginning builds its forms by combining the initial verbal form with a past perfect form of a verb of movement, e.g. *oh mī kī kutī juleā sā* 'He was about to beat me'.

The resultative-completive aspect conveys an idea of an action completed by some certain moment or at some moment of the past. It is represented by several variants: 1) by past perfect forms (an analytic variant), e.g. *huse din jinden husā lassī piāt āi kujh gall*

thī 'On the very same day when I had given milk to him, a conversation took place'; 2) by an analytic pattern (by an intensive form of the verb) comprising the initial verbal form as a notional component and past tense forms of a number of verbs, for instance, of the verbs *rahun* (*rāhun*) 'to remain', *cukkuṇ* (*cukkaṇ*) 'to be finished', *bāṭhun* (*bāṭhaṇ*) 'to sit down', *ḍḍevuṇ* (*ḍḍevaṇ*) 'to give', *gachṇā* or *vaṇjuṇ* 'to go', *ghattun* 'to throw' and others, e.g. *oh habbā kih kharc kar reh* 'He had spent everything' (by that moment); *jaddan apṇā māḷ vaṇjā cukkiā...* 'When he had squandered his property...'; *mā ḷ kū khallī ḍḍe ḍḍittī* 'I gave him the wine-bag'; *sabho kujjh kharc thī giā* 'Everything was spent', *ū khallī saṭṭ ghattī* 'He cast away the wine-bag'; 3) by a form homonymous to Participle II, e.g. *us hikk soṭī ghiddī* 'She took a club' (it should be borne in mind that such a form may also express the habitual non-perfective aspect); 4) by a pronominal-suffixal form of the verb, e.g. *apīl cip-korṭ tāi kītius* 'He lodged an appeal with the Chief Court'.

The last two variants are synthetic.

The aspect of state conveys an idea of state in the past and mostly builds its forms by combining an analytic participle with a meaning of state /Participle II as a notional component + Participle II of the verb *hovun* (*hovaṇ*) 'to be' / with a past tense finite form of the verb "to be". Occasionally instead of an analytic participle an ordinary Participle II as a notional component may be employed. Examples: - *uṭṭhe te is sirkā laddeā hoeā āhā* 'Vinegar was laden on the camel'; *oh katṭhe thāe beṭhe han* 'Having gathered they were sitting'; *bae log bahū bazar^c khare hae* 'Many other people were standing in the market'.

The Future Tense

In Lahndi there are several systems of the future tense: the future tense forms in *s* (the most common), an immediate future (a participial form), a GMP form, a special future form used in the subordinate clause of condition to express a real condition.

The future tense in -s. The overwhelming majority of dialects is characterised by the following inventory of affixes added to the initial verbal form (sometimes modified) in different persons (taking dialectal fluctuations into account):

	Singular	Plural
1st person,	<i>esā, sā, usā</i>	<i>esū, esā, sā, sāh, sāhā sāhī,</i> <i>sīā</i>

2nd person,	<i>esē, sē, se,</i> <i>sā, sī</i>	<i>eso, so, sau</i>
3rd person.	<i>esī, sī</i>	<i>sin, san sun</i>

If the vowel of a transitive verb initial form is long, it becomes short when making a future tense form, affixes with the initial -e being added in almost all persons, as in *pārun* 'to tear apart', *paṛesā* 'I shall tear apart', *paṛesē* 'Thou wilt tear apart', *paṛesī* 'He will tear apart', *paṛesī* (Multani) 'We shall tear apart' (the Jatki of Shahpur *paṛsahā* 'We shall tear apart'), *paṛeso* 'You will tear apart', *paṛesin* 'They will tear apart'. But in a number of dialects, for instance, in Tinsuli and the Hindko of Peshawar, a long vowel is retained when building a future tense form and an affix beginning with *s* is added, e.g. *mārsā* 'I shall strike'. In the Jatki of Shahpur the initial form ending in a vowel takes an affix beginning with *u*, as in *āusā* 'I shall come' from *āun* (*āvun*). If the initial form is a disyllabic with -o- in the second syllable, the future tense forms in the Multani of Dera Gazi Khan are obtained by dropping the -o- and changing the vowel of the first syllable into *u*; e.g. *nacorun* (the initial form is *nacor*) 'to twist' > *nucresī* 'He will twist'.

When making the future tense forms from intransitive verbs affix -sā, but not -esā, is added, e.g. *uṭṭhsā* 'I shall get up', but not *uṭṭhesā*.

A very peculiar system of the future tense is found in Poonchi where the element *s* occurs only in the first and third persons, singular, with either the element *n* or *l* employed in the second person, singular, and in all persons, plural, e.g. *mārsā* 'I shall strike', *māṛno* 'Thou wilt strike', *mārsī* 'He will strike', *mārneō* 'We shall strike', *māṛleā* 'You will strike', *māṛle* 'They will strike' /Bailey, 46-48/.

In the northern dialect of the Kohat area the future tense sees not only the employment of forms in *s*, but also the usage of forms homonymous to those of the subjunctive mood, e.g. *thīvā* 'I shall become', etc.

It is not infrequently that when building the future tense forms the initial verbal form is modified, e.g. *gachun*, *gachnā* 'to go' - *gāsā*, *gesā* 'I shall go',

vanun 'to go' - *vāsī*, *vesī* 'I shall go',

ḍheun 'to be given' - *ḍahīsī* '(it) will be given'.

Examples of the future tense: - *bādsāh* *uṭṭhāsī* 'The king will

get up'; *assi nahsā dhusāh* 'We shall bathe and wash'. If a pronominal-suffixal form of the future tense is employed, the vowel of the morpheme pertaining to a certain person is dropped, e.g. *sāh nikul vāsus* 'His breath will go out'.

The future tense may also have categories of aspect. To exemplify it forms of the continuous and resultative-completive aspects have been adduced, e.g. *jitnē tāi mā jīnā rāhsā, tā āp khānā rāhsā* 'As long as I live (lit. 'shall remain living'), I shall make my own living' (lit. 'will myself remain eating'); *mā cheā mahīneā kī salāne duhāre ā rāhsā* 'I shall come in six months on a certain day' (lit. 'I shall have arrived').

A participial form of building the future tense. To express an immediate future in Lahndi one may use either an analytic form of the verb including Participle I, or a synthetic form based on the latter. It is noteworthy that in one and the same sentence (though a composite one) there may be a concurrent employment of the future tense form in *s* and a participial one, as in *nīndar te ajj na pausī, akkhā mīt lānī ā* 'Now sleep will not come, /but/ my eyes I shall close'; *mā vānā sār* 'I shall go to the town'. (For examples of CMP forms of the future tense see "The Gerundival-Model Participle" section).

In a conditional subordinate part containing real condition the future tense may be expressed by a form homonymous to Participle II. In such cases the future tense may be expressed even by an ergative construction, as in *je tā unhā dī kāi gall kāhē kū ḡass ḡittī, tā tū mar vāsē* 'If you say even one word about them to somebody, you will die'. Similar cases of expressing the future tense take place in Panjabi and Hindustani, as well.

The Imperative Mood

In Lahndi there are several varieties of the imperative mood forms.

1. The initial verbal form in the function of an ordinary imperative, singular, as in *vānj* or *gach* 'go', *jhal* 'stop', *lagh jul* (intensive) 'start out'. In Pothohari a monosyllabic initial form ending in a long vowel has a rising tone expressed in writing by a final *h*, e.g. *sāh (sā)* 'sleep', *cāh (cā)* 'raise'.

The imperative mood plural form is built by adding the affix *-o*, *-ho* to the initial form, e.g. *khapāo (khapāho)* 'irritate', *khoro (khorho)* 'Get down on your knees'.

2. An imperative form in *-e*, *-ē* (in the singular). In the Jakti of Lyallpur the imperative singular is formed by adding *-e* (*ē*) to the initial form and sometimes, in addition, a pronominal suffix, e.g. *rahvesu hithe* '/you/ remain here'; *baloc de vañe tā usā puche* 'Go to the baloch and ask him'; *salām ākhē* 'Convey (my) greetings'; *hi tarhā gal na karē* 'Don't talk that way'.

In Awankari the imperative form also ends in *-e*, to which a suffix of the 2nd person may sometimes be added, e.g. *billē, gal suñāeā* 'Cat, please, tell some story'.

3. A polite imperative:

a) in most dialects the imperative, singular, is formed by adding the ending *-ī* to the initial form whose ultima sees a consonant. If the initial form's ultima is a vowel or this form constitutes a vowel, *-vī* (*-vē*) is added. Examples: *-ghinnī* 'Please, take (it)', *āvī* (*āvē*) 'Please come'.

The polite imperative, plural, is formed by adding the morpheme *-āhe* (*eāhe*) to the initial form, e.g. *paṛāhe* (*paṛeāhe*) 'Please, tear it up' (the long vowel of the initial form is reduced);

b) in the Shahpur dialect of the Salt Range the polite imperatives, singular and plural, are formed by employing the morphemes *-hē* and *-eh*, respectively, e.g. *tuṛhē* 'Please, start out'; *tuṛeh* 'Please, start out' (plural);

c) in the Multani of Dera Gazi Khan a polite imperative in *-hā* is employed in the singular, e.g. *ḍḍekhā* 'Please, take a look';

d) there also exists an impersonal polite imperative represented by the morphemes *-ie*, *-iye* (*-vie*, *-viye*), e.g. *ḍḍekhiye* 'Let us take a look'; *paṛie* 'Let us tear up'.

4. Sometimes the imperative may be expressed by the infinitive: *usāh saṛī oī roṭī nāh devṇā* 'Don't give him burnt bread'.

As already stated an imperative form may combine with pronominal suffixes, e.g. *vañjaṇ deos* 'Let him go'.

The imperative can also have some aspect forms, e.g. *ghinn jāeā kar* 'Regularly come and take' (the frequentative aspect).

The Suppositional Mood

This mood expresses an idea of supposition either of an action or a state taking place in the present (or at a given moment), or of the completion of an action whose result is connected with the moment of speaking. It is expedient to divide the forms of the mood into two groups, respectively.

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The suppositional mood of the habitual non-perfective aspect is represented by:

1) a synthetic form of any verb homonymous to a future tense form in -s; 2) an analytic form consisting of Participle I and a form of the verb "to be" homonymous to that of the future tense. Examples: *in̄jre nā̄ ṭeṣan multānō cagge cokhe pānde te, koī dāh bārā* 'The Injra station is at a sufficient distance from Multan, about ten or twelve double-miles it would be, indeed'; *karende hosin* 'They must be doing /it/'; *šarmāndī hosī hālī* 'She seems to be still ashamed'; *ūhā bhāgo, jāndī hosē, hīre* 'It is precisely that Pāgo. You must know her, Hir'.

The suppositional mood of the resultative-completive aspect is represented by an analytic, perfect form consisting of Participle II and a form of the verb "to be" homonymous to that of the future tense: *tuhā nīndr āī hosī* 'Probably you want to sleep' (lit. 'Sleep must have come to you'); *bholīe naṇde, bas thā kih? kāī gall bāt tā* 'thīī hosī hus nāl' 'Is that all silly, sister-in-law? Some kind of talk must have been held with him'; *hikk mahīnā theā hosī* 'A month must have elapsed'.

The Subjunctive Mood

The subjunctive mood in Lahndi has two forms: a simple, synthetic and an analytic, resultative-completive.

1. The simple synthetic form of a verb in the habitual non-perfective aspect is the most employed form of the subjunctive mood. It changes for person and number and possesses some dialectal fluctuations. Below we adduce an approximate inventory of morphemes of most of the dialects, which is added to the initial form (sometimes to a modified one).

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<i>ā̄, ī, hī vā</i>	<i>ū, ā, āh, āhā, āhē, āhī, o, ho</i>
2nd person	<i>ē, hē</i>	<i>b, ho</i>
3rd person	<i>e, ve</i>	<i>en, an, in</i>

The subjunctive mood forms of Lahndi are used in the simple and composite sentences and can express a large variety of meanings. For example, wish: *mahārājā, banarā jive* 'Maharaja, may your bride live long!'; *mōdī adālat thīve* 'If only I would be treated justly'; *endu*

cement: *šarbat piyālā pīve* 'Let her drink a cup of sherbet'; *soṭī cā ghinne* 'Let him take a club'; expediency: *mohṛā dū chajjū kū de āvā* 'I ought to give two gold pieces to the money-lender'; uncertainty: *kī krā?* or *ke karāhī?* 'What should we do?'; *kinh kū ddevā teddā faryād?* 'Through whom should I convey my complaint to you'; determination: *mā usāh kiō nā mār saṭṭā* 'Why should I not beat him?' etc.

When used in the subordinate part of a complex sentence, these forms may, for instance, express concession: *vassīe šāhir, toṭe jhuggī hove* 'It is better to live in a city, even if only in a hut'; purpose: *tusī xabardār thī vañjo je dhamuk nā lagge* 'Beware lest there may be shaking'; *sojhā mate gā lat mareī* 'Beware lest the cow may kick you', etc.

These forms may also express condition in the subordinate part and result in the main part: *taḍhā chures jaḍhā ākhe...* 'She should be released when she says...'; *kuṛ mārē tā mar vañje* 'If you tell a lie, you may die'.

However, it may also happen that a complex sentence with a conditional subordinate part sees the employment of a subjunctive mood form only in the latter, while the main part contains a form of the indicative mood, as in *his nālū suhṇī hove te dūā viāh karvāsā* 'If /the girl/ is more beautiful than she, 'I'll marry a second time'.

2. The resultative-completive form consists of Participle II used as a notional component and the auxiliary verb *hovuṇ (hovāṇ)* 'to be' in the subjunctive mood, e.g. *je mā gā kharī hove tā ahnā thīvā* 'If I have taken the cow, then I be blind'.

The Conditional Mood

To express the given mood there are two forms:

1) one composed, as distinct from other modern Indian languages, by adding the morpheme *-hā* to synthetic forms of the subjunctive mood of the verb, as in: *mā parāhā* 'I would tear apart, /if/...'

The given forms are mostly used in a complex sentence the parts of which contain an unreal condition and an unreal result. e.g.: *je toṇḍhī marzī hovehā tā ā vañjāhā* 'If you had wished at that time, I would have come'; *o'val hovehā, tā mar na vañjehā* 'If he had been healthy, he would not have died';

2) based, as in a number of other Indian languages, on Participle I. For instance: *je kaddī kāī cor pāunā, tā iñj na honā je hikk*

vā khareñā te do pāe rāhne 'If ever a thief had come on them, it would not have happened that he would take away one /ruby/ and that the two would remain'.

Voice

Some research scholars correctly hold that the category of voice bears not only a morphological, but also a syntactic character, and that replacing one voice by another involves changes in syntactic ties of a sentence. Thus, for instance, V.Z. Panfilov regards the category of voice as a syntactic-morphological category determining the structure of the sentence itself. This linguist points out that "not only the existence of a special form of the verb..., but also some other grammatical markers connected with the relations of certain parts of the sentence are to be grounds for marking out this or that voice" /Panfilov, 65, 66/.

To elaborate this proposition, it should be noted that the category of voice is connected not only (not so much, to be more precise) with the form of a predicate verb, but also with forms, positions and syntactic functions of a number of other parts of the sentence expressing the agent (doer) and the patient (or agents and patients) of some action, as well as with a certain character of relations among them. For this reason we may propound the following definition of the category of voice.

The category of voice is a complex category of morphological-syntactic nature connected with varieties of relations among the part, the agent (agents) of an action, the part, the patient (patients) of the action (if such are present), and the predicate; expressed in every variety by a certain correlation of forms, positions and syntactic functions of the agent (agents) and the patient (patients) of an action (including the absence of the agent or the patient), on the one hand, with the forms of the predicate and the character of its action, on the other /Smirnov⁴/.

Hence, not only the form of the predicate verb is important. Other factors count too.

Since voice is related to syntactic ties in the sentence and determines its structure, it is connected with a certain syntactic construction and is based on it. Therefore, when speaking of voice, we imply a kind of construction of predicative nature.

The difference between a syntactic construction of predicative nature and voice lies in the fact that by the former we mean a syn-

tactic whole made up of language units united in speech without specially examining relations among the agent of an action, the patient of the same and the action itself, means of expressing them, and their positions. Voice, however, presupposes special consideration of the entire scope of the issues.

All these factors connected with similarities, on the one hand, and points of diversity, on the other, should be borne in mind when we compare voice with the construction which it is based on, as for instance, the ergative voice with the ergative construction which will be treated below.

In Lahndi we have found out six voices four of which are basic voices: the active, passive, ergative, causative, and two of mixed types: the ergative-causative and the passive-causative.

The Active Voice shows that the action expressed by a verb may emanate from its agent, the subject in the nominative case, and be directed at an object, the patient of this action, e.g. *pio bbāl kũ mārende* 'The father beats his child'.

Relations are expressed here thus: $A_s + P_o + V^a$ (with A_s standing for the agent of an action, the subject in the nominative case, P_o standing for the patient of the action, the object in the accusative, and V^a standing for a predicate verb in the active voice form). These relations are shaped out of a definite order of the parts of the sentence, their functions, case form-arrangement, the verb form-arrangement and the following correlation: the predicate governs the object but is governed by the subject, and so on.

If the predicate verb has a pronominal-suffixal form-arrangement, relations among the agent of the action, the patient of the action and the verb expressing the action may bear purely morphological character, since they are restricted by the morphological casing of one word, a verb, containing the pronominal agglutinative elements of the agent and patient of the action, e.g.: *dikhāeonas* 'He showed them'; *ghidinse* 'We received them'. It sometimes happens that morphological character is borne only by relations between the verb and the patient of the action, or between the former and the doer of the action, e.g. *ũ māreum* 'He has beaten me'; *mā kũ māreas* 'He has beaten me'.

The Passive Voice. Relations under this voice are shaped in the following way: $P_s + (A_o) + V^p$ (with P_s as the patient of an action, the subject, A_o as the agent of the action, the object, V^p as a predicate verb in the passive voice form), e.g. *bbāl piū kannū marīndā* 'The boy is beaten by the father'; *mā marīnā ũh* 'I'm beaten'.

In this case relations have changed sharply: the patient of the action has turned from the object into the subject, whereas the agent has changed into the subject into an indirect object (or it may be absent altogether), the nominative case of the agent of the action and the patient of the action - into the secondary ablative, while the accusative of the patient of the action have altered as well, whereas the form of the predicate verb has changed into the passive.

In most dialects of Lahndi passive forms of the verb are built mainly synthetically; usually they are synthetic in the present and future tenses and analytic in the past tense. Sometimes the -letter may be used both in the present and the future tense.

If there is a long vowel in the initial verbal form, it in most cases gets reduced (shortened) when building a passive form. Predominantly a synthetic form is made by adding the suffixes -ī, -ī, -īj. The masculine form of Participle I of the verb *karun* (*karan*) 'to do' is *karīnā* (*karīnā*) or *karīdā*, *karīndā*. Here are the subjunctive mood forms of the verb:

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<i>karīā</i>	<i>karīū</i>
2nd person	<i>karīē</i>	<i>karīo</i>
3rd person	<i>karīe</i>	<i>karīan</i>

Just as in the active voice, in case of a long vowel in the initial form, it gets shortened in the future tense forms. Below we give the paradigm of the verb *pārūn* 'to tear'.

1st person	<i>parīsā</i> 'I shall be torn'	<i>parīsāh</i> 'We shall be torn'
		<i>parīsū</i>
2nd person	<i>parīsē</i> 'Thou will be torn'	<i>parīso</i> 'You will be torn'
3rd person	<i>parīsī</i> 'He will be torn'	<i>parīsīn</i> 'They will be torn'
		<i>parīsān</i>

The suffix -īj is mostly used in Multani, e.g. *mā mānījā* 'I am beaten'. In Thali the suffix -īc can be employed alongside with -īj.

In the Thali of the Mianwali area the passive form is based not on the suffix -ī, but on -ā, as in: *saḍāī*, 'If I were named'. In Poonchi there is a very peculiar passive Participle I in -no, e.g. *mē māno* *nāes* 'I am beaten', *mē māno hosā* 'I shall be beaten', etc.

Analytic forms are built by combining the following components:

- a) the initial form taking the suffix *-ī* with a form of the verb *vañjun* 'to go' (Multani), e.g. *mārī vāsī* 'I shall be beaten';
- b) the initial form with a form of the verb *vañjan* 'to go' (the Multani of Dera Gazi Khan), as in *mār vesī* 'He will be beaten';
- c) Participle II and a form of the verb *gachṇā*, *vañjun* 'to go', e.g. *mā māriā geā* 'I was beaten'; *habbho kih bahū e allā nā dittā viā* 'Everything is enough given by God';
- d) Participle II with a form of the verb *gachṇā*, *vañjun* 'to go' and a finite form of the verb "to be", as in *mā kuṭṭeā gachṇā ā* 'I am beaten';

e) a form in *-īj* (*-īc*) with a form of the verb *vañjun*, e.g. *o'parīj* (*parīc*) *geā* 'He was torn apart';

f) a participle of the passive voice with a finite form of the verb "to be" or its equivalent (the negative particle and others), as in the dialect Poonchi whose examples we readduce: *mē māno nāes* 'I'm beaten'; *mē māno hosā* 'I'll be beaten'.

The Ergative Voice and Ergative Construction. This voice is used in Lahndi to express the agent (doer) of some action as the subject which has a predicate derived from a transitive (mostly) and an intransitive (more rarely) verb represented in the past (most frequently), present and future tenses by the resultative-completive, or the habitual non-perfective, or still by the frequentative aspect (the last two used more seldom) employed in various moods. If the predicate is based on the GMP, the given voice is connected with an action of a modal nature. This voice expresses peculiar relations of the agent and the patient of an action and the predicate, their form-arrangement being special. Here the parts of the sentence represented by the agent and the patient of an action, as well as by a verb, the bearer of this action, are characterized by such a peculiarity of their relations and forms that there arise reasons to speak of a special voice, the ergative voice (a term propounded by the author).

Firstly, the subject, the agent of an action, is in a special case, the ergative case, which frequently, though not always, coincides with the submorphised autoseme of analytic cases. Secondly, if there is an object, the patient of an action, the predicate, expressing the action, may agree with the object. Thirdly, there may be cases when the predicate has subject-object agreement: the form of the verb "to be" agrees with the subject, the agent of the action, whereas the participial form with the object, the patient of the action. There may be instances when the predicate has no agreement at all. Finally,

despite the presence of an object, the predicate may agree with the subject, the ergative part, which case will be treated below.

Now let us consider an example of an object agreement: \tilde{u} *khallī* *saṭṭ ghattī* 'He cast away the wine-bag'. Here \tilde{u} 'he' is the subject, the agent of the action, in the ergative case, *khallī* 'the wine-bag' is an object, the patient of the action, *saṭṭ ghattī* 'cast away' is an intensive form of the predicate which expresses the action.

May one regard as the subject the part of the sentence which, though the agent of an action, is not the grammatically coordinating centre of the sentence? If one takes into account facts of a number of languages it would be acknowledged that the subject, while remaining a structural centre of the sentence may not necessarily be grammatically coordinating, that is, it does not impart to the predicate its gender and number markers. We propound to term such a connection of the subject with its predicate non-prominent. If a predicate agrees in one of the categories with its subject (say, in gender) but neglects another category (say, number), it is expedient, in our view, to call such a connection partially prominent or semi-prominent, e.g.: *Svadbya Natashi-bylo... posledneye radostnoye sobytiye* 'Natasha's wedding was the last joyful event' (Leo Tolstoy); *rechi ikh byla sovershennaya besskladitsa* 'Their speeches were (lit. was) a complete nonsense' (Pisemsky, The Rich Bridegroom); *Eto byli znakomiye okhotniki* 'These were (lit. this were) the hunters we knew' (The Academic Grammar of the Russian Language, Vol. II, Part 1, page 521).

In classical Arabic there may be cases in the sentences beginning with a predicate when it loses agreement with its subject in number, and sometimes in gender, as in *ya ta'aṣṣa n-nāsu* (Taha Hussein, The Days, page 5) 'and the people had supper'.

In the Russian language examples connection is either non-prominent, or partially prominent. In Arabic it is partially prominent. In Punjabi (and to all appearances in Lahndi) if the subject is a pronoun, it may agree with the predicative, i.e. connection of the subject with the predicate bears predicatively-prominent character, as in *e'sārī tere hamdard sāth dī karāmat e* 'That is all the miracle of your friendly support'.

Hence, the subject can not in all cases be a solely grammatically coordinating part of the sentence, while at the same time it remains one of the structural centres of the sentence. Therefore the ergative part in Lahndi, Panjabi, Hindi and other Indian languages may by right be regarded as the subject, all the more that in Lahndi there

are cases when the whole predicate or one of its components (the form of the verb "to be") may agree with the ergative part: *mā farmā's kītī* *hājim* 'I gave /at that time/ the order'; *tū minnat kītī hāvē* 'You made /at that time/ the request'. In these two examples the forms of the verb "to be", provided with pronominal suffixes agree with the subject, the ergative part. (*mā, tū*), while the notional component, Participle II, agrees with the object, the patient of the action.

In our view, the agreement of a predicate with its object in the synthetic accusative case is accounted for by a linguistic principle that we have called interaction. This alongside with agreement, government and adjoinment functions in a number of languages as a mode of connecting words. Above we have already cited examples of interaction between a subject and a predicative (*e'sārī* with *karāmat*). While remaining one of the structural centres of the sentence, the subject nonetheless bases its form on the predicative.

In the ergative construction the predicate may frequently express a prominent connection with the next most important part of the sentence (after the subject) with which it is most closely linked. The direct object is precisely such a part. If the latter bears a marker of subordination to a transitive verb, a predicate (the analytic accusative case with the postposition *kū* (*ā, kī*, etc.)), as in *piū ū kū dḍekh ghiddā* 'The father saw him', the connection is all the same prominent and the prominence of one connection line makes up for the non-prominence of another. If the object is in the synthetic accusative case, and in this instance the predicate subordinates it with an unexpressed prominence, the predicate seeks for a clear-cut prominence and finds it in interaction with the object. Prominence is displayed here in the opposite direction: now the prominence load is assumed by the predicate by taking the marker of the object. Thus, the absence of the signaler of connection on one line of the sentence is made up for either by another signaler already existent on another line, or by the appearance on the latter of a new signaler.

Finally, there may be cases when despite the presence of an object in the synthetic accusative case the predicate agrees with the ergative part, the subject, in person and number, having a suffix marker for the purpose (for examples see "The Predicate" section). In other words, here there is a prominent connection between the predicate and its subject.

Thus, the ergative voice is characterised by the following relations and connections among the agent, patient and predicate which

expresses an action: the agent of the action functioning as the subject is not in the nominative, but in a special case; with the predicate the subject may have non-prominent, or prominent, or still partially prominent connection; the patient of the action functioning as an object frequently has prominent connection with the predicate expressing the action; this being the case, the prominence load is assumed either by the object (with an objectival postposition), or by the predicate (at least by the participial part). In this case the predicate's connection with the object is based on the principle of interaction. Sometimes a prominent connection between the object and the predicate is absent.

Though the predicate in the ergative construction is in the active form, it has a voice peculiarity of its own, since it can be expressed only in four ways: by a verb form homonymous to Participle II, by a perfect form, by a past perfect form, or still by the GMP. The minimal markers of the ergative construction boil down to the presence of an ergative part and a predicate in one of the four forms.

The Semi-Ergative Construction. In Lahndi there is a construction which we have called semi-ergative, since it is void of the ergative part, the subject, while the marker of the agent of an action is expressed morphologically, i.e. by an agglutinative element included in the verb form (i.e. by a pronominal suffix). Such a sentence is of a mononuclear nature. If the predicate is analytic, its participial part can interact with the object, as in *e'kanak rihāī hāvī* 'You have sown this wheat'.

Sometimes a synthetic predicate possessing a morphological marker of the agent of an action may interact with the object, as in *gaṇe te nacṇe nī vāj suṇīs* 'He heard the sounds of signing and dancing'; *e'gall puchīs* 'He asked about that' (lit. 'this matter'). Interaction with the objects expressed by the feminine nouns *vāj* 'sound' and *gall* 'matter' is effected here by means of the morpheme marker of the verb *-ī-* (the feminine gender).

A mononuclear construction with a pronominal-suffixal predicate which is void of interaction connection with its object is neither semi-ergative, nor ergative, e.g. *mā kannū pānī maṅgius* 'You asked me for water'.

For the ergative construction on the basis of the GMP see "he Gerundival-Modal Participle" section.

The Causative Voice is such a category under which the subject, the agent of an action, does not perform the action directly, but only

causes another agent to do it, or effects the action through an intermediate agent. In Lahndi this agent is frequently not expressed in the sentence, but is always implied. The form of the predicate in this voice contains the suffix *-ā* or *-vā* which is added to the initial verbal form, e.g.: *mā̃ baṅglā caṛā desā̃* 'I shall get a house built' (through somebody's services), *oh āṇe xasam kū̃ sadvāṇḍīe* 'She is getting her husband called' (through somebody).

The Ergative-Causative Voice is of a mixed type. It is used when it is necessary to express as the subject an agent causing another agent to perform an action of an ergative nature. In other words, this is a causative voice based on the ergative. Examples:— *ū̃ hī̃ dāḍīhe thānā yārū vich rapaṭ likhvāī* 'On that very day I reported to the police station of Yaru' (lit. 'I caused to write them what I said'); *vatt tahsīldar munsif karvā ditte* 'Then the tahsildar appointed (through someone) arbitrators'; *bādsāh unhē de piū aū̃ māī kū̃ maṅgvāīā* 'The king got his parents called' (through somebody).

The Passive-Causative Voice is the second variety of a mixed-type voice. It is used when the patient of an action is the theme, i.e. the starting point of some utterance, which bears some communicative load; therefore it is necessary that it be the subject, but the action which this patient (used as the subject) undergoes is performed by an agent under compulsion emanating from another agent usually not expressed in the sentence for which, by the way, there is no need. In other words, this is a causative voice based on the passive. The predicate is expressed in a causative-passive form, e.g.: *ī̃ muqaddame dī̃ kāhē bae afsar kolū̃ daryāfat karvāī vaṇe* 'The investigation of this case should be entrusted to some other official'. Here *daryāfat* 'investigation' being a patient in the function of the subject is the theme of the utterance, *afsar* 'an official' is a caused (intermediate) agent of the action, while the agent causing to perform the action is absent.

THE FORMATION OF TRANSITIVE VERBS

A certain group of verbs in Lahndi and other modern Indian languages traditionally called *causative* are in essence transitive verbs formed from intransitive ones.

The main ways of forming transitive verbs are as follows:

a) by widening a vowel, e.g. *riḥhun* 'to roll' - *reḥhun* 'to roll' (transitive); *luḥhun* 'to be swept away' - *loḥhun* 'to sweep away';

- b) by lengthening a vowel, e.g. *vaṛuṇ* 'to go into' - *vāṛuṇ* 'to go into'; *saṛuṇ* 'to burn' - *sāṛuṇ* 'to burn' (transitive).
- c) by adding the suffix *-āw* (*-vāw*) to the initial form (this action is sometimes coupled with the appearance of the short vowel *a* between the consonants of the initial form, which make up a cluster in the latter's ultima), e.g.: *appaṛuṇ* 'to reach' - *appaṛāwuṇ* 'to deliver'; *ḍakhaṇ* 'to ache' - *ḍakhāwaṇ* 'to do harm', 'to inflict pain'; *ḍaraṇ* 'to be afraid' - *ḍarāwaṇ* 'to frighten'; *ujraṇ* 'to get destroyed' - *ujarvā* 'to destroy';
- d) by inserting the suffix *-ā* between the consonants of the initial form, which make up a cluster in its ultima: *usraṇ* 'to be built' - *usāraṇ* 'to build';
- e) by a consonant or a vowel-consonant mutation, e.g.: *pāṭuṇ* (*pāṭaṇ*) 'to be torn' - *pāruṇ* (*pāraṇ*) 'to tear'; *budduṇ* 'to be drowned' - *boṛuṇ* 'to drown' (transitive); *juppuṇ* 'to be harnessed'; *jowuṇ* 'to harness';
- f) by dropping a sound or sounds (sometimes coupled with a vowel mutation), accompanied by the appearance of a rising tone: *pīsūṇ* 'to be ground' - *pīūṇ* 'to grind'; *mutṭhuṇ* 'to be cheated' - *moūṇ* 'to cheat';
- g) special pairs, as in *nikkaluṇ* 'to go out' - *kaḍḍhuṇ* 'to put out'.

THE MAIN NON-SIMPLE PATTERNS OF THE VERB

In Lahndi there are four main non-simple patterns of the verb: 1) the verbal-verbal, 2) the verbal-substantival or the verbal-adjectival (both of them are equivalent to a verb), 3) the verbal-pronominal-suffixal, 4) the mixed.

The verbal-verbal patterns. This type of patterns is formed by combining different verbal forms (mostly two or three) including in various combinations the initial verbal form, the infinitive, the GMP, participles, the affirmative and negative forms of the verb of being. Many of these patterns have already been considered in the previous sections on the verb, particularly when describing tenses and aspects. Patterns based on the GMP are frequently of modal character.

The examination of the verbal-verbal complexes should, first and foremost, be augmented by illustrations of two patterns: pattern A (the initial verbal form + forms of another verb), and pattern B (the initial verbal form with the suffix *-ī* attached + a form of another verb).

Pattern A. Depending on the nature of its components pattern A may have various meanings. The initial form expresses a concrete action, while the second component modifies it, imparting to the former this or that character. Therefore the second component can be called the modifying one. Thus, the modal verb *sagun* (*hagun*) 'can' conveys an idea of possibility or impossibility of the action expressed by the initial form, e.g. *tonḍhā putr dāvā kar hagnā* 'Your son can lodge a complaint'; *mā daryāfat nā kar sagdā* 'I cannot investigate (the case)'.

The given variety of pattern A is customarily called the potential verb. Many other varieties of pattern A are usually called intensive verbs. Regarding the category of transitivity pattern A of intensive verbs can contain various combinations of components: a) one from a transitive verb, but not the other; b) both from transitive verbs; c) both from intransitive verbs. Intensive verbs also differ in meaning. As already mentioned above, a number of verbs may impart to the action expressed by the initial form an accomplished character. These may be augmented by the verbs *achnā*, *āvun* 'to come', *pāuncun* 'to arrive' and others, e.g.: *mohṛā de āvā* 'Ought I to give the gold coins?'; *ā pāuhtā* 'has arrived'; *ghinn acho* 'bring'.

The verb *ghinnun* 'to take' conveys the idea of an action directed towards the agent of the same and effected in its interests, while the verb *devun* 'to give' conveys the opposite, e.g.: *pātsāhī dušmanā khass ghittī* 'The enemies seized the kingdom'; *zimi māh moṛ de* 'Return me the land'.

An intensive verb can express flatness, as in *mā kū ḍḍe ḍḍe* 'Give it to me'.

Other modifications of action are possible, too. However it is expedient to dwell particularly on a very peculiar variety of pattern A in which the modifying function is performed not by the second component as usual (which is here notional), but by the first expressed by the initial form of the verb *cavun* 'to rise' - *ca* (not infrequently there also occurs the form *cā*, i.e. a form with a long vowel which actually is the initial form of the verb *cāvun* 'to raise'). To all appearances, the given initial form is transitional in its character and gradually turns into a sort of auxiliary verb and even particle, for actually, by preceding a verb, it performs the function of a particle with the meanings of: completion: *tudh mulukh ca sattā* 'You left the country'; *hikk khotā cā ghidā* 'They bought a donkey; inducement: *soṭī ca ghinne* 'Let him take a club'; *hik gīṭī ca de* 'Give one

stone'; determination: *tā phir kāī hor cann cā caṣṣiā* 'Then you will raise one more moon'; swiftness, impetuosity of an action: *attē durk karāhī ū kū ggal cā lāyā* 'And rushing embraced him'; emphasis of negation in negative sentences: *tāṇḍhī pasand hahū cā āiā*. 'You didn't like /him/ at all'; *vahim na cā karo* 'Don't doubt at all'.

On rare occasions the component *ca (cā)* may be inverted: *āve cā* 'Let him come'.

Pattern B. Examples: - *māl baṇḍī dittā* 'He divided the property'; *dūr milkh bicch ṭurī gā* 'He went off to some distant country'. This pattern may also contain the first modifying component from the verb *cavun (cāvun)*, e.g. *oh hissā migī cāī de* 'Give me that share'.

It should be noted that the verbal complex in Punjabi *calā jāṇā* 'to go', 'to set out' corresponds in Lahndi to the combination *laggā vaṇun*, e.g. *ṣāhr laggā vaṇā* 'He goes to town', *o' laggā vaṇiā* 'He went away', *laggī gaī* 'She went away'. Also there occurs the form *laggā āvun* 'to come up', 'to come': *kidū lagge āvde o?* 'Where are you coming from?'

Verbal-nominal or verbal-adjectival patterns. As in a number of other modern Indian languages there are in Lahndi combinations of a noun (or an adjective) with a verb which may be of various types. The first component is represented by a noun or an adjective and the second - by a verb (transitive or intransitive). The combinations may either be complexes with components having independent functions, or phraseological units /a complex with a nominal (adjectival) and a verbal part, equivalent to a verb/. Examples: - *chajjū dā gillā karaṇ lagge* 'They began to reproach the money-lender'; *tudh ko dhī viyāh disā* lit. 'I shall give you to marry my daughter', *ū kū hoṣ āe* 'He came to his senses'; *bāhrū vadde bhagit najir ānde ho* 'Outwardly you seem to be a big saint'; *mohrā dū khutt pāiā* 'Two gold coins were missing'; *najtk āeā* 'He came nearer'. In the first four examples the verbal part combines with a noun, while in the last two - with an adjective.

Verbal-pronominal-suffixal patterns include a verbal form, pronominal suffixes and connecting vowels and are synthetic, e.g.: *raḥ vicch suttum* 'I spent the night in the field', *ke karī* 'Tell me what to do?'; *banh karāhī kutteonc* 'Having tied me they beat me up' (for details see the "Verbal-pronominal Suffixes" section).

Mixed patterns are of three types: a) patterns in which a pronominal-suffixal form is the modifying component: *asbāb rakkh dittus*

'He put the things down'; b) patterns in which a pronominal-suffixal form is the notional component: *us ko ca dhaenen* 'They dropped him down'; c) patterns in which a pronominal-suffixal form is used together with a noun or an adjective *dhi viyāh ditene* 'They married off their daughter'; *ū kī minnat khus* 'I reproached him'.

THE ADVERB

Adverbs in Lahndi are divided into the prosecutive, the qualitative and the quantitative.

Prosecutive adverbs are represented by:

Adverbs of place: *hitthe, hitthā, itthā, itthe* 'here', *hutthe, hutthā, utthā, utthe* 'there', *hithāi* 'only here', *huthāi, utthāi, utāhi* 'only there', *aggū, aggē, agge* 'in front', 'ahead', *picchū, picchē, picchā* 'behind', *sajjū* 'to the right', *khabbiyū* 'to the left', *urvar, urā* 'on this side', *pār* 'on that side', *mudh* 'close by', 'near', *dūr, moklā* 'far', *uttāh* 'above', 'over', *talāh* 'below', 'down', *vall* 'aside', *kitthāi* 'somewhere', *kudhre, kure* 'somewhere' (direction), *idde* 'hither', *udde* 'thither', *bbāhir bāhrū* 'outside', *andir* 'inside', *kitt, kitthe* 'where?', *kidde* 'where to?', 'whither', and others.

Adverbs of time: *han, hun* 'now', *ajjan, ajan, ajān, aje* 'as, yet', 'still', *ajj* 'today', *dehā, bhalke* 'tomorrow', *kallh* 'yesterday', *pālū, pehlō* 'at first', *vatt, picchū, picchē* 'afterwards', 'then', *tadun, tadā* 'then', *kadāhā, kadāi* 'some time', *nitt* 'always', *icrā* 'meanwhile', *kadāh ikadāh* 'sometimes', *kadun, kadā* 'when?', *kadokanī* 'since when?', *atrō* 'the day after tomorrow!', etc.

Qualitative adverbs are akin to qualitative adjectives. While in European languages, such as Russian and English, this kinship is reflected in that qualitative adverbs are formed from qualitative adjectives by suffixation: *khoroshiy-khorosho* 'good' - 'well', 'beautiful - beautifully', in Lahndi and Punjabi this closeness reaches its peak and is displayed in the fact that qualitative adjectives begin widely function as qualitative and quantitative adverbs agreeing (if the adjectives are inflected) with the subject or object: *hivē, hevē* 'so-so', 'simply', 'for no particular reason', *charā* 'only', *bhārā* 'badly', *caggā* 'well', *inje* 'so', *kithā* 'why', *kīnun* 'how?', and others. An example: *ū āpnā kam kar caggā kītā?* 'Did he do his work well?'

The function of a qualitative adverb in concord can be fulfilled by a noun in the coordinating-relational case, e.g. *ja dil dī karsē tā*

see *lāsā* 'If you (the feminine gender) speak frankly, I shall listen to you'.

Quantitative adverbs: *ḍḍāḍhā*, *ḍāḍhā*, *bahū* 'very', 'to a great extent', *vaddā* 'greatly', *ghatt* 'weekly', *ukkā*, *pejo* 'rather', 'sufficiently', 'fully', *jhabb*, *trikkhā* 'quickly', *massā* 'hardly' and others.

Examples of adverbs in concord: *o vaddā bimār thīā* 'He fell seriously ill', *ḍḍādhī caṅgī pūsāk* 'very good clothes'; *mā ḍāḍhā xus* 'I am very happy'; *asā is nā utth ukkā nahī diṭṭhā* 'We didn't see his camel at all'. In the first and third examples the adverb qualifies a predicative, an adjective, and the adjectival component of an adjectival-verbal word-combination, respectively (*bimār*, *xus*), but agrees with the subject (*o*, *mā*), in the second example it modifies an attribute (*caṅgī*) and agrees with a noun (*pūsāk*). In the last example the adverb qualifies the predicate (*diṭṭhā*) and agrees with the object of an ergative construction. Just as in the case with the pronoun the adverb can agree with a noun pointed by a pronominal suffix, e.g. *bahū caṅgī suāṇī esu* 'She is very, very clear'. Here the adverb *caṅgī* intensifies the quality expressed by the adjective *suāṇī* 'clever', but in turn is accentuated by the adverb *bahū*.

In Lahndi also there are relative and correlative adverbs, e.g. *jadā*, *jaduṅ* 'when', *jitthā*, *jitthē* 'where', *jidde* 'where to', *ta*, *tā*, *tā*, *taduṅ*, *tadā* 'then', *utthē* 'there', *jīkuṅ* 'how' etc.

POSTPOSITIONS

As in other modern Indian languages postpositions in Lahndi are heterogeneous in their nature. Some of them have grammaticalized to such an extent that they are almost formants pointing to certain grammatical relations. Thus, the postposition *nā* (*nā*) or *dā* combining with a noun, a pronoun or even an adverb assimilates them in function to an adjective or a qualitative adverb in concord, enabling them to appear in the sentence as an attribute, a predicative, an adverbial modifier, or a qualitative-predicative part. This is the coordinating-relational postposition (for this see the sections on "The Coordinating-Relational Case" and "Qualitative Adverbs"). Normally appearing in a number of Cases as an attribute to a noun, the combination of such a postposition with another noun may express not only relations of possession, as in *zāmīn* 'the land of the man', but other relations, as well, e.g.: *mā*

Allāh dā gunāh kīle 'I've sinned against Allah' (but not the sin of Allah); o'apṇā bhāṇ dā śubhō rakkhā hā 'He suspected his sister' (the suspicion is not his sister's but, on the other hand, regarding her').

The postposition *nā* (*dā*) changes for gender, number, and sometimes for case: *nā, nā, dā, ne, de, nī, nī, dī, neā, niā, diā, nīā, diā, ne, de*.

A number of postpositions can form-arrange the accusative, dative, indirect-objective and main prosecutive cases. These postpositions include *kū, ā, āh, hā, tāi, toṛī, kī, ko, nū*, and also *dā* and its allomorphs *do, dhir, dū, dde, ddihē, dḍāh, dḍahī*. Here are examples of the accusative, dative and indirect-objective cases: *putr ū kū ākhiā* 'The son told him'; *trā hā putrā hā sadāeos* 'He called his three sons'; *piū kī ca dde* 'Give it to the father'; *snehā Murād tūi pucā desī* 'He will convey the message to Murad'; *cāk ā* 'the servant'; *āsmān dde mūh kar murkiā* 'He turned his face to the sky'; *apṇe piū dhir tūriā* 'He went off to his father', *hus toṛī* 'to him'.

And now examples of the prosecutive function: *paṛbhat kū* 'in the morning'; *dīgir kū* 'during the evening prayer'; *Himatī ā āṇ latthum* 'Having come to Himati, I got off'; *o'bahar sadāgrī kī nahī sī jāṇā* 'He did not go off to trade' (lit. 'for trading'); *cugāne tāi* 'for feeding', etc.

Other postpositions are even word-forms of independent parts of speech used in the function of postpositions, e.g. *iśā vele* 'during the morning prayer'; *tholeā dīhā picchū* 'in a few days'. In the first example the function of a postposition is fulfilled by *vele*, a form of the noun *velā* 'time', in the main prosecutive case, while in the second example by the adverb *picchū* 'afterwards'.

Various relations in Lahndi can be expressed either by individual (simple) postpositions or by their combinations usually consisting of two postpositions (compound postpositions). Sometimes one and the same type of relations can be conveyed optionally by one of the two methods. As shown above, postpositions may be polysemous and synonymous. According to their meaning postpositions may be divided into:

a) the objective; examples of this meaning were given above when dealing with form-arranging the accusative, dative and indirect-objective cases. The objective meaning can also be conveyed by the postpositions *ī, bicchā, kannē, de kolhū, nāl, tē*. Examples: - *pārā ī juttī luḍo* 'Put shoes on his feet'; *unhē bicchā* 'among them'; *hik rās kannē vān pōhtā* 'He came to a rich man'; *ūn de kolhū* 'at her

place'; *māde nā* 'with me'; *mūndhī tē* 'on the shoulder'. The ablative postpositions cited in item d) can also have an objective meaning:

b) the prosecutive-temporal: *picchū*, *picchē*, *kannū picche*, *kannū picche*, *kanū bād*, *appar*, *kī* 'in', 'after', *vele*, *kū*, *nū*, *tē* 'during', *tāi*, *taī*, *taī*, 'until', up to, *bāndobast kannū picchē* 'after settling', *ḍū*, *ḍū*, *ḍū*, 'in two days', *ajjaṅ tanrī* 'until now', *ajje tāi* 'still', *choren dikhāreḍ kī* 'in a few days', *is appar* 'after this', *ū hī ḍḍih tē* 'on the very same day';

c) the prosecutive-locative and prosecutive denoting direction (except ablative): *appar*, *mudḍh*, *de mudḍh*, *kolhū*, *kolhū de* 'at', 'near', *aggū*, *de aggū* 'before', *ich*, *vich*, *bicch*, *bicchā* 'in', 'among', 'inside', *andir* 'inside', 'within', *te*, *tē*, *utte* 'on', 'in', *do*, *dāi*, *dhir*, *dā*, *ḍḍe*, *ḍḍihē*, *ḍḍāh*, *ḍḍahī*, *kannē*, *all* 'to', 'towards', 'in the direction of', *ī* 'on', *āsse pāsse*, *doāḷe*, *cafer* 'around', *magir*, *picche*, 'behind', *tale* 'under', *utte*, *uparand* 'over' and others. Examples: - *darvāje appar* 'near the door'; *kolhū mauqā de* 'near /that/ place'; *gonde mudḍh* 'at the knees'; *hik parē mulk ḍḍihē jḍḍiḍ ggiḍ* 'He went off to some distant country'; *haṭṭi utte* 'in the shop'; *trappar de tale* 'under the floorboard';

d) the ablative: *thī*, *thū*, *tū*, *kannū*, *lā*, *kolū* 'from', 'on the part of', *nē tarfō* 'on the part of', 'on behalf of'. As said above, these postpositions by combining with nouns or pronouns form the main submorph of the analytic ablative used alongside with the synthetic ablative. Some postpositions can take a form of the ablative case, with the result that such a derived unit is employed as an ablative postposition, as in *utte* 'on', 'above', *uttū*, *uttō* 'from', 'from above', *vicch* 'inside', 'in', 'among', *vicchū*, *vicchō* 'from', 'out of'. Examples: - *his tū* 'from him', *mā thū* 'from me', *māl kannū* 'from the property', *unhā vicchū* 'from them', *mele uttū* 'from the fair', *putr nē tarfō* 'on behalf of the son', etc.;

e) the purpose postpositions: *kī*, *kāṅ*, *tāi* 'for', and others. Examples: - *māde kāṅ* 'for me', *sadāgrī kī* 'for trade', *rākhī tāi* 'for guarding';

f) the causal: *kannū*, *kanū* 'because of', *kīte* 'because of', 'for the sake of', 'therefore', *kāṅ* 'for the sake of', *zamin de kīte* 'because of (for the sake of) the land', *ū hī kīte* 'precisely for that reason', *ḍar kanū* 'for fear';

g) others (including borrowings), e.g. *kanū sivāi*, *sivāi de* 'besides', *bājh* 'without', *mūjib* 'according to', *pārū* 'through', *vāggē* 'like', *jogā*, *de lāiq* 'worthy', etc. Examples: - *pitū kanū sivāi* 'besides the liver' (a combination of an indigenous postposition with

a borrowed one), *sivāī allāh* de 'besides Allah' (the same), *hik bbelī vāṅge* 'like a servant', *āpne piū ne ākhaṅ mūjib* 'according to what your father has said'.

CONJUNCTIONS

Coordinating conjunctions are subdivided into:
 the coordinating-connective: *ā, aū, attē, hor* 'and', *hor... hor* 'both... and', *na... na* 'neither... nor';
 the coordinating-disjunctive: *ke, jā, 'or', 'either', hikke... hikke, bhāvē... bhāvē, yā ... yā* 'either... or';
 the coordinating-adversative: *bhal haḍḍō, par* 'but'.

Subordinating conjunctions are subdivided into:
 the elucidatory-attributive: *je, jo, bhāī (bhāī), paī, ta, ke, kī* 'that', 'in order to';

- the objective
- the subjective
- the predicational
- the temporal
- the comparative
- the qualitative-predicative

je, jo, bhāī (bhāī), paī, ta, ke, kī 'that', 'how', 'in order to'

the causal: *kiū jo, je, jo, bhāī (bhāī), paī, ta, ke, kī*, 'since', 'because', 'for';

the conditional: *jekār, je* 'if';

the final: *mat, matā* 'lest', 'that not', *bhāī ('bhāī)* 'in order to';

the concessive: *toṛe, bhāvē, je* 'though'.

Subordinating conjunctions should not be confounded with relative pronouns, adverbs, numerals, since they represent other parts of speech.

PARTICLES

Since morphological, i.e. synthetic means of word emphasis are developed in Lahndi, lexical means of conveying this type of relations are represented on a relatively modest scale. Intensifying particles may be exemplified by *ī, hī, hī* 'just', 'precisely', 'solely', 'only', *tā, tā* 'just', *lā* 'precisely', *bī, vī* 'also', 'even'. Examples: - *aje mūh hanārā ī āhiā* 'Yet it was early dark' (here the particle *ī* interacts with the adverb *aje* 'yet'); *ū hī vele* 'just then'; *ū hī kīte*

precisely for that reason'; *hise gall dā tā hisā māṅ e* 'She is proud precisely of this' (here the particle *tā* interacts with the suffix *-e* in the word *hise*); *ū hī ḡdih tē* 'On the very same day'; *tā tā māḡḡe nāḡ* 'It is you who lives with me'; *ḡāh rupāe bī tā kū desū* 'I shall also give ten rupees to you'; *aj lā kanūṅ* 'From this very day'. Since in Lahndi there is a well-developed system of negative finite verbs of being, the negative particle *nahī* (*nahē*) is used relatively more rarely: *hik lelā vī nahī ḡḡitā* 'He didn't give even one lamb'. Besides, two more negative particles are employed, i.e. *nā* and *xār*.

Affirmative particles: *hā*, *hā* 'yes', *jī* 'Yes, sir' (an affirmative particle of politeness). In a polite form of address the particle *khā* is used, e.g. *khā*, *sā* 'Sir'. An even loftier style of address is seen in the word *horī* (the ergative case is *horā*) 'Your Honour'.

The two particles *janē* and *je* (homonymous to the conjunction *je* 'that') mark the direct speech which follows immediately afterwards.

For the particle *ālā* (*vālā*) see the section on "Word-formation".

THE INTERJECTION

Interjections are used:

In addressing: *voe*, *oe*, *vo* 'Listen' (a man to a woman), *nī* (addressed to a woman), *van* (a woman to a woman), *vā*, *ve* (a woman to a man); in a common address: *ijho!*, *oh!* 'Listen', 'I say!', 'Hey', *hāe*, *hāe*, 'Oh'; *hāe*, *hāe*, *lok* 'Oh, people!';

To express emotions:

approval: *dhann*, *dhan*, *sadke*, *śābaś* 'Bravo!', 'Blessings on!', 'Fine!';

dissatisfaction: *phitt*, *phit* 'Curse on!', 'Damn it!', *hā* 'Ah!', *lohā* 'Alas!';

surprise: *hallā* 'You don't say!', 'Indeed!', 'That's something like!', *mazāl* 'Impossible!';

protest, indignation: *leh* 'No', *dhur dhur* 'Get away!', *chir chir* 'Get away!';

an appeal for help: *hāloī* 'Help!', *pahriā*, *pahrā-pahrā* 'Help!';

greetings: *āmī*, *āhvē* 'Welcome'

SYNTAX

THE SIMPLE SENTENCE

In Lahndi the simple sentence has a number of constructions typical of most of the modern Indian languages as regards the form-arrangement of the main and secondary parts, their order (the subject is rather often at the beginning of the sentence, and the predicate at its end), agreement, etc.

However, it also possesses constructions that are specific and differ from most of the languages compared. These distinctions include: an ergative construction with the ergative-subjective agreement; an ergative construction with the branching ergative-subjective-objective agreement (for these terms see the section on the predicate); the semi-ergative construction characterised by the absence of the ergative part, furthermore, as distinct from a number of modern Indian languages, the ergative construction in Lahndi does not mark at all its subject with the post-position *ne*; the predicational-mononuclear pronominal-suffixal, and the subjective-mononuclear pronominal-suffixal patterns (both the former and the latter can be word-sentences); special word-sentences in which the subject expressed by a noun is contractedly linked with a form of the verb "to be"; constructions with their link-verb omitted and with other peculiar forms of the predicate.

The Two-Member Sentence

The Subject

The subject can be either in the nominative or the ergative case. The latter is found only in the ergative construction including the sentences where a GMP is the predicate.

The function of the subject can be performed by a noun (including the verbal noun and the noun of quantity), a gerund, infinitive, numeral, pronoun. Examples: - *lokā nā āvun vañun ghatt āhā* 'The pedestrians traffic was light' (infinitives); *asā tādā utth nahī ditthā* 'We didn't see your camel' (a pronoun), *mār kuṭṭ cangī nahī* 'Beating is bad' (verbal nouns); *us ādmīe māḍḍā gunāh nahī karnā* 'That man will not sin against me' (a noun, with a predicate based on a GMP).

The predicate can be expressed by synthetic forms of verbs of being, by a verbal form homonymous to Participle II, by a GMP, and also by all the main non-simple verbal patterns: the verbal-verbal, the verbal-substantival, the verbal-adjectival, the verbal-pronominal-suffixal and the mixed.

In all constructions of the two-member simple sentence, with the exception of the ergative and many sentences based on the GMP there is, as a rule, complete agreement of the predicate with the subject in number, person and frequently gender. This is subjective agreement.

In the ergative construction there may be agreement with the subject in number and person, while there is no agreement with the object, though it is in the synthetic accusative case. It is expedient to term such an agreement ergative-subjective, e.g. *mā ũ kannū ũ dīā katābā vicchū parcā giddum* 'I took from him an extract from his books'. The predicate agreeing with the subject *mā* 'I' adds the marker of the 1st person, singular, the suffix *-um*.

In the construction based on the GMP (the verb being transitive) and in the ordinary ergative construction (the predicate bearing a prominence load) there can be ergative-objective agreement. When the prominence load is borne by the object (or if the latter is absent), the predicate takes the masculine form, singular.

However, when the prominence load is on the predicate expressed by a perfect form, the form of the verb "to be" may agree with the subject, while Participle II - with the object. We term this agreement branching ergative-subjective-objective: *mā farmāiš kītī hāim* 'I gave (then) an order'; *tū minnat kītī havē* 'You made (then) a request'.

If there are several subjects even of different genders, the predicate can be frequently placed in the plural of one gender, e.g. *hajo umrani atte ggāhvar umranī mādde gavāh hin* 'Hājo Umranī and Ganvar Umranī are my witnesses' (*hājo umranī* is a feminine noun, *ggāhvar umranī* - a masculine noun, whereas the predicate is placed in the masculine, plural).

However, in constructions with subjective and ergative-objective agreement, possessing respectively several homogeneous subjects or several homogeneous objects of different genders, the predicate may also agree with the last, i.e. with the one closest to it. Such an agreement should be called the shortest subjective-selective

agreement for the construction of the first type, and the shortest ergative-selective agreement for the construction of the second type. The latter case is exemplified by the following: *us janānī kī hikk golī tahle tāi, te hikk mānā jī bhalāne tāi, te hikk kuttī ghare nī rākhī tāi ghinn ditti* 'He left a girl servant to serve his wife, an Indian starling for amusement and a dog to guard the house'. In this sentence there are three objects: the first *golī* is feminine, the second *mānā* - masculine, and the third *kuttī* - feminine. The predicate *ditti* agrees with the last out of them.

In the event of several homogeneous predicates in the ergative construction there may be several types of agreement with one and the same ergative part, the subject, e.g. *ū khallī satṭ ghattī attē māḍḍe cūṇē kannū vajhū ggiā* 'He threw down the wine-skin and grabbed me by the hair'. Here the first predicate (*satṭ ghattī*) is transitive and has ergative-objective agreement, while the second (*vajhū ggiā*) is intransitive and agrees with the subject in person and number.

In Lahndi there is a clipped-contracted form of the predicate. Instead of the perfect form, masculine, singular, a fused form consisting of a clipped form of Participle II and the form *e* of the verb "to be" may be used, e.g. *ḍḍite* 'has given' instead of *ḍḍittā e*, *kīte* 'has done' instead of *kītā e* and even *āe* 'has come' instead of *āeā (āiā) e*. The same may occur with the compound predicate in which a possessive functions as the predicative, as in *māḍḍe* (lit. 'my is'), *tāḍḍe* (lit. 'your is') instead of *māḍḍā e*, *tāḍḍā e*, respectively.

The present tense in Lahndi may see the employment of a form of the predicate represented only by the predicative. It is expedient to term such a form the predicative-without-a-link-verb form of the predicate, e.g. *māḍḍā nā Mīrū* 'My name is Miru'; *hadd yārū dī* 'The police precinct is Yaru', *Umra paṇvī varhē* 'The age is 25', etc.

It should be borne in mind that in Lahndi a form of the verb "to be" as the modifier of finiteness of an analytic form or as the link-verb of a compound predicate frequently, particularly with a negative-particle employed, precedes the notional component or the predicative, respectively, which is normal and is not regarded as inversion, e.g. *bahū dīhāre nahī suṇ lagghthe...* 'A few days passed... (lit. 'many days did no pass'); *o bāhar sadāgrī kī nahī sī jāṇā* 'He did not go off to trade'.

If there is a qualitative-predicative part of the sentence, the predicate may be qualitatively-endowing or qualitatively-stating (see the section on the qualitative-predicative part).

The Object

In Lahndi there are three kinds of objects: the main direct, the indirect and the qualitative direct (also see Smirnov⁴) which is a variety of the qualitative-predicative part of the sentence.

The main direct object may have two forms: the synthetic and the analytic.

As in other modern Indian languages, the postposition imparts to the direct object a more definite character, in other words, it has an individualizing-actualizing, emphatic meaning, e.g. *āp̄ṇe pūchal āh zim̄itte marenā* 'He strikes his tail on the ground'.

The presence of a postposition after the object expressed by an animate noun, is not indispensable. Examples: - *tudh ko dhī viyāh disā* 'I shall give you my daughter in marriage'; *bādśāh unhē de piū at̄ māi kū māṅgvāiā* 'The king sent his parents for'.

The direct object can be expressed by a noun, an infinitive, a pronoun or a numeral. Examples: - *mā muqaddamā karaṅ nā cāhdā* 'I don't want to have anything to do with the court' (an infinitive); *tū mā ko zim̄it vāste kijjh nā ākhsē?* 'Won't you tell me anything about the land?' (a pronoun); *satt vīhā ghidd karāhī* 'Having taken one hundred and forty /rupees/' (a numeral), etc.

Sometimes the direct object may be omitted, particularly in colloquial speech, e.g. *rāt kū gāmaṅ dāyā atte ghulāmū dīṭṭhā hā* 'In the evening /I/ was seen by Gaman Daya and Gulyam' (the direct object *mā kū* 'me' has been omitted).

The indirect object is expressed by the dative, indirect-objective, instrumental and secondary ablative cases of a noun and pronoun, and sometimes of an infinitive. To denote relations of an addressee the object form includes postpositions of the *kū* (*ā, kī, ko, dāi, tāi* and others) type. To convey relations of other kinds other postpositions may be used. Examples: - *hus toṛī he gall pucā de...* 'Tell him that...'; *hasā te bahū ākhiā hāt his de cāk ā* 'We often told her servant'; *ū kū jhubbā ā ggiā* 'A feeling overwhelmed him'; *us ā vīyāh us āp̄ṇe cāce nē putre nāl kar dītā* 'He married her to the son of his uncle'; *mā ggāhvar attē karam nāl vān ke rapaṭ likhvāt* 'Having gone with Ganvar and Karam, I reported'.

For examples of the indirect object expressed by the indirect-objective, instrumental and secondary ablative cases see sections on the latter.

For data about the qualitative-predicative part see "The Qualitative-predicative Part" section.

The Attribute

In Lahndi the attribute can be expressed by an adjective, a participle, a pronoun, an ordinal numeral, by any form accompanied by the coordinating-relational postposition or the particle *ālā* (*vālā*), as well as by nouns and adjectives in special borrowed constructions and by appositions.

Inflected nouns and adjectives serving as attributes agree prominently with the modified part, whereas uninflected ones have non-prominent, i.e. covert agreement, prominent agreement being prevented here not by the mode of connecting words, but merely by the peculiarities of an uninflected word. Once we substitute an inflected word for the latter, prominence will display itself.

The attribute's position with respect to the word modified is not fixed in Lahndi. Here there may be pre-position or postposition, with even a number of attributes being involved. Examples: - *apnā ghaṭnā hāl* 'his deteriorating position'; *jjāl vālī jā* 'The place where the Salvador tree grows'; *utlī de pachādhū māl māḍḍā bhakrē dā hā* 'My flock of goats was west of Utli'; *lāḍu puṭā dā pīū māū te he* 'Love for their children is the parents' duty'.

Also commonly used in Lahndi is the attributively closing-in pattern in which one attribute precedes the modified word and another follows it, e.g.: *bāe log bahū khare hāe* 'There were many other people standing'; *us nā puttur koī nāhā honā* 'He didn't have a son' (lit. 'his son some appearing wasn't'); *iho putr māḍḍā* 'This very my son', etc.

In Lahndi one may also come across the Persian postpositional-attributive group construction in which the modified word is in preposition, while an attribute not in concord (a noun or an adjective) is in postposition, as in *khāliq-e-akbar* 'the Great Creator', *vaqt-e-sahār* 'the time of sunset', *nām-e-aqdas* 'a holy name'.

An apposition attribute: *lok abbāse šohde nā armān pae karnen* 'The people sympathise with the poor wretch Abbas'.

The Qualitative-Predicative Part

Materials of a number of languages allow us to draw a conclusion that besides the parts of the sentence already delimited and described there exists one more independent part possessing peculiar relations with other parts of the sentence. It is adjacent to the predicate and at times can outwardly resemble the predicative or some other component

of the predicate. However, an examination of the essence of this part and its relations with the predicate and other parts of the sentence will reveal its syntactic independence.

It is most expedient to regard as the predicative an element attached to verbs of being, to verbs expressing state, change, becoming and the like with which it forms a semantically indivisible group. The link-verb bears here the main grammatical load, whereas the predicative - the main semantic load. The transformational analysis does not allow us to break apart the given components, e.g. *o'canggā bhalā e* 'He is well' (Lahndi), *He is well* (English). The following transforms are inadmissible: *o'canggā-bhalā aũ e* 'He well and is', *he well and is*. In other words, through the transformational analysis we can check whether the given combination is a predicative and a link-verb or something else.

However, in other patterns such breaking apart is possible, since the compared elements do not make up a united tightly cohered combination, e.g. *o'canga-bhala val āe* 'He has returned healthy'. The sentence is semantically equal to the pattern *o'val āe aũ canggā bhalā e* 'He has returned and is healthy'. Therefore the part *canggā-bhalā* 'healthy' in the sentence *o'canggā-bhalā val āe* bears a syntactically independent character.

Such a part by and large expresses an object or a feature, a quality with which one acts upon the object expressed by the subject or the direct object and with which one endows the latter object or states that the given quality or feature is possessed by the object.

Since here, on the one hand, quality in a broad sense is treated and, on the other hand, acting upon with this quality, endowing with it or stating it is effected by means of the predicate and since the part expressing this quality is adjacent to the predicate, it is expedient to call the given part of the sentence the qualitative-predicative part (QPP). It can be expressed by a noun, an adjective, a participle, a numeral, a pronoun, any word with the coordinating-relational postposition and can interact with the predicate expressed by either a transitive or intransitive verb. The qualitative-predicative part may also be used in verbal-adverbial and participial constructions. It is found in constructions with the active, passive and (in a number of languages) the ergative voices. First we cite two examples from English: *We have elected him president. He has been elected president.*

In Punjabi if there is a qualitative-predicative part, a noun, pertaining to the direct object, the latter is form-arranged with the

postposition *nū*, e.g. *is bolī nū pālī akhiā jāndā he* 'This language is called Pali'. We termed this variety of QPP expressed by a noun in the synthetic accusative the qualitative direct object. In Lahndi it is not necessary in such cases to form-arrange the direct object with postpositions that can mark the accusative case, e.g. *picche kūrē ugāh sotr atte jāvāī baṇā karāhī* 'Then having made his cousin and son-in-law testify as false witnesses' (lit. 'false witnesses the cousin and daughter's husband having made'). (Here the homogeneous direct objects *sotr* 'cousin' and *jāvāī* 'daughter's husband' are in the synthetic accusative).

If the QPP expresses a quality with which one endows or acts upon, it is attached to a qualitatively-endowing predicate. And if a QPP expresses a stated quality, it is connected with a qualitatively-stating predicate. Examples of the first case where the QPP is expressed by various parts of speech: *hasā usā cāk nahū hā chaṛā baṇā rakhiā* 'We made him not only a servant' (a noun); *o'āpnī janānī kī ghaliyā choṛ ke...* 'He having left his wife alone...' (an adjective).

The QPP is attached to a qualitatively-stating predicate in the following example: *ū unhē kū vende dḍithā* 'He saw them going' (Participle I).

The Adverbial Modifier

In Lahndi there are the following adverbial modifiers: of time, of place, of purpose, of cause, of manner, of concession, of measure and degree.

The adverbial modifier of time is expressed by various adverbs of time, by nouns and pronouns in prosecutive cases, e.g. *vihāj picche vān desā* 'I'll pay the interest later'; *vatt ūn dī trīmit dū mohrā kaḍḍ ghiddīā* 'Then his wife took out two gold coins'; *o'rāt kū āeā* 'He arrived at night'; *ī kanū laggā geā* 'After that /he/ left'; *dū pahre dḍithā* 'I saw at midday'.

The adverbial modifier of place is expressed by adverbs of place, by nouns and pronouns in the main prosecutive case, e.g. *pārī paune ā* 'I am falling to (your) feet'; *mā raḥ do vesā* 'I shall go to the field'; *trapper de tale āh* '/It/ is under the floor-board'; *ū mūndhe te mār dḍittā* 'He struck /him/ on the shoulder'; *ī vicch hā* '/It/ was in this'.

The adverbial modifier of purpose is expressed by a noun, an infinitive or a pronoun in the same case: *sāhib māḍī arzī daryāfat*

The gentleman sent my complaint over to be investigated.
 The merchant went to look for searching a wise man; kure sadāgrī gach 'Go somewhere in trade'; bāhir išnān karaṇ laggā geā 'He went out to wash';
 kūr kūr 'for me', and others.

The adverbial modifier of cause is expressed mostly by the main nominative case of a noun or a pronoun and by some individual prepositions: *ū kūr kūr mele uttū vall peum* 'Precisely for this reason I returned from the market'; *behoṣ attē jind de xauf kannū* 'because of the loss of consciousness and in fear of /his/ life'. Not infrequently the form of the adverbial modifier of cause includes the postposition *ke* 'because of' which stems from a verbal adverb, e.g. *is gallā kūr ke o'ikkas muqaddame kol geā* 'Because of this he went to a local chief'.

The adverbial modifier of manner is expressed by adverbs of manner, qualitative adjectives in the function of adverbs, and by analytic cases of the noun, e.g. *ū āpnā kam kār caṅgā kūtā?* 'Did he do his work well?'; *tū dil dī karsē* 'You will speak frankly'; *trikkhā kūr* 'Please, do it quickly'.

The adverbial modifiers of measure and degree. This function is mostly performed by adverbs of measure and degree and by qualitative adjectives, such as *ḍḍāḍhā (ḍāḍhā)*, *caṅgā*, *bahū (bahū)* 'very', *vaḍḍā* 'greatly', 'very', *ghaṭṭ* 'in a slight degree', *ukkā* 'altogether'; *ḍāḍhā* 'very happy', *caṅgī suāṇī* 'very clever', *bahū caṅgā* 'very good', *akkō bamār* 'very sick'.

The adverbial modifier of concession is expressed by the phrase *īcē bondeā* 'despite of'.

The Word-Combination

Unlike the sentence the word-combination, as a combination of notional (independent) words, is a nominative means of the language, and, like the word, is building material to form the sentence. Contrary to the sentence the word-combination expresses not a statement or judgement, but a compound dismembered notion. The sentence is a communicative unit possessing special intonation and predication with all its categories (tense, mood, person), whereas the word-combination is a nominative unit.

Word-combinations in Lahndi are of various kinds, as for both their composition and connections among their components. Accord-

kīte paṭh dītī 'The gentleman sent my complaint over to be investigated; *sadāgar kusā siyāne kī loṛne tāi geā* 'The merchant went to look for (lit. 'for searching) a wise man'; *kure sadāgrī gach* 'Go somewhere to trade'; *bāhir iṣṇān karaṇ laggā geā* 'He went out to wash'; *māde kāṇ* 'for me', and others.

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ing to composition simple word-combinations in Lahndi are subdivided into:

the substantival-substantival: *sappe nã baccã* 'a little snake' (lit. 'the child of a snake'), *kīrār te rakhyã* 'Kirar and Rakhya', *bahãdur šãh* 'Bahadur Shah';

the adjectival-substantival: *bhãrã jjanã* 'a bad man', *suãñi nađhi* 'a wise girl';

the pronominal-substantival: *mãđđã piũ* 'my father', *iho puir mãđđã* 'this my son';

the numeral-substantival: *mohrã đũ* 'two gold coins', *hikk šuks* 'one man', *trã vãri* 'thrice';

the adverbial-substantival: *utthãĩ nã admĩ* 'a man from precisely that place';

the adverbial-adjectival: *hađđõ xuš* 'immeasurably happy';

the pronominal-pronominal: *habbho kijh* 'everything';

the verbal-substantival: *mihmãñĩ karuñ* 'to arrange a celebration';

the verbal-verbal: *pĩvan cãhvun* 'to want to drink'

Word-combinations may constitute whole phrases (substantival, verbal-adverbial, infinitival, etc.): *vađđĩ khizmat tẽ kazĩã nãl* 'with a great care and alarm'; *utth raleã hoeã* 'tired of camel riding' (a participial phrase); *kuñ ugãh sotr atte jãvãĩ hañã karãhĩ* 'having made the cousin and son-in-law testify as false witnesses' (a verbal-adverbial phrase).

There also occur in Lahndi substantival-infinitival phrases (the infinitive derived from an intransitive verb), in which the noun is a potential subject, the infinitive a potential predicate and the whole phrase a potential sentence. It is expedient to call such a phrase a sentence-like phrase. Since the infinitive has no predication (no mood, no person, no tense), the given phrase is only immediate building material for a sentence. Examples: - *rat vahañ kannũ* 'because of the loss of blood', *sadãgar nã karãr langhñe appar* 'after the term of the merchant's promise expired'.

As seen from the examples, the components of a word-combination can be connected either coordinatively or subordinatively.

In subordination words in Lahndi can be connected according to such modes as agreement, government and adjointment (see above). Apart from coordination and subordination Lahndi (just as a number of modern Indian languages) possesses one more mode of connecting words, i.e. that of interaction, or mutually-subordinating connection which may occur in the ergative construction when the prominence load is on the predicate or on one of its

components. The given mode of connecting words has been discovered by the author of this book.

The Word-Order in the Simple Sentence

The structure of the Lahndi sentence has a number of features common to those of other modern Indian languages. However, it possesses peculiarities of its own. Frequently secondary parts (perhaps, except of the adverbial modifier of time) are placed between the subject standing at the beginning of the sentence and the predicate which terminates it. If the predicate consists of several components, the auxiliary verb or the link-verb may not infrequently precede the predicative or Participle II in case of a perfect form. When there is a negative particle, it precedes the form of the verb 'to be', as in *o' bāhar sadāgrī kī nahī sī jānā* 'He did not go to trade'. The qualitative-predicative part generally precedes the predicate, with the direct object placed before the former, e.g. *o' apnī jānānī kī ghaliyā chor ditta* 'He left his wife alone'.

The attribute does not have a fixed position and may be either in pre-position, or in postposition. It is noteworthy that if a postpositive attribute follows a noun in an analytic case, the postposition may be placed after the attribute, as in *matā vīr māḍe kū šimar satāe* 'Lest Shimar should persecute my brother'.

The adverbial modifiers of place and purpose are often adjacent to the predicate, e.g. *o' us mulke ne hikkas muqaddame kol geā* 'He went to a local chief'; *o' bāhir išnān karaṅ laggā geā* 'He went but to wash'.

The adverbial modifier of time predominantly occurs before the subject, i.e. at the beginning of the sentence, e.g. *vatt tahsildār munsif karvā ditte* 'Then the tahsildar ensured the appointment of arbitrators'; *agle vele missar nā hikk pātšāh āhā* 'In olden time there was a King of Egypt'.

There are, however, instances, when the adverbial modifier of time follows the subject, e.g. *mā bahū muddat hoī tuhārī xidmat karnā rehā* 'I have been serving you for a long time'.

The indirect object usually precedes the direct one: *piū mā kū kuttī dḍittī* 'Father presented me with a dog'.

Sometimes inversive word-order is found. Thus, for the sake of emphasis the direct object may be placed at the beginning of the sentence, e.g. *mohrā dū chajjū kū de āvā* 'I ought to give two gold

pieces to the money-lender'. The attribute expressed by the pronoun *koī*, *kāī* 'some' usually precedes the noun, but if the latter is emphasized, the word-order changes: *ūn de kolhū* xarc *koī nāhā* 'She had nothing left for expenditure'. To obtain emphasis in tales and rhymes in songs inversion may be also employed by placing the predicate at the beginning of the sentence, e.g. *hikk āh bātšāh* 'Once upon a time there lived a king'; *āēā avāzā māsūm dā* 'The voice of the innocent was heard'.

Due to an existing phenomenon of inserting a word or even a whole phrase between closely connected elements of the sentence Lahndi may not infrequently see departures from the more common word-order, e.g.:

between a modified word and its attribute: *hise gall dā tā hisā mān e* 'This is precisely what she is proud of'; *ī muqaddame dī k'āhē bae afsar koī daryāfat kārvaī vāne* 'Some other official should be entrusted with investigating this case'; *mādā ūn de nāl vādā hū* 'I promised him' (lit. 'My before him promise was'); *kāī hus tū munikar hāsū?* 'Is she an apostate from him?' (lit. 'some kind from him apostate');

between the components of a predicate: *haṇ us nē putre nē tarfō peā muqaddamā honā* 'Now the law-suit was brought on behalf of his son'.

In Lahndi, as in Punjabi, two homogeneous nouns are often not connected by conjunctions as in *kāī lassī paṇī pīso?* 'Will you drink lassi or water?' *māh badxāh khārkhāh habhe hik barobar nu* 'For me ill-wishers and well-wishers are all the same'.

Omitting a conjunction sometimes makes it difficult to understand the text, e.g. *chajjū koī na bāthā hāī* 'Neither the money-lender nor anybody else was there'. Here the first element of the conjunction *na ... na* 'neither ... nor' is omitted before the noun *chajjū*, while its second element is placed after the pronoun *koī*. That is why the sentence may be also understood as meaning 'There was no money-lender there'.

The Mononuclear (or one-member) Sentence

In Lahndi there are two main types of mononuclear sentence: the subjectless and the predicateless. Of a special type is the incomplete sentence.

The subjectless sentence occurs in two varieties: the definite-personal and the indefinite-personal.

Definite-personal sentences are for the most part expressed by constructions with a predicate containing agentival pronominal suffixes or with a predicate expressed by a pattern that includes a negative verb of being. In other words, the predicate is expressed here in a definite-personal form, e.g. *ākhione* 'They stated'; *mele gāose* 'We went to the fair'; *mele uttū vall peum* 'I returned from the fair'; *mā,kannū pānī māggius* 'He asked me for some water'; *janā nāhā* 'I don't know'.

Indefinite-personal sentences are characterised by the fact that the agents of their actions are presented vaguely, obscurely. In such patterns the predicate is expressed by a verb form of the 3rd person, plural. However, in Lahndi such constructions are mostly used in the present tense and not infrequently convey general truths, e.g. *da'vā qāzī de aggū nīnde hin* 'A complaint is brought to a judge'; *adal bādšāh. dā māggde hin* 'Justice is asked from the king'; *ākhde hin ta...* 'It is said that...'

Predicateless sentences are represented in Lahndi by a noun containing in its morphological composition a pronominal suffix, or by forms resulting from linking together contractedly a noun and a form of the verb of being. In the latter case the sentence may contain several words. Examples: - *kassisse (kasshisse)* 'We have fever'; *gharum (gharhim)* 'I have a house'; *ū dīā kitlīā kuttīān* 'How many dogs does he have?'

Incomplete sentences are characterised by the absence of one or several of its parts implied from the previous text or situation, which is particularly typical of conversation-dialogue speech. Also belonging to incomplete sentences are elliptical patterns. Here are some examples where the subject is absent: *šāh mamdī bhajnā aiā* 'Came running to Shah Mamdi'; *attvê dīhāre muhabbat kū ghinn āe* 'Taking Muhabbat along, they came on the eighth day'; *axīrī maniā* 'At last /he/ agreed'.

THE COMPOSITE SENTENCE³

The composite sentence constitutes a syntactic composition made up of two or more parts. Relations and liaison among these parts are notable for a rather great diversity. However, a number of

³ In this section there are the following abbreviations: CS - a complex sentence, Cms - a compound sentence, MP - the main part, SP - the subordinate part.

criteria of grammatically-formal and semantic nature make it possible to divide all composite sentences into two main groups: the compound sentence (CmS) and the complex sentence (CS). There are also constructions transitional from CmS to CS, and vice versa.

Prior to considering the two main categories we should elucidate general types of relations among the parts of the composite sentence. We have already worked out this problem on the illustrative basis of Punjabi (Smirnov⁶, 30-40).

General Types of Relations among the Parts of the Composite Sentence

Every composite sentence is characteristic of three general types of relations, with possible varieties within each: 1) the parallel, 2) the relational, 3) the correlational.

The parallel type of relations is characteristic of the composite sentence components independent of each other grammatically and in communication-sense respect, having equal predications, but unified by some common theme, which is not infrequently reflected in identical lexical or grammatical elements. This point is just the factor converting a combination of sentences into a syntactic unit of a higher level than the simple sentence. It is this unit that constitutes one of the varieties of the compound sentence. Examples: - *aslō us nī khalrī bāndrī nī aī, par āp parī aī* 'In reality her skin was that of a monkey, but she herself was a fairy'; *en koṇ he ate keā tamāsā he?* 'Who is he and what is his appearance like?', *e' bī bahādur śāh tā mā bī bahādur śāh* 'He is Bahadur Shan and I am Bahadur Shah'.

A general theme unifying the parts of each sentence is reflected in common grammatical and lexical elements, as well. Thus, in the first and second examples the predicates have one and the same form (respectively) correlating to one and the same tense, aspect, mood, voice, etc. (*aī-aī, he-he*), whereas in the third example both predicates are without a link-verb and are expressed by identical predicatives (*bahādur śāh*). Besides, in both parts of the given sentence there are identical lexical elements expressed by the conjunction *bī* 'also'.

Parallel relations are typical of the compound sentence. Complex constructions may contain relations approaching the given type. However, they are complicated by the existence of subordinative con-

junctions, relative and correlative components pointing to a tighter cohesion of the composite sentence parts, and also frequently by shades of additional meanings e.g.: *jiō̃ jiō̃ σvagge tiō̃ tiō̃ pardestī āppā andrakkhā ghuj ke valheṭī vanje* 'The more he blew, the more closely did the stranger fold his cloak around him'. Though there are parallel actions in the parts of the given complex sentence, they are not tantamount, for the main part with its correlation signalers *tiō̃* (for this term see below) calls indispensably for the presence of another component, otherwise the former would be incomplete. Cutting off one component from another sharply disrupts here their intact connection.

The relational type of relations. Most commonly, however, relations among the composite sentence components bear a character of dependence, which is revealed by the lexical-grammatical, or by the semantic, or by the communication-sense criterion, or by a combination of them. The given relations are most common in the composite sentence. To describe them we have introduced a number of terms.

The least degree of relational ties in the composite sentence is represented by one-sided dependence of one component on another, which we have termed relation. It's noteworthy that in the CS not only the SP may be relationally dependent on the MP, but also the MP on the SP. At times the dependence may as well be reciprocal. Relation may be private and general. It is private, when the given component or some its part is dependent on one part of another component. And it is general, if the given component or some its part indicates dependence on the whole of another component. It should be borne in mind that the private relation does not necessarily express dependence on only one word, for some part affected by relational connection may be accompanied by other words, as well. But this group of words all the same constitute only a private link of a component of the composite sentence. Hence, at the level of relational ties the term "a part" may also imply a private link of a component.

The private relation is subdivided into the private-individual and the private-sentential.

The private-individual relation is characterised by the fact that some part (link) of a given component is dependent on some part (link) of another component. In other words, the dependence of one component on another is effected through the "a part (link) - a part (link)" relation, e.g. *māḍe māhl vicch falānī jāī ikk cor xānā*

vaḍḍeā ne vele nā baṇeā hoeā e, te us vicch trā lāl rakkhe hoen 'In a certain place of my palace there is a secret chamber built in the time of my ancestors, and in it there are three rubies'; *do lāl nixte te hikk na laddhā* 'Two rubies appeared and one was not to be found'. In the first example the personal-demonstrative pronoun *us vicc* 'in it', a part of the second component, backs up the noun of the first component *xānā* 'a chamber' and refers the reader to it in the first component. Actually the word *xānā* occurs here along with the attributes *ikk* and *cor*, and together they represent a private link. In the second example the numeral *hikk* 'one', a part of the second component, pertains to the word *lāl* of the first component and also refers the reader to it.

Because of the peculiarities of Lahndi the private-individual relation may sometimes bear not purely syntactic, but syntactic-morphological character, since if the predicate contains a pronominal suffix in one of the components, the pronominal morpheme may intercommunicate with some part of another component, e.g. *bādšāh kũ dil vich ḍḍukhā thīā, aũ akhiā vich pāṇī andus* 'The king got grieved and tears came to his eyes' (lit. 'In the heart of the king there appeared grief, and he to the eyes brought water').

The private-individual relation also occurs in a CS where the dependence of the SP on the MP is expressed through the medium of relative words, due to which this relation bears a firmer character than in the CmS, since relative words incarnate special signalers of dependence of one component on another, which are employed solely for this purpose, e.g.: *e' zamīn jeṛī māḍe kol he, mā bandobast kannū picche mul giddī he* 'This land which I own I acquired after resettling'.

The private-sentential relation is characterized by one-sided dependence of the given component as a whole on some part (link) of another component ('a component - a part (link)' dependence). This type of dependence is typical of a subordinate part elucidating a noun of the MP. Such SPs are conjunction-introduced, e.g. *māh rabbū nazīr mildī e bhāī he cāk tāṇḍhā dhur dargāh dā sāk e* 'God has enlightened me that this servant of yours is a relative sent by God'; *pure nī vāu te deē bāunś lā dittū bhāī keṛā trakṛā* 'The North Wind and the Sun began disputing (lit. 'that') which was the stronger'. In both examples the SPs introduced by the conjunctions *bhāī* and *bhāī* (a variant) 'that' are in private-sentential relations to the nouns *nazīr* 'enlightenment' and *bāunś* 'dispute' of the main parts. This dependence is signaled by the conjunctions.

Since, however, nouns of this kind indispensably call for elucidation by the SP, the MP in its turn finds itself in a relation, but in the general one, to the SP. In other words, the private-sentential relation of the SP is backed here by a counter general relation of the MP on the very same level or in the very same plane. As a result there arise interpenetrative relations. However, the MP general relation does not have in this case any concrete signaler and is revealed only from the lexical nature of the nouns possessing generalised-abstract meanings, i.e. we elicit this relation through a lexical-semantic criterion.

The general relation is subdivided into the general-private and the general-sentential. The general-private relation is characterised by dependence of some part (link) of a given component on the whole of another component of the composite sentence ("a part (link) - a component" dependence). Such dependence is exemplified by the illustrations just now cited in which the MPs of the CS find themselves in a relation to their SPs through their parts expressed by the nouns *nazīr* and *bāunś*. The lexical meanings of these words call indispensably for elucidation by the SPs. Otherwise communication remains incomplete. It is expedient to term such a relation the relation of indispensable semantic completeness (a variety of general-private relation).

The general-sentential relation is characterised by the fact that a composite sentence given component as a whole, i.e. as a clause, expresses dependence on the whole of another component ("a component - a component" dependence). In some cases this dependence is revealed only by a communication-sense criterion, while in other instances also by a formal one, e.g. *is āh lag geā pattā te māh ī roz marenā* 'The information reached him and he beats me daily'; *vat deō mac ke tappā te šappośap us andrakkhā lāh suṭṭā* 'Then the sun shone out warmly and he immediately took off his cloak'. In both examples the actions contained in the second components result from those contained in the first ones (here the second component is in a general-sentential relation to the first).

We may call both the private and the general relation of a subordinate part the relation of subordination which is a more general category in respect to these two varieties.

If a component is syntactically incomplete, but is complemented in this respect by another one, it finds itself in the relation of indispensable syntactic completeness to the latter (a variety of general relation).

Such peculiar relations involve, for instance, the CS with subject and predicate compositions and the CS with a kind of object clauses, as in *pattā lageos je mūdhi trimti nī jholī 'c koī trī caū mahīniā nā jātuk e* 'He came to know that in his (lit. in my) wife's lap is a child of about three or four months'; *bijjar attē sobhā attē khiā āhdin jo jḡāl dā hik daraxt e* 'Bijjar, Sobha and Khia say that there is a Salvador tree'. In the first example the predicate composition *pattā lageos* 'He came to know' imperatively calls for the availability of a subject, and in the second illustration the MP predicate *āhdin* 'say' can in no case dispense with an object. In both CS it is just the subordinate parts introduced by the conjunctions *je* and *jo* 'that', respectively, that are such completive elements. Besides, in the first complex sentence the SP is in a general-sentential relation to the predicate composition, while in the second CS the SP finds itself in a private-sentential relation to the MP completing syntactically its predicate. In other words, these CSs see relations of indispensable syntactic completeness of some components being backed by certain counter relations of other components. The aggregate of these in each CS constitutes interpenetrative relations.

The correlational type of relations occurs only at the level of the CS.

We mean by correlation in the complex sentence interrelation between two intercommunicative simple or compound (or one simple and another compound) components represented by one in each part of a CS and semantically either relating to one and the same object, phenomenon of reality or expressing identical or very akin ideas, or still finding themselves in some connection to each other including a quantitative one.

We deem it expedient to call the MP intercommunicative component the *correlative component*, and its counterpart in the SP - the *relative component*. Both these components may be covered by a more general term - the *correlational component*.

The existence of correlation is ascertained through the existence of the correlation signaler whose function may be fulfilled by demonstrative pronouns, adverbs, or indefinite numerals. A simple correlative component is concurrently a correlation signaler and a compound one includes the latter as part of its composition.

What we call the correlation signaler generally is termed "correlate" or "correlative". But the term is not quite precise in application to a compound correlative component, for intercommunicative relations with the relative component affect not only what is

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called correlative, but also other elements of this component. That is why we propound for such a group of words the term "the correlative component". Here are examples of simple correlational components: *jadun naḍhā thī peā tā māū ākhiā* 'When he became a youth then the mother said to him'; *je koī māndhā puttur hoeā tā tū mā ko zimī vāste kijjh nā ākhsā* 'If I give birth to a son, (lit. then) you will say nothing about the land'.

However, correlation does not limit itself to such a simple interrelation of elements, since frequently correlational components may be complicated and even represented by whole clauses (as a rule, by a conjunction-introduced SP). Examples: - *jeḥī jāh dā bijjar attē sobhā attē khiā āhdin o'jāh bbahū parē hā* 'The place Bijjar, Sobha and Khia are talking about is very far' (lit. 'which place - that place'); *māh he vī patā nāh bhāi husā vī māndhā kujjh khiāl hāsu ke nāh* 'I even (lit. 'this') don't know (lit. 'that'), whether he remembers me or not'. In the first of these CSs both correlational components are compound (a pronoun + a noun), whereas in the second the first component is simple (a pronoun), while the second is complicated, represented by a whole SP introduced by the conjunction *bhāi* 'that'.

Such are the main types of relations among the parts (components) of the composite sentence.

The Compound Sentence

The compound (coordinated) sentence constitutes a syntactic whole consisting of two or more units formally arranged as grammatically independent simple sentences connected by means of coordination: copulatively (asyndeton included), disjunctively, adversitively, illatively (a causative-resultative connection) or copulatively-illatively. CmS components may be homogeneous and parallel, though, as a rule, united by one theme, or somehow dependent on one another relationally, which is frequently expressed by lexical and grammatical markers. As grammatically-formal and lexical means of linking the components of such composite patterns there serve coordinative conjunctions and intonations typical of each language.

Examples of copulative connection: - *dillīō kitāb maṅgvāt ahī te usic likkhā oiā bhāi...* 'I had sent for the book from Delhi, and it is written therein...; *o'ādmī bah rahā, majjhī bhī us dī caupher bah rahyā* 'That man sat down, the female buffaloes also sat down round him'; *na koī sarāghī jaṅdā he, na sarkārī he* 'Neither any path-

finder, nor any official knows it (lit. 'No pathfinder knows, no official knows').

Examples of adversative connection: - *aslō us nī khalrī bāndrī nī atī, par ap parī atī* 'In reality her skin was that of a monkey, but she herself was a fairy'; *sinnī, bevatrī nahī vāhvṇī cāhīnī, nahī tā juk thī vāntī e* 'Wet or unmoist (land) should not be tilled, or else it becomes stiff'.

Example of disjunctive connection: - *jā tā māh kaḍh khar jā isā' fājū ā kadaū adde banne lā* 'Either take me away indeed or this I'ajju convey to some end'.

The components of a Cms may be connected by a copulative conjunction, but refer to each other illatively (illative-copulative connection), e.g. *isā' lag geā pattā te mā' ī roz marenā* 'The information reached him and he beats me daily'.

The Complex Sentence

Most commonly the complex sentence constitutes a combination of one principal (main) and one or more subordinate components (sometimes the components may be of a specific nature as is the case with the subject composition and the predicate composition). The subordinate component may relate to some part of the principal one, or to the whole of it, or still function as one of its parts. Since the CS components may not infrequently bear the character of defective sentences (be sententially defective) or be still more deformed, it is expedient to use for their designation the terms "the main (principal) part" and "the subordinate part", but putting into them a wider sense implying, respectively a full-value sentence, a defective sentence and a deformed one.

To comprehensively elucidate the CS peculiarities we employ a number of criteria to which we resort in a certain succession. These criteria some of which are introduced by us for the first time, are formed into a certain system that we propound as a new method of classification of complex sentences and term it the generalizing - complex method of classification of complex sentences (for details see Smirnov¹, 165.167, Smirnov⁶, 45-48).

First of all one should take into account the syntactic function of the SP which may be attributive, subjective, one of the prosecutive etc. This allows to elicit the CS types. These may have two

varieties. The SPs which serve a MP non-notional part (pronouns, some adverbs and numerals) we term "semantically-supplying", since they supply it with a semantic content, whereas to the SPs which within a CS composition are used directly in the capacity of a part of the sentence, it is expedient to employ the term "directly-functioning". Hence we elicit type S (the CS with semantically-supplying SPs) and type F (the CS with directly-functioning SPs).

Then depending on a concrete constant element within the means of connecting the CS parts (a concrete relative word used independently or included in the composition of a compound relative component, a concrete conjunction, asyndeton) we ascertain subtypes.

A subtype may have varieties: subtype A (the CS with a subordinate part introduced by a relative word as an independent unit), subtype B (the CS with a subordinate part introduced by compound relative components "a relative word + a noun" or by other varieties of compound relative components).

Afterwards, if a SP is an adjunct to a MP word, we, proceeding from the latter belonging to a concrete part of speech, divide the subtypes into kinds. Besides, if the given word is lexically defective (a pronoun, some adverbs, etc.), we concurrently take into account its syntactic function in the MP. Depending on all this noun-attached, pronoun-attached, adverb-attached and other kinds are marked out.

The next step will be taking into consideration the strength of cohesion of the CS parts and the character of relations between them, as a result of which subkinds are elicited: the monomial (tightly-cohered) construction (subkind 1) and the binomial (weakly-cohered) construction (subkind 2).

And at last, we subdivide the monomial construction into the correlational (subkind 1A), the non-correlational (subkind 1B), and the semi-correlational (subkind 1C), since, as we have found out additionally, CSs with subordinate clauses of condition, time and manner may also have a construction that is semi-correlational.

Thus, our classification system consists of the following stages:

- 1) type (depending on the main syntactic function of the SP);
- 2) type F or type S (depending on whether the main function of the SP is semantically-supplying or directly-functioning);
- 3) subtype (depending on a concrete constant element within a means of connection);
- 4) subtype A, subtype B (depending on whether a relative

word is used as an independent unit or as part of one of compound relative components varying in their nature);

5) kind (varieties of constructions: the noun-attached, the pronoun-attached, the adverb-attached etc.);

6) subkind (depending on the strength of cohesion; the monomial construction-subkind 1, the binomial construction-subkind 2);

7) subkind 1A (the correlational construction), subkind 1B (the non-correlational construction) and subkind 1C (the semi-correlational construction).

If some stage is represented by several varieties which we, consequently, can confront with one another, it is according to our terminology, prominent or possesses prominent variants. The prominence of the stages varies from type to type, from subtype to subtype. This peculiarity is always retained by the first stage, since other types of CS exist invariably, too. In most cases the third stage is also prominent, for each type is, as a rule, based on several subtypes. This classification reflects in a generalised manner the CS constructions. Here are a number of illustrations which we have managed to find out in Lahndi.

The CS with subordinate attributive clauses is the most common type. One can find among this type sentences constructions of type S, too, since the coordinating-relational postposition allows a pronoun in the MP to function as an attribute, e.g.: *picche jeṛā katul hoiā us nī gal suṅī nē* 'Last time the murder that took place, have you heard the talk about it?' In terms of subtypes it is a CS with a SP introduced by a relative component based on the constant element *jeṛā* 'which', 'who'. This is a CS of subtype B, since the relative component is a compound one represented by the relative word-combination *jeṛā katul* 'which murder'. In terms of kinds it is a pronoun-attached construction, in terms of subkinds a monomial construction (subkind 1) and in addition a correlational one (*jeṛā katul - us nī*), i.e. of subkind 1A.

Owing to the coordinating-relational postposition the CS with attributive SPs may also have an adverb-attached construction in which it is not a pronoun, but an adverb that functions as a formal extension-attribute. The SP here also performs a semantically-supplying function, e.g. *suāhe te jithā e gabhīr vāhṇ hikathē thīnen, uthāī nī gal e* 'On the Sohan where it meets Gabhir stream, it is a story about that very place' (lit. 'Where the Sohan meets the Gabhir, the there story is'). As seen, the given SP is introduced by the relative adverb *jithā* 'where', which correlates with the correlation signaler *uthāī* 'precisely there'.

Constructions of type F (i.e. the CS with directly-functioning SPs) are more typical of the given type. As for kind, all of them are noun-attached. Let us first consider the CS with attributive SPs connected with the MP by relative components including the constant element *jo* or *jeṛā*, 'which', 'who'.

The CSs of subtype A, i.e. those whose constant element is used independently may also have subkind 1 (the tightly-cohered) and subkind 2 (the weakly-cohered). In subkind 1 the lexical content of the qualified noun indispensably calls for elucidation by an SP and it is limited and individualised. That is why the SP jointly with the MP forms a monomial construction. Examples of subkind 1: - *attē o'xūṣī nāl aprā peṭ unḥē chilṛē nāl bhar ghindāhā, jinḥē kū sūar khānde han* 'And he, happy, filled his stomach with the husks that the swine were eating' (subkind 1A, the correlational); *ā piū, māl dā hissā jehṛā māḍā thīndā he mā kū de* 'Oh, father, what share of the property comes to me, give it to me' (subkind 1B, the non-correlational, tightly-cohered). In the first CS the SP is postpositive, while in the second it is interposed.

In subkind 2 the lexical meaning of the noun whose adjunct is the SP, does not call indispensably for elucidation. In this case the SP merely narrates additional data concerning the noun. Examples: - *hikṛe bādśāh kū marz ḍḍadhā buchṛā hā, jo unḥē ggalh karaṇ dī hājatī nahī* 'A king suffered from a very difficult sickness which there is no need to mention'; *e'zamīn jērī māḍe kol he mā bandobast kannū picche mul giddī he* 'This land which I have I acquired after resettling'. In the 2nd example *e* 'this' is not a correlation signaler, but performs a situational-demonstrative function and has an anaphoric meaning.

The CSs of subtype B are frequently correlational. It should be borne in mind that unlike Panjabi the relative pronoun *jeṛā* changes for case in Lahndi. Examples: - *jēre vele māḍā xasam āsī, ū vele mā mohṛā ḍesā* 'When my husband comes, I shall give away the gold coins, (lit. 'at which time... at that time'); *jērī jā dā bijjar attē sobhā* *attē khiā āhdin, o'jā bhahū parē haī* 'The place that Bijjar, Sobha and Khia are speaking about was very far away'. In both examples the SPs are in pre-position. Sometimes the SP occurs in postposition, e.g. *hājo ta pahlī mār de vaqt ḍḍithe, attē ggāhvar ū velhe jēre velhe jo o' mā kū mārī hoī vale vende han* 'True, Hajo saw the beginning of the beating and Ganvar /saw/ them at a time (lit. 'at which time') when they having beaten me were returning'.

As seen, the relative component is accompanied by the conjunc-

tion *jo* 'which' which is a tautological element symbolising in general subordinative connection.

There also occurs in Lahndi the elucidatory-attributive subtype of CS in which a SP is introduced by one of the following conjunctions: *je, jo, ta, bhāi, bhāi, paī, ke* 'that', 'in order to'. All constructions of the given subtype are monomial since the qualified word expressed in the MP bears, as a rule, a generalized-abstract character and indispensably calls for elucidation by the SP. Moreover, the given CS may be correlational, too. Examples: - *bādsāh hukum dditā ta mānhū golio* 'The king gave an order to find the man for him'; *is gallu mā yaqīn kītā jo utthe te sirkā laddeā hoeā āhā* 'From this I made sure that vinegar was laden on the camel'; *asā hā ke xabar e je kidde geā* 'How do we know (lit. 'what news is with us) where it has gone' (a correlational CS); *hus toṛī he gall pucā de paī mā sacī ā hus nō!* 'Tell him that I'm sincere to him' (a correlational CS); *mā is gallā jogā nā ke tuhārā puttur akhvāvā* 'I'm not worthy to be called your son' (a correlational CS).

The elucidatory-attributive subtype of CS may be connected asyndetically, e.g. *māh patā e tāṇdhā hitthe dil nahī patījdā* 'I know (lit. 'the news is') /that/ here your soul does not find satisfaction'. As in Panjabi, a sentence containing the word *patā* 'news' in the MP may be viewed in two ways in the absence of definite markers: either as a CS with an elucidatory-attributive SP or as a CS with a subject SP. The CS with attributive directly-functioning SPs may also have in the capacity of means of connection some adverbs, such as *jitthe (jithe)* 'where' as means of ties. Examples: - *vanjo talhāe te jitthe mā vānā dhāvā* 'Go to the pond where I balhe'; *patśāh neā puttā trāhe lāl hikk ujṛī hoī jāī vicch jitthe lokā nā āvuṇ vānjuṇ ghatt āhā, vānj dabbe* 'The king's sons went and buried three rubies in a desolate place where people seldom came and went'. In the second CS the MP is interposed.

The CS with object subordinate clauses are most commonly represented by type F in which the SP is directly-functioning. The SP may be introduced both by conjunctions and relative components. Here are examples showing the first case: *bādsāh pucchīus ta ehī hālat vich kiū khilio* 'The king asked him (lit. 'that') why he was laughing in such a situation'; *tuddh kīkuṇ jātā e je utth luṇḍḍā e?* 'How have you learnt that the camel is without a tail?'; *naqal karnen je kohā hikkī rāje nā hāā* 'It is said that Kohat belonged to a king'; *tā dittheus je aggā hikk savānī āhī* 'And he saw that a woman was standing in front of him'.

The SP introduced by a relative component is frequently in pre-position, e.g. *jeṛā kujh māḍḍe hisse vich āve mā kū dde dde* 'Whatever share comes to me, give it to me'.

An example of a CS with a semantically-supplying SP: *mal kanu je ko bbanga medda thive uhu maku dde* 'Whatever share of the property comes to me, give it to me'.

All the CS cited are monomial constructions, since all their MPs find themselves in the relation of indispensable syntactic completeness to the SPs.

An object SP may be connected with its MP asyndetically, as well, e.g. *sultān ā zarūr ākhē mil vañjhe* 'By all means tell Sultan /that/ he come'.

CSs with subject SPs may also have both conjunctions and relative components as connecting means. Examples illustrating the first case: *e' malūm hondā je is dī tarīmut koī kucajjī jahī āh* 'It is obvious (lit. 'this') that his wife is rather foolish'; *māh he vī patā nāh bhāt husā vī māḍḍā kujjh khiāl hāsu ki nāh* 'Do you understand that I (lit. 'this') even do not know (lit. 'that'), whether he remembers me or not'. Both these sentences are correlational and possess semantically-supplying SPs, since the MP sees in the function of its subject the formal extension-pronoun *e'* ('he') 'this'. That is why the second CS containing the word *patā* has a subject SP, since *e'* is its marker.

An example of a CS with a directly-functioning subject SP introduced by a relative component: *jis kise ā rākh cuṭkī dī loṛ thīsī ā jāvsī* 'He who requires a pinch of ashes will come'.

Here *ā jāvsī* 'will come' belongs to the predicate composition, while all the rest to the subject composition expressed by a whole sentence (SP).

All the CS cited are monomial.

CSs with subordinate clauses of time may have relative components, conjunctions and asyndeton as connecting means. In the first case the SP is mostly in pre-position. Examples: - *jeṛe vele samā najlk āeā ūn de kolhū xarc koī na hā* 'When the time came, she had nothing left for the expenditures' (a directly-functioning SP); *jeṛe velhe o'val āiā, ta ū ggāvaṇ attē nacaṇ dī āvāz sunī* 'When he returned, he (lit. 'then') heard the sounds of singing and dancing' (a correlational CS with a semantically-supplying SP), *dānō māḍḍī māmi jāḍḍā arzī mār kuṭṭāī dī iṭhā dīṭṭī, pāhlū ū hī kū jhalvāone* 'When Dano, my aunt, handed in her complaint about the beating, they first of all arrested precisely her' (a directly-functioning SP); *jitnē tāī mā jīnā*

rāhsā tā āp khānā rāhsā 'As long as I live, I shall make my own living' (a correlational CS with a semantically-supplying SP).

However, sometimes a SP having the same connecting means may occur in postposition, e.g. *tadhā chures, jadhā ākhe* 'She should be released when she says'.

When the parts of the CS are joined with conjunctions, the SP of time is in postposition: *thoḷe dihāre thae hinn jo mā e'zamīn mul giddī he* 'Few days have passed, since I bought this land'; *ajje o māū nā duddh pīnī āhī je us nī mā mar gāī* 'She was still a baby (lit. 'was taking her mother's milk') when her mother died'; *mā apṛē jhugge dū vendā piā ham jo utthāī kolhū mauqā de ggāvar mil piā* 'I was going to my hut, when I met Ganvar just at that place'. In the first example the SP as a whole refers to the MP as a whole; in other words, the former is in the general-sentential relation to the latter. In all other CS the SP refers only to the MP predicate, in other words, we have here the private-sentential relation. And here is an example of an asyndetical connection of a SP of time with its MP: *ajjā o'bbahū parē hā, ū de piū ū kū dḍekh ghiddā* 'He was still at a great distance, /when/ the father saw him'.

The given construction resembles the CS with a SP of time introduced by a conjunction (see above), but differs from it by the absence of a conjunction. That is why the cohesion of the components becomes less tight and less pronounced, but still remains sufficiently close for a monomial pattern.

Among the CSs with SPs of time there also occurs a semi-correlational construction. It is characterised by the fact that the MP contains a correlation signaler (usually *ta, tā, tā*), while a semantically-supplying SP is void of a relative component. In other words, only one part of the CS has a correlational component. A signal emanating from the correlation signaler makes its way from the MP to the SP, but does not receive a direct response (it dies away relatively). However, the absence of a correlational reaction in response is made up for by the SP's relation to the MP, since the incompleteness of the communicative sense of the SP requires a continuation of the thought in the MP. This is not infrequently backed by the forms of the SP predicate (the subjunctive mood). Examples: - *kaṛak suk vānje tā khlāre te dhuvīnīe* 'When wheat is dried up, then it is carried to the barn'; *pāhlī mātar gāhī vānje tā usāh parat saṭṭe* '(When) the first circle is threshed, then one should turn it upside down'.

The CS with subordinate clauses of place are mostly correlational and with semantically-supplying SPs which may be both in pre-

position and in postposition. Examples: - *jithe mā bāuhnā, uthe paī hosīā* 'Do you hear, where I sit, it would be lying there'; *jithe vañj lagge utthā viyā krā desā* 'Where it /the arrow/ goes and strikes, there I shall make you marry'; *trā bhirā othe gāe jithe lāl dabbe āhe* 'The three brothers went to the place where they had buried the rubies'.

The CS with conditional subordinate clauses are most commonly used as correlational and semi-correlational constructions in which the SP performs the semantically-supplying function. However, there also occur CSs with directly-functioning SPs. To express a firm real condition referring to the future the predicate of the SP may have either a form homonymous to Participle II, or a form of the future tense. The MP predicate expressing result is usually found in a form of the future. The words *je* and *jekar* 'if' are used as conjunctions. Examples: - *je tā unhā dī kāī gall kāhē nū dass ditti, tā tū mar vāsē* 'If you say at least a word about them, you will die'; *jekar o'utthā na āyā tā ū kū kulācī agistrā sāhib dī kacahrī vicch vaññā pāsī* 'If he does not report there, he will have to go to the Extra Assistant Commissioner's court'; *osiḍḍī maneso tā tusiḍḍī bī mansā* 'If you agree with our /method/, we shall agree with yours'.

The predicate of the MP may also be in a form of the imperative mood, e.g. *je sultān nā āiā tā dhīdo ā magvāē* 'If Sultan does not come, call Dhido'.

If condition contains an element of supposition, some degree of uncertainty or hesitation, the predicate of the SP is expressed by a form of the subjunctive mood. The result expressed by the MP may be varied in its character. If the result reveals certainty or firmness, the predicate can have forms of the future tense and the imperative, e.g. *jekar ḍānd vall na thīve tā us nū kohesā* 'If the buffalo does not recover, I'll slaughter it'; *tuhāḍī marzī hove tā muqaddamā karo* 'If you have a desire, bring in a law-suit'.

When an element of supposition is also introduced into the result, the predicate of the MP may have a form of the subjunctive, e.g. *kūr mārē tā mar vañjē* 'If you say a lie, you will die'.

If condition has a character of desire, the predicate of the SP may be expressed by the GMP, e.g.: *muḥ hisā kāī snehā pagām deḥā ī te de desu* 'Then /if/ you want to convey a message or news to her, do it'.

If condition is unreal, and, hence, its result is unreal, too, the predicate of the SP may in Lahndi be expressed by Participle I, while

the predicate of the MP - by a GMP not infrequently accompanied by a form of the past tense of the verb 'to be', e.g. *je tũ mard hunnĩõ, mã baloc nũ chor ke tãñdhe nãl nas vaññã hãĩ* 'If you were a man, I would, having left the Balochi, run away with you'. An unreal condition and an unreal result regarding the past (see the section on "The conditional mood") is expressed by a special form of the predicate in both parts of the CS including the suffix *-hã*: *je tonðhĩ marzt hovehã tãã vañjahã* 'If you had desired it then, I would have come'.

The CS with subordinate clauses of cause mostly has conjunctions as connecting means, e.g. *kiũ jo* and *je* 'since', 'because'. In such sentences SPs are both directly-functioning and semantically-supplying. Examples: - *tãddẽ piũ ã dĩ mihmãñĩ kĩtĩ e, kiũ jo o'cangã-bhalã val ãe* 'Your father has made a feast in his honour, since he has returned safe and sound'; *xuš thĩvan zurũ e, kiũ jo thũ bhirã tãddã huñ jĩndã thĩ ãe* 'One should rejoice, since it is precisely your brother who, resurrected, has returned'; *is mũjib mã jãtã je rãhe utte mã ditiñhã'ãhã...* 'I learned it, since on the road I had seen...' (a semantically-supplying SP); *us ãh koĩ ðar nahĩ mã je bãthã* 'He need not fear, because I am sitting'.

Sometimes a SP of cause may be introduced by a relative component and semantically supply a formal extension, an adverbial modifier of cause, in the MP, e.g. *jẽrã chekrã vivãh kĩa ãeus, us cõ us nã puttur hoeã* 'His last marriage has resulted in a child born' (lit. 'What last marriage he has had, from it a child has been born to him').

The CSs with SPs of purpose are introduced by the conjunctions *bhãĩ, bhãĩ, paĩ* 'in order to' and others not infrequently accompanied by negation. There is also a special negative conjunction of purpose *matã* 'lest'. Examples: *mũhye'c pañã pãnen bhãĩ havãz nã nikle* 'They put dust into his mouth so that no sound may come out'; *nã roveãhe, matã vĩr mãde kũ šimar satãe* 'Don't cry lest Shimar should persecute my brother'. As seen, the predicate of the SP of purpose has a form of the subjunctive mood.

The CS with SPs of manner usually has its parts connected by relative adverbs *jiũ, jĩkuñ* (and their variants) 'how', 'in what way'. The SP applies both to Type F and Type S. Examples: - *jiũ ãkhsẽ karesã* 'I'll do, as you'll tell me'; *višakk, jĩkuñ othĩ ãkhnã e, asã sãre patte dasãen* 'Certainly, as the camelman says, we told him all about it'. Sometimes a SP of manner may also be introduced by conjunctions and supply semantically a formal extension, an adverbial modifier of manner, in the MP, e.g. *mã ko hive jãpnã je tũ ghatnã vãdnã* 'To me (lit. 'so') it seems that you are getting thinner'.

There is also a semi-correlational asyndetic construction with SPs of manner, e.g. *khudā nī marzī eñe āhī, o'vadḍā bimār thīā* 'The desire of God was such (lit. was in this way) /that/ he fell seriously ill'.

The CS with SPs of concession. Here SPs are introduced by conjunctions of concession. Examples: - *je koī des parāe te mar vāndā, toṛe hove duśman kaṭṭ dehlendā* 'Whoever might die abroad, even if an enemy, /he/ is provided with a cerement'; *bhāvē dhup e, bhāvē chā khedḍā zarūr e* 'Whether sun or shadow, one must play'.

The CS with SPs of comparison: *huṇ is lāiq na hā jo vatt tāḍā putr sadā* 'Now I'm not such a person (lit. 'am not like this') to be, as in the past, called your son'.

The SP introduced by a conjunction semantically supplies here a formal extension, a pronoun in the main prosecutive case, in the MP.

The CS with SPs of measure and degree may be also exemplified by a CS with a semantically-supplying SP: *jitṇā hal vāsī itnā ī carygā* 'The more you plough, the better'.

APPENDIX
Text (Arabic characters)

بب شخفں یے دو پتر من روہناں پھون نند پیچے کہ پنے پیوکن ایسا جوہ

پیو مینوں یے جتسی حمد مال داکیلوں آندا ہے۔ رتے لک رپنی جائدہ اوہناں

کون ونڈوئی۔ اتے تہوے ڈا کے کنوں پچھے نندہ پتر ب کچھ لہنا لرتے

ب پرانے یے سک پوج پوج ہیا۔ جتہاں رپنا مال بد چینی پوج روڈا یس۔

اتے روتہاں جڈان سب کچھ فرج سر وٹوس تان رڈون سک پوج وڈا کال پیا۔

اتے ہن روتہاں تہوں لگا۔ تڈان آون سک یے ب رٹیسک ول پوج

کلیا۔ جین رپناں رڈ مین پوج رڈون سوڈ چرون پٹیا۔ اتے روس دی مرضی ہئی

جو لہناں چہلون نال جو سوڈ لہانے ہن رپنا وڈوہ بری۔ پر مہن رڈون تان

رہی۔ تڈان ہوش پوج راکے ایس پئے پیو کے تہین لہنا ان پوج سک

پئی ہدی پیے مین بوہا پیا مولکان۔ مین روٹہ کے رپنے پیوکل دین

Text (Lahndi characters)

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(G. A. Grierson, Linguistic Survey of India, vol. VIII, Part 1, p. 315.)

Transcription

hikk s̄axs de d̄ū puttār hāin, unhā vicchū nandhe āpn̄e piū kū ākheā jo
 'hā peo, mā kū de jittī hissā māl dā mā kū āndā he. atte ū āpn̄e jāedād
 unhā kū vandd̄ d̄ittī. atte thole d̄ihāre kanū picche nandhā puttār
 sabbh-kujjh katthā kar ke hikk parāe de mulk vicch van̄ rehā jittā
 āpn̄ā māl bad cāl̄rī vicch udāeus. atte utthā jaddā sabbh-kujjh xar
 kar d̄ittus tā ū mulk vicch vaddā kāl̄ peā atte hun̄ o'muthāj thīvan̄ lag-
 geā. taddā ū mulk de hikk rāis de kol van̄ tikkeā jā āpn̄ā rāh̄rī vicch
 ū kū sūhar carōvaḥ pat̄theā. atte un̄ dā marzī hāt̄ jo unhā chilrā nāl̄ jo
 sūhar khānde hāin, āpn̄ā dhiddh bhare pcr kähē ū kū nād̄itte. taddā
 hoḥ vicch ā ke ākheus, māde piū de kitleā kammiā kū rajj rot̄i pat̄
 mildī he, mā bhukkhā peā mardā hā. mā utth ke āpn̄e piū kol vesā

Translation

One man had two sons. The younger of them said to his father: "Oh, father, what share of the property comes to me, give it to me." And the father divided his property between them. A few days later the younger son having collected everything went off to some distant country where he lost his property in debauchery. When he had wasted everything, there in that country a great famine broke out, and so he began to experience need. Then he went to a great man of that country who sent him to his field to graze swine. He wished to fill his belly with the husks which the swine ate, but he was given nothing. Then having come to senses he said: "How many servants of my father receive sufficient food, while I am dying of hunger, I shall go to my father."

Vocabulary of the Text

hikk 'one'

saxs 'a man' (masc.)

de - the coordinating-relational postposition (masc. pl.)

saxs de - (a noun in the coordinating-relational case)

dū 'two'

puttur 'sons' (masc. pl.)

hāin 'were'

unhā vicchū 'of them' (a pronoun in the ablative, with *vicchū* as an ablative postposition)

nandhe 'the younger' (a substantivised adjective in the ergative case)

āpnē 'his' (a reflexive-possessive pronoun in the dative case)

piū kū 'to father' (a noun in the dative case)

ākheā 'said' (the past tense, the resultative-completive aspect)

jo - the signaler of the direct speech that follows

hā 'oh' (an interjection)

peo 'father' (a noun in the vocative case)

mū kū 'to me' (a pronoun, 1st person, sing., in the dative case)

de 'give' (imperative, sing.)

jittī 'as much' (an unchangeable relative pronoun)

hissā 'share' (masc.)

māl 'property' (masc.)

dā - the coordinating-relational postposition

māl dā - (a noun in the coordinating-relational case)

- āndā he* 'is due', 'comes' (Participle I + the verb "to be" in the 3rd pers. sing.)
atte 'and' (a conjunction)
ū 'he' (a pronoun in the ergative case)
āpnī 'his' (the reflexive-possessive pronoun, fem., sing.)
jāedād 'goods' (fem.)
unhā kū 'to them' (a pronoun in the dative case)
vanḍḍ ditti 'divided' (an intensive verb)
thole dihāre kanū picche 'after a few days'
sabbh-kujjh 'everything' (a combination of pronouns)
kaṭṭhā 'united', 'together' (an adjective)
kar ke 'having done' (a verbal adverb)
kaṭṭhā kar ke 'having collected'
hikk parāe de mulk vicch 'to some distant country'
van rehā 'went'
jithā 'where' (a relative adverb)
bad 'evil', 'bad'
calnī 'behaviour', 'way', 'manner' (fem.)
vicch 'in' (a postposition)
udāeus 'he wasted' (a pronominal-suffixal pattern of the verb)
utthā 'there' (an adverb)
jaddā 'when' (a relative adverb)
xarc 'expenditure' (masc.)
kar dittus 'he made' (an intensive verb with a suffix)
xarc kar dittus 'he spent'
tā 'then' (a correlative adverb)
ū mulk vicch 'in that country'
vaḍḍā 'great'
kāl 'famine' (masc.)
peā 'broke out' (lit. 'fell')
hun 'now'
muthāj (instead of *muhtāj*) 'destitute' (an adjective)
thivan laggeā 'began to become'
taḍḍā 'then' (an adverb)
raīs 'a great man' (masc.)
de kol 'to' (a compound postposition)
van tikkeā 'went' (an intensive form of the verb)
jā 'who' (a relative pronoun in the ergative case)
āpnīā 'his' (fem. pl.)
āpnīā raḥi vicch 'in his fields'
ū kū 'him'

- sūhar* 'swine' (masc.)
carāwan 'to graze'
paṭṭheā 'sent'
ūn dī 'his'
marzī 'wish' (fem.)
hā 'was'
jo 'that' (a conjunction)
chilar 'husks' (pl.)
unhā chilrā nāl 'with those husks'
jo 'which' (a relative pronoun)
khānde hāin 'ate'
dhiddh 'belly' (masc.)
bharē 'may fill' (the subjunctive mood)
par 'but' (a conjunction)
kāhē 'somebody', 'anybody' (a pronoun in the ergative case)
nā - a negative particle
nā ditte 'didn't give'
hoṣ 'senses' (masc.)
ā ke 'having come' (a verbal adverb)
hoṣ vicch ā ke 'having come to senses'
ākheus 'he said'
māde piū de 'my father's'
kittā kammiā kū 'to how many servants'
rajj 'sufficient' (an adjective)
rotī 'food' (fem.)
paṭ mīdī 'is being obtained' (the concrete-processive aspect of the verb)
mā 'I'
bhukkhā 'hungry' (an adjective)
peā mardā hā 'am dying' (the concrete-processive aspect of the verb)
utth ke 'having arisen' (a verbal adverb)
vesā 'I shall go'

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