2 - MORPHOLOGY

2.1 Noun

The nouns, in Mj. and Ml., are declined according to their endings, as such the classification of the noun-forms, based on the terminations, will be suitable for morphological discussion.

(i) The standard form₁ of the noun in Mj. as well as in Ml. has the termination /-a/ in masc. sing. -

Mj., Ml.
/bɔkkra/ (he goat)
/caca/ (uncle)
/gɔdda/ (cart-Mj., bundle - Ml.)
/sɔta/ (large stick)
/aṭṭa/ (flour)

(ii) The standard form₁ of the fem. nouns in sing., ends in /-i/ -

Mj., Ml.
/bɔkkri/ (she goat)

1. This has been called here 'the standard form₁ because 'tadhhava' nouns with this form constitute a great majority of nouns in Mj. and Ml., and particularly because only this form is declined correctly according to the rules of Pb. grammar, and also because the endings of such nouns give correct indication of gender and number.
The fem. form is obtained by replacing the final /-a/ of the masc. form by /-i/. It may, however, be noted that all masc. nouns ending in /-a/ do not have corresponding fem. forms ending in /-i/. The fem. of /aṭṭa/ (flour), /māṭtha/ (forehead) (Mj., Ml.) do not exist, and fem. of /baba/ (grandfather-Mj., father-Ml.) is not formed by this process. Conversely all fem. nouns ending in /-i/ do not have corresponding masc. forms with the termination /-a/ - /roṭi/ (bread), /ḷaṭṭhi/ (stick), /māṭṭṭi/ (clay) (all Mj., Ml.) have no masc. forms.

(iii) Mj. and Ml. have a peculiar form of nouns ending in long consonants (geminates), preceded by toned cent. vowels. No indication of gender is obtained from this form of nouns.

1. These are often called 'double consonants; but 'long consonants' is a more appropriate term, because they differ from the ordinary consonants only in length, and repeated action of the organs of speech is not required in their articulation.
Examples:

Masc. nouns - /hōth/ (hand, hands), /nākk/ (nose, noses), /kōmm/ (job, jobs) (Mj., Ml.)

Fem. nouns - /chētt/ (roof), /mētt/ (advice), /jētt/ (thick hair on the body of an animal) (Mj., Ml.)

(iv) Nouns ending in an ordinary consonant are also common:

Masc. nouns - /cor/ (thief), /map/ (pride), /var/ (day) (Mj., Ml.)

Fem. nouns - /tor/ (Mj.) - /tor/ (Ml.) (gait), /jan/ (life, vitality), /tar (wire) (Mj., Ml.)

(v) There is a very limited number of masc. nouns with the ending /-o/ or /-ō/:

Mj. - /pīo/ (father), /kīo/ (ghee, heated butter), /kīddo/ (playing ball), /pādro/ (a month).

Ml. - /gīo/ (ghee), /gādō/ (donkey).

/-o/ was a very common ending for nouns in Prakritas, and though this ending survives in less than a dozen nouns in Mj. or Ml., it is still a fairly popular termination in fem. proper nouns, particularly in Mj., examples are: /bento/, /taro/, /nāmo/.

Ml. too has some fem. proper
nouns of this type: /sätto/, /phätto/.

(vi) There are a few nouns with the ending /-u/- /pedu/-/bhedu/ (ram), /pätu/ (thick, course woollen cloth) (Mj., Ml.) and /dädu/ (frog), /hepū/ (young ones of cows and buffaloes) (Mj.), /päggū/ (drain) (Ml.). All these are masc. nouns.

(vii) A few nouns ending in /-ã/ are obtainable in both dialects:
Masc. nouns - /kã/ (crow), /nã/ (name) (Mj., Ml.)
Fem. nouns - /gã/ (cow), /mã/ (mother) (Mj., Ml.)

(viii) /-i/ is the ending for fem. nouns, but there are some masc. nouns with this ending, which provide an exception to the general rule.
/hathi/ (elephant), /sathi/ (companion), /moci/ (cobbler) (Mj., Ml.) are some of the examples.

Coversely, /mãla/ (Mj.) - /mala/ (Ml.) (rosary), /pua/ (father's sister) (Mj.), /bha/ (fire) (Ml.) are fem. even though they have the masc. ending /-a/.

(ix) Ml. has a very limited number of nouns ending in cent. vowels - /-U/ is the ending for masc. nouns and /-I/ for fem. nouns, as in /pItrerU/ (father's brother's son), /märserU/ (mother's sister's son), /pItrerI/ (father's brother's
daughter), /m̩serl/ (mother's sister's daughter).

Comments

With the single exception of (ix) above, Mj. and Ml. have identical forms of nouns. There are, however, certain differences in declensions, which will be pointed out at relevant places.

2.1.1 Declensions of Msc. nouns in Majhi and Multani

Some of the case forms of 0.I. A. have survived in Mj. and Ml., nouns are declined for oblique and a few of the cases, as may be seen from the following examples.

(a) Masc. nouns with ending /-a/- /k̲ora/ (Mj.), /ghoɾa/ (Ml.) (horse):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Mj.</th>
<th>Ml.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct form</td>
<td>/k̲ora/</td>
<td>/ghoɾa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique form</td>
<td>/k̲ore/</td>
<td>/ghoɾe/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl. case</td>
<td>/k̲oreo/</td>
<td>/ghoɾeo/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc. case</td>
<td>/k̲orea/</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pl. -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Mj.</th>
<th>Ml.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dir.</td>
<td>/k̲ore/</td>
<td>/ghoɾe/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obl.</td>
<td>/k̲orea/</td>
<td>/ghoɾea/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td>/k̲oreo/</td>
<td>/ghoɾeo/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Comments -

(i) /-e/ is the suffix of obi of sing, which replaces /-a/ of the dir. form, in both dialects.

(ii) Abl. of sing. exists in both dialects, and is obtained by suffixing /-o/ to the obl. form. During this process the final long /-e/ of the obl. is shortened to half-long (in transcription it is shown as /I/).

   Abl. of pl. is obtainable neither in Mj., nor in Ml.

(iii) The dir. form of Pl. is identical to obl. of sing.—it has the suffix /-e/.

(iv) Obl. of pl. is obtained by suffixing /-a/ to the dir. pl. Again the /-e/ of dir. is shortened to about half length.

(v) Voc. of Pl. has the suffix /-o/, which is added to the obl.

(vi) Mj. and Ml. differ in voc. of sing., which is obtained, in Mj., by suffixing /-a/ to the obl. sing., but Ml. has no separate form for voc. sing., only the
dir. form is used.

It may be mentioned here that the voc. of Mj. is getting into use in Ml. as well, and Mj. voc. of sing. /korean/ is as much in vogue, particularly in Upper Ml., as the pure Ml. method of using direct form with an interjection : /o ghora/.

(b) Mas. nouns ending in a peri. vowel other than /-a/-/hathi/ (elephant):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Mi.</th>
<th>Ml.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dir.</td>
<td>/hathi/</td>
<td>/hathi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obl.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>/hathio/</td>
<td>/hathio/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td>/hathia/</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pl.</th>
<th>Mi.</th>
<th>Ml.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dir.</td>
<td>/hathi/</td>
<td>/hathi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obl.</td>
<td>/hathio/</td>
<td>/hathio/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td>/hathia/</td>
<td>/hathia/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comments -

(i) This type of nouns have no obl. in sing. The postpositions are employed with the dir. form.

(ii) All other forms in sing. as well as
in pl. are identical with the corresponding forms of (a) above - they have the same endings and are obtained through similar process, except that dir. pl. is the same as dir. sing.

(iii) Here again Mj. and Ml. differ in the voc. of sing., which has the same ending /-o/ in Mj., but no separate voc. of sing. is available in Ml.

(iv) Other nouns ending in peri, vowels - /-o/, /-o/, /a/ or /-u/ have the same declensions as /hathi/.

(c) Msc. nouns ending in a consonant.

Nouns ending in a consonant, whether long (geminate) as in /hātth/, or of ordinary length, as in /ghār/, are declined as under.

/hātth/ (hand):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mj.</th>
<th>Ml.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dir.</td>
<td>/hātth/</td>
<td>/hātth/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obl.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>/hātth'</td>
<td>/hāttẖ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td>/hāttha/</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dir.</td>
<td>/hātth/</td>
<td>/hātth/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obl.</td>
<td>/hāttha/</td>
<td>/hāttha/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Inst. /hētthī/ /hētthī/
Loc. /hētthī/ /hētthī/
Voc. /hēttho/ /hēttho/

Comments -
(i) Declensions of this type have certain common points with (b) above: dir. forms of sing. and pl. are identical, and there is no obl. of sing. Again voc. in sing., as well as in pl., and obl. of the pl., are just as in (b).

(ii) A form of instrumental case in pl., with the ending /-ī/, exists in Mj. and also in Ml.

This form is obtainable only in the case of nouns found in pairs.

(iii) Again, a form of locative case of pl., with the same ending /-ī/, exists in both dialects. This form is obtainable in most nouns of this type, but not in all nouns.

(iv) In addition to the difference of voc. of sing., Mj. and Ml., in this case, have slightly different endings
for abl. of sing.- it is /-ō/ in Mj., and /-ū/ in Ml.

(d) The declensions of masc. nouns ending in /-ā/ /kā/ (crow):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mj.</th>
<th>Ml.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dir.</td>
<td>/kā/</td>
<td>/kā/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obl.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td>/kāvā/</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dir.</td>
<td>/kā/</td>
<td>/kā/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obl.</td>
<td>/kāvā/</td>
<td>/kāvā/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td>/kāvō /kāvō/</td>
<td>/kāvō/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comments -

(1) Sing. has no obl., and dir. pl. is the same as dir. sing.

(ii) Obl. pl. has the suffix /-vā/,
both in Mj., and Ml.

(iii) Mj., and Ml. differ again in voc., Mj. has the voc. in sing. with the suffix /-vā/ (the same as obl. pl.), but Ml. has no separate form for obl. sing.

/kāvō/ and /kāvō/ both forms of
The voc. pl. are prevalent in Mj., Ml. has only /kavō/. Thus we find an allomorph of the voc. pl. morpheme in Mj. - /-ō̞-vō/.

(iv) /thē/ (place) (Mj.), another noun of the same class, has some additional declensions; it has abl. in sing. with the ending /-o̞-vō/ (the same form as that of voc. sing.). Again loc. pl. with the ending /-i/-/thī/- is in common use.

But these declensions are limited to /thī/ alone, other nouns of this category have declensions as those of /kə/.

(e) The declensions of masc. nouns ending in /-a/.

Nouns like /nērā/ (Mj.) - /bhIrə/ (Ml.) (brother), have termination /-ə/.

This /-ə/ is longer than the ordinary /-a/ of /bēkkra/ etc., and the masc. nouns with this ending have declensions different from those of /bēkkra/, but similar to the declensions of /kə/.
Detailed declensions are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mi.</th>
<th>Ml.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dir.</td>
<td>/pērā/</td>
<td>/bhIrā/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obl.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td>/pērava/</td>
<td>/bhIrava/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dir.</td>
<td>/pērā/</td>
<td>/bhIrā/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obl.</td>
<td>/pērava/</td>
<td>/bhIrava/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td>/pēravo/</td>
<td>/bhIravo/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Comments**

(i) The declensions, in this case, are the same as in /kā/ in (d), with the only exception that voc. in pl. has no nasalization here, which exists in the voc. pl. of /kā/.

(ii) Ml. further differs from Mi. here, that a form of obl. pl. with ending /-i/- /bhIrā/ exists in it, but is not obtainable in Mi.

2.1.2 The declensions of fem. nouns in Khari and Multani

(a) The fem. nouns with the ending /-i/.

/kori/ - /ghori/ (mare)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ml.</th>
<th>Mj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dir.</td>
<td>/kɔiri/</td>
<td>/ghɔiri/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obl.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>/kɔɾiɔ/</td>
<td>/ghɔrɪɔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td>/kɔrie/</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dir.</td>
<td>/kɔrɪa/</td>
<td>/ghɔrɪa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obl.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td>/kɔrɪo/</td>
<td>/ghɔrɪo/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Comments**

(i) Sing. has no obl. form (postpositions are used with the dir. form).

(ii) Sing. abl. suff. is /-ɔ/ both in Mj. and Ml., and it shortens the length of the final /-i/ of /kɔri/ - /ghɔri/.

(iii) Voc. in pl. has the suff. /-o/.

Here again the final /-i/ of /kɔri/ is shortened when /-o/ is suffixed.

(iv) The only difference in Mj. and Ml. is in the form of voc. sing., Mj. has /-e/ as the suff. for it, but Ml. employs only direct form, though
(b) The declensions of fem. nouns ending in consonant.

/əkkh/1 (eye):

Ml.  Ml.

Sing. -

Dir.  /əkkh/  /əkkh/

Obl.  -

Abl.  /əkkhɔ/  /əkkhɔ/

Voc.  /əkkhɛ/  -

Pl. -

Dir.  /əkkhi/  /əkkhi/

Obl.  -

Inst.  /əkkhì/2 (/əkkhi/)2

Loc.  /əkkhì/  (/əkkhi/)2

Voc.  /əkkhɔ/  /əkkhɔ/

Comments -

(i) There is no obl. form in sing.

(ii) Abl. sing. exists in Mj. as well as in Ml.

1. /əkkhi/ is also used, but is less common; its declensions are similar to those of /kɔrì/.

2. /əkkhì/ is dir. form for pl. in Ml., but it is a case form for inst. and loc. (pl.) in Mj.
(iii) Voc. pl. has the suff. /-o/ in both dialects.

(iv) Mj. and Ml. differ here on a number of points:
Abl. sing. has the suff. /-ʊ/ in Mj., but /-u/ in Ml. Dir. pl. has the ending /-ã/ in Mj., /-ĩ/ in Ml. Mj. has inst. and loc. with the ending /-ĩ/, that is, the dir. form of Ml. is employed as case form in Mj.

(c) The declensions of fem. nouns ending in /-ã/.

/cha/ (shade):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mj.</th>
<th>Ml.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dir.</td>
<td>/cha/</td>
<td>/chañ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>/chañ~</td>
<td>/chañvõ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chañvõ/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>/chañve/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td>/chañ/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dir.</td>
<td>/chañva/</td>
<td>/chañĩ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td>/chañ~</td>
<td>/chañvõ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chañvõ/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**comments -**

(i) There is no obl. in sing. or pl.

(ii) Abl. sing. has suff. /-o^-vo? in Mj. ; Ml. prefers /-vō/ only.

(iii) Loc. sing. with the suff. /-vē/ in Mj., is restricted to this noun /chā/ only, it does not exist in other nouns of this category.

(iv) Mj. and Ml. further differ in voc., Mj. has voc. sing. suff. /-ē/, Ml. has no separate form for voc. sing. Again Mj. uses the suff. /-vō/ as allomorph of /-ō/ in voc. pl., Ml. employs /-vō/-

2.2 Pronouns

Mj. and Ml. have some forms of prons. which are peculiar to Pb., and are not obtainable in any other Indo-Aryan language. The lists of pronominal forms are given below.

2.2.1 Personal Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mj.</th>
<th>Ml.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I per. sing.</td>
<td>/mā/</td>
<td>/mā/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I per. pl.</td>
<td>/asā/</td>
<td>/āssā/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
II per. sing. /tû/ /tû/
II per. Pl. /tûsî/ /tûssâ/
III per. sing., far /ô/ /ô-o/
III per. pl., far /ô/ /ô-o/
III per. sing., near /ê/ /ê-e/
III per. pl., near /ê/ /ê-e/

Comments -

(i) The 's' - form of the I and II per pl.prons. (/âsî/, /âssâ/, /tûsî/, /tûssâ/) is a peculiarity of Pb. Most other N.I.A. languages have 'm' form - (/âm/, /tûm/; /ami/, /tûmi/ etc.) Sindhi is the only other language which employs 's'-form, but only in one of these prons. - /âsî/ (we).

(ii) Mj. and Ml. (rather all dialects of Pb.) have no separate forms of prons. for III per. sing. and pl.; the demon. prons. are employed to serve the purpose of personal prons. as well. Again, there are no separate forms for sing. and pl. of demon. pron., /ô/ ~ /o/ serve for
both sing. and pl. of far demon.,
and /e/~e/ for near demon., in
nominative case. In other cases
there is distinction of sing. and
pl., as will be seen from tables
of declensions.

(iii) The nominative of the I and II per.
pl. is /əsĩ/, /tusĩ/ respectively
in Mj., and /ōssā/, /tūssā/ in
Ml. Thus nominative forms of Ml.
are employed by Mj. as obl. forms,
but with a slight difference in
pronunciation - Mj. obl. forms are
/əsā/, /tūsā/.

(iv) Pronouns in Mj. and Ml. generally
have no distinction of gender. Ml.,
however, retains some relics of
gender (which existed in certain
pronominal forms in Old and Middle
Indo-Aryan) in emphatic forms of
the III per. sing. Pron. - /uəa/
(that very) is fem., and /uo/ (that
very) is masc. Similarly /ia/ (this
very) is fem., and /io/ is masc.
Mj. does not express this distinction of gender, /oho/ (that very), and /eho/ (this very) are employed for either gender.

2.2.1.1 Declensions of Personal Pronouns

The personal prons. can be declined for various cases. Certain declined forms affect a change in the original form of the pron.

(a) I per. pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>/mǝã/</td>
<td>/ǝsi/</td>
<td>/mǝã/</td>
<td>/ǝssǝ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag.</td>
<td>/mǝã/, /mǝthǝo/</td>
<td>/ǝsǝ/ ,/sǝthǝ/</td>
<td>/mǝã/, /mǝthi/</td>
<td>/ǝssǝ/, /ǝsǝthi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. and dat.</td>
<td>/mǝńu/</td>
<td>/sǝńu/</td>
<td>/mǝńu-mǝnkũ/</td>
<td>/sǝkũ/, /ǝsǝkũ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>/mǝthǝo/</td>
<td>/sǝthǝo/</td>
<td>/mǝdǝhrũ/</td>
<td>/ǝsadǝhrũ/, /sadǝhrũ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>/mǝŕa/</td>
<td>/sǝdǝ/</td>
<td>/mǝɂa/</td>
<td>/ǝsadǝ/, /sadǝ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>/mǝŕe te/</td>
<td>/sǝdǝ te/</td>
<td>/mǝɂe te/</td>
<td>/ǝsǝte/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) II per. pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>/tu/</td>
<td>/tuw̃u/</td>
<td>/tu/</td>
<td>/tuw̃u/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag.</td>
<td>/tu/</td>
<td>/tuw̃u/</td>
<td>/tuw̃u/</td>
<td>/tuw̃u/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case</td>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>Pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. and</td>
<td>/tən/</td>
<td>/tənə/</td>
<td>/tək/</td>
<td>/təkus/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>/təθo/</td>
<td>/təθəθo/</td>
<td>/təθədhru/</td>
<td>/tUadhrə/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>/təra/</td>
<td>/tədə/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/tUada/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>/təre te/</td>
<td>/tUade te/</td>
<td>/təθe te/</td>
<td>/tUsa te/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) III per. pronouns - far (remote).

| Nom.      | /o/  | /o/        | /o~o/ | /o~o/     |
| Ag.       | /on/ | /ona/      | /onə/ | /onə/     |
|           |       | /onə/      | /onə/ | /onə/     |
| Acc. and  | /on/  | /onan/     | /onə/ | /onə/     |
| dat.      |       |            |       |            |
| Abl.      | /otho/| /onatho/   | /onatho| /Unnatho/ |
| Gen.      | /oda/| /onada/    | /onada| /Unhada/  |
| Loc.      | /ode te/| /onata tə te/| /ode te/| /onata te/|

(d) III per. pronouns - near (proximate).

| Nom.      | /e/  | /e/        | /e~e/ | /e~e/     |
| Ag.       | /In~en/| /enə/      | /enə/ | /enə/     |
|           | /etho~etə/| /enato/    | /enato| /enato/   |
| Acc. and  | /en/  | /enan/     | /enə/ | /enə/     |
| dat.      |       |            |       |            |
| Abl.      | /etho~etə/| /enato/    | /enato| /Inhəthi/ |
| Gen.      | /eda/ | /enada/    | /enada| /Inhəda/  |
| Loc.      | /ede te/| /enate/    | /ede te/| /enate/   |
Comments -

(i) In many cases more than one declined form of a pronoun exists, particularly in Ml. In fact Ml. has still more forms not mentioned in these tables. The declensions given above, however, represent true Ml. forms, which are widely used.

(ii) The two forms of the case of agent, in fact, have quite different role. The forms /mā āsā tū tūsā on āna/ of Mj., and /mā Āsā ūssē tū tūssā ūssē ūnsūnna ūnha/ of Ml. are mentioned here as case of agent only because of their historical background. Actually they convey the sense of nominative case today (this problem is discussed in detail in 3.3.2). The other forms given against the case of agent, represent the proper sense of agent.

(iii) The declined forms of personal pronouns in Ml. are different from corresponding forms of Mj., chiefly
because of difference, in some cases, in postpositions of the two dialects. As is evident from forms given in the tables, the postpositions are suffixed to the pronouns, but in the case of nouns they remain separate.

(iv) In certain cases Mj. employs shortened forms of pronouns in declensions, whereas Ml. retains the full original form:

Mj. - /sanū/ (to us), /sathō/ (from us)

Ml. - /asakū/ /asathī/

(v) In some declensions the original /s/ has changed to a tone in Mj., but Ml. has the same /s/:

Mj. - /tū̄da/ (yours-pl.), /tū̄nū/ (to you-pl.), /ōda/ (his).

Ml. - /tūsada/, /tūsakū/ /ūsda/, respectively.

(vi) Mj. uses the suffs. /-ra/, /-ri/, /-re/ etc. in the genitive of I and II per. sing., Ml. prefers /-da/,
/-di/,/-de/ etc. (though /-ra/, /-ri/ etc. are also heard):

Mj.-/mera/ (mine), /tera/ (your, sing.)
Ml.-/məda/ /təda/ respectively.

It may be mentioned here that Mj. suffs. /-ra/, /-ri/ etc. have come down from Hindi, Ml. /-da/, /-di/ etc. are the true Pb. suffs.

2.2.2 The Honorific Pronoun

Mj. and Ml. have no separate honorific pronoun, and both dialects express respect by using pl. pron. for a single person. Thus /’kįddṇ jange/ (Mj.), /’kįddṇ vė sęŋ/ (Ml.) may mean, "on what day will they go?" or the pl. form might have been used to express respect, when the speaker actually wanted to say, "on what day will he go?"

The Hd. honorific pronoun /ap/ for sing. and pl. II per. is also prevalent among educated speakers, but the real Pb. equivalents are /tūsi/ (Mj.), /tūssā/ (Ml.).

Pb. /ap/ is, in fact, a reflexive pronoun as in /mə ap lıkhaŋa/ (Mj.) (I shall write myself). But in Ml., mostly, /apũ/ is used - /mə apũ lıkhsaŋ/, though /ap/ is also spoken.
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/ap/ is the reflexive pron. both for sing. and pl. Similarly Ml. /apū/ can be used for sing. as well as for pl. /tūsi ap ōnū akho/ (Mj.), /tūsū Uskū apū akho/ (Ml.) (tell to him yourself).

2.2.3 Demonstrative Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mj.</th>
<th>Ml.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Near</td>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>/ē~e/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far</td>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>/ō~o/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forms of these prons. are rather flexible. In Mj. the prox. demon. pron. is /i/, /e/ or /eh/, and in Ml. it may be /ē/, /e/, /i/ or /Th/. Similarly /ō/, /U/ or /Uh/ are the forms of remote demon. pron. in Mj. and /ō/, /Uh/ or /o/ in Ml.

The declensions of the demon. prons. are the same as given under perl. prons. of III person. The demon. prons. have their emphatic forms both in Mj. and Ml. These forms have distinction of gender in Ml., but not in Mj. -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mj.</th>
<th>Ml.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Near</td>
<td>/eho/, /Tho/</td>
<td>/io<del>iyo/, /ia</del>iya/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far</td>
<td>/oho/, /Uho/</td>
<td>/uo/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The near demon. forms given above mean 'this very' and far demon. 'that very'.
Demon. prons. have been classified here as near (proximate) and far (remote), though Mj., in fact, has demon. prons. expressing five degrees of remoteness:

/ə/, meaning 'near to me (person speaking) and away from you (person spoken to).

/ə/ - meaning 'near to you, away from me',
/e/ - 'near to both of us,'
/o/ - 'away from both of us, but within sight,'
/c/ - represents the remotest position in space and/or time, and is used for an object which is not within sight,' it may be an object lying at a distance, or may be a thing of the past or future.

All these prons. are vastly used by rural population of Majha, though only two forms (prox. and rem.) are employed in literary form of Mj.

2.2.4 Interrogative Pronouns

The Inter. prons. are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Which one</th>
<th>What</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mj.</td>
<td>/koŋ/</td>
<td>/kéra/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mi.</td>
<td>/kəŋ~koŋ/</td>
<td>/kéra/,/kéra/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of these /koŋ/~/kəŋ/ is employed in general sense, /kéra/ - /kéra/ in selective sense. /ki/-/ke/
is used for inanimate objects.

/kəʊn/ and /kərə/ are prevalent in Lower Ml., whereas /kən/ and /kərə/ are in common use in Upper Ml. /kəʊn/ has wider use than /kən/, and /kərə/ is more popular than /kərə/.

### 2.2.4.1 Declensions of Interrogative Pronouns

/kəʊn/ (Mj.), /kəʊn/ (Ml.):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>/kən/</td>
<td>/kən/</td>
<td>/kəʊn/</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>/kəʊn/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag.</td>
<td>/kIn/</td>
<td>/kInn/</td>
<td>/kIss~kən/</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>/kInn/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/kIto/</td>
<td>/kInna tə/</td>
<td>/kIsthì~kətkhë/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/kInnathi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc., dat.</td>
<td>/kInnû/</td>
<td>/kInnû nu/</td>
<td>/kIskû~kəkû/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/kInnakû/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>/kide tə/</td>
<td>/kInna tə/</td>
<td>/kIsthì~kətkhë/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/kInnathi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>/kìda/</td>
<td>/kInna da/</td>
<td>/kIsda~kədå/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/kInnada/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>/kide te/</td>
<td>/kInna te/</td>
<td>/kIs ûtte~kədeûtte/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/kInna ûtte/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Comments**

It may be observed from the declensions given above that Inter. prons., in general, have only two forms – one direct (nominative), and the other oblique, used in all other cases.

The oblique forms are:

1. /kəʊn/ | /kən/ and /kən/ are heard in different areas.
Thus Mj. and Ml. differ in obl. forms of sing.
The selective inter. pron. /kērə/ - /kērə/
has distinction of gender in nom. (or direct) form only:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th></th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mj.</td>
<td>/kērə/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/kērə/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ml.</td>
<td>/kērə/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/kērə/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In all other cases the forms are identical to those given under /kəŋ/, /kəŋ/ /kəŋ/.
Again /ki/ (Mj.), /ke/ (Ml.) are direct forms, used in nom. case. For other cases appropriate forms of /kērə/ are used in Mj. In Ml. /kīss/ is the obl. form in sing. which is employed for all cases except nom. For pl. the forms of /kērə/ - /kērə/ are employed.

2.2.5 Relative Pronouns
The relative prons. are /jo/ and /jērə/, both in Mj. and Ml. /jērə/, pronounced /jērə/ in Lower Ml., is used in selective sense, and /jo/ in general.

The obl. forms of /jo/, in sing., are /jIn/ and /jī/ in Mj. of these /jIn/ is used for the case of agent and acc.-dat., and /jī/ for other cases.
/ji/ is never used without a suffix. The suffixes are postpositions.

/jiis/ and /já/ are sing. obl. forms of /jo/ in Ml., either of these can be used for any case (excluding nom.).

The obl. of /jo/ in pl. is /jína/ in Mj., and /jíná/ in Ml.

/jéra/ - /jéra/ has distinction of gender in the nom. cases; the obl. forms are the same as the corresponding forms of /jo/, in Mj. as well as in Ml.

2.2.6 Indefinite Pronouns

The sing. indefinite pron. has separate forms for masc. and fem. in Ml., but Mj. has no distinction of gender. The forms are as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>fem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mj. (nom.) -</td>
<td>/koi/</td>
<td>/koi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ml. (nom.) -</td>
<td>/koi/</td>
<td>/kai/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mj. (obl.) -</td>
<td>/kísse/</td>
<td>/kísse/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ml. (obl.) -</td>
<td>/kísse/</td>
<td>/kísse/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another indefinite pron. is /kúj/ (Mj) - /kújh/ (Ml.) which is not declinable. /kúj/-/kújh/ expresses indefinite quantity or indefinite number.
Comments -
It may be observed that in the case of prons. the morphophonemic variations occur only for the obl. forms; there are separate case-suffs., appropriate postpostions are suffixed to obl. forms to convey the case-sense.

In most cases there is slight difference in the obl. forms and also in postpostions, of Mj. and Ml.

2.3 Adjective
The forms and morphophonemic variations of adjective are quite identical in Mj. and Ml., there is no significant point of contrast.

2.3.1 Tadbhava Adjectives
The following points are applicable to tad. adjs. equally in Mj. and Ml.

(i) The tad. adjs. of Mj. and Ml. terminate in /-a/, in masc. sing., just as the standard nouns do.

(ii) This category of adjs. have declensions similar to the declensions of nouns ending in /-a/.

(iii) This type of adj. agrees with the noun
it qualifies, in gender, number and case. The adj. /vāḍda/ (big, large, older in age) (Mj., Ml.) is declined for gender and number, as given below:

he
Msc. Sing.-/vāḍda bākkra/ (big/goat)
Masc. Pl. -/vāḍde bākkre/ (big he goats)
Fem. Sing.-/vāḍdi bākkri/ (big she goat)
Fem. Pl. -/vāḍdiā bākkriā/ (big she goats)

(Mj., Ml.)

These are the direct forms (nom. case). The adj. is declined for obl. and voc. case. Complete declensions may be seen from the following tables:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Mj.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
<th>Ml.</th>
<th>Ml.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>/vāḍda/</td>
<td>/vāḍde/</td>
<td>/vāḍda/</td>
<td>/vāḍde/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obl.</td>
<td>/vāḍde/</td>
<td>/vāḍdeē/</td>
<td>/vāḍde/</td>
<td>/vāḍdeē/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td>/vāḍdeā/</td>
<td>/vāḍdeō/</td>
<td>(/vāḍda/)</td>
<td>/vāḍdeō/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>/vāḍdi/</td>
<td>/vāḍdiē/</td>
<td>/vāḍdi/</td>
<td>/vāḍdiē/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obl.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td>/vāḍdiē/</td>
<td>/vāḍdiō/</td>
<td>(/vāḍdi/)</td>
<td>/vāḍdiō/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Comments -

(i) The only difference about declensions of adj. in Mj. and Ml. is the form of voc. sing. (both in masc. and fem). Mj. has a separate form for voc., Ml. employs the direct form in sing., but has a separate voc. form for pl. and these forms are identical to those of Mj.

(ii) There is no obl. form for fem. adj., and Mj. and Ml. are in agreement in this case too.

2.3.2 Other Adjectives

Mj. and Ml. have adjectives other than the above type. These are the ones which, either, have come down to N.I.A in 'tatsama' form, or, have been borrowed from other languages - Persian-Arabic, English etc. /narm/ (soft), /garm/ (hot), 'first', 'second' are the examples of such adjs. Though these, and many other adjs. of this category are assimilated in both of these dialects, yet they are not real Pb. adjs., since they do not conform to the rules of Pb. grammar.
These adjs. are indeclinable, and they retain
the same form, whatever the gender, number or case,
Thus we have:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kj.</th>
<th>Ml.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/murəkʰh muŋda/</td>
<td>/murəkʰh chohUr/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(foolish boy)</td>
<td>(foolish boys)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/murəkʰh muŋde/</td>
<td>/murəkʰh chohUr/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(foolish girl)</td>
<td>(foolish girls)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/murəkʰh kʊɾi/</td>
<td>/murəkʰh chohIr/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(foolish boy)</td>
<td>(foolish girls)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/murəkʰh kʊɾiʔ/</td>
<td>/murəkʰh chohIrʔ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The same form is used for all cases.

2.3.3 Other points about adjective

(a) In both dialects the adj. can be used -

(i) predicatively: /ɡəɾm pəɾi/ (hot water)
   (Kj., Ml.)

(ii) attributively: /pəɾi ɡəɾm ə/ (Kj.),
   /pəɾi ɡəɾm he/ (Ml.)
   - (water is hot)

No morphophonemic variation is affected in either cases.

(b) In Kj. adj. has no form to express degrees
of comparison. In Ml., however, comparative degree of some tad. adjs. is formed by
    dropping the final /-a/ and suffixing /-əɾa/

1. In this particular adj. Kj. has separate forms for
voc. in masc. /murəkʰh/ (sing.), /murəkʰo/ (pl.).
But this is a rare case. Other adjs. of this type
do not have a different form for voc. or any other case.
(if the consonant preceding the final /-a/ is long, it is shortended to normal length before adding the suffix). Thus we have in Ml.-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive degree</th>
<th>Comparative degree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/cəgga/ (good)</td>
<td>/cəgera/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/vəqda/ (large)</td>
<td>/vəqera/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ṭhulla/ (thick)</td>
<td>/ṭhulera/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bhala/ (good)</td>
<td>/bhəlera/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But all tad. adjs. do not have their comparative degree forms in Ml. For example there is no such form for /kala/ (black), /pila/ (yellow), /pala/ (first), /dua/ (second).

Such comparative degree forms for certain adjs. are used in Mj. as well, but these should be accepted as borrowings from Ld., particularly from Ml.

Comments-

It is evident from the preceding discussion that:

(i) Adjs. in Mj. and Ml. have exactly the same forms.

(ii) The /-a/-ending adjs. have identical declensions in both dialects.

(iii) Ml. differs from Mj. in the case of comparative degree of some adjs., this
is a peculiarity of Ml., rarely employed in Mj.

2.4 The Verb

The verb, in all dialects of Pb., is affected by number, gender and person, and also by voice, mood and tense; therefore the conjugation of the verb is quite complicated in all these dialects; but it is more complicated in Mj. than in Mw. or Dg. and, in certain cases, it is more complex in Ml. than in Mj. This is due to the use of pronominal suffixes, with the verbs, in Ml.

Verbs in Mj. and Ml., like other N.I.A. languages, are tadhavas only, tatsama is never used as a verb, because it cannot be inflected in the process of conjugation, according to the grammatical rules of the modern languages.

The verbal root, the present participle and the past participle play a very important role in the construction of verbal forms; all forms are built up on one or the other of these three. A brief account of these particles is, therefore, called for, before proceeding with the detailed description of the verb.
2.4.1 **Verbal root**

The verbal root in M.j. as well as in M.l., may end in (i) a consonant, or (ii) a long vowel, or (iii) a tone.

**Examples:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M.j.</th>
<th>M.l.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i)</td>
<td>/kær/</td>
<td>/kær/ (do)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/mær/</td>
<td>/mær/ (die)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/tʊr/</td>
<td>/tʊr/ (break)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/phær/</td>
<td>/phædd/ (catch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/chədd/</td>
<td>/chor/ (leave)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/vədd/</td>
<td>/kōpp/ (cut)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/khíc/</td>
<td>/chikkk/ (pull)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/tɔkk/</td>
<td>/dhíkk/ (push)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii)</td>
<td>/kha/</td>
<td>/kha/ (eat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/pi/</td>
<td>/pi/ (drink)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ro/</td>
<td>/ro/ (weep)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/tɔ/</td>
<td>/dho/ (wash)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/sɔ/</td>
<td>/sɛ/ (sleep)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/pɔ/</td>
<td>/bhɛ/ (roam about)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii)</td>
<td>/ræ/</td>
<td>/ræ/ (stay)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/bɛ/</td>
<td>/bɛ/ (sit down)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/de/</td>
<td>/de/ (give)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The roots ending in consonants form a great majority, both in Mj. and Ml., and those ending in a tone are very few.

Most roots are monosyllabic, but a considerable number of disyllabic roots is also obtainable in both dialects. Such roots are mostly causal forms, or transitive forms of the intransitive verbs, as:

Mj., Ml.

/sūṇa/ (tell)-trans. from intrans. /sūn/ (listen).
/baṇa/ (make)- trans. from /bēṇ/ (become).
/likha/ (cause to write) - causal from /likh/ (write).
/khālār/ (cause to stand) - causal from /khalo/ (stand).

There is no distinction of termination for trans. and intrans. roots. The examples quoted above contain trans., as well as intrans. roots in each one of the three categories.

2.4.2 Present Participle

The pr. part., in Mj., and also Ml., ends in /-da/ (masc. sing.), rather this is a distinctive characteristic of Pb., because the pr. part. has the same ending (/−da/) in all dialects of Pb. In W. Hd.
and Rajasthani, the neighbouring languages of Pb., this part has the ending /-ta/ or /-to/.

The pr. part is obtained, from the verbal root, as explained below:

(i) To the roots ending in a consonant, Mj. suffixes /-da/, as /kəɾda/ from /kəɾ/ (do), /lIkʰda/ from /lIkʰ/ (write).

Ml. suffix, to such roots in generally /-čda/, and Ml. pr. part. from the above roots are /kəɾčda/, /lIkʰčda/ respectively. However, in the case of intrans. verbs Ml. suffix remains /-da/ - /məɾda/ from /məɾ/ (dia), /bʊddda/ from /bʊdd/ (get drowned). But in the case of trans. verbs, it is mostly /-čda/, though /-da/ is also used in some trans. verbs.

(ii) To the roots ending in /-a/, Mj. suffixes /-ǔda/ - as /aǔda/ from /a/ (come), /lIkʰǔda/ from /lIkʰ/ (cause to write).

It may be noted here that the final /-a/ of the root is nasalized in the part. under the influence of the nasalised /ǔ/ of the suffix /-ǔda/.

Again, in common speech these parts are pronounced as /ǔda/, /lIkʰǔda/ becomes /-ː-/ due to Sandhi.
Ml. suffix to this category of roots is /-vda/ as in /āvda/ from /a/, and /līkhāvda/ from /līkha/. The final /-a/ of the root is nasalized even in Ml.

(iii) To roots ending in a vowel, other than /a/, both Mj. and Ml. add /-da/, after nasalizing the final vowel of the root: /pīda/ from /pi/ (drink), /lāda/ from /lā/ (take) (Mj., Ml.). But Ml. has a tendency to insert a /v/ even in such forms and /pīvda/ for /pīda/ is quite common.

(iv) Another Ml. suffix for roots ending in /-a/ is /-āda/, as in /līkhā̄da/ from /līkha/ (cause to write), and /pīvāda/ from /pīva/ (cause to drink). This suffix is employed in causative verbs. The causative suffix in Mj. is /-ūda/, described in (ii) above.

(v) Again, to the roots ending in a tone Mj. and Ml. both suffix /-da/, after nasalizing the tone and the vowel preceding it: /pīda/ from /pi/ (grind), /rāda/ from /rā/ (stay) (Mj., Ml.).

The form of the pr. part. thus obtained is in masc. sing., other forms will be explained

1. Also pronounced as /rāda/ in Ml.
2.4.3 Past Participle

Past participle is, generally, obtained by suffixing /-Ia/ to the roots, in Mj., as well as in Ml.

Examples :-

/rākkhIa/ from /rākkh/ (place)
/marIa/ from /mar/ (beat, kill)
/hoiIa/ from /ho/ (become)
/roIa/ from /ro/ (weep)

(Mj., Ml.)

But the past part., in either of these dialects, is not so regular in its ending as the pr. part. is. Other endings of the past part. are : (i) /-ta/, as in /πita/ from /πi/ (drink), /kita/ from /kēr/ (do), /dīta/ from /de/ (give).

It is evident from these examples that /-ta/ is not added to the original form of the verbal root, in all cases. There are modifications of various types in the root before suffixing /-ta/ -

(ii) /-da/ as in /rīda/ from /rīn/ (cook), /gūdda/ from /gūnn/ (kneed), /bōdda/ from /bōnn/ (tie) /khāda/ from /khā/ (eat) (Mj., Ml.), /lādda/ from /lābb/ ¹

¹ Also pronounced as /lāddha/, /lābbh/.
Here again no uniform rule is followed for modification in the original form of the root, before /-da/ is suffixed to it.

(iii) /-tha/, as in /bœtha/ from /bœ/ (sit), /pi tha/ from /pi/ (grind (Mj., Ml.).

But the past part. with such endings may be treated as irregular, the general form of this part. in Mj., Ml. and other dialects of Pb. is with the termination /-la/.

The forms quoted above are in masc. sing., other forms are obtained by changing the terminations, as explained in 2.4.4. (c).

Such irregular forms of the past part. are much more common in Ml., than they are in Mj., as may be noted from the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past part</th>
<th>Root</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/nɪktha/</td>
<td>/nɪkkøl/ (come out)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sɪjjata/</td>
<td>/sɪjjæn/ (recognise)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bhæma/</td>
<td>/bhæjj/ (run)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ghɪdda/</td>
<td>/ghɪnн/ (take)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jata/</td>
<td>/jaŋ/ (know)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lɪtta/</td>
<td>/lɪb/ (plaster with mud)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kœmœtta/</td>
<td>/kœma/ (earn)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.4.4 Verbal forms

(a) The verbal forms obtained from the root

(i) Imperative - The verbal root itself is the imperative, in II per. sing. -
/kər/ (do), /a/ (come), /læ/ (take),
/khə/ (eat) (Mj., Ml.). Imperative form for the II per. pi. is obtained in Mj. by suffixing /-o/ to the root:
/kəro/ from /kər/ (do)
/pə/ from /pi/ (drink)
/khəo/ from /khə/ (eat)

If the root ends in /æ/, it is changed to /ə/ before suffixing /-o/, as in /pəo/ from /pæ/ (lie down), /ləo/ from /læ/ (take).

Again if the root ends in //, the final vowel is changed to /ə/ (retaining the tone), as in : /rəo/ from /rə/ (stay), /səo/ from /sə/ (bear).

Ml. forms imperative for II per. pl. by suffixing /-o/ to the roots ending in a consonant : /kəro/ from /kər/ (do), /ləkho/ from /ləkh/. 
(write). But the suffix for the roots ending in a vowel is /-vo/, as in /avo/ from /a/ (come), /pivo/ from /pi/ (drink).

In the roots ending in /æ/ or /æ/ these vowels are replaced by /ə/ (just like Mj.), and /-vo/ is added: /lavo/ from /læ/ (take), /r̥vo/ from /ræ̆/ (stay).

Thus morpheme of imperative in II per. pl. are:

Mj. /-o/

Ml. /-oˌ-vo/

(ii) Subjunctive - The paradigms for the subjunctive of a consonant ending root /kœr/ (do), and a vowel-ending root /pi/ (drink) are given below, to give a clear picture of different forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I per.</th>
<th></th>
<th>II per.</th>
<th></th>
<th>III per.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/kœr̥/</td>
<td>/kœrie/</td>
<td>/kœr̥e/</td>
<td>/kœro/</td>
<td>/kœren/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mj.</td>
<td>/piə/</td>
<td>/pie/</td>
<td>/piə̆/</td>
<td>/pio/</td>
<td>/piĕ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/kœr̥a/, /kœri/</td>
<td>/kœr̥u/</td>
<td>/kœro/</td>
<td>/kœren/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/pivə/</td>
<td>/piv̥u/</td>
<td>/piv̥/</td>
<td>/pio/</td>
<td>/piv̥ĕ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ml.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The analysis of the suffixes will be as under:

Mj. /-ə/ /-ie/, /-ə̆/ /-ə/ /-ə̆/ /-n/
(1) of Ml. is for roots ending in a consonant, and (2) for those ending in a vowel.

In Mjl. suffixes are the same for both types of roots, the only difference is in I per. pl. in which only /-e/ is suffixed in this root but regular /-ie/ in roots ending in a vowel.

In the roots ending in /æ/ or /ɛ/ both Mjl. and Ml. replace these vowels with /ə/ before adding the suffix. The suffix, in both dialects, contains /v/ which preceds the final vowel of the subjunctive form; these final vowels are as given in the above paradigms. There are, however, certain exception in this rule.

The following paradigms may be seen.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mjl. 1.</td>
<td>/-ɔw/</td>
<td>/-u/</td>
<td>/-e/</td>
<td>/-o/</td>
<td>/-e/</td>
<td>/-ən/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mjl. 2.</td>
<td>/-vɔ/</td>
<td>/-vu/</td>
<td>/-ve/</td>
<td>/-vo/</td>
<td>/-ve/</td>
<td>/-vən/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In fact the forms of subjunctive are not quite stable in the case of roots ending in /æ/
or /ən/, and different forms are prevalent both in Mj. and Ml.

/-ən/ and /-en/ are suffixed by Mj. and Ml. respectively if the root ends in /n/, /r/, /r/. In all other cases /-ən/ and /-en/ are suffixed:

Mj. - /kərən/ from /kər/ (do),
but /ləkən/ from /ləkə/ (write)

Ml. - /kərən/ from /kər/,
/ləkən/ from /ləkə/

It may be noted that there is no distinction of gender in imperative and subjunctive.

(iii) Future - Mj. and Ml. widely differ in the formation of absolute future. Mj. makes absolute future by adding appropriate form (according to gender and number) of the suffix /-ga/, to the appropriate form (according to the person) of the subjunctive. The only exception is the case of I per. pl. in which sing. form of the I per. subjunctive is used.

Ml. gets absolute future by adding the appropriate form (according to
the person) of the suffix /-sa/
direct to the verbal root. There
is no distinction of gender in
absolute future, in Ml. Complete
paradigms of absolute future, from
the root /kar/ (do) are given below.

Mj.-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I per.</th>
<th>II per.</th>
<th>III per.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masc. sing.</td>
<td>/kərega/</td>
<td>/kərga/</td>
<td>/kəregə/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masc. pl.</td>
<td>/kərge/</td>
<td>/kəroge/</td>
<td>/kəroge/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem. sing.</td>
<td>/kərəgi/</td>
<td>/kərəgi/</td>
<td>/kəregi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem. pl.</td>
<td>/kərəgiə/</td>
<td>/kərogiə/</td>
<td>/kərogiə/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ml.-

Sing. (both for masc., fem.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I per.</th>
<th>II per.</th>
<th>III per.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/kəresə/</td>
<td>/kəresə/</td>
<td>/kəresi/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Pl. (both for masc., fem.)

It is clear from these examples that
the Mj. future has regular endings : /-ga/
(masc. sing.), /-ge/ (masc. pl.), /gi/ (fem.
sing.), /-giə/ (fem. pl.). In Ml., however,
the formation of the future is on quite different
lines. It is not only the use of /s/ for /g/,
but also the exception to general rule concerning
(ii) Two full words are joined, but there is a slight change in the form of one or both of them:

/mape/ (Mj., Ml.) (parents) - (/mā/ 'mother', /pā/ 'father'). /kəɾvājji/ (Mj.) - /ghəɾvījj/ (Ml.) (a stand for pitchers) - (the first component is shortened from /kəɾe/-/ghəɾe/ 'pitchers').

(iii) One or both components are changed, sometimes even beyond recognition: /lābārdar/ (Mj., Ml.) (headman) - (from Perso - Arabic /alāmm bārdar/ 'flag bearer'). /plāl/ (Mj.) (partner) - (from /pāl val/ 'shareholder in a joint enterprise, or partner in a farm'). /dībhar/ (Ml.) (east) - (from /dē ubhār/ 'rising of the day').

Comments -

It is evident, from the details discussed here, that Mj. and Ml. have identical morphological forms, and they employ exactly the same devices for word formation. Again, it has been seen that almost all prefixes and suffixes are common to both dialects, and the forms of the compounds are identical.
3 - SYNTAX

The general nature of the sentence in Mj. and Ml., and some important syntactic peculiarities of these dialects will be discussed in this chapter.

3.1 The Sentence

3.1.1 The sentence in Mj.

The predominant form of utterance in Majhi is the simple sentence; the compound sentence is also prevalent and has a wider use than the complex sentence. In written Mj. (standard Panjabi) the complex sentence is increasingly becoming popular, specially with the writers who are deeply influenced by Western style.

A sentence in colloquial Mj. is normally small and contains from one to five words. A sentence of three words is a quite common expression. Such a sentence consists of a subject, an object and a verb arranged in the same order. /mā peṇi pīṅga/ (I shall drink water), /on tūnū marīa/ (he beat you) are the specimens of the standard form of a sentence in Mj. A sentence may contain only two words, the subject and the verb, as in /ram jaega/ (Ram will go). One-word sentences, particularly in the imperative mood, are also common. Here verb alone constitutes the sentence as in /ja/ (go).
These are the simplest forms of the sentence.

A sentence may, however, contain other parts of speech - one or more adjs. may be there, as in /maŋgha paŋi pita/ (I drank cold water), or /nīkke mūdā ne maŋgha paŋi pita/ (the younger boy drank cold water). Again, the adjs. can be used attributively, as in the above sentences, or predicatively, as in /paŋi maŋgha e/ (the water is cold). A sentence may have one or more adverbs, as in /mūdā tōppe sūgīa/ (the boy slept in the sun), or /mūdā tōpeī kūk sūtta pīa sī/ (the boy was fast asleep in the sun). A sentence may have one direct and one indirect object: /on mūdī na roti dīṭṭī/ (he gave a chapati to the boy). Very few sentences in Mi. will be found without a postposition. A simple sentence with one or two postpositions is quite common, but there can be sentences with three (or even four) postpositions: /mastār ne mūḍe na soṭī nal marīa/ (the teacher beat the boy with a stick) has three postpositions; and /mastār ne sōndē pa road na soṭī nal marīa/ (the teacher beat Sohan's brother with a stick), has four.

3.1.2 The sentence in Mi.

The compound and the complex sentences,
(particularly the latter) are even in lesser proportion in Ml. than they are in Mj. Ml., in fact, is very nearly, a language of simple sentences.

If the sentence is short in Mj., it is shorter in Ml., which has a wider field for one-word sentences; /gaeUm/ (I went), /maresəni/ (they will beat you) are complete sentences. Thus, Ml. employs only one word where Mj. requires three. A single word can express the subject, the object and the verb, as in /maresiai/ (he will beat you). The subject and the verb both compressed in a single word, is quite a common expression in Ml.- /alUm/ (I came), /kitoi/ (you did) are the examples of this form. This is accomplished due to the prevalence, in Ml. of, what have been termed "the pronominal suffixes".

This peculiarity of Ml. apart, it has no significant difference with Mj. in the construction of the sentence. A sentence in Ml., like that in Mj., normally, has a subject, an object and a verb, as in /chohUr paŋi pisi/ (the boy will drink water). A sentence may have one or more adjs., as in /chohUr ṭhōd̪a paŋi pisi/ (the boy will drink cold water) or /nabho chohUr ṭhōd̪a paŋi pish/ (all the boys will drink cold water); one (or more) adverb as in
/caṛho ca dhāmī ca tīgare dūḍa hai/ (the washerman was washing clothes in the morning).

Ml. makes lesser use of the postpositions than Kj. The postposition of agent /ne/ does not exist in Ml. and some other postpositions are sometimes dispensed with. Though /nū/ of Kj. and /kū/ particularly of Ml. itself, both are frequently used as postpositions of accusative and dative in Ml., but in the constructions like /tīnahā/ (to them) and /aśahā/ (to us) the ending /-ahā/ serves the purpose of these postpositions. Ml. has almost all postpositions which Kj. possesses, /ne/, the postposition of the agent, perhaps, is the sole exception. But it (Ml.) has not totally abandoned the use of terminations, which have been replaced by postpositions in Kj.

3.2 Word-order in a sentence

Both Kj. and Ml. have developed from Sk. (through Pali, Prakritas and Apbhramshas) but the construction of the sentence and the structure of the words which constitute a sentence, have undergone vast changes since the time of Sk. The difference

1. This was a very common form in old Ml., but is only occasionally heard these days, since the use of postpositions is becoming more and more popular in all parts of Ml.
between Sk. and N.I.A. is that, in the former terminations expressed the morphemes of case, number, gender, person, tense etc., while in the latter some of these are expressed by postpositions and other words. Since the grammatical aspects of the noun and the verb were expressed by their endings in Sk., the position of these words, in a sentence, did not matter much.

The change in the position of a word within the sentence did not effect change in meaning, because the grammatical status of a word was fixed by the termination which it carried to whatever position it was shifted. These terminations (inflections) have not survived in N.I.A., therefore these languages employ other methods to express the precise meanings. These methods are the fixation, in a sentence, of the position of each word, and the use of postpositions, auxiliary verbs etc.

Although Sk. was not particular about word-order in a sentence, yet, generally speaking, there was a certain order. Ordinarily, a sentence was arranged as: subject, object and verb; the voc. was, normally, in the beginning; again, the attribute came before the noun. All these traditions have been retained by
the N.L.* including Mj. and Ml.

The typical Ml. sentences containing pronl. suffixes apart, Mj. and Ml. have no other difference pertaining to the arrangement of the sentences.

As stated earlier, the normal order in a simple sentence, in both Mj. and Ml., is: subject, object and verb. This is the arrangement of a sentence conveying "ordinary steady going meaning as in unemotional even type of prose." Any deviation from this order suggests a different shade of meaning.

\[ /मः रोटी खाई/ (Mj.), /मः तुक्कर खाई/ (Ml.) \]
( I ate a chapati); \[ /तु पानी पीएगा/ (Mj.), /तु पानी पीएगा/ (Ml.) \] (you will drink water), are the examples of this ordinary steady type of sentences.

An indirect object, accompanied by its postposition, is put immediately before the direct object: \[ /मो हरियां रुपए दिया/ (Mj.), /मोहन रम बी हिय रुपए दिया/ (Ml.) \] (Mohan gave one rupee to Ram).

The words expressing the motive or object of an action are put before the verb: \[ /एसी धान्य गए/ (Mj.), /एसी धावण गए/ (Ml.) \] (we went for bathing).

Attributive adjuncts precede the noun they qualify: \[ /काले कोटा दोई ए/ (Mj.), /काले घोरा \]

1. Dr. Hardev Bahri.
cārda pīa he/ (Ml.) (the black horse is grazing); /paṭa cāgga sī īla/ (Mj.), /paṭa cola sī gīddha/ (Ml.) (the torn shirt was stitched). The same adjuncts are used predicatively when they follow the noun: /kōra kāla e/ (Mj.), /ghōra kāla he/ (Ml.) (the horse is black); /cāgga paṭa sī/ (Mj.), /cola paṭa hai/ (Ml.) (the shirt was torn).

The adverbial adjuncts come immediately before the word they qualify; /kharbuja bāra mīṭtha sī/ (Mj.), /pīttī dādi mīṭthi hai/ (Ml.) (the melon was very sweet).

In Mj. and Ml. both, the normal word-order is changed to suit the requirements of metre in poetry. Again, there is deviation from this general rule for shifting the force of emphasis from one word to the other, and to provide a different shade of meaning. One or two examples will clarify the position.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mj.</th>
<th>Ml.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) /mē ṣār javāga/</td>
<td>/mē ṣāhar 1 vaesa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) /mē javāga ṣār/</td>
<td>/mē vaesa ṣahar/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) /ṣār javāga mā/</td>
<td>/ṣahar vaesa mā/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) /javāga mē ṣār/</td>
<td>/vaesa mē ṣahar/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first sentence, in both Mj. and Ml., is a simple statement meaning, "I shall go to the town."

1. Also pronounced as /ṣahar/, /sar/ or /sahūr/.
The second sentence means, "it is I who will go to the town!" The third one conveys the sense, "I shall go to the town, nowhere else," and the fourth one, "yes, I will go to the town."

It may be observed here that a shift in emphasis can also be achieved by putting stress on a particular word, without changing the word-order. If the stress is on the word /mər/ in the first sentence (of either dialect), it will mean, "it is I who will go to the town." If the stress is on the word /sər/ (Mį.), /sahr/ (Ml.) the meaning will be, "I shall go to the town, nowhere else"; and the stress on /javaga/, /vəsə/ shows the determination to go, "I will go to the town". It is, thus, clear that in both these dialects there is the same word-order. Both allow a liberty for deviation from the normal order, but that deviation suggests a shift in emphasis.

Now a few special points concerning the word-order will be discussed:

The negative in both Mį. and Ml., normally precedes the verb: /mə əjj nə javaga/ (Mį.), /mə əjj na vəsə/ (Ml.) (I shall not go today).

In certain cases a compound verb in the affirmative, retains only one component of the compound in the negative:
/mẽ savere cala javãga/ (Mj.), /mẽ dhãmmi lõga vãsã/ (Ml.) (I shall leave tomorrow morning), will be: /mẽ savere nãi javãga/(Mj.) and /mẽ dhãmmi na vãsã/ (Ml.), when the negative is used, meaning, "I shall not go tomorrow morning."

Ml. makes a peculiar use of the negative in strong refusals. Negative, in such constructions heads the sentence: /nimu vãda/ (I tell you, I am not going). Similarly /nise vãda/ (we are not going, let it be known to you) or /nẽẽ vãda/ (tell me, are you not going?) etc., are used.

A postposition has the most determined position in both dialects. It (postposition) must come immediately after the word it refers to, and cannot be separated by putting any other word between the two. The displacement of the postposition from its fixed position will cause complete change in meaning: /karam ne ram nũ marIa/ (Mj.), /kãram ram kũ marIa/ (Ml.) (Karam beat Ram), will have opposite meaning when the position of the postposition is changed: /karam nũ ram ne marIa/ (Mj.), /kãram kũ ram marIa/ (Ml.) (Ram beat Karam).

Conjunctions also have a fixed place and any disturbance in their position will cause an alternation,
or even a drastic change in the meaning, or make a meaningless sentence:

(1) /mera Ikk pūtt vi pārda si/ (Mj.)
    /māḍa hīkk pūtr bhi pəṛhda hai/ (Ml.)

(ii) /mera vi Ikk pūtt pārda si/ (Mj.)
    /māḍa bhi hīkk pūtr pəṛhda hai/ (Ml.)

(iii) /mera Ikk pūtt pārda vi si/ (Mj.)
    /māḍa hīkk pūtr pəṛhda bhi hai/ (Ml.)

The change in the position of /vi/ (Mj.), /bhi/ (Ml.) creates a vast difference in meaning. The first sentence in both dialects, means, "a son of mine was also reading—i.e., in addition to daughters, a son was also reading." The second sentence states, "my son was also reading, i.e., in addition to sons of other people." The third sentence has the sense, "one of my sons was at school, other sons were employed elsewhere."

3.3 Some Syntactic Peculiarities of Mj. and Ml.

After this general discussion of the Mj. and Ml. sentence, we shall, now, deal with certain peculiar syntactic features of these dialects.

3.3.1 Passive Construction and behaviour of the verb in the past tense

The most striking peculiarity of Mj. and Ml.
(rather of all Western N.I.A. languages) is concerning the construction of the sentence in the past indefinite.

The following sentences may be noted:

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
M_1 & M_2 \\
(1) /mūdda aIa/ & /chohUr aIa/ (the boy came) \\
/kūri ai/ & /chohIr ai/ (the girl came) \\
/mūdde ae/ & /chohUr ae/ (the boys came) \\
/kūrā' ai'/ & /chohIr' ai'/ (the girls came) \\
ii) /mūdde ne cāgga tōta/ (Mj.) & (the boy washed) \\
/chohUr chola dhota/ (Ml.) & the shirt. \\
/kūri ne cāgga tōta/ (Mj.) & (the girl washed) \\
/chohIr chola dhota/ (Ml.) & the shirt) \\
/mūdde ne pāgg toti/ (Mj.) & (the boy washed) \\
/chohUr pāgrī dhoti/ (Ml.) & the turban) \\
kūri ne pāgg toti/ (Mj.) & (the girl washed) \\
/chohIr pāgrī dhoti/ (Ml.) & the turban) \\
(iii) /mūdde ne cāgge nū tōta/ (Mj.) & (the boy washed) \\
/chohUr chole kū dhota/ (Ml.) & the shirt) \\
kūri ne cāgge nū tōta/ (Mj.) & (the girl) \\
/chohIr chole kū dhota/ (Ml.) & washed the shirt) \\
/mūdde ne pāgg nū tōta/ (Mj.) & (the boy) \\
/chohUr pāgri kū dhota/ (Ml.) & washed the turban) \\
kūri ne pāgg nū tōta/ (Mj.) & (the girl) \\
/chohIr pāgri kū dhota/ (Ml.) & washed the turban) \\
\end{array} \]
Here are three sets of sentences of the past indefinite. In the set (i) the intransitive verb "came" agrees with the subject, in gender and number, it is /aIa/ for boy (masc. sing.), /ai/ for girl (fern. sing.), /ae/ for boys (masc. pl.), and /aia/ for girls (fern.pl.).

In set (ii) the transitive verb "washed" agrees with the object, irrespective of the gender of the subject, it is /tota/-/dhota/ for shirt (masc. sing.), /toti/-/dhoti/ for turban (fern. sing.). The verb will agree with the object in number also, it will be /tote/-/dhote/ for shirts (masc. pl.) and /totiã/-/dhotiã/ for turbans (fern.pl.).

In set (iii) the verb agrees neither with the subject, nor with the object. It has the same form /tota/-/dhota/ (masc. sing.) whatever the gender of the subject or the object. In this set the examples given above are with sing. subject and sing. object, but the verb will retain the same form - /tota/-/dhota/ even when the subject, object or both are pl.

Thus we get the following facts about the past indefinite of the Mj. and Ml. sentences:

(a) The intransitive verb agrees, in gender and number, with the subject.

(b) The transitive verb, either
(i) agrees, in gender and number with the object, or -

(ii) remains impersonal, i.e., it retains the same form (masc. sing.), whatever may be the gender and number of the subject and the object.

This three-fold construction of the past tense is a peculiarity of not only Mj. or Ml., but of all the Western Indo-Aryan tongues, and it is quite baffling to the new learners. A short note on the background of this characteristic may not be undesirable.

The conjugation of the verb, in Sk., was quite elaborate, and it was particularly complicated in the case of the past. The present and the future were comparatively simple, therefore they have come down to the N.I.A. in their developed and abraded forms. But the complicated and confusing forms of the past could not survive; they were, in fact, being replaced even during Sk. period, and were almost forgotten in the Prakritas. The substitutes for these forms of the past, were found mostly in the past passive participles, which, had throughout the period been used, alongside the conjugational forms of the past, to express the same meaning. The past passive parts, in their developed or decayed forms have
survived to the present day.

In Sk. there were various methods of the use of the past passive part. Instead of saying, "he went", one could say, "he (is) gone"; and instead of "he beat me", one could speak, "I (was) beaten by him". This was the true passive form, but there was another way of employing the past passive part: in place of saying, "he went", or passively "he (is) gone", some speakers said, "it (is) gone by him".

These methods of the use of the past passive part form the foundation of the three sets of Mj. and Ml. sentences noted in the beginning of this chapter. In set (i) the verb (i.e. the past part /aIa/) agrees with the subject. This is the active use of the past part. In the Eastern languages (Eastern Hindi, Bihari, Bengali etc.) past part is used in active sense for all verbs, but in Mj. and Ml. (and some other Western languages) the active use of this type is confined to the intransitive verbs alone. This corresponds to the 'kartṛ vachya' of the Sk. grammar.

In set (ii) the verb agrees with the object. /tota/-/dhota/ is the past part of the verb /tɔ/-/dho/ (wash). This is the correct passive use of the
past part. and is the 'karma vachya' of the Indian grammarians.

In set (iii) the past part. is employed impersonally, following the 'bhava vachya' of the old language. In Sk. 'bhava vachya' the verb was always in III per. sing. The same tradition is carried to Kj. and Ml., here the verb remains in III per. sing. masc. But 'bhava vachya' was confined to the intransitive verbs in Sk., on the contrary, in Kj. and Ml. this form is employed for transitive verbs as in the examples given in set (iii), and also in intransitive verbs as in:

/mæthi tūrī a nāī ṣādā/ (Kj.), /mæthi tür nāī sākādā/ (Ml.), literally meaning 'walking cannot be done by me.'

This, in brief, is the background of the peculiar behaviour of the verb, in the past indefinite, in Kj. and Ml. The past tense, in these dialects, (like other N.I.A. languages) is represented with the past part., and it has developed from the Sk.-passive, and retains certain features of the old form of speech, but has developed some characteristics different from Sk. forms.

Since only the past tense has developed from
the past passive part., the passive form of
cor* struct ion is confined to the past alone in Kj.
as well as in Kl., and as such, it is only in the
past tense that the verb agrees, in certain sentences,
with the object. These sentences represent the
real passive construction of the old language.
The intransitive verbs of the past in set
(i) agree with the subject. In these sentences the
verb behaves in the active sense in spite of its
original passive form (as represented by past part.),
In the impersonal construction of the past
(set iii) the verb has masc. sing. form, irrespective
of the gender and number of the subject or the
object. It is observed here that the construction
of the impersonal form depends upon the use of
the postposition /mû/ (Kj.) or /kû/ (Kl.)\(^1\), after
the object. If /mû/ or /kû/ is used, the verb will
take impersonal form, as in /mã kûtti nû marIa/ (Kj.),
/mã kûtti kû marIa/ (Kl.) (I beat the bitch). But
the absence of the /mû/ - /kû/ will give it the passive
form, and the verb will then agree with the object,
as in /mã kûtti mari/ (Kj., Kl.) (I killed the

\(^1\) Kl. employs /mû/ as well; in fact /kû/ is used only
in Lower Kl., in Upper Kl. only /mû/ is heard.
bitch\(^1\). Thus the impersonal or the passive form of the verb depends upon the presence or absence (respectively) of the postposition /nū/ (Mj.)- /ku/ (Ml.)

3.3.2 The case of agent and the postposition /ne/\(^2\)

It can be concluded from the points discussed in the preceding paragraphs that Mj. and Ml. are quite identical in the formation of the past tense:

(i) In both these dialects the past tense has developed from the Sk. passive past part.

(ii) Both employ the past part. for the formation of the past.

(iii) Both have three types of construction, viz., active form for intransitive verbs, and passive form and impersonal form for transitive verbs.

But Mj. and Ml. have an important point of difference in the construction of both forms of the

1. In this case there is difference in the meanings of the passive and impersonal forms of the same sentence. Such difference may be found in the case of some other verbs too, but not in all cases. In fact, according to the general idiom, most verbs are used either in passive, or in impersonal form alone; both forms are available only in a few cases.

2. Pronounced as [n̥], the nasalization being predictable and non-functional, is not marked in transcription.
transitive verb.

Referring back to the sentences in the sets (ii) and (iii) we see that Mj. employs the postposition /ne/ after the subject - /múde/ or /kúri/, but Ml. does not require it.

This /ne/ is a peculiarity of the Western Indo-Aryan dialects, but is not found in two extreme Western tongues: Ld. and Sindhi. It (/ne/) looks like a postposition of the nom. case but is, in fact, of the case of agent and is equivalent to the English preposition "by". /múde ne cægga tòta/ is a passive construction, originally meaning "the shirt was washed by the boy", though, today, we have forgotten the original passive value and take it to mean, "the boy washed the shirt".

/ne/ is used in Mj., in the past indefinite of the trans. verbs, because of their passive form. Mj., however, does not employ /ne/ with the personal pronouns of the I and II person. /mæ pani pita/ (I drank water), /tù pani pita/ (you - sing. - drank water) etc. do not have /ne/.

The same /ne/ is incorporated with the pronouns

1. Western Hindi uses /ne/ even with these pronouns, as in /mæ ne pani pia/ (I drank water), /tùne pani pia/ (you - sing. - drank water) etc.
of the III person, /o/, as /on pani pita/ (he drank water), /ona pani pita/ (they drank water). Here /-n/ of /on/ is a shortened form of /ne/. Mw. uses /one/, for /on/ of Mj., and thus retains the full /ne/ with the pronoun /o/.

Now Mj. has the same pronoun /o/ for sing. and pl. of III person, and for differentiation the pl. of this /-n/ is used when /o/ is required to represent III person pl. - /ona pani pita/ (they drank water). But postpositions in Pb. do not have declensions (with the exception of the postposition of genitive), therefore by adopting this pl. form in /ona/ this /-n/, that is the shortened form of /ne/ lost its identity, that is why another /ne/ is being used now with /ona/ and /ona ne pani pita/ is as much in common use as /ona pani pita/, both having exactly the same meaning, "they drank water".

Why /ne/ is not used in Mj., with the pronouns of the I and II person, can be explained as under:

/mē/ and /tu/ of Pb. have developed from /məya/ and /tvəya/, respectively, of Sk., in which these were forms of the case of agent. /məya/, as such, means "by me" and /tvəya/ is equivalent of "by you (sing.)". Use of /ne/ (which literally means
"by"), with /mæ/ and /tũ/, therefore, would be superfluous.

The absence of /ne/ with I and II per. pl. pronouns is, most probably, on the analogy of sing. pronouns.

This particle, /ne/, is not used in Ml., rather it is not employed in any form of Ld., and Sindhi too, does not make use of /ne/. Again, it is not obtainable in any of the Eastern dialects - Eastern Hindi, Bengali, Bihari etc. But that does not warrant any affinity in the construction. In the Eastern languages the construction of the past tense is in the active voice, even though it is developed from the Sk. past passive part. In Ld. (including Ml.) the construction resembles Mj., Mw. and W. Hindi, because the past tense of the transitive verb, in it, is either in passive or in impersonal form, but the postposition /ne/ is employed in neither. Thus the complete absence of /ne/ in Ml., is the real point of difference with Mj., otherwise the construction of the past indefinite is identical in both dialects.

3.3.3 Analytic and synthetic character of Majhi and Multani

Mj. and Ml. both are more synthetic than either
of the neighbouring languages - Western Hindi and Rajasthani; but Ml. is the more synthetic of the two. Western Hindi "carries analysis to its furthest extreme". Ml. being nearer to W. Hd., has, in this respect, been influenced by this eastern neighbour and has made substantial advance towards analysis.

3.3.3.1 Majhi

The employment of postpositions in place of case - inflections, and the use of auxiliary verbs, dispensing with verbal endings, are the characteristics of analysis.

Now, Ml. has developed all the postpositions that W. Hd. possesses, and has even a few additional ones. W. Hd., for instance, makes use of the postpositions /se/ both for instrumental and ablative cases. Ml. has separate postpositions for each - /nal/ for instrumental, as in /kUari nal vOd/ (cut with an axe); /tOd /cO/, /vIccO/ for ablative, as in /khU tOd pani lIdda/ (water was brought from the well), or /hOtth cO qIggI/ (fell from the hand).

Again Ml. is ahead of W. Hd. in the development of the auxiliary verbs. For example, W. Hd. has only two forms of the auxiliary verb for the past tense -

/tha/ for sing., and /the/ for pl. Whereas Mj. has five forms - /d& sd si se/, both sing. and pl. of the I per. employing the same form /s/.

But in spite of the larger number of postpositions and greater variety of auxiliary verbs, Mj. is more synthetic than W. Hd., because it (Mj.) still retains some inflectional forms of the old cases and has some synthetic forms of verbs.

First we consider the cases. W. Hd. has only one case : the obl. form of the masc. nouns ending in /-a/ such as /ghore/, /lärke/, /aṭṭe/ from /ghora/, /lärka/, /aṭṭa/ (horse, boy, flour respectively). Mj. still has three full fledged cases and the remnants of the fourth also exist. The first one is, what has already been described above in connection of W. Hd.- the obl. form of the masc. nouns ending in /-a/, as /mudda/ from /mūḍa/ (boy), and /kore/ from /kōra/ (horse). The second is the ablative case marked by the ending /-o/ as in /hāṭtho dāggī/ (fell from the hand), /sāṭī aṭa/ (came from the town). The third case in Mj. is the voc., having

1. Fem. nouns ending in /-i/ have no obl. forms in sing., but W. Hd. has obl. form of such fem. nouns in pl. /ghorī/ from /ghori/ (mares).
inflections as under:

- /-la/ - /mūdla/ (O.boy)
- /i*eo/ - /mūdeo/ (O.boys)
- /-e/ - /kūrie/ (O.girl)
- /-o/ - /kūrio/ (O.girls)

Mj. has a few examples of a fourth case with the ending /-i/. It expresses the sense of (i) instrumental, as in /hāthī kita/ (done with the hands), /śkhī dīṭṭha/ (seen with the eyes); (ii) locative as in /ārī bāṭhe/ (sitting in homes), /śrī vāssde/ (living in towns). It may be mentioned here that the instrumental case described in (i) above seems to be the remnant of the dual number of the O.I.A. because it is generally obtainable with reference to the objects found in pairs, such as hands, feet, eyes etc. The locative of this type, (ii) above, is quite common in Mj. but is found in respect of Pl. only. Nouns ending in /-a/ do not have this fourth case.

As stated earlier, Mj. retains some synthetic forms of verbs, which are not available in W. Hd. Mj. has, for example, forms of the adverbial participle like /khāḍīṇa/ (by eating) and /pitāṇa/ (by drinking).
W. Hd., requires the postposition /se/ to express the same sense: /khane se/, /pina se/. Again, Mj. has words like /úbârvā/ (raised), /rakhvā/ (reserved). W. Hd. adds an auxiliary verb in this case: /úbhara hua/, /rākkha hua/.

3.3.3.2 Multani

Ml. has all the cases of Mj. except vocative. In voc. Ml. employs direct form of noun in sing. (both masc. and fem.), but in Pl. the inflections mentioned in Mj. are generally used. In the abl. case Ml. has a slightly different ending - /ū/ in place of Mj. /-ō/, as in /hōtthū/ (from hand), /sārū/ (from town), /ghārū/ (from home). Again, Ml. makes extensive use of the loc. with termination /-ū/, in fact Mj. has borrowed this form from Ml. Termination /-ū/ for pl. is a peculiarity of Ml.; plurals of many fem. nouns are formed with the ending /-ī/ in Ml. /mājhi/ (she buffaloes), /nārī/ (canals), /gāḍhi/ (knots) etc. Some fem. pl. nouns of this type have slipped into Mj. as well.

Though Ml. has developed almost all postpositions¹ which Mj. (or W. Hd.) has, yet it employs, in certain

¹ A notable exception is the absence of /ne/ in Ml.
cases, the technique of synthetic construction and uses a termination where Mj. requires a postposition: 
/tInahā/ (to them), /əsaḥā/ (to us), are /tInnā nu/, /sanū/ respectively in Mj.

In the case of verbs Ml. is much more synthetic than Mj. Both the subject and the object are expressed through suffixes added to the verb itself, without making use of any pronouns. /marešəni/ (they will beat you), /marIoʃ/ (you have beaten him), /marIoʃe/ (they have beaten him) are some of the examples.

Comments -

It is, thus, to be admitted that Ml. is more synthetic than Mj. but it is on its way to analysis. As stated earlier the forms like /Unahā/, /əsaḥə/ are fast disappearing. The synthetic forms of pronouns used by Farid and Damodor are not in use today. The complex forms of the verbs are also vanishing. With the mixture of population migrated from East Panjab, the speed of analysis will be further accelerated. It will, however, take considerable time for Ml. to become as analytic as Mj. is today.