PHONETICS[2]

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*, $\tilde{i}$, *ə*, $\tilde{ə}$, *a*, $\tilde{a}$, *u*, $\tilde{u}$. The long ones are represented by $\bar{i}$, $\tilde{\bar{i}}$, *e*, $\tilde{e}$, $\ddot{a}$, $\tilde{\ddot{a}}$, $\bar{u}$, $\tilde{\bar{u}}$, *o*, $\tilde{o}$, $\bar{a}\bar{u}$, $\tilde{\bar{a}}\tilde{\bar{u}}$, $\bar{a}$ and $\tilde{\bar{a}}$ (Table 3).

Table 3

Lahndi vowels

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

* This symbol is taken from the work by H. Bahri[1].

[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 *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', *məhīnā̃* 'month', *phūhṛī* '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), *pədhaheṛā* '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 *trä* 'three', *mäṇḍhe* '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 *paṭ* '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 midially and finally, e.g. *bəroṭā* 'a small tree', *pāṛo* 'tear up'.

āū 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. *āū* is almost a diphthong. It is obtainable in all positions, e.g. *makhāūṛā* 'a grass-hopper', lahāūr 'Lahore', *bāūhnā* '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'.

ĩ, ĩ, ẽ, ä̃, ə̃, ã, ũ, ū̃, õ, āũ and *ã̃* are the nasal correspondents of *ī, i, e, ä, ə, a, ū, u, o, āū* and *ā* respectively. Examples of minimum pairs are as follows: *sä* 'hundred' - *sä̃* 'asleep', *ghine* 'He would take' – *ghinẽ* '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 *māhmū̃ nahī̃ vänā̃* 'Mahmun is not coming'. Nasalization may be optional, as in *sī̃* 'cold' instead of *sī*.

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 *ā̃dā* or *ẽdā: ā̃dā* 'coming', *phulrẽdā* '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 *ē*, *o* and *ō*, *ä* and *ā̈*, i.e. long and short *e*, *o* and *ä*. 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 Seraiki 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', *ḍḍū̃ puṭa ā̃hin* '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, looses 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: *vänā* 'going', *vat* 'then'. Intervocalically 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 vänā* '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*.

š is a medic-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. *šak* 'suspicion', *pašum* 'hair', *änš* 'pleasure'.

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

X 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. *Xarcā* 'expenditure', *niXtī* 'appeared', *yaX* 'frozen'.

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

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* 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 *ḷ*, *ṇ*, *ḍ*, *ḍh*, *ṭ*, *ṭh* 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 *ṛ*, *ḷ* and *ṇ* than for *ḍ*, *ḍh*, *ṭ*, and *ṭh*. Cerebral sounds are particularly common in the Thali dialect. Of the four non-labialized nasal consonants *n* is the most frequently used. It is obtainable in all positions. The cerebral *ṇ* occurs only midially and finally, as in: *ghin kaṇī* 'having taken', *ghinuṇ* 'to take'. The consonants *ñ* and *ŋ* mostly precede the medio-lingual *ç*, *ch*, *j*, *jh* and the backlingual *k*, *kh*, *g*, *gh*, respectively, e.g. *mañjī* 'a bed', *traŋgur* 'a net'.

Referring to the medio-lingual *ñ*, 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, *ñ* 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 occuring at the beginning of a word, e.g. ببّ *bb*, *bbahūṇ* 'many'; ڇڇ *jj*, *jjiṇveṇ*, 'also', ڏڏ *ḍḍ* (something between *z* and *ḍ*), *ḍḍā* 'way', 'method', ڳڳ *gg* (a sound with some nasal shade), as in *ggāṛhā* 'thick'.

According to Ikram Ul-Haq /52/, Multani possesses one more *g* with a guttural shade: ڱ as in جُڱ '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 *ḷ* 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 *šakht* instead of *šakhs* 'a man'. In the Thalochri of Jang (the dialect Jatki) it is *šakhat*. 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 manner of articulation \ 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			ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍḍ, ḍh		k, kh g, gg, gh	q	
	Affricates							c, ch j, jj, jh			
	Fricatives		v, f		z, s			š		G*, X*	h
Sonants	Nasal stops	m				n	ṇ	ñ	ŋ		
	Fricatives					l	ḷ	y			
	Rolled					r	ṛ				

* The symbols are taken from the work by H. Bahri.[1]

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*, *maheśā* 'always' instead of *hameśā*, *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 submorphised autoseme of the pronoun *hus*, *his* 'he', 'that', the numerals *hik* 'one' and *hitnā* 'so many', 'this much'; in Awankari there occur *hik* 'one', *hikaṭṭhe* 'together', *havāz* 'voice', *hamsos* 'regret', *hinnã* 'they'. Frequently such words are also found in the Jatki of Lyallpur. In the play by Sekhon we have discovered such words as *hasã* 'we', *his* 'this', *hitthe* 'here', *ho* 'that', *hĩv* '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* (kó) 'a mountain', *diḍḍh (diḍḍ)* '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 principl to a similar tone in Punjabi, as in *m'amdā* 'Oh, Mohammed', *p'ivã* 'we c 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

alling tone in the dialect: *kʻāṛ* 'shortage', *ṭʻeḍī* 'a swelling'.

Tones have certain effects on sounds /Bahri[1], 192/. In a toned yllable (in case of a rising tone — *U.S.*) the vowel is somewhat hortened, close vowels become closer, open ones more open, the onsonants covering such syllables become more prominent, the losion of stops is increased and the aspiration of aspirated consoants is more marked. The celebralisation of cerebrals becomes tronger, the trills in the rolled consonants and the friction in the icative ones increase as well. The stress becomes more pronounced.

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

SYLLABICATION

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

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*́ hat', *ṹ*́ 'he' 'that' (in the ergative);

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

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

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

In Nos 3 and 4 the syllables are open.

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

6) two consonants, a vowel and a consonant, e.g. *bbāṛ* 'thirst', t 'wool'.

STRESS

In Lahndi stress can be distributed equally between two syllles, 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. *ghidd'ā̃* 'taken', *kan'ũ̃* 'from', *cañ'ī̃* '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. *'thīvuṇ* 'to be', *'āraŋg* 'a gloomy weather', *'jīkuṇ* 'how', *'cīkuṇ* 'to shout';

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

In Awankari trisyllabics, as a rule, the penultimate syllable is stressed /Bahri[1], 204/. In such words the pre-stressed syllable is shortened considerably; *udh'ālā* 'rape', *kuh'āṛī* 'an axe', *baroṭ'ā* '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 *belih'ā* '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. *naḍhī̃* 'a girl' + *ā̃* = *naḍhiã̃* (the final *ī̃* reduced).

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

e > *i*: *rehne ālā̃ /rehniālā̃/* 'an inhabitant',

ī̃ > *i*: *javātrī̃ ã̃ /javātriã̃/* 'to the daughter's husband',

ū > u: piū ī kū̃ /piuīkū̃/ 'only to the father';

2) if one word ends in a long ā, while the next begins with ä, a sound very much alike to ä is heard on the word-boundary, e.g. abbhā ähā /habbhäā/ 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. puttrā̃ ā̃ /puttrā̃/ 'to the sons', dhī ī (dhī)' 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', dotahī (dutahī)'a double sheet', killī-phitā /killiphitā/ 'a game', thāṇedār /thāṇidār/, '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. sonā̃ 'gold', kūnī̃ '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. mä̃ in mä hitthe rāhsā̃ '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. barbād kū̃ (barbātkū̃) 'destruction';

2) a dental stop preceding a medio-lingual consonant gets completely assimilated, e.g. vat cā ghin /vaccā/ 'then take';

3) an aspirated consonant preceding a stop, s or š̌ loses its aspiration, e.g. tākh tāī̃ /tāktāī̃/, 'for a beast of prey', rakh š̌ä /rakš̌ä/ 'put the thing down';

4) a voiceless consonant preceding a voiced one turns into a voiced itself,e.g. as zarūr (azzarūr) 'we shall certainly';

5) a consonant loses its aspiration if preceding another aspirated sound, e.g. vekh khā̃ (vekkhā̃) 'take a look'.