FROM WUCH TO SOUTHERN LAHNDA

A CENTURY OF SIRAIKI STUDIES IN ENGLISH

by
C. SHACKLE

with introduction by
UMAR KAMAL KHAN
Secretary, Bazm-e-Saqafat, Multan

Published by
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With Compliments of
Umar Kamal Khan.

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FOREWORD

In this book I have set out to give a short account of the development of Siraiki studies in English over a period of almost exactly one hundred years, down to 1919. The title records the beginning and end of this development, for the same language which we know as 'Siraiki' today appears as 'Wuch' in the first published account described here, and as 'Southern Lahnda' in the last. Many other names will also be encountered, for this is essentially a story of gradual discovery.

Foreigners in a strange land are often struck by things which seem too ordinary to the native inhabitants to be worthy of comment or investigation. When, as in the present case, the strangers record their impressions and findings as they go along, a body of information is gradually built up which helps to map what had previously been virtually uncharted territory. Mistakes and misunderstandings may often occur in such a process, but so too do real achievements, which serve to guide those who come later. I have tried to point out both failures and successes, as I see them.

The first part of the book deals with the different stages in the development of British studies of the Siraiki language, under whatever name. The description is based both on the more or less well-known published sources, and on such unpublished manuscripts and correspondence as I have been able to find in England. Since I wanted to write for the interested general reader rather than just for the specialist, no attempt is made to go into minute linguistic details. I have instead concentrated on giving a broad picture of how these pioneers saw the language, with free quotation of their more general remarks, and have added more human touches of biographical detail where I could, to show what sort of men these were.

I have begun with a short account of the early but now rather little-known work of William Carey and his fellow-missionaries of Serampore in Bengal. The second chapter deals with the mainstream of studies produced by officials stationed in the Siraiki-speaking areas after these had come under British rule in the middle of the last century. This is followed by

a separate account of the work undertaken by locally stationed missionaries, particularly by Dr. Andrew Jukes, whose tireless endeavours must command a special regard. The fourth chapter briefly describes the attempt to integrate all earlier studies into a grand overall scheme by Grierson in the Linguistic Survey of India.

In the two chapters of the second part of the book I have sought to give the reader an impression of the actual Siraiki material collected or produced by the British during the period. In the first chapter will be found a very brief anthology of the specimens of Siraiki folk-literature, including proverbs and sayings, stories, folk-songs, and poems, in which the British officials of the last century showed so much interest, and which they acted as pioneers in first beginning to collect in published form. I have followed this, in the final chapter, by a short discussion with illustrations of the translations of the Bible made into Siraiki. These constitute the one original contribution made to Siraiki literature by the British. While the subsequent establishment of Pakistan and its Islamic ideology have made these translations documents of historical interest only, they do deserve some attention as literary memorials.

The notes on sources contain full details of the published and unpublished works which I have drawn upon in compiling this book. For their invaluable assistance in locating unpublished material, I should like to express my gratitude to the archivists and librarians of Bible House, the Church Missionary Society, and the India Office Library and Records.

Finally, my special thanks are due to Bazm-e Saqafat Multan and to its indefatigable Secretary, my friend Mr. Umar Kamal Khan, for undertaking the publication of this book, and for most generously providing an introduction to it. Although it is deliberately restricted to an account of the early British contributors to Siraiki studies, I am most happy that this account should be being published in Multan, and the long-standing cultural links between my own country and this part of Pakistan should thereby be seen to be being maintained.

London
September 1983

C. SHACKLE

INTRODUCTION

by

Umar Kamal Khan
Secretary, Bazm-e-Saqafat
Multan

In the centre of Pakistan lies the territory of 'Wuch' of the ancient times, inhabited by about 30 million Siraiki speaking people, surrounded on the one side by Sindhi speaking people and on the other by Punjabis. They have had a well recognized distinct language and culture from time immemorial. This territory comprises the Districts of Multan, Bahawalpur, Sahiwal, Vehari, Rahim Yar Khan, Bahawal Nagar, Jhang, Sargodha, Muzaffargarh, Leiah, Bhakkar, Mianwali, Dera Ghazi Khan, and Rajanpur in the Punjab Province; Dera Ismail Khan of N.W.F. Province; Sibi and Kachhi Districts of Baluchistan; and Sukkur, Khairpur, Jacobabad Districts of the Sind Province of Pakistan. In fact it is the heart-land of Pakistan. It is a pity that in the past its distinct language and culture were ignored, and only much later was mention made of its language as 'Multani' distinct from 'Lahori' (Punjabi) in the well-known book Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazl, which may well be called a Gazetteer of Mughal Empire, written during the reign of Akbar the Great.

Then after a lapse of two centuries, it was the English who started the study of this region. This task was primarily undertaken to serve the imperialist designs of the English, and it fell on the shoulders of their politicals-cum-travellers.

The first to pass through this region was Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, a keen observer, who, in 1808 A.D., while on a political mission in the Court of Afghan King Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk Sadozai at Peshawar, crossed the Siraiki region, firstly from east to west and later from north to south, visiting the principal places of note, i.e. Multan and Bahawalpur, making a detailed study of the land during his sojourn, its people, flora and fauna,

their products, important personalities of this region and their behaviour, and describing them in his reports.

This was the first encounter of a Britisher with this region and much useful information was gathered by him which greatly enlightens us.

Then came Charles Masson who twice travelled through these regions in about 1823 from Sind to Lahore and a second time from Lahore to Sind. In late 1830 and early 1831 there passed through this Siraiki land Alexander Burnes, the ill-fated Sikandar Sahib of Kabul, on a mission to Lahore. In December 1831, Arthur Conolly, another political called 'Kan Ali' by the local people, while coming from Herat, passed through the Bolan Pass, entered the Siraiki area in upper Sind and journeyed to Bahawalpur before going across the Cholistan, and then crossed the then British frontier in the month of January 1831. About this time another political, Eldred Pottinger, acquiring considerable knowledge of the native dialects on his way to Kabul, passed through Shikarpur Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan.

In March 1837 Alexander Burnes, in the company of Robert Leach and Dr. Percival Lord, passed through this territory from south to north and explored the River Indus before crossing Kala Bagh, the northern limit of Siraiki region, in July 1837. He made the following prophetic remarks:

> "The Sikhs' rule is paramount in this country, their Grunth or Holy Book is placed in mosques and no Mohammadan raises his voice in praying to his God, the clearest proof of conquest but at the same time an interference so impolitic that should a reverse occur, the subdued and sullen population would at once rise en masse upon the Sikhs, the invaders of their soil."

This prophecy came true in 1849.

All these British travellers who won laurels in other lands also were, in fact, pioneers who made and cleared their way through thorny difficulties and obstructions and collected precious knowledge in this region unexplored at that time which is now a common place for us.

While these explorations were going on, the 'great game' in central Asia had accelerated the westward advance of the British imperial expansion The murder in 1848 of Van Agnew and Lieut. Anderson, the British representatives in Multan, brought about a head-on military collision between the British and the Sikhs, during which the local population of Siraiki speaking people rose en masse against the Sikhs and made common cause with the British to release themselves from the Sikh yoke.

After the success of the Multan campaign and the final overthrow of the Sikh kingdom in 1849 by the British forces, British rule was extended over most of the Siraiki speaking region. The Siraiki people, though they only changed masters, did, however, greatly benefit from the good administration of their new masters.

The new administrators, under the controlling authority and guidance of the Lawrence brothers (Sir Henry Lawrence and John Lawrence) and Montgomery, evolved order out of chaos, peace and prosperity out of anarchy and ruin. In order to create and preserve a stable rural base, they reduced agricultural taxes by 25 per cent. and took other measures to ameliorate the lot of poor people. They established an organised system of communication, built a chain of good roads and extended educational and medical facilities to the common people. They also established a strong and vigorous police force, hunted out all the dacoits, arranged for the proper hearing of all civil, criminal and revenue cases and brought justice to the door of the poor. They developed political and intellectual traditions, and last but not least, created an educated middle class with an identity of its own, distinct from the feudal elements, which later on came forward to lead the people in all walks of life.

Thus this small band of British administrators, even though imperialists to the core, was imbued with the God-fearing spirit of the Victorian era, and though some of them sincerely subscribed to the philosophy that the Asians and Africans are the 'white man's burden', yet whatever their thinking, the welfare of their subjects was close to their heart. The majority of them came to this land at an impressionable age and while remaining a number of years in this country, they easily succumbed to the charms of the area under their charge. The very nature of their duties brought them into close contact with all segments of the

local population. In these they took a great interest, acquiring a good knowledge of the local language and culture, and forming a sense of strong personal identification with all the classes of local society. This mixing gave them the opportunity to introduce new trends in the social, intellectual and cultural life of the area under their control. But those Britishers who distinguished themselves for their achievements in these fields are not many and the others are only shadowy figures, now lost in the mists of past time.

Among these distinguished administrators who are still remembered and are held in great esteem, are Arthur Brandeth and M.P.Edgeworth, both Commissioners of Multan in 19th century. They advocated that the agricultural troubles were largely due to defective laws, and could be overcome by bringing about changes in such laws. Both of them were instrumental in the passage of historic legislation, i.e. the Land Alienation Act of 1900 which effectively checked the transfer of land from hereditary landholders to the Hindu Banias. Then we remember James Douie and A.A.Munro, the two great exponents of revenue reforms for the prosperity of peasant class. Then there were others like Malcolm Lyall Darling, F.I. Brayne and George Bailey who won great name for their rural development works. E.O'Brien, who was called 'Ghagri-wala Sahib' by the natives because of always wearing his native kilt pressed throughout his official career for the prevention of cattle-lifting and was several times seen in the dead of night blocking village roads for the apprehension of cattle-lifters. Then we may mention a British Sessions Judge, Mr.Curry, who also wore native dress and spoke the native language, dispensing justice evenly to all. We may also call to mind the queer Mr.C.B.Barry, Deputy Commissioner of Multan, who organised 'Under Five Feet Football Teams' and himself acted as a referee in the tournaments. For this he had become the subject of quips and merry remarks from the common people. On enquiry from the then members of such teams, they smiled and said that it was only the Sahib's passion for football and there was nothing ulterior in this activity of the Sahib. We may also remember Mr.E.P.Moon, a friend of have-nots who went out of the way to help those aggrieved.

All these administrators, while carrying on their official duties effectively, desired intercourse with the natives, not only as a diversion

from the boredom of official life or to satisfy their personal eccentricities, but with an intent to learn all about the language, literature, culture, history, etc. of their subjects.

It is only true to say that the achievments of the Britishers in the above-mentioned fields have surpassed even the results of the efforts made in these areas by the local intellectuals of the present age.

Another very important and valuable contribution made by them was the preparation of District Gazetteers. Each contained authentic and up-to-date information on the physical, historical, cultural and economic life of the district concerned, besides being a record of the local folk lore and literature. This compendium of information and statistics in respect of the district concerned was regularly printed and issued after every 20 years at the close of each land settlement of the district. But this laudable tradition has not been kept up by the present-day administrators and in order to acquaint oneself about the various above-mentioned topics one has to fall back on the information provided by these Gazetteers.

This is only one aspect of the intellectual activities of the British administrators. They indulged in lots of other such useful activities, and that too not for any imperialist cause, but because of their passion for knowledge, though a myopic and prejudiced person may think that all these activities were intended to serve the cause of imperialism.

There were Britishers other than the administrators, particularly the missionaries who also did valuable pioneering work in the above field. All these activities remained shrouded in the mists of past time and needed to be explored and brought to light.

This onerous and noble task was taken upon himself by Doctor Christopher Shackle, the Head of the Indology Department, School of Oriental and African Studies, London University. Dr.Shackle is an orientalist, anthropologist, linguist and a scholar of repute. He is an authority on Siraiki language and literature, and has thoroughly studied the research work done so far by the earlier scholars on the language, literature and culture of this

region. He studied Oriental Languages (Persian and Turkish) and Classics at the University of Oxford and did his postgraduate course in social anthropology and B.Litt. in Islamic Sociology of the sub-continent. He also did his Ph.D. from London University in 1972 by writing a valuable thesis on "Siraiki and Siraiki Literature". He has taught Urdu and Punjabi and is also an author of a number of research works on the Punjabi, Siraiki and Sindhi languages and their classical literature. He has also translated some books written in the above-mentioned languages. Moreover, he has written some brilliant articles on Islam. His most important contribution is his book entitled "The Siraiki Language of Central Pakistan", which is undoubtedly a mile-stone in the Siraiki studies. Dr.Shackle can speak Siraiki and may be truly called the successor of the earlier British lovers of the Siraiki language.

'From Wuch to Southern Lahnda, A Century of Siraiki Studies in English', which is the subject of this introduction is another valuable work of Dr.Shackle, in which he gives a comprehensive account of the Siraiki studies made by some Englishmen in a period of one hundred years down to 1919. These Englishmen discovered the Siraiki language gradually. At first, they thought it to be 'Wuch' and later on they came to think of it as 'Southern Lahnda'. Dr.Shackle has carried intensive and extensive research on these studies.

His work starts from the earliest study of the Siraiki language by the Christian missionaries of Serampore in far off Bengal and comes down to the researches done by the British administrators who, while performing their official duties in the Siraiki territory, also carried on some basic research work on Siraiki language and literature. Then follows an account of the Siraiki studies of the Christian missionaries working in the Siraiki areas. Lastly Dr.Shackle has given in this book an anthology of the Siraiki folk literature collected by the British administrators, as well as specimens of translated versions of the Bible in Siraiki, both in 'Kirakki' and Urdu scripts.

While studying this book, we come across a number of surprising revelations and an account of acts done for the first time in the service

of the Siraiki language. For instance we discover for the first time that William Carey, the indefatigable English missionary, was responsible for the installation of the Serampore Press, the first modern printing press in India. The missionaries printed on this Press their 'Sixth Memoir' which besides other valuable information also contains a discussion at some length, of different languages of India, including Siraiki and its grammar - with Siraiki appearing in print for the first time. Then followed the publication of New Testament in Siraiki (Kirakki script) in 1819. This was the first printed book in Siraiki.

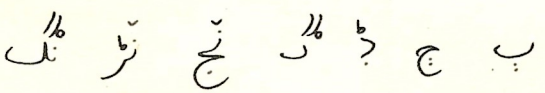
We also learn that the first map of the sub-continent showing the location of languages (and 'Mooltani' or 'Wuch' shown in the middle of the Indus Valley) was published in 1820 in the 'Seventh Memoir' of the Serampore Mission.

Then in January 1849, Mr. Richard Burton published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society 'A grammar of Jataki or Balochi', which is the first attempt at publishing a complete grammar of the Siraiki language.

'A Glossary of the Multani language' by E.O'Brien, published in 1881, is the first book in English on the Siraiki language and the first useful dictionary of Siraiki language in Roman script, comprising 5,000 Siraiki words.

Dr.Shackle gives also in his book an instance of a formal examination in Siraiki given in 1896 by Dr.J.O.Summerhayes and taken by T.Bomford at Multan which the latter passed with good marks in spite of a lack of text books.

The four Gospels of St.Matthew, St.Mark, St.Luke and St.John were published in the Siraiki language by A.Jukes in 1898. They were the first Siraiki texts of the gospels written in modified version of Urdu script in which the following special Siraiki letters were used:-



As mentioned by Dr.Shackle in this book, the 'Dictionary of Jataki or Western Punjabi (Siraiki) Language' by Jukes which was published in 1900 is still without any rival in the field of Siraiki lexicography and has proved indispensable to those who want to learn the language. This great work of Jukes has yet to be surpassed by any such work composed in the present century even by the Siraiki scholars.

According to Dr.Shackle, Jukes rightly claimed that Western Punjabi or Jataki (present Siraiki) has different local names and Multani, Derawal, Jagdalli, Shahpuri, Bannuchi, Peshawari, Pothohari, Hazari and Bahawalpuri are such names of the dialects spoken in the territory from the western confines of Dera Ghazi Khan District to the eastern limits of present Bahawalpur Division and from Sindh in the South to the confines of Kashmir in the north, an area about the size of Ireland. As described by Jukes, the Western Punjabi or Jataki or Siraiki language which is very widely spoken, is a perfect but quite different language from that spoken in the eastern Panjab.

Dr. A. Martin Clark, well versed in the Panjabi language, who had corrected the proofs of Bhai Maya Singh's 'Panjabi-English Dictionary' says that while going through Jukes' Dictionary of Western Panjabi (Siraiki) he came across only two Panjabi words on a page of the afore-said Dictionary, which also shows that Siraiki is quite different from the Panjabi of Central and Eastern Panjab.

All these revelations made by Dr.Shackle are very enlightening. As again mentioned by Dr.Shackle, the first renowned philologist to give any degree of close attention to Siraiki was Sir George Grierson, who was appointed the Superintendent of the Linguistic Survey of India in 1898. According to Grierson 'Lahnda or Western Panjabi' cannot in any sense be called a dialect of the standard Panjabi, but is altogether a different language closely connected with and forming a strong linke between Sindhi and Kashmiri. He devoted 183 pages to Southern Lahnda (Siraiki) in his 'Linguistic Survey of India' and he was the first to place it among the important languages of India.

With this we come to the end of the hundred years of Siraiki studies surveyed by Dr.Shackle.

Reference may here be made to another important aspect of this book. Dr.Shackle has introduced the names of some benefactors of Siraiki who will appear new to the readers, and has written short biographical notes on them. In this connection I may mention the names of William Carey, Richard Francis Burton, Andrew Alcorn Munroe, E.O'Brien, G.B.Steedman, James Wilson and his collaborator Pandit Hari Kishen Kaul, Dr. Andrew Jukes, the Reverend Trevor Bomford, Col.Millett, Sir George Grierson and several other noteworthy personalities devoted to our language.

Some obscurantists while reading this 'Introduction' mignt raise their eye-brows ironically but since it is not possible for any one to change their perverted notions, I have nothing to say to satisfy them. I may, however, make one thing clear. My praise for the Britishers who did valuable research work on Siraiki language and literature and the social and cultural life of the Siraiki people, is not due to any Anglophile sentiments but is simply an honest appreciation of the contribution made by them to the service of our great language.

To any Muslim who might object to what I have written, I may submit that it is nothing but a part of the history of Siraiki language and that history knows no religion.

To any so-called nationalist who might have been offended by my 'Introduction' I may quote the following remarks of the Indian Nationalist Leader Pandit Moti Lal Nehru:

> 'England has fed us with the best food that her language, her literature, her science, her art and above all her free institutions could supply. We have learnt and grown on that wholesome food for a century and are fast approaching the age of maturity.

Finally, in the end I thank Dr.Shackle most warmly on my own behalf and on behalf of the Siraiki people for his most esteemed work.

UMAR KAMAL KHAN

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PART I

CHAPTER 1

PIONEERS IN SERAMPORE

The eighteenth century was a time of fervent renewal in the religious life of the Protestants of England. One of the most remarkable consequences of this religious revival was the extraordinary blossoming of missionary activity, which rapidly spread to nearly all parts of the non-Christian world; and one of the most remarkable of this new generation of Christian missionaries was William Carey (1761-1834).

As a young man Carey had been converted to Baptism, one of the most important of the many Protestant sects which flourished without the official support enjoyed by the Church of England. He was a man of humble origins. He was born the son of a weaver, and was himself a village shoemaker until he was twenty-eight years of age. As well as being a cobbler, he was also a Baptist pastor, running a small village school. Even in this small world, however, he was convinced of the need for the message of Christianity to be brought to the whole of mankind.

It was largely as a result of his advocacy that the Baptist Missionary Society was founded for this purpose in 1792. The following year Carey sailed to Calcutta as its first missionary. It might have been thought that the successful expansion of the East India Company, which now controlled the whole of Bengal and most of eastern India, would have been of direct assistance to Carey's purpose; but this was not so, since the Company feared that missionary activity might create unrest which would damage its commercial interests. Where the cruder type of fanatical preacher was concerned, the Company was probably right.

Carey himself was emphatically not a man of this type, believing that it was necessary to understand not only the language but also the way of thinking of those to whom the Gospel was to be preached. But he still fell under the Company's ban on any missionaries settling in its territories. In order to support himself and his family he therefore began by taking a post as manager of an indigo plantation up-country. It was here that he

devoted himself to learning Bengali, and produced his first version of the New Testament of the Bible in that language.

In 1799 Carey was joined by two other Baptist missionaries, Marshman and Ward. The three of them settled in Serampore, sixteen miles up the Hooghly from Calcutta. This was then a tiny colony of Denmark, where the Company's ban on missionary settlement did not apply. They were therefore able to pursue their activities there undisturbed. They remained working together in a remarkable partnership unbroken until their deaths.

The achievements of the Serampore trio, as they are usually known, especially of their effective leader Carey, were many and varied. But they are now chiefly remembered for what concerns us here, their pioneering efforts in the translation of the Bible into the languages of India. Without any formal training, Carey was a marvellous natural linguist, and to these gifts he brought a profound conviction that the most effective way of spreading Christianity would be to provide versions of its Scriptures that could be understood by everyone in their own language. Even as a young man in England he formed the habit of beginning each day by reading a chapter of the Bible in English, then in each of the languages, including Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Dutch, and French, which he had taught himself.

India, of course, provided an immense challange, with its extraordinary linguistic diversity, but Carey accepted the challenge, and answered it with efforts conducted on an appropriately large scale. Beginning with the publication of his Bengali New Testament in 1801, followed by versions of the Bible in Sanskrit and Hindi, complete or partial translations of the Bible into some forty Indian languages had been produced from Serampore thirty years later. In some cases the task of Bible translation had led Carey to the production of dictionaries and grammars of the languages as well. Nor was this all, for he was also responsible for the Serampore press, the first modern printing press in India. Since the Serampore publications are printed from movable type, not lithographed, this involved arranging for special type faces to be cut, often for the first time, as well as the setting up of a small paper mill to provide appropriate paper.

When it is remembered that Carey was also Professor of oriental languages at the Government College of Fort William, as well as an enthusiastic gardener and botanist who founded the Agri-Horticultural Society of India, one is astonished to think how he could possibly have time to undertake so many Bible translations. The answer is, of course, that his role was often purely supervisory, a great deal of the work being done by others. It is unfortunately also true that much of what was produced is of greater interest for its early date and pioneering quality than for any enduring literary appeal.

With this word of caution, let us now turn from an overall view of the work done at Serampore to see how Siraiki enters the story. Carey was always looking for fresh languages to translate into, no matter how distant from Serampore, and naturally kept up a full correspondence with the Society in London to inform them, and the subscribers on whose funds he was dependent, of his progress. In a letter dated December 11, 1813, later printed in a pamphlet in London, he reports:

"About a fortnight ago we obtained a man to assist in the translation of the Scriptures into the Sindh and Wuch languages. The country of Sindh lies on the East bank of the Indus, about 500 miles from the sea, and Wuch then continues along the same shore till it joins the Punjab or country of the Seiks. I believe we have now all the languages in that part except that of Kuch, which I hope will soon be brought within our reach."[1]

The 'Wuch language' is, of course, none other than Siraiki. Nothing seems to be known directly as to the identity of Carey's assistant, or of how he came to make the journey of some 1200 miles to Serampore. It is presumed, from the peculiar name given to the language, that he came from Uch in Bahawalpur, and he must have known Sindhi as well. He was certainly a Hindu, as is shown by the language and script of the version which was eventually produced.

It was said by critics of the Serampore trio's efforts that the quality of their Bible translations accurately reflected the way in which they were produced, where, they said, the Sanskrit or Hindustani versions would be read out, while the various pandits would sit in a circle and

translate these into their own languages. Be that as it may, the work seems to have proceeded with fair speed, for it is reported in the Serampore missionaries' Sixth Memoir on their work of Bible translation, dated March, 1816, that the printing of the 'Mooltanee' version had already begun.

The Sixth Memoir also has a more general interest, since it goes on to give a general conspectus of the languages of India as Carey saw them. As the first real attempt at a proper survey, it is worth quoting at some length:

"We have found, that our ideas relative to the number of languages which spring from the Sungskrit, were far from being accurate. The fact is, that in this point of view, India is to this day almost an unexplored country. That eight or nine languages had sprung from that great philological root, the Sungskrit, we well knew. But we imagined that the Tamul, the Kurnata, the Telinga, the Guzrattee, the Orissa, the Bengalee, the Mahratta, the Punjabee, and the Hindoostanee, comprised nearly all the collateral branches springing from the Sungskrit language; and that all the rest were varieties of the Hindee, and some of them, indeed, little better than jargons scarcely capable of conveying ideas.

"But although we entered on our work with these ideas, we were ultimately constrained to relinquish them. First, one language was found to differ widely from the Hindee in point of termination, then another, and in so great a degree, that the idea of their being dialects of the Hindee seemed scarcely tenable. Yet, while they were found to possess terminations for the nouns and verbs distinct from the Hindee, they were found as complete as the Hindee itself; and we at length perceived, that we might, with as much propriety, term them dialects of the Mahratta or the Bengalee language, as of the Hindee. In fact, we have ascertained, that there are more than twenty languages, composed, it is true, of nearly the same words, and all equally related to the common parent, the Sungskrit, but each possessing a distinct set of terminations, and, therefore, having equal claims to the title of distinct cognate languages. Among these we number the Juypore, the Bruj, the Doduypore, the Bikaneer, the Mooltanee,

the Marawar, the Maguda (or South Bahar), the Sindh, the Mythil, the Wuch, the Kutch, the Harutee, the Koshula, etc., languages, the very names of which have scarcely reached Europe, but which have been recognized as distinct languages, by the natives of India, almost from time immemoria

The Sixth Memoir is now very rare, and I have unfortunately been unab to trace a copy, so the quotation, with its fascinating evidence of a linguistic thinking far in advance of its time, is taken from a later account by Grierson. The non-availability of the original is particularly to be regretted, since Grierson also reports that these general remarks are followed by specimens of thirty-three Indian languages - including 'Wuch' consisting of the conjugated present and past tenses of the verb 'to be', and a version of the Lord's Prayer; the specimens are then taken up and analysed separately, word by word, in order to show that they are not specimens of a dialect, but of an independent language. This must be both the first printed example of Siraiki, and the first published attempt at its grammatical description.[2]

The effectiveness of the appeal of the Serampore translation memoirs was confirmed most strikingly when, after reading the Sixth Memoir, a Mr. William Hey, a surgeon of Leeds, was so moved as to offer £500 for the publication of a thousand copies of every approved first translation of the New Testament into any language or dialect of India. It was almost certainly as a result of this generous offer that the New Testament was published in Siraiki, as the language's first printed book, in 1819.[3] Although 1000 copies seem to have been printed, the book is now rare. It is beautifully produced, and a fine early example of the craft of printing in India. It is therefore unfortunate that such a labour of love should have been of so little practical use, principally because of the use of the local Hindu Lande or Karikki script. The later remarks of the Rev. Trevor Bomford, a missionary to Multan, who was one of the few to take more than a cursory interest in the Serampore translation, ring all too true:

"After some deliberation they adopted the Banya characters (and in those days, probably, more persons could read these than any other characters), and they had special type prepared for the purpose; but in

the get up of the book they made some mistakes, for it is bound as an English book with an English Title Page, and the characters are printed very much smaller in size than they are generally written. The result is that if it is shown to a Hindu, and he is asked whether he can read it, he promptly replies 'No, I can't read English.' If he is asked to look more closely at it, he fails to recognise the characters, owing to their small size, as those that he is in the daily habit of writing. Only once or twice have I succeeded in getting a man to recognise the language as his own, and to read me parts of the book."

Bomford goes on to discuss the quality of the translation, where he seems on less sure ground:

"As for the translation it may be pronounced on the whole good, especially the gospels of Saints Mark, Luke, and John, and the Acts of the Apostles. St.Matthew's gospel, on the other hand, is very poor and was almost certainly the work of a different man. The Epistles, too, are not satisfactory, as there are many words and expressions in them for which no equivalent could be found in Multani, and the translator has accordingly contented himself with copying down in the Multani characters the words of the translation before him."[4]

The inferior quality of the St.Matthew version is perhaps due rather to its being the first book to be translated, so it is not necessary to assume the employment of a second translator (of whom there does not appear to be any record). Nor does Bomford's favourable judgement on the standard of the other Gospel versions seem to be warranted by the evidence. The discussion of this point is developed here in Chapter 6, where a specimen of the original is quoted, so that the reader may be helped for form his own opinion. It ought in fairness to be said that Carey was himself conscious of the nature of many of the Serampore translations as humble first attempts, which might at best ease the way to the production of more natural and idiomatic versions when, as he so profoundly hoped and believed, the Christian message spread among the educated classes of the country.

At all events, it was very soon recognized in Serampore that the time was hardly ripe for them to sponsor further work in a language whose speakers dwelt in then virtually unknown lands so far away to the west

from their centre of operations. In the Seventh Memoir of the Serampore Mission, dated December 1, 1820, to which is added what is probably the first linguistic map of the sub-continent, with 'Mooltanee or Wuch' squeezed into the middle Indus Valley (and 'Bikaneera' extending far over the Sutlej and almost including Bahawalpur), they report:

"In the Wuch, or Mooltanee language, the New Testament has been printed off, these eighteen months, in its own character. But, as the opportunities of the Brethren for distributing this version have been exceedingly limited, and they have little prospect of being able soon to establish a Mission in that province, they have dismissed the pundit, and discontinued this Translation, till these circumstances, with those of a pecuniary nature, shall be more favourable."[5]

So ended, after some seven years, the efforts of the brave pioneers of Serampore.

In early 19th century

CHAPTER 2

NO X. Y. Z.'s THEY

Hardly more than two decades were to pass, however, before the rapid westward advance of imperial expansion brought nearly all the Siraiki-speaking lands under direct British authority, as a consequence of the quick succession of wars which resulted in the conquest first of the regime of the Talpur Mirs in Sind, then of the Sikh kingdom of the Punjab founded by Ranjit Singh. It was as a natural result of this rapid imposition of British rule in the 1840's that a series of more substantial studies of the language began to be produced.

The first Englishman to learn the language properly was the extraordinary Richard Francis Burton (1821-1890), something of a legendary figure even today. Later knighted, and reputed to be the master of some thirty-five languages, he is now chiefly remembered as a traveller and explorer, especially of Arabia and Africa, and as the translator of the Arabian Nights, in the copious notes to which he was able to show off to the full his enormously detailed knowledge of eastern customs, particularly of erotic matters: indeed, his most widely read books are probably his annotated English translations of such classic erotic manuals as The Perfumed Garden.

All this was to come later, though, and he began his professional career as a junior officer in the Indian Army. He came out to Bombay in 1842, and immediately pursued an intensive private programme of language study, partly no doubt as an antidote to the boredom of cantonment life. He was throughout his life a most notoriously rude man, and boasts of how he became so bored with his fellow-officers that he told them he would henceforth eat with monkeys; so he did, and even went to the lengths of making up a dictionary of monkey language as a further mockery. But his immense linguistic gifts, the one quality which he shared with Carey, brought Burton to the favourable notice of his superiors, and he was attached as an Assistant to the Survey of Sind instituted by the General responsible for the conquest of the province in 1843, Sir Charles Napier (1782-1853).

Burton's talents as a linguist and as a master of disguise soon caused him to be employed as a spy in the Intelligence Service set up by Napier. It was as an undercover agent that he seems to have picked up Siraiki. Something of the circumstances in which he did so can be gleaned from the romanticized account in the biography published by his widow after his death:

"He was sent out amongst the wild tribes of the hills and plains to collect information for Sir Charles. He did not go as a British officer or Commissioner, because he knew he would see nothing but what the natives chose him to see. He let down a curtain between himself and Civilization, and a tattered, dirty-looking dervish would wander on foot, lodge in mosques, where he was venerated as a saintly man, mix with the strangest company, join the Beloch and the Brahui tribes (Indo-Scythians), about whom there was nothing then known. Sometimes he appeared in the towns, as a merchant he opened a shop, sold stuffs or sweetmeats in the bazar. Sometimes he worked with the men in native dress, 'Jats' and Camel men, at levelling canals."[1]

Even more bizarre duties fell his way, none more so than when, as the only Sindhi-speaking British officer at his disposal, Napier instructed him to prepare a secret report on the homosexual brothels of Karachi, with which he feared British officers might be involved. With his usual intrepidity Burton disguised himself as one 'Mirza Abdullah' and succeeded in obtaining the desired information, but with his usual tactlessness forwarded the most frank and detailed report, whose tone shocked and disgusted his official superiors in Government in Bombay, so much so that prospects for advancement in his career were thereafter permanently blighted.

He was soon to feel the consequences of this official disapproval. After the murder in 1848 of the British envoys Agnew and Anderson by the last Diwan of Multan, Mulraj, preparations were set in hand to send an army from Sind against Multan. It seemed obvious to Burton that he was the man to be sent as interpreter with this force, since he was the only man who had any knowledge of the language of the area where the campaign was to be fought (not to speak of his fluency in Urdu, Gujarati, Marathi, Sindhi, Punjabi, Pushtu, and Telugu, besides Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Armenian!). But his application was rejected outright. His reaction

to this rebuff is recorded in his own words, with a characteristically bitter comment:

"I applied in almost suppliant terms to accompany the force as interpreter. I had passed examinations in six native languages, besides studying others, Multani included, and yet General Auchmuty's secretary wrote to me that this could not be, as he had chosen for the post Lieutenant X.Y.Z., who had passed in Hindustani. This last misfortune broke my heart... The dwarfish demon called 'interest' had fought against me, and as usual had won the fight. My career in India had been a failure, and by no fault of my own."[2]

And so, sick and disappointed, he left India for home. He did, however, leave behind a valuable record of his linguistic research, in the form of an article published in January, 1849, in the Journal of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, called 'A Grammar of the Jataki or Belochki Dialect': this is the first published attempt at a full grammar of Siraiki.

The main text of the article is quite clearly set out, being divided into three chapters, dealing with the grammatical forms of nouns, pronouns, and verbs, further subdivided into sections, with an appendix listing adverbs, etc., in alphabetical order; only the syntax is purposely left aside. The chief interest of Burton's account lies in its testimony to his keen powers of observation of the language actually spoken around him in Sind. So he carefully lists sets of synonymous forms, e.g. 'putra' and 'puttar' besides 'putr' for 'a son', 'karanu' and 'karaná' besides 'karan' for 'to do', and for 'from me' no less than seven forms: 'menthe, mainthon, mainthín, medethon, medekolon, mendekolon, mujhkanon'. It is equally typical of Burton that he should offset this full listing of alternatives, still unmatched as a description of the Siraiki of Sind, by dismissing them as evidence of a 'useless luxuriance of speech'.

The seven-page preface to the grammar is a characteristic if early example of Burton's usual style, in which valuable observations, especially on ethnological matters, stand side by side with crude or unsupported statements, all expressed in the same dogmatic and arrogant fashion, which must have been such a tiral to his colleagues and superiors. Take, for instance, his general description of the language:

"The corrupted dialect of Panjabi [!] used in Sindh, is known to the people by three names - 1. Siraiki, 2. Belochki, 3. Jataki.

"It is called Siraiki from Siro (upper Sindh), where it is commonly spoken by the people. As many of the Beloch clans settled in the plains use this dialect, the Sindhis designate it by the name of Belochki. It is a curious fact that although the Beloch race invariably asserts Halab (Aleppo) to have been the place of its origin, yet the only two languages in use, present not a single Arabic phrase or idiom. The tongue spoken by these hill-people, is an old and obsolete dialect of Persian, mixed up with a few words of barbarous origin [!]. The Belochis of the plains generally use the corrupt dialect of Panjabi called after their name, particularly the Nizamanai and Lashari clans. The Donuki, Magasi, Bhurplat and Kalphar tribes usually speak the hill-language, and the Rind, Talpur, Mari (Murree), Chandiya, Jemali and Laghari clans use both.

"The name Jataki as applied to this dialect, is of Panjabi origin [?], and refers to the Jats, the aboriginal inhabitants of the country....."[3]

Burton then goes on to give an account of the different kinds of Jats, whom he considered to be the original Gypsies, an unfounded speculation which seems to have been one of the main causes of his interest in the language,[4] then briefly discusses the Siraiki texts, including 'Saifal', which he dismisses in contemptuous terms. It is unfortunate, though, that he decided to abandon his original intention of including specimens of the language with translations.

Burton's article nevertheless still has interest and value, for the reasons already given, and not least because his was the last account of the language to be compiled in the British period from Sind, the province which, if not the homeland of Siraiki, did give it the name by which it is now known.

With the success of the Multan campaign and the final overthrow of the Sikh kingdom in 1849, direct British rule was extended to the heartlands of the Siraiki-speaking area. The princely state of Bahawalpur alone retained its autonomy, and for this reason lies outside the present story.

A direct consequence of this imperial expansion was that the British officials posted to the area naturally found that they had to become

acquainted with its conditions, including the language of its inhabitants. Since few of them can have possessed the extraordinary linguistic skills of a Burton, it is not to be wondered at that several decades passed before sufficient knowledge had been gathered for it to be published. But one document from this early period has survived, which casts the most interesting light on the way in which this knowledge was first accumulated.

This is a book of manuscript notes, now preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, which was made by Lieutenant Andrew Alcorn Munro, and is dated Dera Ghazi Khan, March 1856.[5] Munro, like many army officers, had been seconded to administrative duties, as Assistant Commissioner in the previous year. Much of the manuscript is taken up with notes on financial and judicial matters of the kind he must have needed to equip him for his new duties. There are also copious notes on local conditions, e.g. on the local tribes and their chiefs, on the fairs held in honour of Pir Adil, and so forth: these are of the kind later published in such great detail in the District Gazetteers. The spirit in which this work was carried out in what must have seemed a very remote, often a very lonely post is well conveyed by the final entry in the manuscript, which is a quotation from Burton's chief, Napier of Sind:

"I would willingly return to my own village of Celbridge (Ireland) where I spent my childhood, but all I cared for are gone. What would Celbridge be now to me? - a wilderness - The Liffey with all its romantic scenery is still beautiful, but my family are there no longer, and strange faces ill accord with the haunts and recollections of boyhood - To a soldier, his home is where his comrades are."

Apart from this human touch, the main interest of the book lies in its first portion, consisting of 26 pages, which contains a 'Vocabulary of Cutcherry Technicalities, and words peculiar to the Dera Ghazee Khan District'. This list naturally includes many Arabic and Persian revenue terms, but others - marked 'local' with varying accuracy - are often given with very full annotations, as under letter T:

"Tick. Literally a portion of a nose-ring. - one having been lost by the lady of a former ruler, a tax was levied on the people thus:

Suppose the harvest of a village to be 200 maunds, the Government share 1/4 or 50 maunds, on this amount Rs. 4 per "put" (32 maunds) is levied, viz. Rs. 7/8. If the Government demand be 1/5 then Rs. 5 per put are levied and so on (local).

Tirnee or trinnee (local). Grazing tax at Dera Ghazee Khan collected on camels at Rs. 1 per head, those under 2 years of age excepted - Counting of heads is annual - Amount collected is paid into Government treasury. Head men of villages receive no percentage on collection which is made direct by tehseel officials. Item shewn distinctly in accounts and not amalgamated with the land revenue. Note: - in Mittenkote trinnee is annually put to auction and sold to the highest bidder, who receives the 'theka'."

Even though the definitions are seldom quite as detailed, a considerable number of interesting local words are recorded and defined in this vocabulary. Munro's spelling is unfortunately of the rough and ready Anglo-Indian type, so that it is not always possible to deduce the proper pronunciation. But he does seem to have collected many words which do not appear even in the standard Dictionary compiled by Dr.Jukes later in the century, also in Dera Ghazi Khan. Take, for instance, some of the local terms listed under letter P:

"Puberi. Sowing broad-cast; also called chitāo or chintāb.
Pachar. Low land.
Pachdo. Division of grain, 2/5 to Zemindar, 3/5 to Asami.
Pachkur. Ditto, 1/5 to Zemindar, 4/5 to Asami.
Pubees. Non-resident cultivators who hold land on favourable terms. and possess every benefit of a Biswadar though paying lower rates.
Pāder. The village common.
Pahābundi. Opposite of gatabundi or Khelbat.
Pahi-kasht. A cultivator who lives in one village and cultivates in another.
Palipar. Land tilled three years ago and left fallow for a season.
Palo. The circle of land farthest from the homestead.
Pāndhar. Irrigated land.

Panja. Land that cannot easily be irrigated.

Pans. Manure (called Khād in Dera Ghazee Khan and Mittenkote).

Pareh. Flooding fields before the last ploughing, when there is want of moisture.

Parsa. A portion of grain set aside to appease evil spirits, eventually given to the Gorait or watchman.

Parsatto. Mutual assistance in tillage: allowing the use of plough and oxen, in lieu of wages in money or kind: also Dangwara, Jitera and Angwara."

Many of these words are, indeed, also omitted from the 'Glossary of peculiar agricultural and other terms in use in the Dera Ghazi Khan District', a list of about 120 words included as an appendix by F.W.R. Fryer to his Dera Ghazi Khan Settlement Report, published in 1876.

Fryer does not otherwise comment on the local language, but some of his colleagues, engaged on similar official compilations at the time, showed a greater interest. E.B.Steedman, for instance, Settlement Officer for Jhang 1874-1880, makes the following remarks in his Settlement Report of the Jhang District:

"There are several dialects in the district. West of the Jhelam a dialect resembling that of residents of the Thal is used. South of Shorkot a patois resembling that of Multan is spoken. The Chiniot zemindars from the north of the tahsil have quite a different accent from those further south. The patois of the Bar is the most uncouth of all. I have had but little experience of it."[6]

He then goes on to speak of the collections of local proverbs and songs he had made, and which are included in his Report as appendices: these are briefly discussed here in Chapter 5.

The process of fixing the revenue settlement did, however, lead to more than scattered observations in one instance. This was in Muzaffargarh District, where the Assistant Commissioner and Settlement Officer from 1873 to 1880 was Edward O'Brien, who was then promoted Deputy Commissioner, before being transferred to Multan in 1882. His Settlement Report of the Muzaffargarh District goes into much greater detail about the local language than Steedman. It is worth quoting the first paragraph in full:

"The language is the same as that spoken in Mooltan, Bahawalpur, Dera Ghazi Khan, and the south of Dera Ismail Khan and Jhang. It is called by the people Hindi and Hindiki, and in the Biluchi-speaking part of Dera Ghazi Khan, is known as Jagdalli from Jagdal, a Jat. It has been named Mooltani by Europeans, but no native knows it by this name. It resembles Punjabi and Sindhi, and differs from both in many particulars. The case-endings agree partly with Sindhi and partly with Punjabi; while some are peculiar to Mooltani. It resembles Sindhi, Pashtu and Persian by using an intricate system of pronominal suffixes from which the sister dialects of India are happily free. The inflections of the verb are peculiar to Mooltani, and differ both from Sindhi and Punjabi. Mooltani excels the Indian dialects, and resembles Sindhi in having a passive voice instead of being reduced to the clumsy compound with jáná to go. Maríndán, I am being beaten, is much handier than the Hindustanee, máin márá játá hún. Mooltani is a pure Sanskritical language. It contains many Sindhi and Punjabi words, and has a copious vocabulary of its own. It has an abundance of grammatical forms which show that it is in an inferior state of development. Like all languages spoken by a rude people Mooltani is extremely rich in concrete, and absolutely without abstract words."[7]

The last sentence perhaps tells one more about O'Brien than about Siraiki. Like so many British officials who served in the Punjab, his sympathies lay with the peasants and people of the countryside rather than with the educated classes of the towns and cities, and it was therefore entirely natural that it should have been the 'concrete' features of the language which made the chief impression on his mind.

His main work, the Glossary of the Multani Language, published in 1881, and the first book in English on Siraiki, is anyway an ample vindication of his position, which was, after all, that of a colonial administrator, not of a professional philologist or literary critic. The Glossary has a short preface, beginning with a few ill-organized grammatical notes, which add little to the remarks already quoted. O'Brien obviously warms to his subject, though, when he resumes the discussion of the concrete vocabulary of his 'rude people':

"Like all languages spoken by a rude people, Multani is extremely rich in concrete words and similarly poor in abstract words. Every agricultural operation has a vocabulary of its own. I have given twenty-

six words connected with the date-palm, and since they were written I have learnt as many more. The most numerous words belonging to any one subject are connected with cattle. The generic name cow or buffalo is rejected, and there are special names for an animal in every stage of fecundity, barrenness, age, colour and temper. Most of these words convey no idea of their meaning. 'Four-year-old', 'three-year-old', require no explanation; and we can guess at the meaning of 'roḍi' (hornless) or 'pahiláyat' (a cow with its first calf), because we know that 'roḍá' means 'bald' and 'pahila' means 'first'; but 'phandaṛ', meaning a cow that has ceased to give milk, or 'ges' (a female goat from the time it leaves off sucking till it is fit to bear young) require, so to say, a personal acquaintance to enable one to understand their meaning. There are separate names for cowdung in each stage of freshness. One would think that a single name would suffice for things so alike as the stalks of bájhra and jawár. Multani, however, requires 'ṭáṇḍá' for a jawár stalk and 'kángṛí' for a bájhra stalk. 'Parálí' is the stalk of rice and chína, while wheat monopolises 'nár'."[8]

So, while the Glossary is fairly limited in size, containing only about 1800 entries, it comes as no surprise to find that many of the entries are rich in detail. The words are arranged in order of the Arabic script (there is no attempt at writing the special Siraiki letters), and words from the related languages are somewhat haphazardly cited where possible, but it is in the very full illustration of many words as used in verses and proverbs that O'Brien's real enthusiasm clearly lay. The recording of the many idiomatic usages is also a valuable feature of the work. All these qualities may be seen in the following three successive entries:

میلا MÉLÁ, s.m. - A collection of people at a shrine or a fair. From 'melan', to bring together. 'MÉLÁ' has a special meaning, viz., a deputation to persuade a Government official or an obstinate creditor.

میلن MÉLAN, v.a. - To unite, bring together, cause to meet. Present participle: MILÉNDÁ; Future: MILÉSÁÑ; Past participle: MÉLIÁ and MÉLÁ.

وہیں واہ رنگ لایا کھوہاں
اللہ ملیسی انہاں سکدیاں روحاں

'Vahin váh, rang láyá khúháṅ;
'Allah milésí inháṅ sikdiáṅ ruháṅ.' =
'The canals are flowing; the wells have shown their beauty.
'God will unite these longing souls.' - Song.

'Háṛh méḷá té Háṛh vichhóṛá' = 'Haṛh united and Haṛh parted us.' - Proverbial saying referring to the custom of engaging farm-servants and locating tenants from the beginning of the month Haṛh (June-July).

مینڈھی MÉNḌHÍ, s.f. - A braid in a woman's hair. The hair of unmarried girls is braided in three plaits, from the parting in the centre of the head down each side of the forehead to the ear. Seven days before marriage a party of the bride-groom's relations to go the house of the bride, when her plaits are solemnly undone by the oldest woman present. Hence 'ménḍhiáṅ khólan' means to marry a virgin.

'Zulikhá mang Yúsaf dí áhí, Aziz kiúṅ ménḍhí khólí?' =
'Zulikhá was the betrothed of Yúsaf; why did Aziz loosen the braids of her hair' (i.e., marry her)? - Song.

And 'MÉNḌHIÁṄWÁLÍ' means a virgin.
'Ménḍhiáṅwálí kúṅ ménḍhiáṅ dá máné.
'Assáṅ pardésí, sáḍá Allah dá náṅé.' =
'The virgin has the glory of her braids.
'We are strangers. We have only the name of Allah.' - Song.

Unbraided hair is 'dhaṛí'.

'Ménḍhiáṅwálí kanak' is a beardless wheat the grain of which is tightly packed in the ear in a way not unlike the braids of a woman's hair - hence the name 'braided wheat'." 9

While its incomplete coverage make the first edition of O'Brien's Glossary of limited value as a dictionary, it is, then, a fascinating compilation of folk-lore and folk-song. Like all such compilations it bears the strong stamp of its author, but, as he himself acknowledged, it

could never have been completed but for local assistance, and the names of his helpers, Maulvi Abdul Rahman of Muzaffargarh, and his Extra Assistant Settlement Officer, Kazi Ghulam Murtaza, originally of Ahmadpur in Jhang District, deserve to be remembered also.

An equally fruitful collaboration was that between James Wilson (later knighted), who served in the Shahpur District, and Pandit Hari Kishen Kaul. Together they compiled a Grammar and Dictionary of Western Panjabi, published in 1899.[10] This deals with the language spoken in the Shahpur (now Sargodha) District, principally the mixed dialect which hardly forms part of our present subject. There is also, however, a brief description for the first time of the different language of the extreme west of the District, called 'Thali' by Wilson, at the north of the Siraiki-speaking area.

Wilson also undertook a revision of O'Brien's Glossary, which he entirely recast and produced in a second edition in 1903, after O'Brien's death.[11] It is this second edition which is the better known today, and in most respects is an improvement over the original. It is laid out in the same format as Wilson's Shahpuri Grammar and Dictionary, beginning with a new 57-page grammar, which far surpasses preceding attempts in both clarity and comprehensiveness. The principal defect lies in the somewhat clumsy method of writing the vowels in the Roman script, and the failure to mark the special Siraiki consonants by appropriate signs. This is followed by lists of words arranged under different subjects. Then comes a large collection of proverbs, sayings, and verses, with English translations, which seems to be expanded from the number included in the first edition of the Glossary. Finally there is a useful dictionary, arranged in order of the Roman script, of over 5000 words.

This is really the last original contribution to the description of the language made by British officials.[12] But it is appropriate to mention here one other work, more fully discussed in Chapter 5. This is the collection of Multani Stories, published in 1917, with texts in Roman script and translations by Frank Worthington Skemp, Assistant Commissioner in Muzaffargarh from 1909 to 1914. Skemp's Introductory Note acknowledges the assistance he had received from many associates. On the one hand, these acknowledgements show how few the connecting links between Siraiki and

 Maulvi

its British scholars were; most of the stories were dictated by O'Brien's collaborator, here described as 'Kazi Abdur Rahman of Qureshi, Tahsil Muzaffargarh', while Wilson's co-worker, Pandit Hari Kishen Kaul, was again instrumental in revising the text.

Skemp's other chief acknowledgment shows the bizarrely circular quality of so much real history. This is to H. St. John Philby (1885-1960), who, after an early career in India, went on, like Burton, to gain fame as an explorer of Arabia: he was at one time a close associate of King Ibn Saud, founder of the Saudi kingdom, and became a Muslim in 1930. Nor does the parallel with Burton's activities, described at the beginning of this chapter, and there, for his son Kim Philby was to become notorious for using his position as a senior British intelligence officer to act as a double agent who was one of the most successful spies working for the Russians in the West during and after the Second World War.

CHAPTER 3

THIS GREAT WORK

Let us now go back a little in time, turning aside from our consideration of the work achieved by young officials in the enthusiasm of their first important posting, to look at the parallel studies which were being pursued in the later years of the nineteenth century in the different world of the missions.

The ban on missionary settlement which faced Carey on his arrival in India had, of course, long since been lifted. Missionaries had quickly become an integral part of the British presence in the sub-continent. As a natural consequence both of their own long-term aims of evangelization, and of the disparities between the worlds of nineteenth century Europe and India, they soon came to assume a particularly important place in the fields of medicine and of education. The work of two missionaries, each representing one of these fields, is considered in this chapter.

The first, and better known, is Dr. Andrew Jukes (1847-1931), born in Canada, but educated and trained as a doctor in Britain. In 1878 he was adopted as a medical missionary by one of the principal missionary organizations of the Church of England, the Church Missionary Society or C.M.S. He was attached to Society's Punjab and Sindh Mission, which covered virtually all present-day Pakistan, and was sent to the Beluch Mission at Dera Ghazi Khan. There he spent the greater part of his working life, remaining in his post for nearly thirty years, until 1906, with only three brief periods of furlough in England.

The other is his slightly younger contemporary, the Rev. Trevor Bomford (1849-1929), who was ordained a priest in 1874 and wished to become a missionary, but was forced to spend some years in England because of ill-health. At last his wish was granted, when he was accepted as a missionary

by the C.M.S. in 1881 and sent to its Mission at Multan. He remained in the city, concerned both with his duties as a missionary priest and with setting up and running schools, until 1896, when his poor health forced him to ask to be transferred to a less demanding climate: he later worked in Abbottabad and Peshawar, before his retirement.

The different conditions under which the missionaries worked thus allowed both men, especially Jukes, to spend far longer in a single place than the officials, who were always liable for transfer, often to far-off Districts in the east of the province. Both men made use of the opportunities which this lengthy residence provided for acquiring a good knowledge of the local language.

In Jukes's case, at least, this task was specifically directed to a great end, which he set himself soon after his arrival in Dera Ghazi Khan. This was nothing less than the translation of the entire Bible into the local language. As the Serampore experiment had shown, such an enterpris had no hope of successful completion without the closest co-operation between missionary and native speaker. Here Jukes was fortunate in obtaining the services of Muhammad Hasan son of Sher Muhammad, of Dera Ghazi Khan, whose help was to prove indispensable to him, as he frequentl acknowledges.

The first full statement of his plans is to be found in a letter addressed to the British and Foreign Bible Society, founded in 1804 to foster the translation of the Bible into other languages. In a letter dated October 23, 1887, written to the Society while he was on leave in England, Jukes gives a brief description of the language, then of the translation work he has been doing:

"The language into which I have been translating is variously called Jatki or Jagdalli by the people themselves, Multani or Derawal by their neighbours because it is spoken in the Multan and Derajat districts, and it is also spoken throughout the Muzaffargarh District and the state of Bahawalpur South of the Sutlej and East of the Indus - and also by the Khetrans, a tribe to the west of the first Suleiman Range of Mountains, who have recently, at their own urgent and repeated request, been taken under British protection.

"The language is spoken by 2,500,000 people and has not hitherto been written with the exception of a few scattered pamphlets containing songs, some printed in Dera Ghazi Khan, some at Multan; but the presses from which they issued no longer exist. The language is allied to Punjabi and Sindhi, but is different from both, so much so that Mr.Perkins the late Commissioner of the Punjab and now an honorary missionary of the C.M.S., a good Oriental scholar, was a year or more in the district of Multan before he could understand the people.

"I have been engaged in Translation work since 1883, having had the assistance of a Munshi the greater part of this time and have translated St. Mark's and St. John's Gospels, the Epistle to the Galatians and 100 Psalms, and a part of the Acts of the Apostles. Of these St. Mark's Gospel only is ready for the press, but I have not succeeded in finding any press who can lithograph it, so that with the consent of the Punjab Auxiliary [Bible Society of Lahore] I sent my Munshi to learn writing for the Press, when I left India, so that I hope this difficulty may be removed. My translation of St. Mark was revised by Mr. O'Brien the Deputy Commissioner of Multan, an agnostic, but he considered it to be so good that he wished for ten copies as soon as it was published, and it was also revised by Colonel Millett, a Police Officer in the Multan District, who has himself translated the Epistles of John and a portion of the Psalms."[1]

He goes on to say that he is anxious to spend his leave equipping himself for further translation work by improving his knowledge of Hebrew and Greek, the languages in which the Bible was originally written, and he asks for money to help buy the necessary books; a grant of £7 was sanctioned by the Society. The following year, 1888, saw the appearance of the first fruit of Jukes's labours, with the publication of his translation of St. Mark's Gospel into 'Derawal', of which a specimen is given in Chapter 6.

Jukes and Bomford were naturally in regular if intermittent contact over the years, as may be confirmed from their letters sent to the headquarters of the C.M.S. in London (though most of these, while shedding an interesting light on the often difficult conditions under which they laboured, chronically short of resources, are irrelevant to our present

theme). It would appear that they at some time agreed on a sensible division of labour, by which Jukes would work on his Bible translations and a dictionary of Siraiki, while Bomford concentrated on the grammar of the language.

Bomford was the first into print, with a long article published in 1895 called 'Rough notes on the Grammar of the Language spoken in the Western Panjab'. These were based on Burton's article, O'Brien's Glossary, and manuscript notes given him by O'Brien on the grammar of the language in 1885, as well as the Serampore New Testament and Jukes' Bible translations. The article is fairly comprehensive in its treatment of the grammar of the language, for the name of which rejects 'Multani' and 'Ucci' as too local, and 'Jatki', because there are so many Jats who do not speak it, preferring the awkward 'Western Panjabi'. Although the article contains some interesting corrections of earlier writers, especially in regard to the pronominal suffixes, which Bomford is able to show are used only with verbs, and to the organic passive, which he correctly describes as being more restricted in use than had previously been supposed. It must be said, however, that the article is laid out in the most confusing fashion, with many repetitions, and is further obscured by the addition of extra observations in a supplement at the end: these are, indeed, 'Rough notes' It may also be observed that, while Bomford obviously knew the language well, he had a rather cavalier attitude to its finer points, as in his observations on the use of the Persian script to write it:

"The objection to this is that there are not enough letters in the Persian alphabet to express all the letters of Western Panjabi. This difficulty may be met (as with Sindhi) by introducing a number of additional marks to distinguish one letter from another, but these would only be useful to those specially instructed in their use. It is simpler to use the well-known letters and to leave it to these who know the language to make the necessary modifications in pronunciation. One may add that the number of those who can read or write their character is exceedingly small and all who can do so know also Urdu, and if they want to write anything, write it in that language."[2]

Bomford was, in fact, rather scathing about the possibilities of Siraiki. In a letter to C.M.S. headquarters in 1895 he is at pains to justify his own stand in favour of keeping Urdu as the language of church services, which had been challenged by the enthusiastic General Millett, who advocated services in 'the local dialect'; he does however profess himself willing to conduct services in Multani when there are Christians who know that language alone. This is not to say that he was unaware of the value of knowing the language to missionaries in carrying out their general duties. In a letter of 1896 he reports that he had examined a Dr.J.O.Summerhayes, who served as a medical missionary in Dera Ghazi Khan from 1893 to 1901, in 'Jatki', and that, in spite of the lack of text-books to help the candidate, had passed him with good marks. This must be the first recorded instance of a formal examination in Siraiki.

After 1896 Bomford left Multan for good. While he did manage to expand his treatment of the pronominal suffixes into another grammatical article in 1897,[3] his connexion with the language seems thereafter to have been abandoned. Jukes continued to hope for a more substantial treatment of the language from Bomford, but this was never produced.

Jukes, meanwhile, had continued to work with the most dedicated industry, both at his translations of the books of the Bible, and at the parallel task of a full bilingual dictionary. At last, when on leave in London in 1895, he was ready to present the manuscript draft of the dictionary to the C.M.S. In a long and interesting letter, dated March 25, 1895, he asks the Society for financial assistance in helping to complete it by paying for his Munshi, Muhammad Hasan, to come over from India to London. The letter begins by describing the language and the area in which it is spoken, then goes on to explain how the dictionary was written, and deserves to be quoted in full:

"Dear Mr. Ireland Jones,

"Herewith is my Dictionary of Western Punjabi. Missions have been established in Districts where this language is spoken for 30 or 40 years, viz. - Multan and Peshawar, for the language of this District, used by those who are not Pathans, called locally Peshawari, is a dialect of Western Punjabi, as Multani is. But hitherto there has been no Dictionary

of the Language, Mr.O'Brien's very limited Glossary being the only help I have had from printed works in that part of the Language which is peculiar to Western Punjabi. This dearth of books may account in some measure for the little success of the Missions in these parts. Where Pushtu has been spoken it has been studied as books were available, but that portion of the population unfamiliar with Pushtu have been largely neglected as their language was unknown.

"I enclose a Map of the Western Punjabi [now lost] showing the Districts in which Western Punjabi is spoken. The blue or Southern portion is where it is almost exclusively spoken by the villagers; where it is parti-coloured, two languages are spoken; this is certainly the case in Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, Shahpur, Jhelum, and Montgomery. I am not sure about Hazara and Rawulpindi, but I know Western Punjabi is spoken in these Districts; I am uncertain about what other Dialects may be spoken there, but even in Kashmir, Western Punjabi is understood where Urdu or Hindustani are not. The area over which it is spoken is over 60,000 square miles, about half the area of the United Kingdom, and the population of these Districts, reckoning only half the population of Jhang and Rawulpindi, is about 5,000,000.

"In the Punjabi-English part I have underlined with red the words peculiar to Western Punjabi or if used elsewhere probably derived from it, and have verified many giving reference to such papers in the language as I have been able to find. All words with an English equivalent are also put in the English-Punjabi part, those without equivalent are explained. I propose if the Dictionary is published to omit such words from the Punjabi-English part as are common to it and Urdu, as they may be found in existing Dictionaries; but words having different meanings or shades of meaning peculiar to Western Punjabi will be retained, though the words themselves may be common to both - e.g. 'Kasbi' in Urdu is a 'harlot', in Western Punjabi it means an 'artificer', 'handicraftsman'.

"In the English-Punjabi part I propose to give all the Western Punjabi equivalents to English words that I know of, as I have taken up this great work so that the Scriptures may be translated, and for this part of the work, I have taken Young's Analytical Concordance [a word-

index of the Bible] as my standard, giving all the meanings of each word, if I have been able to find them, but trying not to omit any important word found in Webster [a standard English dictionary], if in common use, but Young has been my standard, all words collected before I began to revise it will of course find a place, but I have only been able to complete it as far as half through the letter R.

"Our Deputy Commissioner Mr.Dames, who has himself written a Dictionary of Beluchi, and is a great Philologist, kindly examined my work and you will find his criticisms at the beginning of the English-Punjabi part. Dr. H. Martyn Clark who has also examined it has also criticized it and his criticisms can be found at the beginning of the Punjabi-English portion.

"It will take five or six months to complete the English-Punjabi portion, and both parts will have to be rewritten. I should much like to put the work through the press before I return to India, to do this it would be necessary to bring over my Munshi from D. Ghazi Khan, He has had eight years training in this work, and I could not pretend to complete without his help. His help would also be necessary to carry it through the press. I now write this asking as a matter of urgency that the expense of bringing over the Munshi be undertaken by the Society or urge the S.P.C.K. to take up the work. I feel that my general Mission work has been much injured by my malady, but I can do this without suffering so much as I have to if travelling much, horse exercise being almost impossible now, and owing to the long distance between the villages, I cannot go far without a horse nor can I walk more than three or four miles. I should like to be permitted to complete this work and so lay a foundation for better work in the future. Mr.Bomford is writing the Grammar of Western Punjabi. I commend the work to your special care, if lost it would involve immense labour and much expense.

Very sincerely yours,

A.Jukes"[4]

Jukes's request was turned down as being too expensive, perhaps understandably. The Society did, nevertheless, heed his instructions to take care of the manuscript, which was returned to Jukes, who, many years

later, in 1930, just before his death, gave the manuscript of the first draft of the Siraiki-English dictionary to the library of the C.M.S., where it is still preserved.[5]

The manuscript is incomplete, the first twenty pages having been removed, so that it begins with the entry for 'uṭhālaṇ', continuing through to 'yaṅūdiṇ' on page 711. Clark's criticisms, to which Jukes refers in his letter, are therefore missing.[6] Differences in content from the later published version are briefly discussed below. Here we need only note a particularly interesting feature of the manuscript, which shows how careful Jukes was to verify the correctness of his entries. Most words have annotations in red against them, indicating the source. Many words are marked as C., meaning that they were verified by Jukes in conversation; but many others have references to printed texts, showing how carefully Jukes used all the possible sources available to him (though we may speculate that, as a missionary of eighty years ago, he can often have had little sympathy with their contents!). Thus 'aṭhāvī' is noted as appearing in Saifal, p.68, line 13, 'ajāyā' in Marsiya-e-Hashimi, p.14, line 18, 'ajaṛ' in Qissa-e-Umar, p.53, line 11, and so forth, throughout the work. A separate list of proverbs, at the end of the manuscript, is discussed in Chapter 5; and there is a nice personal touch at the very end, where a faded sepia photograph of his assistant Muhammad Hasan has been tucked between the final pages.

In 1896, when Jukes had returned to India, he wrote to the C.M.S. again, asking for financial help in the publication of the dictionary, whose cost he estimated at Rs.1250-1500. He has secured a grant of Rs.1000 for the printing of the Siraiki-English part from the Government of India, but hoped for funds which would permit the English-Siraiki part to be printed as well. Again, he was unsuccessful, as was Bomford, who wrote in the same year asking for money to write his projected grammar.

In the next year, 1897, Jukes wrote again, this time in connexion with the translation work he had been doing for the British and Foreign Bible Society, which they advised him not to continue with. He now asked for a grant of Rs.21 per month for his munshi, who had been doing the work for 13 years, so that he could continue with his dictionary and scriptural translations. This time the request was granted.

In 1898 more of his translational work at last saw the light of day, with the publication by the Bible Society of Lahore of his versions of the four Gospels, of St.Matthew, St.Mark, St.Luke, and St.John, each in an edition of 500 copies. The version of St.Mark was revised from that of 1888 (of which 1000 copies had been produced); the nature of the revisions may be seen from the passage given in each version in Chapter 6. A noteworthy feature of the 1898 versions is that they are the first Siraiki texts to be printed in an accurately modified version of the Urdu script, which show the special Siraiki letters, as:

ب ڄ ڈ ڳ ڃ ڑ گ

This exceptional accuracy of production was, of course, only made possible by Muhammad Hasan's having been trained as a katib.

In the same year, in a letter to the C.M.S., Jukes was able to announce that his dictionary was with the press. But he considered that a grammar was equally badly needed, hoping that Bomford would produce his soon, or at least provide grammatical notes to be printed as a preface to the dictionary. He also pointed to the need for readers to enable missionaries newly coming to the area to acquire a knowledge of the language. Later, as shown by a letter of 1899, he planned to prepare such readers with Bomford. Nothing, however, came of any of these plans.

But, at last, in 1900, Jukes's Dictionary of the Jatki or Western Punjabi Language was produced. This is by far the most substantial of the works we have considered in these pages, and contains some 10,000 entries. It is still without rival in the field of Siraiki lexicography, and is still quite indispensable to anyone who wishes to learn the language. Each words is printed in the modified Urdu script, followed by a romanized version which shows the vowels, then by a definition in English.

There are some differences from the manuscript first draft. All references to sources have been omitted, as have all words which Jukes found to be listed in Platts's Urdu Dictionary (unless their meaning in Siraiki was significantly different). On the other hand, he incorporated in the printed version words from the northern dialects which he had received from Wilson: since Wilson's list did not show the distinctive Siraiki letters this often leads to the inclusion of unnecessary doublets.

Jukes also included words marked as 'Multani' in Bhai Maya Singh's Punjabi-English Dictionary of 1895, although these, like many of the words in Maya Singh, are often quite unreal entries. These two additional sets of words, marked 'Sh.' and 'P.D.' respectively by Jukes, are usually less reliable than the great majority of entries, compiled by himself.

Jukes was, nevertheless, keenly aware that far more would eventually need to be done if a really standard dictionary were to be produced. This is readily apparent from his statement of the size of the task, and his appraisal of his own contribution, in these remarks made in his preface:

"The Western Punjabi or Jatki language has many local names applied to it, Multani, Derawal, Jagdalli, Shahpuri, Banuchi, Pashawari, Pothohari, Hazari, Bahawalpuri are all names of dialects of the language, which is spoken by the Jafir Pathans and Khetrans on the West of the Dera Ghazi Khan district to Bahawalpur on the East and from Sindh in the South to the confines of Kashmir in the North, covering an area about the size of Ireland and with a population variously estimated at from three to five millions, the latter is probably near if not under the actual number. There seem to be three well defined dialects.

(1) Southern Punjabi, including Multani, Derawal, Bahawalpuri spoken from Sindh to the Dera Ishmael Khan district [i.e. Siraiki proper].

(2) The Salt Range Dialect, called in Bhai Maya Singh's Dictionary Pothohari spoken in Rawalpindi, Jhelum, Shahpur, Gujrat and Salt Range.

(3) The Hazara Dialect.

"Each district seems to have its own local name for the language, which has dialectical differences of pronunciation, meaning or idiom varying more or less every few miles, or even in different quarters of the same city. This is more or less the case with every unwritten language.....

"The Western Punjabi or Jatki language is quite a different language from that spoken in the Eastern Punjab. Dr. H. Martin Clark, who

corrected the proofs of Bhai Maya Singh's Dictionary, a complete master of the language, found only about two words on a page of this dictionary with which he was familiar, in looking over some of my proofs.

"This work does not pretend to be more than a contribution to a very widely spoken and full language. No one man could hope to complete a dictionary of dialects spread over so wide an area. The compiler has worked entirely in the South of the Punjab and valuable as is Mr.Wilson's glossary, it only shews how very full and large the vocabulary of the language will be when complete, which, while furnishing so many thousands of words in the south of the Punjab, has hardly touched the dialects spoken in the Salt Range and Hazara."[7]

Even so, this great work of Jukes's has yet to be surpassed by anything done in the present century. It is a matter for great regret, too, that his English-Siraiki dictionary, on which he was still working when his preface was written, was never published. Perhaps he never succeeded in completing it, and the manuscript anyway appears to be lost.

It must have caused Jukes even more distress, however, that so few of his translations of books of the Bible, to which in his eyes the dictionaries were a subsidiary task, were able to be published. In 1905 the Bible Society decided that their possible circulation was too small to justify publication, and his manuscripts were sent to London to be preserved in the library at Bible House.[8] There they are still, an awesome if sad monument to the industry of Jukes and Muhammad Hasan. There are twenty-six volumes of manuscripts, containing translations in various stages of revision, mostly written in Muhammad Hasan's neat formal hand, besides a further volume of Siraiki translations of church services, on the desirability of whose introduction Jukes seems to have differed in opinion from Bomford. Two short extracts are given at the end of Chapter 6.

Both by the magnitude of his labours over so many years and by the quality of their results Dr.Jukes is the real hero of our story, whose stature seems all the greater for the absence of successors who might have continued his work.

CHAPTER 4

THE MASTER BUILDER

As a result of the studies carried out in the Siraiki-speaking areas which we have discussed in the preceding chapters, the language had come to be much better understood and described than had been possible in Carey's day. But the many quotations which have been given from the various nineteenth century sources will have plainly shown that their authors were, in spite of their intimate knowledge of the local linguistic situation, hardly capable of formulating any very clear idea of the language's external relationships, other than to point out its differences from Punjabi proper. They were, after all, enthusiastic and dedicated amateurs with a great many other tasks to occupy most of their time.

The first serious philologist to give any degree of close attention to Siraiki was Sir George Grierson (1851-1941), whose interest in it was first aroused by Bomford, who had sent him his 'Rough notes' some months before publication. Grierson's immediate reactions were published in an article entitled 'On Pronominal Suffixes in the Kashmiri Language', which appeared in the same journal as Bomford's description, in 1895.

Grierson begins his article by explaining that he had been struck by the close relationship between Sindhi and Kashmiri (of which he was a distinguished scholar), especially in their common possession of a system of pronominal suffixes. Previously, though, it had seemed necessary to suppose that some influence from Iranian languages must be involved, since Sindhi and Kashmiri were so widely separated geographically. But Bomford's account made it possible to formulate a different and more reasonable hypothesis. Grierson regarded this as an important philological discovery, and he describes his new scheme of relationships at some length, in the following paragraph:

"We have hitherto known a dialect of Panjabi called Multani, which has been well illustrated by the late Mr.O'Brien's Multani Vocabulary. This hitherto has been localized in the South of the Panjab, round Multan,

in the districts bordering on Sindh, and, as it bore many close points of resemblance to Sindhi, it was assumed, on the information then available, to be a sort of border dialect, through which Sindhi merged into Panjabi. Mr.Bomford now shows that what has hitherto been called Multani, from the place where it was first observed, is not a border language between Sindhi and Panjabi at all. It is the language of the Panjab, west of, roughly speaking the Jhelum, till it meets the Pashtu spoken, west of the Indus. Panjabi has hitherto been measured by the standard of Amritsar, a town some forty miles east of Lahore, midway between the Ravi and the Satlaj; and our grammars, dictionaries, and literature have been based entirely on the language of the east of the Panjab. The grammars stated, and it was known as a general fact, that the language of the western Panjab differed from that of the east, but few attempts, till Mr.Bomford undertook the task, were made to investigate the points of difference, and it was too readily assumed that Panjabi had two dialects, a standard and a western. Mr.Bomford's grammar shows that this is not true. That western Panjabi can in no sense be called a dialect of standard Panjabi, but it altogether a distinct language, closely connected with, and forming the uniting link between Sindhi and Kashmiri. These three languages, Sindhi, Western Panjabi, and Kashmiri, now allow themselves to be classed as forming a North-Western Family of Indo-Aryan Vernaculars, markedly differing from what has hithert been called the Western, but from what now must be called the West-Central or Central Family."[1]

Shortly afterwards, in 1898, Grierson was appointed Superintendent of the Linguistic Survey of India, a task which occupied him for the next thirty years, and which resulted in the gradual publication of a work of some 8000 pages in 19 large folio volumes. This massive scale, truly matching that of an imperial architectural monument, is awesome testimony to Grierson's skills as a master builder. It also seems to have inhibited the production of later contributions by amateur linguists, who perhaps felt they had little further to offer of value. But this inhibition was unfortunate, since the scale of the Linguistic Survey of India (LSI) too often serves to mask its weaknesses, of which two are particularly serious. First, Grierson, who worked at his editorial task

in his office in Calcutta, later at home in England, was very much at the mercy of his sources, which were of very variable quality: he did have access to fresh material, in addition to his full use of published accounts, but this was usually derived through official channels, and came from locally stationed officials, often with little linguistic expertise. Secondly, the main part of the LSI is constructed around a particular theory of Grierson's own invention, which has found little later acceptance, according to which the Indo-Aryan languages could be divided into two groups, the so-called 'Outer Circle' and the 'Central Group', which he thought after the fashion of his time to be the results of tribal movements of the past.

Both these weaknesses are particularly apparent in the volumes of the LSI which deal with the Punjab. Here Grierson developed the loose distinction made by the earlier writers with local experience, like O'Brien, Wilson, Bomford, and Jukes, between 'Punjabi' and 'Western Punjabi', into a much firmer division between 'Panjabi' and what he called 'Lahnda' after the Punjabi word for 'west':[2] this division was made to fit quite neatly with Grierson's pet theory of the two groups of Indo-Aryan languages. But the weaknesses of his reasoning, in which metaphor all too often does duty for firm historical evidence, emerges rather clearly from his description of the nature of Punjabi:

"Panjabi, together with Western Hindi, Rajasthani, and Gujarati, is one of the Central Group of the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars. Of these the only pure member of the Group is Western Hindi. The others are mixed languages. Although in the main possessing the essential characteristics of the Central Group they each present signs of another language which has been superseded - overlaid would be a more correct expression - by a central one. We shall see this clearly in the case of Rajasthani and Gujarati, and shall also notice in the case of these two languages, that the further we go from the centre from which the Inner Language encroached, the more prominent this submerged layer becomes. In every case this submerged layer was evidently a language of the Outer Circle of Indo-Aryan languages. We may take the centre of dispersion as the central Gangetic Doab between Mathura and Kanauj. Kanauj, it may be remarked, was the

great centre of Indo-Aryan power during the centuries preceding the Musalman conquest of India.

"Panjabi is the language of the Eastern Panjab, and, at the present day, immediately to its west, in the Western Punjab, we find Lahnda to be the vernacular. Lahnda is one of the languages of the Outer Circle, and is closely connected with Sindhi, Kashmiri and the languages of the Indus-Kohistan. There can be no doubt, if linguistic evidence is of any value, that a language closely akin to this Lahnda was also once spoken over the entire area of which Panjabi is now the vernacular. Immediately to the east of Panjabi we have the Hindostani forms of Western Hindi which are spoken on both sides of the river Jamna and in the Upper Gangetic Doab. It is clear from the present linguistic conditions that an old form of this Hindostani has gradually spread over the whole of the eastern Punjab, superseding, or overlying, the old Lahnda language, as far, at least, as the upper half of the river Chenab. Indeed, its influence has spread further, and it is not till we get to the great thal, or sandy tract between the Jhelum-Chenab and the Indus, that we lose all traces of it. As in Rajputana, the desert has formed a barrier against the advancing tide of the Central language, and, in each case, we find west of it a pure language of the Outer Circle - in the one case Sindhi, in the other Lahnda.

"As this tide progressed westward from its starting point, it gradually lost its body and its force. In the extreme east of the Panjabi tract, on the banks of the ancient Sarasvati, few traces of the ancient Lahnda are observable. When we come to the Bari Doab, where standard Panjabi is spoken, we find several characteristics of Lahnda still surviving which have disappeared in the Powadh or Eastern Punjab. In the Rechna Doab these characteristics become more prominent and here we come to the conventional boundary line between Panjabi and Lahnda. In the Jech Doab they are still more in evidence and Lahnda may be said to be firmly established. In the Sindh-Sagar Doab all except one or two traces of the influence of the Central language have disappeared, and we are in the presence of a true language of the Outer Circle. We thus see that Panjabi is a composite language.

"To change the metaphor, its substratum is a language of the Outer

Circle akin to the modern Lahnda, while its superstructure is a dialect of Western Hindi. The superstructure is so important, and has so concealed the foundation, that Panjabi is rightly classed, at the present day, as a language of the Central Group."[3]

The arbitrary nature of Grierson's distinction is underlined further by his difficulty in establishing any firm boundary on the ground:

"It thus happens that, although in India we continually see two neighbouring languages gradually merging into each other, nowhere is the process so gradual as in the case of Panjabi and Lahnda. It is quite impossible to point to any boundary line or approximate boundary line between the two forms of speech. As, however, some kind of boundary between the two languages is necessary for the purposes of this Survey, I have assumed the following conventional line to mark the division between them....[!]"[4]

When, three years later, in 1919, Grierson produced his description of 'Lahnda', he began with a similar statement:

Drawing lines bw East Punjabi and Lahnda

"Lahnda is the language of the Western Panjab. To its east it has Panjabi, spoken in the Central and Eastern Panjab, and it merges so gradually into that form of speech that it is impossible to fix any clear dividing line between the two. For our present purposes we may take a conventional line running north and south through the east Central Panjab and call everything to the east of it Panjabi and everything to the west of it Lahnda; but it must be understood that the change from one language to the other is so gradual that many typical Lahnda peculiarities will be found on the east of the line, and many typical Panjabi peculiarities on the west. The further west we go the less traces we find of Panjabi, and we may consider Lahnda to be finally established on the Districts of Multan and Jhang."[5]

In its arbitrary nature, Grierson's famous 'conventional line' in fact calls to mind nothing so much as that later drawn in the Punjab, with far more tragic consequences, by Lord Radcliffe in 1947. The parallel with that year, which saw such a massive exchange of populations between eastern and western Punjab, is further brought out by Grierson's reiteration of

his historically unsupported assertions of past tribal movements accounting for present linguistic conditions:

"We know that Panjabi belongs to the Central Group of Indo-Aryan languages. The principal member of the Group is Western Hindi. In the section of this Survey dealing with Rajasthani it was pointed out that in Rajputana and Gujarat the Aryan languages originally spoken belonged (like Lahnda) to the Outer Circle of Indo-Aryan languages. Over them the language of the Central Group, now represented in its purity by Western Hindi, gradually spread in a wave which diminished in force the further it proceeded from the place of origin. At present the whole of the country between the Gangetic Doab and the sea-coast of Gujarat is occupied by immigrant Aryan tribes who found there other Aryan tribes previously settled. These latter spoke a language belonging to the Outer Circle, and were either absorbed or driven farther to the south, or both, by the new-comers from the Doab.

"We have historical records of this migration from the Gangetic Valley into Rajputana, but such notices are wanting in the case of the Panjab. It is, however, reasonable to suppose that the same occurred in their case also [!], for the linguistic conditions are exactly parallel. In the Eastern Panjab the language is an almost pure member of the Central Group, but as we go west traces of Lahnda influence grow stronger and stronger, till, at last, Lahnda is finally established in supersession of Panjabi in the Districts of Jhang and Multan."[6]

Once deprived of its place in Grierson's dubious scheme of 'Outer' and 'Central' languages, 'Lahnda' in fact emerges as a linguist's abstraction, to postulate which really creates more problems than it solves. Grierson includes so many local varieties of speech in 'Lahnda' that he can definite it only by very crude criteria.[7] The coverage of the dialects to the north of the Salt Range in the LSI is anyway so poor, thanks to the very inferior quality of the sources available to Grierson, that the status of the term 'Lahnda' is called into question on these grounds as well. The LSI in fact establishes nothing more than the fact that Hindko, Pothohari, etc., have some features in common with Siraiki.

The treatment of the dialects of the South-Western areas of Punjab is considerably more detailed, occupying some 200 pages. But, in his internal classification of what he called 'Southern Lahnda' - a peculiarly awkward term which has fortunately found as little popularity as 'Wuch'! - Grierson, lacking personal experience of the area, made a somewhat unfortunate choice of terminology. This stemmed from his reliance on the work of others, who were able to provide him with factual linguistic data, but not, as we have seen, with a proper appreciation of the relative importance of different local varieties of language.

Grierson therefore begins his account of 'Southern Lahnda' with what he took as the standard form. This was not Multani, as might have been expected, but the mixed border dialect of the Shahpur area described in Wilson's first grammar. This was certainly the best grammatical account of any variety available to Grierson, but the dialect would better be described, in his awkward terminology, as 'Lahnda merging into Panjabi', exactly mirroring his labelling of the dialect of the Gujrat-Pak Pattan area as 'Panjabi merging into Lahnda'.

He then goes on to describe, rather more briefly, the 'Multani' of Multan and Muzaffargarh, for which his account relies heavily on Wilson's re-issue of O'Brien's Glossary. This is immediately followed by a description of Jukes's 'Jatki' of Dera Ghazi Khan, which Grierson calls 'Hindki'. The two accounts do not marry very well, since Grierson follows his souces so closely. Jukes naturally provided a very careful transcription of the language, showing all the distinctive Siraiki consonants; but Wilson did not bother to note these separately, so that a quite unreal distinction is introduced. There follow briefly annotated examples of the so-called 'Siraiki Hindki' of Sind, which add virtually nothing to Burton's grammar notes of seventy years earlier.

Grierson's final sub-division of 'Southern Lahnda' includes the dialects of Mianwali and Dera Ismail Khan, which he follows Wilson in called 'Thali'. The brief description is once again closely based on that in Wilson's Shahpuri grammar. The overall description of 'Southern Lahnda' is rounded off with the standard LSI list of 241 words, phrases,

and sentences, each translated into Shahpuri, Multani, Dera Ghazi Khan 'Hindki', and Thali. The various dialects are also illustrated in the text by the usual specimens, consisting regularly of full or partial translations of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, procured through local official channels (the Multani version is given in part in Chapter 6 here), sometimes also of stories, court statements, or brief folk-poems, submitted by interested local officers or others.

With the exception of this illustrative material, though, it will be seen that the LSI is not an original source. Indeed, so far as Siraiki is concerned, the description is derived almost entirely from Wilson's accounts, and only the arrangement is Grierson's. This needs to be borne in mind when, as still often happens, the LSI is invoked as an informal arbiter in present-day arguments about linguistic matters. Grierson may have been a master builder, but he was often forced to build with bricks of very imperfectly controlled quality.

When all is said and done, though, it is important to remember that the 183 pages of the Linguistic Survey devoted to 'Southern Lahnda' constitute less than one-fortieth of the whole. One might wish that Grierson had been able to round off and draw together the results of a century of Siraiki studies more neatly than he did, but the magnitude of his attempt must command some admiration. Perhaps only when a proper linguistic survey of Pakistan on modern scientific lines is carried out will it be possible really to surpass his achievement.[8]

PART II

CHAPTER 5

SPECIMENS OF SIRAIKI FOLK-LITERATURE

Given their position in the country as the agents of an imperial rule which had its own powerful reasons for fostering the interests and prosperity of a stable landowning peasantry, it was only natural that so many of the British officials stationed in the Punjab should have formed a strong personal identification with this above all other classes of local society. It followed as a consequence of this identification that they were generally dismissive of what would now be seen as the classic works of older Siraiki literature, produced as these were by rather different social groups, usually having a strong connexion with the towns and cities. On the other hand, the officials did take a great interest in the folk-literature of their peasants, and several of them went to considerable pains to record it: their achievement in this direction has, indeed, still to be matched by local efforts in the present period.

It is therefore worth illustrating briefly here something of the scope and variety of the specimens of Siraiki folk-literature which they recorded, both beczuse of their intrinsic interest, and to show the interests and sympathies of the collectors. Both aspects are well brought out in the fourth section of O'Brien's introduction to his Multani Glossary, which is worth quoting in full, as an exceptionally detailed and revealing statement:

"There are no written books in Multani. The books that profess to be lithographed in Multani by the Lahore presses are misspelt Panjabi. The New Testament in Multani issued by the Serampore Mission is in a character which no Multani could decipher. There is, however, a large body of unwritten poetry, stories, proverbs, aphorisms and riddles which really repay their study. To be able to quote an apposite proverb or saying increases one's power, and makes intercourse with the natives of the country much more cheerful than it usually is. The Multani peasant seems to remember nothing but droughts, failures of canals, blights, locusts, murrains, and every possible misfortune that can befall a farmer. He forgets good harvests, high prices, timely rains, and canal-water.

While he is making the usual complaints he perhaps admits that rain fell in Mágh and Phaggan, and then you have him at once. "But you have a proverb that 'if rain falls in Mágh the grain will be so abundant that the straw will not contain it', and we also know from the wisdom of your ancestors that if rain falls in Phaggan the very fields won't hold the grain."[1] When he is brought to book in this way, the lugubrious Jat collapses and becomes a pleasant companion. In kutcherry if you refuse a Jat's request and tell him the proverb 'a miser is better than a liberal man because he refuses at once',[2] he goes away with a laugh instead of appealing to all the divine powers and eventually being hustled out by the orderlies.

"The stories best known are 'Sassi and Punnun', 'Sahiba and Mirza', and 'Saifal', which are in verse. The local editions differ greatly from the originals, and are rich in local idioms. The story of 'The Three Fools' is an account of a traveller who salutes three men who are sitting by the roadside. They quarrel as to which of them the salute is intended for. The traveller says he saluted the biggest fool among them. The men thereupon go to the Kazi and each relates his adventures to prove that he is the greatest fool. In the story of 'The Four Fools' four men similarly contend for a wife. 'The Three Fools' and 'The Four Fools' are in prose.

"The most popular form of literature is the Ḍoṛha, which is a verse containing two lines. Wherever a collection of Jats takes place for pleasure or for work they begin to sing Ḍoṛhas. One man sings a Ḍoṛha and another answers him with another Ḍoṛha. The subjects of these are most commonplace. The joys and pains of love, separation from home, immutability of fate, and matters connected with an agricultural life, form the topics of ninety-nine out of a hundred Ḍoṛhas. To a stranger many seem utter nonsense. What could appear more idiotic than this:-

"Gore gáúṅ jaindá puchhaṛ he pílá.
"Meḍá pai piá ándá khaṛ thí pasílá."

"The red cow has a yellow tail.
"My husband is coming, stand aside."

But a Jat from among the audience, who can hardly speak for laughter,

explains that the story is of a young woman who was in company with her lover. She sees her husband coming and begins to sing the well-known and harmless

"Oh! my red cow has a yellow yellow tail,"

the second line of which contains a further account of that remarkable phenomenon; but she adroitly changes the second line into 'my husband is coming, stand aside,' which warns her lover, while the husband is supposed to believe that she is singing the authorised version, and that she is all innocence. Having heard the interpretation, one begins to understand why the audience is so intensely amused. Still it must be confessed that in the matter of Ḍoṛhas the Jats are easily pleased. Examples of each kind of Ḍoṛha will be found sub voce Ḍoṛha.

"The great wealth of Multani is in its proverbs. Every virtue is praised, every vice branded, in its peculiar proverb; and they afford an idea of the code of morality prevailing among this simple people. The code is neither long nor elaborate. If a man be hospitable, liberal and unostentatious, he has fulfilled all the commandments. The proverbs are very hard on certain classes, especially the religious orders, women and weavers. It is remarkable, however, that the use of proverbs is most prevalent among women. It would be interesting, if there was space, to compare the well-known proverbs of other languages with the form in which they appear in Multani. A few old friends may be mentioned. 'The fox and the grapes' appears as 'Gidaṛ drákh na apaṛe thũ khaṭṭie' = 'The jackal could not reach the grapes. "Pooh!" says he, "they're sour."'

"'Phuṭá paháṛ te nikathá chúhá' = 'The mountain burst and out came a mouse' is the Multani form of the Mountain in Labour, and Horace's

"'Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculous mus.'

"The Multani edition of 'a chain is no stronger than its weakest link' is - 'Rassa hamesh hínín já te truṭde' = 'A rope always breaks in its weakest place.'

"A Multani wishing to express his incredulity at an impossible story uses the proverb: 'Suí de duk vichoṅ katár uthán di langhí vaindie' = 'A

string of camels is passing through the needle's eye', which reminds one of Matthew, xix, 24: 'It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven.'"[3]

O'Brien's interest and involvement in the local folk-literature, which this long passage so clearly demonstrates beneath its superficially quizzical, sometimes even patronizing tone, is amply borne out by the splendidly full collection of proverbs, sayings and verses which forms the most valuable part of his Glossary. In the revised edition by Wilson, some 650 items are given. The proverbs are arranged under rough headings, 42 dealing with agriculture and farming, 38 with family life, 153 with 'character', and 154 with 'worldly wisdom'; these are followed by some 250 miscellaneous verses and sayings, and half a dozen riddles. The translations are accompanied by explanations, where appropriate.

Most of the original items seem to have been collected by O'Brien himself while stationed in Muzaffargarh, though he also acknowledges receiving 'a capital list of songs and proverbs' from his colleague in Jhang, E.B.Steedman. A collection of 89 proverbs was published by Steedman as an appendix to his Settlement Report for the Jhang District.[4]

It seems very probable that several other collections would also have been compiled at the time without being published. The only such collection which I have come across is one of 212 proverbs and sayings from Dera Ghazi Khan, made by Dr.Jukes. This is placed at the end of the manuscript copy of his Dictionary, to which he perhaps originally intended it as a supplement. This appears to be an independent collection, although there is naturally some overlap with O'Brien's lists. The first seven items in Jukes's collection may be quoted as an illustration:

۱ ـ ڈاڈھا تارا آخر دریا وچ بڈسی ـ
۲ ـ ناگ دے ماندرے کوں آخر ناگ کھاسی ـ
۳ ـ کسر گولیدیں کس لگی حرص کریدیں گئی جان
ضد کریدیں سر گیا تریہے کم نقصان ـ
۴ ـ طمع گناھیں دی نانی ھے ـ
۵ ـ ھسایہ پیو ما چایا ـ
۶ ـ جیں دا پیسہ اوھیں دا سوٹا ـ
۷ ـ کت نہ جانڑے ترکلے کوں ولے ـ

These are translated as:-

"1. A great swimmer will at last sink in the river.
2. A snake charmer will at last be bitten by the snake.
3. Seeking profit, there was loss, coveting life was lost, contending, he lost his head. From all three, harm.
4. Covetousness is the grandmother of sin.
5. Consider your neighbour as born of your parents.
6. As a man's money, so is his support.
7. He knows not how to spin and says the spindle is crooked. English: A bad workman finds fault with his tools."[5]

Also at the back of the manuscript of the Dictionary, there is a quite extensive list of quotations from a prose 'Story of the Thief and the Thag', with notes on their grammatical or idiomatic features by Jukes. This is probably one of the stories he had specially written to help him with his language work.

Until very recent times, of course, published examples of Siraiki prose were extremely unusual, other than the specialized use of the prose passages known as 'taqrir' which are found in the marsiya collections. A very particular interest therefore attaches to the last collection of Siraiki folk-literature to be published by a British official, F.W.Skemp's Multani Stories, which contains 34 stories in Siraiki prose, given in Roman script, with facing English translations. Some of these are simple folk-tales, which are both direct and amusing expressions of the farmer's view of society, as in this short example:

The devil asleep

شیطان کوں کہیں جٹ جنگل وچ ستا ڈٹھا - شیطان کوں آکھیس توں
جنگل اچ ستا پیا تیڈا کم وسوں تے ہے - کہیں کوں شور گھناوٹ کہیں کوں
خون کراوٹ - توں جنگل وچ پے تھیا - شیطان آکھیا میڈے ڈوں پتر تھی پین -
میڈی جان کم کار کنوں چھٹی پئی ہے - اوں جٹ پچھا کیہرے کیہرے پتر ہن
تیڈے - شیطان آکھیا ہک وکیل تے ہک پٹواری - بیا وت ودھ پھل پین پتریں
والے تھی پین - پٹواری دے اولاد عرضی نویس ہن تے وکیلیں دے اولاد اجنٹ ہن -
تھیا ذونکی وڈا ہاں -

"Some one saw the devil asleep in the jungle. He said to the devil, 'You asleep in the jungle! Why, your work is in the abodes of men, stirring up strife, and getting blood spilt; and you in the jungle.' The devil replied, 'I have got two sons and do no work myself now.' The other asked who his sons were. The devil answered, 'The pleader and the patwari: and moreover they have multiplied and increased and are fathers. The patwaris' children are the petition-writers and the pleaders' children are the touts. I'm a great holiday-maker now.'"[6]

Others have an historical interest as well as the appeal of the direct and lively style of narration. This is particularly true of the opening stories of the collection, which tell of Bahawal Khan, of Nawab Muzaffar Khan Sadozai of Multan, and of his pahlwan, the strongman Karbal Khan. Take, for instance, this story of Bahawal Khan, in which he is credited with a vision of the famous local saint Sayyid Jalal ud Din Makhdum Jahaniyan of Uch:

Why Bahawal Khan's canals ran well

بہاول خان دا فقیریں نال ڈاڈھا سچا دل ھا ۔ ھک ڈہاڑے کچہری وچ بہہ کے فخر ماریس ۔ ڈیکھو میڈا اوں جیہاں انتظام ھے جو سیالے کوں وی نالے وہندے پئے ھن ۔ رات کوں نیند وچ سٹا پیا ھا خواب ڈٹھس جو سیرانی بادشاہ فقیر ساری والا کہی منڈے تے رکھ کے نالے دی کنڈھی تے پھرندے کھڑے اتے آھدے ۔ میڈا پترا کچہری وچ بہہ کے فخر مریدا ھیں جو میڈا انتظام نال نالے وہندے پین ۔ جیکر فقیر دی مہر نہ ھووے ھا تیڈے انتظام دی سدھ ھووے ھا ۔ خان دی نیند اکھڑ گئی ۔ اوں ویلے نقارہ تیاری دا وگ گیا ۔ خان سائیں خانقاہ صاحب سیرانی تے وتج کے گل وچ کپڑا پا کے قصور بخشوایس تے ذرانہ رکھیس ۔

"Bahawal Khan was very good to holy men. One day seated in court he boasted 'See what a good manager I am, the canals are running even in the cold weather.' At night as he was asleep he saw in a dream that the Traveller, the King of Holy Men, wearing his blanket was walking up and down the bank of a canal, a spade over his shoulder, saying 'My son, you sit in Court, and boast that the canals are flowing through your good management; but for the kindness of the Holy Man, you would know all about being a good manager.' The Khan awoke, and at once the drum of preparation sounded. The Khan Sahib went to the tomb of the Lord of Journeys, and wrapping his chadar round his neck, acknowledged his fault and made an offering."[7]

Skemp's knowledge of local conditions and history is well illustrated by the note which he adds to the story by way of explanation:

"The inundation canals in the Multan Province are expected to flow only in the hot weather, when the Chenab and the Indus are in flood: but by care and skilful contrivance, e.g. by building dams in creeks, it is often possible to arrange for some of them to run in the cold weather also. Of course in this arid tract a ruler who makes the most of the canals is a good ruler.

"In the time of Bahawal Khan the Indus ran down the middle of the Thal, and was joined by the Chenab near Uch, and a system of canals, the disused channels of which can still be seen, led the water over the southern tahsils of the modern districts of Muazaffargarh and Dera Ghazi Khan. The Indus left its old bed suddenly about 1787 to follow a course approximating to the present channel."

Another story about Bahawal Khan gives rise to a more personal note:

How Bahawal Khan united a pair of lovers

ہک ڈہاڑے شکار تے خان پیا ویندا ھا راہ وچ ھک پلیاٹی تانا تانڈی ھائی ۔ خانصاحب کوں آندا ڈیکھ کے پلیاٹی اوریاں کوں سٹ کے خان دے گھوڑے دے جھپوں کوں چمبڑ گئی ۔ خان پچھا توں کیا آھدی ھیں ۔ او چپ کر گئی تے آکھیس خان سائیں آپنے ھاں تے ھتھ لا ڈیکھ ۔ ترے واری خاں پچھا ٹرے پھیریں ایہو جواب ڈتس ۔ خانصاحب لوکاں کنوں پچھا اے کیا آھدی ھے ۔ لوکاں آکھیا غریب نوازا پھٹی ھوئی ھے ھک جٹے نال ڈھکیا پیا ۔ ایں دا دل ھے ھوں دے نال ۔ اے اوھو پتہ ڈیندی ھے جو خانصاحب دا دل کھیں نال ھوسی یاد ڈویندی ھے ۔ خانصاحب ھوں دے نکاح والے کوں سڈ کے ڈھیر سارا روپیہ ڈے کے اوں کنوں طلاق ڈوایس تے یار اوں دے کوں قید کنوں چھوڑ کے پلیاٹی دے حوالے کیتس کجھ روپیہ وی ڈتس ۔ ول میعاد کنوں پچھے اوں دا نکاح پڑھایس ۔

"One day as the Khan was going shooting, a weaver woman was preparing woof on the road. Seeing the Khan coming she threw away her spindles and seized the reins of the Khan's horse. The Khan asked, 'What do you say?' She became silent, then said, 'Khan Sahib, put your hand on your heart.' Three times the Khan asked: all three times she gave this reply. The Khan Sahib asked the people what she was saying. The people said, 'O cherisher of the poor, she is in love with a man who is in prison. Her heart is with him. She means that perhaps the Khan Sahib is in love with somebody, and is reminding him of it.'

"The Khan Sahib sent for her husband, and giving him much money procured her divorce. And he released her lover from prison and made him over to the weaver woman, and gave them some money too. Then after the appointed term he had them married."[8]

To which the translator rather charmingly adds:

"I had just translated this story and stepped out on to the verandah of the rest-house when a woman accompanied by husband, lover and their friends appeared with a petition of this kind. I had the example before me of the proper course to follow, but feared it would make the Deputy Commissioner's divorce court too popular; so, directing the husband to divorce his wife, sent the case to a local magnate to fix the amount to be paid by the lover in compensation."

Space unfortunately prevents a fuller illustration of the quality of Skemp's collection, which certainly deserves to be republished. A few other stories are included as linguistic specimens in the Linguistic Survey, along with statements made by local witnesses which were recorded in court proceedings.

It is verse, though, which has provided the principal medium of expression in Siraiki as in other folk-literatures. Here too the British were no slow to record examples. The many short verses in O'Brien's Glossary have already been mentioned. There is a similar, though shorter collection of 38 verses following the list of proverbs in Steedman's Jhang Settlement Report, in the typical mixed language of the area. It was only natural for the British song-collectors to be interested in songs which showed the locals' attitude to their arrival, and several items in Steedman's collection reflect this interest, none more clearly than the following:

رنگین مولا جیندی کل خدائی
خاندانان نوں خطرے پے گئے جڈاں آئن فرنگی دی پہلے آئی
آوندیاں کھولیاں توپاں تے تلواراں سوٹے ہتھ نپائے
لکھے تے عمل کریندے ۔ اُنج سمجھ نہ پوندی کائی
ڈھولا میاں ہو ہو ہو

"Wonderful is God to whom all creation belongs.
The mighty ones trembled when the arrival of the Franks first came.
When they came they took away guns and swords and put staves in our hand,
They act on the written (laws), we can't understand it at all."[9]

Other collections, notably Wilson's in his Grammar and Dictionary of Shahpuri, include several similar items. As we have already noted at the beginning of this chapter, the collectors generally paid rather little attention to more polished literary productions. But a short article by H.A.Rose in the Indian Antiquary[10] did bring to the attention of its readers two rather charming examples of the classic Siraiki lyrical form, the kafi, composed by Jindan. These both deserve to be quoted with their original translation, though without the linguistic notes, some added by Grierson, which detract somewhat from their appeal. The first runs:

کیتم دلبر نا ول کاری رهی جندڑی ڈکھاں ماری
گیوم راول وساری هے اکھیں توں خون جاری هے
عمر سکدیں گذاری هے ملیم سانول نا هک واری
کانگے دے گل کانگاں پاواں پچھیں دلبر دا ونج ناواں
کے رل سیج گل لاواں تھیواں صدقہ میں لکھ واری

صبر کرکے رهیم صابر کیتا دردان پهوں لاغر
وهائی هے قلم قادر لکھی توڑوں اوزاری
باٹے ٹھاٹے نهیں ٹھاندے زیور بیور کھاوڑ آندے
جندن جندڑی کوں نهیں بھاندے روندیں عمر گذری ساری

"My love made love to me no more.
My life passed away in pain and sorrow.

My lover has forgotten me.
Blood is streaming from my eyes.
My life has passed away in patient longing.
My lover has not once visited me.

I will hang letters on the crows' necks.
Let them go and ask my lover's name.
Some day we shall meet and embrace on a couch.
I shall sacrifice myself to him a thousand times.

I remained patient, exercising long-suffering.
My pain made me very weak.
Providence so decreed my fate.
(It) decreed from the beginning our separation.

Fine clothes do not suit me.
Gewgaws and garments devour me.
Jindan! These suit not my life.
In lamentation all my life is passing."

The second example, which is rather longer, is particularly fine:

واہ محبوب سوہنڑا کیوں وسار ڈتو
ڈس کے ٹانگ ساکوں انتظار ڈتو

جانا یار اساں توں نہ یار ہویوں
گلشن جانا اساں توں بھی خار ہویوں
ساتھی سمجھیا اساں توں بیزار ہویوں
تھی بیزار ماھی الٹا بار ڈتو

رھی ٹانگ سدا انتظار تیڈی
ٹھگی نال وپار ھے نت کار تیڈی
رھسی یاد ھمیشہ اے یار تیڈی
صد بار ھزار اے خار ڈتو

اساں نینہہ لایا سکھ پاوڑ کیتے
آیا شینہہ الٹا ساڈے کھاوڑ کیتے
بھلیا ھار سنگار گل دے پاوڑ کیتے
غماں جوڑ فراقاں دا ھار ڈتو

تھی شاھباز ماھی کر شکار گیوں
کرکے جور و جبر جانوں مار گیوں
کرکے نیم بسمل روک کتار گیوں
ابرو تیغ دی دھار نہ وار ڈتو

چا قتل عام کیتو نہ سرانجام کیتو
چا بدنام کیتو نہ کلام کیتو
صبح ٹانگ تنگھیندیاں دی شام کیتو
کیدی شام ونجاں نہ اقرار ڈتو

عاشق یار ساڈا ہے قرار سدا
بھرکے حمد کریدی پکار سدا
رھے خار سدا انتظار سدا
جیندن سکدی رھی نہ دیدار ڈتو

"Fie! fair lover, why hast thou forgotten?
While telling me to wait, thou did'st delay.

I fancied thee my friend, but not so did'st thou me.
I fancied thee a rose, yet thou proved'st a thorn.
I looked upon thee as a comrade, but thou wert vexed.
Thou wert vexed, my friend, and did'st turn and place a load upon me.

I remained ever in expectation of thee.
To traffic with deceit is ever thy vocation.
This, my friend, will ever remain my remembrance of thee.
A hundred, nay a thousand times, hast thou deceived me.

I made thee my friend to secure repose:
But instead a lion came to devour me.
I forgot to put on a garland and adornments:
Thou did'st weave me a wreath of separation.

Like a falcon, my friend, thou did'st hunt me down.
By thy cruelty, thou did'st destroy my life.
After half-killing me thou did'st stay thy dagger.
With thy eye-brow, like a sword's edge, thou did'st inflict a blow.

Thou did'st all but massacre me, yet not utterly.
Thou did'st give me a bad name, yet said not a word.
From morn I waited until it became evening.
To whom shall I go for shelter? Thou hast made me no promise.

My lover and beloved, thou wert ever restless.
There remained always the thorn of disappointment; always expectation of thee.

Sighing, I continued always, to sound they praises.
Jindan remained awaiting, yet thou did'st not show thy face."

It will be seen that Rose's translation of these kafis is somewhat prosaic, and it is true that most of the early British translations of Siraiki folk-verse are functional rather than literary. They were after all produced and published in India and principally addressed to colleagues with some knowledge of related languages, who would often be able to understand the romanized originals well enough with the assistance of a literal version in English.

There is, however, one exception to this general rule, which deserves to be quoted for its own merits as a rather graceful piece of English verse translation. This is the marsiya included in Wilson's Grammar and Dictionary of Shahpuri, where Wilson's English is at least the equal of the original, and deserves to be quoted as our final illustration.

The original is entitled 'Dirge (Marsiya) on the fate of Sakina, daughter of Husain, composed by Firoz of Bhakkhar near the Indus, who died about 1889, sung to the tune of Asa':

کتھ مدینہ کتھ شاہ نجف
ملک پیغمبر ذات خدا دی

سنڑ اوازہ عمر شمر دا
سانگ دے اتوں پیو اکبر دا

جے کوئی دیس پرائے تے مر ویندا
ہائے ہائے میت ریہا گلیندا

ہے دستور جے کوئی مر گیا
بن عابد دے کوئی نہیں ریہا

جاں غش وچ ونجے علی عابد ہڈکے
تیڈیاں زخماں توں بھیڑ صدقے صدقے

ویرن میڈا آکھیا منیں
قسم خدا دی مطلق ننھیں

نہیں کفن منگے اللہ راسی پالے
آکھن یا رسول اللہ اے ڈیکھو حالے

ہائے ہائے لوک پردیس جو جاندے
سجڑ صغری دے مر گئے وانڈھے

کوئی فراقی جھولا گھلیا
موت دا نکھڑیا ول نہیں ملیا

شمرا وڈا حکم سٹائے
ما پھپھی نانا چاھے

آیا اوازہ معصوم دا نہ روویاھے
ڈاڈھیاں نہ رنیاں پھپھی مائے

ہے دستور جے کوئی بند وچ مردا
علی عابد دے سر تے پھردا

شبیر فیروز بیکس دا ماں اے
جگ ویری توں رکھ دھیان اے

تھیا شام مکان سکینہ دا
کرن ارمان سکینہ دا

روح معصوم دا بھوں بھوں ڈردا
کرے دھیان سکینہ دا

توڑے ھووے دشمن کفن ڈہلیندا
کفن دے کاٹ سکینہ دا

قل خوانی وارث کرن چلیہا
فاتحہ خوان سکینہ دا

آکھے میت سکینہ دا ویرن کوں سڈکے
نہ کوئی نگاھبان سکینہ دا

میڈے کاٹ کفن دا ناں نہ گھنیں
چاٹ سجاٹ سکینہ دا

دفن کرو ایں دے چولے نالے
بندی وان سکینہ دا

مدت گذار کے وطناں تے آندے
تھیا گھر ویران سکینہ دا

ساتھ حسین دا ڈاڈھا رلیا
خاندان سکینہ دا

روون دے وچ وڈا گناہ اے
مر گئی نادان سکینہ دا

متاں ویر میڈے کوں شمر ستائے
سنڑ فرمان سکینہ دا

جی نکتھا ول نہیں ولدا
روح پریشان سکینہ دا

جہان تیڈا توں میڈے کاٹ اے
صدقے ذی شان سکینہ دا

"Refrain:

Far from her home, in Syrian soil
Lies buried young Sakina, Ah!
Saints, angels, nay Great God himself
Lament for poor Sakina, Ah!

* * * *

The murderer's shouts ring in her ear;
The young child's soul is rent with fear;
Her father's head from the slayer's spear
Looks sadly on Sakina, Ah!

Though foe mid foes his death should meet,
None grudge the dead his winding-sheet
Ah! weep for one so fair and sweet,
Unshrouded lies Sakina, Ah!

When man is from his dear ones torn,
His funeral chant they sing forlorn.
None save her brother's left to mourn
And weep for poor Sakina, Ah!

While drowned in grief he wept and sighed,
The ghost of dead Sakina cried,
"A sacrifice for you I died",
Unguarded fell Sakina, Ah!

Her prayer fell on her brother's ear,
"A shroud is for the loved and dear,
"As God lives, I am friendless here,
"And no one knows Sakina, Ah!"

"God's helpless ones all die like me,
"Bury me now where none can see."
Ah God! to think that this should be,
Poor captive slain Sakina, Ah!

"How many come, how many go!
"Exiles return - God wills it so.
"But me my home no more shall know.
"No more returns Sakina, Ah!"

A wind from the far north has blown
And seeds of desolation sown.
Bereft of all she loved, alone
Her mother mourns Sakina, Ah!

Curse on the man that slew and said,
"No tears be wasted on the dead,
"A price is set upon the head
"Of all who mourn Sakina, Ah!"

The child said gently, "weep not so
"Lest he should work my brother woe."
Her aunt and mother wept full low,
Obeying dead Sakina, Ah!

Her soul no mansion of the blest
Can tempt with dreams of peace and rest.
Beside the brother she loved best
Still lingers sad Sakina, Ah!

I, slave and poet, praise Husain,
The world is thine and thou art mine.
May thy great mercy on me shine
In memory of Sakina, Ah!"[11]

CHAPTER 6

SIRAIKI BIBLE TRANSLATIONS

Owing to the inspiration given to so many generations of missionaries and other Christians by such commandments as Jesus' words 'And the gospel must first be published among all nations' (Mark 13:10), there are in existence far more translations of the Bible than of any other book in the world. Translations of the Bible in fact constitute the one original contribution made by the British to Siraiki literature - as, indeed, to many other literatures of the sub-continent. As such, the Siraiki Bible translations deserve to be better known, and certainly need to be illustrated here.

The Biblical passage most widely translated into the languages and dialects of India and Pakistan is undoubtedly the Parable of Prodigal Son, since this was chosen by Grierson as his specimen text fot the Linguistic Survey of India. Let us therefore begin with the opening verses of the example sent him by the District Officer in Multan. These illustrate not only the local language, but also a rather beautifully written version of the local Hindu Lande or Karikki script. The English version (Luke 15: 11-17) runs as follows:

"11 A certain man had two sons:

12 And the younger of them said to his father, Father, give me the portion of goods that falleth to me. And he divided unto them his living.

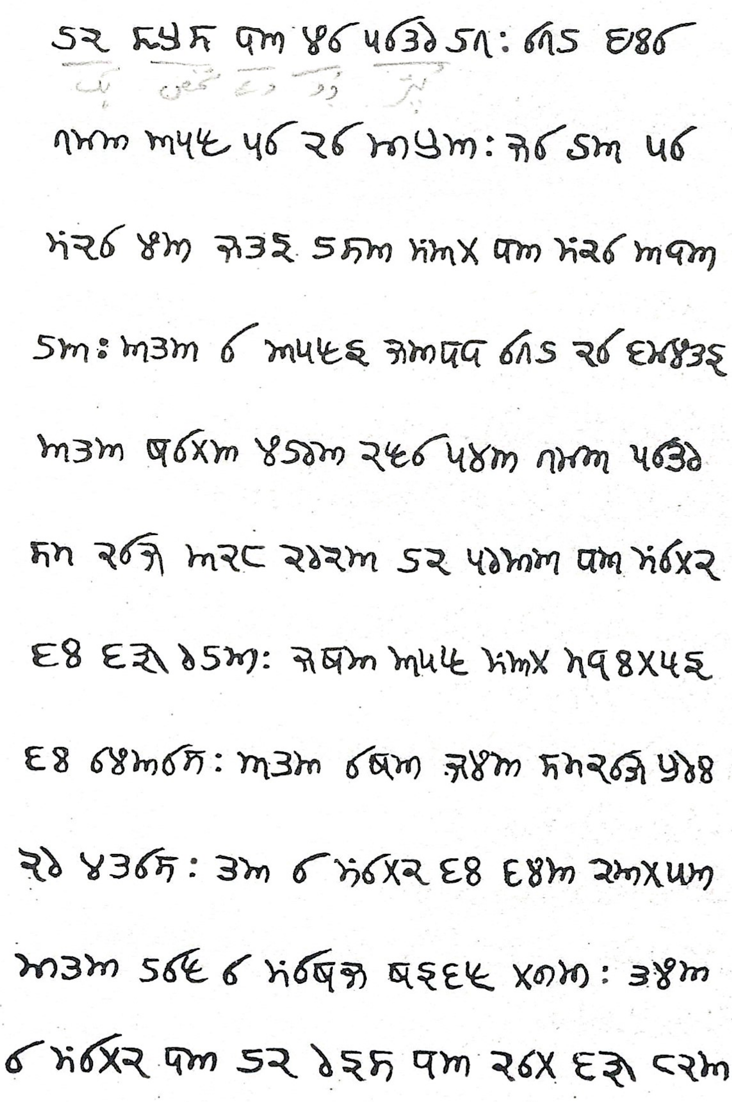
13 And not many days after the younger son gathered all together, and took his journey into a far country, and there wasted his substance with riotous living.

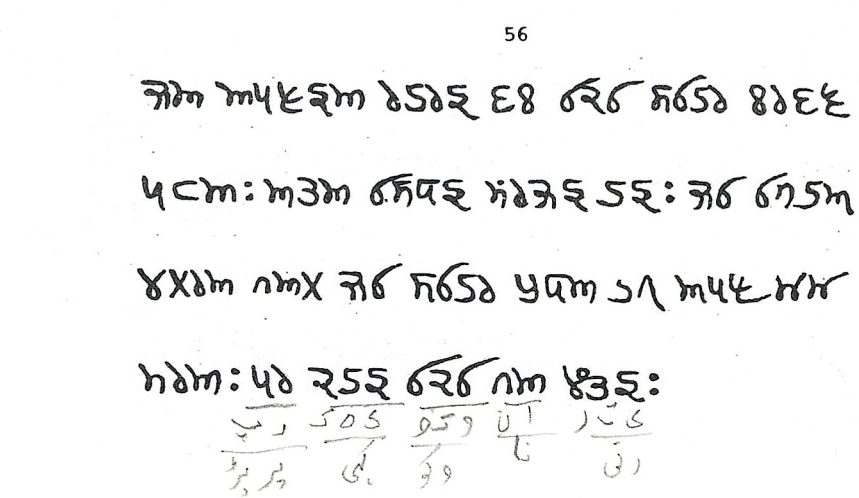
14 And when he had spent all, there arose a mighty famine in that land; and he began to be in want.

15 And he went and joined himself to a citizen of that country; and he sent him unto his fields to feed swine.

17 And he would fäin have filled his belly with the husks that the swine did eat: and no man gave unto him."

The corresponding Siraiki is given in the local script as:[1]





The values of the letters in this version of Karikki are as follows:

ا ے		چھ		ں	
ی		ج ز جھ		پ	
و		چ		پھ	
س ش		ٹ ٹھ		ب بٔ	
ہ		ڈ ڈھ		بھ	
ک		ڑھ		م	
خ کھ		ڻ		ر ڑ	
گ گٔ		ت		ل	
گھ		تھ		و	
ج		ر ڑھ			

As usual, the vowels are rather irregularly written, and often left out altogether. The same version, transcribed into modern Siraiki orthography

(but keeping the typical Hindu confusion of ṛ with r shown in the original) would read:

(۱۱) هک شخص دے ڈو پتر هن - (۱۲) انهاں وچوں نندھے آپڑے
پیو کوں آکھیا جو هے پیو میکوں ڈے جتی حصہ مال میکوں آندا هے - اتے
اوں آپڑی جائیداد انهاں کوں ونڈھ ڈتی - (۱۳) اتے تھولے ڈیہاڑے کنوں
پچھے نندھا پتر سبھ کجھ اکٹھا کرکے هک پرائے دے ملک وچ ونج رهیا جتھاں
آپڑا مال بدچلنڑی وچ اڈایس - (۱۴) اتے انهاں جڈاں سبھ کجھ خرچ کر
ڈتس تاں اوں ملک وچ وڈا کال پیا اتے هڻ او متھاج تھیوڻ لگا - (۱۵)
تڈاں اوں ملک دے هک رئیس دے کول ونج ٹکیا جیں آپڑیاں ررهیں وچ اونکوں
سوهر چراوڻ پٹھیا - (۱۶) اتے اس دی مرضی هائی جو انهاں چھلراں نال
جو سوهر کھاندے هن آپڑا ڈھڈھ بھرے پر کہیں اونکوں نا ڈتے -

* * * *

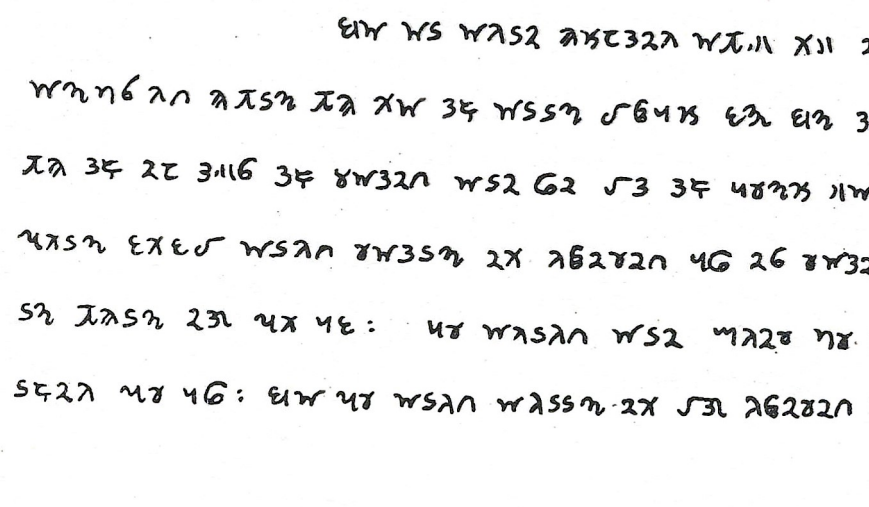
Interesting as they are, the versions of the Prodigal Son in the Linguistic Survey, produced as philological specimens, stand outside the mainstream of Biblical translation, whose inspiration and goal was spiritual rather than scientific. One book of the Bible has been printed in Siraiki in three different versions: this is the shortest of the four Gospels describing the life and teachings of Jesus, that according to St. Mark. It is very instructive to compare these three renderings in detail, on the basis of their handling of a short passage.

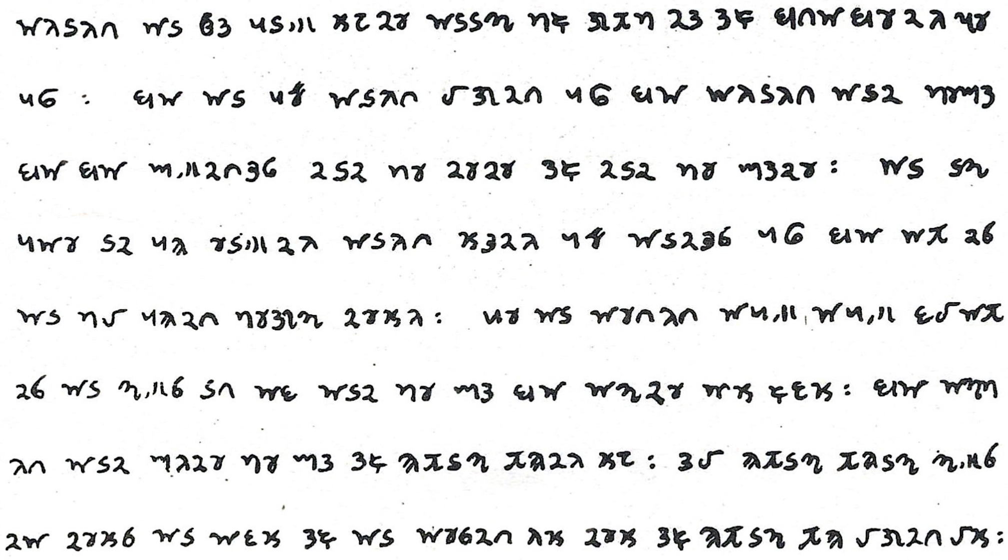
The example chosen is another well-known Parable, that of the Wicked Husbandmen (Mark 12:1-9), whose English version runs:

"1 And he began to speak unto them by parables. A certain man planted a vineyard, and set an hedge about it, and digged a place for the winefat, and built a tower, and let it out to husbandmen, and went into a far country.

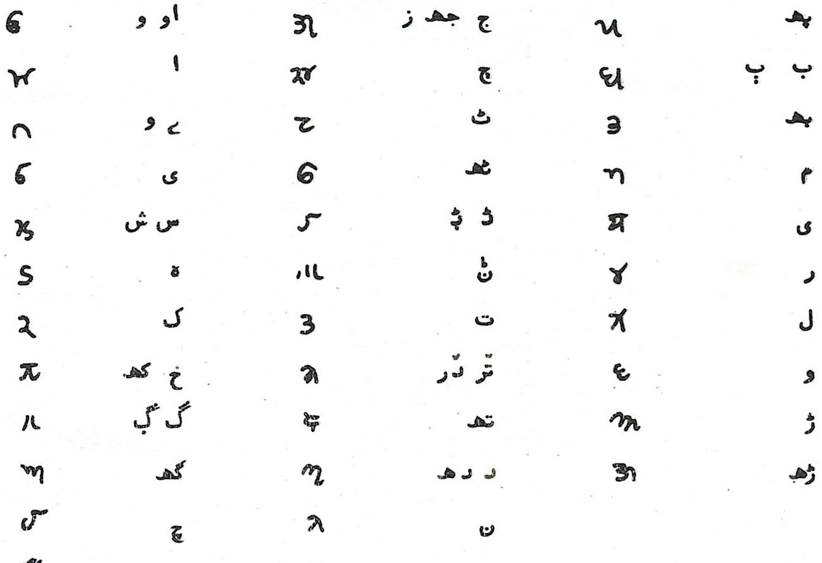
2. And at the season he sent to the husbandmen a servant, that he might receive from the husbandmen of the fruit of the vineyard.
3 And they caught him, and beat him, and sent him away empty.
4. And again he sent unto them another servant; and at him they cast stones, and wounded him in the head, and sent him away shamefully handled.
5. And again he sent another; and him they killed, and many others; beating some and killing some.
6 Having yet therefore one son, his wellbeloved, he sent him also last unto them, saying, They will reverence my son.
7 But those husbandmen said among themselves, This is the heir; come, let us kill him, and the inheritance shall be ours.
8 And they took him, and killed him, and cast him out of the vineyard.
9 What shall therefore the lord of the vineyard do? he will come and destroy the husbandmen, and will give the vineyard unto others."

The first translation is that given in the 1819 Serampore New Testament.[2] While this is beautifully printed, the typeface is very small, and difficult to reproduce clearly. It has therefore been copied out by hand:





The script is presumably a stylized version of the Karikki letters current among the Hindus of Uch. The letters, many of which are quite different in form from the Multani script illustrated above, have the following values:



The omission of most vowels and different spellings of the same word mean that it is not always possible to be quite certain of the reading. But it will be apparent from the transcription into modern Siraiki orthography given below that this early translation is stylistically very peculiar. Since it is the work of a Hindu pandit, many Sanskritic words are used, like drishtant 'parable', tatha 'so, then', pahan 'stone' marjad 'reverence', adhikari 'heir'. Even allowing for this, however, the syntax is very forced and clumsy - indeed, it often hardly reads like Siraiki at all. This is in fact little more than a word for word paraphrase which keeps unnaturally closely to the English version already given, with which it may be closely compared:

(۱) بیا او انہاں کوں درشٹانتاں کنوں آکھڑ لگا کہ ہک آدمی نے دراکھ دا کھیتر لایا تتھا اوندے چوپاسے واڑ ہدھا تتھا ہیادا کھیتر (۲) تتھا کوٹ بٹایا (۳) تتھا رعیت کوں اونکوں ٹھیکے ڈتا تتھا پردیس گیا - (۴) بیا پھل دے ویلے وچ اوں نے رعیت دے کول نوکر کوں پٹھیا کہ رعیت کنوں دراکھ دے کھیتر دے کجھ پھل پاوے - (۵) پر انہاں نے اوں کوں گھن کر ماریا تتھا خالی ہتھ کنوں پھر پٹھیا - (۶) بیا پھر اوں نے انہاں دے کول ڈوجھے نوکر کوں پٹھیا بیا انہاں نے اوں اتے پاھڑ سٹ کر اوندا متھا زخم کیتا تتھا بےآبرو کنوں پھر پٹھیا - (۷) بیا اوں پچھے اوں نے ڈوجھے کوں پٹھیا بیا انہاں نے اونکوں مار گھتیا بیا بیا گھنڑیاں کوں بھی کہیں کوں مار کر کر تتھا کہیں کوں مار گھت کر - (۸) اوں دا پیارا ہک پتر رھنڑ کنوں اوں نے سبھ کنوں پچھے اونکوں بھی پٹھیا بیا آکھیا کہ ایں میڈے پتر کوں سرجاد کریسن - (۹) پر اوں اراغیاں نے آپنڑے آپنڑے وچ آکھیا کہ ایں دھنڑی ھے آؤ اونکوں مار گھتوں بیا ادھکاری اساں تھی ویسوں - (۱۰) بیا انہاں نے اونکوں گھن کر مار گھتیا تتھا دراکھ دے کھیتر کنوں سٹیا - (۱۱) تڈاں دراکھ دے کھیتر دا دھنڑی کیا کریسی او آ ویسی تتھا او اراغیاں کوں ناش کریسی تتھا دراکھ دا کھیتر ڈوجھیاں کوں ڈیسی -

After this version, which is now of strictly historical interest, it is a relief to turn to that in the first translation of St. Mark into 'Derawal' produced by Dr.Jukes, and published in 1888. While it has a certain local dialectal flavour, notably in the endings of the nouns, this does read like natural Siraiki, and represents a very real achievement, particularly when it is remembered that it was almost certainly the first printed book of genuine Siraiki prose when it first appeared 90 years ago:

(۱) اتے او انھاں کوں آکھنڑ لگا جو کہیں
آدمی انگور دا باغ لایا اتے اوندے چوطھاروں لوڑھا
ڈتس اتے گھاڑیں دی جاء کھٹیس اتے ٹھل بنڑوایس
اتے اوکوں باغوانیں دے سپرد کیتس اتے پردیس دو
گیا - (۲) اتے جڈاں موسم آیا اوں نوکر کوں
باغوانیں دو پٹھیا تاں جو باغوانیں کنوں لچھ
گھنے - (۳) بھل انھیں اوکوں پکڑ کراھیں ماریا
اتے ھتھوں خالی پٹھیونیں - (۴) اتے اوں ول
ھک ہیا نوکر انھیں دو پٹھیا اتے انھیں اوکوں
وٹیں نال مار کراھیں اوندا سر پھٹ سٹیا اتے
بے تعظیمہ کر کراھیں پٹھیونھیں - (۵) اتے
اوں ول ھک ہئے کوں پٹھیا اتے انھیں اوکوں
مار گھتیا اتے بہوں بنھیں کوں پٹھیا انھیں
وچوں کنھیں کوں مار ڈتونیں اتے کنھیں کوں
مار گھتیونیں - (۶) ھنڑ اوندا ھکو پیارا
پتر ھا اوڑک اوں اوکوں وی انھیں دو ایہو
آکھ کراھیں پٹھیا جو او میڈے پتر کوں تعظیم ڈیسن -
(۷) بھل باغوانیں آپت وچ آکھیا جو ایہو وارث ھے
آؤ اوکوں مار گھتوں تاں ورثہ اساڈا تھیسی - (۸)
اتے اوکوں پکڑ کراھیں مار گھتیونیں اتے باغ دے باھر
سٹ گھتیونیں - (۹) پچھیں باغ دا مالک چہ کریسی
او آوسی اتے باغوانیں کوں مار گھتیسی اتے انگوریں
دا باغ ہنھیں کوں ڈیسی -

Many might have been content to have done so much. But Dr.Jukes of course went on to produce a revised version of the Gospel ten years later, and it is most interesting to compare the published translations of 1888 and 1898. While substantially the same work, the later version shows many small changes and improvement. Most obviously, the fruits of his munshi Muhammad Hasan's training as a katib appear in the careful distinction of the special Siraiki letters, almost certainly for the first time in any printed book. But there are several more subtle improvements as in the selection of different choices between pairs of Arabic and native Siraiki synonyms, e.g. banhan for naukar, misal for akhan, halak karesi for mar ghatesi, as well as in the syntax, where the Siraiki is often helped to flow more naturally, as particularly in verse 2 and the latter part of verse 5:

(۱) اتیں او انھیں کوں مثالیں وچ آکھنڑ لگا
جو کہیں آدمی انگور دا باغ لایا اتیں اوندے چوداروں
لوڑھا ڈتا اتیں گھانڑیں دی جا کھٹیس اتیں ٹھل
بنڑایس اتیں اونکوں باغوانیں دے سپرد کیتس اتیں پردیس
دو گیا ۔ (۲) اتیں رت وچ اوں ہک بانھاں
باغوانیں دو پٹھیا تانجو باغوانیں کنوں انگور دے
باغ دے پھل وچوں گھنے ۔ (۳) بھل انھیں
اونکوں پکڑ کراھیں ماریا اتیں خالی پٹھیونیں ۔
(۴) ایں اوں ول ہک بیا بانھاں انھیں دو
پٹھیا ایں انھیں اونکوں پتھر مار کراھیں اوندا
پھٹ سٹیا اتیں بے تعظیمہ کر کراھیں پٹھیونیں ۔
(۵) اتیں اوں ول ہک بئے کوں پٹھیا اتیں
انھیں اونکوں مار گھتیا اتیں بہوں بنھیں کوں
پٹھیا کنھائیں کوں مار ڈتونیں اتیں کنھائیں
کوں مار کھتیونیں ۔ (۶) اجنڑ اوندا ہکو پیارا
پتر ہا اوڑک اوں اونکوں وی انھیں دو اے آکھ

کراھیں پٹھیا جو او میڈے پتر کوں تعظیم ڈیسن -
(۷) بھل انھیں باغوانیں آپ وچ آکھیا اے وارث
ھے آؤ اونکوں مار گھتوں اتیں ورنہ اساڈا تھیسی -
(۸) اتیں اوں کوں پکڑ کراھیں مار گھتیونیں اتیں
باغ دے باھر سٹ گھتیونیں - (۹) پس باغ دا
مالک چہ کریسی او آوسی اتیں باغوانیں کوں ھلاک
کریسی اتیں انگور دا باغ بنھیں کوں ڈیسی -

* * * *

Considerations of space unfortunately prevent any proper illustration of the quality of Dr.Jukes's numerous translations of other books of the Bible, now preserved only as manuscripts in the Library of Bible House, London. Just as a token specimen, however, we may quote his version of the very first verses of the Bible (Genesis 1:1-5), which describe the beginning of God's creation of the world:

"1 In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.
2 And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.
3 And God said, Let there be light: and there was light.
4 And God saw the light, that it was good: and God divided the light from the darkness.
5 And God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. And the evening and the morning were the first day."

Dr.Jukes's unrevised Siraiki translation runs:

(۱) اول اول خدا اسمان کوں اتیں زمین کوں
پیدا کیتا - (۲) اتیں زمین ویران اتیں برھائی اتیں
ڈنگھانڑ دے اتیں اندھا اتیں خدا دی روح پانڑیں تیں
حرکت کریندی ھائی - (۳) اتیں خدا آکھیا جو سوجھلا
تھیوے اتیں سوجھلا تھی گیا - (۴) اتیں خدا سوجھلے
کوں ڈٹھا جو چنگاں ھے اتیں خدا سوجھلے کوں اندھارے
کنوں انج کیتا - (۵) اتیں خدا سوجھلے کوں ڈینہہ
آکھیا اتیں اندھارے کوں رات آکھی سو شام اتیں فجر پہلا
ڈینہہ تھیا -

As has already been mentioned, Dr.Jukes undertook the translation into Siraiki not only of the Bible, but also of some of the services prescribed in the Prayer Book of the Church of England. The translations of the Morning Prayer and the Evening Prayer are preserved in a manuscript in Bible House. Not only are they of high quality, but they also illustrate a different kind of religious language from that of the Bible. As an illustration, we give his version of the Second Collect from the Morning Prayer, which is a prayer for peace, and runs in English as follows:

> "O God, who art the author of peace and lover of concord, in knowledge of whom standeth our eternal life, whose service is perfect freedom; Defend us thy humble servants in all assaults of our enemies; that we, surely trusting in thy defence, may not feat the power of any adversaries, through the might of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

Dr.Jukes's translation, which captures much of the nobility of the original, may be allowed to stand as a fitting conclusion here:

اے خدا جو صلح کراونڑ والا اتے ملاپ دا چاھنڑ والا
ھیں جیندی سنجانڑ وچ اساڈی ھمیشہ دی حیاتی تھیندی
ھے جیندی بندگی پوری ازادی ھے - جیں ویلے اساڈے
دشمن اساڈے اتے وار کرن اپڑیں عاجز بندیں دی رکھوالی
کر تانجو اساں تیڈی رکھوالی تے پورا بھروسا رکھ کراھیں
دشمن دے زور کنوں نہ ڈروں اساڈے خداوند یسوع مسیح
دی قدرت نال - آمین

NOTES ON SOURCES

CHAPTER 1

There is naturally quite a substantial literature in English on Carey and the work of the Serampore trio. I have relied for general information on George Smith, The Life of William Carey, Shoemaker and Missionary, London, 1909, and E.D.Potts, British Baptist Missionaries in India 1793-1837: the History of Serampore and its Missions, Cambridge, 1967.

1. Brief View of the Baptist Missions and Translations ... [by A. Fuller?], London 1815, p.31.

2. G.A.Grierson, 'The Early Publications of the Serampore Missionaries', Indian Antiquary, XXXII, 1903 [pp.241-254], pp.245-6. The earliest Siraiki words quoted in a European book are, according to Grierson's bibliography in the Linguistic Survey of India, VIII, I, p.244, the list of numbers from 1 to 10 taken from a native of Multan in Theophilus Siegfried Bayer's Historia Regni Graecorum Bactriani, Petropoli, 1738, pp. 113 ff.: the numbers are given as 1, heku; 2, ddhu; 3, tray; 4, tgjar; 5, pangj; 6, tsche; 7, tzatte; 8, aadgj; 9, nao; 10, ndga.

3. The title-page is printed in English, and reads: 'The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, translated from the Originals into the Mooltan language. By the Serampore Missionaries. Vol.II, Containing the New Testament. Serampore, 1819.' The book has 274 pages.

4. T.Bomford, 'Rough notes', Appendix I, 'Notes on the translation of the New Testament into the Multani language, by the Serampur Missionaries', p.330.

5. Seventh Memoir, pp.6-7.

CHAPTER 2

The strange career and biazarre personality of Burton continue to attract biographers, but most rely on the Life by his wife for the Indian period; I have used one of the less lurid popular biographies, Seton Dearden, The Arabian Knight, 2nd edition, London, 1953. Biographical details of the later officials are harder to come by, other than the details of postings and appointments contained in such official publications as the India Lists and Punjab Histories of Services.

1. Isabel Burton, The Life of Captain Sir Richd. F. Burton, London, 1893, vol.i, p.160.

2. Isabel Burton, Life, vol.i, pp.162-3.

3. R.F.Burton, 'A Grammar of the Jataki or Belochki Dialect', Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, III, part I, 1849 [pp.84-125], pp.84-5.

4. It has in fact been conclusively demonstrated on philological grounds that the Gypsies must have originated from the present Hindi-Rajasthani area (before 250 B.C.), in R.L.Turner, 'The Position of Romani in Indo-Aryan', Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society, 3rd series, V, 4, 1926, pp.145-89 [reprinted in Collected Papers 1912-1973, London, 1975, pp.251-90].

5. Bodleian Library MS. Ind. Misc. c. 12: the quotations are from ff. 85a, 10b, 8b.

6. E.B.Steedman, Report on the Revised Settlement of the Jhang District of the Punjab, Lahore, 1882, p.58, para.75.

7. E.O'Brien, Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Muzaffargarh District of the Punjab, Lahore, 1882, p.72, para.16.

8. E.O'Brien, Glossary of the Multani Language, compared with Punjabi and Sindhi, Lahore, 1881, pp.viii-ix. For a further short account of O'Brien (in particular his habit of wearing a kilt at all times, which caused him to be known locally as 'Ghaghri-vala Sahib'), cf. Umar Kamal Khan, History of Judiciary and Administration of Multan, Multan, 1979, p.66.

9. J.Wilson (with Pandit Hari Kishen Kaul), Grammar and Dictionary of Western Panjabi, as spoken in the Shahpur District, with proverbs, sayings and verses, Lahore, 1899: reprinted Patiala, 1962.

10. E.O'Brien, Glossary of the Multani Language, or (South-Western Panjabi) revised by J.Wilson and Pandit Hari Kishen Kaul, Lahore, 1903: reprinted Patiala, 1962.

11. In the bibliography given in the Linguistic Survey, Grierson mentions a book by Edward Maclagan, Deputy Commissioner in Multan 1896-1901 (and author of the excellent Multan Gazetteer), called Notes on Western Panjabi collected by E.M., Lahore, 1900. This is presumably a published work, but I have been unable to find a copy in London.

CHAPTER 3

The summary biographies of Jukes and Bomford are derived from the C.M.S. Register of Missionaries. Their letters are preserved in the C.M.S. Archives of the correspondence relating to the Punjab and Sindh Mission, also recorded in the annual précis-books [G3/14/0.11].

1. Quoted from the copy-book of correspondence for 1887, p.36 [the original letter, like all those of the 1880's and 1890's, is no longer preserved at Bible House].

2. T.Bomford, 'Rough notes on the Grammar of the Language spoken in the Western Panjab', Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, LXIV, part I, 1895 [pp.290-335], p.293.

3. T.Bomford, 'Pronominal Adjuncts in the Language spoken in the Western and Southern Parts of the Panjab', Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, LXVI, part I, 1897, pp.146-63.

4. C.M.S. Punjab and Sindh Mission, letter no.152 of 1895.

5. C.M.S. MS. Acc. 40 Z1, 'A dictionary of Multani or Derawali or Jagdalli or Western Punjabi, by Andrew Jukes, C.M.S. Medical Missionary in Dera Ghazi Khan, etc., given to C.M.S. Library by Dr.Jukes in June 1930'.

6. A copy of a favourable note on the dictionary from Dames is attached to Jukes's letter quoted above. M.L.Dames, who served in Jhang and the Derajat from 1875 to 1887, obviously knew the language well and provided Grierson with useful information for the Linguistic Survey.

7. A.Jukes, A Dictionary of the Jatki or Western Punjabi Language, London and Lahore, 1900 [reprinted Patiala, 1961], pp.iv-v.

8. J.S.M.Hooper, Bible Translation in India, Pakistan and Ceylon, 2nd edition, revised by W.J.Culshaw, Bombay, 1963, p.200.

CHAPTER 4

1. G.A.Grierson, 'On Pronominal Suffixes in the Kashmiri Language', Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, LXIV, part I, 1895 [pp.336-51], pp.338-9.

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

3. Linguistic Survey of India, IX, part I, Western Hindi and Panjabi, Calcutta, 1916, pp.614-5 [reprinted in Grierson on Panjabi, Patiala, 1961, pp.8-9].

4. LSI, IX, I, p.608 [reprint, p.2].

5. Linguistic Survey of India, VIII, part I, Sindhi and Lahnda, Calcutta, 1919, p.233 [reprint, p.219].

6. LSI, VIII, I, p.237 [reprint, p.223].

7. I have examined these in detail in a paper 'Problems of classification in Pakistan Panjab', printed in Transactions of the Philological Society, 1979, pp.192-210.

8. I have given a brief summary of later studies in the Introduction to my grammar, The Siraiki Language of Central Pakistan, London, 1976, pp.4-5.

CHAPTER 5

1. Given in the Glossary as:
   "Jé vasé Phagan Máṅhéṅ táṅ ann ná mávé gháhéṅ;
   "Jé vasé Phagan Chetr táṅ ann ná mávé khétr."

2. Given in the Glossary as:
   "Sakhi kaṇúṅ shúm bhala turt ḍeve jawab."

3. O'Brien, Multani Glossary, 1881, pp.ix-xii.

4. E.B.Steedman, Jhang Settlement Report, 1882, Appendix 7, Proverbs and Songs of Jhang.

5. Jukes, Dictionary MS., p.789.

6. Skemp, Multani Stories, no.29, pp.54-5.

7. Multani Stories, no.4, pp.16-17.

8. Multani Stories, nó.6, pp.18-19.

9. Jhang Settlement Report, Appendix 7, Song no.5.

10. H.A.Rose, 'Two Panjabi Love Songs in the Dialect of the Lahnda or Western Panjab, by Jindan', Indian Antiquary, XXXV, 1906, pp.333-5.

11. J.Wilson, Grammar and Dictionary of Western Panjabi, 1899, Verses, pp.14-19 [reprinted in LSI, VIII, I, pp.388-92].

CHAPTER 6

1. LSI, VIII, I, pp.315-6.

2. Serampore New Testament, pp.46-7.

INDEX OF NAMES