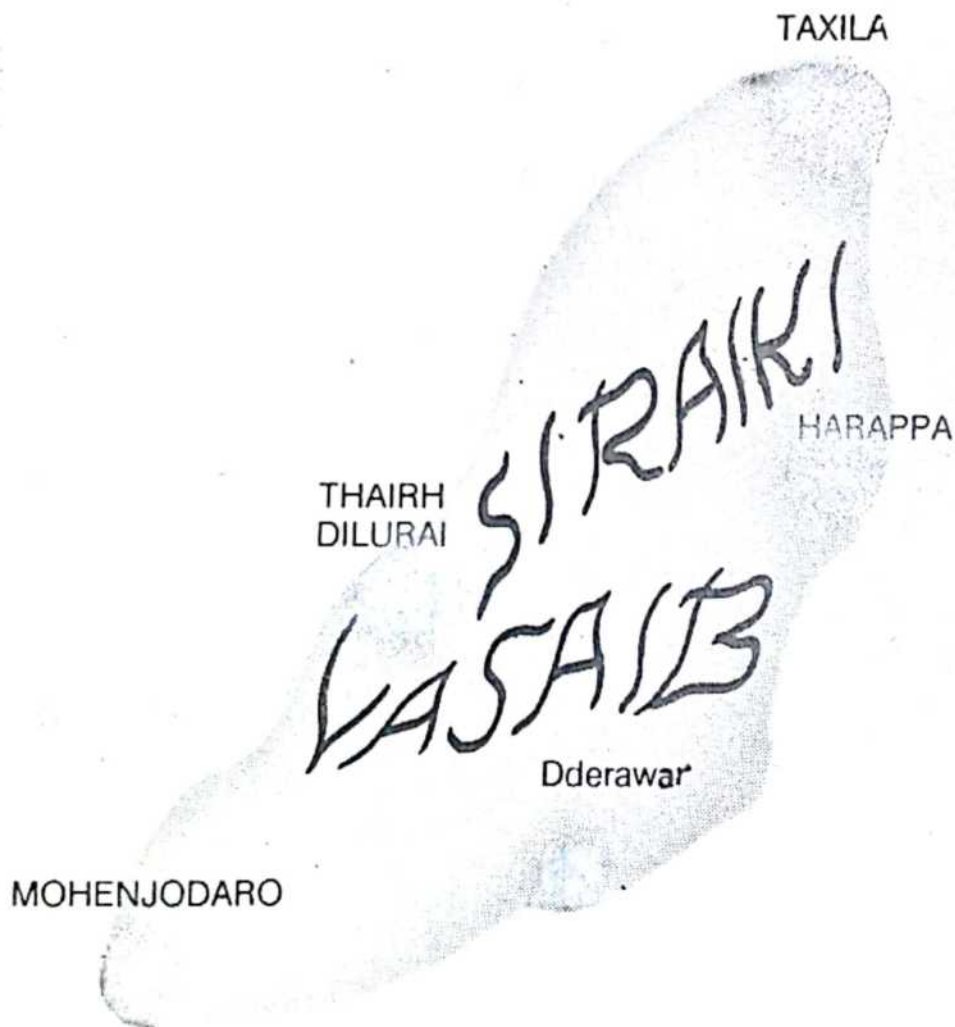


# THE SIRAIKI LANGUAGE ITS GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT



AHSAN WAGHA

**This work is dedicated  
to the Siraiki People**

## FOREWORD

This is an elementary work on Siraiki language – a small addition to a very small number of research work produced uptill now on the subject. The larger importance of this language as a major component of the Great Indus culture could only be indicated here and not discussed thoroughly for various reasons. A student of philology, by going through this book, can pick an idea atleast that this language is a thousands of years old aborigin and is a continuous development till this day.

The theory of 'Sanskrit origin' over projected by the orientalist of the British period ignores the roots of interrelationship between the languages of the world. The interrelations and resemblance between the objects of nature is not by chance or accidental but logical and objective. Although Ghalib says: *آتے ہیں غیب سے یہ مضامیں خیال میں* (These ideas come into mind from the *ghaib* i.e. the invisible). but the *ghaib* is itself evident through its continuous supply to the creative mind. It is nothing but a cosmic complexity of time and space which has interconnected each component of nature. Everything anew, after a little investigation comes out as a changed form of something previous because civilization was impossible without communication. Man spent centuries in discovering relationship between the objects of the nature; and generations had to pass before he developed communication, logic and language.

Total expansion of modern communication is based upon very few basic observations of ancient man. Early man realized everything by relating it to some vital phenomenon of his own life. Somewhere in the course of civilization his genital organs attracted his concentration. 'Phallic worship' later converted into 'idol worship' which might have originated at one place, prevailed all over the world. It is why a vast variety of similarities is apparent in most of the cultures throughout.

Easy to explore in some languages and difficult to judge in others, a coherence is there. In Siraiki, 'phaal' ( پھال ) means one successful attempt of an ox over a cow, 'phala' is the arrow shaped blade of plough, and 'phall' means a newly born of a woman or an animal, or fruit of a tree – and the word also has a slight connotation of blessing. Why to ignore the verbal and symbolic relationship between these Siraiki words and the European word 'phallus' meaning male genital organ. 'Chingathan' i.e. tiger of proto-Dravidian language changed into 'chikathan', 'chithan' and finally 'chita' as is existent in Hindi and Siraiki languages, and same became 'ching' in some Dravidian dialects, 'singh' (brave) in Hindi and 'king' in European dialects. 'Pre' 'Pro' and 'Proto' - the English prefixes are not far from 'Par' and 'Par,sal' (last year) of Siraiki. Remember several Hindu girls bearing the name of 'Parbati' i.e. 'Parvati' (first mother). In proto-dravidian 'vati' is vagina and the same word in Arabic i.e. وطی , means act of sex. Harappan seals frequently bear sign of X, shaped from external female genitalia, symbolically meaning the birth giving hidden power of woman, and today sign of X universally, stands for female in the Roman scripted texts of modern sciences.

The first and basic letter of the Brahmi script i.e. 𑀓 was named 'Omkaara' and was the sign of god siva or Brahma.\* Omega is the name of last letter of Greek alphabet written as Ω. The origin of Brahmi alphabet which is backbone of all modern scripts is "Brahma Sutra" of Sanskrit. But it still goes back to the "Prima Totiram" of proto Dravidian character.

But to confound a modern researcher, the most of the classical works of the orientalist stop on the Aryans and the Sanskrit; the history of this region is cut off from its roots. To the worst, these classical orientalist are succeeded by the theocrate or scholastic writers on one side and by the extremist cultural separatists on other side. Consequently an influx of superficial literature has raised a tendency of giving stereotyped

\* Names like Brahma, Abraham and Ibrahim and also the origin of European word prime can be judged in the same background.

interpretations to the available philological references. A large ethnic entity *Awan* اوان , write their title in the Persian script as اعوان to confirm its derivation from Arabic word 'aun' عون . Some Afghans claim to be 'Akhwanṣ' اخوان (Arabic, brothers). Name of a town *Taunsa*, تونسر derived from Hindi word 'Tauns' تونس , (thirst) is interpreted as derived from *Tuaus* طاؤس , which means peacock. In Dravidian 'Muruga', peacock (changed into murgha; , in Urdu i.e. cock and 'murgh' مرغ in Persian for bird; like Siraiki word 'kukkorr' ککڑ having definite linguistic relation with the cock), was worshiped as a god in this region. Still there exist place names like *Mor Jhangi*' (place of peacock), on the banks of Indus as a reference to the cult. But name of a village *Muruga*' near Rawalpindi is written as *Mor,gah*' on Persian fashions, and so on.

Today the archaic and philological evidences are being reinterpreted. First source based research has been re-started in different parts of South Asia, to explore in the foundations of 7000 years old proto-Dravidian - Indus Civilization and to prove that all major cultures of the world are off shoots of this one. In the light of this, Siraiki also requires modern research with a point of view different from previous one. Because this is the language surviving over the archaic centres of the Indus civilization i.e. Mohenjodaro, Kot Deji, Taxila, Harappa, Dderawar and Multan. Present work is a step towards this direction.

English language as a medium of this research is not a choice, but as a part of study at University of Peshawar it was compulsory. This paper was completed 5 years ago - a fact that the reader may keep in mind while organizing his fresh opinion on the subject. In spelling the oriental words like those of Siraik language, tradition set in the classical works of the orientalisists has been followed partly.

And finally, many aspects of the subject have been, knowingly, left incomplete. Very soon things will come to their proper places. The Urdu, (a language without stems) will stop its Sanskritian role of degrading Pakistani languages as *apbharanishas*. Very soon, by a trend of healthy research, facts about our languages shall come to light. Someone will explore,

for example, about Madhu Lal Husain and the Siraiki language of his poetry which looks alien in the Lahore region; and about origin of his *kafis* which were discovered and collected in Sindh; and about his title names like 'Lal' and 'Faqir' which are both remnants of an ancient Hindu cult and Muslim *Sufi* tradition, respectively, and are largely reflected in names like *Odero Lal*, *Lal Qalandar*, and *Rohal Faqir*, *Hamal Faqir* and *Allann Faqir* etc. in Sindh and the Siraiki region. Do not such facts justify retesting of the existing idea i.e. Shah Husain Lahori and Madhu Lal Husain Faqir were not two different persons?

Like everything, truth also requires some ground; every universal truth is local first; that is why this writer prefers to promote Siraiki.

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**Ahsan Wagha**

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We, the Siraiki people still possess the qualities of clannish life. While performing some deed, I am always answerable to my friends like Karim Nawaz Kuai, Mazhar Arif, Mumtaz Haider Ddahar, Mahmud Nizami, Shahnawaz Qaisrani, Altaf Khitrann, Mansoor Karim, Mazhar Nawaz Baloch, Akram Mirani, Ashiq Buzdar, Ashu Lal Faqir, Dr. Rafiq, Dr. Anwar Ahmad, Abid Amiq, M. Farooq, Dr. Azhar Malik, Shamim Arif, Malik Farid, Khalid Niazi, Aziz Niazi, Ibrahim Baig, Mushtaq Muzaffargarhi, Mushtaq Shaka, Zafar Haidrani, Nazir Lighari, Nasrullah Nasir, Malik Farooq Azam, Malik Abdullah Irfan, Qamar Malik, Irshad Amin, Siddiq Tahir, Ghazanfar Mahdi, Rafiq Thahim, Dr. Kalasra, Dr. Jafri, Rafiq Baloch, Zaman Jafri, Dr. Akhtar Rizwi, Zahid Kanjju, Zafar Khan Niazi, Wasim, Rehana, Farhana, Razia, Mehr Shah, Bashir A.

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"I spent more than thirty hours on reading this manuscript. This can be published in my opinion". said Khadim Husain after pointing out vital mistakes with researcher's view point.

And after all it is Miss Samina Saman who succeeded in bringing about a research work by a poet i.e. me; Her contribution is, no doubt, beyond words.



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# 1

## SIRAIKI - THE BACKGROUND OF DIFFERENT NAMES

A great variety of dialects and languages has flourished in the South Asian region over the centuries. The most striking aspect of South Asian languages is a vast variety of similarities of the same origin with sufficient differences between them for being acknowledged as separate languages.

Although hundreds of dialects and languages were evolved in this part of the world, yet only a few of them have been recognised and accepted as media of education and literary expression.

Siraiki as such is one of the major languages of South Asia, both area and population-wise.

It was estimated in 1976 that the Siraiki-speaking people numbered at least 15 millions.<sup>1\*</sup> The area where the language is spoken lies in the central part of Pakistan, on either side of the river Indus, including the lower reaches of Chanab and Sutlej. This corresponds to the south western part of the Punjab Province and the adjacent area<sup>2</sup>.

Siraiki has been constantly influenced by a variety of dialects and languages. However, its openness to other languages has not diminished its distinct identity.

The evolution of the Siraiki language had been mainly contributed by the dialects of ancient pre-Aryan, Dravidian and

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\*The figure is squeezed by the careful researchers. Putting aside the claims of 35 million by the Siraiki politicians at the end of 1980s, we can say that Siraiki people are one fourth of total population of Pakistan.

Dardic groups of languages. The hordes of invaders from the Central Asian region and the Pamir mountain ranges brought to the plains of the Indus valley a great amalgam of dialects which had a tremendous impact on the development of local languages. It is actually the impact of Dardic group of languages on Siraiki and Sindhi which separates them from all other languages of the South Asian region.

What are the peculiarities of this language? How is it different from Punjabi and other languages and dialects spoken in the adjacent area? How did the classical researchers misunderstand Siraiki? Is it a pre-Aryan language? What type of characteristics did this language develop in the constant neighbourhood of the Iranian group of languages? An attempt will be made to answer these questions in the following pages.

The Population Census Organization, before the census of 1981, never took Siraiki into account as a distinct language. Neither does the language coincide with the established administrative units i.e. provinces, divisions and districts. The Population Census Organization, for the first time has shown siraiki, in its statistics, as a language of about 9.8% of the total population of the country in 1981 population census<sup>3</sup>. The figure is underestimated due to many reasons. Most of the cultural institutions of the Government such as Pakistan Academy of Letters have recognized Siraiki as a separate language, distinct from Punjabi. (Class of M.A. in Siraiki has started in Islamia University, Bahawalpur, recently).

To some people this indo-Aryan speech of a large part of Pakistan may be more familiar under the name of Multani or Southern Lahnda, or even Western Punjabi.<sup>4</sup> The language has had different names at different times in different areas of its territory.

The word, 'Siraiki', has been subjected to different interpretations by contemporary researchers. Apparently, this word originated in Sindh (Southern Province of Pakistan) where the Siraiki language is spoken by a large section of population. The word 'sera' is related to 'ser' which means 'head' and is in its geographic sense used for north in the Sindhi language. The

background of this geographic sense is that north refers to the upper part of Sindh as the river Indus flows from the north to the south in that area. Therefore, Siraiki would mean the language of the north, or the language of the people from the northern area.<sup>5</sup>

According to another observation 'Siraiki' relates to the word 'Serai' which was popular because of its association with 'Kalhorras' (a ruling dynasty) as an honorific title. Interpretation of the word 'Sirai' is the same as above (i.e. belonging to the north). Kalhorras were called 'Sirai' because they originally belonged to Bahawalpur and Multan - the region in the north of Sindh. A popular old Sindhi saying supports this view i.e., 'Sero jo dhaggo larr jo parhio'.

سر د جو ڈھگولاڑ جو پڑھيو -

(A bull from the North is equal to an educated person from the South).\*

H.T. Lambrick's in his ethnic research on Sindh, also lends his support to the above thesis. In his opinion, this has been also the language of camel-driving and camel-raising 'Jats' and of a number of Baloch tribes who settled in Sindh after a prolonged stay in Punjab.<sup>6</sup>

A quite different approach is that siraiki is derived from 'Aserki' or 'Asurki' - in turn, taken from 'Surya', which is a word of Sanskrit, meaning the sun. The 'Asury' were the people who worshipped the sun. They were a ruling nation of Multan some 3,000 years ago.<sup>7</sup> *Suraj Myani* and *Suraj Kund*, two towns and *Parahalad Mandir*, a temple of the sun-god still exist in Multan as remnants of the Ausry nation of Multan, the ancestors of the

\*This idea of superiority of Siraikis because of its relation to the ruling dynasty i.e. Kalhorras, is disagreed by some modern Sindhi scholars like Rasool Bakhsh Paljo in whose opinion word siraiki was introduced simply for a language of northern part of Sindh as against Larri - the language of Southern part of Sindh. He corrects the version of the saying mentioned above as following:

"utar jo dhaggo larr jo parhio"

English translation will be the same as above.

(An interview with Mr. Rasool Bakhsh Paljo at Karachi on March 12, 1986).

اٽر جو ڈھگولاڑ جو پڑھيو

Siraiki people of today. Siraiki is also related to the Asuris or Assyrians - the ancient people of Iraq.<sup>8</sup> Still another interpretation is that Siraiki is the modified form of a word "Sarawaki". 'Sarawa' was a village near Raheem Yar Khan, District of the Punjab. Siraiki meant the language of the people of 'Sarwa' Village.<sup>9</sup>

The popular supposition that Siraiki is the name given by the Sindhis to the language of the people of 'sera' (north) is falsified by the fact that the term is not a Sindhi word grammatically. If the term was invented in Sindh, it would have been 'Siraiji' because in Sindhi the 'ki' of Hindi is converted into 'ji'.

It is possible that the term 'Siraiki' belongs to Siraiki language itself. The suffix 'ki', or 'akki' is used in Siraiki to make the proper noun of a language with reference to its speakers, such as "Balochki", for the language of Balochs and 'Pathnnakki', for the language of Pathans (Pakhtuns).

It was the invaders who propagated the names of regions, rivers and, also cities of South Asia. India itself was named by the Iranians or Aryans for the first time. 'Hinduka', and 'Hapta Hindu', are the most ancient references to India available in the Vedas and Avesta, the most ancient books of India and Iran respectively.<sup>10</sup> The natives of this region, it seems, had a limited view of land, confined only to the areas where they lived. Most of the areas were given local names by their people, or by the neighbours. Most of the local names have disappeared or have been modified by the passage of time. For instance the original name of Pakpattan, a city of Punjab, was Ajodhen<sup>11</sup> and Ghazni, the city in Afghanistan, according to some researchers, was 'Gajni' after the name of Raja Gajj of India who ruled over the area and built the city.<sup>12\*</sup>

A large number of the cities, the rivers, the regions and the languages are known by the names given to them, or at least

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\*This idea of foreign name is rejected by the modern South Asian researchers like K. K. Raman of India. He claims that all such names have local origin. Explaining the background of word 'India' he says that in proto-Dravidian language Indus valley was called 'Kava Indiram' (the great centre) which was corrupted into Koindiram. Late 'Ko' which means holy or great was dropped and rest was 'Indiram'. After undergoing natural transformation it became India.

recorded by the conquerors, coming from the west and the north-west. There are a few regions which remained less disturbed as cultural pockets, such as the valleys inside the Pameer ranges and the slopes on the right bank of the river Indus.

Siraiki, a largely spoken language of the Indus valley, was given a number of local names till 1950s. The following names have been mentioned by the linguists:

1. Multani: (from Multan)
2. Muzaffargarhi: (from Muzaffargarh)
3. Uchi: (from Uch Sharif)
4. Bahawalpuri/  
Riasti: (from state of Bahawalpur)
5. Derewali: (from Derajat, i.e. D.I. Khan and D.G. Khan)
6. Hindko/  
Hindki: (In the area from Peshawar to Bannu in (N.W.F.P.), Hindko is spoken by the old natives. It is supposed to be the language of Indian natives as distinct from Pashto, the language of Pakhtuns - the people who were not Indian. Hindko is however an independent dialect itself).
7. Thalochari: (from Thal - the desert from Mianwali to Muzaffargarh)
8. Lahnda: (language of the people residing in the west of Punjab. Lahnda denotes the direction in which the sun sets, i.e. west).

9. Jaghdali:

(The language of 'Jaghdals' the people who were supposed to be illiterate and uncultured as interpreted by Dr. Mehr Abdul Haq.<sup>13</sup> The interpretation, however, is worth reviewing. In fact the word 'Jaghdali' is a distorted form of 'Jadghali'<sup>14</sup>, which was originally 'Jatgali'. The name 'Jatgali' was given to the Siraiki language by the Balochs. In their movement towards the Indus valley (upper), the Balochs, at first, came in contact with the Jats. Now, all non-Balochs there were Jats to them. The Balochs are supposed to have descended from Kurds - a Semitic stock of people residing in Iran, and Iraq. 'gali' or 'gal' is a Kurdish word which means language or speech. With this interpretation Siraiki is 'jatgali' - the language of the Jats positively).

10. Jatki

Earlier British experts i.e. Jukes and Trevor Bomford have recorded this name for Siraiki and have included the 'Jatki'<sup>15</sup> language of Khetrans or Jafars into the dialects of Siraiki (to them 'Jatki'), with the name of 'Jafarki'. T. Bomford's observation in his Census Report (published in 1895) is as under:

Dialect	Number of person speakign each dialect
Jatki	79,156
Punjabi (in Muzafargarh)	4,416
Derawali	32,106
Hindki (in Derajat)	576,732

JATKI

Hindko (in Derajat)	511
Jafarki (in Derajat)	21
Hindi (in Bahawalpur, Bannu, D.I.Khan and D.G. Khan)	311,695
Multani <sup>16</sup>	<u>895,285</u>
	1,899,922

11 Jataki or  
Belochki

These names are given to Siraiki in Lieut Burton's report on Sindh Survey, as a language of Balochs. He mentioned following dialects of the same:

1. Siraiki
2. Belochki
3. Jataki<sup>17</sup>

Hindi and the words related to it such as '*Hindui*', etc. are very confusing in the study of the languages of South Asia. It was usual in the past, that whenever the invaders of India crossed the Suleman Range, the first people and language they came across, they named as Hindi. In all classical texts most of the languages of north India have been named as Hindi. In the Mughal period, particularly when the institutions of Muslim Religious education spread all over the country, most of the local languages were called Hindi as against Persian and Arabic, the languages of state and religion respectively. In the books written in those days Siraiki is also named as Hindi. For example in the following couplet;

Farz masail fiqah de hindi kar taleem  
Karan mardan ummiyan jore Abdl Kareem<sup>18</sup>

فرض مسائل فقہ دے ہندی کر تعلیم  
کارن مردان امیاں جوڑے عبدالکریم

(I. Abdul Kareem, using Hindi as medium of instruction have educated the illiterate people in the codes of '*Fiqah*').



Now, this couplet is in Siraiki which the poet has called Hindi. Similarly "Nisab-e-Zaroori" is a versified dictionary from Persian to Siraiki. This was written by one Maulvi Khuda Bakhsh of Taunsa Sharif, (a sub-division of D.G. Khan District) in 19th century A.D., and is successfully used as a text in Madaris-e-Nizami (the religious schools). In this book the abbreviation of H ( ه ) for Hindi is placed beneath every word of Siraiki just as F ( ف ) is written under the words of Persian (Farsi)<sup>19</sup>.

The word Hindi or Indian has always been misused by the foreigners - even by the western orientalists.

The famous orientalist Garcin De Tassy in one of his lectures on Hindustani (today, Urdu), states as follows:-

The name Hindhi or Indian which was given to this language and with which this language was well known among the majority of the people of the country, was more proper than the word 'Hindustani' given to it by the Europeans. The Europeans called the language of the Muslims, as 'Hindustani' and they ascribed the word Hindhi to the language of the Hindus, which was not correct. It would be more appropriate to name the language of the Muslims as Hindi and to call the language of the 'Hindus' as 'Hindui'<sup>20</sup>. However, time has not accepted the proposal of G.De Tassy. That 'Language of Muslims' has developed its name as Urdu, and Hindhi is one of the languages of modern India.

Among other names, Hindi was also a well established name of Siraiki language in the Indus valley.

## NOTES

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## SCRIPT

First and simple method of writing was to draw a picture. After the study of ancient paintings like the wall paintings of the caves of Ajanta and Lascaux, philologists and archaeologists have agreed that pictographic communication preceded lingual expression in the pre-historic age. Writing was pictures of gestures. The Chinese pictures which preceded existing Chinese script were called "ku-wan" meaning gesture picture. It took centuries to create words even after man was introduced to vocal expression. Environment of natural man was comparatively permanent. After repeatedly observing something for long time and finding in it some resemblance with another object of permanent value, the ancient man succeeded in creating a new word and that also would have been a changed form of one or more previous sounds. Mostly, the nature of words is imitative. Each vocal sound is imitation of some other sound.<sup>1</sup> Existing coherence and interlinkage between the civilizations did not appear by chance. Fact is that total expansion of human communication is actually based upon very few primary observations of the early man who realized every thing by relating it to some vital phenomenon of his own life.\* To discover relationship between things he carved them and painted them again and again. In this way, ancient Dravidians and Egyptians

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\*The three pronged letters and signs available in most of scripts in different shapes like; M, W, 3, E, are derivations from the trident sign of the ancient Dravidian script where it basically symbolized male genital organ (see Fig. 3). says K. K. Raman a modern Philologist of India. (p. Prasanna and P. Aravindakshan, Key to Harappan script, The Week, April, 3-9, 1988. p. 34-38).

recorded a good deal of their history and culture in the form of pictographs. Pictography is observed as first stage in the evolution of script.

At the second stage certain pictographs were simplified, their sizes shrunk and they lost their identification with their original subject. During this stage which lasted for centuries, a short ideographic sign was used to convey dual meanings i.e. a tangible thing and an abstract quality. For example, by the sign of a pyramid (^) a peak of mountain and the quality of highness or greatness could be meant at a time. Later on such signs also became mystic symbols. At the third stage the signs shifted their representative relation from the objects to their names and specific signs became logographs of specific words. For example a sign of half circle ( C ) which was a pictograph of the crescent moon called '*kalachandra*', in proto Dravidian language, in the later period was related to word '*kala*' meaning source of learning, a letter, etc. Scripts of Chinese group are nearer to this stage. Lastly the writers of the mediaeval period developed modern scripts by dividing a written sign into pieces according to the syllabic parts of its word to invent new letters. This principal of syllabification is essential for a scientific script of today.

Modern scripts look as different from each other as modern languages. But an irrefutable commonness of origin has been found among the languages. Even a philologist reduced all words of European languages to four hundred root words. Take the example of a word '*devine*' which is '*divus*', and '*devs*' in Latin, '*theos*' in Greek, '*devel*' in Gypsy's language as name of their god and originally, '*deva*' or '*dev*' in Sanskrit. Through Sanskrit, modern western languages are connected with pre-Sanskrit or Proto-Dravidian languages of Asia in many ways. Similarly, common features can be observed in the apparently most different scripts by the analytic study of early writings. It will help to have an idea of the evolution of scripts and their derivations while going through their customary classification which follows:

Siraiki is rich in varied sound patterns. It is very difficult to adjust all of its sounds in the alphabet of the script which is adopted for writing Siraiki i.e. the Persian script (Nastaliq Style).

The Persian script though most prevalent, is not the original script of the languages of South Asia. It represents the sound patterns of Arabic and Persian languages. This script contains a number of letters which symbolize no sounds of the local languages. There are so many sounds in these local languages for which the Persian script has no letters. In short, the Persian script, although unfit for the Siraiki language phonetically, is being used as the sole script for the language.

The number of alphabets in Siraiki is more than in any other developed languages such as Arabic, Persian, English, Urdu and Punjabi etc. The Phonemes of Siraiki are the same as those of Sindhi.

This existing Persian script is a developed form of the ancient Aramaic script which was itself derived from Phoenician script of Assyria. The Persian Nastaliq was invented by one Ameer Ali Tabraizi in 13th Century A.D.<sup>2</sup>

This script was brought into India by the Muslim rulers. It was first used for writing Persian only. But as the ruling elite started to adopt local languages as medium of their expression, the Persian script was also used side by side with the local Dev Nagri\* script for writing Hindi. It was observed that the 'Hindustani' language was written with two different methods of writing in the 19th century, the 'Persian' method of writing which was adopted for writing 'Islamic Hindustani', and the Dev Nagri method of writing which was in practice for writing 'Hindustani - Hindui' (the language of the Hindus).<sup>3</sup>

The Punjabi language has its own Gurmukhi script which was invented by Guru Angad, a renowned Sikh Leader of 16th century A.D. But in west Punjab, this script was made a matter of dispute between the Muslims and the Sikhs in the period of Raja Ranjeet Singh. The Muslims accepted Punjabi as a language of the court

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\*Dev Nagri can be interpreted as a script originated from the symbol of Nagam Dev (snake god) which is represented on Harraappan seals with the sign of an oversized 'S' and is read as *Nagarikam*. Its logographic meanings are river bank and urbanity. Besides snake this sign i.e. 'S' is also shaped from the neck of peacock, the Muruga god. (P. Aravindakshan, Breaking the seals, The Week Ag. 20 India, 1988, p. 52-54).

but they wanted it to be written in the Persian script. The matter was brought to the notice of Ranjeet Singh. The Raja after consulting his Muslim Chief Minister, Faqir Aziz-ud-Din, declared that the Persian language and script would be used officially. Since that day the Punjabi language has been regularly written in the Persian script in the West Punjab, (Pakistan).<sup>4</sup>

The same Persian script (Naskh style) was adopted for writing Sindhi language with some changes in alphabet. This adoption of Persian script for the Sindhi language was carried out by the orders of the British Government in 1853 by a committee appointed for this purpose, arranged by Earnest Trump.<sup>5\*</sup> However, the adoption was carried out in an unscientific way and it unnecessarily enlarged the number of alphabet.

The Sindh valley has its own history of scripts. Dravidians, the founders of Mohenjodaro civilization, had their own script which has been found closer to the ancient pictorial script of the relics discovered in excavations in Iraq.<sup>6</sup>

It appears as the exercise of writing remained ceased in the Indus valley for 1500 years after the fall of Mohenjodaro and Harappa. The Art of writing and reading was re-introduced in this region by the Iranians after 500 B.C. in Achaemenian period. It is surprising that the Aryans while spreading over the Indus valley, readily learnt every thing from the natives except the skill of writing.<sup>7</sup> The main reasons were perhaps that the Aryans had a tribal system of economy which needed no accounts, no entries and no undertakings.<sup>8</sup>

According to Spicer, writing was not a skill created voluntarily; it was but the result of a strong sense of private ownership. Moreover, arithmetic was started in history, in churches and temples, to maintain accounts of the offerings and oblations received from the people. Vast trade, replacing the 'barter system' was another factor which gave birth to writing. The people of Sindh valley had been much advanced in these things.<sup>9</sup>

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\*Sindhi Script Committee was headed by an Assistant Commissioner namely Ellis and consisted of 10 members i.e. two British Officers, Burton and Stack and eight natives (4 Muslims and 4 Hindus).

It has been proved that the people of Indus valley could write and read much before the Arabic script was introduced in the area by the Muslim conquest of Sindh in 711 A.D. For instance, Ibn-e-Nadeem, in his history 'Alfahrist' (written in 986 A.D.) stated that the people of Indus valley had different languages and different religions. They used to write by different methods. A man who had visited all the major cities of the region, told Ibn-e-Nadeem that there were two hundred methods of writing practised in different cities. He also provided him with a piece of writing which he had copied from a statu of Buddha, to include in his book as a sample.<sup>10</sup>

According to Ainul Haq Fareedkoti writing and reading had started in the Indus valley, in 300 B.C. in a script which was later established as Barahmi script.<sup>11</sup> Brahmi alphabet is named as '*Brahma Sutra*' in Sanskrit and was '*Pirama Tottiram*', originally in proto Dravidean language. Linked with the pictographs of the seals of Harappa, and Mohenjodaro, Brahmi script is the only thousands of years old continuation, and its variants can be seen in most of the modern scripts. One of the three basic symbols on which this script was based is named as '*Om-kara*' and is titled as "*Om-kara rupam Brahma*" i.e. the symbol of om-kara is the face of Brahma (god). The three basic symbols of Brahmi script which are available on the seals are usually read as different pictures of man's head combined with the horns of ax etc. and rest of the seals are left as impossible. But looking at different seals at a time offers an analysis of the compact pictures into various signs like a circle, dual circle, a pyramid, a lance, a trident etc. By bringing numerical and directional changes in the three basic pictographs a large number of symbols was created and complete method of writing was developed with the name of Brahmi alphabet which is considered as a source of most of the modern scripts. (For illustration see figures and tables in the last of this chapter.<sup>12</sup>

The Kharoshti script of Iran also had been in use in this area in the later B.C. Centuries. This was the result of the Conquest of Darius the Great who annexed this area to his Iranian Empire in 500 B.C.<sup>13</sup>

Aramaic script, the official script of Achaemenian Empire was primarily introduced by the Arami people who were the founders of small states in Damascus, Hams, and the Western part of Iran. The Aramaic script was applied by pen and ink on pieces of leather or leaves of trees. Adopted by the Achaemenian dynasty, this script was introduced in Texila and upper region of Indus valley. All scripts which are written from right to left, originally belong to the Kharoshti script.<sup>14</sup> This script was used in the areas of North India, Asia Minor and Iran for centuries. It was based upon Aramaic script. Some researchers think that Kharoshti script was invented in Peshawar the ancient city of NWFP (Pakistan). The gravestone of Sultan Shahab-ud-Din Ghauri is written in this script.<sup>15</sup>

The only native script peculiar to the region is the local variant of North Indian alphabet known locally as 'Karikki' (*Kirrakki*) from its use by the Hindu merchants (called kirar in Siraiki area), for business purpose.<sup>16</sup> This script is in fact a slightly changed form of Dev Nagri, the most prevalent script of India. (Dev Nagri is the developed form of the Brahmi character. Names of both the scripts have religious connotations). This has been in use for writing Siraiki with different names such as Lunda, Sharda, Sarawaki, and 'Kirrakki', in different areas.<sup>17</sup>

Some old relics of Siraiki written in Dev Nagri have been found which show that Siraiki was written in Dev Nagri five centuries ago. A sentence of Siraiki language was found written on the main gate of the ancient Fort of the historic city of Amrot in Bahawalpur District. The sentence as translated into English was as follows:-

"This Fort has been occupied by Jam Somro and jam Somro arranged repairs of this fort in 1491 A.D." <sup>18</sup>



The famous historian Alberuni has also mentioned a script which was written from left to right and was known as Dev Nagri in Multan and the area around.<sup>19</sup>

Since the emigration of the Hindu population to India in 1947, the Kirrakki script has ceased to be used in Siraiki-speaking area. It was used for the so-called Multani translation of the New Testament published by Serampur Mission in 1888,<sup>20</sup> but has had no other significance as a vehicle of expression. An example of this script is given in the Linguistic Survey of India published in 1919. By most Siraiki-speaking people being Muslims, it is the Persian script which is normally used for writing the language, usually in Nastaliq style. Sometimes the Urdu norms are followed where-ever possible. But some writers try to show maximum distinction from these.<sup>21</sup> In Sindh, Siraiki is written in the Sindhi alphabet in which all its letters can be written unambiguously. The Sindhi alphabet, however, could not be accepted in Central Siraiki area (the Siraiki Districts, in the Punjab) because of its confusing contradictions with the Urdu alphabet which is well entrenched in the area.

Using the Persian script with Urdu additions, the Siraiki language needed a few additional letters, so that certain sounds not found in languages other than Siraiki (and Sindhi) could be expressed. They are the sounds closer to the Urdu sounds of (b), (j), (d), (g), and (n) with the difference that while the Urdu sounds are exhaled the siraiki sounds are inhaled.

So the linguists have added five letters by putting some diacritical marks over or under the five letters of Urdu alphabet mentioned above. These diacritical marks have been a matter of dispute since their introduction in early Sixties. Some writers adopted the mark of circle (o) for the first four letters to be placed above them. Others added a dot (.) to the same letters. The fifth letter (n) was given the mark of (ب) over (ن) of Persian following the (ن) of Sindhi with the combined sound of 'n' and 'r'. The diacritical mark of dot (.) for four letters with a mark of (ب) on (ن) of Persian script is now usually adopted by a majority of Siraiki

writers of today. This ( ) is invented for the peculiar sound which is more or less a mixed sound of 'NR'.\*

First complete Siraiki modifications in the Persian script were however, made by the Bible Society of Lahore, in the revised editions of the Siraiki translations of the Gospels, in 1898. A set of seven Siraiki letters was introduced as under:

ب ڀ ڄ ڙ ڳ ڻ ڻر

For the purpose of accuracy one Mohammad Hasan was trained as *katib*.<sup>22</sup>

In the light of above, (and by excluding unnecessary letters of Arabic sound) following table will show the Alphabetical structure of Siraiki language taken from Persian script with certain local modifications:

#### SIRAIKI ALPHABET TABLE :

ا	ب	پ	ت	ث	ج	ڄ	چ	خ	د
ڙ	ڻ	ر	ڙ	ز	ڻ	ڻ	س	ش	غ
ف	ک	گ	گ	ڳ	ل	م	ن		
ڻ	و	ه	ء	ی	ے				

\*I have been raising another question, i.e. propriety of having certain Arabic letters in the script. According to the law of phonetics a written letter is the visual representation of a sound. When a sound does not exist in a language there is no need to have it in an alphabet. Certain Arabic letters in Persian script adopted for Indian languages only confuse the user. The favourite argument that such Arabic letters, in Urdu or Siraiki alphabet, help in differentiating the meanings of the words having the same pronunciation (homophones) like kalb, (dog) and 'Kalb' (heart), is not valid. What do we do in the case of, Malak (angel), Malik (King) and Shefir, (the lion) and sheer (Milk) etc. which are written in the same form in the Persian script. Such confusion is removed with the help of the context in which such words occur. Alphabet must be in accordance with the sounds of a language. (author)

**Fig. 1.** Drivation of basic letters of proto-Dravidian, script, (later developed as Brahmi) script, from certain tangibles.

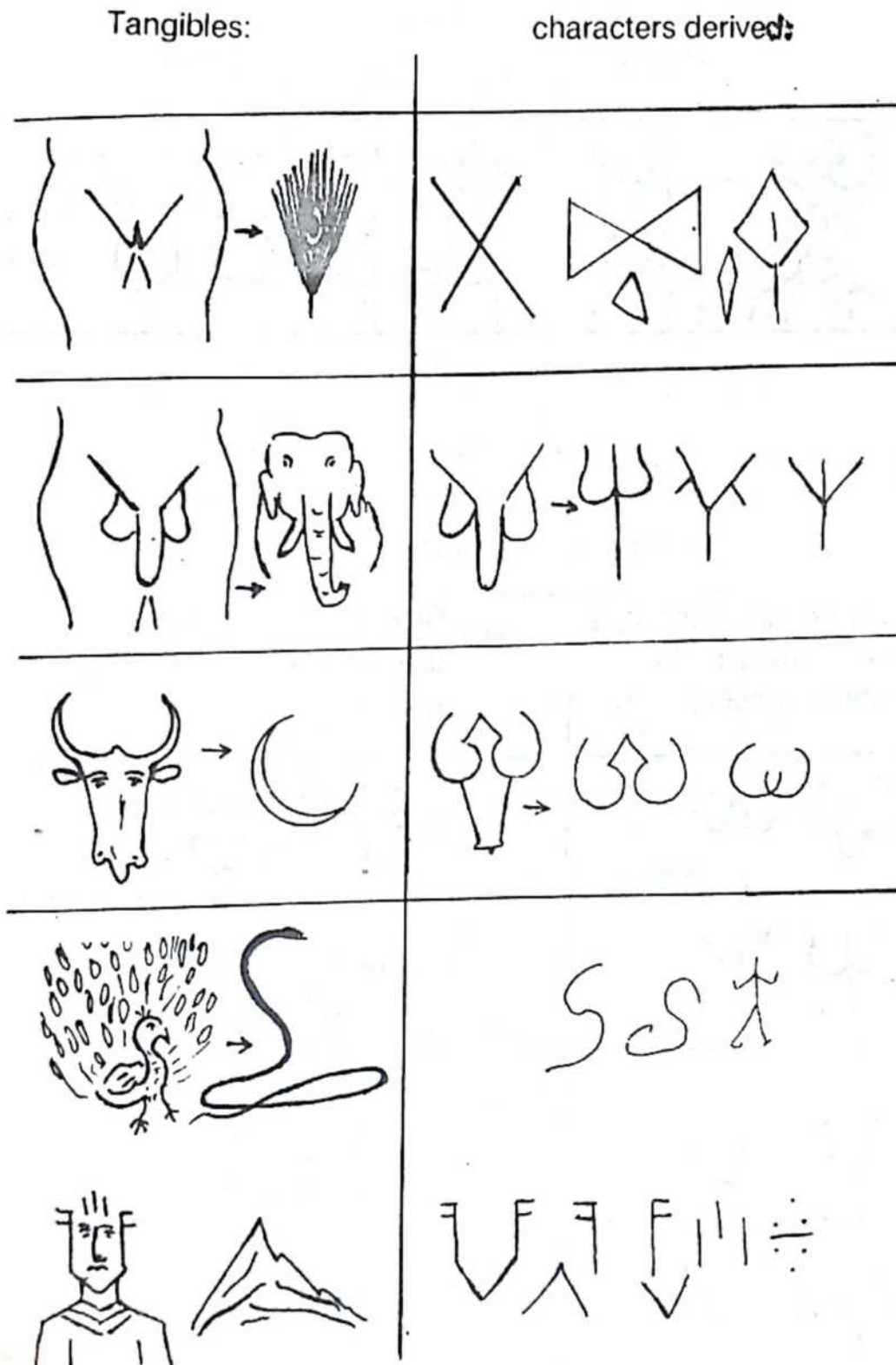


Fig. 2. Symbols and the script preserved side by side in the seals of Harappa:

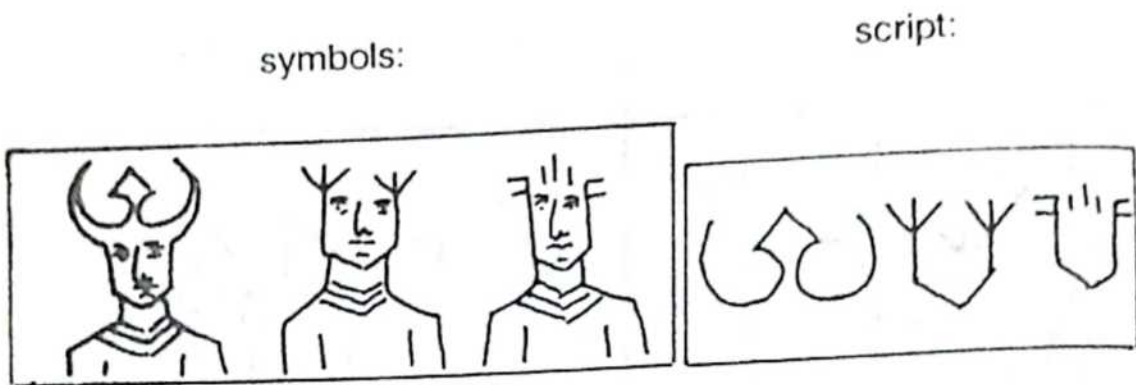


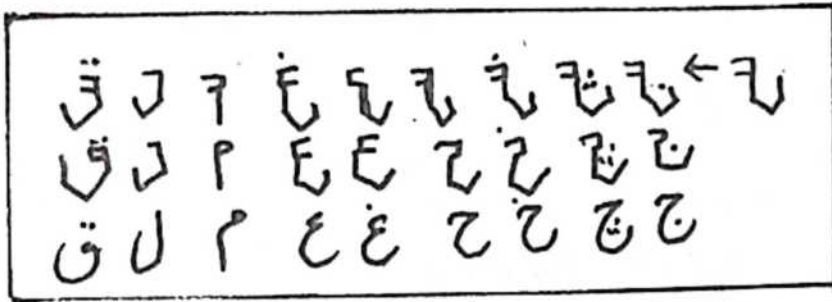
Fig. 3.

Omkaara, and other basic letters of the Brahmi alphabet.

Derivations available in different scripts.


Fig. 4. Formation of the Persian script:

No. 1



No. 2

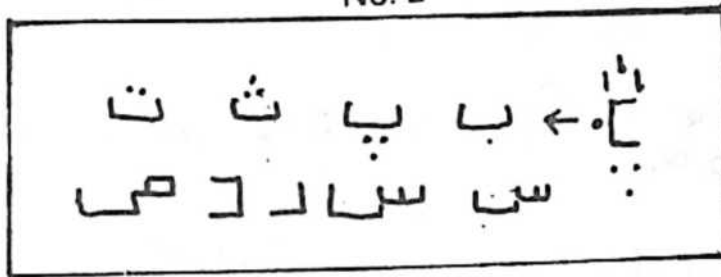


Fig. 5. Brahmi and the European scripts :

Brahmi	Greek	Roman:
	Α α	alpha A
	Β β	beta B
	Γ γ	gamma S G G
	Κ κ	kappa K K K
	Θ θ	theta
	Ρ ρ	pi P [P] F
	Μ μ	mi M W
	Τ τ	tau T
	Φ φ	pho R
	Χ χ	chi X X
	Ψ ψ	psi
	Ω ω	omega

## NOTES

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2. Muhammad Aslam Rasoolpuri, *Siraiki Zaban, Unda Rasmulkhat Te Awazan*, Rasoolpur, 1980. p. 72.
3. Anwar Ahmad Zuberi *Op. Cit.*, p. 10.
4. Maula Bakhsh Kushta, *Op. Cit.*, p. 12.
5. Muhammad Aslam Rasoolpuri, *Op. Cit.*, p. 71.
6. Ain-ul-Haq Fareedkoti, *Urdu zaban Ki Qadeem Tareekh*, Lahore, 1972. p. 35.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 212.
8. Sibte-e-Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehazeeb Ka Irteqa*, Karachi, 1977. p. 96.
9. *Ibid.*
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16. C. Shackle, *Op. cit.*, p. 41.
17. Muhammad Aslam Rasoolpuri, *Op. Cit.*, p. 68.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.
19. *Ibid.*
20. George Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of Pakistan (Being Part-I of the Linguistic Survey of India)* Vol. 4, Lahore. (n.d.) (A.I.O.U. Library Stamp carries date of 17.7.1982), p. 138.
21. C. Shackle, *Op. Cit.*, p. 4.
22. C. Shackle, *A Century of Siraiki Studies in English*, Multan, 1983, p. 26.

# 3

## SIRAIKI AREA

The linguists started to study Siraiki about a century ago. At that time the linguistic frontiers of Siraiki were assessed as follows:-

In its west this language was bordered by the Balochi language, and in the east it was mixed with the Hindi dialects of Rajputana. It was replaced by the Sindhi language in a very unnoticeable way in the South. It was very difficult to point exactly where from the Multani (Siraiki) language had originated<sup>1</sup> in the north.<sup>1</sup>

Jukes, in the preface of his Dictionary has also rendered few lines on the area of the Jatki (Siraiki) language as under:

"..... is spoken by the *Jafir Pathans* and *Khetrans* on the west of 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 from three to five millions, the latter is probably near if not under the actual number."<sup>2</sup>

The Siraiki-speaking area of today lies in the central part of Pakistan, on either side of Indus approximately from 28°N to 33°N longitude, and including the reaches of Chenab and Sutlej, which corresponds with the southwestern part of the Punjab province and the adjacent areas. The geo-linguistic situation of Siraiki is as under:-

This language is spoken on the western edge of the Indo-Aryan language area. Its boundaries between the Iranian, Pashto and Balochi languages are well defined by the Suleman range in

the west; To the south-east, the natural boundaries of the Thar desert, re-inforced by the political frontier between Pakistan and India, separate Siraiki from Marwari dialects of Rajasthan. Somewhat less clearly marked are the boundaries of Siraiki with Sindh at the narrowing of the Indus valley between mountain and desert near the present Provincial boundary between Punjab and Sindh, and similarly with Northern Lahnda dialects along the southern edge of the Salt Range. To the east there is no natural boundary, whatsoever, between Siraiki and Punjabi.<sup>3</sup>

One of the two different situations may come out wherever two languages meet. Such linguistic borders either become bilingual or a dialect mixture of both languages takes form.<sup>4</sup> The border areas of Siraiki with Balochi and Pashto are bilingual. Siraiki and Balochi are equally spoken by the people of Choti Zerein, Choti Bala, Dalana, Matti Mahoi, Shehlani, and other villages of Dera Ghazi Khan District of Punjab. Similarly Siraiki co-exists with Pashto in the villages and towns of Kirri Shammozai, and Lakki Marwat etc. upto Peizu Pass, of the NWFP. In the south, a large number of the people of Sindh speak Siraiki language in their homes. On the other hand Potohari, Shahpuri, Jhangvi and Jatki (Jaangli) dialects which exist on the north eastern, and eastern borders of Siraiki area are mixtures of both Siraiki and Punjabi dialects.

(The position of the area is indicated on map No. 4).

By the Administrative division, the Siraiki area is mainly merged into Punjab. Some small parts of this area are, however, annexed with all three adjacent provinces. The Siraiki-speaking Districts are the following:-

Dera Ismail Khan (NWFP), Mianwali, Bhakkar, Leiah, Dera Ghazi Khan, Rajanpur, Muzaffargarh, Multan, Vehari, Khanewal, Bahawalpur, Bahawalnagar (2 sub divisions) and Rahim Yar Khan (Punjab). The districts of Bannu (NWFP), Jhang (Punjab), Sukkur and Jaccobabad (Sindh) and Naseerabad (Balochistan) are also considered as Siraiki-speaking by some researchers. About 90% population of District Lasbela of Balochistan speaks Siraiki (also



called Jadgali).<sup>5</sup> Some linguists include Tharparkar, Shikarpur (Sindh), Loralai (Balochistan) and Kohat (NWFP) also into Siraiki-speaking area.<sup>6</sup> In short the area of Seraiki language has been exactly the central region of Indus civilization with three great centres i.e. Taxila, Mohenjodaro and Harappa around.

Map Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4 hereunder will help understand geolinguistic assessment of the Siraiki region.

Map No. 1 (Siraiki and its Neighbours)

Dr. C. Shackle, the Siraiki language of Central Pakistan. London. 1976. p. 3.



Map No. 2 (Siraiki land Scape)  
By M. Aslam Rasoolpuri\*

1. Northern Siraiki
2. Central Siraiki
3. Southern Siraiki
4. Sindhi Siraiki



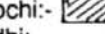









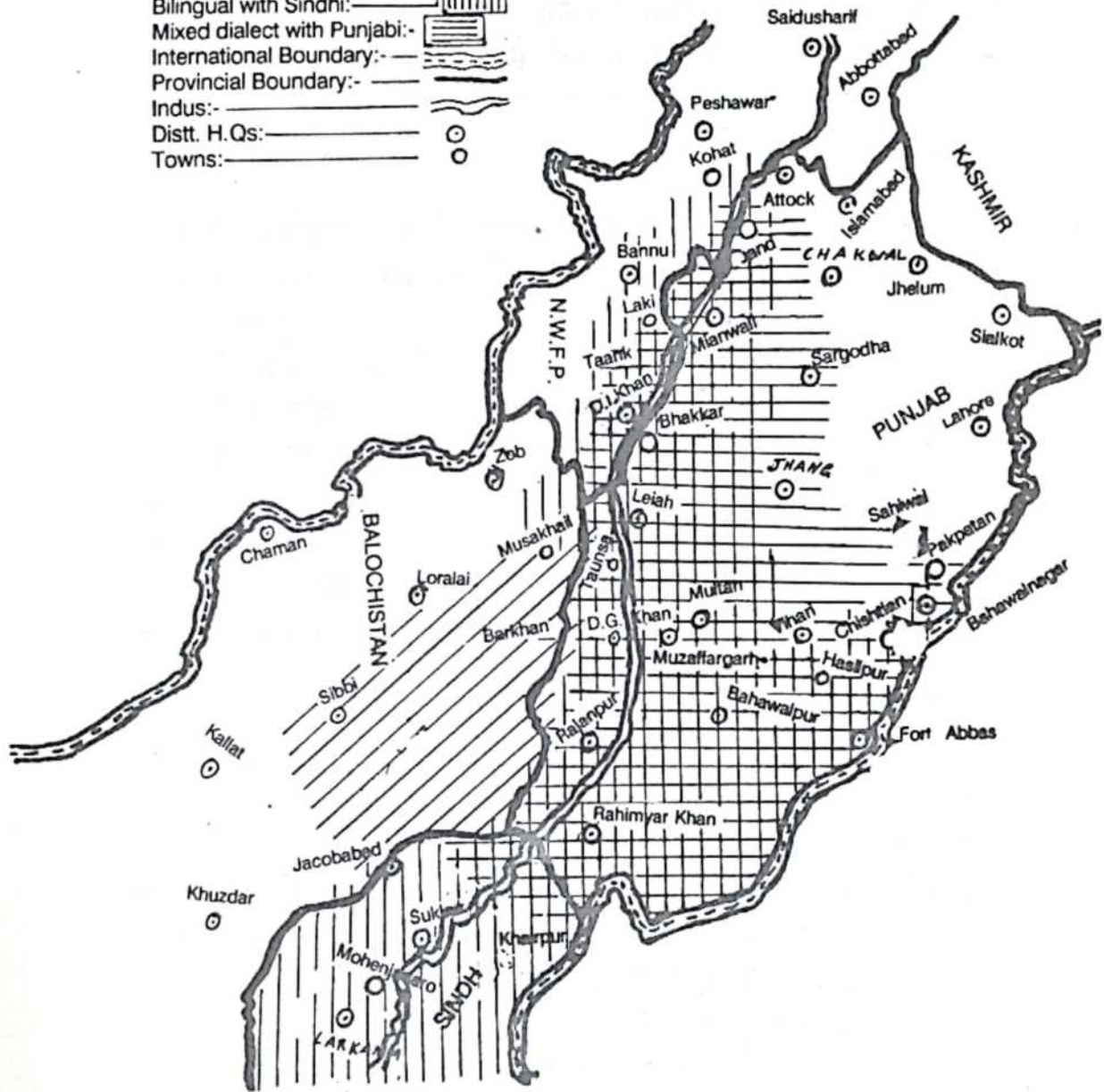
Map No. 3 (Boundaries of Siraki Language Area)  
By Zaami Bahawalpuri\*



Map No. 4. (A conclusive map of Siraiki language area)

REFERENCES:-

- Siraiki Proper: 
- Bilingual with Pashto: 
- Bilingual with Balochi: 
- Bilingual with Sindhi: 
- Mixed dialect with Punjabi: 
- International Boundary: 
- Provincial Boundary: 
- Indus: 
- Distt. H.Qs: 
- Towns: 



## NOTES

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# 4

## SIRAIKI IN THE WORLD-WIDE DIVISION OF LANGUAGES

Love call of one animal to another was first form of communication.

Will Durant.

All the languages of the world are divided into 8 major families in the first place. These families are as follows:-

1. Semitic;
2. Indo-Chinese;
3. Dravidian;
4. Munda (or Monra);
5. Bantu;
6. American;
7. Malavi; and
8. Indo-European.<sup>1</sup>

To locate the Sirāiki language, we are concerned with the last one of the families of languages mentioned above and also with the Dravidian family. This Indo-European family is also called Indo-Germanic, or Aryan. Its major branches are: Aryan proper or Indian, Iranian or Indo-Iranian, American, Greek or Hellenic, Italic, Celtic, Tocharian, Balto-Slavonic, Albanian and Germanic.<sup>2</sup>

Most of the linguists do not place Indian or Aryan languages of South Asia directly in the branches of Indo-European family. Rather they name this group of languages as Indo-Aryan and place it in the branches of Indo-Iranian which is one of the major groups of Indo-European language family. This means that Indo-Aryan is a sub-branch of Indo-European.

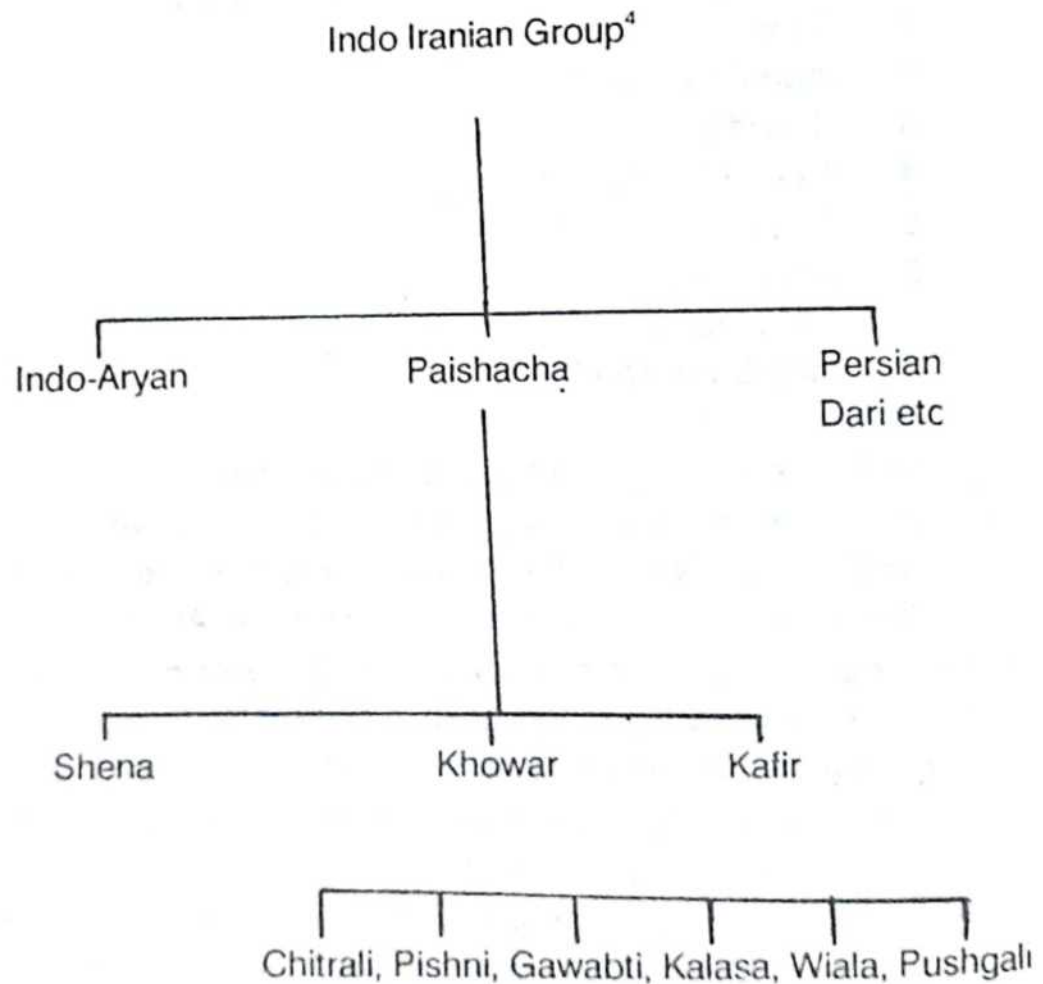
## The Indo Iranian Branch

The Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European family is divided into three groups as follows:-

- (a) The Iranian propre;
- (b) The Paishacha or Paishachi; and
- (c) The Indo-Aryan.<sup>3</sup>

Some other linguists including George Grierson, explain the Indo-Iranian family as comprising the ancient Persian of Iran, Sanskrit and, Dardic and Paishacha groups of languages.

(Following graph will show the division of Indo-Iranian family).





## **Indo-Iranian Theory**

The theory of the Indo-Iranian languages is that the Aryans, after their departure from their original homeland (will be discussed in the Chapter of Ethnics), usually passed through Persia and Afghanistan to move east-ward. The research on Dardic languages (which we shall discuss in the following pages) shows that the language of the Aryans who stayed in Iran and Afghanistan continued developing under the constant Aryan atmosphere and adopted the forms of existing Iranian languages i.e. Persian, Balochi, Pashto etc. On the other hand, a language of the tribes who moved east-ward into South Asia and were cut off from their homeland, through a slow process, was changed and got mixed with the local languages of the north-eastern part of the Sub-continent. These local languages also absorbed and maintained the Aryan peculiarities upto the very last. The same family of Indo-Iranian which flourished in South Asia is called Indo-Aryan.<sup>5</sup>

An interesting difference observed in the evolution of Iranian and Indo-Iranian languages is that the ancient Aryan languages of Avesta and Zand Pazand - the ancient books of Persia, developed into the existing Iranian languages. But Sanskrit, the language of the Vedas, became extinct with the passage of time. Nevertheless language of Avesta passing through the changes of Zand, Pazand, Pahlavi and the old Persian reached the form of existing modern Persian gradually.<sup>6</sup>

The term Indo-Aryan is interpreted slightly in a different way when used in the ethnic studies. In that context, this term is used for one of the most ancient communities of the Indus valley.

## **The Indo-Aryan Community**

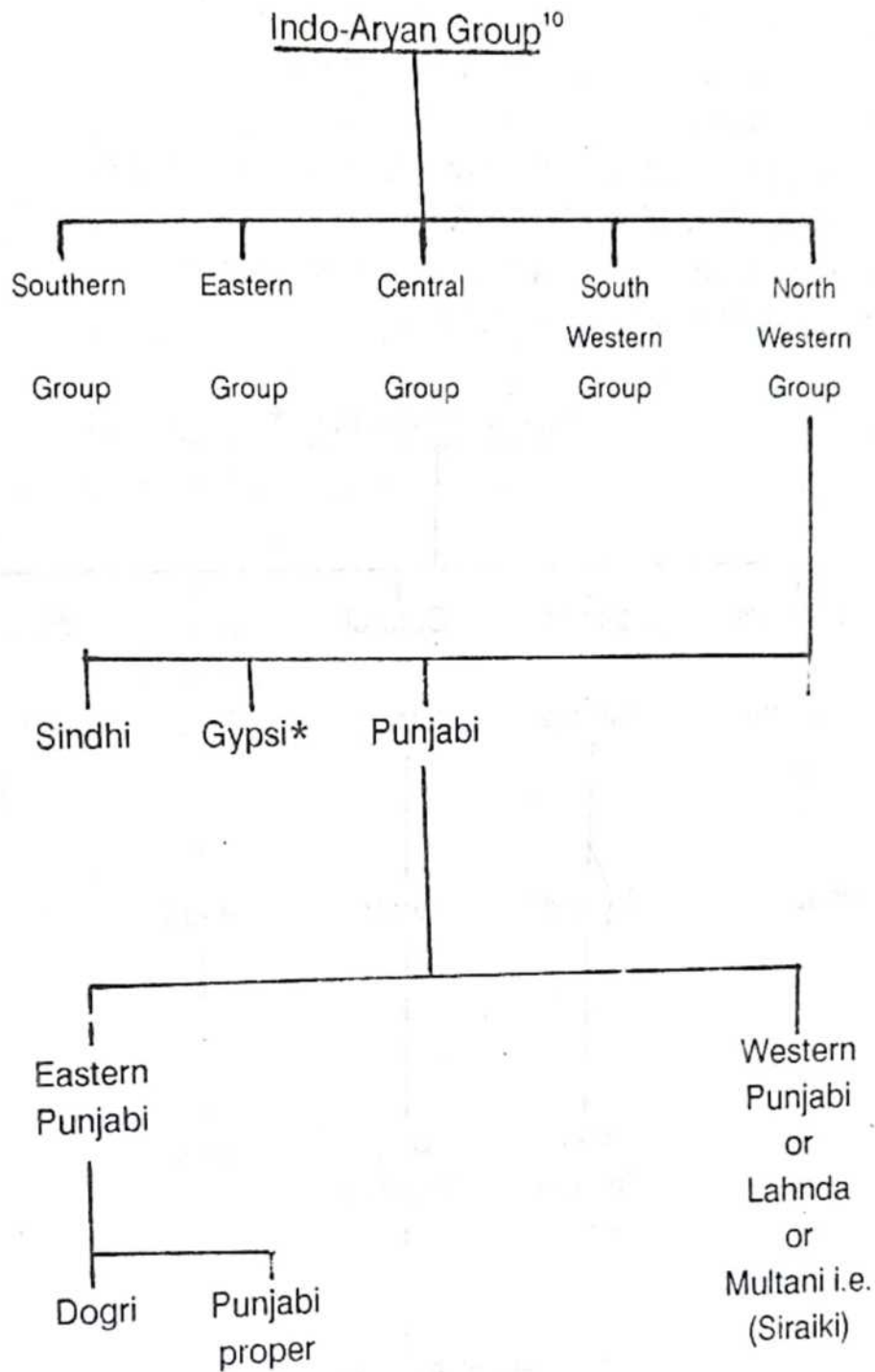
The Indo-Aryan ethnic community was the result of diverse social, cultural and historical contacts between the local pre-Indo-European tribes and the Aryan tribes in the central areas of north-west India. This happened in the later half of the second millennium B.C.<sup>7</sup>

To be precise, we can say that it was in the beginning of the second half of the first millennium BC, that the Indo-Aryan

community was formed in the central area of Sindh Civilization. This emergence of Indo-Aryan culture is not considered as a happy event in history. It is thought that this historical compulsion brought about the elimination of the pre-Indo-Aryan civilization of the Indus valley. Indo-Aryan community was formed when the second wave of the movement of the Aryan hordes from Central Asia towards the sub-continent was at its peak. The series of movements into the Indus valley caused a great disturbance and disruption of the indigenous society. The result of this disturbance was that the ancient pre-Aryan civilization was replaced by the Indo-Aryan civilization. It however, could never be completely wiped-out-neither the people nor the language.<sup>8</sup> The Pre-Aryan Munda and Dravidian linguistic features survived as the only unmistakable relics of the indigenous culture of the Indus valley. The formation of Indo-Aryan languages and dialects took place in the areas in which Siraiki language is spoken today. The Suleman Range is regarded as a natural border between the branches of the Indo-Aryan language family and the East Iranian dialects. It is however, doubtful that so-called Aryans had migrated from outside into South Asia. They were actually part of the same South Asian stratum living in the high lands of the region from Pamir to Tibet. Their tribal name Ayan which meant father or grandfather might have changed into Aryan. It seems as they came down and spread in the plains of Indus and the Gangese region after the founders of Indus culture were dislocated perhaps because of floods.<sup>9</sup>

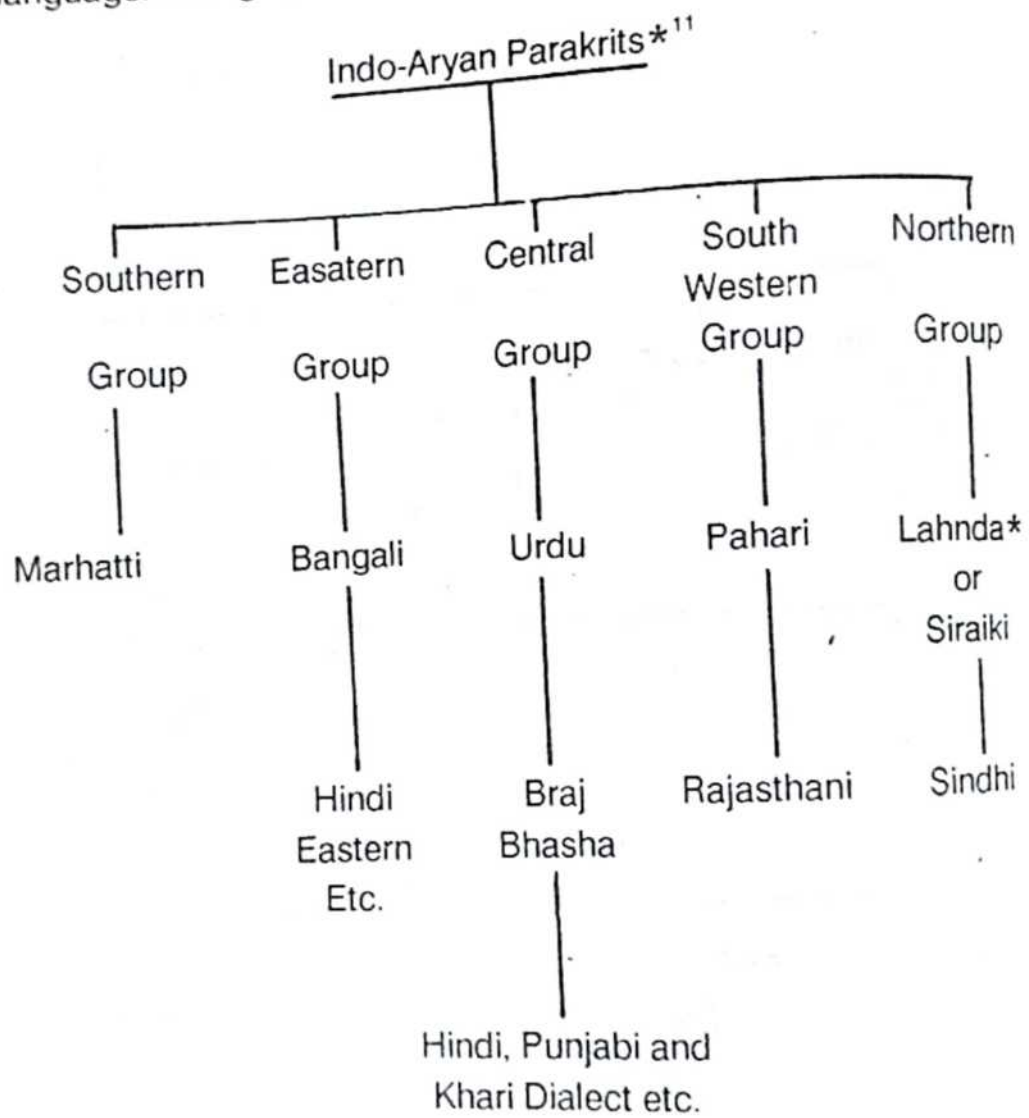
The history of Siraiki and its parent languages is spread over centuries. It has certain distinct and peculiar features which distinguish it from other languages of the sub-continent. In the commonly accepted linguistic division, Siraiki is placed under one of the five branches of Indo-Aryan family of languages.

Following table will help to understand the position of the Siraiki language among the Indo-Aryan group.



\*There is no language with the name of Gypsy in this region. M. Aslam Rasoolpuri has taken its reference perhaps from C. Shackle who, in turn, taking from Burton (an officer of Survey of Sindh 1848) has explained that Burton had conducted a research on the ethnic study of Gypsies supposing that they belonged to Sindh.

In another table rendered by Dr. Mahr Abdul Haq, the Punjabi language is placed under the Central Group instead of North-Western as shown in the above graph of M. Aslam Rasoolpuri. There is another graph of Indo-Aryan language family, reproduced by Dr. Mahr Abdul Haq which shows Punjabi language placed under a group different from the group of Siraiiki language. That graph is as follows:



\*Parakrit is a name given to the languages and the dialects which were supposed as having immediate relation with the Sanskrit. (Chambers twentieth Century Dictionary, Edinburgh, (U.K), 1976, p. 1053, Dr. Shaukat Sabzwari, Urdu Zaban Ka Irteqa, Dacca 1956)

\*By Lahnda or Western Punjabi, they mean Siraiiki Language.

A number of linguists do not accept the supposed composition of the Indo-Aryan family. Hornle's research is that the Aryan tribes spoke one language with a number of dialects. He mentions two main dialects which were spoken in the Indus valley when the Aryans entered the region. These dialects were 'Magadhi' and 'Shaurseni'. The first was more ancient than the second. (Siraiki is believed to possess many features of the first dialect). This statement of Hornle is a clue to the idea that Magadhi and Shaurseni were dialects of some well-established language which was prevalent in the Indus valley before the Aryan influx.<sup>12,13</sup>

## NOTES

1. Dr. Mahr Abdul Haq. *op. cit.*, pp. 123-124.
2. A. M. Macdonald. *Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary*. Edinburgh. 1976. p. 668.
3. Dr. Shaukat Sabzwari. *Urdu Zaban Ka Irteqa*. Dacca. 1956. p. 19.
4. Muhammad Aslam Rasoolpuri. *op. cit.*, p. 24.
5. Dr. Maher Abdl Haq. *op. cit.*, p. 129.
6. Ali Ahmed Kohzad. *Afghanistan Der Partaw-e-Tareekh*. Kabul. 1964. p. 36.
7. U.V. Gangovsky. *Peoples of Pakistan*. Lahore. 1977. p. 47.
8. Ain-ul-Haq Fareedkoti. *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 134.
9. P. Aravindakshan (K.K. Raman) *op. cit.* p. 36.
10. Muhammad Aslam Rasoolpuri. *op. cit.*, p. 32.
11. Dr. Mahr Abdul haq. *op. cit.*, pp. 124-125.
12. Dr. Shaukat Sabzwari. *op. cit.*, p. 40.
13. Ain-ul-Haq Freedkoti. *op. cit.*, p. 56.

# 5

## A CRITICAL REVIEW OF CLASSICAL RESEARCH

The researchers trace back the roots of every trait of culture of South Asia to the Aryans. They base their argument upon the results of geological research which show that the Central Asian region was uncovered from the sea as well as was inhabited earlier than South Asian region in ancient times. To them most of the racial stocks of the sub-continent belong to Central Asia.<sup>1</sup> This supposition is, however, negated by the existence of Austro-Asiatic communities in this region who are believed to be the most ancient dwellers of South Asia. Modern research (as that of Ain-ul-Haq Fareedkoti) indicates the existence of peoples and languages in this region, at a time much earlier than the penetration of Aryan hordes into Indus Valley.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Shaukat Sabzwari says that it is very difficult to discover the origin of Sindhi and Lahnda (Siraiki) languages accurately. He believes these two languages to be related to the ancient Magadhi and Shaureseni Prakrits. But he is not sure as to which one of the two Prakrits had greater influence on Sindhi and Lahnda (Siraiki) languages. Referring to Dr. Chatter Ji, Dr. Shaukat Sabzwari divides the languages of the Sub-continent as follows:-

- (a) **North-western Languages**
  - (i) Lahnda (Western Punjabi);
  - (ii) Sindhi.
- (b) **Languages of the Central Region**
  - (i) Western Hindi;

- (ii) Punjabi;
- (iii) Rajasthani; and
- (iv) Gujarati.
- (c) **Eastern Languages**
  - (i) Bengali;
  - (ii) Bihari;
  - (iii) Assami; and
  - (iv) Orya.
- (d) **Northern Languages**
  - (i) Nepali; and
  - (ii) Other Pahari languages.
- (e) **Mixed languages including Eastern Hindi.**<sup>3</sup>

Magadhi and Shaureseni are treated as two most ancient languages of the indo-Aryan family, and Siraiki and Sindhi are considered to have inherited much from these languages.

There is another problem, and that is to ascertain the role of Sanskrit in the formation of the existing languages of the region. The popular opinion is as under:

A common language was born as a result of the amalgamation of Sanskrit with the local languages called Prakrits and with those which were named as *Apbharanisha* (broken languages).<sup>4</sup> What is Sanskrit itself? Is this a collective name for the ancient Indo-Aryan dialects and languages related to Vedas, or is it the language used by Panini and Patanjli\* (the post-vedic period Sanskrit). The answer is that the Vedas themselves do not belong to one specific period. In fact they took more than a thousand years to be created and collected. A great variety of dialects can be seen in the four holy books. The classical linguists reached the conclusion that all the later and existing languages, and the ancient Parakrits were derived from Sanskrit by supposing that Sanskrit was the most ancient and compact language imported into the Sub-continent. But the facts are

\*Panini and Patanjli were two great scholars of Taxila and Multan respectively and are known as the great grammarians of Sanskrit. But the language used by them is different from the language of Vedas.



otherwise. Modern philologists do not confirm that Sanskrit was the first Indo-Aryan language.<sup>5</sup> The Indo-Aryan people during their first and second phases of development in South Asia did not speak Sanskrit. It was distinguished during the third phase of the settlement of Aryans in South Asia in the days of Asoka. Pali and Sanskrit were the two contemporary languages as can be seen on the epitaphs of the Asoka period.<sup>6</sup>

Moreover, the people of Mohenjodaro possessed some developed language. They also had a script but their language was not Sanskrit and they were not Aryans. Similarly in the days of Achaemenian dynasty the people of the Indus valley used to write their language in the Aramaic script (as discussed in the chapter of script) and this language too was not Sanskrit because the Aryans used to learn sacred rhymes by heart. They learnt writing and reading from the natives at a later stage in history.<sup>7</sup>

Scripted languages must have been major languages in history. It may have been such an ancient language (or languages) which contributed to the formation of Siraiki and other existing languages of the Indus valley. Perhaps they were pre-Aryan - Dravidian or Dardic languages. H.T. Lambrick's lends support to this idea. He says:-

"The Prakrit from which Sindhi and Lahnda were formed had probably become well established before the country was annexed by Darius Hystaspes, and the subsequent influx of the Greeks, Sakas, Parthians and Huns may have had little influence on the languages except possibly in contributing to their vocabulary."<sup>8</sup>

Ain-ul-Haq Fareedkoti verifies this fact by referring to Rev. Robert Caldwell, as follows:-

'The tribes living in Indus region before the invasion of Aryans, were larger in number. Though defeated, they were not eliminated. Their languages also existed to absorb and affect the language of the Aryans'.<sup>9</sup>

In short the Aryans caused changes in the languages of the region, by varying the dialects, modifying the accent and enriching the vocabulary. But the area was not dumb before the arrival of Aryans.

The classification of the languages of South Asia made by the classical linguists, such as Hornle, Chattar ji, Markandeya and Grierson etc., though important, has become a subject for revision,<sup>10</sup> because this classification was the result of research work influenced by the material progress, political importance and literary advancement of some particular areas (Ganges Region etc.) from where the researchers had collected most of their source material. It was more or less ignored that the direction of growth of languages was not the same throughout history as it looks in modern times under the shadows of existing centres of establishment. Due to this mistake a number of most important languages were ignored or misconstrued. The well established area of modern times in the Ganges region was taken as the fountain-head of all the ancient cultures and languages of South Asia, which was not right. Let us see wherefrom the misconception started.

The conquest of Central India by the Ghauris and Ghaznavids in the beginning of 11th century A.D. was the event after which the fate of the Ganges Valley was changed. The weak local Rajas were defeated, the small states were broken up and were merged into a big empire of South Asia. The Ganges Valley was made the centre of power by the "Salateen-e-Dehli" (the Kings of Delhi) etc. The second major event was the foundation of the Mughal Empire which caused political, social and economic decline of Indus Valley as the developments were stopped in this region with the passage of time. The Khyber Pass surpassed all other passes of Suleman range e.g. Bolan, Gomal and Tochi etc. as a gate-way to India. Hordes of invaders, trade caravans and masses of Central Asian migrants started to pour from Khyber into Ganges region directly, and the Indus Valley which had been an international centre of trade and culture before, lost its importance gradually.

This situation was further complicated after India fell to the hands of the British colonialists. They entered the Sub-continent from quite an opposite direction, by the sea. Starting from Calcutta, they too concentrated on Delhi. The Ganges Valley remained the centre and the Siraiiki region became peripheral.

The condition affected not only the work of linguists but all of the orientalist including the historians. They misplaced so many things on their record. For example, the great war between Koros and Pandos was fought in the upper region of the Indus valley. A stream "Panj Kora" in the state of Dir in northern area is believed to have been named after the Koros. Mahabharata the great epic of this war was created in this region and was read completely for the first time in Taxila in the court of Raja Janam Jaya. The great Vedas and 'Upanishada' were also created, composed and preserved in the Indus Valley upper.<sup>11</sup> Now, most of the contemporary historians have attributed all such magnificent events to the Ganges Valley.

The linguists also took the centre of power, i.e. the Ganges Valley for the centre of the development and growth of the languages of the sub-continent in the past.

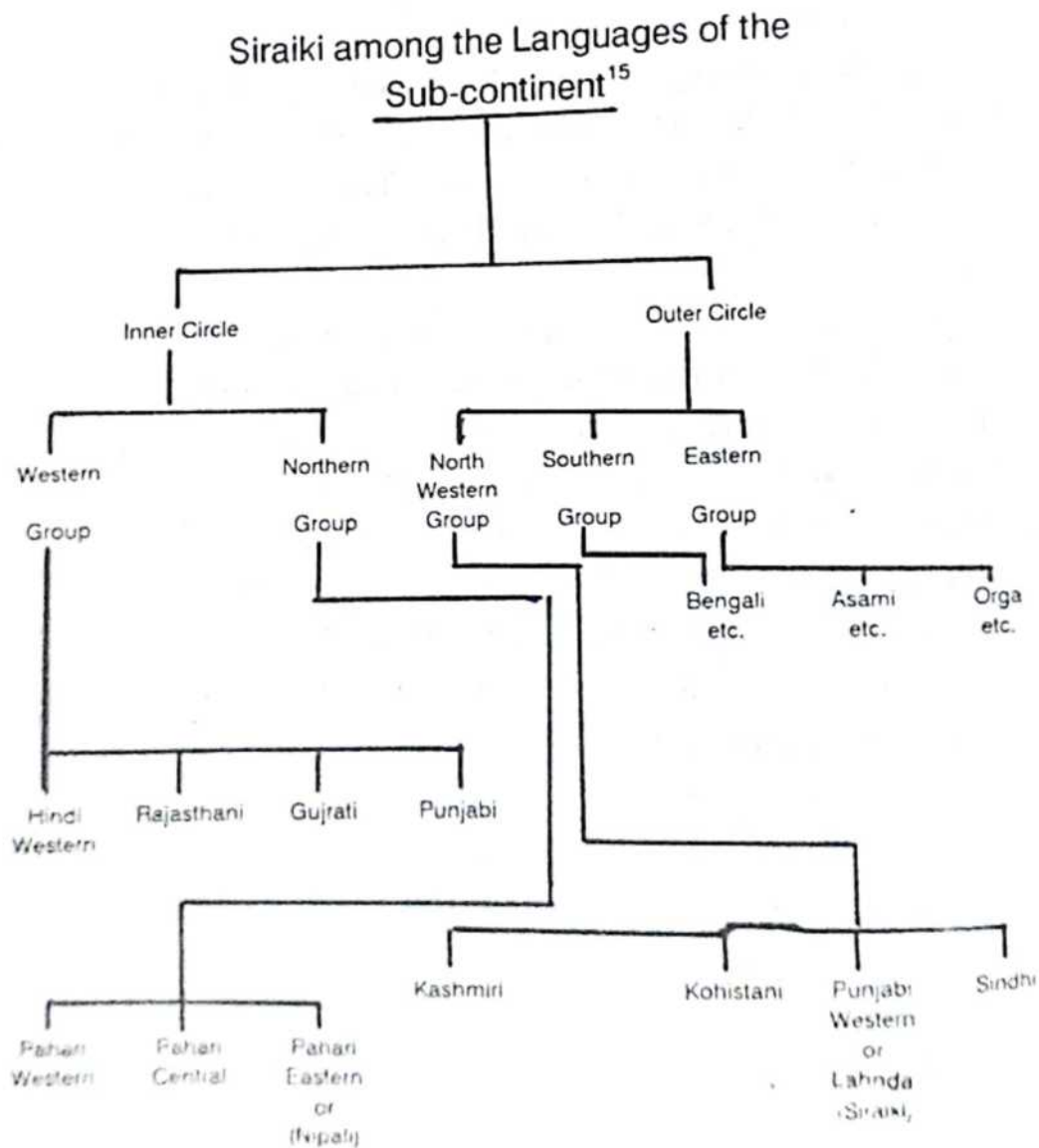
Hornle and George Grierson for the first time confirmed this idea by propounding a theory about the languages of Indian sub-continent. They stated that the languages of the sub-continent could be divided into two groups basically. The inner circle group and the outer circle group.<sup>12</sup> This circle theory can be reproduced briefly as follows:

History tells that the Aryans entered the sub-continent in the form of hordes in different periods. The process of arrival was spread over centuries. Every horde was followed by another, sometimes with a time gap of hundreds of years, their movements were usually directed towards central India - the Ganges valley. The early tribes, after ousting the Dravidians, were settled in the Ganges region while the tribes coming later, had to spread over the outer parts of the central region of Ganges, and they got mixed with non-Aryan natives. The languages of the Ganges Valley ever remained Aryan speeches which are now called the languages of inner circle and are stated to be Sanskrit and Hindi. The locally mixed languages of the outer parts of the central Ganges region are named as the languages of outer circle. They are all judged to be under the impact of the inner circle languages i.e. Sanskrit and Hindi or Shaureseni previously.<sup>13</sup> Thus the linguists adopted the ancient, Sanskrit-oriented 'Shaureseni'

language of the inner circle as the starting point of their research.<sup>14</sup> In the light of the above supposition further division was made as follows:-

The inner circle has two branches, the Western and the Northern. The Western branch comprises four languages. These are Hindi Western, Rajasthani, Gujarati and Punjabi. The Northern branches extends over three languages which are Pahari Western, Pahari Northern and Pahari Eastern - the Nepali.

The outer circle is divided into three branches. These are North-Western, Southern and Eastern. We are concerned with the North-Western branch of the outer circle which includes Kashmiri, Kohistani, Western Punjabi or 'Lahnda' and Sindhi, (see the following graph which has been extracted from the illustrations of Dr. Shaukat Sabzwari).



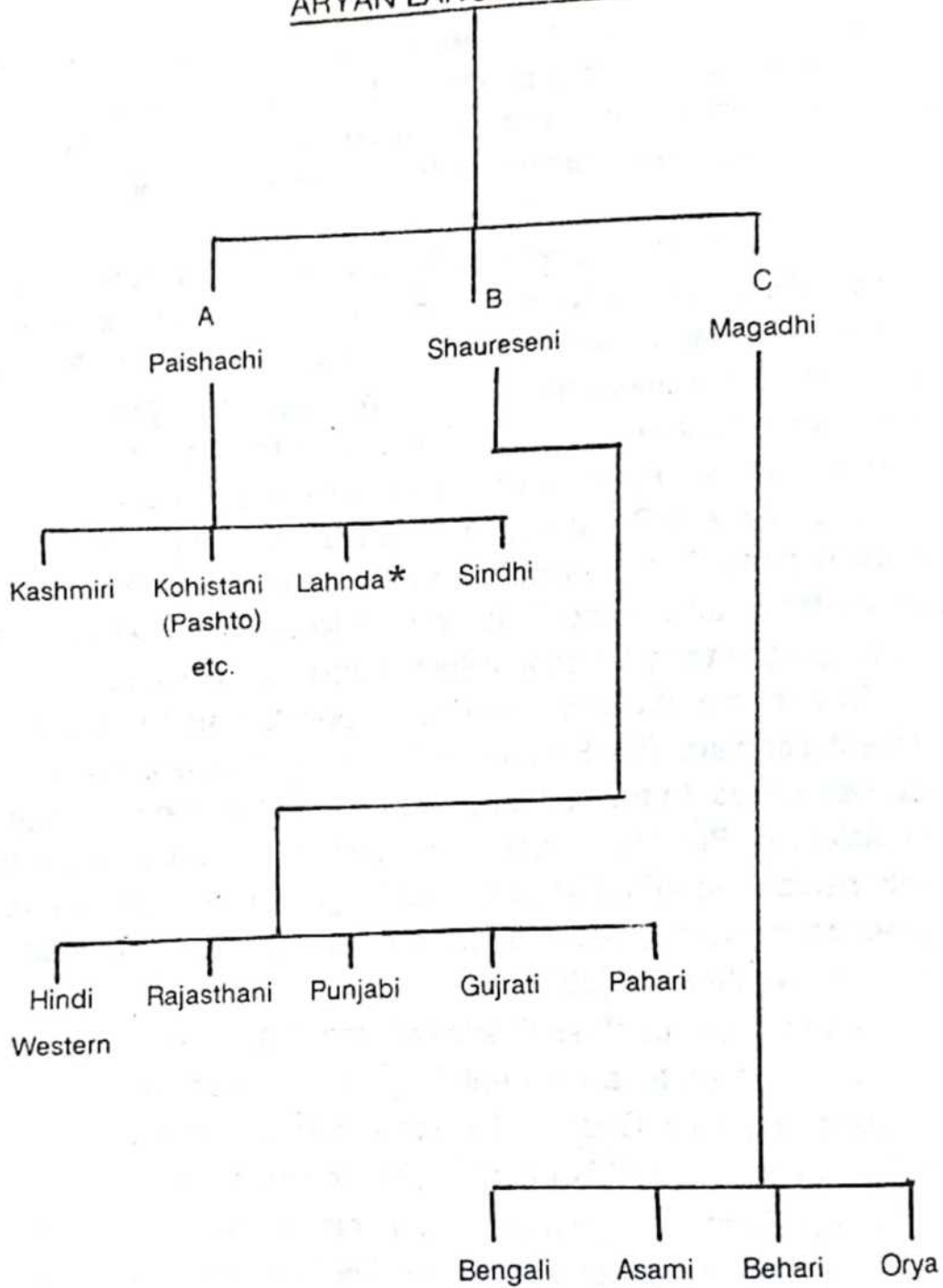
This misconceived study of the languages, though important, brought about some wrong results. Determining of Siraiki language under the name of Lahnda, as a branch of Punjabi language is one of those wrong suppositions, made by the beginners and confirmed by George Grierson and his followers.

They introduced Siraiki under the names of Lahnda and Western Punjabi identifying it as a branch or dialect of Punjabi language. But as observed above, Lahnda or Western Punjabi has been placed under a group which is parallel to the group of its so-called source - the main Punjabi in the Primary division. Punjabi is shown in the inner circle of languages and Lahnda or so called Western Punjabi is made a branch of the outer circle. Grierson himself is against the invention of the term Western Punjabi for Siraiki, as he finds no sufficient relation between the two languages to make one, dialect of the other. He says:

"The name Western Punjabi is popular and is used by eminent scholars like Sir James Wilson and Jukes, but it has inconveniences. In the first place it suggests that the language is the dialect of Punjabi proper, with which it has really very slight relationship, and in the second place it gives rise to an awkward collection of words, such as North Western, Western Punjabi or Southern Western Punjabi".<sup>16</sup>

They usually confuse Siraiki with the dialects of Punjabi and usually find it quite a different language, closer to the Sindhi language originally. George Grierson observes Siraiki as a dialect of Vicholi i.e. the Sindhi of central part of Sindh which, he says is the purest form of language to Sindhis. At the same time he discovers it with the name of Siraiki Hindki which appears to him nearer to Lahnda language.<sup>17</sup> This contradiction runs into the works of all linguists coming after Grierson. For example, in the following division of Aryan languages made by Dr. Shaukat Sabzwari, Siraiki with the name of Lahnda, and Sindhi both stand in group 'A' quite away from Punjabi which is put in group 'B' with a separate origin. (See the following table).

# ARYAN LANGUAGES<sup>18</sup>



\*It is to be noted that Dr. Shaukat Sabzwari has stated himself that Siraiiki and Sindhi belong to Magadhi or Shaureseni language but in the above tree these languages have been placed under a different source i.e. the Paishachi group, and this is perhaps correct.

There is a basic difference between the cultural history of the Ganges Valley and that of the Indus Valley. The first is the region where Aryans settled and their Indian civilization developed there. But the Indus Valley, they passed through only leaving minor cultural impact. Because the Aryans did not find this region accommodative to them. Whenever they entered the Indus Valley, they met resistance from the people, the culture, and the climate. So after a short stay they cursed both the area and the people and advanced east-ward. In the Vedas, there are so many rhymes against the '*Malichhes*' (the sinners) of Sindho Desh, who stopped the waters of river for irrigation purposes etc. and this was a '*pap*' (sin) to the Aryans as they thought that river was a god and it was bad to disturb waters.<sup>19</sup>

Also a good number of Aryan tribes were settled in Sindh region but they were absorbed in the local colour.<sup>20</sup> So the Indus Valley has a one-way cultural relation with the Ganges Valley. Human hordes carried the cultural and linguistic impact from this region to the so-called inner circle region, and not vice-versa. No signs of historical human migrations from east to west to the Indus Valley are on record before 1947.

The common feature among all the languages of South Asia is the transportation of Central Asian Linguistic impact through Indus Valley on the whole of the sub-continent across the Ganges plains to Nepal. How can a language of this western part of the sub-continent be considered as a branch of the languages of the eastern part? This confusion is the result of the perverse survey of languages. It would have given more correct results if the survey was conducted starting from the languages of the upper reaches of Indus down-ward.

## NOTES

1. U.V. Gangorrsky. *op. cit.*, p. 35.
2. Ain-ul-Haq Fareedkoti. *op. cit.*, p. 56.
3. Dr. Shaukat Sabzwari. *op. cit.*, p. 4.
4. Maula Bakhsh Kushta. *op. cit.*, p. 4.
5. K. K. Raman *op. cit.* pp. 34-38.
6. Dr. Shaukat Sabzwari. *op. cit.*, p. 63.
7. Sibte-e-Hasan. *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 111.
8. H.T. Lambrick's. *op. cit.*, p. 233.
9. Ain-ul-Haq Fareedkoti. *op. cit.*, p. 134.
10. Ibid. p. 55.
11. Sibte-e-Hasan. *op. cit.*, pp. 98, 103-104.
12. Dr. Shaukat Sabzwari. *op. cit.*, p. 39.
13. Dr. Mahr Abdul Haq. *op. cit.*, p. 22.
14. Ibid. p. 17.
15. Dr. Shaukat Sabzwari. *op. cit.*, p. 39.
16. George Grierson. *op. cit.*, pp. 166-167.
17. Ibid. p. 139.
18. Dr. Shaukat Sabzwari. *op. cit.*, p. 20.
19. Sibte-e-Hasan. *op. cit.*, pp. 78, 91, 131.
20. Ain-ul-Haq Fareedkoti. *op. cit.*, p. 56.





## THE ELEVEN DIALECT THEORY AND LAHNDA

The "Eleven Dialect Theory" of Dr. Mahr Abdul Haq will be useful to mention here. In his opinion the under-noted eleven dialects of the Pothohar region are more important in the research of the languages of the South Asian region. The researchers neglected these dialects for certain reasons. First, they concentrated on the languages of central India, and examining the Punjabi language briefly, they left the rest of the languages of the upper areas under the vague term of Lahnda. Secondly, the direction of their research was opposite to the direction of spread of the languages. Thirdly, they did not explore the 'Lahnda' languages for the fear of exposure of "Circle Theory". If the facts related to the 'Lahnda' languages were brought to light, the whole edifice of the glory of Aryan culture of the Ganges Valley would have fallen down.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the Siraiki language there are eleven dialects which have been considered as Lahnda. A study of these dialects is also important for understanding the position of the Siraiki language on the following grounds:-

1. The origin of these dialects is common with the Siraiki language.
2. River Indus links Siraiki with these dialects geographically.
3. The people speaking these eleven dialects have historical relations with the people speaking the Siraiki language as they were usually pushed and driven to the Siraiki area by the invaders coming through the Khyber

Pass. This caused a continuous linguistic impact on Siraiki.

4. These dialects caused transportation of influences of Dardic languages lying on their upper side, to Siraiki language on their lower side. (See map No. 5).

These eleven dialects are following:-<sup>2</sup>

- |                   |   |                                |                |
|-------------------|---|--------------------------------|----------------|
| 1. Shahpuri       |   | of Sargodha. (The salt range). |                |
| 2. Awankari       |   | of Attock.                     |                |
| 3. Hindko         |   | of Kohat.                      |                |
| 4. Ghebi.         | } |                                |                |
| 5. Pothohari      |   |                                | of Rawalpindi. |
| 6. Dhunki Kairali |   |                                |                |
| 7. Dhani and      |   | of Jhelum                      |                |
| 8. Thali          |   |                                |                |
| 9. Chhatiali      |   | of Kashmir                     |                |
| 10. Hindki and    | } | of Hazara                      |                |
| 11. Tinaki        |   |                                |                |

## LAHNDA

The word Lahnda (direction of Sunset) perhaps used by the Punjabis for any language of their neighbours in the west, was adopted as a term for the first time by George Grierson. But shortly after determining of this term George Grierson himself was confused when he met Siraiki in the vast deserts of the Sindh with great linguistic variations. Grierson admits that he has received specimens of a language called Siraiki and that this language is spoken all over Sindh except in Thar and Parkar districts. On examination of these specimens, the language, by no means can be called Sindhi. It is some type of Lahnda, but it has a close resemblance with the Hindki language of Dera Ghazi Khan District. He further states that it is strange that this version of Lahnda has no area of its own.<sup>3</sup>

Siraiki did have the area of its own, but George Grierson and other British Scholars had already divided this area linguistically

into Multani, Jatki, Bahawalpuri, hindki, Derewal, Hindko and Siraiki Hindki - as the western dialects of 'Lahnda'.<sup>4</sup> The Imperial Gazetteer of India is one of the earliest sources to explore 'Lahnda'. Its comments on the subject are as follows:-

'Lahnda' or Western Punjabi is a language which appears under many names, such as Pothohari, Chibhali, Jatki, Multani or Hindko. None of these names is suitable, as each indicates only a dialect of some special tribe or of some special locality. 'Lahnda' i.e. Western has been locally suggested and has been tentatively adopted, although it, too, is far from satisfactory. The name Western Punjabi suffers from the disadvantage of suggesting a connection which does not exist with Punjabi proper.

\_\_\_\_\_ *Lahnda* once extends much further to the east, but has never been superseded by the midland language form which the modern Punjabi has sprung. There is no definite boundary between the two languages. \_\_\_\_\_ They merge into each other very gradually. If we take the conventional boundary line, just suggested we shall find plenty of *Lahnda* characteristics to its east gradually diminishing as we proceed, and at the same time many traces of Punjabi for a considerable distance to its west."<sup>5</sup>

Attention of Grierson was drawn to the similarities of the language with Sindhi and Kashmiri by the works of O. Brien, Wilson and Bomford. But he was misled by the Wilson's descriptions collected in Shahpur. He adopted the Shahpuri dialect, which is nearer to Punjabi being spoken on the border area between Punjabi and Siraiki, as standard and invented the term '*Lahnda*'.<sup>6</sup>

To conclude, there is no language with the name of *Lahnda*, but *Lahnda* is an invented term which could not find acceptance.

Moreover, this *Lahnda*, too, has been given the name of Western Punjabi following the administrative division which had annexed most of the Siraiki area to the Punjab. At the same time the linguists have clearly placed *Lahnda* (Siraiki) and Punjabi languages into two quite different basic groups - the inner circle

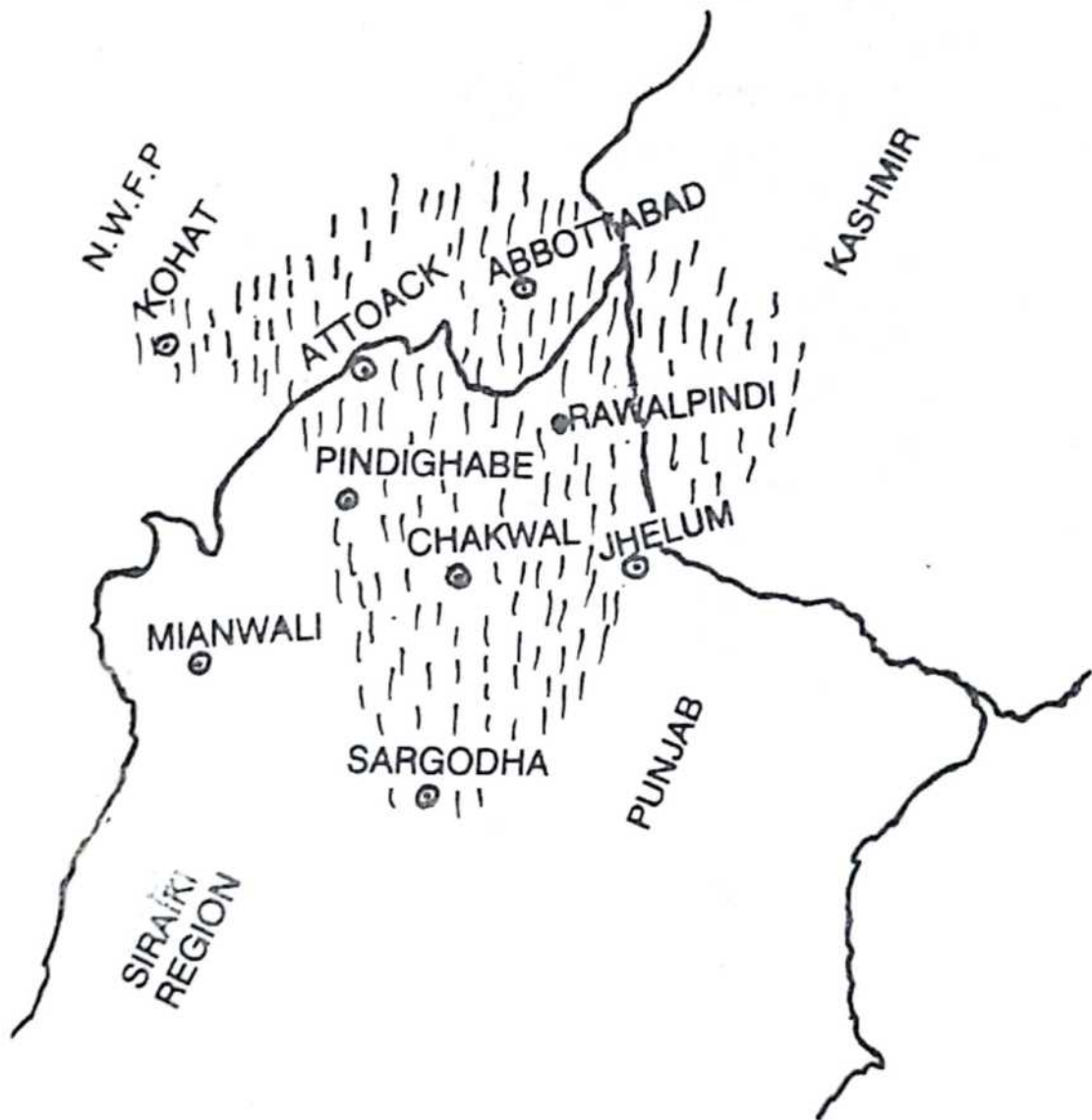
group and the outer circle one. These contradictions of the early works caused the rise of a great debate of Siraiki and Punjabi. In India and Pakistan great energy is exerted in this debate to serve also the semi-political purposes. Punjabi writers of both the countries try to minimise the difference between Siraiki and Punjabi. At the same time they try to maximise such differences of Punjabi from Hindi and Urdu, in their writings. The Siraiki writers are bent on maximising such differences with Punjabi.<sup>7</sup>

Ain-ul-Haq Fareedkoti has criticised the judgement of the classical researchers as follows:-

The early European linguists had developed a fancy to Sanskrit to the extent that sometimes they crossed the limits of research to establish their one-sided ideas. Their ideas found acceptance on the basis of the exaggerative claims of linguistic investigations. The idea that all the languages of northern part of sub-continent were Sanskrit-oriented was one of such one-sided ideas. This idea was built only on the basis of the existence of Aryan vocabulary in these languages. These unjust judgements were made by the big personalities of scholars like; Maxmuller, Hornle, John Beam's, George Grierson and William Jones. These big names captured the minds of their followers in a way that no one could challenge their assumptions during the last one and a half century.<sup>8</sup>

MAP NO. 5

THE ELEVEN DIALECT AREA



## NOTES

1. Dr. Mahr Abdul Haq. *op. cit.*, p. 18.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
3. George Grierson. *Linguistic Survey of India*. Government of India Press. 1919. Vol. 8. p. 359.
4. Dr. Mahr Abdul Haq. *op. cit.*, p. 17.
5. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India - The Indian Empire*. Vol. 1. New Edition Oxford. 1907. pp. 371-373.
6. C. Shackle. *op. cit.*, p. 4-5.
7. *Ibid.* p. 5.
8. Ain-ul-Haq Fareedkoti. *op. cit.*, p. 55.

# 7

## PUNJABI

'Punjabi' is from Punjab which is geographic name of the area in which the Punjabi language is spoken. The word Punjab is a Persian composition of Punj (five) and Aab (water, river). The area of Punjab, which corresponds with the plains from the Indus Valley down - to the Ganges Valley, has five rivers as its distinction. The rivers are: Chenab, Ravi, Jhelum, Sutlej and Bias.<sup>1</sup> In this regard a most frequently quoted reference is taken from Avesta - The Ancient Zoroastrian Holy book (560-330 B.C.). The term '*Hapta Hindu*' or '*Haspat Hindu*' is mentioned in part-I of Avesta-III in the list of the names of the areas which were captured by the Aryans. This part of the book, titled as '*Vandi Dad*', comprises 16 chapters each one containing the narration of one of the regions conquered by the Great Aryans. '*Hapta Hindu*' is the title of the 15th chapter of part-I of Avesta-III but the whole of the area of the 16 regions of Aryan empire is identified as lying around the Hindukush range i.e. from Afghanistan to the plains of the Indus.<sup>2</sup>

This falsifies the interpretation of the term '*Hapta Hindu*', as the land of seven rivers. Because the five rivers' area i.e. Punjab lies far away from the Hindukush range. Some sources interpret the term '*Hapta Hindu*' of Avesta, or '*Sapt Sindhu*' of Vedas as the region of the seven states of Indus. This is further explained as; when the Aryans stepped into the Indus Valley, they observed seven states on both sides of the Indus. Some of these states were Suwera, Sindhu, and Warnu (today Bannu - NWFP).<sup>3</sup> The Achaemenian Kings of Iran (Cyrus, Darius and Xerxes - (516-465 B.C.) used a term '*Hinduga*' for the Indus Valley in 516 B.C.<sup>4</sup>

No doubt the word 'Punjab' is also an invention of the Iranians. Dr. Mahr Abdul Haq, referring to Hafiz Mahmood Sheerani's work, 'Punjab Main Urdu', describes that the Iranian conquerors in memory of their homeland, named numerous places and areas of this region after the names of the areas of Iran. They called the desert of Multan as 'Dashte-Qabchaq' and the Indus river as 'Jaihoon, Mahran' and 'Sindh Roud'. They named the lands of 5 rives of Punjab also after the five rivers of Iran.

But this assumption of Hafiz Mahmood Sherani is not supported by other sources of history. Fact is that the ancient Iranians had no concern with the area across the Indus. This river marked the border of the Achaemenian empire.

As far as the term hapta Hindu (interpreted as the Land of Seven Rivers) is concerned, it is not necessary to take it for the rivers of Punjab. The area is specified as lying around the Hindukush Range.<sup>5</sup> The ancient rivers flowing from each of the Passes of Wazeeristan mountains and those of the Hindukush Range, including Khyber, Kurram, Tochi, Gomal and the Indus etc. - they also made Seven Rivers.<sup>6</sup>

Another interpretation of the term Hapta Hindu or Sapt Sindhu is that the figure of seven ('Hapta' in Avesta, 'Sapt' in Veda and 'Sat' in so many idioms of the Siraiki Language) is also used symbolically signifying excess and exaggeration in most of the Indo-Aryan languages just like the figure of 70 in old Arabic texts. The Siraiki language has numerous idioms and sayings on this pattern. For example:

- |                         |               |  |
|-------------------------|---------------|--|
| <i>sat maarr:</i>       | ست ماڑ        | seven storey palaces of queens               |
| <i>sat khavnen:</i>     | ست کھاوئے     | seven dish meal                              |
| <i>sat ghar:</i>        | ست گھر        | seven houses                                 |
| <i>sat samandar par</i> | سہت سمندر پار | Across the seven seas                        |
| <i>sat garrah</i>       | ست گرہ        | of seven houses (name of a village in Thall) |



In this way the term 'Hapta Hindu', or 'Sapt Sindhu' may be interpreted as the land of many rivers or, the land of many states. Anyhow, this land of seven states or seven rivers is something different from Punjab - the land of 5 rivers.

Punjabi researchers while discussing ancient Punjab, confuse their five rivers with the supposed seven rivers of the Hapta Hindu region by adding to them the Indus river and the Kabul river. The famous Punjabi writer Maula Bakhsh Kushta is an example.<sup>7</sup> But the general historical facts show that when the Aryans invented and used the term 'Sapt Sindhu' or 'Hapta Hindu', they had not yet crossed the five rivers of Punjab. (First centre of Aryan Civilization in sub-continent was Taxila as referred to in the previous chapters.)

The old sources of history have no references of Punjab. The later sources tell us as follows:

Referring to Dr. Mohammad Baqir, Dr. A. Ghafoor Qureshi, himself brings two more references of the use of the term 'Punjab' which are of a little earlier age than the above one. The first is Tareekh-e-Sher Shahi, written by Meer Abbas Khan Sarwani (1580, 81 A.D.). In this book Punjab is referred to as under:

"From this fort one road was built by Sher Khan of Punjab".

The second reference is in '*Aeen-e-Akbari*' written by Abul Fazl the scholar of the court of the Mughal Monarch Akbar. In this book Punjab is mentioned as a region administered under the Province of Lahore.<sup>8</sup>

Multani is the most popular old name of the Siraiiki language. This language had been the lingua franca of the large part of northern region of sub-continent in old times. The traders and sufis (the mystics of Islam), before proceeding to the eastern parts of northern India, first stayed at Multan to learn the Multani language which was understood all over the north India.<sup>9</sup>

The growth of the Punjabi language is of more recent times. Abul Fazl, in his *Aeen-e-Akbari* has not mentioned the Punjabi language in the list of 13 major languages of India. He has recorded a list of names of regions where major and separate languages of the sub-continent were spoken. The list is as follows:

Delhi, Bengala, Multan, Marwar, Gujrat, Talangana, Marhatta, Karnatak, Sindh, Afghan, Shumal, Balochistan, and Kashmir.<sup>10</sup>

Besides other factors, the origin and growth of the Punjabi language is a result of administrative division of the Northern India since the Mughal rule. This socio-political identification which this region of the Punjab has been enjoying for about four centuries, has not yet fulfilled the requirements of a distinct cultural unit. This lack of required long historical background has made it difficult for the researchers to determine the limits of Punjabi language and those of its area in the past. In the early works of modern research, Punjabi is assessed as one of the intermediate languages which most nearly agrees with the modern speech of the Midland and is spoken in the central Punjab, and was the vernacular of the Sikhs.<sup>11</sup>

According to George Grierson, area of the Punjabi language lies between Jhelum and Sarhand.<sup>12</sup>

Another linguist John Beam's declares that Punjabi is the language of the area lying between the river Ravi and the river Bias. John Beam's conclusion is that in fact the Punjabi language is nothing more than a dialect of Hindi going away (separating) from the standard Hindi language. In his opinion, Punjabi was introduced as a separate language only on the basis of script (the Gur Mukhi).<sup>13</sup>

Guru Nanak was the first Punjabi reformist. (1469-1538). He was born in 1469 A.D. He was succeeded by another reformist Guru Angad who according to some researchers, compiled the sayings and lessons of Guru Nanak in the Punjabi language and invented a script to write them and named it as Gur Mukki which mean something coming from mouth of Guru - the saint.<sup>14</sup> It is not, however correct that all shalokas\* of Granth Sahib are in

\*Guru Granth Sahib contains 130 Shalokas' under the title of "Shalok Shaikh Farid Jee". Out of them 112 Shaloka' were written by Baba Fareed and the remaining 18 to four different Gurus as follows:

Guru Nanak	=	4
Guru Ram Das	=	1
Guru Amar Das	=	5
Guru Arjun	=	8

(from observations of K.B. Naseem)

Punjabi language. Most of them belong to the period when Punjabi language had not taken its shape.

It means that Punjabi achieved a status of being a separate language for the first time in the second half of the 16th century after the collection of Guru Granth - the holy book of the Sikhs.<sup>15</sup>

Punjab was emerged through continuous disturbance in the areas of the 'Bars' during later Mughal period. Contrary to the Siraiki region which mostly remained settled since the Achaemenian rule (500 B.C), these 'Bars' (i.e. barron areas) were never exposed to any larger settlement before the British rule. Whatever civilization had flourished in the few populated centres of the region during pre-Mughal and early-Mughal period, was discontinued in the later-Mughal period. The pre-Punjab poetry of Madhu Lal Husain i.e. Shah Husain of Lahore and post-Punjab poetry of Waris Shah provide with different pictures of cultural norms of two ages.

To the settled people, fear of departure and dislocation is the worst fear which is reflected throughout in the 'kafis' of Modhu Lal Husain:

میں وی جھوک راں نجھن وی جاناں نال میرے کوئی چلے۔ ا ل ج

I too know about the abode of beloved Ranjhann, should someone accompany me to that. I requested, I emplored everybody but have to leave alone. A deep river falls in the way, my oar time-worn, tigers in ambush at the ferries.

This sensibility of Madhu Lal Husain prevailed in the Siraiki poetry till this day.

The great Waris Shah, on the other hand is a brilliant witness to the formation of Punjab, when migration and uprootal was being encouraged by the warriors. Waris Shah's mouth piece Ranjha rejects all types of relationship with soil and society:

رانجھا آکھدا خیال نہ پو میرے شینہ سب فقیر دادیں کیا  
 وطن دماں دے نال تے ذات جو گی سانوں ساک قبیلہ خویش کیا  
 جیر ہوا وطن تے ذات ول دھیان رکھے دنیا دار ہے او درویش کیا  
 دنیا تال پیوند ہے اسان کیا پتھر جو ٹٹانال سریش کیا

Ranjha says (to a girl) do not think of me. a tiger; a snake; an ascetic do never become country bound.

I am a jogi (a hermit) in my breed, my country is wherever I breath, no tribe, no kiths and kins. One who takes care of things like country and breed, is a lover of worldly life and not an ascetic. Ours is no patch with the society, stones can not be patched with gum.

(This Faqir Waris Shah is a contrast the 'Dhuan dhar faqir' (دھوان دھار فقیر) the ideal of Khawja Fareed).

Thus migration became moral code of the people of Punjab which resulted in their constant detachment from their roots. Except the so-called 'Janglies', most of the Punjabis do not know about the graves of their forefathers. Modern Punjabi intellectuals are honest when they talk about their origin and about the 'gwacha' i.e. someone lost. (see Fakhr Zaman's novelet 'Sat Gwache Lok').

In modern times political and economic factors play vital role in giving birth to new cultural identities which culminate into nationalities sometimes irrespective of any sound cultural background. So we can say that Punjabi gained distinctive identity and character by dominating the languages of upper Indus Valley, particularly the Siraiki and the Pothohari languages. For its necessary cultural enrichment Punjabi intelligentsia has largely drawn upon the Siraiki language which possesses a good deal of cultural heritage. It is Siraiki 'Marsia' (the elegy of Imam

Husain) which is always recited in '*Majalis-e-Muharram*' by the competent Siraiki Zakirs also in Central Punjab.

'*Marsia*' is a symbol of Muslim culture in the Sub-continent. There are two centres of Marsia; Lukhnow in India, and Multan and the whole of Siraiki region in Pakistan. Excluding the limited Lakhnow tradition all the Shiite elegies, recitations, '*bayans*' and other traditions of the month of Muharram are performed in the Siraiki language. Hundreds of the cassette of Siraiki folk songs go to Punjab and what comes back is an influx of Punjabi film songs - a corrupted form of poetry and music.

To meet the needs of cultural identity the Punjabi researchers have expanded the boundaries of Punjab in their literature. Besides folk songs, they also lay their claims on the major classics of Siraiki poetry. Including Khawaja Freed of Kot Mithan, Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai, Sachal Sarmast and Hamal Faqeer Laghari of Sindh, and Maulvi Lutf Ali of Bahawalpur, they write hundreds of the prominent Siraiki and Sindhi poets in the list of Punjabi poets. Same is the case with Shah Shams Sabzwari of Multan, (1165-1276 A.D.) and Baba Fareed Ganj-e-Shakar (1173-1266 A.D.) of Pakpattan. Both of them are poets of the age when the Punjabi language had not been formed. The language of their poetry is nearer to Siraiki as compared with Punjabi. But they have been placed in the list of Punjabi poets.<sup>16</sup> This situation gives rise to a question that if it is all Punjabi language, what is Siraiki?

The answer to this question is also provided from Punjab i.e. Siraiki is nothing but a dialect of Punjabi.<sup>17</sup> This fallacious supposition affects the research work on both the languages. Besides several local researchers, the scholars of international importance were also misled by this hypothesis of the researchers on Punjabi.

In his work '*Peoples of Pakistan*' U.V. Gangovsky does not mention the Siraiki as a language and discourages the idea of dividing the Punjabi language into two dialects, the Western and the Eastern. He regards the term Lahnda, used for Siraiki, as 'so-called'. To him any grouping of the dialects of Punjabi into Western and Eastern, is "arbitrary" and to study the dialects, as separate and mutually exclusive languages is "un-warranted". he

says that 'Multani' is one of the dialects of Punjabi like Lahori and Dogri, etc.<sup>18</sup>

Gangovsky's sources on this issue, are the same i.e. Grierson and others, (as discussed), perhaps without any field research of his own. Among the modern works, he has relied mostly on Mohen Singh (An Introduction of Punjabi Literature).<sup>19</sup> Mohen Singh like other linguists of the Punjab, has shown a marked tendency to minimize the differences between Punjabi and Siraiki or Lahnda for the same reason i.e. to establish the idea of vastness of Punjabi by annexing the linguistic area of Siraiki language.

G. Morgenstierne is an other source of Gangovsky. He is the scholar who has placed even the 'Jatki' or 'Khitrani' language of the area lying in the foots of Suleman Range under the dialects of Punjabi language. ('Khitrani' is a language of the Khitran tribe inhabiting the area between the Balochi-speaking region of Loralai District and Siraiki-speaking region of Dera Ghzai Khan District).<sup>20</sup> This approach of G. Morgenstierne is of no consideration as the Khitrani, or Jafraiki, or the 'Jatki' language of the jafar or the Khitran tribe is even more different from the central languages (Punjabi etc.) as compared with Siraiki. As far as its name, i.e. Jatki, is concerned, this was a name given by the Balochs to every local language spoken in the area between Suleman Range and the Indus river. After Brahvi, Khitrani is perhaps unique example of the surviving Dravidian languages spoken in a small pockets in Pakistan. In the Punjab, Jatki, is also the name of another language spoken by the so-called 'Janglies' of Neeli Bar region.

In fact continuous disturbances in areas of Punjab during last four centuries, brought about rapid socio-cultural changes there. Formation of Punjabi language in the most disturbed plains of Punjab is a unique example of a sharp cultural change in the history of the Indo-Pak Sub-continent. This was the result of vigorous influence of Rajasthani dialects of Hindi language as well as the impacts of Persian, Urdu and the Central Asian languages upon the old dialects of Siraiki language which were spoken all over the Punjab four centuries ago.

The standard Punjabi language in literature is the language used by Waris Shah (18th century A.D.), which is different from the language of Madhu Lal Hussain of Lahore (16th century A.D.). Madhu Lal Hussain Lahori is completely a Siraiki poet in spite of the linguistic distortions made in his 'Kafis' as found in different books published in Punjab. His Kafis prove that at some time Siraiki language was spoken in Lahore and the whole of the Punjab.<sup>21</sup>

George Grierson, the first great researcher on the languages of the sub-continent, was aware of the fact described above. He admitted that it could be said without any doubt that at some time in the past the Lahnda (Siraiki), or some language which was closer to Lahnda was spoken in the areas where the Punjabi language is spoken today.<sup>22</sup>

#### **HINDI ORIGIN OF PUNJABI**

It is thought that most of the languages of Northern India originally belong to the stock, the Hindi language originated from. This point of view is more true for the Punjabi language than for the Siraiki language. It is common that languages often borrow nouns and adjectives from each other and not the personal pronouns and the particles etc. Every language, if it is a full-fledged language, has a grammatical structure of its own. Some similarities of grammar lend similarities to language.<sup>23</sup> Urdu language is highly influenced by Persian but it is not of Persian stock. Having inherited a good deal of nouns from the Persian vocabulary, it has taken no linguistic loans in the form of Persian particles, personal pronouns or the verbs. (The verbs like "Azmana" and "Farmana" etc. are a few exceptions which have also been changed according to the grammatic formation of Urdu itself). If the origin of languages was judged on the basis of vocabulary, the Persian language would have been placed in the Semetic group of languages instead of Aryan group, because Persian has a large number of Arabic words in its fold.<sup>24</sup> There is no doubt, the origin of Urdu is from Indic i.e. the language formed from Awadhi, Bundeli and Braj Bhasha dialects.

'Except for its vocabulary, which is borrowed from Arabic and Persian languages. Urdu is Indic, and the said factor of vocabulary can not affect its characteristic quality of being Indic.' Says Baba-e-Urdu Maulvi Abdul Haq.<sup>25</sup>

Now if the principle of linguistics described above is true, Urdu itself is not a separate language from Hindi, and perhaps the changing social and political conditions were the only factors which gave Urdu its identity as a separate language of the Muslims of the region. The Punjabi language has also a grammatical structure which is not much different from that of Hindi. We can say that Punjabi is the Rajasthani dialect of Hindi spoken in Punjab with influences of vocabulary etc. inherited from Siraiki. Punjabi researcher Maula Bakhsh Kushta believes that Punjabi language has adopted a large number of nouns from 'Up-Bharnisha' or Braj Bhasha (the language of Braj or Bindra Ban region). he has prepared a list of such nouns of Hindi which have been changed and made Punjabi by omitting the second letter of the noun, if it was some vowel. Following are the examples.<sup>26</sup>

HINDI	PUNJABI	MEANINGS
<i>haath</i>	<i>hath</i>	hand
<i>phaagan</i>	<i>phaggan</i>	name of a month
<i>saanp</i>	<i>sup</i>	snake
<i>maangna</i>	<i>mangna</i>	to beg
<i>chhaage</i>	<i>chhage</i>	a cow catcher
<i>reechh</i>	<i>richh</i>	bear

The researcher, however, has not given any reason as to why he suppose that such words originally belong to Braj Bhasha-Hindi. We see a large number of such nouns prevailing in all the languages of the Sub-continent prior to Hindi.

Anyhow, it is an obvious fact that the Punjabi language is closer to the Hindi. The rule of linguistics (that similarity of grammar is similarity of languages) does not permit Punjabi or Urdu to be considered as languages separate from Hindi. The



facts are quite contrary to the claims that Punjabi and Siraiki are two names of the same language or that Siraiki is a dialect of Punjabi. Grierson observes that Lanhda differs widely from the better known Punjabi in vocabulary, more nearly approaching Sindhi in this respect. Some of its words are also found in kashmiri - a Dardic language. And that it is in its grammatical forms that the most characteristic differences from Punjabi are exhibited.<sup>27</sup> Throughout the Indus Valley Siraiki and Sindhi are the two languages which have different grammatical formations. This difference can also be manifested by an exercise of translating a simple sentence in each of the languages of the region.

An example is as follows. The difference in the clause will show the difference of language.

Sentence: I have read the '*pothi*' (the book).

Translation in:-

- |   |                                      |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Urdu and Western Hindi :               | <i>Main ne pothi parhi.</i>          |
| 2. Gujarati :                             | <i>Main pothi panchi.</i>            |
| 3. Marhatti :                             | <i>Main pothi wachli.</i>            |
| 4. Punjabi :                              | <i>Main pothi parhi.</i>             |
| 5. Sindhi :                               | <i>Pothi parhi mey.</i>              |
| 6. Siraiki (Titled as Maghrabi Punjabi) : | <i>Pothi parhi em.</i> <sup>28</sup> |

In the above exercise a major difference of grammatical formation took place when the sentence was translated into Sindhi and Siraiki. The personal pronoun in Siraiki and Sindhi is put at the end of the sentence in particular forms of '*mey*' and '*em*' which also puts together a character of 'defective verb' to conclude the meaning of 'I have done' in such a single word of '*mey*' or '*em*'. This is a pattern inherited perhaps from ancient language which had also influenced Persian.

Tracing any language to its origin can be judged by exploring the following aspects of the language:

A. Numbers

B. Personal pronouns, relative pronouns, and demonstrative pronouns.

C: The verbs of daily use.<sup>29</sup>

In the light of the said principle a comparison between Urdu, Punjabi and Siraiiki will be as follows:-

#### ASPECT - A

#### NUMBERS:

ENGLISH	URDU	PUNJABI	SIRAIKI
one	aik	ik	hik
two	do	do	ddu
three	teen	tin	tarai
four	chaar	chaar	chaar
five	paanch	punj	punj
six	chhe	chhe	chhie
seven	saat	sat	sat
eight	aath	ath	ath
nine	nao	naun	naun
ten	das	das	ddah

#### ASPECT - B

#### PERSONAL PRONOUNS

URDU	PUNJABI	SIRAIKI	MEANING
main	main	main	I
tu	tun	tun	you (single)
tum	tusi	tusan	you (plural)
woh	aoh	ao (O)	He/SHe/It

## DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

woh	aoh	ao (O)	that
yeh	aeh	ae	this
yahan	aethe	ithan	here
wahan	aothe	uthan	there
idhar	aedher	idde/iddahen	this way/this side
udher	odhar	udde/uddahen	that way/that side

## RELATIVE PRONOUNS

jo	jehrra	jerha	who
jis	jis/je	jain	who
ji.se	jinun	jaikun	whom

## ASPECT - C

### VERBS OF DAILY USE: 1-Noun of action (infinitive)

URDU	PUNJABI	SIRAIKI	MEANING
khana	khanna	khawann	to eat
peena	peenna	peewann	to drink
laina	lainna	ghinnann	to take/to receive
nahana	nahawanna	dhawann	to take bath
sona	sownna	summann	to take sleep
jana	janna	wanjann	to go *

A simple couplet of Khawja Fareed will be useful to reproduce here as an example of the unique grammatical form of Siraiki language. That is as following:-

\* It is to be noted that noun of action in Siraiki language always comes with an *nn* - quiescent in the last, before that a letter accented with 'A' (Vowel). The letter 'r' of hard sound - the special sound of some languages of south-Asia is marked in Roman script with 'rr'. The sound 'nn' pronounced in Siraiki, Sindhi and to some extent in Punjabi, is a mixed sound of 'nrr'.

"sik ser marem sangran  
tanghan tavem vall vall"

سک سر مارم سانگراں  
تانگھاں تادم ول ول

(The desire (of friend) hits with javelins on my head.  
Expectation (of his) teases me again and again).

## NOTES

1. Dr. Mahr Abdul Haq. *op. cit.*, p. 25.
2. Ali Ahmed Kohzad. *op. cit.*, pp. 48-50.
3. Sibte-e-Hassan. *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94.
4. Abdul ghafoor Qureshi. *op. cit.*, p. 18.
5. Ali Ahmed Kohzad. *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.
6. Sibte-e-Hassan. *op. cit.*, p. 94.
7. Maula Bakhsh Kushta. *op. cit.*, p.4.
8. Abdul Ghafoor Qureshi. *op. cit.*, p.17.
9. Sheikh Muhammad Ikram. *Aab-e-kausar*. Lahore. 1953. p. 225.
10. Abul Fazl Faizi. *Aeen-e-Akbari* (Urdu Translation by Maulvi Fida Ali talib). Lahore. (n.d.) 98.
11. *The Imperial gazetteer of India - The Indian Empire*. *op. cit.*, p. 369.
12. George Grierson. *op. cit.*, Preface.
13. John Beam's. An Outline of Indian Phonetics Translated as *Hindustani Iisaniat Ka Khaka*. Urdu translation by Syed Ihtesham Husan. Lakhnow. 1948. p. 78.
14. Maula Bakhsh Kushta. *op. cit.*, p. 9.
15. Dr. Mahr Abdul Haq. *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.
16. Abdul Ghafoor Qureshi. *op. cit.*, pp. 192, 195, 272, 296, 315, 359, 386.
17. *Ibid.* p. 37.
18. U.V. Gangovsky. *op. cit.*, pp. 110-111.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*
21. Ahsan Wagha. "Siraiki Te Punjabi De Tareekhi Faslay". In *Siraiki Adab* Multan May 1978. pp 16-20.
22. George Grierson. *op. cit.*, pp. 608, 614.
23. Dr Mahr Abdul Haq. *op. cit.*, p. 67.
24. Ain-ul-Haq Fareedkoti. *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58.
25. Maulvi Abdul Haq. *Qawaed-e-Urdu*. Karachi. 1951. p. 3.
26. Maula Bukhsh Kushta. *op. cit.*, p. 5.
27. George Grierson. *Linguistic Survey of Pakistan*. *op. cit.*, p. 138.
28. Dr. Shaukat Sabzwari. *op. cit.* p. 41.
29. *Ibid.* p. 13.

# 8

## SOUND, ACCENT AND GRAMMAR

The similarities and diversities among the languages of the Sub-continent are so vast that there is hardly any substitute in the world. The number of languages spoken in this sub-continent runs into hundreds. In spite of sharing many common features such as common country, they are so different from each other that the linguists have perforce classified them into different language groups. Grierson and Hornle after studying these differences and similarities classified them into different circles with one common centre. According to them there is an inner circle which is the base for all languages of the sub-continent and that is Sanskrit. This has already been discussed in the previous pages.

The student of the Siraiki language is confronted with a confusing situation due to several factors. In the first instance, Siraiki appears to be the language of vast and far flung areas mostly included in the Punjab province and this impression is not wholly wrong, as Siraiki has an affinity with Punjabi. In fact this affinity also exists among all the major languages of the sub-continent. But one, who understands the peculiar expression of Siraiki can easily differentiate it from others as a distinctly separate language. The speakers of Urdu, Hindi and Punjabi etc. cannot speak Siraiki with its true phonemes. The misunderstanding that Siraiki is no more a different language and is easy to speak for Punjabis, is caused by two factors; First, the people of Punjab do not know Siraiki language because they did never need to know it. Thus they prepare a 'Siraiki' by distorting their own language. Secondly, the distorted Punjabi that they speak

(or write) in the form of a particular literature of today to claim their competence in Siraiki, is anyhow communicated to Siraiki people who are used to understand the language of their rulers, the Punjabis who usually hold administrative posts in Siraiki region. This practice adds to the misunderstanding that Punjabis can speak and write Siraiki and that Siraiki and Punjabi languages are the same.

Having its own individuality of grammar and phonetic structure, this phonetic and grammatical difference is too clear today. It points to the fact that Siraiki is not a part or off-shoot of Urdu or Hindi. The present seemingly close relationship is due to the fact of introduction of Urdu into educational institutions. This has broken the natural repulsion of Siraiki-speaking people towards Urdu as a different language.

The linguists who believe in Sanskrit-orientation of the languages of the South Asian region, have also traced out some basic phonetic and accentic differences between different languages of this region.

According to them there are three kinds of words existing in the modern languages:-

1. 'Tetsam'. (Words which are in their original form as they were in Sanskrit).
2. 'Trebhoo'. (Words that changed under the influences of different Prakrits).
3. 'Desaja'. (Words that are local and are not related in anyway to Sanskrit).<sup>1</sup>

According to Dr. Mahr Abdul Haq, a great number of Siraiki and Sindhi words are 'Desaja'. Their origin is not Sanskrit. On the other hand Punjabi and Hindi languages have a great number of 'Tetsam' and 'Trebhoo' words in their folds.<sup>2</sup>

This difference is a basic one and points to the distinct origin of Siraiki. It means that the tone and phonetic structure of Siraiki and Sindhi is different from Punjabi and Hindi. The major difference is between the basic sounds of Siraiki and Punjabi. Some sounds are peculiar to Siraiki and Sindhi. This fact is perhaps due to the influence of the Dardic languages. This

illustrates the compactness of the civilization that came into being on both sides of the river Indus in ancient times.

H.T. Lambrick's is an authority on Sindh and its cultural history. In his *General introduction of Sindh*, he looks to be impressed by the basic sounds found in Siraiki and Sindhi not common with any other language of the sub-continent. He did analyse this linguistic phenomenon in detail. In his words:

"According to the Prakrit grammarian Merkaṇḍeya, the 'Aṇḍharmasa' Prakrit spoken in Sindh was called Varachada. He remarks that the consonant 't' and 'd' at the beginning of words common to most Prakrits become in the Varachada Prakrit cerebrals instead of dentals; and notices a tendency for 'Sibilants' to be pronounced 'Sh'. These features are constantly reproduced in modern Sindhi, in contrast to the practice in most related languages.<sup>3</sup>

The distinctions are noted in a study which is made with a particular point of view that these languages belong to one of the Prakrits called Varachada.

Some scholars still insist that Sindhi and Siraiki, inspite of their different phonetic structures are Sanskrit oriented. According to their research it was usual in the speech of the Rig Veda period that the sound 'd' was changed into the sound of 'rr' ( र्र ), in some dialects while in the other dialects it was pronounced in its proper sound. The Rig Veda itself has all such phonetic tendencies in it, and they admit that this is a result of the influence of different local dialects on Sanskrit which existed in those days. Moreover, that the verb 'da', today which is 'de,na' (to give) had two different forms at a time. They were 'devati' (to give) and 'ditta' ('tt' soft, (given)).<sup>4</sup>

It is notable that both these forms of verbs which are observed as influencing Vedic Sanskrit in distant past, still exist in Siraiki. 'Ditta' of Vedic language is the same 'dditta' of Siraiki language, which is the past perfect form of the verb 'ddaivanni' i.e. to give. And that sound of 'd' observed as changed into 'rr' ( र्र ) is actually the Siraiki sound of 'dd' ( र्र ) which is nearer to 'rr' ( र्र ).

In fact no Aryan language has such peculiar cerebral sounds in its phonetic structure except Sanskrit. The number of alphabet



of Sanskrit is bigger than any other language of its family (the Indo European language family). It can be judged as follows:-

NAME OF LANGUAGE	NUMBER OF ALPHABET
1. Persian	20
2. Greek	19
3. Latin	17
4. Sanskrit	33

Sanskrit had certainly borrowed the additional sounds from some ancient language of Indus valley, as most of the peculiar sounds and grammatical features of Sanskrit which are not found even in the languages of 'inner circle' (Urdu, Punjabi etc.) are existing in the modern languages of Indus Valley i.e. Siraiki, Sindhi and Khitranni etc. These languages are nearer to Sanskrit in the inheritance of the characteristics of some ancient language. Most of the sources of history point to the existence of a well-developed language in this region before and during the period of development of Sanskrit. For example, a reference on the period of the Greek invasion of the region is as follows:-

Alexander of Macedon invaded the north western part of the Indus valley in 327 B.C. He found the region divided into a number of small states and tribal chiefdoms. Taxila was the capital of one of these states, called Gandhara, which was a famous seat of Buddhist culture and learning. A language of the same name, which was quite different from Magadhian Sanskrit was also evolving in this region the present form of which is believed to be Siraiki, widely used in different parts of Pakistan.<sup>5</sup>

Whatever the conclusions drawn by the observation mentioned above, it also supports our hypothesis that before the spread of Sanskrit there existed some well-developed languages in this region, traces of which are discernable in Siraiki. They were the languages which contributed to the language of the early Aryans to make it Sanskrit, and also sustained themselves to exist upto now in the form of Dardic-oriented languages of today. An

example is the case of Hindi etc. after giving birth to Urdu language in our age.

The unique phonetic and grammatic communion in the languages of the Vedas and Siraiki points to the fact that the Vedas were created in this region of the upper Indus valley or at least that the holy books were reviewed and amended in this region. The results of study of archaeological monuments also lead to the conclusion that there was a highly civilized nation with a developed language living in this region before the penetration of the Aryans.<sup>6</sup>

Another explanation is that these peculiar phonemes common to Siraiki, Sindhi and the language of the Vedas are the remnants or borrowings of some ancient central Asian language of the pre-Vedic, pre-Avesta period which disappeared completely.

These peculiar phonetic and grammatic features of Sindhi and Siraiki languages always attract the attention of researchers. The linguists think about different origins of these two languages. Mostly, this point has been explored in research works on the Sindhi language. According to H. T. Lambrick's the most characteristic features of Sindhi connect it with the Dardic tongues of the north-west. The more important of these characteristics are the affection for double consonants: extensive use of prenominal suffix: the ending of every word with a vowel (mostly in Sindhi) : and a large number of irregular participles of verbs.<sup>7</sup>

All these characteristics exist in Siraiki. The double consonants are the most prominent feature of both the languages. H. T. Lambrick's in this matter is a follower of George Grierson who has rendered these four double consonants in Roman script as *bb*, *dd*, *jj*, *gg*.<sup>8</sup>

In the Sindhi script two additional letters are included as '*njj*' and '*ngg*' to express the sounds like in '*wanjj*' (go) and in '*singg*' (horn). These are the unnecessary additions in the script, because these are not independent sounds but are a minor phonetic change which takes place because of the '*n*' coming before '*jj*' or '*gg*'.

The usual approach about these double consonants that they are the distorted pronunciations of the related single consonants of Urdu or Punjabi, which means that these are 'b' and 'd' etc. pronounced as 'bb' and 'dd' etc., is not correct. But these single consonants also exist in Siraiki and are pronounced in the same way as in other languages, such as in the following words of Siraiki:

<u>Word</u>		<u>Meaning</u>
<i>banda</i>	بندہ	human being
<i>dang, or daang</i>	ڈانگ	stain
<i>gaaj</i>	گاج	thunder
<i>jind</i>	جند	life, soul

The double consonants are additional 'sounds, for example in the following Siraiki words:

<i>bball</i>	بال	firewood, fuel, energy
<i>jjal</i>	جال	a net
<i>ddang</i>	ڈانگ	a club
<i>ggichchi</i>	گچی	neck

There is another view about these four sounds of Siraiki which is that some words of Urdu or Punjabi entered into Siraiki and their sounds were changed. This is against the rule of linguistics i.e. words travel and change from hard and difficult to soft and easy and not vice versa. In the vocabulary common between Siraiki and Punjabi or Urdu, comparatively hard sounds and difficult pronunciations are found in Siraiki. It means that these are loans from Siraiki which are softened in Punjabi and Urdu. (It is, perhaps the same hard sounds notifying which O. Brien has titled 'Multani' as "language of rude people", - Glossary of Multani Language, Preface).

There are some other sounds peculiar to the languages of the sub-continent. These are the phonemes made by mixing a sound of 'h' with the sounds of a few consonants, such as

$b+h = bh$ , as in 'bhaee' (brother). There are about a dozen of sounds which are added in the Persian script as joint letters to write Urdu or Punjabi etc. According to Ainul Haq Fareedkoti, who refers to Cold Viel, Slator and other linguists these are also Dravidic sounds. He describes them as sounds of the *Munda* languages.<sup>9</sup> Anyhow, these are declared as non-Aryan, non-Iranian, non-Semitic.<sup>10</sup>

The Aryan group of languages has its own basic sound pattern all over the world, which imbibed little influences from the local languages of different regions of the world. The peculiar sounds of Siraiki and Sindhi are, after all far away from the phonetic formation of the Aryan group of languages. According to Dr. Earnest Trump Sindhi and Siraiki have 75% of their vocabulary borrowed from some non-Aryana, Sythean language.<sup>11</sup> Reaching to the days of Panini, Sanskrit had changed and had accepted a good deal of Dravidian vocabulary such as the words like; '*phall*' (fruit), '*neela*' (blue), '*shaam*' (evening), etc.<sup>12</sup>

Sanskrit itself has a good deal of sounds which are completely non-existent in other Aryan languages. About these strange sounds, it is repeatedly said that these belong to the Dravidian languages.<sup>13</sup>

A few Dravidian/Dradic sounds are also found in the Balochi language mostly in the Sulemani dialect of lower Balochistan, such as '*dd*' as in - '*gudda*' (then) or '*chh*' as in '*chhinen*' (nothing, is not). This is due to the proximity of their respective areas with the areas where Siraiki and Sindhi languages are spoken. The Balochi of the upper regions of Balochistan is spoken nearly in the Iranian accent.

Besides the four prominent sounds and peculiar grammatical characteristics of Siraiki there is a number of verbs which are quite different from the pattern of verbs common in the most of the languages of South Asian region, except in the Dardic group of languages upto some extent. Yet they are not available all, in each Dardic language, but they are to be explored in different languages of this family. For example, some resembling forms of a unique helping verb of Siraiki i.e. '*theevann*' (to become, to happen) are found in the '*Shina*' language as follows:-

VERB IN SHINA		MEANING
Thai	تھے	Do
Thaiguin	تھیگن	Did, done
Thai gone	تھے گون	He did
Thai ten	تھین	Has been done etc.

T. Bomford while discussing Siraiki as language of Western Punjab has pointed out the unique formation of passive voice which he found peculiar to this language. A delicate portion of his observation on a slight difference between the active voice and the passive voice is following in original:

"The passive is formed in the Present Participle and Future by substituting a lighter vowel, for that which connects the root with the special endings, as -

*mar-en-da* beating      *mar-in-da* being beaten  
*mar-e-san* I will beat      *mar-i-san* I will be beaten.

Note. - Objectors to a passive say that there is such a slight difference between the forms '*maresa*' and '*marisa*', that only a very quick ear can detect it, and that when written there would be no difference whatever, unless the vowel marks are added.

This is true, but the same objection holds to Arabic passives, where قتل '*qtl*' may be '*qatala*' he killed, or '*qutila*' he is killed, and yet grammarians recognise such forms as constituting a real passive".<sup>14</sup>

## NOTES

1. Ain-ul-Haq Fareed Koti. *op. cit.*, pp. 135-136.
2. Dr. Mahr Abdul Haq. *op. cit.*, p. 40
3. H. T. Lambrick's. *op. cit.*, p. 222.
4. Dr. Shaukat Sabzwari. *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.
5. Hasan Gardezi. "Feudal and Capitalist Relations in Pakistan". *Pakistan - An Unstable State*. Lahore. 1983. p. 22.
6. Ain-ul-Haq Fareedkoti. *op. cit.*, p. 56.
7. H. T. Lambrick's. *op. cit.*, p. 223.
8. George Grierson. *op. cit.*, p. xii.
9. Ain-ul-Haq Fareedkoti. *op. cit.*, pp. 95-100.
10. Muhammad Aslam Rasoolpuri. *op. cit.*, p. 10.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Ain-ul-Haq Fareedkoti. *op. cit.*, p. 135.
13. Dr. Muhammad Yousaf. *Kashmiri Aur Urdu Ka Taqabali Mutalia*. Lahore. 1982. p. 14.
14. T. Bomford. Language spoken in the Western Punjab *op. cit.*, p. 321.



## SIRAIKI AND SINDHI

"Lahnda differs widely from the better known Punjabi in vocabulary, more nearly approaching Sindhi in this respect".<sup>1</sup>

G. A. Grierson

In the past Siraiki and Sindhi were one language, or in other words one such language was spoken in this area, the break-up of which resulted in the emergence of these two languages. We can say that the language of the south eastern part of the Indus Valley, under the influence of the dialects of Kathiawar and Rajputana as also the influence of Arabic, changed into the modern Sindhi language. Similarly, the language of the upper region of the valley also accepted traits of dialects of the north west and assumed the form of the Siraiki language of today.

According to some researchers the process of separation between Siraiki and Sindhi started some 1200 years ago. The separation was apparently, caused by the split of the Arab colony of Sindh into two independent Provinces. On the death of Tamim-bin-Zaid, the Arab governor of Sindh, in 729 A.D., anarchy prevailed in the region. As a consequence, the region broke-up into two separate independent centres of Thatta and Multan. Later on, Qasri, the ruler of Iraq, sent an independent governor to rule over Multan.<sup>2</sup> The lower region (Sindh) was cut off from the upper region. The languages of both the regions started to develop under different atmosphere of the two states. Meanwhile, due to the rigidity of some Muslim rulers of Sindh, a large number of non Muslim Jats, such as the Jats of the Lohana tribe began to migrate from Sindh eastward to Gujarat and Kathiawar. However, when they found that peace and order was restored in Sindh, they

came back to Sindh. This happened several times in the history which caused a sound linguistic impact of Kathiawar region on Sindh and vice versa.<sup>3</sup>

Except in the modern times, Sindh and Siraiki region remained integrated in some way or the other throughout the history. The classical historians have always referred to the whole of this region as 'Iqleem-e-Sindh' (the realm of Sindh), independent of the rest of sub-continent.<sup>4</sup> The Achaemenean rule is a historical evidence of the unity of this region in the past, which we have already discussed. Ibn-e-Batuta, the famous tourist visited this region in 1334 A.D. He has recorded that from Uch, he reached Multan and this city was the capital of the country of Sindh at that time.<sup>5</sup> The old manuscripts testify to the fact that before the Arabic and Persian linguistic impacts, the main indigenous language was akin to the Siraiki language of today. Muhammad Aslam Rasoolpuri has quoted an old song as a specimen of the ancient language of the Indus Valley. The folk song tells the story of Sudh Juja, a 'raja' of the Siraiki lands who had, according to a legend, migrated to Arabia and became a Muslim and participated in battles and people paid tributes to his bravery. According to M. Aslam Rasulpuri, the song is sung by a religious sect 'Husainy Brahmans' who transmit the song from breast to breast and present it as a token of their honour that their ancestors had fought in the battle of Karbala on the side of Imam Hussain. This song is supposed to be a specimen of the language which was prevalent before the bifurcation of Sindhi and Siraiki. A piece from the song is reproduced here:

بجائی بھیر کو چوٹ فتح میدان جو پائی  
بدلہ لیا، دھن دھن کرے لو کائی

*"Bajai bhair ko chote fatah maidan jo pae. Badla lya, dhan dhan kare lokaee."*

(When he won the battle, drums were beaten. He took revenge, and the people shouted brave! brave!).



An old specimen of the Siraiki language is a famous versified religious booklet called 'Noor Namah'. According to Hafiz Mahmood Sherani, 'Noor Namah' is a writing of 1054 A.D. But this cannot be believed easily because the language of Noor Namah, is not much different from the Siraiki of today. Hafiz Mahmood Sherani may have determined the period with the help of two lines of the verse which tell:

'When five centuries had passed from the migration (the Hijrat) of the Holy Prophet.  
The poor Mulla speaks of work, work comes from the Scholars.'

In these lines the mention of 5 centuries has been taken as a clue to determine the period of the writing of Noor Namah. But it is also possible that the author had told of some event of the said period the explanatory lines of which are lost from the verse. Because the second line and also the following lines have no implied relation with the line describing the period. A couplet from Noor Namah is presented here as a sample. This is too close with the language of today.<sup>6</sup>

جو کچھ روئے زمین تے پیدا، سب کچھ تھسی فانی  
نام نشان نہ رہسی کائی، جز ایمان نشانی

*"Jo Kujh ru-e-zameen te paida, sab kujh thisi fani Nam, nishaan na rahsi kai juz eman nishai"*  
(Whatever appears on earth will disappear. No name no sign will last except the sign of belief)

Among the old samples of Siraiki speech, a famous couplet is attributed to Baba Fareed Shakar Ganj. According to the reference, he wrote the couplet in reply to a letter from his contemporary scholar Bahauddin Zakarya of Multan. The couplet is as follows<sup>7</sup>

ہتھڑیں وٹک ہتھڑیں پیریں وٹک پیر  
تساں نہ تمیاں گاجراں اسان نہ متے پیر

"Hathrren vattuk hattren, paeren vattuk paer. Tusan na Mutian gajran, asan na mutte bbair".

Hands in return of hands, feet in return of feet. You did not send carrots, we did not send "bbairs".

In the references a broken sentence of Bibi Aisha - the daughter of Baba Fareed Shakarganj is quoted as, that once Burhan-ud-Din - a guest of the lady was smiling at her young pious daughter. Bibi Aisha stopped him by asking as:<sup>8</sup>

اے برہان الدین ساڈی دھی کوں کیا ہسدہ ایں؟

"Ae Burhanud Din saddi dhi kun kya hasda ein"  
(O, Burhan-ud-Din, why are you smiling at our daughter?)

Guinan is the title of the mystic poetry of Ismaeli Pirs like Pir Naseer-ud-Din and Shah Shams Sabzwari., They were the founders of a new mystic tradition of 'Sat Panth'. Guinans of Shah Shams Sabzwari can also be presented as an old example of Siraiki pattern. Two lines of the guinans of Shah Shams are as follows:-<sup>9</sup>

اے سجاگا کیا گھن آہوا این دنیا تے

کیا گھن ویسین نال سجاگا

(O, Good one, what did you bring with you while coming to this world? What will you take with you from here? (nothing)".

Similarly an old historical saying rendered in 'Tareekh-e-Fairoz Shahi' - the famous book of history, is also a good trace of old Siraiki speech. It is:<sup>10</sup>

برکت پیر پٹھا، ہک مویا، ہک نشٹا

"Barkat Peer Pattha, Hik moya, hik nattha".

(By the blessings of Peer Pattha (a saint) one (of the enemies), is dead and one ran away).

The same saying in Sindhi, in its dialect is reproduced as follows:

برکت پیر پٹھو، ہکڑو مویو، ہکڑو نشٹو

"Barkat Peer Pattho, Hikro Moyo, hikro nattho".

Except a slightest variation in few grammatical formations and the colloquialism of accent, Siraiki and Sindhi languages are the same. Following Sindhi verse may be taken as an example:

نہنہ آيو مينه وانگر هائے هائے  
پيو تيري دل جو گلستان اے اديو  
چھا چواں آ کير مھماں اے اديو  
آ آنگن میں چند موساں اے اديو

i.e. nein'h ayo mein'h wangan, ha'e ha'e! Pyo tirri dil jo gulistan ae ady'o! Chha chwan aa kair mehman ae ady'o! aa anggann mei chandd mo san ae ady'o!

In Siraiki this verse will be written and read as follows:

نہنہ آیا مہنہ وانگن ہائے ہائے

پیا ترڑول وانگستن اے ادی او

چھاڑساں ہا کیر حامساں اے ادی او

ہا آنگن وچ چندر میں سنگ اے ادی او

i.e. nein'h aya mein'h wangann ha'e hae! pya trirr dil da  
gulistan ae ady'o! cha ddsan, ha kairha mehman ae ady'o!  
ha anggann which chan main sang ae ady'o!

(Love came like rain, ha! ha!

In heart, bloomed flowers like a garden, o, sister!

How to tell you, who was the guest, o, sister!

A moon was with me in my courtyard, o, sister!)

As far as Sindhi is concerned no separate samples of the ancient language are available. The ancient linguistic heritage is the same as of the Siraiki language, and that is very little. No sound reference goes back more than a thousand of years.

The distinguishing mark of this language is the same Paishacha linguistic features, like Siraiki. This language is introduced in Imperial Gazetteer of India as follows:

"Sindhi is the language of Sindh and the neighbourhood. It is closely connected with Lahnda, and owing to its isolated position, it preserves many phonetic, and flexional peculiarities which have disappeared elsewhere. There was, in former days, a Paishacha colony in Sindh, and traces of their language are still to be found in Sindhi, which is, in other respects, a typical speech of the 'outer band' of languages

The Paishacha tribes must at one time have extended to some distance beyond their present seats. Sanskrit writers mention colonies of them in western Punjab and Sindh, and

examples of dialects spoken by them are found in the words which the Greeks employed to record names heard by them in North-western India, and in the versions of the inscriptions of Ashoka found in the same locality. Indeed, there are traces of their influence still existing in the modern vernaculars of the lower Indus Valley. At the present day the languages are found only in the country between the Punjab and the Hindukush. They possess an extra-ordinarily archaic character. Words are still in every day use which are almost identical with the forms they assumed in Vedic hymans, and which now survive only, in much corrupted state, in the plains of Indus."<sup>11</sup>

According to George Grierson, Paishachi, at sometime in the past was the language of Paishacha people - the foreigners who settled in Indus region. - "From the fact that an *Apabharamsa* and a Paishacha were spoken in Varachada' we are entitled to maintain that the Paishacha were not the same tribe as those who spoke the local *Apabharamsa*. They were therefore foreigners, and so by parity of reasoning, were *Kekya*". He further explains that after having determined that the homeland of Paishacha was in the foots of Pameer range, we can conclude that the natural route of their migration would have been through the valley of Swat towards the *Kekya* Paishacha region.<sup>12</sup>

The Siraiki-Sindhi relation indicates some concrete common factor behind these languages, and that is the factor of inheritance from the same language. The language was Paishacha or Dardic, according to most of the sources. These two languages of the Indus Valley are influenced by, or, are the two branches of *Dardic*, or the Paishacha language of an ancient Iranian tribe '*Dardi*', which we shall discuss in the following chapter. An old language Varachada Parakrit is said to be the source of Sindhi and Siraiki languages. Markandeya notes this language with the name of Varachada Paishacha, which means that the Varachada-Parakrit was the same Paishacha language. He further explains that the language of the Indus Valley is from *Kekya* Paishacha which was a branch of Varachada Paishacha.<sup>13</sup>

U. V. Gangovsky, who observes Siraiki as a branch or a dialect of the Punjabi language, has also noted this particular feature of the languages of this region. He tells about the impacts which it had on the formation of the siraiki language. He says that the western dialects of Punjabi were affected by the Dardic languages in the early middle ages, and by Sindhi, Pashto and Balochi in later periods.<sup>14</sup> Siraiki is the only language which has the impact of Dardic, or Paishacha dialects on the one hand and those of Sindhi, Balochi and Pashto languages on the other hand at the same time.

The Dardic influence is the main factor connecting both the languages. H. T. Lambrick's verifies the matter as follows:

According to accepted classifications, Sindhi together with Lahnda or Western Punjabi is included into the North-West group of the outer circle of Indo-Aryan Vernaculars. The two tongues show strong connection with Dardic languages further to North, especially with Kashmiri. Sindhi, like other languages of the Aryan family, derives from a Prakrit that is an early popular dialect of Sanskrit, but it (Sindhi) is distinguished, if not unique, in its retention of a number of characteristic features of this Prakrit which in other existing Indo-Aryan languages are regularly modified.<sup>15</sup>

In the above observation, H. T. Lambrick's has repeated the same one-sided theory of Sanskrit orientation. This hypothesis can be applied to the languages of the Ganges Valley. Siraiki and Sindhi have relations with Sanskrit but they cannot be considered as Sanskrit oriented as a whole.

No detailed research has been done, upto now, on the phonetic influence of Dardic languages on Siraiki and Sindhi. All the previous judgements give only some indication about the relation. By repetition of the references and by a close study of the sounds of Siraiki and Sindhi, we reach the conclusion that besides other linguistic typicalities, it is the five sounds which are of Paishachi gifts to both the languages. Whether or not these five sounds still exist in the modern languages of Paishacha group, i.e. Kashmiri, Chitrali and Shina etc., is yet to be explored.

Siraiki also shows complex similarities with Persian. The roots of these similarities can be traced in the following different backgrounds:

1. The Persian impact, that Siraiki accepted from the mystic preachers and from religious teachings of Islam both reaching through Persia.
2. Under the political influence of Delhi and Multan, Persian remained the state language throughout the Muslim rule after the Arab descendants of Muhammad-bin-Qasim. These influences can be seen mostly in vocabulary.
3. Under Achaemenian rule, when the Indus region was a part of the Persian empire. (We shall discuss the Persian impact in the chapter on Literature in detail).
4. Siraiki and Sindhi have retained some features of the ancient languages of Iranian group of the days when the Indo-Aryan languages had not yet developed their own features. These old features which connect both the languages with Persian reached through Dardic which is one of the Iranian group of languages.

The major Dardic impacts on Siraiki and Sindhi languages can be observed as follows:

- (a) To change the gender and number in trilateral nouns by changing only a short vowel coming after the letter standing in the middle.

Masculine Gender (Singular)	Meaning	Feminine Gender (Singular)	Plural
<i>Kukkorr</i>	cock	<i>Kukkir</i>	<i>kukkar</i>
<i>chhuhor</i>	a boy	<i>chhuhir</i>	<i>chhuhar</i>
<i>wahhorr</i>	a colt/a young cow	<i>wahhir</i>	<i>wahharr</i>

(b) To change active voice into passive voice by addition of a participle 'eej, guia' after the first:

<u>Active Vice</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Passive Vice</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
uon khada	he ate	khaveej guia	it was eaten
uon marya	he beat	mareej guia	he was beaten

(the above features are explored by Dr. Mahr Abdul Haq)

(c) To make subjective noun with the help of some suffix:

<u>Suffix</u>	<u>Noun</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
darr	دڑ	ruldarr رلدڑ
karr	کڑ	nasokarr نسوکرڑ
nd	ند	karand کرند
		lahand لہاند
vand	وند	bhaggvand بھگ وند
akk	اک	bhanakk بھنک
aak	آک	lehaak لہاک
-		uddrak اڈراک

(d) The conjugation of past indefinite which comes in quite a different way as compared with Punjabi, Urdu and Hindi.



<u>Siraiki</u>	<u>Punjabi</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
khados	oh ne khada	He ate
khadonen	ounan ne khada	They ate
khadoi	tun khada	You ate
khadonai	tusen khada	You ate
khadum	main khada	I ate
khadosai	asen khada	We ate

(e) To make a particular noun of littleness by adding a suffix 'rra' ٹرا and 'rri' رری :

<u>Noun</u>	<u>Noun of littleness</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
bbachcha بچہ	bbachrra بچڑا	a little son
dil دل	dilrri دلری	a little heart

Similar is the case with Sindhi in all the four aspects mentioned above with additional peculiar modifications of the language itself. O. Brien, in his Glossary of 'Mooltani Language' indicates to one of such unique grammatic aspects of Siraiki and Sindhi as follows:

"Mooltani excels Indian dialects and resembles Sindhi in having a passive voice instead of being reduced to the clumsy compound with 'jana' to go. 'marindan' I am being beaten, is much handier than the Hindustani, 'main mara jata hun'. Such peculiarities are judged by the linguists as impacts of Dradic languages. As far as the origin of Dardic languages is concerned, it is explained as follows:

Dardic was the language of an ancient horde of Aryans which first advanced to the sub-continent and for some unknown reasons penetrated into the Pamir region. They crossed Hindukush and entered the region called Dardistan. They were cut away from other Aryan tribes who stayed in Iran and Afghanistan and whose language underwent changes and developed into the forms of Indo-Iranian and Indo-Aryan groups of languages. The language of the hordes living in the Dardistan

region, lost its speed of development and remained nearer to the origin. These tribes were further divided and isolated into different valleys. Their language also was divided into Broshesky, Kohistani, and Ghalcha etc.<sup>16</sup>

According to Dr. Shaukat Sabzwari, the Kashmiri, the Chitrali, the Shina and the Kafir languages are branches of the same Dardic or Paishacha language and they are all Aryan in their origin. George Grierson admitted the distinct and independent position of the Dardic, or the Paishacha languages and placed them in a group parallel to the ancient Persian of Iran and Sanskrit of India. Some other researchers place the Dardic languages under the Iranian group of languages.<sup>17</sup> (We shall discuss Dardic people in the following chapter on ethnics).

The Dardic nations, though they mostly remained within their pockets and valleys, yet some colonies of Paishacha people in the lower Indus region have also been mentioned. Besides this, the movements along the banks of the Indus from Kashmir to the Arabian Sea, have always been a source of transfer of linguistic and cultural influences. There is still another interpretation i.e. both the languages are remnants of a proto-Dravidian language of the founders of Indus civilization. The seals of Harappa and Mohenjodaro, reinterpreted by modern Indian philologists strengthen the hypothesis that it was the most ancient proto-Dravidian language of Indus Valley which contributed to all languages of Indo-Aryan and also those of Indo-European groups. The dilemma of determining the relationship of Sanskrit with the rest of the languages of South-Asia can also be resolved by exploring the proto-Dravidian language factor. Seraiki and Sindhi need a scientific research on their links with the existing Dravidian languages of India.

In short, the two languages of the banks of the great Indus are deeply connected with each other. Moreover, Seraiki is the second language of two third of the whole population of Sindh, and is spoken and understood throughout the province.

## NOTES

1. George Grierson. *op. cit.*, p. 138.
2. Dr. G. A. Allana. *Sindhi Bboli Ji Lisani Jughrafi*. Sindh University. 1979. pp. 169-171.
3. Mohammad Aslam Rasoolpuri. *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35.
4. Dr. Mahr Abdul Haq. *op. cit.*, p. 39.
5. Dr. G. A. Allana. *op. cit.*, p. 168.
6. Muhammad Aslam Rasoolpuri. *op. cit.*, pp. 38, 47, 48.
7. Ain-ul-Haq Fareedkoti. *op. cit.*, p. 179.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Abdul Ghafoor Qureshi. *op. cit.*, p. 193.
10. Muhamma Aslam Rasoolpuri. *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48.
11. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India. The Indian Empire. op. cit.*, pp. 355-356, 371-372.
12. George Grierson. *op. cit.*, p. 40.
13. Dr. Mahr Abdul Haq. *op. cit.*, p. 42.
14. U. V. Gangovsky. *op. cit.*, p. 110.
15. H. T. Lambrick's. *op. cit.*, p. 222.
16. Dr. Mahr Abdul Haq. *op. cit.*, pp. 129-130.
17. Dr. Shaukat Sabzwari. *op. cit.*, p. 19.

# 10

## ETHNIC BACKGROUND

An ethnic study of a people helps in the study of their languages because this enables us to know about different races and tribes and the contributions made by them towards the development of their language.

The ethnic composition of the Siraiki people is the result of a complex combination of races like most of the nationalities of the sub-continent. However, there were a few pre-Aryan races which are supposed to form the base of ethnic formation of the Siraiki people. This peculiar ethnic background distinguishes them from other major nationalities of the South Asian region. In these pages we propose to mention some main racial groups as parts of the ethnic composition of the Siraikis.

The Austro-Asiatic black skinned aboriginals are supposed to be the most ancient dwellers of this region. Nothing is known about their place of origin. The existing Munda tribes are believed as belonging to the same Austronesian race. According to some sources, these tribes were spread over a large territory from Newzealand to the Indus Valley at some remote past. The existing major Munda tribes are Kole, Bheel, Savra, Hoe, Koro and Jaang. It is thought that the ancient Aamri-Naal, culture the remnants of which have been traced in Balochistan and Qallat region, was developed by the Munda people.<sup>1</sup> These Munda tribes were followed by another greater race, the Dravidian. This die-hard ethnic community resisted the onslaught of the Aryan expansion and saved themselves from extinction.

In their origin, the Dravidians are also thought of as belonging to Central Asian region. The paleo-anthropological investigations undertaken by Soviet Scientists show that between

the fourth to the second millennia B.C. the Dravidian types were in evidence among the population of South Turkmania and the areas south of the Aral Sea. Ancient historians refer in their works to "the Asiatic Ethiopians" inhabiting the South Eastern part of Iran and Balochistan. Being darkskinned, these Ethiopians seem to have belonged to the Dravidian group of anthropological type.<sup>2</sup>

The same darkskinned tribes who after so many migrations reached the Indus Valley, by intermixing with the Munda groups, caused a wide cultural formation for the first time in this region. The proto-Dravidians and the proto-Mundas constitute the earliest ethnic stratum underlying the Indo-Aryan community, which according to most of the anthropologists, has taken shape in this northern part of the sub-continent, in the late second to early first millennia B.C.<sup>3</sup>

The ethnic similarities found between the people of the Siraiki region and the people of Sindh are more pronounced than their cultural similarities. We can also judge the ethnic formation of the Siraiki people in the light of the research done on the ethnography of Sindh, particularly with reference to Mohenjodaro.

According to some of the investigations the anthropological type of the people of ancient Sindh was common with the population of Mesopotemia. Some others say that proto-Austronesian and South-Western Iranian races existed among them.<sup>4</sup>

Ateeq Fikri also declares that the Siraiki people belong mostly to the Dravidian race but he claims that the Dravidians originated in Babylonia, (and not in Central Asia). According to him, the people of Babylonia and the people of the Indus Valley, both belonged to the Turanian stratum, and that the members of one famous existing Dravidian tribe which is called Gond have a remarkable resemblance of their features with the old people of Babylonia. This fact is verified by the study of skulls done by the archaeologists. Moreover, some Dravidian tribes of this region had been worshipping snakes and this was a Babylonian cult. A serpent-like god called "Ea,Aa" was worshipped in the famous temple of "Aeri Dhu" in Babylonia.

Ateeq Fikri, in his support, quotes H. R. Hall. According to the quotation, the Dravidians of Balochistan and the Indus region had migrated from the lands of the eastern part of Iraq, and were settled in this area of Indus Valley.<sup>5</sup>

The Dravidian existence in their primitive forms has been observed in Siraiki region and in the adjacent areas as some moving groups of gypsies.

Another evidence, that the Dravidian speakers were once expanding far into the west and north-west of the borders of the South Asia, is the fact that a part of the population of Sistan spoke a Dravidian language just a few centuries ago. P. Sykes supposed that the present day Persian-speaking ethnic group, i.e. *Sarbandis*, with genetic relationship to *Brahwis*, is aboriginal of *Sistan*. It is possible that the unknown *Khozia* language flourishing in *Khuzistan* in tenth century A.D. which Al-Istekhari described as "Un-Habrew, Un-Syric and Un-Persian", was also a Dravidian language.<sup>6</sup> *Khuzistan* and *Sistan* are the names of different parts of Balochistan.

The Dravidians who were always disturbed and pushed to south-east by the Aryans in the lower region of the Indus Valley, remained, comparatively undisturbed in the Balochistan area. From late B.C. centuries to early A.D. centuries the population of Balochistan belonged to three major ethnic groups: Indo Aryan in south eastern part, the Iranian in western and northern part and the Dravidian in the central part of Balochistan.<sup>7</sup>

The existence of Dravidian traces in the *Brahwi* language marks its speakers as originally derived from pre-Aryan races, though there has been a large subsequent admixture of Turanians and other strata. Sir Aurel Stien places the homeland of *Brahwis* in the *Jhalawan* and *Sarawan* hills (Balochistan), the barren region where they remained undisturbed in the same barbarous condition as they were not touched by the Aryan elements, unlike their contemporaries settled on plains.

The long process of intermixing of different ethnic communities has made it very difficult to investigate the ethnic relationships of the modern nationalities. There are, however, some under-developed communities which having been less

disturbed, retain some ethnic purity. Such communities are used as a source of anthropological test all over the world. The Brahwis are one of such groups who are considered as Dravidians and are found ethnically, closer to the people of Indus region than to the people of Balochistan.

As it has been discussed in the foregoing pages, the Siraiiki people are deeply influenced in their language by the people of the north-west of Indus called the Dards. This linguistic influence cannot be detached from ethnic relationships between the people of Siraiiki Region and the people of '*Dardistan*' who are also called the Paishacha.

The people bearing the above names were a very ancient tribe. They are mentioned by Herodotus, though not by name, and are '*Daradrai*' of Ptolemy, the '*Derdie*' of Strabo, the '*Dardic*' of Pliny and Nonnus and the '*Dardonis*' of Dionysis and Pereigetes. In other words, under the Dard country, they included the whole mountainous tract between the Hindukush and the frontiers of India proper. This tract was once inhabited by tribes whom Sanskrit writers grouped together under the name of Paishacha.<sup>9</sup> U. V. Cangovsky explains the age and origin of Dard People as follows:-

"A group of tribes and nationalities speaking the Dardic languages was coming into existence by the middle of the first millennium B.C. in the high lands of Indus basin". The Dards (the '*Darada*' in ancient Indian texts) can be identified with the '*Dadicae*', referred to by Herodotus, whose country was in the mountains north of Gandhara, as well as with the '*Dardai*' mentioned by Megasthenes whose account of "This large Indian tribe living in the Highlands", has come to us in the words of Strabou. Plinius and Ptolemaei also have references to Dards: together with the population of Gandhara (the '*Gandari*', or '*Gandarai*', '*Gandrites*', '*Gandarians*'), the Sattagydiens who occupied the valley of the Gomel river (south west of Gandara) and the '*Apurytae*'.\*

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\* Perhaps '*Apurytae*' are the Afrides of today

The 'Dadicae' comprised the population of the seventh Strapy of the Achaemenid empire. The Dards (Dadicae) inhabited the area adjacent to Gandhara in those times. Their existence is also attested by a version<sup>9</sup> that they fought together with the Persian army in one detachment under one commander. The Dardic also inhabited Kahsmir and they may be the Pahari speaking nationalities of today".<sup>10</sup>

These Dards were the first Aryans who settled in what is now called Laghman, Kafiristan, Chitral, Gilgit and Kashmir. They migrated at the period when all the typical characteristics of Iranian languages had not yet become fixed. They developed partly Iranian and partly Indo-Aryan characteristics in their language etc. The Aryans of India proper who had entered the Punjab by the valley of the Kabul, had little intercourse or sympathy with these tribes and nicknamed them as Paishacha i.e. flesh eaters. According to most of the sources the name Paishacha, however was given to them by the early Iranians in more ancient times. They settled and were mixed with Nagas the natives of Pameer region<sup>11</sup> and forefathers of the Nagas of north-east India of today. These Paishacha tribes did not confine themselves always within their region. But they must at one time have extended to some distance beyond their present seats. Sanskrit writers, mention colonies of them in the western Punjab and Sindh.<sup>12</sup>

They had been dwelling in the area stretching from Kashmir to Multan, to Sindh, and one of the peculiarities which distinguish the people of this region from the people of the rest of the sub-continent, is the same Dardic cultural traits.<sup>13</sup> The Aryan flow into the South Asian region which was started from 15th century B.C. had not still stopped. Mostly they entered through Kabul Valley and made their way to the Ganges region. The Punjab and particularly the lower Indus region did not suit them (as discussed). However, this storm of invaders damaged the ancient



ethnic settlements too much. Usually the story of Aryan arrival is told as follows:

The Aryans entered India from the north west and gradually worked their way down the valley of Ganges driving the Turanians (Dravidians) into the then almost impenetrable forests and hills of the South. In spite of expulsion and oppressions, however there is a reason to believe that a considerable number of the Turanians remained still in the valley of Ganges.<sup>14</sup>

In the general historical notes the Aryans are usually referred to the Ganges region and it is true. But the area presently inhabited by the Siraiki people, did not remain un-touched by the Aryans. Whenever they are mentioned as wandering in the Punjab or in the northern parts of India it means the Indus valley region, such as in the following note

At first they (the Aryans) settled in Punjab, the land of five rivers which feed the Indus. Later on they spread outward into the basin of Ganges river. They overcame on earlier people called the Dravidians whom they found living in northern India. Those Dravidians who did not flee eastward, were made subjects.<sup>15</sup>

The Dravidian's main centre in the Indo-Pak Sub-continent was Balochistan and the plains of the Indus. No other nation except the Aryans could expel them from this region. The difference is that the Aryans themselves also left this area and cursed it in their hymns which are included in their holy-books (discussed in previous pages). Though no sound proofs of Aryan settlements in the area, are found, the possibilities of their ethnic influence cannot be ignored. Referring to Prof. Justy, Ainul Haq Fareedkoti has argued that some Aryan tribes who stayed in the Indus region caused a racial and cultural admixture with the natives. They (Aryans) were small in number and had a smaller number of women with them and used to marry local women.<sup>15</sup>

The Aryans' movements are the greatest event during the 15th to 10th Centuries B.C. A major part of the civilized world was influenced by them. Aryans had been wandering in the great deserts and steppes of Central Asia. For thousands of years, they had remained cut off from other civilized parts of the world. Their

ancestors were the people who used to eat snakes and who already had attacked Europe about ten thousand, B.C. and were back to their deserts due to the severity of weather. In three thousand B.C. they came out and attacked the villages of Karabian mountains. The ancient historical references tell of the destruction of the civilized towns of Turkistan and Babylonia by some barbarian tribes called "Gou" and "Sou" who were the attractive people with fair complexions and the Babylonians were fond of keeping those people as slaves. In 1500 B.C. these attractive destroyers of ancient civilizations turned to the lower central Asian region i.e. Bakhtaria, Afghanistan and Iran and then entered the South Asia. Zhand Avesta and Vedas, the holy books of the Aryans, are the main sources of their ancient history. Through the valley of Kabul and Halmand and through the passes of the Suleman Range, they made their way to Multan, and Punjab (the Indus Valley).<sup>17</sup>

Having a great sense of racial superiority, they called themselves "Arya" which means, super or high, in Sanskrit.<sup>18</sup> The main inlets for Indo-Aryan tribes to the Indus Valley were through south-western and southern Afghanistan. The Bolan Pass admitted them into upper Sindh, and the Gomal Pass (through Zhob Valley) and the Khyber Pass (through Kabul Valley) into the Punjab. There is a possibility that they originated in Northern Afghanistan itself.

The initial major areas of proto-Indo-Aryan colonization were southern Afghanistan, the right bank of the Middle Indus (Derajat) and the western Punjab. Some indigenous people of Indus were driven to the unreachable mountains and jungles while the others submitted themselves to the new comers.<sup>19</sup> Also the armed rebuff of the Indus Valley's inhabitants seems to have forced part of the Aryans to move from Derajat and the Western Punjab not down the river but eastward and south-eastward into the Ganga-Jamna Doab.<sup>20</sup> It is a proven fact that the Aryans entered the Siraiki region but met resistance there by the indigenous people of the region and moved eastward to Ganges Valley. However later on this resistance was over. The natives could not face the continuous attacks of the Aryan hordes and were compelled to

submit. This caused a new ethnic combination according to the following investigation of H. T. Lambrick's.

Aryan penetration to lower Indus Valley took place later than their main movement across Punjab into the valley of the Ganges, and there is no reason for supposing that they exterminated the "Dasyas" that they found in the Sindh region. The archaeological evidence tends to show that the Indus people in Sindh at least had been brought into subjugation by the "barbarians" moving eastward through Balochistan before the Aryans appeared on the scene. These, and succeeding emigrations of tribes who originated in Central Asia must have produced such dilution of the "Indus" blood that it would be idle to look for a Mohenjodaro racial type among the tribes of modern Sindh. In fact, we know from the skeletal remains found at Mohenjodaro that the inhabitants of the city were themselves of several racial types.<sup>21</sup>

Before and during the penetration of major Aryan hordes there was a good number of semi-Aryan tribes who entered this region and became inhabitants of this region. With the passage of time they were localized and were quite a different people as compared with the Aryans who proceeded to the Ganges Valley.

The difference of opinion about the origin of the Aryans, in the above statements verifies a modern theory i.e. Aryans were part of the same South Asian proto-Dravidian civilization who lived on the northern peripheries of the Indus civilization mostly in the high-lands of Halmand, Pamir and Tibet regions. It happened after the inundation of the centres of Indus civilization perhaps by the fourth glacier that they moved downward to the plains., Their title 'Aryan' is told as derived from an ancient word of Tibeti language i.e. 'Ayan'<sup>22</sup> which means 'the great father' and perhaps the same is the origin of 'Awan' - the large ethnic community in Pakistan.

From the middle of the first millennium B.C. onward the Iranian tribes of the north eastern group - the so-called Skas began to penetrate into the basin of the Indus.<sup>23</sup> This Saka is one of the main racial groups of Central Asia who after migration to the Indus Valley spread here widely and became a long-lasting agrarian community of the Siraiki. The contemporaneous Aryans

of the Ganges Valley have condemned them for adopting agriculture and for the habit of eating the meat of their offerings and oblations themselves. They are also mentioned by the name of "Wahika" in Sanskrit sources. As they belonged to Bakhtaria, they were named by the Aryan as "Balika" which changed into "Bahika" and then into Wahika (on Vahika).\* The Wahikas were very good farmers relating to them the profession of agriculture is called "Wahi" in Siraiki even today. They introduced so many fruits and vegetables in the Indus Valley, such as pomegranate, peach, pear, garlic, onion, carrot, and coriander seed etc.

A particular type of pajamas which is largely used in the Siraiki region and Sindh with the name of "*suthann*" was invented by the Sakas which they called "*sukhtana*".<sup>24</sup>

It is possible that a wide-spread agrarian community of Waghias of today, who are called Wagh in Sindh and Wagha in Siraiki region, are the descendent of the same "Wahikas" or Sakas. Besides the Sakas we find in a list of Pliny, the names of Mali and Sogdi tribes living in lower Sindh. This is also found in a list of Brihat Samhita.<sup>25</sup> The Sogdis were also called Sowiras who lived in the Sindh region and were accepted as rulers and later were subjected by the Sakas, the Pahalavas, the Kushans etc. in western India.<sup>26</sup> These Sowiras were the ruling nation of Multan region and so many remnants of their civilization are still found in the region, as we have examined in the chapter on explanation of the word siraiki. H. T. Hambrick's confirms this as under:

There were tribes known as Pahalvas and Yavanas living in north of Vayu Purna region i.e. north west India. It is conceivable that the Sogdi were the Sowiras who in all the Sanskrit sources appear as one of the leading tribes of the Indus region.<sup>27</sup>

Another warring people who held sway in the upper Punjab, Sindh and Derajat region were a Parthian clan who were related

\* While commenting on Panini's "Ashtadhaya" (IV-1-85) Katayayan says that the word "Vahika" is derived from "Bahi", which means the region far away from the pale of Orthodox Barahmans.

to Suren Parthians, the controlling race of Iran. About them it is quoted from the ancient sources as:

"The Parthian Kings, who keep ousting one another, rule this country".<sup>28</sup>

The Gandhara Culture is observed as a result of great contribution of Parthians, Kushans, Sakas and Greeks to the civilization of Indus valley.<sup>29</sup>

The Greeks were a short-time flow but long-time cultural influence in this region. Alexander's invasion of the Indian sub-continent was very brief (327-323 B.C.), nor did his troops go deeply into this territory. But as elsewhere this short period of Mesopotamian rule in the Indus Valley had important results:

- (i) Greek Ideas of architecture were planted in the region and
- (ii) Greek writers wrote accounts of what they saw in this region.

From these accounts we get the picture of what this region was like about 300 B.C.<sup>30</sup>

In fact Greeks were introduced to the Indus region by Darius the Great in 6th century B.C. Alexander also left his Governors behind him to control the conquered area of Indus. But very soon they were defeated and pushed to the south-eastern India by Chandra Gupt Maurya. The Greeks then migrated to Katthiawar and founded a new town called Unan Garrah (now Junan Garrh), after the name of Unan i.e. Greece.<sup>31</sup> Anyhow, people may be seen in the upper Indus Valley and the Punjab with golden hair, blue eyes, beautiful cuts and fair complexion of the Greeks which is an evidence of the ethnic impact of the Greeks on the people of this region.<sup>32</sup>

About 500 B.C. the second period of peace and prosperity in the Indus region (under Maurya and Gupta Dynasties) came to an end with a new attack from without. First came the white Huns, a people related to the Huns under Attila who had attacked the Roman Empire. Then other bands of raiders came down from the mountain passes in the North-west. By about 700 A.D. Their raids had grown into full scale invasions. Arabs, Persians and savage

tribesmen from Central Asia pushed into northern part of South Asia. Among the latter were Turks and Mangols.<sup>33</sup>

The process of this penetration of Central Asian tribes and hords remained of a type that the invaders either passed through this region to Ganges Valley to rule, or they stayed and settled down in the Indus Valley and were absorbed very soon. Most of such tribes grew agriculturists and became a part of the social system of the Indus Valley. Some of them were so prominent that their profession were named after the name of their community. The "Jats" are an example. "Jat" means a farmer. These are old communities of Vedic period as their tribal references are available in old sources of Sanskrit.

According to last Sanskrit work Mahabharata (through 'Majma-ut-Tawareekh') the original inhabitants of Sindh region were Maids and Jats who were fishermen and pastoral people respectively. The modern Maids of Lasbela and Mekran do the same and are camelmen also.<sup>34</sup>

The Jats and Rajputs of Sindh and north-western region belong to Sakas, Yueh-Chi and Huns and other north-western stocks. The Jats are the main ethnic community of the Indus region who extended from Derajat and lower Sindh to the whole of the Punjab with different subtitles and group names. The Baloch penetration into the plains of the right bank of Indus deshaped that community too much. As a result of the domination of Balochs, a large part of the 'jat' farmers started to be absorbed into Balochs and liked to be identified as Balochs. However, their relation to farming and cultivation make them distinct from Balochs. A Baloch is rarely a good farmer. ("Being cursed by *Sassi*, no seeds grow at our hands" say Hot Balochs.)

Luhanas and Sammas are two main branches of Jat community in Sindh. They are both from the same 'Jat' origin. After Muhammad bin Qasim, the Sammas were differentiated as being Muslims when Luhanas remained worshippers of '*Uderolal*' - a deity of Indus. It is mainly a Luhana Cult. They had migrated from Sindh for a short period. In east Punjab they were named as Aroras i.e. belonging to Alore in Sindh.

Due to changes in economic and socio-political conditions, there began continuous migrations between Sindh and northern Siraiki area. Usually, the migrations were from North to South to Sindh.

The Jats and a number of other races have also migrated to Sindh, in modern times, from north i.e. Siraiki region and also from east for a variety of reasons, e.g. for quarrels with their own people; inadequacy of their ancestral lands, refuge from tyrannical rulers etc. These migrants are Jats, Joyas, Sirais etc.

The Jats are largely spread over the lands of Punjab, Siraiki region and Sindh. but their status positions in the caste system differs in all the three regions following their economic positions in the respective regions., In Sindh, the Jats and Sammas (Rajputs) are different and both are the ancestors of modern Sindhis. In the Punjab the Jats are the same Rajputs. In western (South Western) Punjab, Jats are people related to cultivation. Also the Balochs separated from their '*Tuman*' are called Jats. In western Punjab, east of the Indus, it is a tendency that most of the tribes claim to be Jats. Contrarily in Sindh most of tribes claim to be Balochs who are mostly Jats in fact.

The Balochs are one of the major ethnic communities of the Siraiki area. Having a great sense of social pride, they are more prominent than their number and actual strength warrant. The Siraiki Balochs are inhabited mostly on the right bank of the Indus in between the river and the Hills of the Suleman Range. The Balochs are a good part of the population of Sindh. Most of their tribes were migrated from the Derajat region to Sindh such as the Talpurs - a branch of Laghari Tribe. H. T. Lambrick's examines the Baloch population on the right bank of Indus as follows:

On the opposite bank of Indus from 'Machhko' we enter the tracts where the Balochs are a predominant race, settled in the plains stretching north ward through Dera Ghazi Khan, west-ward past Jacobabad and under the Hills to the east, to the west of Karachi. Interspersed among these are the remnants of the Jats and tribes who preceded the Balochs as the principal land owners of these countries.

As far as the origin of the Balochs is concerned, they appear in lower Indus Valley and Sindh in the fifteenth century A.D. They claim to belong to the Arabs and have come from Syria. And it is said that the place of their migration was occasionally accelerated by the punitive measures taken against them by the rulers of the countries where they lived.

The Balochs are one of the few peoples who entered this region through the Bolan Pass to make the barren area of Balochistan their destiny. After reaching the Siraiki region, the Balochs were welcomed and encouraged by the centre of Multan and also by the throne of Delhi to spread all over the Siraiki area, for political purposes. The Balochs were brave but peaceful tribes without any big political aims or lust for power. They were a good defence of Mughal empire on the western borders with Iran without creating any difficulties for the rulers. In the first quarter of the 16th century A.D. the Langah Jat rulers of Multan encouraged the Balochs to be settled in Derajat by granting Jageers in return for which they were to render as military service.<sup>34</sup> And today Balochs are the second major ethnic community of the Siraiki region living on a tract of land on the right bank of the Indus and also on the left bank in Muzaffargarh and the 'Riasat' districts. In Siraiki region the famous tribes of Siraiki Balochs are Mazari, Laghari, Qaisrani, Khosa, Buzdar, Jato, and Talpur. Actually the great Baloch nationality is a collection of different wandering racial stocks who, in the past used to join the Baloch tribal unity on a simple agreement of sharing 'Af' and 'Ash' i.e. water and fire - good and bad.

Besides the Balochs and the Jats there are some other racial groups who entered this region through the Gomal and Khyber passes, and influenced the ethnic groups of the region with far-reaching effects, just as Punjab as a whole also came under the influence of the Turkish, Afghan and Persian-Tajik ethnic elements whose unceasing influx is in evidence between the late tenth and mid-eighteenth centuries. The Turkish element also recruited largely in the armies of the feudal lords who moved from Khurasan and the Mawara-aun-nahr (Trans Oxus region) into Delhi Sultanate and later into the empire of the great Mughals.



The Persian Tajik stratum was also rather numerous. Gentlemen of fortune gathered around Aluptgin from Mawara-un-Nahr and Khurasan by thousands. They joined Aluptgin for loot. Also great number of the Iranians migrated into the Indus Valley and the Punjab seeking refuge from the Mongol massacre in thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>35</sup> These later Central Asian people, however, influenced Punjab and the Ganges regions more than the Siraiki area.

Similarly, all those castes and communities which came with the Muslim conquest, became also part of Siraiki people. From the invasion of Muhammad bin Qasim onward, such groups were always coming in the company of every Muslim conqueror of the Indus Valley to remain here, most of them for loot and some for preach. After the said Arab expansion Syeds and other Arab clans settled down in Persia, Afghanistan and central Asia and then migrated to the Sindh region.<sup>36</sup> The Afghans or Pathans are found everywhere on Siraiki lands. Though small in numbers, they are a superior part of Siraiki caste system and enjoy a sense of social pride. Khakwani, Durrani and Sadozai are some of the Major castes of the Siraiki Pathans. Besides their respect there is a behaviour of distance and strangeness to the Pathans among other Siraiki castes. To express such feelings there are so many sayings in Siraiki language, for example the following songs of children:

اوتے، اوتے پٹھانیں کپڑے دھوتے

پٹھانیں وی نس گئی، سارا لوک سہی

"Ote ote, pathannein kaprrai dhote, Pathannein di nas ggaee he. Sara Loke sae he"

(Aha: The pathans washed their clothes. A girl of pathans has eloped. All the people know this).

تو ایس دیکھے ایمان

پٹھان وے پٹھان، تیلہی کچھوچ قرآن

"Pathann vai patthann! teddi kachh vich Quraan, Tun hain pakka be Iman.  
(O patthan! you have Quraan in your armpit. But you are highly dishonest).

The reason of this displeasure with the Pathans is more or less the economic disparity prevailing between the Pakhtuns and the old Siraikis in the past. The Pakhtun Pawindas have been doing wandering business and trade in the Siraiki area. They sold the copies of Holy Quran and clothes etc. on installments and lent money on interest, to the people and were very stern in their recovery. In spite of all this, there is a generous acknowledgement and admiration for the physical beauty of the Pathans. The beautiful girls with fair complexions are titled as 'Pathanni'. "Mae Pathanni" is a favourite name for girls in Siraiki people.

We have mentioned above some major ethnic groups of Siraiki region. There are so many other castes like Khokhar, Channarr, Bhutta, (called Bhutto in Sindh) Ddahar, Garwan etc. who are too numerous to be discussed in detail in these pages. Moreover, there are gypsy tribes like Kehals and Labbannas who move in the whole Siraiki area along the banks of the Indus. They are considered as remnants of Munda and Dravidian stratum. According to Ain-ul-Haq Fareedkotli, Munda tribes inhabited this region some 5,000 years ago. They were founders of the famous Aamri Nal civilization, followed by the Dravidians and their Indus civilization. Munda and Dravidian features are prominent marks of the ethnic formation of the people of this region.<sup>37</sup>

## NOTES

1. Muhammad Aslam Rasoolpuri. *op. cit.*, p. 12.
2. U. V. Gangovsky. *op. cit.*, p. 34.
3. *Ibid.* p. 39.
4. *Ibid.* p. 32.
5. Ateeq Fikri. *Naqsh-e-Multan*. Vol. 1. Multan. 1982. p. 56.
6. U.V. Gangovsky. *op. cit.*, p. 354.
7. *Ibid.* pp. 143-144.
8. *Ibid.* p. 206.
9. George Grierson. *Linguistic Survey of India*. Vol. III. Part-II. Government of India Press. 1919. pp. 1-3.
10. U. V. Gangovsky. *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.
11. Bashir Ahmed Zami. *op. cit.*, pp. 203-205.
12. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India - The Indian empire. op. cit.*, p. 355, 356.
13. Dr. Nabi Bakhsh Baloch. *Sindhi Bboli-ae-Adab Ji Mukhtasar Taareekh*. Hyderabad. 1980. p. 3.
14. John Beam's. *op. cit.*, p. 10.
15. E.R. Book et al. *About the Hisotry of Our World*. New York. 1965. p. 159.
16. Ain-ul-Haq Fareedkoti. *op. cit.*, p. 134.
17. Ateeq Fikri. *op. cit.*, p. 79.
18. Sibte-Hasn. *op. cit.*, p. 86.
19. U. V. Gangovsky. *Op. cit.*, p. 45.
20. *Ibid.* p. 46.
21. H. T. Lambrick's. *op. cit.*, p. 206.
22. K. K. Raman. *op. cit.*, p. 35. (P. Aravindhakshan).
23. U. V. Gangovsky. *op. cit.*, p. 66.
24. Sibte-Hasan. *op. cit.*, pp. 132-133.
25. H. T. Lambrick's. *op. cit.*, pp. 207-209.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*
28. U. V. Gangovsky. *op. cit.*, pp. 38, 82.
29. Sibte-Hasan. *op. cit.*, p. 135.
30. E. R. Book et al. *op. cit.*, pp. 163, 164.
31. Sibte-Hasan. *op. cit.*, pp. 127-130.

32. *Ibid.*
33. E. R. Book et al. *op. Cti.*, p. 165.
34. H. T. Lambrick's. *op. cit.*, pp. 209-216.
35. U.V. Gangovsky. *op. cit*, pp. 107. 108, 211.
36. *Ibid.*
37. Ain-ul-Haq Fareedkoti. *op. cit.*, pp. 95-100.

# 11

## SIRAIKI LITERATURE AND ITS DICTION

"The first of all worship is worship of those all around us....."  
Vivekananda Swami (an Indian philosopher 1863-1902).

The available stock of Siraiki literature is a small literary repertory of a great language. This is one of the reasons for which the Siraiki language is usually under-estimated by the research scholars. In linguistics however, the perfection, or age of a language is not measured by its recorded literary riches. Languages with little recorded heritage are not always branches of the languages having greater recorded literature.<sup>1\*</sup>

Before discussing the Siraiki literature, we shall try to examine the diction of Siraiki literature which, having been deeply influenced by Persian, has a unique style of its own. When we say 'Persian influence' a little explanation is needed. Persian is to a pet name of language of some particular area. Generally Persian is supposed to be the language of Iran. But by Persian, we - the people of Indo-Pak Sub-continent, mean a common literary language of old central Asia which is different from the language spoken in modern Iran. The present day language of Tajikistan is nearer to the Persian of old days, and it is called Tajik.

The traces of that old literary Persian language can be found more or less in every language of South Asian region. But the Siraiki language is thrice influenced by the languages of Central

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\*By research and investigation into the Siraiki masses there can be brought together a deal of literature which will be the largest among the literatures of national languages of this country.

Asian region. Firstly there is a lot of remnants of some ancient language deep rooted in the Siraiki language which are common with the present day Persian and other languages of Indo-European family. Secondly, Multan remained a centre of Caramites and the mystics, both from Iran. Multan looked, at some time in the past, as being a city of Iran by virtue of its language. Beshari Muqaddasi, the famous historian, visited Multan in 985 A.D., and found the Persian language spoken in the city.<sup>2</sup> Thirdly, this region was included into the empire of Delhi, the official language of which was Persian.

The principal literary language of this region also was Persian until its replacement in the last century by Urdu in the Punjab, and by Sindhi in Sindh. Writing in the local language long remained restricted to a few genres of poetry.<sup>3</sup>

Script of a language plays a vital role in determining the diction of its literature. If it is a script borrowed from some-where, the linguistic borrowings are also bound to come with it. The script in which Siraiki and some other languages of this region are written for centuries, is not a native script. This script was introduced long before the introduction of Persian language in the Punjab. It was brought by the caravans of Arab traders who entered the Indus Valley through Arabian Sea and travelled upto Multan in the early Muslim period (before Mohammad bin Qasim). These caravans sojourned in this region for some period and obliged the natives of Multan with three gifts; the dates, the Arabic language and the script.

Later, this Arabic script was introduced in a large region from Sindh to Afghanistan. It is because of this that Pashto and Sindhi languages are written in the same Arabic script ('*Naskh*' style).<sup>4</sup>

Siraiki, Punjabi and Urdu languages are, however, written in '*Nastaliq*' style which is called the Persian script.

Persian remained the official language of the region in the days of Ranjeet Singh. During the British rule the office work of the municipality of Multan was done in Persian.

This long process of contacts between Persian and Siraiki resulted not only in enriching its vocabulary but also in the change of grammatical structure of the language. The ancient

barrowings of the Iranian languages became absorbed and digested in Siraiki. For example, the existence of sounds like zh (as in 'zhala', meaning hails), z (as in 'zaban', tongue), gh, ('ghar', cave), f, ('fan', art) and kh, ('khak', dust), in Siraiki, is the result of the Iranian impact.<sup>5</sup> Because in the old Dravidian dialects all the above sounds are changed or intermixed as follows respectively; zh, and z, into j, (it becomes 'jala', and 'jaban'), gh, into g, ('ghar', becomes 'gar'), f, into ph, (fan, 'phan', sounding as in 'phul', i.e. flower), and kh, (of 'khak'), into kh (of 'khand', sugar).

There is a variety of similarities between Siraiki and Persian. The prominent similarities are the following:

- (a) Noun of action comes in Siraiki in the form of Persian noun of action with, n, not followed by a vowel, in the end. This 'n' changes into 'nn' in Siraiki. For example:

PERSIAN	SIRAIKI	MEANING
<i>amdan</i>	<i>awann</i>	to come
<i>khurdan</i>	<i>khawann</i>	to eat
<i>nosheedan</i>	<i>peewann</i>	to drink etc.

- (b) To make the plural of a noun by adding 'an' in the end, is another Persian grammatical style such as the Persian word 'mardan' (men) is plural from 'mard' (a man). In Siraiki it comes as in the following:

SINGULAR	PLURAL	MEANING
<i>kitab</i>	<i>kitabān</i>	books
<i>sandooq</i>	<i>sandooqān</i>	boxes
<i>kandh</i>	<i>kandhān</i>	walls

The above Persian pattern is common also with the Punjabi language and it is the only method of making plural of nouns, but in Siraiki some other methods are also adopted for this purpose. One of them is to make plural by adding a suffix 'ein' or 'een' at the end of a singular noun. For example:

SINGULAR	PLURAL	MEANING
<i>chhueer</i>	<i>chhueereen</i>	girls
<i>bbal kun</i>	<i>bbalain kun</i>	to children etc.

Languages accept borrowings from one another and with the passage of time these borrowings are absorbed and made part of the language which has borrowed. Sometimes such words are modified to an extent that it becomes difficult to differentiate them. According to Dr. Mahr Abdul Haq, a Sirai word "ajaie" (wasted, useless) and a word "pitti" (the musk-melon) are modified forms of Arabic words "za'e" and "bateekh" with the same meaning, respectively. However, we cannot consider such words as loans in Sirai. <sup>6</sup> C. Shackle has examined the nature of loans in Sirai as follows:

Loans are defined as those loans from other languages of whose origin at least the more educated speakers would be aware. Some Arabic and Persian words are treated as loans from Urdu, although in many cases the original borrowings may have been taken direct from Persian, for it is the model of Urdu pronunciation against which adjustments are judged, some being accepted as standard, others stigmatized as substandard by the educated speakers. In Sirai, loans taken from Persian as well as from English, are common in educated speech. Their realization as one word, or two varies, thus: '*tan-drusti*', health (Persian/*tan*/body + *drusti*/right) and "*sa, liping, sut*"/Pajamas.<sup>7</sup>

Dr. Shackle has also rendered a list of loan words used in Sirai, some of those are reproduced as follows:

URDU/PERSIAN	SIRAIKI	MEANING
<i>aasman</i>	<i>asman</i>	sky
<i>aetraz</i>	<i>itraz</i>	objection
<i>faida</i>	<i>faeda</i>	use
<i>shayed</i>	<i>shaet</i>	perhaps
<i>shauq</i>	<i>shaunk</i>	desire



There are a lot of compounds of synonymous words one from Siraiki and the other from Persian. Such compounds are largely used to create beauty and stress in expression. For example, the following compounds:

<i>kala siah</i>	much black
<i>chitta sufaid</i>	much white
<i>peela zard</i>	yellow, pale

In each word of these compounds the first word is Siraiki and the second word is Persian. Such admixture of both the languages has particularly influenced the poetic diction of Siraiki.

The Indus valley had broad literary and academic relations with Iran since ancient times. The Persian word '*hindsa*' for geometry is derived from Indus, as this branch of knowledge was established in India. The literary and research work done in the Abbasid period, has so many references to the scholars of Indus Valley. Sindhi students, both Muslim and Hindu, got admissions in the great University of Baghdad and many scholars from this region were honoured with high offices in the court. After the conquest of Sindh by Saffarids in 3rd century Hijra, the people of this region for the first time came face to face with a people-speaking Persian. All literary work was started in Persian then. According to some other sources the people of Sindh spoke Arabic and the Makranis spoke Persian in the Saffarid period. Rbia Binte Kaab '*Al-Qazdari*' has been quoted as a great poetess of Persian language in 329 Hijra, in Sindh. (It is possible that her surname '*Al-Qazdari*' bears a relation to a city of Makran called Khuzdar today).

Later, the Ghaznavis attacked this country, Persian language gained greater importance here. There lived so many great Persian poets in Multan and Sindh, in those days.

Ibn-e-Batuta, in his accounts of the journey to the Indus Valley relates an incident witnessed by him. He saw a Hindu widow who was ready to submit herself to the flames of fire following the ritual of *Sati* on the death of her husband. The incantations which she was chanting to express her emotions of

bravery were in Persian. Her Persian speech can be translated as under:<sup>8</sup>

Do you frighten me of fire?  
I know that is fire.  
Let me at my liberty.

The flow of the Persian language into the Siraiki area grew stronger and stronger. The high-ranking government officials and the people of the upper class adopted the Persian language as a token of their social status. There remained a constant lingual dichotomy among the societies of Indo-Pak sub-continent. The tough local languages could never be completely eliminated. They were spoken unadulterated in small villages, in the streets and inside the little huts of the poor. And at the same time, from a small chit of recipe of medicines to literary writings every thing was written in Persian

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, according to U.V. Gangovsky, efforts were made to produce literature in Jatki - Multani which met no success because the language was under the influence of Arabic - the language of religion of the large population of the region, and 'Farsi' the official language of state even in the days of independence of Punjab i.e. in Ranjeet's Government.<sup>9</sup>

The later Mughals were, however, keen to promote the local languages because they had sensed the lack of communication between their government and the masses due to the language barrier. They started to encourage the local languages to develop as medium of instruction.

In the reign of Shah Jahan one Maulvi Muizz-ud-Din was deputed by the government to translate "Amali" the famous code of Arabic language into the local language and the Maulvi was adequately rewarded on completion of the assignment. Booklets of religious teachings and versified dictionaries from Persian to Hindi and Persian to Siraiki were written in the days of Aurang Zeb and after. Among these booklets are 'Aized Bari' written by Kehar Mall Sanami 'Allah Bari' by Ummid<sup>10</sup> and Qanun-e-Sarf by Shah Wilayat Multani<sup>11</sup>

In fact, with the decline of the Mughal empire the culture of the semi colonial government began to give way to the native cultures and it resulted in a sort of compromise between Persian and the local languages. The question of using the words of local languages in Persian literature was a matter of constant discussions and dispute in those days<sup>12</sup>, just like the question of using the words of Punjabi in Urdu poetry in these days.

Famous French orientalist of the last days of Mughal rule namely Garcin De Tassy says that when he started studying the Indian literature, he found two Mughal Kings among the good poets of the Urdu language. One was the King of Delhi and the other was the King of Awadh. This was surprising to Garcin De Tassy, because the language of the Muslim rulers of India had always been Persian and they despised the local languages.<sup>13</sup>

Any how such observations are usually related to the Ganges region. In the Indus area no local language was in a position to compete with Persian in the field of academics and literature. The monopoly of the Hindus in the fields of commerce, accounts and land record was, however, a source to put Sindhi and Siraiki languages on paper in Dev Nagri script. This was also confined to entries in registers.<sup>14</sup>

Lieut Burton in one of his works in 1849 provided a list of known pieces of literature of Jataki or Belochki (i.e. Siraiki) Dialect, a brief account of which is as follows:

1. A translation of "*Devan-e-Hafiz*". (three versions, best of them one composed by a Multani poet).
2. "*Yusuf Zulaykha*" (three or four different poems).
3. "*Hir Ranjha*".
4. "*Sassi and Puornun*".
5. "*Saifal*" (the tale of *Saif ul Muluk* and the *Peri* (fairy) *Badi ul Jamal*, the locale of the story is told as 'Alore or Aror' and the historical ruler Dilu Rae is portrayed in the tale as a notorious character who tried to snatch *Badi ul Jamal* from *Saif ul Muluk*).
6. "*Laila Majnun*" (translations from Persian).
7. "*Mirza Sahiban*".

8. The love of Shaikh Ali a 'takir', and Jelali the fair daughter of a blacksmith (the scene of the tale is Jhang Sial).<sup>15</sup>

In the upper Sindh, there was an early fluorescence of writing in Siraiki under the Siraiki speaking Talpur Mirs. Particularly notable is the ecstatic poetry of Sachal Sarmast of Khairpur (1739-1827), and the verbally brilliant humorous verse of Hamal Khan Laghari (d. 1879).<sup>16</sup>

Besides such exceptional periods of development of Siraiki poetry, there was an everlasting literacy movement of 'sufis', (mystics) which compensated, upto some extent, the loss of literature of local languages. The mystic tradition of Iran was mixed with 'Bhagti' movement of the sub-continent. Every 'sufi' was an anti-establishment essentially, and always had a political ideology to serve directly, or indirectly. As a result the Sufis were disliked by the governments. This difference with the power and state compelled them to seek asylum among the masses. This behaviour of love with masses gave birth to a famous philosophy which was called "Her Mein Her". The followers of this ideology believed that God lives in all His creatures. So the creatures must be respected.

As a result of the movement of the mystics a linguistic consciousness developed during 17th to 19th century in Siraiki region. In the customary religious schools Arabic and Persian texts were taught by translating into purest form of Siraiki. In the area of Jhang the famous line of the verse of Shaikh Saadi was translated as under:

Line the verse

اے مرغ سحر عشق ز پروانه بیا موز

Ae murghe sahar ishq ze parwana biamoz

Translation in Siraiki

اے ککڑ بکا ئیں دانینہ تڈے توں گھن

Ae kukkor balkaen da neihen tidde tun ghin.

(O, morning bird learn from a moth how to love).

'Hudda' which means a charm of exorcism or an incantation is an interesting form of ancient Siraiiki speech. Perhaps originated from the 'mantras' of Vedas, Siraiiki 'Huddas' are modified in their content coming nearer to Islamic version. Following sample of 'Hudda' has been recorded from Churkinn, a town on the boundry between D.G. Khan and D.I. Khan districts.

*Hud hud pakkhhi pachadh ki bbanni*

ہد ہد پکھی پچادھ کی بنی

*Which samundar bala bhanni*

وچ سمندر بلا بھنی

*Ali marya badama khaya*

علی ماریا بداما کھایا

*Somwar Paighamber jjaya*

سوموار پیغمبر جایا

*Bhajj bhajj sahr, jadu*

بھج بھج سحر جادو

*Bbann, maswann, jin, bhoot, deh, pari*

بان مسوان دیبہد پری

*Tadri, phorrai,*

تدري پھوڑے

*Tadri mubarki, wa, parnehai*

تدري مبارکی وا پر نیسے

*Ali Muhammad kamzaya, Ali Muhammad Arbi*

علی محمد کمزیا علی محمد عربی

*Ddukh jhannai, noor charrai*

ڈکھ جھننے نور چڑے

*Kam soi, Allah tain Allah da mahbub karai.* کم سوئی اللہ تیں اللہ دا محبوب کرے

During the long period of Persian domination every mystic was a lover of local-culture and languages of the masses and every literate poet of a local language was a "Hama Usti" (Believing in "Hama Ust"). Siraiki has a good heritage of mystic poetry. The first available of such works is the poetry of Shah Shams Sabzwari Multani (1165-1275) A.D. he belonged to the line of Ismaili Pirs who migrated from Iran. The preachers of this sect were the rebels of the Muslim Governments, of Arabia, Iran and India. Their poetry is called "guinans". They preached the ideas of love for human beings, fear of death and alienation from power and throne. The manuscripts of the poetry of these Ismaili Pirs i.e. the "guinans" are said to be preserved in India office library of London. (The guinans have also been edited and published by a Sindhi scholar G. Allana recently). Shah Shams Sabzwari was executed by the ruler of Multan. One of his couplets is following with translation:-

اوسجاگا کیا گھن آیوں ایں دنیا تے

کیا گھن ویسین نال سجاگا

(O! good one, what did you bring with you when you came in this world and what will you take with you when you will leave this world? (Nothing).

Some of the Suffis had a comparatively moderate attitude towards the governments of their times. They kept a balance between their love for the masses and their relations with the governments. Baba Fareed-ud-Din Masud Gang-e-Shakar of Pak-Patan (1174-1265 A.D.) was one of such Sufi Poets of Siraiki. One

of his dohas (a local form of poetry) is as follows:

فرید اخالق خلق میں، خلق و سے رب ماہیں  
مند اس کوں آکھیں جاں تہ بن کوئی ناہیں

(O! Fareed the Creator is in his creatures and creatures in Creator. Whom can we reproach, when there is no one without Him).

The poetry of Baba Fareed Ganj-e-Shakar is in the form of 'Dohas'. A large number of his Dohas has been included in 'Guru Granth', the holy book of the Sikhs.\*

Another Sufi poet is Sultan BaHoo of Jhang (1629-1691 A.d.). He was a member of the aristocracy of his time and was never cut off from his class. He wrote more than one hundred booklets on subjects of current and contemporary interest of his time in Arabic and Persian languages. But, today, he is known for his Siraiki poetry the 'Abyat-e-Ba Hoo'.<sup>17</sup>

دل و ریاسند روں ڈونگے کون دلاں ویان چانے ہو  
وچ بیڑے، وچ جگرے، جھیڑے وچ و نچ ملان مہانے ہو

(Hearts are the rivers deeper than seas, who can know the mysteries of hearts. In these rivers there are the boats, the wranglings, the oars, the boatmen (a complete world is there in the hearts).

One most prominent classical Siraiki poet is Shah Hussain Lahori (1539-1599 A.D.) also called Madhu Lal Husain for his love

\* According to the text of Granth Sahib this Doha belongs to Guru Argan and not to Baba Farid. Moreover, 112 Shalokas (out of 130 total shalokas) of granth are said to belong to Baba Fareed. More true is that it was all folk poetry of the time.

with a Hindu boy Madhu Lal' (later converted Muslim and established as Shaikh Madhu Lal Qadri). His poetry is completely local poetry in form, in thought and in language. He was a brilliant student of Arabic, Persian and all the customary subjects of knowledge of his days. But no clue of those things can be found in his poetry. His poetry is a mirror of depression and hopelessness of his days brought about by the loss of economic and social liberties under the Mughal rule. A stanza from one of his Kafis (a local form of poetry) is reproduced here followed by translation in English:

کڈھ کلیجہ کیتھم پیرے ، سووی لائق ناہیں تیرے  
ہو رتوفیق نہیں کجھ میرے پیو کٹورا پانی دا

"Kadh kaleja keetum bbaire  
So vi laiq nahein tere  
Hor toufiq nahein kujh maire  
Peo katora panni da".

(I put out my liver and prepared pieces of it to present. it also was not suitable for your taste. Having nothing else, I am helpless. Accept a bowl of water).\*

The region where the Siraiki language is spoken today, is rich in poetry. There is a long list of names of classical siraiki poets.

The major names are the following:-

Hafiz Barkhurdar, Ali Haider Multani, Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai, Hamal Faqir Laghari, Maulvi Lutf Ali Bahawalkpuri, Sachchal Sarmast, Bakhsh Ali Jatoi, Khair Shah, Sobha Farqir, Bibi Makhfi and Khawaja Gulam Farid.

Khawaja Farid is the great poet who laid foundation of the Siraiki national poetry. He is so high in stature that there is no one

\*We declared Baba Farid, Sultan Bahu and Shah Hussain as Siraiki Poets, though some of the areas to which they belonged are parts of the Punjab of today. The basis of our claim is that the language which is used in the poetry of the above three poets is closer to Siraiki than to Punjabi. siraiki was also the language of the region which is called Punjab today a few centuries ago, before the new cultural changes in Punjab.



equal to him in the two centuries. He closed the door of Siraiki classical poetry. One of his prominent achievements is that he enriched Siraiki poetry with local thoughts and sensibilities. His poetry proves the fact that all thoughts and sensibilities, this poetry proves the fact that all thoughts and all beauty of thoughts come from the atmosphere and the surroundings, and that every locale has a beauty of its own. Thus all the roughness of deserts of Siraiki region is changed into elegance and fineness in the kafis of Khawaja Farid.

Khawaja Farid was born in 1841 A.D. / in a noble religious family of Maulvi Khuda Bakhsh of Chachran Sharif - a town presently included in Rahim Yar Khan District. He was educated by his elder brother Fakhr-e-Jahan and was deeply impressed by him. While learning traditional knowledge, he was introduced to the universal truth of mysticism and "Wahdatul Wujud". He acknowledges 'Ibnul Arabi' the famous mystic and exponent of 'Wahdat-ul-Wujud' as his spiritual guide. After studying a lot of literature of Arabic and Persian whatever Khawaja Farid reproduced in the Siraiki poetry. He was a great scholar. His personal library was one of the largest libraries of his time in the Siraiki region. After Shah Hussain Lahori, he is the only mystic poet who being brought up in a religious atmosphere, devoted his creative work only to the poetry without lasting his energy in the theoretic business.

A short booklet of Urdu poetry titled "Khawaja Farid Ka Urdu Kalam" has also been published but it is generally believed that Khawaja Farid contributed little to Urdu poetry and if at all he did something, he never owned it. The great fame and popularity of his Siraiki poetry proves the fact that no art can become universal until it is rooted in some particular place of land. The depiction of Siraiki culture is the soul and substance of Khawaja Farid's Kafis. A few lines from one of his kafis are reproduced here as an example.

او گن ہاری ناقص کم دی سو ہنا پاپ نہ پھول  
یا رچھیندا مان مسہیندا آوس ساڈے کول

"Auggennhari nagis kam di sohnna pap n aphol  
Yar chaheenda, mann mahen da, aa, vas saddrrai kol"

(I am a girl having no abilities, no skills O, friend, don't  
explore my sins O, my friend that you are pride of your  
buffaloes (The traditional Ranjha) come and live with us).

درد فرید ہمیشہ ہووے سارے پاپ دوئی دے دھووے

"Dard Farid hamesha hovai, Sarai pap doi de dhovai"  
(O, Farid let the pain be forever, it washes out all sins of  
"daulity").

Expression of love from the female side is the peculiar style  
of most of the classical poetry of different languages of this  
region. May be, it is a mark of matriarchy system which prevailed  
in Indus region in the distant past. The popular opinion, about  
this, however, is that in the Siraiki poetry effeminate address is  
used to deepen the expression of pathos, pain and humbleness, as  
the woman has been a most oppressed creature in the feudal  
system of the Indus valley for centuries. whatever may be the  
reason, the effeminate address is a distinct quality of poetry of a  
few ancient languages of the South Asian region and Siraiki is one  
of them. This feminine talk, is very common in the form of Siraiki  
Kafi. This style was most suitable for the teachings of the Sufis, so  
they used it beautifully. The Sufis and the Shi'ites contributed  
much to Siraiki poetry. Dr. C. Shackel has examined this as  
follows:

In Multan and the surrounding regions a tradition of Sufi  
writing persisted, though with decreasing vigour, throughout  
the 18th and 19th centuries beginning with Ali Haider (1690-  
1785).

The most distinctive contribution from this region is,  
however, the Shiite elegy (Marsia): composed in a mixture of  
prose and verse; this is a genre for which Siraiki, particularly

central Siraiki, is regarded as the appropriate language in other parts of Punjab province also.<sup>18</sup>

Marsia verses are usually in a folk form of Dohrra. For example:

میکوں پتر رسول دا تا سمجو، تاں میں مسلمان ضرور آں

ہک پردیسی ڈو جھا اللہ راسی ترہجھا وطن کنوں بہوں دور آں

جند ڈیون توں میں تانہ ڈرو اتے ہک گالھ کنوں مجبور آں

جنید پردہ شمس کہتا، میڈے نال ان او مستور آں

*\*Mekun Putr rasool da n samjo,*

*Tan main Musliman zaroor, an.*

*Hik pardesi ddojha Allah rasi, trijha watan Kanun bbahun door, an.*

*Jind ddevann tun main nahn ddarda, te hik ggalh kannun majbur, an.*

*Jain da parda shams kita, medde nal en oh mastooran"*

(If you don't take me as son of the Holy Prophet, at lesat I am a Muslim. At first, I am a stranger, secondly I am alone, Thirdly, I am far away from my homeland.

I am not afraid of death, but there is one thing which makes me helpless.

I have such ladies with me whom also the sun avoids from looking and pays read to them.)

Siraiki poetry is distinct from Urdu poetry not only in theme and content, but also in the rules of the prosody of the Persian or Arabic poetry called the 'Uruz'. This is an independent branch of knowledge in Arabic academics. All the terminology of the laws of 'Uruz' surprisingly coincide with the Arabic names of different parts of a 'tent', a *Khaima*. It perhaps comes from the idea of balance between the two parts of a tent of the Arabs as it is necessary to keep a strict balance between the two lines of a couplet in Arabic or Persian poetry. A couplet is called a "Bait"

which itself means a tent in Arabic. Similarly "misra", "rukn", "wated", and "sabab" are some of main terms of 'uruz' which mean a door, a tent, a peg, and a rope, of a tent respectively.

Contrary to all this, the Siraiki poetry follows a local system of the meter called "Awhat Pingal"\* in Sanskrit which was arranged in the light of the traditional poetry of the Indo-Pak Sub-continent. This system of the meters is syllabic.

A line of a verse may be long or short but it must contain the same number of syllables. The unit of a meter is called a "matra". In music "matra" means a pace, equal to the distance between two beats of a drum (the tall). Musical compositions are adjusted by arranging a certain number of 'matra'.

Uruz - the meter system of Arabic and Persian has also been tried in the poetry of the local languages of the subcontinent but it did not meet with success. The meter of classical Siraiki poetry of later period an ghazal of today however, is nearer to the Uruz.

Folk songs form a very impressive part of the Siraiki poetry. No compact research work has been done on the folk songs upto now. It is only the mechanism of sound recording, which having been captured by the masses in the easy form of cassette recorders, that gave a life to folk songs. It is surprising that Siraiki is on top of the languages of Pakistan in popularity and sale of cassettes of folk songs. Pathannen Khan, Ataullah Esa Khailwi, Mansoor Malangi, Abida Pervin and Surraya Multanikar are the most popular Siraiki singers.

The famous forms of Siraiki folk songs are the following:

- *Loli* (The lori in Urdu and Punjabi)
- *Tappa* (Borrowed from Pashto folk poetry or vice versa)
- *Chhalla*,
- *Sammi*,
- *Dohrra*,
- *Radhan*,

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\*It may be added that "Awhat Pingal" belong to Patanjali who is believed to be 'Pingal Rishi' i.e. inventor of 'Pingal prosody'. He lived in Multan and was contemporary of King Pushya mitra and was alive in 188 B.C. He was writer of "Makashya" and her books. (from K.B. Nasim)

- War and
- Mahia, etc.

'Dohrra', 'war' and 'kafi' are the distinctive forms of Siraiki classical poetry. Besides this, ghazal, and poem verse also have been introduced in modern Siraiki poetry.

Siraiki Ddohrra is usually composed in four lines contrary to the "Doha" of Hindi. Two line 'ddohrra' is actually an elementary form of poetry which the common villagers also exploit for symbolic communication. This format might have been popular in Siraiki region in the past. O'Brien has recorded such a ddohrra in the preface of his glossary of Multani language. The same is reproduced here in Persian script.

گوری گاںء جنید ا پو چھڑ ہے پیلا

میڈا پئے پیا آندا، تھی کھر پسیلا

There is a brown cow tail of which is black  
My husband is coming keep away.

The popular view about the background of the word Ddohrra or "Doha" is that it is from "do" and it means a verse of two lines. But the four lines of the Siraiki *ddohrra* contradict this supposition. A more reasonable explanation is that *ddohrra* or *doha* is derived from "ddoh" of Siraiki or from "dos" of Hindi. In both it means repentance or, blame. A *ddohrra* is a verse which expresses repentance, or which blames a friend for his faithlessness. There are two kinds of Siraiki *ddohrra*;

1. Husaini *ddohrra* (elegy of Husain).
2. Ishqia *ddohrra* (a romantic verse)

Among hundreds of poets, Khair Shah is famous for Ishqia *ddohrra*. A large number of *ddohrras* are attributed to Khawaja Farid, while in fact Khawaja wrote no *ddohrras*. But it is the popularity of this great poet that his name dominates the Siraiki poetry.

"War" is a poem, usually an ode, which suits every subject, from humour to narration of the historical events. "War" is used for every theme except the theme of love.

Kafi is a distinct form of Siraiki poetry. It is usually explained as having been derived from some Arabic word. But there is no form of verse with such a name in Arabic poetry itself.

Sachchal Sarmast, Shah Hussain and Khawaja Farid are the major poets of Kafi. Khawaja Farid has taken kafi to its climax.

Ghazal has been introduced into Siraiki poetry recently. This Persian form of poetry has come through Urdu. But Siraiki Ghazal does not represent Siraiki poetry except that a few words of this languages are found in the so called Siraiki Ghazal. It is difficult to distinguish the Ghazal of Siraiki from that of Urdu poetry in the light of content and theme. However, Ghazal is a popular form of poetry in the Siraiki region today. Qais Faridi, Iqal Sokarri and Saleem Ahsan are some of the famous names in Siraiki Ghazal.

The field of Siraiki poetry is vast. The trend of writing Kafis is on the wane after Khawaja Farid. The poets of modern times have put together all forms of poetry from "Kafi" to "War" in modern verse. Siraiki poem has been influenced by Urdu verse. There are so many Siraiki poets writing on the thematic style of Faiz Ahmad Faiz and Sahir Ludhianwi. The revolutionary themes in Siraiki poetry which can be observed usually in the format of poem, are the result of the said influence of Urdu poetry. A famous Siraiki poem of Iqbal Sokarri with the title of "Kunwari Kanjiri" (The Maiden Prostitute) is an example. Revolutionary patriotism and nationalism are the main subjects of modern verse. For example two poems of Naseer Sarmad titled as "Machchar" (The Mosquito) and "Kalay Kan" (The black Crows). Irshad Taunsawi, Abid Amiq, Aslam Jalalpuri, Naseer Sarmad, Mumtaz Halder Ddahaar, Aziz Shahid, Nasrullah Nasir, Hasan Raza Gardezi, Rafat Abbas, Ashiq Buzdar and Asshu Lal Faqeer are some of the major poets of Siraiki verse.

As far as prose is concerned, it is a practical thing as compared with poetry. Prose is closely related with script and writing because it is difficult to be learnt by heart. So the languages which are advanced in achieving a script and the

facilities of publication have established their prose in a better way as compared with the languages having no such facilities. The Sindhi language had the advantage of a script of its own in the mid-19th century and was made medium of instruction educational institutions by the British government. Today Sindhi has the largest literature among the national languages of Pakistan.

After introduction of printing technology in the subcontinent Siraiki literature particularly suffered on the hands of Punjabi publishers. Edward O'Brien (a British Assistant Commissioner and Settlement Officer in Muzaffargarh from 1873 to 1880), in his report on settlement of Muzaffargarh throws light on how the language of early Siraiki literature was distorted by the Punjabi publishers. Following are his remarks;

"The books that proffers to be lithographed in Multani by the Lahore presses are misspelt Punjabi. The New Testament in Multnai issued by the Serampore Mission is in a character which no Multani could decipher."<sup>19</sup>

Having no facilities of publication and no patronage of the Government, Siraiki has a small stock of recorded literature in prose. The available books of prose are written and published only under the stimulus of a national inspiration and growing consciousness of national identity among all Siraiki people at present.

Political movements always influence literature. The economic deprivation of Siraiki region influenced its culture and created consciousness of a distinct culture among the people. This fact gave rise to a political movement for a separate Siraiki province etc. The movement for the revival of former state of Bahawalpur, followed by the demands for the formation of a Bahawalpur Province and the Siraiki province, gave an impetus to the Siraiki literature. It started some 20 years ago. It was a very difficult task to write or publish Siraiki books in the beginning, because there was no readership.

However the efforts of the pioneers met with some success with the passage of time.

Fiction and writings of research are prominent in Siraiki prose. Besides this there are a large number of essays and articles written on different topics. There is a good number of Siraiki fiction writers. Most of them are short story writers. Some famous fiction writers are Ghulam Hasan Haidranni, Musarrat Kalanchwi (a collection of her stories has been published with the title of "Uchchi Dharti jhikka Asman"), Saleem Haideranni, Shahida Rehman, Anjum Lashari, Zafar Lashari (Two novels i.e. "Nazo" and "Pahaj" have been published) and Ahsan Wagha (a collection of short stories titled "Thall Karen Darya" has been published). M.Y. Qaisranni and Prof. Anwar Ahmad are famous essay writers. the research work mostly deals with research in the field of language, and is mostly done in Urdu or English for the purpose of attracting readers. It can be included in Siraiki literature because it purposefully deals with Siraiki.

Dr. Mahr Abdul Haq, Dr. C. Shackle and Muhammad Aslam Rasoolpuri are the well-known names in the field of Research on Siraiki linguistics and literature. The first two scholars have obtained their Ph.D. degrees by writing thesis on Siraiki language. The thesis of Dr. Mahr Abdul Haq has been published with the title "Multani Zaban Aur Uska Urdu Se Taalluq".

A booklet titled "Siraiki Zaban, Ounda Rasmul Khat Ate Awazan" is one of the most popular works of M. Aslam Rasoolpuri. Similarly an exhaustive article on the subject of Siraiki nationality with the title of "Siraiki Qaumyat Aur Uski Akaiyan" by Ganadhya - a Journalist of Multani has come out recently and gained much popularity.

The names of Sojhal Bbharochal, Prof. Dilshad Kalanchwi, ibn-e-Qaiser (with a publication, titled Siraiki Ki Pahli Kitab), and Soviet Linguist Samernov are also included in the list of Siraiki researchers. \*

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\* After all this account of Siraiki poetry and prose is merely an introduction to the Siraiki literature. It must not be taken as conclusive.



## NOTES

1. Dr. Shaukat Sabzwari. *op. cit.*, p. 78 and Faiz Ahmed Faiz *Mahosai-e-Aashnai*, Karachi, 1981, p. 33
2. Muhammad Aslam Rasoolpuri. *op. cit.*, p. 40
3. C. Shackle. *op. cit.*, p. 8
4. Maula Bakhsh Kushta. *op. cit.*, p. 7.
5. Muhammad Aslam Rasoolpuri. *op. cit.*, pp. 40, 42.
6. Dr. Mahr Abdul Haq. *op. cit.*, pp. 76-77.
7. C. Shackle. *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37.
8. Dr. Syed Abdullah. *Adbyat-e-Farsi Main Muslemanun Ka Hissa*. Lahroe. 1967. pp. 1-2, 6, 11, 18.
9. U.V. Gangovsky. *op. cit.*, p. 112.
10. Maula Bakhsh Kushta. *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.
11. Muhammad Aslam Rasoolpuri. *op. cit.*, p. 125.
12. Dr. Syed Abdullah. *op. cit.*, p. 125.
13. Anwar Ahmed Zuberi. *op. cit.*, p. 15.
14. Dr. Syed Abdullah. *op. cit.*, p. 19.
15. Lieut Burton. *A Grammar of jataki or Belochki Dialect*. the Journal of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Vol. III. Part I. Bombay. 1849. p. 86-88.
16. C. Shackle. *op. cit.*, p. 9.
17. Abdul Ghafoor Qureshi. *op. cit.*, pp. 119-198
18. C. Shackle. *op. cit.*, p. 9.
19. E.O. Brien. *Glossary of the Multani Language*. 1881. preface.

## CONCLUSIONS

No definite results can be drawn in linguistics. Languages need continuous study; and still any conclusion cannot be termed as final. Today, the study of languages has become more purposeful. Now linguistical studies are not aimed at providing grounds and arguments for racial pride of some nation, but these are mostly carried out to serve the identity of subjected or downgraded nations of the world. Modern linguistical studies prove that every nation of the world is a successor of some civilization because mankind, in any circumstances did never surrender to the savagery of the nature.

Language is the most distinguishing feature of a culture. Today, most people of the world are struggling to seek their identity on the basis of their cultures. They feel that the preservation of their cultures can be a guarantee against alien economic exploitation. That is how the study of languages has become a part of the political struggle of the nations for economic independence.

South Asia is a region of many cultures. If one was to give a name to South Asian Civilization it could be called a civilization of civilizations. Hundreds of languages are spoken in this region and most of them are interconnected with each other. In the case of Siraiki the records need to be straightened.

It is a law of linguistics to study the languages irrespective of their political importance and administrative utility. But it is a fact that political trends and administrative maps influence the linguistic research.

Research on the languages of South Asia was started during the British Imperial rule over this country in the 19th century. Siraiki people could never achieve an "identity as subjects". Let me say that people who love freedom when subjected do not look for any identity (in slavery). They become indifferent and

scatter around to satisfy their resentment at least. Siraikis are one of the people who lost their identity under colonial rule. They did not exist politically then. Their role in those days can be better explained with the example of inhabitants of a village who did not bother to go to the settlement offices to get their names recorded and as a result they were deprived of their votes and the ration cards etc., the officers of Surveys and Census observed them as wanderers of some neighbouring areas, and recorded their houses as deserted and their lands as waste lands. Similar was the case of Siraiki language. The energetic linguist researchers and the surveyors from west enrolled Siraiki language by dividing it into the dialects of neighbouring languages like Punjabi and Sidhi and finished their work.

Truth always comes from the masses. The Siraiki masses did never call their language as Punjabi or Sindhi.

What they say is as follows:

اساں ہیکے تل دے لوک ہیں

ساڈی بولی ہکاء۔

*Asan hikkey tal dai loke hain*

*Saaddi bboli hikka hai*

((We are the people of the same domain. We speak the same language).

This speech can be recorded in each corner of the Siraiki-speaking area.

The claims of neighbouring people over Siraiki as a dialect or a part of their languages, though false, have a background. That is the existence of some traces of Siraiki language in their areas as this language was spoken in a larger territory in the past. It is actually one of the few lasting proto-Dravidian cultural remnants which, at sometime had expanded throughout the area which is known as the area of Indus Civilization lying between the three poles of Mohenjo Daro, Harappa and Texila. Siraiki language, even today, can be heard inside the Mohallas, the streets and the houses of all major cities of North Western Frontier Province like Bannu, Kohat and Peshawar. This is the second language of two

thirds of the population of Sindh and is largely spoken in the areas of Lasbela, Naseerabad, and Kachhi in Balochistan. By studying the early classics of the Punjabi literature, the linguists reach the opinion that at some time in the past the people of central Punjab spoke Siraiki or some language nearer to Siraiki. Now the dwellers of these previous areas of Siraiki language convert their intimacy with this language into a right to annex Siraiki language and the area with their own. The people who are treated with such claims resist naturally. Today it has become an evident factor which has affected even the natural process of integration between two neighbouring languages i.e. Siraiki and Punjabi. It is however, contrary to the process which is going on between Siraiki and Sindhi.

Luckily, Siraiki language has sound bases for its distinct existence. At first place, Siraiki is the language of a people who are a major partner of Indus civilization and are the outcome of a unique ethnic formation. At the second place, having been included in Paishacha and Dardic group of languages and possessing a plenty of proto-Dravidian characteristics Siraiki has a linguistic status of its own. In the third place Siraiki is the only language which shares at least one prominent feature with each major language of Pakistan. It has a good deal of vocabulary common with Pashto, shares more than one similarity of speech with Punjabi and Pothohari, has complete phonetic coincidence with Sindhi, retains some Persian impacts common with Balochi, and still the level of the difference of Siraiki language from all these languages is more than their difference from each other

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 Zhob 101.

## CORRIGENDA

S.No.	The word	occurring in line No.	para No.	page No.	be read as under:
1.	observation	7	2	6	observation
2.	Urrd	15	2	17	Urdu
3.	( )	1	1	18	( )
4.	letters	2	Fig.1	20	symbols
5.	Mahr	7	1	38	Mahr
6.	Sanskrit	13	4	40	Sanskrit
7.	The	3	3	43	They
8.	Orga	5	4	44	Orya
9.	rhymes	9	1	47	hymns
10.	Gangorrsky	1	1	48	Gangovsky
11.	Dhunki	6	3	50	Dhundi
12.	Punjabiis	1	2	51	Punjabi is
13.	form	12	2	51	from
14.	brigs	2	4	57	brings
15.	mean	6	5	58	means
16.	18 to	3	footnote	58	18 by
17.	راجھن دی جاناں	4	4	59	راجھن دی جاناں
18.	Faqir Waris	1	3	60	Faqir of Waris
19.	contrast the	1	3	60	contrast to the
20.	یاں	1	4	76	یاں
21.	Vice	1	2	90	Voic
22.	(on Vahika)	6	1	103	(or Vahika)
23.	Wagh	2	3	103	Wagho
24.	500 B.C.	1	8	104	300 B.C.
25.	literature. 1*	7	2	113	literature.*
26.	Tajik.	10	3	113	Tajik.
27.	costumary	3	4	120	customary
28.	line the	1	5	120	line of the
29.	کڑیا	9	2	121	کڑیا
30.	lien	6	1	122	line
31.	cpieces	1	3	124	pieces
32.	stture	2	6	124	stature
33.	thoughts and sensibilities	4-5	1	125	thoughts and all beauty
34.	a his	8	2	125	as his
35.	n a phol	1	1	126	na phol
36.	Awahat	2	2	128	Awahat
37.	Awat	1	footnote	128	Awahat
38.	her books	4	footnote	128	other books
39.	some	6	3	129	same
40.	verse. For	11	5	130	verse (For
41.	in eh	1	2	131	in the
42.	proffers	1	3	131	proffess
43.	of Multani has come out	5	3	132	of Multan, and a collection of Siraiki proverbs by Ashraf Buzdar have come out