



Evolution of Sindhi Language



By
Dr. Ghulam Ali Allana

Translated by
Dr. Amjad Siraj Memon



SINDHI LANGUAGE AUTHORITY

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SINDHI LANGUAGE AUTHORITY
HYDERABAD, SINDH.
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Dedication

I dedicate this book, my humble effort for the Sindhi language, to a kind-hearted and honorable lady, the Late Mrs Sakina Ramzan Ali and her two sons, late Seth Muhib Ali and Late Sultan Ali Fidai, who brought me, the son of a poor farmer, from a village to stay with their family at Tando Muhammad Khan; educated, groomed and taught me to live in a household of a great honorable family.

Out of love, the family members of this revered lady used to address her as Grandma Sakina, and I as a new member of my new found family too addressed her as Grandma.

Whatever my children and I are today and whatever status we enjoy is a result of the love, affection, care and good wishes of Grandma Sakina.

May God keep her and all her descendants, who have left for their final abode, in a place close to Him and grant them highest place in Jannah. Ameen

Dr. Ghulam Ali Allana

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Publisher's Note

There are a very few scholars left in Sindh now who could be relied upon for their study and research on the subject of Sindhi Language and linguistics; and Dr G. A. Allana was also one of them, who left us only a few weeks ago. He was the first formally trained expert in the field of phonetics and phonology from the famous school of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS-London University) on the fine intricacies of the language of the Indus Valley Civilization.

There are several books at the credit of Dr Allana with the topics ranging from “Origin of Sindhi Language”, “Sindhi Orthography”, “Sindhi Culture and Society”, “A Descriptive Grammar of Sindhi Language” and many more.

The present book is the English translation of his book “Sindhi Boli-a ji Irtiqā”, which was first published by Sindhi Language Authority in 2007. Since the subject needed to have a wider audience, therefore, Dr Allana had suggested the name of Dr Amjad Siraj for its translation, who has proved his expertise both in translation as well as the different aspects of Sindhi linguistics. His Sindhi translation of Dr Trumpp's well-known book “A Grammar of Sindhi Language” and English translation of Sirajul Haque Memon's well researched book “Sindhi Boli” have been appreciated in the academic and literary circles of Sindh and abroad.

This is acknowledged that the editing of this translation has been made by Dr Fahmida Hussain, Ex. Chairperson of this Authority and Prof Shabnum Gul, Secretary Sindhi Language Authority.

Sindhi Language Authority is committed to bring out such translation, so that the students, teachers and common readers all over Pakistan and abroad may benefit from the scholarly works of Sindhi scholars.

Dr. Muhammad Ali Manjhi
Chairman

20 December 2020
Hyderabad Sindh

Translator's Note

I am extremely grateful to the author of this book and the Sindhi Language Authority to consider me for translating it into English. This translation took a little longer than I had wanted, that I must admit. The first four chapters were completed in India where I had taken my late father Sirajul Haque Memon, for medical treatment in February 2012. I was his medical attendant and while he rested most part of the day, I spent my time working on this translation. After returning from India, the 5th and 6th chapter went smoothly but my father's subsequent illness took whatever little time I had, apart from my own professional work as a surgeon.

He passed away in February 2013 and I felt my world collapse. It took a good few months to recover from that shock to an extent that I started my work again; finally the translation has come to an end.

Having been involved in translation work for my last few years, I have to admit that I feel rather depressed after finishing this last one. Perhaps now I am so used to being in this vocation that sitting idle seems frustrating and boring. I am sure some kind of translation assignment will find me sooner than I go looking for one. I have enjoyed all the translations and have learnt a lot about this great Sindhi language.

I must thank my family members and Dr. Fahmida Hussain especially for her constant support and frequent reminders. I hope the readers will like the translation and forgive any shortcomings. I am certain that this voluminous research work done by honourable Dr. Ghulam Ali Allana will benefit readers at home and abroad.

Dr. Amjad Siraj Memon
Email: asmemon4@gmail.com

Preface

1. The study of language, literature, history and culture of the ancient Sindh reveals that 'Rig Veda' was the earliest book written on the bank of the river 'Sindhu' by about 1000 to 1200 B.C, after the arrival of the Aryans in the Indus Valley. One of the 'mandals' of this book narrates the golden past of the 'Land Sindhu' and also of its life stream 'Sindhu', which was perhaps, named after the name of the land, through which it passes.

All the narratives as such indicate that some chapters of the history of evolution of Sindhi language are missing in this book, titled 'Evolution of Sindhi language' as also pointed out by Mr. Sirajul Haque Memon, the most prominent Sindhologist and renowned research scholar of Sindh Studies', in the preface of this book, which he had very kindly written on my request.

2 (a) I confess that the position and the status of Sindhi language in the ancient past, during the periods mentioned below should have been searched and studied by me, and should have been included in the first edition of this book which was written in Sindhi language and published by Sindhi Language Authority in 2006.

The missing periods are:

i) Position and status of Sindhi under the rule of Achaemenian and other empires who ruled over ancient Sindh from 519 B.C to 499 AD.

ii) Position and status Sindhi under the rule of the Rai Dynasty from 499 AD upto 642 AD.

It is worth mentioning that Dr. Ali Akbar Jaffery, an Iranian scholar, who was recognized as an authority on the ancient history of Civilization and Culture of Iran, and was well versed with Sindhi language, history and culture of ancient Sindh, had said much on the relations between ancient Iran and Sindh in his paper, which he had contributed under the title 'Sindhis in Ancient Iran' on the occasion of the seminar on 'Sindh through the Centuries', organized by the Department of Education and Culture, Government of Sindh, at Karachi from 3-5th March, 1975.

(b) In addition to these periods of Sindh's history, efforts should have been made to study the reports and narratives left by the Chinese travellers, scholars, religious students, missionaries and traders such as 'Fa-Hsiun', 'Sung-Yun', Hsuan-Chung' or 'Hsiun-Tsang', and others, who visited the regions of Gilgit- Baltistan, present Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Indus Valley during the periods from 519 BC. upto the rule of Rai Dynasty (499 AD-642 AD) in ancient Sindh. History records show that some scholars were sent by the queen Dowager of the Wei dynasty of ancient China to collect the religious books written on and about Buddhism. Some of these Chinese travellers managed to get the inscriptions carved on the rocks, near the bank of river Indus and the Hunza River. These inscriptions can be seen from the Shatyal Bridge, near the village Sazin at Chilas in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province. These inscriptions give lot of information about the names of kings, places, princes, queens and temples etc. The language of some of these inscriptions resemble the classical Sindhi and Hindko languages. These are all the missing chapters in the study of 'Evolution of Sindhi language'.

3 (a) It reminds me of a young Sindhi girl from Karachi, who was working for her Ph.D programme on 'Sindh Studies' at one of the universities of USA. She had come to Karachi to visit her parents and also to collect the data required for her research project. The topic of her research project was perhaps related to the problems of political history of Sindh. She had interviewed some knowledgeable persons at Karachi where she was suggested to contact me and take my interview, to get the information about the problems faced by Sindhi language after creation of Pakistan. She contacted me and then came to Hyderabad at my residence. She interviewed me for about six hours, and she asked lots of questions about the history, evolution and development of Sindhi language. I presented her a copy of my book 'Evolution of Sindhi language' written in Sindhi language which contained most of the information she required for her research project.

(b) When she returned to USA, she shared the collected data with her research guide, and also translated some paragraphs for her guide from my book. Perhaps her guide suggested her to request me for the translation of the text of my book. She then talked to me on phone and conveyed the message of her guide.

4. This is how I decided to get this book translated into English and requested Dr. Fahmida Hussain, Chairperson Sindhi Language Authority to very kindly place the proposal of the translation of this book in the meeting of BOG of Sindhi Language Authority, and get approval from it. She placed the proposal in the next meeting of the BOG. All the members willingly approved the proposal, and on my request assigned the task of translation into English to Dr. Amjad Siraj who had already translated many other books into English, including the master piece work, titled 'Sindhi Boli' written by our great Sindhologist and renowned scholar, Mr. Sirajul Haque Memon.

5. (a) From the core of my heart, I express my gratitude to Dr. Amjad Siraj, who inspite of his heavy engagements of his profession as a Surgeon, spared some time from his busy schedule and translated the book within the shortest period of time.

I am also grateful to Dr. Fahmida Hussain, who not only edited the full text of the translated material, but also took personal interest and supervised the process of its publication.

(b) I personally know that every person working in the department of publication and translation of the Authority has put in his/her efforts in the publication of this book of mine. I am grateful to all of them.

6. I know that this publication needs revision and addition of the missing chapters as pointed out by Mr. Sirajul Haque Memon in the preface written by him.

I hope the needful will be done as and when time will allow me. I have every hope that English version of this publication will be very useful to those researchers who are working on the problems and prospects of Sindhi language at various institutions in the country and abroad.

Dr. Ghulam Ali Allana

28.02.2015

Foreword

My friend Ghulam Ali Allana has sent me the manuscript of his under-publication book titled “The Evolution of Sindhi Language”, to write a few lines about it. His letter has put me in a rather awkward position since I feel as to how I can write a foreword on a research work of a scholar, when neither do I possess a degree on Linguistics nor on History, not even in any related subject. The fact of the matter is that in order to dispel some wrong hypotheses about Sindhi language, I had done some study and penned down a few essays and a book called “Sindhi Boli” (Sindhi language), and that too was some 36-37 years back. I have never since written any book on Sindhi language. I have, though in my own way, read scholarly works of Dr. Baloch, Dr. Allana, Dr. Abdul Jabbar Junejo and other scholars and have tried to gain further knowledge about the genesis, existence and evolution of Sindhi language. But since my brother Allana wants me to write about this subject, I think it would be prudent to mention a history of my submissions about language before embarking on writing about this book.

It was in the early 60s when I wrote a few essays about Sindhi language, that were in response to some articles written by Dr. Nabi Buksh Khan Baloch on his view about the language. I had written them for “Mehran” and other Sindhi journals of the time and was trying to compile them in the form of a book. I realized that writing an essay in response to something was relatively easy but the research, inquiry and knowledge that was required to write a book about language was something beyond me. For one, the responsibilities as a government servant were too many to allow frequent visits to the libraries. Secondly, in order to do any research on language one had to have a formal education of (the subject of) Linguistics. I had taken Economics as a subject in university but as far as formal training of Linguistics was concerned, I was totally illiterate. Moreover, the other thing that was bothering me was the state of mind and approach towards the subject of language! Would it be a scholarly honest approach or a nationalistic one that I had followed, while writing my responses to Dr. Baloch’s essays? But during that period I kept reading about the subject and I did a bit of research too. At the very same time, a few friends taunted me that I had been scared away by the journalistic propaganda by late Mr. Sardar Ali Shah, late Mr. Rasheed Laghari and Mr. Ali Nawaz Jatoti (now late). My reply to them had been that it was true that there was no book in Sindhi written with the background of modern linguistics and it was absolutely essential to write one, but I did not consider myself as the appropriate person for that task. It required a person who had had a formal education of the subject and who had some training from some European institute on Comparative Linguistics, Phonetics, Anthropology and Palaeography, in addition to being neutral and objective on a scholarly level. We needed a person who could write an academic and scientific book on Sindhi language, that would not only fulfil the requirements of students of these subjects but would also be beneficial to the ordinary reader who knows little about the history and geography of our language. Were the people of Sindh aware of its past, present and future; did they have any idea about its relationship with other ancient and

modern languages, do they know where its ancient and modern literature and its history is heading to, and what should the persons, who speak Sindhi, be doing for its preservation and evolution?

It was then that I came to know that a young man called Ghulam Ali Allana had returned from the United Kingdom after getting such an education and training. Before I could get acquainted to him, I read a few of his articles in some journals which not only satisfy me but almost disappointed me. I expressed my views in one of the chronicles of *Nain Zindagi*. To cut the story short, I felt compelled to somehow write a book on Sindhi language that was published in 1964 with the title “Sindhi Boli”. And unfortunately, because of dearth of any book on this subject, it was being used almost like a textbook in Pakistan at the university level. Recently my sister Fahmida Hussain was in India where she was told that it was prescribed as a textbook in the universities of India too. It is a misfortune of Sindhi language that my book, written on un-scientific basis, has got so much of importance that it truly did not deserve. Although credit would be due to this book that it proved to be a pebble in a pond; and a movement started in Sindh about denouncing the wrong hypotheses about Sindhi language, and that it started a new trend and tendency to read and write about the stature, geography and history of Sindhi language.

Dr. Ghulam Ali Allana is a renowned teacher and scholar of Sindh. He has obtained a doctorate now, and with time, he has been doing research and getting books published on various aspects of Sindhi language. For the first time, a person who has completed command on ancient and modern Linguistics has started writing on Sindhi language. The most important thing is that he knows how to do research and God has gifted him with the art of writing about language on scientific terms. His main works include “A Study of Dialects of Sindhi Language” (1964), “The Origin of Sindhi Language” (1987), “The Linguistic Geography of Sindhi Language” and “Sindhi Orthography” (1993) and all of them have proved to be evidence of his intellectual and academic evolution.

But among all his books, this book is a very good example of research. It is for the first time that we are able to get a graded, referenced and scientific knowledge about the evolution and progress of Orthography and Language. It has always been my wish that a book must be written, that could be an appropriate textbook, which could be prescribed in educational institutions and universities of Sindh and India. I am delighted that such a book is now in your hands.

At some places one might get a feeling of un-fulfilment but I am sure these minor errors will be corrected in the next editions by the author. For example, the first two chapters titled “Language, Society, Man and Culture” and “Language, its Origin and Progress” are too brief leaving one initiated. In one of these chapters, the question of how language has influenced human evolution and philosophy should have been discussed in detail. Noam Chomsky, in his landmark book titled “Reflections of Language”, has termed them “mysteries of language” that have a direct relationship with the human mind. Chomsky has divided these mysteries in two parts, one is concerned with human emotions and

expectations about common objects and the other is about the system of language. Are the present day languages harmonious with the first concern?

Let me quote an example from my book 'Sindhi Boli'. I had presented a new theory in that book, which can be summarized as follows: "Language is a complex expression consisting of human feelings and natural sounds, in addition to sounds emanating from reactions to these feelings and sounds. There is nothing mythical or extra-terrestrial about it. If the feelings of a group or nation reacting to certain sounds occurring in nature become known, that would tell us about the phonetic system of that particular language. And once the phonetic system is known, tracking down its grammar should not be difficult. Had a learned and trained linguistic scholar like Ghulam Ali Allana written about the intrinsic structure and philosophy of Sindhi, this chapter would certainly have been more informative and beneficial. Dr Allana has touched upon and given a reference to my theory while discussing the Ding Dong theory, but he has not expressed his expert opinion about it. And having narrated all the theories, he has not postulated his own hypothesis nor has he given a particular preference to any of the available theories. This is a question that needs to be given some thought.

The 3rd chapter titled "The Origin and Progress of Sindhi Language" is not only quite detailed but very comprehensive. He has thrown light on the theories about the origin of Sindhi language. He has also given his views and has deliberated at length in his books, such as "Origin of Sindhi Language" and in his English book "Origin and Growth of Sindhi Language". I had, in one of my previous articles, appreciated these books, although I suggested to him to revisit the use of the word *Saindhui* with reference to the Aryans.

If a few ancient writers have pronounced Sindh as Saindhui or with similar other erroneous names as Saindhua, which were adopted by lexicographers like Turner who has used it in his Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages, that also does not mean that we should start pronouncing it wrongly and accept its Nagric script just to prove that Sindhi is an ancient language. Sindh and Sindhi are very old words that were pronounced then just the way they are pronounced today. There is plenty of evidence in the Pahlavi plaques from which at least it can be inferred that these words were pronounced like that from the time of Avista (i.e. 2400 years back). Infact, even when by exchange of 'h' and "s" sounds, Sindh was pronounced as Hind, even then the word Hind was never pronounced as Hindui; and from Al-Idrisi to Al-Beruni, everyone kept repeating the mistake by calling it Hind and Hindi but not Hindui or Hindoi, and therefore Dr Allana should clarify this misconception.

The other thing that needs to be reconsidered is the theory of origin from Dravidian or Proto-Dravidian source. I am ready to admit that initially I also thought that way, but when I studied Father Heras and Hirozani, and further scholars to people like Asko Parpola, I felt that this issue needs to be reviewed. To this end I agree with Asko Parpola that the seals of Mohen-jo-Daro may be deciphered using the Rebus Principle. According to this principle, when an item or object is visible in a seal or a picture, it may mean a

word used for a similar looking object. For example, for the picture of fish the Proto-Dravidian word is “Meen” and the other meaning of this word is ‘star’, then the latter may be taken as its meaning.

Although Parpola and others applied this rule but because they attempted to find alternative words from Dravidian languages without any references from Sindh, they confused themselves. They should have realized that these signs were found from the areas of Indus valley, therefore it was not possible to get to the reality without considering the physical evidences from the region. Personally, and through some written references, I convinced Parpola et al that unless they kept the physical references of the Sindhi terrain, their assigned values will never hold ground. They seem to have accepted my suggestions. Now in this age of computers, it should not be difficult to decipher these values. It is hoped that Dr Allana will heed this argument and put his research on the right path.

As far as the question of relationship of Sindhi with the Nagric Apabhramsha is concerned, Dr Allana has given a very scholarly narration and has drawn the correct conclusions from his readings of Dr Chatterji and Dr Jetly. Somehow in this chapter I had a feeling that Dr Allana should have given a more detailed account of his thesis that the ‘*dohas*’ (in this book) were in the Eastern dialect of Sindhi prevalent at that time, which was locally called Nagric Apabhramsha. He should have given the chart of the different dialects of Apabhramsha and their geographical expanse. In any case, Dr Allana has done a commendable research in this chapter.

The 4th chapter “The Status of Sindhi Language in the Initial Period of Arab Rule” is an example of Dr Allana’s hard work and command over the language. He has written this chapter with academic and scientific arguments. Perhaps it is because the subject of his thesis for his Master’s degree from London was “The Arabic Element in Sindhi”. I feel that despite it being academically accurate and comprehensive, it has fallen short in one aspect. I feel he should have encompassed his thoughts and arguments about the period ranging from Achaeminian era of Cyrus I (from 330-353 BC) and written about the Sindhi of that era and then he should have compared it with the linguistic conditions after the Arab invasion. It would have been a great service and research because not much is available in the written form about the period of Rai dynasty in our history. The Parsi (Zoroastrian) people and pundits of Pakistan and India have a prized collection of literature about Zend Avista, much of which is in published form. A study of Avistan language indicates that the pronominal suffixes of Sindhi language and those present in Pahlavi and modern Persian have much in common and a comparative study of the two could have revealed facts leading to new information. Had Dr Allana touched this aspect in the relevant period, it would have made this book more comprehensive and broad based research. It could also have inspired some young scholars to conduct research about usage of Pronominal Suffixes and compile it in a scholarly book. , this was an expression of my wish. Dr Allana is not responsible for it.

I consider chapters 5 to 7 about “The Standard Position of Sindhi Language” as an

example of the finest effort and truly methodical research. Such a comprehensive work on the period of Soomra, Sama and Kalhora periods has never been done before, and Dr G. A. Allana deserves due credit as he has very nicely tried to conserve and preserve the language and literature of the local people in this book. And he has referred to numerous citations from history and literature and has done an in-depth analysis of each aspect, and in the end, he has given his own views about them. Dr Ghulam Ali Allana is from the Ismaili lineage, who not only were part of the ruling elite in Soomra, Sama periods but they preached their beliefs that resulted in many conversions from Hindu castes to Islam. They preached in Sindhi and other local dialects; his collection of *Ginans* is a prized entity for Sindhi literature which never got the attention they deserve. Dr Allana has worked very hard on the technical and linguistic importance of these *Ginans* and has given a novel idealistic view that has provided the research-minded students and people interested in the history ample data which provides a new insight into the linguistic study of each era.

In addition to that, Dr Allana's research has not only opened new avenues of thought about the progress of standard Sindhi, but he has collected quite significant materials to dispel prevailing wrongful notions and hypotheses regarding the language. It becomes quite apparent from the examples from Kazi Kadan, Lutfullah Qadri, Shah Karim, Makhdoom Nooh and others that the Sindhi language has not only served to cater for the spiritual but worldly requirements of its speakers as well. It had a vast vocabulary in prose and poetry about trade and commerce, personal and professional writing as well as educational needs, enabling it to compete with the languages of the world. In this respect, Dr Allana's suggestion is very apt that all this information has been taken from Arabic and Persian scripts, while countless Sindhi books in Nagric and other scripts are present, not only in India and Sindh but in foreign libraries as well. It is extremely important to find and bring them out for our readers.

Dr Allana has put in a lot of effort in the chapter about the present day literature. The chapter about Shah Latif deserves to be published as a separate book. He has tried to rid the language of Latif from confusions by emphasizing on his poetry. It really is a gift for us all. I would request him to expand this chapter and compare Latif with his contemporary poets, in a separate book, for which we would be indebted to him.

Nowadays (2001), Dr Allana is the Chairman of Sindhi Language Authority. He is the first Chairman who has worked very hard and earned respect for this institution. The efforts taken by him to bring Sindhi language in line with modern technological advances are proof enough of his unmatched love for his language. This book is a reflection of that love. I wish his readers would consider it as an important book like me.

Siraj

Karachi, Sindh
16th January 2001

Chapter One

Language, Society, Man and Culture

This chapter is intended to show and explain the importance of 'language' in any society and their relationship with one another.

The experts of Anthropology think that language is an insignia of its country, culture, traditions and society. According to them a language can only survive and grow in a human society, a language can never survive in the absence of a society. The experts also opine that even if one person, who speaks a certain language, is alive, that language is accepted as a living language.

Language plays an important role in expression of one's ideas and goals; therefore every language always has a meaning. Infact this semantic value of a language determines its utility in a society. And it is because of this reason that a language can only survive in a human society and community.

A renowned scholar Dr. H.T. Sorley has said:

“The Sindhi society, its economic and financial circumstances have greatly influenced the vocabulary of Sindhi Language. And the language in turn has influenced the Sindhi society and its social actions.” (1)

The knowledge of any language is helpful to understand society. it is essential to study Pakistani languages, to enable the readers and researchers to understand the Pakistani society. Therefore it would be absolutely true to state that every language assists in studying the social, cultural and intellectual progress of the people. And it is the reason why a language is stated to be an insignia of the society of a nation.

A famous scholar and educationist of Pakistan and an expert on the Sindhi society Mr. Muhammad Ibrahim Joyo, has rightly said:

“The most important asset of man is his ability to produce sound - a cry and its response, the words and the language itself. They are the bases of his being and help him to live gracefully.” (2)

Referring to the statement of the Russian writer Turgenev (1818-1883 AD), who spent nearly half of his life in exile, Mr. Joyo quotes:

“Whenever I am engulfed with doubts, and when my heart resonates thinking about my country, exactly then O my great, powerful, true and free Russian language, you give me strength and save me. Had you not been there, surely, on seeing what my country is going through, I would have succumbed, fallen downright on the ground; and how could one not believe that such a great language could belong to a great nation, as mine.” (3)

In the 2nd chapter it has been stated that language has come into being naturally, with the birth of human race and the human society. No man or group has consciously created it. In other words, one can say that a language is the creation of a society. In this

regard, Dr. Allah Dad Bohio has referred to Mr. Porter, and he writes:

“Human language is a creation of common folks. It has neither been created by scholars nor by any teacher. The scholars and teachers definitely contribute to bestow it grandeur. To beautify, polish and turning it into a flower in the orchard of literature, but the buds of this language are borne on a plant that has sprouted and flourished on its own; it has grown and has its roots in the soil. This means that the origin and growth of a language is not the result of a person’s effort but it is the land wherefrom a language derives its life and vigour.” (4)

The inference of this discussion is that the study of a language is a study of mankind and Anthropology; which means that the traditions and values of a society are the actual bases of a language. Therefore, study of language opens the avenues to different areas and regions of this vast world.

My opinion about society, man and language given in my book “A Study of Sindhi Language” is quoted below:

“Language has been the greatest record and treasure of the daily chores of human life in all periods. As nations grow and social values change progressively, this change and progress is also reflected in the language of that nation. This is how nations have evolved and progressed and this is how the business of the world has been going on and will continue in the years to come.” (5)

Dr. Allahdad Bohio describes language as an example of human phenomenon and writes:

“Every language on its own is a very mysterious phenomenon. It is an example of wisdom and knowledge. Language is a part of cultural performance of a people.” (6)

Linguistic knowledge is certainly closely related to Anthropology. In this respect, study of any language is considered as the study of a nation, its society, traditions and culture as well. Therefore we can say that the history of a nation and its culture is hidden in the history of its language.

It may therefore be concluded that, languages are the life-line of nations; they are a fountain that serves to cater to the progress and longevity of nations and people can see the reflections of their experiences, hopes and thoughts in them.

2- Language and Culture.

It has to be observed as to what role does a language play in the culture of a nation; but let us first see what is culture and how is it related to language. Culture has been defined by the Advanced Learners’ Dictionary as follows:

“Culture is the progress of the human civilization and it includes physical, intellectual and spiritual progress. This progress depends on training and experience.” (7)

An expert of Anthropology Carter V. Good writes:

“Culture is the collection of the social, intellectual, artistic and industrial qualities of a group or nation that differentiates it from another

such group. It enables one to know about the activities, ideals and the social system of a group or a nation.” (8)

The Encyclopedia of Social Sciences defines culture as follows:

“Culture is a reality that has come into being to fulfill the needs and wishes of mankind. It converts men into groups and groups into nations; it creates traditions and customs and ensures that every person abides by those rules.” (9)

Dr. Nabi Buksh Baloch has divided culture into 4-5 parts that are:

- 1- Geographical conditions
- 2- History
- 3- Ethnology
- 4- Language
- 5- Religion. (10)

He is of the opinion that:

“Under the influence of the elements of nature, people have taken up means to live their lives, like food, attire, life style, traditions and customs, spiritual and religious tendencies, thoughts and superstitions; all these have a special place for them and they are all grouped under culture.” (11)

This means that people’s way of life, food, clothing, professions, language, customs, traditions, agriculture and its tools and the local dialects constitute culture. The study of culture helps in understanding the thoughts, perceptions and intellectual evolution of people. Now we can see that on the one hand culture is related with the essential things for the materialistic life and on the other, it envisages non-materialistic and spiritual things like language, literature, religion, mannerism and laws.

Culture contains all the external components of the collective life of people that nurtures language. It is a name given to the fulfillment of the hopes and expectations of mankind. Culture creates a world of its own that subconsciously extends to the people’s minds and that can be touched upon only through language.

In an organized system of culture, among all its components, language is the single most important element of a society. Language, social organization and religion are essential components of culture, where all the other elements depend on the survival, integrity and organization of the language. This gives rise to an independent and free system, of which great many examples can be given.

The next chapter explains in detail how the early man used language to form his society. Man and society depend on each other’s existence, and to perform the daily chores of life. They jointly help each other and create rules giving rise to cultural development. As the man evolved and progressed, language became his strength.

Anthropologists consider the theory of human evolution as the theory of beginning of society and culture. In other words, an account of the progress of any civilization is in fact the historical study of the progress of its language.

Language has been accepted as the only means of preservation of human society and culture. Without a language, human life cannot be imagined. It is like a mirror that shows the true reflection of its customs and traditions. In this regard, Mr. Jamil Jalibi writes:

“Since language is a social activity, the culture of any society weaves its structure with the threads of its language. It is the language that brings conformity among its speakers and it creates a social confidence and unanimity of its functions. It is because of this, that the people who speak the same language are always culturally closer to each other, as compared to people who speak some other language. It is the common language in a culture that brings about the knowledge of collective and natural existence.” (12)

He further writes:

“As I have just submitted that language promotes culture, therefore, it is the most important exponent of culture. Whatever the culture is like, the language will match it and vice versa. It gives rise to a system of thoughts and hopes through which all sections of the society are linked together, young or old, literate or illiterate and they all merge into the society according to their own requirements and preferences.” (13)

The important task of amalgamating different groups of people making them links of the same chain, who lead their lives in society, is performed by language. If one has to call culture as a reflection of a society, it is the language that makes it possible, thereby becoming the actual representation of culture.

Culture is the creation of human society; its study is based on analysis of anthropological experiences and a summary of all social sciences. But in contrast to this, language is connected with the existence of mankind. On these grounds, one can say that language is an inseparable element of human existence and this will continue in future as well.

Language has always promoted culture and society, and a study of these two in fact is a study of the language of a country. One must study the origin and progress of Sindhi language on these parameters as it is a great collection of social themes, a treasure of folk wisdom; literature, lexicon and thoughtful expressions. This language has not been invented by some scholars but has taken origin with the people of this sacred land and it has very deep roots in the Sindhi society.

Sindhi language has been spoken since as a language of common people. It is used by all sections of the society, in all respects and has had an accepted acclaimed position in all periods of history. In other words, one can say that the *raison d'être* of Sindhi language has always been the Sindhi society and its people. (14)

The great Sindhi scholar Dr. Nabi Buksh Khan Baloch has rightly said:

“In fact the ‘history of language’ is quite distinctly different from the political and social history of the country or from the history of education and literature; at the same time, without understanding the literary expanse of language and the sociopolitical background of a country, it is difficult to write about the growth and evolutionary history of language.” (15)

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Chapter Two

Language, its Origin and Progress

1- The discipline of Linguistics is considered a social science. Language is such a system of sounds that started with civilization with the help of which people of the same social groups interact with and understand each other. (1)

The whole universe and its system is a natural phenomenon: such as the rising and setting of the sun, change of seasons, the sowing and harvesting of crops, rains and winds are all governed by Nature. Similarly, language too is a natural entity having a system and discipline. There is an order, sequence and discipline in the formation of words and their pronunciations, the structural position of words in sentences and the changes they go through, the variations in the intonation of sounds in sentences, the inflections and the grammatical formation of tenses etc. They all follow a system and a set of rules. No conscious human effort is involved in their formation.

2- How, when and where did language(s) start, are subjects that have been explored and researched by linguistic experts. According to one such linguist Mr. Gordon Hews, about 10,000 different references are available. (2) In his view, from the 19th century various opinions were being formed on this subject until a time came in late 1866 when the Linguistic Society of Paris issued advice to refrain from giving opinions on this subject. (3) In any case, there is a dire need to produce material on this topic in Sindhi and other Pakistani languages, as there has hardly been any significant work in these languages.

In this context an opinion regarding its origin is that the language spoken by the early man started when he tried to imitate the sounds already present in nature. These sounds included those of chirping of birds, flowing water in rivers and fountains, the sounds of wind, lightening, of insects and animals and similarly the sounds emanating from eating, drinking and coughing etc. Experts believe that humans and birds have an inherent ability of imitating the sounds arising in any environment. (4)

Various experts of this field have adopted different theories regarding the origin of language based on their social milieu, customs, traditions and religious inclination. It would be prudent to see what the scholars have contributed to polish our civilization and what they think about speech, language and its script/writing systems.

3- Experts have distinguished mankind from other animal kinds that do not speak. It is indeed the power of speech that has made man a superior creature. Mankind believes that God Almighty has bestowed it with speech to enable it to acquire wisdom and to share that with others. In this regard, different scholars from various countries and religions hold different views. An analysis of these views and opinions is briefly presented here as follows:

(a) Ancient Egyptian View:

There was an ancient Egyptian god named 'Tehuti/Thoth' (5) who was considered to be Supreme Being having great powers. As per Egyptian belief, it was Thoth who uttered some 'mantras' and words which brought about the birth of the entire universe. He is considered as a lunar god in addition to being a god of magic, sacred writings and the art of writing books. They believed that the goddess of writing called 'Seshet' was always with him as his secretary. Thoth was not only a fierce debater, art lover and sweet-talker but he also mastered the art of writing, speech and statistics. He was also considered a god physician, lawyer and architect. Whatever he uttered was considered gospel.

(b) Civilization of Babylon:

As per the myth of Babylonian civilization. 'Oannes' was the first cultured person in the form of a mermaid, who swam to the Persian Gulf where he introduced writing and such other arts.

(c) Chinese Civilization:

According to the Chinese myth: Nature produced a 'sea horse' or a turtle who spoke Chinese. He did not possess the art of writing but had pictorial designs on its back that were thought to represent his gift of writing. And afterwards different laws and rules were defined. (6)

The Chinese had great respect for 'King Celestial'. He was very fond of listening to the chirping sounds of birds and after they flew away, he used to silently copy the marks on the soft sand left by the birds. The Chinese produced dictionaries 1000 years back and kept the words in an ideological arrangement.

(d) The Hindu Belief:

Six or seven centuries before the Christian era, the pundits and saintly men of Bharat Varsh hypothesized an interesting perspective based on myths. The ancient manuscripts and writings were personified and called the "goddess (of Vak) of language" and it was respected as being a manifestation of the 'Brahma'. According to these saints, the sacred voice (Vak) has neither an origin nor any end, and it is a contemporary of early human beings. Vak is the creative power of Brahma. These preachers believe that the universe came into being at once by the command (Vak). They think that the god uttered "happen" and thus the world was created.

They also think that many languages were created for human beings, through which man would be able to pray and recite verses and mantras. The Tantric records gave a magical connotation to the power of speaking. Mantras are considered to be symbols of living gods/goddesses. (7)

(e) The Jewish View:

According to the Jewish belief, man is a reflection of God's creation, who was chased out of paradise and left between rivers and hurricanes as a punishment. He could only speak one language. And the angels worked hard to build cities and dwellings for him.

(f) The Muslim View:

Most of the Muslim clerics believe that Allah Almighty provided the knowledge of language to the first man ‘Adam’ through a revelation. They quote references from the holy Quran to support their view:

وَعَلَّمَ آدَمَ الْأَسْمَاءَ كُلَّهَا

“And He taught Adam the names- all of them.” (8)

At another place the Quran says:

(9) وَمِنْ آيَاتِهِ خَلْقُ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَالاخْتِلَافُ أَلْسِنَتِكُمْ وَالْوَايَكُم

“Among other signs of Him, is the creation of the heavens and the earth, and the variety of your tongues and complexions. Surely there are signs in this for those who understand.” (9)

Yet another verse says:

(10) اَلرَّحْمٰنُ عَلَّمَ الْقُرْآنَ خَلَقَ الْاِنْسَانَ عَلَّمَهُ الْبَيَانَ

“The Most Merciful, taught the Quran, created man, [And] taught him eloquence.” (10)

So the way the creation of the “first man” did not involve a gradual formation, similarly, God Almighty with His divine authority bestowed man with the ability of speaking language from the very beginning.

In this regard, according to a tradition by Ibn Abbass:

“Adam was taught all the languages of the world; and that Adam and his children expressed themselves according to their own choice. Later, when Adam’s children spread to different areas of the world, they as different groups started using one of those languages while the other languages became redundant.” (11)

Responding to the clerics that term language as angelic, Ibn Jami says:

“Teaching Adam the act of speech and the names of things does not mean that all this was done through ‘*Wahee*’ but it means that Allah Almighty bestowed Adam with the gift of speech.” (12)

1- Various Theories About Origin of Language:

Linguists have described various theories regarding the origin of language, some of which are worth mentioning (13):

- a- Pooh-Pooh theory
- b- Ding Dong theory
- c- Yo-he-ho theory
- d- Theory of gestures
- e- Others

These theories will now be introduced briefly as follows:

(a) The Pooh Pooh Theory: A famous linguist Max Muller described this theory in the 19th century; it is also known as the ‘Interjectional theory’. It is based on the concept that the sounds that the early man produced during certain emotions e.g. sorrow,

grief, surprise, joy or anger etc. later progressed and took the shape of language.

(b) The Ding Dong Theory: This theory explained the relationship of sounds with the meanings of a language, and the external influences that affected the early man, who used appropriate sounds to express those influences. (14) Later these took the form of a language.

(c) THE Yo-He-Ho Theory: Some of the experts believe that during collective labour, when certain people performed some ritual or work together; they must have pronounced certain sounds e.g. hee, ho, ha etc. (15)

(d) The Theory of Gestures: Some anthropologists believe the sign language is the oldest form of language. (16) According to them, by certain gestures of body movements, one can express or convey a certain message, for example: movements of hands, lips, nodding, blinking or looking away, frowning, shrugging etc. They infer that when man tried to explain things by these gestures, they became tools of communication. (17)

There is unison of sounds and symbols in the sign language where more words are usually required for names of things or their alternatives. In this context, Golden Hews believes that the sign language must have had its origin before the spoken language. (18)

Gestures like pursing the lips or curving them, and other signs are also used, even today to convey a particular feeling or message. Therefore, it can also be called a sign language. It has been inferred from these examples that the initial language of the early man was a sort of sign language that took the form of spoken languages in some later period.

Some experts believe that there is a sound track system in the vocal cords, when a gush of air from the lungs passes through, it produces certain sounds and in some later period, subconsciously took the form of words leading to sentences. Spoken languages may have started in this manner. (19)

(e) Birds sing or chirp but among the Primitives, it is only the human race which can speak. (20)

(f) Theory of Co-operation: Explaining the importance and basic requirements of language for social interaction, Grace de Laguna wrote in 1927:

“Human interaction divided in three different ways during usage of language, such as: to question, to order and to express. Each of these ways has progressed in language through ancient sounds of the early man (that is called the ‘Human Cry Theory’).” (21)

According to him:

“Animal cry is a sort of a call for attention according to the circumstances, to influence emotions of other living things.” (22)

He further writes:

“Suppose a group of men is scattered around in search of food; and by chance a lion appears there. One of the men from the group spots the lion. He gives out a kind of a cry to warn the others who would find a place of

shelter. This type of communication- a call and its response, may have given rise to language. Warning about impending danger is a rule according to which the relationship between “needs versus its response” has been called language by Laguna.” (23)

Laguna believes that:

“Certain things of human activity were used differently in various circumstances. In these instances the words of the primitive language were sparse and specific and their reach was not so wide. Man must have used the one-word sentences in the beginning. With the passage of time the vocabulary increased; one-word sentence based speech was replaced with multiple-word sentences.” (24)

He thinks that:

“The complete sentence of ancient times was based on an “isolated type”, in which the constituent words were not used according to the established pattern of nouns, verbs, adjectives or adverbs but by doing internal variations and adjoining prefixes and suffixes for common understanding.” (25)

(g) The Verb Theory: A solicitor named A.S. Diamond had discussed the origin and evolution of language in his book. (26) He threw light on the following points:

- 1- Words of speech have been derived from verbal roots.
- 2- The initial utility of language
- 3- The phonological shapes of ancient words
- 4- The semantic stature of ancient words

The crux of Diamond’s theory is that semi-gypsy, nomadic and local groups used words of request that took the shape of early language; and he thinks that those requests later progressed to action words like breaking, cutting, killing etc. Those words were more indiscreet than the present day verbal forms.

Diamond opines that it is the verb that is the foundation on which a language stands. As time went by, social influences increased the scope of language bringing about newer grammatical forms like adjectives and nouns, with the resultant increase in its vocabulary. In this context, he has referred to Shakespeare’s plays and writes:

“There is a preponderance of verbs in the plays and the words which are scarcely used, are mostly nouns, while adjectives are even less in number.” (27) As time passed, the usage of nouns and adjectives in comparison to verbs increased. Later he conducted a comparative study of the language used by hunters, food collectors and that of the ancient man with the language of later periods and lastly with the present form of language. (28) And he came to the conclusion:

“The usage of verbs in the present language is only 10%.”

He further believes that:

“There were times when verbs were abundantly used in language but now with the addition of other words and evolving process, the study of language, shows that other words of speech e.g. nouns, adjectives, pronouns and adverbs are comparatively more than verbs.” (29)

Explaining it, Diamond writes:

“A study of verbs has proved that the rules to add prefixes and suffixes to a verbal root are quite scarce; and only a very small number of suffixes are added to verbs to make new forms, while prefixes are never added to verbs as seen to occur in other forms.” It is proved from Diamond’s opinion that “the forms of verbs were the basis of the ancient form of language.” (30)

5- Theory of Morris Swadesh: Another contemporary linguist Morris Swadesh presented his theory in 1991 in one of his books. (31) He has divided the evolution of language in four periods.

- i- Eoglottic period (Initial stone age)
- ii- Paleoglottic period (Ancient stone age)
- iii- Neoglottic period (New stone age)
- iv- Historical period (Modern period)

(a) Eoglottic Period: This initial period is considered to be up to 3 million years back. The man of Java i.e. Australopithecus of that period used to wander in the forests of Africa. Before this period, man was used to exchange some abstract individual simple words, prolong them or pronounce them loudly, using low and high pitch or repeating the words (like dual words) to draw his meanings from them. It is quite possible that while pronouncing the name of some object, he may have brought a change in the shape of his lips or mouth to express its meaning; for example he may have rounded off his lips when talking about round objects.

Morris thinks that in the Eoglottic period language was in the process of transformation from the “exclamatory” to the “expressive message” system. It is possible that in that period there were only two basic words and by the help of intonation, or by way of pronunciation, lyricism and notes of the musical system, different meanings of the words were expressed.

(b) Paleoglottic Period: The forms and signs for objects changed in this period and by bringing about changes in the roots, more words were acquired i.e. new words were formed with different meanings. There must have been quite a big difference in the pronunciation of “bi-labial sounds” as compared to “velar sounds”.

(c) Neoglottic Period: In this period vowels and consonants were added to words and their roots (that already existed from some previous period) as prefixes and suffixes to form new words. Most of the changes were made by adding or subtracting a vowel in the syllable between words, or by changing the phonetics by bringing a change in the lips or the glottis, or by changing the words after replacing certain vowels before, amid or at the end of a word; thus, change in their pronunciation was caused which resulted in the

change in their meaning. In this way, using inflections, reduplication and other procedures of linguistic nature, words with new meaning were formed. There was no difference in genders or numbers at that time.

(d) Historical Period: This period saw a change in the words, their participles, prefixes, suffixes and the rules of syntax. Local languages gave rise to classical languages and there was addition in nouns, pronouns etc.

One of the important points Swadesh made was that all the languages of the world belong to the same family, and it was in the Paleoglottic period that it happened; especially, in the middle Paleolithic period, when the Neanderthal Man existed.

By analyzing the theories of Swadesh, many questions boggle the mind. For example:

- i- When did language start?
- ii- Where did language first start?
- iii- Was there one principal language from which other daughter languages were derived?
- iv- Did the sign language precede or follow the spoken language?
- v- How much part did tools, food and man play in the origin of language?
- vi- How favourable were the natural circumstances in the ancient times when man was crossing the boundaries of language?
- vii- Did language come into being gradually with time or it appeared in a form suddenly?
- viii- Could the Neanderthal man speak?
- ix- Was there an established language in the period of Australopithecus?
- x- Was there a theme for a change from non-lingual to a lingual society?
- xi- Did the early man have the tools to communicate with each other before language came into being?

6. Difference of opinion exists between the experts on the above mentioned questions, and if some answers are available, contrary opinions exist too. In any case, certain questions have been pondered upon as follows:

(a) Theory of Evolution of Mankind (A theory of Transition)

Communication experts, Melvin, Defleur, Sandra Ball, Bernard Comrie, Stephen Mathews and Maria Polinsky in their recent research have divided the existence of mankind into different eras and periods. For example they write:

“The beginning and existence of man on this universe
can be divided into the following ages:

- i- Ancient initial period
- ii- Middle period
- iii- Neolithic/New stone age
- iv- Copper
- v- Iron age. (32)

These experts have further divided these very eras into periods of “short” and “long” durations. To protect and preserve his life, man invented tools and weapons from different ores and metals. And as time went by, people had to develop new technologies and skills so that they could protect their younger ones and produce food, using methods of hunting, agriculture and animal farming.

These ages were intervened by certain intervals. Experts have called their durations by various names. Morris Swadesh’s theory has been discussed later in detail but the names Melvin and his associates have attributed are as follows:

- i- Paleolithic period (Ancient Stone Age)
- ii- Mesolithic period from 6000 BC to 4000 BC (Middle Stone Age)
- iii- Neolithic period from 4000 BC to 3500 BC (New Stone Age)

These ages, without doubt, help in studying the evolution and research of technology and weapons and other inventions of the man of those times. But these periods have not been able to throw light on the basic elements of the evolution and preservation of mankind in these periods.

7. The methods by which one can say something about the existence and the progress of mankind have been divided by experts into different classes or stages. The progressive development of the subsequent generations of man learned to change their lifestyle acquired special qualities and abilities to help them in their evolution process.

(a) The Stages of Human Evolution: Experts believe that the evolution of man can be explained by the “Theory of Transition”. Every stage of progress has influenced life on individual and collective levels. It can be summarized that the progressive stages of evolution of mankind and its growth are related to different stages of development of language e.g. sign language, speaking, writing, reading, press, publications and means of communication.

Experts have called the first step of the ladder of evolution as “Age of Signs and Signals”. This stage must have started in the very early man, i.e. Proto-human life, which was when the existence of mankind would have just started. This early man must have come in contact with other mammals and would have asked for something in the sign language; and would have in some way responded to their needs. The means of communication amongst themselves must have been a language even if it was a sign language.

(i) When did language start?

This is a question of great importance as to when language began. And the answer depends upon the guiding principles and rules fixed to define the properties of these languages. Experts believe that 5000 years before the ancient cities of the Near East were established, languages had already existed, as there are evidences found on pottery with scripts of their languages. It proves that a language was spoken and a written form of that language also existed. Some pottery found from Japan is more than 10,000 years old. Similarly, it is also proven that idols of clay were made 20,000 years back; such evidence is provided by expert archaeologists, after studying these idols. (33)

In this context, microscopic studies have revealed that carving on bones was done 30,000 years back. (34) These findings have proved the existence of language to at least the Upper Paleolithic age. Some proofs of existence of language in that period have been found from paintings, in the Cro-Magnon caves (35). These pictures give ample evidence that man spoke some language at that time. Cro-Magnon Cave Man had first discovered/appeared 40,000 years back but most anthropologists believe that language existed even before the appearance of the Cro-Magnon. Some experts think that Neanderthal knew some sort of language. His existence is dated some 100,000 years back (36), who had already disappeared long before the appearance of Cro-Magnon. (37)

Anthropologists have also tried to prove the existence of Pithecanthropus (Man of Africa) before Neanderthal (38), and it is said to have existed 1 million years back (39). This man first appeared in Africa followed by South Asia and later the population spread in the temperate zone (40). The man of this group used fire also (41) and hunted elephants, and he could speak too. (42)

There are evidences of Australopithecus's existence before Pithecanthropus (43) which is said to be 4 million years ago (44). Proofs show that somewhere around the period of Pliocene and about 12 million years back "the Man of North West India" existed. He is called Ramapithecus. (45) Australopithecus had a large head, walked upright on two legs and used hand-made crude instruments (46). A few anthropologists believe that Australopithecus could speak (47), while some think that Ramapithecus could also speak. (48)

It can be inferred from this narration that the man who existed 12 million years ago could speak some language.

(ii) Where did language come into being?

The answer to this question depends upon a study of the fossils of the ancient man. It is discovered from such studies that the ancient man initially lived in the geographical boundaries of Eastern Africa and North West India; later the regions of South Africa and Java, the Atlantic belt of Europe, Africa and China were the geographical areas where the ancient man lived. It would be difficult to reach at a conclusion whether the ancient Cro-Magnon of the Upper Paleolithic era started speaking a language in the surrounding areas of the Mediterranean, or the Man of China (Neanderthal) started speaking first. In this context, and on the basis of linguistic analysis, Morris Swadesh has opined that "Far-East was the principal region from where principal language(s) started. (49)

(iii) Was the ancient man able to speak?

Dr. Melvin and his associates have raised the same question in their book, where they have said: "Whether or not the ancient man could speak, is a very important question." They have answered this question by saying:

"Some recent research has proved that the early man was definitely able to pronounce some sounds of a language. It has revealed that the

excavations from the ruins of the Upper Paleolithic age show no skull and bodily configuration etc. such as; vocal cords (sound box) in ancient Apes. They feel that the size of skull, length of tongue and shape of the sound box of the early man (Hominids) is unlike those of apes. In other words, the ancient Apes did not possess this ability to speak. The present day primates are a proof of this finding, it has not been possible to teach or train the chimpanzees, to speak. Their physical structure and bodily functions are incapable of learning to speak. On the contrary, it can be assumed that the Hominids had these abilities and could pronounce sounds of language; they could speak in addition to be able to express through signs and movements of hands, face and other body parts.” (50)

The experts believe that the sound box and the shape and size of the skull of the Cro-Magnon was similar to the present day humans, therefore it can be claimed that the Cro-Magnon possessed the ability to speak. And this proves that language existed even 35 to 40 thousand years back. The bodily configuration of people of those times was similar to the present day man. (51)

Honorable Mr. Melvin, Bernard Kamri and their associates point to another important point which is about the appearance of Cro-Magnon in his habitat, where the Neanderthal man already existed in the same region. They (Neanderthal people) were physically strong and were well versed with the ways to live. They were excellent hunters, intelligent and were able to make useful instruments and tools.

Similarly Cro-Magnon people were also intelligent, sharp and very good hunters. In addition to other qualities, they knew how to bury their dead. In short, Cro-Magnon people were successfully progressing through stages of human evolution. These were our fore-fathers while the Neanderthal people were lost and erased from the face of the earth.

Critics have raised a question as to why the Cro-Magnon progressed while the Neanderthal people perished. The acceptable view in this regard is that Cro-Magnon people worked towards improving their language and they could communicate better, could help each other by giving ideas about how to hunt and protect themselves thereby ensuring their survival. They invented ways and means to produce and store food items and protect themselves from calamities and enemies. While the Cro-Magnon people progressed and achieved much better living conditions, the Neanderthal people remained confined to their stage of sign language and did not progress. Later, when climatic changes of the Ice Age occurred, they were unable to sustain and cope and slowly and gradually perished.

Throughout this period the Cro-Magnon people kept progressing with time. The region where they had lived from the very beginning started to become dry and they found it hard to meet their requirement of food, fruits and vegetables, so they started moving to other areas along rivers; some went to Tigris and Euphrates, some to the west of the Mediterranean and in the North West to the Nile Valley.

Around 10,000 BC these people started cultivating crops and invented tools and weapons for hunting and other purposes. They started keeping animals, starting from dogs and later went on to keep horses, cattle and goats, even some birds like hens. By 6500 BC they had properly engaged themselves in agriculture and started living in houses and created a society that progressed with the passage of time. Their living conditions improved, they developed traditions and formed communities leading to the establishment of towns and cities. These ancient cities became a sign of the historic period of their civilization.

Human population and the evolution of civilization and culture is a vast subject and much has been written about it and is beyond the scope of this book.

(iv) Languages originating from single or multiple sources:

There can be no doubt in saying that there are thousands of languages spoken in the world at present times. There were times when not much was known about languages. The next important question is whether all the existing languages of the world originated from one principal language or they are all from different groups of languages. Whether they started all at once or at different times? In this regard, after a comparative study of languages Morris Swadesh has opined that all the languages have originated from one principal language (52), but others differ with him (53). They think that he has based his theory on presence of identical words in various languages, which is not true. It is quite possible that languages have borrowed words from other language or that one language has been influenced by others. This issue has not yet been resolved.

(V) Did language start progressively or instantly?

The most important point about origin of language is whether it started instantly or progressively improving with better living conditions and getting enriched with time. Eric Lenneberg believes that the power of speech was a special gift bestowed upon man by Nature. It has to be kept in mind that a mentally retarded human being would not be able to learn a language, and if some of them are able to utter bits and pieces, that may not be absolutely correct, phonetically or grammatically. (54) Lenneberg thinks that, "Language has been present from the very beginning of mankind (55). He further argues:

- i- "Every human society speaks some language".
- ii- "Language is related with physical and instinctive knowledge, and there are specified cells in the human brain related with speech."
- iii- "In order to speak continuously, Nature has equipped man with respiratory adjustments in the lungs through breathing and presence of sound track in the mouth, where sounds are produced. No other living creature apart from man is equipped with a sound box of this nature that could produce sounds." (56)

Experts believe that mankind learned to speak in a "magical environment". They think that when a child is born, the noises in his surroundings reach his ears; his parents loving words and affectionate utterances of his siblings, relatives and people around him are heard by him. When he starts speaking as he grows, it is like a magic that comes

about in the environment; a magic that provides cognizance of things and the child feels he or she is being heard and understood. Every human understands that the power of speech is a means for expression of love and hate, fear and other such feelings.

According to Professor Firth, "Human being is an integral part of the world we live in." (57) Human speech is a mixture of bi-labial, dental, palatal, glottal and velar sounds. Language is not just a production of sounds from the vocal cords but it is a conscious mental activity that controls the different nerves. It would be incorrect to say that it is the ears that hear as it requires a much more sophisticated system in the brain. Whatever occurs in our surroundings, our ears are ready to hear it.

7- Powers of the Human Mind:

(i) In the different eras of human development, the human mind has also evolved and progressed. The ancient man did not possess all the abilities of mind but he acquired them gradually with time. It must have taken ages to get the ability to learn more from development of society, including the ability to pronounce and understand different sounds of language. Ultimately human mind progressed with resultant increase in his intellect, wisdom and acumen, but still he was not able to reach the stage of speaking a language.

It would be imprudent to believe that human mind progressed in the use of language like animals, birds and insects, which use gestures like bringing changes in their feathers and necks to express fear or want of food. Further, points about the human mind and the origin of language will be discussed later, but we admit that it must have taken millions of years to produce means of communication and to improve upon them as well.

(ii) According to Melvin and his associates, the second stage in the evolution of human life came when he reached the stage of speech and language. Some experts disagree with the notion that man started to speak somewhere between 90,000 and 40,000 years ago i.e. 35000 years from today a language would have first assumed the status of human communication. And the art of writing came about much later.

(iii) Melvin and associates write that in the more recent period i.e. 5000 years back man entered his third stage of evolution by acquiring the art of writing. The first ever writing was invented by the people of China and Mayan civilization. Similarly the Sumerians and Egyptians invented script for their prevalent languages. It is rather surprising that Melvin and his colleagues have not mentioned the Indus script which was used by the Indus civilization. Even though from Sir John Marshall to the present day researcher Dr. J.V. Kenoyer and other experts have written hundreds of articles and books about the Indus script that are available in the libraries of the world. It is also surprising that Brian Isyros has mentioned Ramapithecus of North West India but has not written about the one who lived in the Swan Valley of the Potohar near Rawalpindi. This valley is a part of the greater Indus valley, therefore it needs to be given its due importance. Other scholars have mentioned Ramapithecus of the Indus valley who inhabited the Swan river area of the Indus Valley.

There is plenty of material related to the folk literature available with the sughars (folk poets) of the Indus Valley, which mentions about the presence of Adam in the Indus Valley. So the concept of Ramapithecus of North West India also represents Adam (man) of this region.

Dr. Melvin and his associates have written in their book titled "Theories of Mass Communication" that:

"The ancient man must have expressed his desires by some sort of multiple sounds, shouts, screams and by certain movements of his hands, eyes, mouth, shoulders and other body parts; and in the same way he would have responded to the requirements of others. With the passage of time these signs and expressions would have progressed but the means of expression would not have assumed status of a language." (58)

8- (a) Human sound is a compound of the "postural scheme" of his mind. It is part of an act and involves his entire body, especially parts concerned with respiration, but the human mind has a greater role to play in this regard. His brain controls and regulates his speech. In other words, the mind acts like an administrator.

(b) Human sounds depend upon the activity of air in the mouth cavity. If, during the process of speaking, the passage of air is interfered at different places and different positions then various sounds are pronounced. Speaking is a special quality of human race. Simple production of sounds is different from the act of speaking which is related with stimuli and their responses. (59)

(c) One must remember the point that when a child starts pronouncing sounds from his surroundings, they appear innocent, very tender, loving and interesting. His stammering is the first step of his act of speaking, where he tries to utter sounds which he has heard from his surroundings.

Experts believe that the first sounds that a child utters are [d, b or m]. With time he hears his parents, siblings and other relations, which increases his vocabulary of sounds, words and meanings. He starts mimicking new words as his ears become used to hearing those sounds and subconsciously he increases his collection of sounds and words.

9- (a) Experts believe that language progressed along with other human acts. Study of biology and biochemistry reveals that human nature has always kept changing. Like other human instincts, mimicking and learning are special qualities of man, speech is one such priceless ability, as it is required for the expression of his wishes in performing all the daily chores of a man's life from the very beginning. In fact the early man had the same organs like the present day man e.g. throat, sound box, and the air passages whether he lived in caves or on trees or when he moved to other places for cattle farming etc.

According to Lenneberg: "There is a set standard for evolution of language in a child. It is known that a child learns to utter three sounds initially that are [d, b or m] (60),

i.e a child either voices one of the bi-labial voiced sounds [b or m] or utters the dental sound [d]. It means that he learns un-aspirated sounds first. Having learnt these sounds, the next step is uttering simple words which can either be nouns or verbs, but mostly verbs.

(b) Experiments have shown that initially a child starts voicing these three [d, b or m] sounds one after the other, and as he grows older his mental acumen matures and he starts getting used to his surroundings; similarly there is an increase in his vocabulary. It is clear that he starts with one word or one-word sentences, gradually progressing to two-word sentences and more. It must be emphasized that he would learn to speak sentences in accordance with the grammar of the language spoken in his surroundings.

(c) This is also a fact that nobody can stop someone from learning a language. A child can learn a language despite being mute, deaf or blind. Indeed no other living being speaks as humans do and although a lot of experiments done on chimpanzees have been in vain.

10- It is clear from the above text that a child makes progress in his knowledge of language, along with the growth of his mental ability. In a similar way, with time and acquisition of knowledge, man was exposed to newer surroundings and he kept adding new words to his treasure, enriching the language. In this process simple language started becoming more and more complex and this continued happening. In the post World War II period, the English scientists and experts and scholar of social sciences added thousands of words to its vocabulary. This addition not only included words but they added new fields of knowledge as well. Hymes thinks:

“All the languages do not fulfill and satisfy the requirements of its speakers; neither do all languages have the ability to be helpful to the society where spoken.” (61)

According to the research of experts and scholars, mankind has been evolving in the different eras of culture and civilization. Upper Paleolithic period was an ancient cultural era when man initially made crude weapons from stones followed by making them from bones of hunted animals. He then invented fire and started eating cooked food. This way he gradually progressed in his environment, which gave rise to the progress of his language. So we can say that language evolves with the evolution of culture and civilization. With time language acquired the finesse and refinement by changing and adapting itself according to the surroundings.

This discussion can be summarized by saying that language is a natural heritage of man bestowed on him from the beginning which has kept progressing slowly and gradually with the progress of mankind.

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Chapter Three

Origin and Evolution of Sindhi Language

1- Like other human attributes and issues, language is also an evolutionary issue that has kept changing and acquiring a new form, because of the influence of different historic, traditional and cultural factors from the very beginning of mankind. Sindhi language has also gone through the same process.

It is not easy to form a clear cut opinion about how or when Sindhi language begun; the linguists and archaeologists are waiting to get the final results of research conducted on the inscriptions on seals found from Harrappa and Mohen-jo-Daro. The results that have been analyzed as of yet, show that Sindhi language is the indigenous language of the ancient Indus civilization and most likely it got its name from the state named after its river Sindhu. The people of the Sindhi civilization must have been called Sindhis.

Archaeologists and historians have reached the conclusion that the people of the Indus civilization were indigenous in this valley and had not come to this region from elsewhere. In this regard, famous historian and a great linguist Dr. Mahar Abdul Haque has written in his book titled "The Soomras":

"The opinion that the Sindhi civilization is not indigenous, or that it is based on the civilization of people who had come from somewhere else, and that it is a borrowed type of civilization, is an obsolete idea which needs to be re-visited. That theory is now outdated and the new research has given rise to new approach that has discarded the old views. According to this view the local civilization evolved in the Indus Valley indigenously in somewhere around 7000 BC where the irrigation network also gave rise to cultivation of agricultural produce." (1)

In an interview with daily Dawn on 4th May 1996, a famous archaeologist and the then Director General of the Department of Archaeology, Dr. Muhammad Rafique Moghul had opined about the Indus civilization that:

"Based on solid evidence and deliberations, I have negated this theory that the Indus civilization came from somewhere else i.e. Mesopotamia or Iran. I have proven with my research that Indus Civilization is an indigenous one, firmly rooted in the Indus Valley, and this is where it evolved, developed and was brought up. This civilization had perished in this valley." (2)

2- (a) Material from ancient records regarding the origin and development of Sindhi language and its continuing evolution has not been found as yet, although Dr.

Nabi Buksh Khan Baloch has discussed this issue at length in his book titled "A History of Sindhi language and its Literature"⁽³⁾, which is very informative. Dr. Baloch has, in the third edition of this book indirectly reiterated his view that it belongs to the Semitic group of languages. Dr. Baloch, says:

"It can be said on the basis of material found from Mohen-jo-Daro that the ancient language of Sindh perhaps belonged to the Semitic group of languages which was influenced by Dravidian and later by Aryan languages. Among the Aryan group, mostly it was influenced by the Iranian and Dardic languages and still later on by the Pali dialects of Sanskrit." ⁽⁴⁾

This chapter of Dr. Baloch's book contains a lot of contradictory opinions regarding the origin of Sindhi language, and it is not possible to clarify them in this book. To conduct research on the culture and civilization of any nation, it is essential to study the history of its language in addition to the study of archaeological materials of that country. In this context, if in order to study the civilization and culture of the ancient people of Sindh, a similar process to understand the evolutionary history of Sindh has to be adopted. And in order to do this the available materials of importance will have to be looked at and traced back, and as one enters the corridors of the past one can learn newer points, as most of the scholars believe that the civilization of Sindh has been, apart from a few changes, pretty much the same.

(b) Indus Valley has seen many invasions, and its history proves that despite these invasions and capturing of its territory, the people of Sindh did not relocate on a mass level out of fear, although some clans and families may have moved out to neighbouring states and countries. Majority of the population surrendered and accepted the new rulers and continued living in their own regions. This is the reason that despite the passage of thousands of years, the Indus Civilization has continued along with its language. Such evidence has been found from the excavations from Amri-jo-Daro, Kot Digi, Mohen-jo-Daro, Kahu-jo-Daro, Chanhui-jo-Daro, Jhukkar-jo-Daro, Thul Mir Rukun, Bhamhbore, and Brahmanabad, which has given a new paradigm to the study of this region. In this context, J. Mark Kenoyer Associate Professor of Anthropology at University of Wisconsin at Madison, spoke on the occasion of a seminar at Karachi on the subject of Ancient Cities of Indus Valley. He said:

"People involved with agriculture started living in the Mahargarh region of Balochistan from 5000 BC to 500 BC; later from 2600 BC to 1900 BC they adopted the same civilization and religion." ⁽⁵⁾

He went on to say:

"It is wrong to believe that this civilization and its cities were established by people who came from elsewhere; indeed indigenous people from here in 3300 BC to 2600 BC went and settled in the area of Harrappa. There is no evidence to suggest that this region was inhabited by a nation or clan from outside the region." ⁽⁶⁾

Talking about the seals found in Mohen-jo-Daro and the upper Indus Valley, he said:

“The carved inscriptions of animals on these seals prove that these pictorials and carvings represent the different regions of the Indus Civilization; for example the pictures of cows, sea horse (hippocampus) and rhinoceros represent those clans, nations and families that had the control of the cities or were the rulers of that area.” (7)

He is of the opinion that:

“These seals were not used by the common man.” (8)

He further said:

“Fish, birds and other objects have been used as symbols, considered as signs of fertility and occupation of mankind. A bull was considered as sign of power and strength, while the *Peepal* tree was a sign of compassion, sympathy and cooperation. These prints can be seen on clay pottery and the utensils made of *Kashi* even today. These pictures and carving were made by hand in those times too.” (9)

Further he says:

“Jewelry was worn, not only for adornment, but as a following of deities and as an identity. Similar ornaments are made to this day like those made in the Indus Civilization in the Mohen-jo-Daro period.” (10)

He also said that:

“A tiger was called a lion.” (11)

Dr. Kenoyer emphasizes that the:

“Books and other materials mention about the statue of a “bearded man”, as that of a god (king priest) which is not true; it probably belongs to the chieftain of a clan or community. The back of his head is flat and it was made this way so that a special turban could fit and sit on it; and this tradition continues in certain families to this day.” (12)

Dr. Kenoyer’s research proves that the Indus valley Civilization has continued, and with the passage of time and with some changes it has managed to preserve itself.

3- (a) Extensive scrutiny and study of the new materials found from the ruins, mounds, and the already existing materials have not only increased our knowledge about the Indus Civilization but have changed the previously held views. Such information has compelled the experts to review their ideas regarding the evolution of Sindhi language and Indus civilization, and have opened new avenues for research. In this context the opinion I had presented in my book titled “The Origin of Sindhi Language” in 1974, is given here for the new readers. I had written:

“Now Trumpp’s opinions are being doubted. And from the very writings of Professor Bherumal, his previously held beliefs are seen contradicting his views. A need to read Grierson with a new perspective is being felt.” (13)

The above mentioned book also contained two paragraphs having excerpts from a speech by the then President of Pakistan (who later became Prime Minister) Shaheed Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in the national Assembly, where he had talked about the language and ancient culture of the Indus Civilization, especially Sindh. The excerpts are reproduced here:

“The people of this region had a language and their own script 5000 years back. The question is not whether it was called Sindhi or Seraiki or something else; indeed the point is that these people were developed even 5000 years back. Even if they were not called Sindhis, they had a way of writing their own language, which was indigenous to the civilizations of the Indus Valley. It was one of the most educated and well established civilization that mankind has known.” (14)

The purpose of quoting these examples is to say that thousands of years before the Aryans, there was a civilization that existed here in the Indus Valley, having a rich culture, and the indigenous people of this culture spoke a language. That language was very rich and widely spoken and was also used in trade and commerce; It was a Non-Aryan language because the evidences of Aryan arrival in the Indo-Pak Subcontinent are dated around 1000 BC.

(b) Innumerable peculiarities of the present Sindhi language have been proven to be Non-Aryan, because they are non-existent in Aryan languages. These can be studied from the later edition of my book “The Origin of Sindhi Language (15), from the booklet written by Dr. Perso Gidwani on the topic of “Similarities in Sindhi and Dravidian Languages” (16), from the essays of Mr. Sirajul Haque Memon and again from the book “The Origin and Growth of Sindhi Language”. (17)

In the above mentioned books (ref 13 and 17), I have tried to prove the point that “The most ancient signs of Sindhi language are found in the Indus civilization”. The opinion formed in the book “The Origin and Growth of Sindhi Language” is reproduced here:

“Sindhi language belongs to the Non- Aryan group and it has deep roots in the civilization of Mohen-jo-Daro. It was not only spoken but written in this region long before the arrival of Aryans. It has some similarities with the Dravidian group of languages, and numerous words from Prakrit dialects entered after the Aryans’ arrival in the region, but its structure was hardly, if at all, influenced by the Aryan languages. If some words were taken from Aryans languages, more were given to them and that can be known only when a comparison is done between Sindhi and Aryan languages (Sanskrit and Persian).” (18)

(c) The main point worth finding out is whether it is true that the Sindhi language took its present form after dissociating from Sanskrit, through Prakrit, Shorsani and Virachada Apabhramsha in the 11th century. There are two aspects of this question. The

first one is whether Sindhi is a branch of Sanskrit and has originated from its Virachad Apabhramsha. And the second is whether around the 11th century Sindhi language dissociated from the Virachada Apabhramsha and took its present form. Although the answers to both these questions have been given in the book “The Origin and Growth of Sindhi Language” and “The Origin of Sindhi Language”, where an attempt has been made to prove that apart from some phonetic changes, it has remained the same as it was spoken in this region in the prime years of the civilization of Mohen-jo-Daro. In the later periods of history, under the influence of foreign invasions and with time, it has taken new words expanding its vocabulary, but has preserved its ancient phonetic, grammatical and syntactical structure. But until the language of Mohen-jo-Daro is deciphered, it will be difficult to ascertain the structure of that ancient language of the Indus Valley.

Dr. Nabi Buksh Khan Baloch writes:

“The ancient period is around the 4th century or earlier, that can be called the ‘period of Sindhi language or languages’. Certain languages and Sindhi were definitely there but the Sindhi language that we know of, did not exist. This period was marked by the influence of Semitic, Dravidian and Aryan languages on the language of Sindh.” (19)

He further writes on the very same page:

“It can be said on the basis of material found from Mohen-jo-Daro that the ancient language of Sindh, perhaps, belonged to the Semitic group of languages which was influenced by Dravidian and later by Aryan languages. Among the Aryan group, mostly it was influenced by the Iranian and Dardic languages and still later on by the Pali dialects of Sanskrit.” (20)

(d) I think the language used in the civilization of Mohen-jo-Daro was “ancient Sindhi”, which was the mother of present Sindhi, Gujrati, Lahndi, Rajhasthani, Kathiawari, Kachhi, Haroti, Bheely, Baagree, Kashmiri, Dardi and the old Dravidian languages. I have argued and provided evidence to support my view in “The Origin of Sindhi Language” and my English book titled “The Origin and Growth of Sindhi Language”.

Archaeologists believe that “the Indus Civilization did not end at that time; in fact it continued even after the end of Harrappa and Mohen-jo-Daro and many signs and things related with that civilization can be witnessed in the present times.” (21) According to them, the bullock cart of Mohen-jo-Daro is commonly used in Dadu, Larkana and Sibi districts. Similarly the toys and pottery made from clay in Hassan Wahan are very similar to those found from the excavations of the ruins of Mohen-jo-Daro. The special potter’s “*chak*” (wheel) used in ‘Hassan Wahan’ (22) is exactly the same as was used by potters of the Mohen-jo-Daro Civilization.

(e) The remains and statues of birds, animals, trees, plants, pottery and weapons found from the ruins of Mohen-jo-Daro, Mahargarh and Amri-jo-Daro are exactly the

same as made nowadays in this area for common use. In entire Sindh the pictures, carvings and inscriptions drawn on utensils and jewelry today are similar to those found from the ruins; but it is not known as to what their names were in the ancient civilization of Mohen-jo-Daro. Dr. Asko Parpola, Semo Parpola, Dr. Fairservis and other Scandinavian, American, Russian and Indian scholars have tried to decipher the pictures and drawings inscribed on the seals by giving their readings and observations. They have assigned some values to some of these pictures and inscriptions; and if accepted, then one can say that the language spoken in the society of Mohen-jo-Daro and Harrappa was the same i.e. *Saindhui* (which later became 'Sindhi'), its vocabulary is supposed to be "indigenous" and having "remnants" of the locally used language, by the grammarians of Prakriti. In other words, these words are the remains of the original and ancient language of the Indus Civilization that people have continued using in their daily lives even after thousands of years. Professor Bherumal writes about these indigenous (*desi*) words:

"*Desi* or *Desaj* (des = country+j = *jan*= giving birth) which means 'born in this country'. These "*desi*" words were already customarily used in "*des*" (India) even before or after the arrival of Aryans, but they are not of Sanskrit origin. They are considered to have been borrowed from languages of the Kols, Santhals, Dravidians and other indigenous inhabitants." (23)

Referring to George Shirt and John Beams, Dr. Nabi Buksh Baloch had given his views on this subject:

"Among quite a few words of Sindhi, which are not Arabic or Persian, there are many words having no relation with Sanskrit: (for example words like "*asaan*" (we/us) and "*aseen*" (we) do not exist in Sanskrit). George Shirt has raised the question as to where has this treasure of words come into the lexicon? He thinks that these words are most definitely of a language that was there before Sanskrit. He opines that they belong to some Dravidian language. He says:

"If all the Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian words are taken out of Sindhi, there remains a large number of words that Mr. Beams calls "*desi*" (indigenous) in his 'Comparative Grammar.'

"Such is the magnitude of these words (in Sindhi) that a complete conversation can be made using them. Where did they come from?

"I think there is no doubt that these words are the remains of the language spoken in Sindh before the arrival of Aryans; Aryans probably forced out some tribes of Dravidian origin, who were the forefathers of Brahuis to the mountains and the rest of the citizens of Sindh were mixed in the class of the lower castes." (24)

4- (a) Anyway, whether these words belong to the Kols, Bheels, Santhals, Oads or the Dravidians, they are truly from the remains of the language of the indigenous people,

who inhabited the Indus Valley. And they prove that the communities that inhabited the Indus Valley before the arrival of Aryans had a cultural and social heritage and also own a language.

Dr. Trumpp has mentioned about these remaining words from that ancient language in his well known book titled “A Grammar of Sindhi Language”. He thinks:

“It is possible that this ancient language was a branch of the Tartar stock that prevailed in the entire subcontinent before the arrival of the Aryans, as there exists a large number of Non-Aryan words of this kind, which have been termed “Provincial” (*desi*) by the ancient grammarians of Prakrit.” (25)

The subject under discussion here is not about the origin or family of the ancient language but it is about its presence, which existed there before the invasion of Aryans, where, there dwelt a magnificent civilization in the Indus Valley. And the people would have definitely used a language for their day to day matters, business, trade and commerce etc. The anthropological, archaeological and linguistic scholars’ views about its remnants have been given here.

(b) On the basis of the reports of written language found on the seals of Mohenjo-Daro, or the deciphering of its script or study of the article by Dr. Perso Gidvani titled “Similarities in Sindhi and Dravidian Personal Names” (26), one can say that the prevalent language of the Indus Valley Civilization was ‘Sindhi’ which was divided in 11 main branches like Southern branch Saindhi, Central branch, Eastern branch, Rajasthani i.e. Apabhramsha, South Eastern branch Nagar (Gujrati), Kachhi and Kathiawari, North Eastern branch Haroti, Bangro and Baagri, Northern branch Kashmiri, Western branch Lahndi, North Western branch Dardi, Brahui branch and the origin of Proto-Dravidian branch or their parent language is Sindhi.

The researchers and scholars of Lahndi/Lahnda group of languages too claim that they are not a branch of the Aryan group, and that Sindhi and Lahnda/Lahndi are languages from the same group or origin the roots of which are present in the civilization of Mohen-jo-Daro. (27) One can read “Origin of Sindhi Language”, “The Origin and Growth of Sindhi Language” and other books and articles on this subject.

5- (a) I have copied in my above mentioned books, the values that Asko Parpola, Semo parpola and Dr. Fairservis have assigned to the pictures and inscriptions found on the seals of Mohen-jo-Daro; then I myself have assigned Sindhi values for them. I have also argued that had these scholars (Asko Parpola, Semo parpola and Dr. Fairservis) tried to learn Sindhi and Seraiki, or had known these languages, they would not have required the help of lexicons of Dravidian languages which have been lost from the Indus valley Civilization, to assign the values of the pictures and writings found on seals from the ancient civilization. Despite this, certain words, as per their deciphering and values, are prevalent and in vogue in Sindhi and Lahandi even in the present time; but these scholars consider these words to belong to Dravidian languages, and prefer to call them Dravidian words.

(b) If the results of these experts are correct, and their assigned values be accepted, then one can say that the prevalent language of the ancient Indus Valley was certainly Sindhi which was the parent/mother of Sindhi, Lahandi, ancient Dravidian and other languages which in some later periods was influenced by the changes and circumstances of the languages, traditions and customs of different nations.

(c) In my book “The Origin of Sindhi language”, I have given examples and argued only about the literal and grammatical similarities between Dravidian and Sindhi, although there are other languages with similarities that include Rajasthani, Gujrati, Haroti, Baagri, Bheeli, Kachhi, Kashmiri, Dardi. My deliberations have been accepted by an Indian linguistic expert Dr. Perso Gidvani. He has written in his article:


“Sindhi scholars have with time drawn attention to certain Dravidian influence on Sindhi language. Among them especially Professor Bherumal Meharchand Advani has done so about the Dravidian influence on the Larri dialect of Sindhi in his book titled “The History of Sindhi Language” (p 125) but in this context the biggest, scholarly and the first scientific contribution has been made by Dr. Ghulam Ali Allana in the form of his book “The Origin of Sindhi Language”. In his article Dr. Allana has used powerful arguments to present a scholarly certificate.” (28)

Writing about the similarities between Sindhi and Dravidian languages, Dr. Gidvani has written:

“This article has given an account of a very important aspect of the similarities present in the personal names of Sindhi and Dravidian languages. Similarly there are other aspects where similarities are found in these languages, and to study them further, deliberations have been presented in my book “Similarities in Sindhi and Dravidian languages.” (29)

6- The Values Assigned to the Seals of Indus Valley:

It has been said earlier that Parpola brothers and Dr. Fair Servis have presented their readings of the seals of Mohen-jo-Daro and have assigned certain values to the inscription with pictures, lines, plants and trees etc. with the help of words of Dravidian languages. Those values are reproduced for the readers here. In addition to these values, customary words from the present Sindhi are included as values so that the readers may decide themselves that the same language of the Indus Valley Civilization still survives with a few changes.

Explanation of the changes	Words in present Sindhi	Deciphering of Dr. Fair Servas	Deciphering by Dr. Asko Parpola	The pictures on the seals
1. ‘ <i>penti</i> ’ word changed with time, initially the phonetic ‘t’ was omitted and the word became known as ‘ <i>penhi</i> ’, later the	<i>phaṇi</i> (means comb)	cippu cikkam	<i>pentilpentika</i>	

'p' was aspirated becoming 'ph' and the vowel 'ee' changed to 'a' and the word finalized as 'phani'

2. Bamboo stick which has two strides attached to its end and is carried on shoulders. People used to lift water cans and other objects on it which was called 'kanwaṭhi'

3. The wheel of a water-wheel, or that seen in a bullock cart also called *Cheeklo* in Larr, also the wheel used by potters

4. The handle of a plough used to hold or turn; *meṛh*: central pole around which bulls circle to thrash the crop

meṛhi: the bull that thrashes the crop

5. A large drum sounded on starting an announcement war

parho: announcement

parao: A place where the troops camp amassed for war

6. A large clay pot for holding drinking water pronounced 'maṭu' in standard Sindhi while 'mati' in Lower Sindhi

7. A measuring utensil to weigh grain or corn gives a hope of wealth.

8. Sindhi folk literature shows the word 'meen' used, Prof. Dr. Sandeelo has written in two verses where the meaning of this word is fish. The verses are *dahan meen mulla chai, hiss chaitey jehree cheena danda moti chapa meena, ahu ain ajeeb ja*

karrio
kawaṭi
kanwaṭhi
kawar,
kaman

chakaru
chakro,
chak

Haru,
muṭhio,
muṭh

tabal
parho
parao

Maṭu

paṇn,
piṅki
paṭi
machhi
(fish)
light or flash

kā-vādi (guard)
kā(va)al,
kāvaṇ

—

Uṛṭ
Meṭi

parai

—

Pan(kal)

—

kaṛai

chakara

meṛī
meṭi









ṭempa (tas)
tampa tas= drum

maṭa
maṭi

—

mīn



So <i>meen</i> is also used in Sindhi <i>Meenakari</i> is also a meaningful word.	<i>koṭ</i> (fort) <i>ko</i> (hill) <i>koh</i> (hill)	ko koh=mountain	<i>koṭṭai</i> <i>koṭṭa</i>	
9. This word is still in use in Sindhi <i>koh</i> (hill) is still used in Sindhi	<i>aṭamaṣa</i> <i>mandhiṛo</i> <i>chaku</i> <i>ko</i> (hill) <i>duko</i>	cukke tuka tuga	<i>Aṭṭa</i> (cross) <i>ko</i> = hill	
10. These words are used in present Sindhi				
11. These words are still used in Sindhi Previously word ' <i>duko</i> ' was used as a measure which is now called ' <i>ṭolo</i> '				
12. In present Sindhi, it means a cursed or unfortunate person. Dr. Parpola has also given this meaning.	<i>chok chaṇḍo</i>	margh-an marul-al Shaman *priest=name of a deity	co(n)ku <i>cokku</i>	
13. Thieves and burglars consider themselves brave people in Sindhi society.	<i>chor</i> (thief)	form of comb-cippu to shave-kiri comb-cikkam		
14. Dance, specially the one done with sticks in hands called <i>danḍyo</i> The dance of Shiva is also called ' <i>ṭando</i> '	<i>dāṇḍyo</i>	-----		
15. To plough or cultivate	<i>oara</i>	ur		
16. A large drum that was carried on the back of a bull to announce the arrival of princes. In Sindh, these are drummed on many shrines like Lal Shabaz Qalandar, Pir Patho, and	<i>dhamal</i> <i>dhamara</i> i.e double drum	<i>paṛai</i>		

* Dr. Hiremath writes: There are references to nau-nagaras (boat-dwellings) or cities on the boats. This presupposes a class of people who were expert fishermen and sailors of the Indus Valley working on these boats. It was rather a sizeable community with Shambhav as their leader. They had many fortresses and huge ship dwellings. (Hiremath P:83).

Shambhu has been a famous deity of Sindh, it is possible that names like Sanbhulal, Sanbhupal and Sanbhu are given in his following.

Jahanyan/Jahan <i>gasht</i> in Uch Sharif				
17. It means one or the first; and is used in Sindh as a number counted in the game called 'Itti Dakkar'	<i>wakaṭ</i>	oru/or (oru in proto-Dravidian)		
18. The count of number 3 in 'Itti Dakkar' game in Sindh	<i>moonī</i>	<i>mu(n)/mu</i> <i>mun</i> <i>mu(n)</i> is proto-dravidian)		
19. Sounds of [r] and [l] are interchangeable. The Sindhi word ' <i>nār</i> ' means number 4	<i>nār</i>	<i>nāl</i>		
20. The numbers of Dravidian and Sindhi are mostly similar	<i>Aṭha</i> (eight)	<i>eṭṭu/en</i>		

In his book Dr. Fairservis has given many other alternatives, which he has assigned as values for the pictures on the seals found from the Indus Civilization, after taking them from Dravidian languages. The words are as follows:

Words in present Sindhi	Fairservis	Words in present sindhi	Fairservis
<i>vāṇ/bāṇ</i> (arrow)	velan	<i>bheṇ</i> (sister)	peṇ
<i>niyāṇ, niyāiṇ</i>	ni(r)yaṇ	<i>piṇkī</i>	paṇ (ka)
<i>pāṭ, pohap</i>	pac (paṭu)	<i>chū chū, kur</i>	cuc, cubba
<i>preh phuṭī</i>	podu, poddu	<i>kāra</i>	karuve
<i>ḥankro</i> (door), Thari word:	bak-il	<i>thoonī</i>	tun(a)
<i>ḥukl, ḥakr</i>			
<i>varu, beeli, vāri</i>	beli/bel	<i>mathey, meru, maarī</i>	Mettu
<i>vari</i> (teer=arrow)	vil	<i>kāra, kāro</i>	karu
<i>nooro</i>	nūrū	<i>piṇikī, pāṭī</i>	bane, ban
<i>duko</i> (weigh measure)	tugu	<i>gunḍ (var)</i>	gunḍu (ka)
<i>gaḍ, dhiḡu</i>	guḍe	<i>mālḥā</i>	male
<i>tāra</i>	tālī	<i>padhar</i>	padu(y)ur
<i>vīru</i>	vil	<i>ḍaṇḍo/ḍaṇḍi</i>	ḍaṇḍi(y)an
<i>mūr, mulhu, mūrī</i>	mora-kal	<i>ganwār</i>	kora(tu)van
	mora		korivan
<i>pāṇī, (mīnhun)</i>	pāṇī (rain)	<i>phuṭī pao</i>	puṭi, pū
<i>āḡandh, angaṇu</i>	angadi	<i>ada</i>	aṭṭa
<i>vāro/vār</i>	bara(Tu)	<i>koṭhī</i>	kuṭu
<i>ār, nok</i> (of an arrow)	ar	<i>vālunbh, var</i> (tīr)	vil-ambu
<i>thālī</i>	tāri, tāli	<i>kunḍī</i>	kon, koṭu
<i>patī</i> (hisso)	pati	<i>takṇī. takāṇ, tikrī</i> (weigh, measure)	takadi
		<i>sūr/suru</i>	sura(a)li
<i>phairo, phairu</i>	piri	<i>malūk</i>	maluku
<i>verḥ</i> (zewan)	vale/bale	<i>batelo</i>	pata pata
<i>āḍa, aḍa</i>	adanum		

<i>kūr kūr</i>	kor	<i>koor koor</i> <i>vāu</i> <i>manah</i> <i>mahī</i> <i>āḍa/aḍa</i> <i>āī, (māu)</i> <i>āyala (māu)</i> <i>āī (māu)</i> <i>pāu(hiso)</i> <i>vārh/vairho</i> <i>nīr</i>	kor velan mane/munru muryal ādan āya(tu) āiyal āya(ka) payu val nīr
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7- Explanations by Dr. Asko Parpola and his colleague:

Dr. Asko Parpola and his associates have given some explanations and notes in their report, some of which are given as follows:

- i- Astrology had a lot of importance in the civilization of the Indus Valley. The proto-Dravidians used to worship stars and planets as deities.
- ii- Shiva was one of the deities of the Indus Civilization, who was god for the Dravidians and later was worshipped as the most important deity of Hinduism. This deity i.e. Shiva is certainly of non- Indo-European origin and a deity of the Indus Valley.
- iii- Most of the words that define the qualities of Shiva are linguistically and grammatically of Dravidian origin.
- iv- The “vigorous dance” of Shiva is called ‘Tandava’ in Sanskrit, which actually can be a Sindhi word “*ḍaḍyo*”, which is a famous and vigorous dance of the Sindhi culture.
- v- Bull is a universal symbol of fertility. ‘Ruder’ has been called a bull in Rig Veda. The white bull “*nāndan*” is one of the eternal quality of Shiva.
- vi- The ‘*chakar*’ is not the wheel of the potter but it is a part of the water-wheel (*nār*), which is also called “*chakaru*” or “*chhaṭu*”. Since the bull is a universal symbol of fertility and agriculture, therefore the water-wheel is also related with fertility and the bull pulls the wheel around so it should be seen in that perspective.
- vii- ‘Magdar’ is one of the signs of Shiva that is called “*khaṭvārega*” in Sanskrit. “*khaṭvā*” means ‘*khata*’ or a ‘bed’ and it has come from the “*khaṭ, khaṭal or khaṭolo*” (bed) of the Indus Civilization which in Dravidian is called “*kaṭ or kaṭal.*”
- viii- The other meaning of “*mīn*” is brightness; a proverb of Laṛ says “*mīn thī wase*”, meaning light is flashing. It is that light that signifies wealth and prosperity indicating Lakshmi.

8- If the explanations of Dr. Asko Parpola and his associates and their decipherings are to be accepted, then one can say that the language of the Mohen-jo-Daro civilization was ancient Sindhi, the words of which have been given above as examples.

(a) Mr. Sirajul Haque Memon has cast a critical view on the deciphering of Dr. Asko Parpola and his associates in his article. Mr. Siraj writes:

“Parpola et al have assigned values of simple words on this principle; for example they have given correct values for the sign (𐎶) which has a shape of a comb and gave the value as a Dravidian word “*paṇṭi*” and its rhyming word “*paṇṭ*” for a woman. My objection is that using the same principal they should call it “*phaṇṭi*” which is also a Dravidian word; and using the same principle (with a small vowel ‘a’) making it “*phaṇ*” and its meaning should be taken for a snake’s head. If the sound [ph] of *phaṇṭi* is considered of later origin, its aspiration may be omitted and it may be called “*paṇṭ*” whose homophone “*paṇṭi*” should be taken as a value for dust or soil.

I think Parpola et al have deciphered a lot of signs incorrectly. For example the sign (𐎶) is of the ‘*ḥiyānī*’ that is used in the agricultural work of the rural Sindh, which helps in sorting the canes of grass. It is also used to lift the sticks to make a boundary wall; but Parpola et al have read it as ‘hand or forearm’ for which they think the Dravidian word is “*kaṭ*”, whereas its homophone “*kaṭṭi*” or “*kṭ*” has been read as “younger sister”, “a young woman” or a “bride”. This sign in no way resembles a hand, and it clearly shows the figure of a ‘*ḥiyānī*’, or a bow and arrow. Mr. Wilson has thought of it as a ‘bow and arrow’ and has connected it to the Sumerian word “*bān*”. When I was reading Mr. Wilson’s book, instantly I thought that an arrow is also called ‘*bān*’ in Sindhi. This ‘*bān*’ may be considered by some as having come from the Sanskrit ‘*bān*’, as seen in the dictionary published by Sindhi Adabi Board; but since this word was present in Sumerian, a long time before Sanskrit it is clear that it came into Sanskrit at a later stage either directly from Sumerian or through Sindhi. I think this word is also a homophone of ‘*ḥiyānū*’ (pronounced as ‘*ḥiyāni*’ in Laṭ. Allana) which is a very clear shape of this sign. Even more interesting is the word ‘*bānhūn*’ (slave). In ancient times the slaves used to do the agricultural work and it may well be said that those who worked with the ‘*ḥiyāno*’ were called ‘*bānhūn*’ (like *pate-vālo* meaning peon: Allana). The slaves also used to throw arrows. So the reading of this sign should be ‘*bānho*’. Another proof of this is that in many seals this sign Y is seen within a circle or boundary, which may represent someone who is in captivity and this may reflect a slave. Let me submit here that in the Sindhi Dictionary the word ‘*bānho*’ has been shown to have been derived from the Sanskrit word ‘*bāhuk*’, which is certainly incorrect.

The word ‘*golo*’, in addition to that, has the meaning of a circle, is also used in Sindhi for a slave. Therefore the sign of an empty circle is a

homophone of 'golo' meaning a slave or servant and this meaning is a reflection from the language of Mohen-jo-Daro.

The third objection is over the religion symbols. Parpola and others have studied the ancient the deities of Hinduism and the related stars and planets as a basis for knowing the ancient religion of the Indus. For example, they have fixed the Dravidian word 'mīn' or 'mīṇ' for fish and its homophone 'mīn' meaning 'tāro or sitāro' (star). The ancient Sindhi word for fish i.e. 'mī' which can be seen in 'mī+hāṇā = muhāṇā (fishermen) is already there. Greeks had called the adjoining coastal areas around Thatta as 'mīn nagar' or 'mīna nzagar' (colony of fishermen). According to Henry Cousens Thatta was called *Mīnā Nagar*. This *Mīnā Nagar* can be seen in our words like 'māgara' and 'māṇjar'. The 'mīn' part of the word is present in the Sindhi words 'muhāṇan' and *Mīrbahars* as their caste or the name of their place. The word 'mīn' is also present in Sindhi with a meaning of stars or bright things. One can also see the signs of this word 'meen' and 'mīnākārī' (making of jewelry) in relation to gold in Sindh.

My fourth objection is that Parpola and others have ignored the evolutionary shapes of these signs. The signs, symbols, pictures and figurines of Mohen-jo-Daro did not just disappear instantly. Civilizations do not disappear like this. In this regard I came across a fantastic book titled 'Some Survival of Harappan Culture' that was published by a Dravidian expert G.A. Aravamuthon, in which he compared the coins, seals and the inscriptions on them and on the tombs and graves of a later period with those found in the Indus Civilization, and proved that many of them progressed through the period of evolution up to the Budhist period and continued. Many of such shapes have also been found from the ruins of Kahu-jo-Daro near Mirpurkhas. If observed carefully, one can see that the signs and symbols found from there are evolutionary shapes of those found from Mohen-jo-Daro. So much so that the inscriptions found on the graves of 'Chaukundi tombs' from a much later period too are either exactly like or greatly resemble those found in Mohen-jo-Daro. Such evolutionary shapes are not only present on the signs but can also be found in the ancient manuscripts." (30)

On the basis of these opinions one can say that after the arrival of Aryans, the ancient language of the Mohen-jo-Daro period (Sindhi) was influenced initially by Prakrit and then by Pali and Sanskrit, and even later by Persian, Greek, Sāk, Sythian and Arabic languages. Despite that, and with passage of thousands of years, Sindhi language has preserved its old and indigenous phonetical, syntactical and grammatical structure; albeit a large collection of words entered the dictionary of Sindhi that are difficult to

recognise at present.

9- (a) Links of indigenous words:

In his grammar, Dr. Caldwell has presented links of the indigenous words that entered the vocabulary of Aryan languages. They include some words that can be found in the Sindhi language with subtle changes. For example:

Present Sindhi words	Ancient indigenous words	Present Sindhi words	Ancient indigenous words
<i>kuhaṇ</i> (slaughter)	<i>kosin</i>	<i>suī</i> (needle)	<i>sivī</i> (31)
<i>ratal</i> (weight)	<i>ratal</i>	<i>nārail, nāyar</i> (coconut)	<i>Nāyar</i>
<i>son</i> (gold)	<i>sonim</i>	<i>khata</i> (charpoy)	<i>Kat</i>
<i>thaphīhaṇī</i> (loaf of bread)	<i>thaphī</i>	<i>nār</i> (water)	<i>nār</i> (32)
<i>maṇ</i> (maund)	<i>man</i>	<i>bhāg</i> (part)	<i>Pāg</i>
<i>kuṭiyā</i>	<i>katī</i>	<i>val, vār</i>	<i>vala</i> (33)
<i>posee</i> (raise), <i>pūsṇī, bilī</i>	<i>posī</i>	<i>chava</i> (cover)	<i>Shva</i> (34)
<i>bheṇ</i> (sister)	<i>paen</i>	<i>koyal</i> (koel bird)	<i>kuyala</i> (35)
<i>amā</i> (mother)	<i>amā</i>	<i>ghoro</i> (horse)	<i>guram</i> (36)
<i>āru</i>	<i>ār</i>	<i>champā</i>	<i>champaka</i> (37)
<i>manahu</i> (house)	<i>mun</i>	<i>paryo</i> (old man)	<i>paṛ</i> (38)
<i>māṇḍ</i> (pair of bulls for crops)	<i>māḍ</i>	<i>ān/ha</i> (yes)	<i>ām/ān</i> (39)
<i>abā</i> (father)	<i>apā</i>	<i>pushpā</i> (a kind of flower)	<i>pushpa</i>
<i>tārūn</i> (palate)	<i>tāle</i>	<i>birr</i> (burrow)	<i>bila</i>
<i>kāro</i> (black)	<i>karu</i>	<i>koor koor</i> (calling a dog)	<i>koor koor</i>
<i>aṇī</i>	<i>aṇī</i>	<i>peti</i> (bag)	<i>peṭī</i>
<i>mīn</i> (fish)	<i>mīn</i>	<i>pati</i> (part/ share)	<i>pat</i>

(b) In a recent research published in the journal ‘Sindhi Boli’, Dr. N. A. Baloch writes:

“The third method of decipherment can be suggested: In order to decipher the Indus Script, words and phrases from the Sindhi language should be searched in the inscriptions and parts. The ‘values’, that the Sindhi language may present in this day and age, cannot show a relation with the ancient Indus civilization, and would be questionable. Similar objection can be applicable to Dravidian as well, where presence of the Dravidian words spoken and understood today is doubtful in the script of the ancient Indus Script. If some Dravidian words are considered as remnants of a language of the ancient Indus Script, then certain ancient words prevalent in Sindhi may be remnants of that language as well. Historic analysis of Sindhi language has proven that certain common nouns and some proper nouns like ‘names’ used today were also used some 1275 years back, found in books from the 8th century (Fatehnama) in the written form. They can also be considered to exist two centuries before that. Present knowledge suggests the last period of Indus

Civilization to be until 18 Century BC but it is quite possible to have remained for longer; and the language of ancient Indus Script may also have continued. And even if it had perished as a language, a few words must have survived in today's Sindhi.

Anyway, this is also a method through which the Indus Script may be deciphered and read, but to achieve this end we must step up our efforts and provide useful information to the researchers who want to work on this issue. We should isolate such words from the dictionaries whose structure does not show them to have come from Arabic, Persian, Dravidian, Pali and other dialects. And if there is a doubt about some of the words to be related to ancient languages like Dravidian, proto-Vedic, Munā, Sumerian or Babylonian, those may be included in a separate list of words of trade.

It is difficult to identify and separate such words but for the purpose of research and study, a temporary and brief list of such possibly related words prevalent in modern Sindhi, is presented below which may further be researched upon.” (40)

The list of words prepared by Dr. Baloch is reproduced here; which provides evidence that even before the Vedic period, there existed a language in the Indus Valley and quite a few words of which are found in present Sindhi. For example:

(i) Words for society and kinship:

- ‘*adā*, *ado* and *adyūn*’: means brothers, sisters
- ‘*ghoṭ*’: bridegroom
- ‘*nīho*’: family, pedigree

(ii) Edibles, cooking:

- ‘*māni*’: one loaf, food, chapatti.
- ‘*dhao*’: satiated
- ‘*tāṇḍo*’: fire, burning coal

(iii) Domestic objects:

- ‘*gharo*’: water pot
- ‘*rachhu*’: utensil

(iv) Names of body parts and related to birth:

- ‘*dhuki*’: pregnant
- ‘*sūā*’: milk producing (animal)
- ‘*jara*’: placenta
- ‘*tanjan*’: a fabric wrapped on infants to make them sleep well
- ‘*thūnṭh*’: elbow
- ‘*ḍaūnro*’: Muscle of arm (biceps)
- ‘*khurī*’: heel

(v) Residence and habitat:

-
- ‘vāṇḍha’: temporary dwelling
 - ‘ḥumbho’: door of a house
 - ‘lorho’: boundary wall made of sticks and shoots
 - ‘ḍhinager’: thorny shoots to make a boundary wall
 - ‘kirī’: a hut made of sticks, leaves, cloth and pieces
- (vi) Weapons for hunting, hitting and protection:**
- ‘ḍūṇḍaṇ’: stone
 - ‘mutko’: a round stone that can be thrown afar
- (vii) Animals and cattle:**
- ‘ḍha go/ḍāṇḍ’: bull
 - ‘mādi’: female (sheep)
 - ‘gheto’: male sheep
 - ‘pahūn’: goats
 - ‘ḍāgho’: camel (male)
 - ‘ḍāchī’: camel (female)
 - ‘ramaṇ’: a herd of cattle
 - ‘dhaṇ’: abundance of goats and sheep
- (viii) Earth and hills:**
- ‘poṭho’: straight plains
 - ‘kharīro’: hardened land (by water)
 - ‘ḍūngar’: mountain
- (ix) Agriculture:**
- ‘urlo, hurlo’: trick to bring water above for irrigation
 - ‘khar’: ploughed land
 - ‘bhunjho’: ploughed and sown land not irrigated yet
 - ‘gapa’: mud, marshes
- (x) Minerals:**
- ‘bāt’: alloys of metal
 - ‘kuṭ’: alloys to make utensils
- (xi) Winds and rain:**
- ‘garo, garā’: hale
 - ‘khivaṇ’: lightning
- (xii) Water, fish and fisherman:**
- ‘ḍhandha’: lake
 - ‘kurīro’: type of fish
 - ‘jarko’: type of fish
 - ‘goja’: type of fish
 - ‘muhāṇo’: fisherman
- (xiii) Weight and measures:**

- 'kūno': a large weigh measure
- 'maṇu': mound

(xiv) Numbers of count:

- 'barkha': one
- 'ḥa': two

(c) Authentic evidences about the evolution of Sindhi language have been found from Chachnama and the excavations of Brahmanabad and Bhambhore but, there is rather a sort of silence in the intervening period that was broken by Arab tourists, geographers, researchers and historians who made very encouraging revelations.

The history of that period reveals that even before the advent of Islam, Sindh had commercial and trade relations with the neighbouring countries, Arabia, Baghdad, Basra, Hijaz, Iran, Afghanistan, Yemen, Muscat and other countries of the Middle East. (41) The merchants of these countries traveled from Bandar Abbass and Basra to the coastal areas of Sindh and from here to Gujrat and its coastal belt to approach the markets of these areas. Similarly, before Islam, the merchants and traders of Lāṛ used to travel to Iran, Arabia, Balkh and Bukhara. This traffic of people from one place to the other would have influenced not only the commercial conditions of the region but it would also have influenced the language and culture leading to quite a few exchanges of words among each other. Many Sindhi words entered the Persian and Arabic vocabulary; similarly thousands of Arabic and Persian word, phrases and proverbs entered the Sindhi language.

10- The Structure of Sindhi Language before Islam:

(a) In the initial period of the Arab rule in Sindh, a lot of Arab tourists and experts of geography came to Sindh. Their travelogues contain not only written proofs about Sindh but also give an account of the names of the scripts (writing systems) which tell us that before the advent of Islam, Sindhi language was the main medium for the daily chores of life.

It has been mentioned in the 1st chapter that language of any nation or country is a reflection of its social, cultural and traditional history. A study of any language reveals the economical and social values, the evolution of its thought processes and a history of its traditions and civilization. Perusal of the available material from the ruins of Bhambhore brings to light the intellectual evolution of people who lived here, their social and cultural stature, art and artistic prowess and religious inclinations, which the experts of anthropology examined and considered these people with respect and honor.

Important information is available about the above quoted narration. The economic and moral history of the people of this region from the potsherds found here, contain words of the language of those times inscribed (in ink), termed proto-Nagric by Dr. F.A. Khan. (42) The writings on the shards prove that the people who lived in Bhambhore not only possessed a rich culture and traditions but they used proper language as a means of communication for the daily works etc. This spoken language was also written by them. The writings also show that they used more than one script and on that

basis it can be claimed that the different clans and communities, who lived there, used their own scripts, i.e. the Lohāṇas used their own Lohāṇki or Lāṛī script while the other Hindus used Ardh Nagari script. Similarly the Malwāshahu and Malwali scripts were also used.

(b) Languages are a reflection of the life of nations and their culture and society. Those interested in Sindhi language know that the three shards found from Bhambhore contain words written in Lahāṇkī (43) or Lāṛī script. The writing on the shards is as follows:



(i) The shards found from Bhambhore have been deciphered by the author in this book; the script on the potsherd appearing in picture 10 has been read as '*bujiri haidra*': the word written in the 1st line is '*bujiri*' and that in the 2nd line is '*haidra*'. These and other words found on the potsherds are valuable remains of the written form of Sindhi language before the arrival of Islam.

(ii) Before the advent of Islam, Sindhi language was written in local scripts, which had more than one types, i.e. every community and clan had their own style of writing their script. It was the same language but was written by different people in different styles like Lohāṇas and Bhāṭiās used their own versions.

(iii) It is proven that Sindhi language was commonly used for trade and commerce and in daily life. It had a vast vocabulary of words for astronomy, astrology, mathematics, medicine and other educational activities and common things like clothes and drugs etc.

(iv) Syntactically and grammatically '*bujiri haidra*' is a very interesting word. Having studied this word, one can say that the structure of the standard phrases were similar even before the advent of Islam.

At the time of the visits of Arab travellers, Sindhi was the language for trade and commerce. The words written on the remaining two shards provide credence to this view. In this regard an Arab tourist '*Jahiz*' writes:

“We noticed the people of Sindh (Hind) to be way ahead in astronomy and arithmetic. They have a peculiar Sindhi (Hindi) script....” (44)

The other two writings also confirm that the people of Bhambhore were quite advanced in arithmetic, astronomy and mathematics.

(c) Study of these two shards gives a clue to the system of writing numbers. The written forms of the numbers prove that the knowledge of arithmetic was commonly practiced and people were well versed about book keeping and accounting. They were

aware of the shapes of numbers; in addition they understood and were able to write the whole numbers and their fractions for measurement. The knowledge of using advanced methodology is a measure of the intelligence of a nation.



The shape in the 2nd line of this shard is infact a short form/diminutive of a word which means 'measure'. Such a system exists to date and is used by traders and merchants.



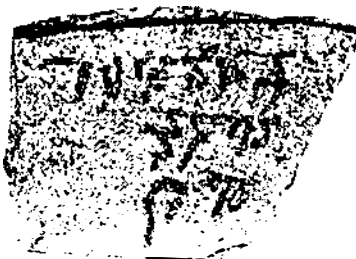
Letter in above shape means '*savā hik pāu*' (meaning: quarter more than 250 grams); so the whole line will be read as 'measure: quarter more than 250gms'. It can be assumed that in order to save their time, the shopkeepers kept a measure of quarter more than 250 gm ready in the form of a packet so that the transaction was swift.

(d) A more interesting point for mathematicians is that the people of Bhambhore were well aware of the fractions of measures; and one can say that they used to have quarter, half, three fourths and other fractions in their normal day to day life.



The shape in 3rd line is read as '*savā ḥa*' (meaning two and a quarter) ; this means that the people of Bhambhore not only knew how to write numbers but fractions too and this would not be possible until one has the knowledge of these terms. That proves that they were very good at mathematics and calculations and this was mentioned by the Arab tourist 'Jahiz'.

(e) Similarly on the page 15 of the report on Bhambhore, the picture number 3 of the shard shows to have the writing which is read as follows:



Picture 3



Picture 3, Line 1

'*ramdarehā paṭ*'; '*paṭ*' means silk but what does '*ramdarehā*' mean? This needs to be solved; perhaps it was the type of silk.

The 2nd line says:
'*dhero haidro*'

Picture 3, Line 2



The 3rd line says:
'*nandho*'

Picture 3, Line 3



The decipherment of inscriptions on these potsherds depicts the language commonly used by the people of Bhambhore. In addition, it becomes known what type of clothes and other merchandize was commonly sold by the shopkeepers; what type of colours and styles were in common use. It provides information about the social and cultural conditions, the mental attitudes of people, their way of thinking and their traditions.

In addition to Bhambhore, such shards have been discovered from Brahmanabad (Mansoorah) with such inscriptions; and one can imagine that before Islam, Sindhi was the language in the Rai and Brahmin period as well proving that it was a rich language of those times.

(f) The word '*bujiri haidra*' is a compound word of the language that was spoken in Bhambhore and grammatically it is an adjective. After a deeper analysis and grammatical scrutiny one can say that Sindhi had a similar structure for compound words even 1500 years from now. According to etymology of this standard/adjectival compound word '*bujiri*' appears in front of the noun '*haidra*', it defines the quality of the noun, i.e. the word '*bujiri*' explains which type of '*haidra*' (turmeric)? The word '*haidra*' is a basic word while '*bujiri*' is a helping (supplementary) word (meaning hairy); this word is still present in this form. Even presently the grammatical principle requires an adjective to come in front of a basic word (noun) for formation of a compound word; for example:

Compound word

lundā akhara (short/small letters)
puchhr tāro (north star)
pakal mevo (ripe fruit)

Adjective + noun

lundā+akhara
puchhr + tāro
pakal + mevo

Similarly in the grammatical sense, the words '*ramdrena paṭ*' and '*dhero haidro* and *nandho*' are worth noticing.

(g) In this context Maulana Abdul Wahab has written:

"Some researchers have written that the word '*jo*' (of) has not been used in the additional words copied at the time of Arab advent like '*budhrkho*', '*arman belo*', '*deval bander*', and '*kākā raj*' etc. And that the word '*jo*' was not in use in those times. The additional words copied in the historic books were commonly in knowledge and tell us that omitting the use of '*jo*' is better, and for brevity. It is believed that the compound should be of two words, because a compound consisting of multiple words

looks inappropriate.” (45)

This formation is very common in Sindhi. Even today with hidden postpositions.

11- References of Arab Travellers:

(a) The Arab travellers had written about the ancient scripts of Sindhi language before the excavations of Bhamhbore and Brahmanabad. Jahiz was the first one who had come in 864 AD and who had mentioned the script used in Sindhi language (46). Later in 957 AD Masaudi wrote about Sindhi as follows:

“The language of Sindh is different from that of India. Sindh is closer to the Islamic states. The language of *Mahā Nagar* i.e. the capital of Valabhroy’s sultanate is ‘*Kharī*’. The language from that area and its surroundings is difficult. The language of the coastal belt, ‘*Chemor*’, ‘*Sopara*’ and ‘*Thānā*’ etc. and the coastal cities is *Lārī*.” (47)

(b) Similarly Bishari Muqadasi writes:

“Debal is a coastal town. It has about a hundred villages in its surroundings and most of the residents are Hindus. At high tide, the water from the ocean hits its walls. The residents are mostly traders and speak Arabia and Sindhi languages.” (48)

(c) Syed Sibte Hassan writes:

“Before the Arabs the script of this region was of a Hindi style. Ibn-e-Nadeem has given a sample of this script in his book ‘*Alfahraṣṭ*’, but in the Arab period that script became extinct and Sindhi was written in Arabic script. And gradually hundreds of words entered the Sindhi language.” (49)

12- The knowledge of Phonetics:

(a) The scripts of Sindhi used before the advent of Islam have been found. In which the scholars of that period had divided the sounds according to the phonetic values. They had classified the sounds according to the Sindhi phonetic system. Places and architecture as given below:

According to their classification, sounds could be palatal, velar, retroflex, alveolar, labio-dental, bi-labial’, and they had classified the sounds according to their characteristics. They were well versed with sound clusters and the divisions of vowels and consonants. It has been known that these grammarians of Sindh knew about the system of voiced and voiceless sounds, aspirated and unaspirated and nasal and non-nasal sounds. The following narration is given as evidence of these qualities:

Velar sounds:	k, kh, g, ḡ, ḡh, ḡ
Palatal sounds	ch, chh, j, ḡ, jh, ḡ
Retroflex sounds	ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ
Alveolar sounds	n, r
Dental sounds	t, th, d, dh
Bi-labial sounds	p, ph, b, bh, m

Fricative sounds	v, s, sh, h
Semi-vowels	w, y, l, r
Clusters and flapped sounds	ksh, tr, dhr, gn
Vowels	a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, e, o, ai, au

13- Rig Vedic words (50):

In addition to the awareness about these sounds and phonetics in the written words on the potsherds found in Bhambhore and Brahmanabad, there are other words given by Vijaya Krishan and other scholars included in Rig Veda. Some of the words are given below that were part of the vocabulary even before the advent of Islam. For example:

Present day Sindhi words	Rig Vedic words	Present day Sindhi words	Rig Vedic words
<i>neha, nīhun</i> , (love)	sneha	<i>vastī, bastī</i> (town/dwelling)	vastī
<i>kāncha</i> (shalwar)	kānchī	<i>māṇ</i> (measure)	mān
<i>vachha</i> (cow)	vatas	<i>munja</i>	munja
<i>sachu</i> (truth)	satya	<i>prithvī</i>	prithvī
<i>jibha</i> (tongue)	jihva	<i>joṭo</i>	yoktar
<i>pakal</i> or <i>pako phalu</i> (ripe fruit)	pakva phalam	<i>mās</i> (flesh)	māms
<i>charūrī</i>	char	<i>java</i> (oats)	yava
<i>chakar, chakro</i>	chakara	<i>samund</i> or <i>samoūd</i> (ocean/sea)	samūndar
<i>āb</i> (water)	āpo	<i>rathu</i>	rathu
<i>vidhvā</i> (widow)	vidha veva	<i>ḍeru</i> (brother in law)	deveram
<i>kangī/phaṇī</i> (comb)	kankatha	<i>khīru</i> (milk), [k] has been aspirated to [kh]	kshūr
<i>gaūn</i> (cow)	gaū	<i>kumbh</i> (large pot)	kumbh
<i>artha</i>	artha	<i>dās</i>	dās

14- (a) Sindhi words in Chachnama:

Chachnama is the oldest book of history of Sindh. A detailed analysis of this book reveals that the words used in Sindh before arrival of Islam were: (51)

Names of people	Page no of Chachnama	Names of people	Page no of Chachnama
Bajhrai bin Chander	168	Rāi Saherās	21
Kako son of Kotal	170	Rāi Sāhsī	21
Rās	181	Rām	24
Moko	191	Chander	25
Vasāyo	191	Sūnh Dev (devī)	27
Chander rām Hālo	191	Mato	54
Ḍhol	249	Vikyo (kaka's son)	54
Jūṇū	250	Agham Lohāṇā	55
Bajhārī	251	Ḍāhir	58
Lādī	268	Ḍāhir sen	58
Chagī	338	Bhīman	58
		Sunder	58

Names of castes	Page no of chachnama
Kākā	54
Lākhā	55
Sahtā	55
Lohāṇā	55
Channā	173
Halā	191
Ningāmrā	338
Names of rivers, lakes and canals	Page no of chachnama
Mehrāṇ	21
Nālā Sākro	130
Sisam (Sheeshā khārī)	162
ḅeṭ	181
Jhima	209
Kotka (kutko)	210
Karhal	210
Jalwālī	291
Sānvādī (sāvaṛī)	321
Ḍhaṇḍha vakar bahār	329
Compound words	Page no of Chachnama
ḅudh rakho	58
Ḍhaṇḍha vakar bahār	321
Nerūn koṭ	22
Names of places and towns	Page no of Chachnama
Aroṭ	21
Debal	21
Chachpur	22
Nerūn kot	23
Brahamanabad	55
Badnū viḥār	58
Kash-hā (kachh)	181
Ashbahār	189
Jewar	191
Vijorta (vijoṭo)	191
Hālā	191

(a) In his article, Maulana Abdul Wahab confirms this claim when he writes: “Some of the names of people and nations, used at the time of victory of Islam have been preserved in the historic Arabic books and are clearly seen in Chachnama etc. The dialect and the ancient structure of Sindhi language are quite evident from these words.” (52) He further writes:

“All these words suggest that the style and structure of language at the time of Islamic victory is just like the present one. Finding the etymological record of these names shows quite a good part of the language in use. A study of Chachnama and Futūḥul Baladān reveals that

Sindhi was fully developed and a complete language in those times. It is incorrect to say that Sindhi language was in an evolving phase. Sindhi has been there since ancient times, and it was influenced by foreign rule but its originality still persists.” (53)

15- The condition of literature before the advent of Islam:

(a) Chinese travellers had preceded the Arabs in Sindh. They have written a lot about Sindh. The Chinese travellers, especially Fa-Hien and Huen Tsang have praised the people of Sindh. Therefore, keeping in view the materials written by Arab travellers, researchers and scholars in addition to the coins, seals, and other ancient objects, the history of Sindh, as well as the whole world needs to be re-written.

Two or three centuries before the arrival of Islam (712 AD), there were many scholars who mastered the fields of astronomy, mathematics, medicine, linguistics and anthropology etc who had written books that were translated into Persian in the Iranian era and later in Arabic during the Umayyad and Abbasid period.

In this context, books written on Buddhism were translated in Chinese language and significant amount of material has been discovered from the ruins of Amri, Mohenjo-Daro, Kahu-jo-Daro, Chanh-jo-Daro and Kot Digi containing indications regarding astronomy, mathematics etc. Later the Arab tourists too threw light on this subject that will be mentioned later.

(b) Famous researcher Al-Beruni has referred to the scholars of the 5th and 6th century ‘Arya Bhaṭṭ’ and ‘Brahm Gupt’ with great reverence. In his famous book ‘Kitabul Hind’ he has mentioned the other scholars too. Param Abhechandaṇī has written about ‘Brahm Gupt’ in his book ‘Sat Sār’ (2nd part):

“Brahm Gupt was born in 598 AD in Bhalmāl (in the Eastern end of the Indian state Gujrat); he was a great scholar of Sanskrit and had a command on the subjects of mathematics and astronomy. He had written two books (*Pustaks*) in Sanskrit, the first was ‘Brahm Suphūṭ Sidhaant’ (i.e. a study of universal relationship), written in 628 AD under patronage of the Raja Veghar Mukh of ‘Chhap Once’ State and the second was ‘Khaṇḍa Khādyeka’ i.e. Kamaṇ Gor Padhārath’ written in 665 AD in Ujen. Ujen was, in those times, a center of scientific knowledge of ancient Bharat. Later he was given the rank of ‘gaṇat chakara-choṛāmaṇī’ (chief of mathematicians) by Bhāsker II (1114-1185).” (54)

Abhechandanī further says:

“Khaṇḍa Khādyeka is an artistic master piece work of ‘Hindū Jotash Sidhant’ (Hindu astronomy) and it contains 11 chapters. Following Aryā Bhaṭṭ’s ‘Ardh Ratrik Sidhant’, he introduced better methods to calculate the easy methods of length of longitude between stars.

To facilitate understanding of the principle of interpolation, Brahm Gupt has followed the principles given by Aryā Bhāṭa in the intermediate

chapters of his 'Paramāṇ Jadwala'. And to understand the central space, this principle is similar to Newton-Sterling's interpolation equation.

Brahm Gupt left a lasting effect on scholars and mathematicians like 'Shrīdhar', Mahāvīr and Bāsker II. In addition, the Arab scholars used Brahm Gupt's books like Brāhm Saphūṭ Sidhant and Khand Khadyeka to understand the Indian arithmetic, algebra and sciences like astrology. These books reached the Arab countries during the reign of the Caliph of Baghdad, Al-Mansoor, and were translated on his decree. The Arabic book 'Sindhind' is almost an exact translation of Brāhm Saphūṭ Sidhant. Similarly a famous Arabic book on astronomy titled 'Arkand' is also a literal translation of Brahm Gupt's book Khand Khadyeka." (55)

(c) It would be appropriate to mention at this juncture that Arab Muslims captured Sindh in 712AD, but unofficially Sindh had come under Islamic influence in 680 AD i.e. 32 years before the victory of Muhammad Bin Qasim. (56) Jahiz came to Sindh 152 years after the advent of Islam but the Islamic influence on Sindh was already there 184 years before his arrival. He has written in his travelogue:

"The people of Sindh (Hind) are way forward in the sciences of astronomy and mathematics." (57)

This proves that the scientific subjects like astronomy, mathematics, medicine, history and literature were common in which the words of Sindhi language were used; such examples will be quoted in the next chapters.

(d) Writing about the spread of literature in Sindh before the arrival of Islam, Maulana Abdul Wahab says;

"Many scholars have written that Sindhi literature started in the period of Soomras and Samas, and that it did not exist before that. The fact is indeed contrary to this, how a basic and spiritual language could survive without a literature. The fact is that Islam is such a bright reality that after its arrival in Sindh, the people diverted their attention to the Quran and Islam and remained engrossed in it for centuries to come. This does not mean that literature and worldly material was not present. Before Islam the Rajas were so fond of literature that the Buddhist rule was given to Brahmins because of this fondness." (58)

(e) Chachnama mentions the presence of astronomers in the court of Raja Chach and Raja Dahir who used to guide the rulers about national conditions. It said in Chachnama:

"Chach had two sons and a daughter from Queen Sūhan Devī. On each of these children's birth, he consulted the astronomers about their destiny and upon his orders horoscopes of their stars, fate and fortunes were prepared." (59)

It is further said in Chachnama:

“The astronomers examined the chit and decided that his stars were lucky.” (60)

Then it says:

“He (Dahir) went to the astronomer’s guesthouse who welcomed him on his arrival.” (61)

These examples provide proof that Sindh was rich in these sciences before the advent of Islam, although Jahiz has not named the experts of astronomy, mathematics, astrologists, physicians and grammarians but research shows that before Al-Beruni visited Sindh (1017-1031 AD), plenty of literary material had already been translated which was later studied by Al-Beruni.

(f) Professor Jhamatmal Bhavnānī feels that:

“Due to relations between south, south-west and eastern areas of Sindh with Gujrat and eastern parts of Rajasthan, the folklorists and scholars from both the countries frequently travelled each other’s areas. Chāraṇa, Bhaṭa and Jajuka (ministeral bards) etc. had relations after the era of Apabhramsha, with a large area of Sindh, Malabar, Kachh and Kaṭhiāwār were similar.” (62)

(g) Param Abechandanī writes in this regard:

“The love poetry and the thoughts of the saints (*Jogī panth*) were exchanged here through the travelling of the saints of that region. They were established through the sufi saints of ‘Bhagṭī mat’ and the poems related to love and such subjects were propagated by the folklorists and the folk poets of the area. The poetry related with love and beauty was first remembered by heart by the Bhats, Charans and saints of Rajasthan for the service of the Rajas and the folklorists from the Bhāt and Chāraṇa communities. And this way they got popularity in the neighboring areas of Sindh like Bekaṇīr, Jodhpur and Jesalmīr. Following this, these subjects of ‘*Seengar* form’ of folk poetry were adopted by the folk poets of Sindh like Bhāts, Chāraṇs and Manchāl fakirs. It got to its peak in the Moghul era and apparently by the end of their rule, they were popular in folk poets of other regions as well. The height of this trend was seen in the era of Miyan Noor Muhammad Kalhoro’s time. This was a period when the Sindhi and Rajasthani folk poets, not only shared their genres but improved upon them and added newer ideas in their poetry.

It appears that this trend of poetry came to the region of Tharparker because of its shared borders with Rajasthan and the folklorists of these regions had close relationships with each other; in addition they were well versed with the Dhatki-Thari dialect making it easy for them to understand the poems in Hindi and this is how ‘*Seengar* form’ of poetry took its roots in the areas of Sindh.” (63)

16- (a) It has been mentioned above that the scholar Al-Beruni has provided a lot of references about the history of literature of Sindh before the arrival of Islam. Despite this fact, attempts should be made to re-explore the libraries and book-houses of Rajasthan, Gujrat, Kachh and Kathiawar and the materials from their temples and courts of Rajas. After the attack by Muhammad Bin Qasim and in the period before and after him, some Hindu Lohanas, Bhatias, Khattris and other Sindhi clans had moved out of fear to the neighboring non-Muslim states for shelter (64) and certainly they would have taken some educational and literary collections with them.

(b) The search of such materials will help us, as our revered brother Hiro Thakur had found verses of Kazi Kadan from a place of worship in Haryana. In this context the research of Dr. Muhammad Hassan can be quoted to support my view, who had written in his book titled 'Hindi Adab ki Tareekh (History of Hindi Literature):

“The poets and folklorists of those times were courtiers of Rajas and chieftains; therefore their poetry has a touch of praise and admiration.” (65)

He goes on to write:

“The specimens of Apabhramsha poetry like ‘*Gāthās*’ have been found from the 7th century AD onwards.” (66)

(c) Dr. Muhammad Hassan’s observation carries a lot of weight and if a search is made, it might perhaps find folk literature from even an earlier period. The folklorists and poets of Sindh, in the times of Rai and Brahmin dynasties, must have written praise poetry (*Qasidas*) as Dr. Hassan has collected a few samples of such poetry from Hemchander’s famous compilation called ‘Sadh Hemchander’, and has called them ‘*Gaathas*’. (67) Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji has written about Hemchander in his book. He says:

“At the end of the 10th century and beginning of the 11th century, Turks captured Punjab and became the rulers of that region. After Mahmood Ghaznavi’s offensive, this region became a part of Ghazni Empire. Therefore from the 10th to the 12th Century AD the Western-Apabhramsha dialect was at its peak, being used for normal daily life and the narration of literature.” (68)

(d) Dr. Chatterji goes on to write:

“After Shorsani, for hundreds of years the western Apabhramsha was used in the courts of the Rajput princes after the Turk occupation in the North of India, as a rich and literary language. Examples of poetry in this language compiled by the poets of Northern India have been found. Studying these samples of poems one can say that: “Western Apabhramsha language is older than ‘Brij Bhasha’ (Hindustani) but in a way is related to it.” (69)

Dr. Chatterji has cited a few examples of some poems in that Western Apabhramsha language from Hemchander’s book. He writes:

“Some samples of poems written in Western Apabhramsha language

have been found that were recorded by Hemchander, a scholar of the Jain religion. Hemchander lived in Gujrat from 1088 to 1172 AD. The examples cited by Hemchander prove which language was spoken in that area in those times, which later took the form of Hindustani.” (70)

The examples that Dr. Chatterji took from Hemchander’s book ‘Sidh Hemchander’ have been copied word to word in the next few pages. One of them is a ‘*gāthā*’ which is exactly the same as that copied by Dr. Muhammad Hassan in his book ‘Hindi Adab ki Tareekh’ (History of Hindi literature). If one compares the structure and language of this ‘*gāthā*’, it becomes evident that it is based on the ‘Doha genre’ (two-lined verses) and the language used is the same as used in the east and south-east regions of Sindh, that can be called a mixture of the Rajasthani ‘nagar’ and Gujrati dialect ‘pangal’ and can be called ‘Nagar Apabhramsha’. That ‘*gāthā*’ says:

پلا هئا جو ماريآ پيڻ مهارو ڪنٽ
“bhalā huā jo mārya, bhain mahāro kant
 (71) لڄيڃر تو ويڻ سين جو پڳا گهر انت
lajaijim to veṇa sen, jo bhaga ghar ant”

The same ‘*gatha*’ has been presented by Dr. Muhammad Hassan as:

پلا هئا جو ماريآ، پيڻ مهارا ڪنٽ
“bhalā hua jo marya, bhain mahara kant
 (72) لڄينڃر تو ويڻ سين، جو پڳا گهر انت
lajainjam to veṇ seen, jo bhaga ghar ant”

The words used in this *Gatha*, apart from a few phonetic changes are still pronounced exactly this way in the southern and south-eastern parts of Sindh and areas of Thar and Parker. Its structure and subject of the poetry is almost the same as was used many centuries later by the ever green poet of Sindh i.e. Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit in Sur *Kedaro* of his *Risalo* and later by Khalifa Qasim in his works. Shah has said:

پڳو آءُ نه ڄڻان، ماريو ته وسهان
bhago āūn na chūvān, māryo ta vishān
 ڪانڌ منهن ۾ ڌڪڙا، آءُ سيڪيندي سونهان،
kāndha munhan mein dhakṛā, āūn sekīnde sūnhān
 ته پڻ لڄ مران جي هونس پڻ ۾،
ta piṇ laja marān, jay hūnis puṭh main

Translation:

“I will not believe my beloved fled, he must have been killed
 I will hold my head high, if he has wounds on his face
 If he has wounds on his back, I will die of shame)

Apart from ‘*mahāro*’ and ‘*kant*’ in the first line of the ‘*Gāthā*’, all the other words are used in present day Sindhi language and any Sindhi would concede that in the ‘Dhatki’ and ‘Parkari’ dialects of Sindhi ‘*mahāro*’ (mine) and ‘*kant*’ (kaant= kāndh=

beloved/husband) words are commonly used. Shah Latif has also used the word ‘*kāndh*’ in the above quoted verse. Similarly the second line of the ‘*Gāthā*’ shows the word ‘*lajenj*’ where the use of its [J] (ج) is like ‘ī’. ‘J’ (ج) is also used in Gujrati and Kachhi languages. This ‘*Gāthā*’ has been accepted to be from the 2nd century AD. (73) Analysis of this ‘*Gāthā*’ reveals that it has been written in the south-eastern dialect of the Indus Valley that was prevalent in the south and southeast of Sindh used as a means of literary expression and was locally called ‘Nāgar Apabhramsha’.

Sir Grierson believes that “Nāgar Apabhramsha” was the means for literary works in Gujrat, Rajasthan and the region to its west (i.e. Sindh and the Parker region) in ancient times and was completely dominant over the literary scenario of the entire region. (74) Researchers have already proved that the South-East Sindh had political, commercial, social and literary ties with Kachh, Gujrat, Rajasthan and its western areas and the wise men and scholars of the two regions frequently visited each other.

(e) In the introduction of a book by Dr. Gangaram Garg, Dr. Murlidhar Jetly has termed Sindhi to be a branch of Nāgar Apabhramsha, he has written that:

“As far as the Middle Indo-Aryan stature is concerned, modern Sindhi shows a significant similarity with ‘Nāgar’ or ‘Shorsani Apabhramsha’, which was in those times, the main literary language of India. That time was even before the existence of new Indo-Aryan languages but we do not have any written record of that, which could assist Nāgar Apabhramsha ; as Sindhi came into being in the southern part of Indus Valley as a new Indo-Aryan language around 1000 AD.” (75)

(f) The 2nd edition of the book “The Origin of Sindhi Language” has a detailed discussion that proves that the notion that Sindhi came into being around 1000 AD is not correct. The southern dialect of the indigenous language (Sindhi) of the Indus Valley was called as Nāgar Apabhramsha which was not only the language for daily life but had acquired the status of a scientific and literary language.

Dr. Jetly has conceded that Nāgar Apabhramsha was a literary Apabhramsha. He has quoted examples of two poems in Nāgar Apabhramsha, thereby has tried to show its similarity with Sindhi language. Both these ‘dohas’ (two lined verses) have been taken by him from Hemchander’s (12th Century AD) book, which are actually two-lined verses of (*seengar ras*). Both are reproduced here:

Sindhi version (as per Dr. Jetly)

ڏولو سانولو ڏڻ چمپا ورڻي
ڄاڻ سونا- ريهه ڪسوتيا ڏئي
dhola sānvlo dhan champavarṇi
jāṇ sonā- reha kasavaṭiya dhaṇi
ڏولا مون تو واريو، مَر ڪَر ڊگهو ماڻ
ننڊ گنواڻي راتري، جهٽ پت هو ۽ وهانءُ (76)
dholā mūn to vāryo, ma kuru ḍhigho māṇu

Nāgar Apabhramsha

ڏولا ساملا ڏڻ چمپا ورڻي
ناڻي سوڻ- ريهه ڪسوتيا ڏئي
dhola sāmḷa dhan champaverṇi
nāe suaṇa-reha kasavaṭaī ḍaṇī
ماڻي توھون واريو، ما ڪَر ڊيھا ماڻھو
ننڊئي گماھي راتري، ڌڙ وڙھو ئي
māi thūn vāryā, mākar ḍheha māṇu

ninḍa ganvāe rātrī, jhaṭ paṭ hoe vihānu

ninḍaī gumāe rātrī, dhar varho hoe

When these two verses (*seengar ras*) are studied it can confidently be said that both are examples of the eastern Sindhi dialect of those times, only the words have been used according to the prevailing accent.

In fact, these verses belong to the Sindhi language of the Indus Valley that has been called Nāgar Apabhramsha locally.

(g) As mentioned earlier, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji had also found a few two-lined verses (*dohā*) from Hemchander's book, one of them has been given here. They too show a resemblance with Sindhi language.

(i) First Example:

Dr. Chatterji's version

جيو کس نا پلا هائو، ڏن پڻ کس نه اٿ
دوئي وي اوسري نهوڙيائين، تن سون گئي وسڻ
jivū kas na bhal hāo, dhan pin kas na iṭhu
dhoṇī vī avasārī nivṛyāin, taṇ son gaṇe vissiṭa

Sindhi Version

جيو کس نا پلا هائو، ڏن پڻ کس نا اٿ
دوئي وي اوسري نهوڙيائين، تن سون گئي تڇ
jivū kas na bhalā hāo, dhan pin kas na iṭhu
doni vi avasari nihoriyāin tan son gaṇe tichh

Meaning:

(Who does not love life, and who does not desire for wealth,
When he got hold of both, he threw away the gold)

(ii) Second example:

Dr. Chatterji's version

جيئي ناسو آوئي دوئي گهر، ڪا آهر مه نجه
واڻ جو گنڊئي، تنو، سو پيو هوئي نا مجھ
jaī na so āvaī doī gharu, kā āho muhu tujh,
vāṇjo khaṇḍaī, to, sā hīe, so piyā hoe na mujh

Sindhi Version

جي نه سو آوئي توئي گهر، ڪو آهي مه نجه
واڻ جو گنڊئي سائين، سو پيو هوئي نه مجھ
jaī na so āvaī toī gharu, ko āhe muhu tujh,
vāṇjo khaṇḍaī sāeen,, so payo hoī na mujh

Meaning:

(If he is not coming to your house, why be sad
One who breaks his promise, cannot be my beloved)

(iii) Third example:

Dr. Chatterji's version

امهي ٿووا، رءُ بهئا ڪاڙ ايون پڻنتي،
مڏي نهالي گهاٽ، آلو ڪئي جڻ جونا ڪرتي
amhī thouā, rū bahuā, kāira evan bhaṇante
mudhī nihāle gāṭ-ālū, kāi jaṇ juṭhā karante

Sindhi Version

امهي ٿورا-رياکار بهئا، ڪانثر ائين پڻنت
مڏي نهاري گهاٽ آلو، ڪئي جڻا مڪر ڪرتي
amhī thorā, rīyākār bahuā, kāṇyer iyen bhaṇant
mudhī nihāre ghāṭ ālū, kāi jaṇā makar karante

Meaning:

(We are few while enemies are many, says a coward
Confused look towards the sky and many people lie like that)

(iv) Fourth example:

Dr. Chatterji's version

پئي ڄاڻي ڪوڻ گڻ، او گڻ ڪوڻ مڻيئا،

Sindhi Version

پت ڄاڻي ڪهو گڻ، او گڻ ڪهو مرڻ.

جا باپ ڪي پومھڙي ڇمپيجائي، اُوري نا.
puṭe jāe kavaṇa guṇ, avaguṇ kavaṇa muīṇa
jā bāp kī bhūmaharī, champījāe avarī nā

جي باپ ڪي پومھڙي ڇمپيجائي، اُورنا،
puṭa jāe kahro guṇ, avaguṇ kahro maraṇu
je bāp kī bhomarī jampijāe, āurnā

(Meaning: if a son is born what good that is, if he died why is it bad

It is like someone occupying the father's land)

The language used in these verses is very similar to that used by Ismaili dāī Pir Satgur Noor in the 11th century.

This shows that the custom of (*gāthā*, *dohā* and *shringār ras*) verses in Sindhi continued in the Soomra period. The singers and folk poets of Laṛ, Thar and Parker sang praise of the bravery and brotherhood of the chiefs of their tribes.

It is therefore incorrect to say that Sindh language came into being from the 11th century AD.

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- 71- Ibid, pp. 164-165.
- 72- Ref: 68, p. 165.
- 73- Ref: 71.
- 74- Muhammad Hassan, Dr., 'Hindi Adab Ki Tareekh', p. 36.
- 75- Grierson, G., Sir, 'Lingusitic Survey of India', Vol. I, Part I, 1927, P. 124.
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Chapter Four

The Status of Sindhi in the Initial period of Arab Rule in Sindh

1- The Arabs conquered Sindh in 712 AD. In those days Sindh was known for its wealth and commerce. Debal, Brahmanabad, Rawar, Sando bander, Aror and other cities were its commercial hubs. The prevalent language was Sindhi which was used for all routine daily life functions. Most of the material about literature, commerce, traditions, social conditions and language is found in the histories and travelogues written in that period (712 – 1010 AD). The most notable thing is that a lot of historic books had already been written in the period when Arab travellers and historians came here, who have mentioned the Islamic victories at length. These histories are very informative about the phonetic, grammatical and syntactical structure of language and a detailed account of the way people lived, with names of the cities and dwellings of Sindh already mentioned in the 2nd chapter. A few of the notable books of that era are as follows:

(a) Futuh Albaladaan: Written by the historian named Blaazeree. This book has, in one of its chapters, an account of the conquest of Sindh. Blaazeree died in 882 AD (279-80H), about 34-35 years after the arrival of Ibn-Hawaqal.

(b) Tareekh e Yaqoobi: This book contains a detailed account of the conquest of Muhammad bin Qasim; Yaqoobi died in 897 AD (284 H).

(c) Tareekh e Tibri: The author of this book was the famous historian Abu Jafar Muhammad bin Jareed Altibri, who was born in 838 AD (224H) and died in 922 AD (310 H). This book of history contains the accounts of the victories of Sindh with references. The author was a contemporary of Ibn Hawaqal.

(d) Alkamil Fi-Altareekh: This book was written by Ibn Laseer (1063 to 1232 AD (613-630H)) and contains narratives regarding the early victories in Sindh.

(e) Fateh Nama alias Chachnama: This is the first comprehensive book on the history of Sindh. It was originally written in Arabic, and later in 1216 AD (613H) it was translated in Persian. It contains thousand of names of people, places, rivers, lakes, canals, communities and castes of Sindh, in Arabic-Sindhi script.

2- A huge amount of literary cache of Sindhi language is found in the above said books. Chachnama is the most important of all these books that contains thousands of Sindhi words in Arabic-Sindhi script. Although all the literary collections were written in the initial period of Arab rule in Sindh but the system had been there before the arrival of Islam in Sindh. The examples have been given in the 2nd chapter of this book. There were great centers of learning and literature in Debal, Aror, Mansoorah, Sehwan, and Uch

Sharif in the Arab era; and as a result the Arab traveller Abulal Qasim who came here to Sindh in 958 AD and Al Muqadasi who came to Mansoorah in 992 AD, have mentioned the names of Muslim scholars and authors who lived here. (1)

Writing about the style, stature and standard of Sindhi language in the Arab era, Dr. Nabi Buksh Khan Baloch says:

“During the Arab rule Sindhi language became more standardised. Dialects of different communities and parts of Sindh became centralized, which brought about the consolidation of the complete Sindhi language.” (2)

On the basis of the evidences and opinions presented in chapter II, one can say that many centuries before the Arab rule, Sindhi was a rich language used for trade, commerce and other functions of daily life. This is also supported by the references of the written records of the Arab travellers. Thousands of Arabic words entered Sindhi resulting in the increase in the lexicon of Sindhi.

3- From the very beginning of the Arab rule, Arab settlements were established in Sindh. The people of Sindh started having deep-rooted relations with the Arab colleagues, scholars and skilled men. Arabs made Sindh their adopted country. Because of their permanent dwellings, matrimonial relationships started among the Arab and Sindhi families. Due to the interaction between the two communities, cultural and traditional influences were observed on each other. The Arab traditions and customs had a deep effect on the Sindhi society. After the conquest of Sindh, many Arab soldiers especially from Iraq, Oman and Mesopotamia permanently settled here and married Sindhi women. In addition many ordinary people, scholars, saints and religious clerics from Baghdad, Basra, Eden and Yemen came to settle in Sindh. They, too, made Sindh their permanent home. (3) Similarly through land and sea, many merchants and traders from Muscat, Oman, Yemen, Basra, Bander Abbass and Syria came here on business trips so the Arabic and Sindhi languages came very close. In addition, Islam also left an impact on the daily life of local people.

This collective psychology left a deep imprint on the language. Countless Arabic words entered Sindhi thereby expanding its treasure of words. These words included those related with religious studies, literature, economics, social life, agriculture, commerce, industries, communications, culture, philosophy, science, history, geography, fine arts, war, food and edibles and administrative affairs. (4) Hundreds of words related with daily life entered Sindhi and became common in usage in the villages and cities.

4- Arab tourists and geographers have quoted a lot of examples about Sindhi language. Arabic was accepted as the language of the conquerors and religion but despite that, it could not replace mother tongue of common people of Sindh because Sindhi was the language of communication in the trade and commerce, in social undertakings and household. It is quite clear from the reports and writings of Jahiz, Masoodi, Al-Biruni, Bishari Almuqadasi, Ibn Hawqal, Ibn Nadeem and Al-Biruni that Sindhi was the language of the common man's daily life. These writings by the Arab travellers also mention that the people of Sindh had no match in the knowledge of science and literature.

They were experts in the fields of astronomy, astrology, logic, medicine, mathematics and other sciences and got ample opportunities to prove their merits in the Abbasid period. Their knowledge of sciences is evident from the book '*Panj Tantara*' (پنج تندر), which was translated into Arabic with the title '*Kulela Damna*' (كليل دمنہ). (5)

(a) Arab scholars and travellers have written a lot about the educational prowess and importance of Sindhi language. For example Jahiz (864AD) has acknowledged the greatness of Sindh when he says:

“We found the people of Hind (Sindh) very advanced in mathematics and astronomy. They have a peculiar Hindi (Sindhi) script and are highly placed in the knowledge of medicine. Their medicinal knowledge has its own mysteries having medicines for severe ailments and diseases. They have special interest in making colorful pictures and idols that are found on arches and other places. They are the inventors of the game of chess, which helps learn planning and development of intellect. They are the original inventors of mathematics and astronomy. They can make swords of a very fine quality and are very good at using them. They know how to read mantras and magic to alleviate pain and disease etc. Their music is heartwarming; they have a musical instrument called '*Kankala*' (Sindhi *Kankla* is a type of *Sitar*) which is made by tying a wire over a dried turnip and may be used as a sitar. They have all kinds of dances. They have a vast collection of poetry and oratory and a writing system in which we found the '*Kulela Damna*'. The goldsmiths and merchants of silver and gold have trust in them regarding their merchandise; all the goldsmiths of Iraq have Sindhis as treasurers as they are naturally very good at keeping accounts and are trustworthy. They are honest and loyal as employees.” (6)

(b) From the analysis of Jahiz, a lot becomes known about Sindh and its people. It reveals that in addition to the knowledge about astronomy, mathematics and medicines, these people knew traditional methods of treatment for snake bites. In addition to the game of chess, they were good at fine arts, poetry, oratory, writing, singing and dancing. They not only knew how to speak in Sindhi but knew more than one way to write it. They wrote poetry and kept accounts of business in special scripts. The famous book like '*Kulela Damna*' was also written by them, the original name of that book was '*Panj Tantara*' which was well known in the literary circles. This book was later translated in Persian with the title '*Anvaar Suheli*'. It is said that the stories from the legendary '*Alif Laila*' series were derived from the stories of '*Kulela Damna*'. These people possessed the expertise in making swords, painting, calligraphy, gemology and business.

Jahiz's writings prove that in addition to the formulae of astronomy, chess was also an invention of Sindhis. Not only could they sing and dance but they had also musical instruments that they made themselves. Many other proofs about their knowledge

of education, linguistics, literature and business before the arrival of Arabs, have been found that will be detailed later in the next few pages. Sindhis were also great people and the evidences for their greatness have been discovered from the archaeological finds from Mohen-jo-Daro and Indus Civilization.

(c) The narratives of Yaqoobi (RIP 900AD/287 H) further attest the claim made by Jahiz. He writes:

“Hindustanis (Sindhis) are knowledgeable people. They are superior to all other people. This nation always makes the right astronomical calculations. Their book ‘*Sidhant*’ (سدانت) is a book of art and contains technical points of all sciences that have been discussed later by Iranians and Greeks.” (7)

Yaqoobi has not only mentioned the wisdom, intelligence and knowledge, but has also claimed that Sindhis wrote a book on astronomy called ‘*Sidhant*’ that contains technical terminology about other sciences as well.

(d) Bishari Almuqadasi has discussed the intellectual ability and wisdom of Sindhis; he writes:

“Sindh is a trading country. There is an abundance of gold, weeds, shrubs, weapons, rice, bananas and dates. Justice reigns here. There is politics and wisdom. From the commercial and financial point this is a profitable country to be proud of. The people of the city of Mansoorah are humble and polite. They follow Islam with heart and soul. There is plenty of knowledge in the people. People have a deep sense of charity, philanthropy, intelligence and piouness.” (8)

It is clear from Bishari Almuqadasi’s words that when he visited, it he found that Sindh was quite advanced in the fields of education, literature, art, commerce and trade due to rule of law necessary for them to grow.

(e) Lots of information is available in the narratives of Kazi Saeed Indilisi, who died in 1070 AD (642 H) i.e. 30 years after the arrival of Al-Beruni in Sindh. He writes:

“The calculation of Hisab Ghyaar (counting the number from 1 to 9) of arithmetic; described by Abu Jafar Bin Musa Kwarzmy in ratio and proportion and algorithms, has reached us through them. This system of numerical counting is very easy and simple, but has a very strange arrangement. It provides us the proof of the wisdom of mind, innovation and creative mentality of the people of Sindh.” (9)

Maulana Abdul Wahab Chachar writes in his article:

“In the prime years of Arabic language, it was not proficient in counting numerals. They had no words for counting after 1000, and they used to count by adding in hundreds and thousands only. For instance the word for ‘*lakh*’ or ‘*lac*’ (100,000) was ‘*Maatul Alif*’ meaning hundred thousands, for half a lac (50,000) they used the word ‘*Khamsoon Alif*’, for a *crore* (100,00000) they used the word ‘*Maat ma Alif*’ etc, whereas the

Sindhi language had different words for tens, hundreds, thousands, *lacs*, *crores*, *arab*, *kharab* and *padam*. Similarly they (Arabs) did not have numerical figures at all until the period of conquest of Sindh. They used words for numerical figures or they used the system of *Abjad* i.e. *Alif* for 1, *b* for 2, *j* for 3 etc. Gradually they adopted the Sindhi numerical system and are still using this system in other Semitic languages. Arabs still name the numbers as 'Arqaam Hindi', and Ibn Nadeem has recognized them as Sindhi." (10)

(e) These narratives prove that literature, logic and philosophy were commonly in practice during the Arab era. The rulers of Sindh before the Arab period encouraged and promoted literary activities which continued during the Arabs rule as well. Sindh produced many writers, historians, poets and scholars of religious literature. Allama Sam'aany writes in this regard:

"Many recognized religious scholars were present in Sindh during the Arab rule who even excelled the Arab scholars in Arabic language and literature. They were even more proficient than Arab scholars. The scholars of Debal, Agham Kot and Al-Mansoorah were especially excellent." (11)

5- While the scholars of Sindhi descent excelled in Islamic literature, the Arab scholars earned reputation in Sindh for their work in Sindhi language and interpretation Islamic teachings. In the time of Abdullah bin Umer, a Sindhi Arab scholar translated the Holy Quran in Sindhi language and wrote interpretation (*tafseer*) about Islam for Raja Mahrook of Kashmir. (12) It proves that in that era, Sindhi was a complete and vast language. But despite that, many Arabic words and phrases entered Sindhi language thereby increasing its lexicon.

(a) It is incorrect to say that Sindh was not ruled under a proper administrative setup before the conquest of Arabs or Sindh was made a political base after establishing a strong federal system by Arabs. In fact, there were established governments in the Rai and Brahman periods of rule in Sindh. On the contrary, the nabobs of the Arab Caliphs in the Arab era were not able to establish their political hold, and the local regional rulers continued enjoying a strong political hold.

(b) Numerous Arabic words became part of the Sindhi language in the Arab era. Dr. Nabi Buksh Baloch has given his opinion on this subject. He says:

"The religious and political unanimity/harmony paved the way to give a central role to the languages and dialects of Sindh. There was an increase in the vocabulary and the dialects and sub dialects were consolidated. Sindhi became a national language and its roots got strengthened." (13)

(c) Study of the history of Sindh reveals that from the very beginning of Arab rule, settlement of Arabs started in various places of Sindh. The people of Sindh started

having strong social relationships with the Arab workers and scholars. Due to their permanent settlement, matrimonial relationships between the Arabs and local Sindhis started. In such circumstances, this resulted a strong influence on the social setup of people of Sindh. The Islamic studies had a great impact on the people. This collective social change left an imprint on the psyche of the language as well. Countless Arabic words entered the Sindhi vocabulary thereby enhancing its reserve of words.

6- This narrative reveals that Sindhi is a living language that has the ability like all other developing languages to absorb words from other dialects. While thousands of Arabic words entered the Sindhi language, a lot of Sindhi words also became part of the Arabic language. One of the reasons for Sindhi words to be borrowed by Arabic was that a lot of traditional common domestic trade and food items etc. were exported from the local markets to those of Arabia, Iran, Balkh, Bukhara, Baghdad and Basra and other countries. Sindhi physicians and hakims (doctors) translated books of medicines into Arabic, therefore hundreds of words with slight phonetic changes were being used in Arabic language. These words were so mixed up in Arabic that, they are not easily recognizable now. Some of the examples of such words are as under:

After absorption in Arabic	Sindhi words	After absorption in Arabic	Sindhi words
qand (قند) (14)	khand کنب	soom/foom ثوم/فوم	thoom (garlic) ثُوم
kakhh کَخ	kakh کک	shirā شرعه	sirh سِرھ
qaz قز	gaj گج	zuṭ زط	jat جَت
kafoor کافور	kapoor کپور	qabaala قبالة	kaabaaro/kaabaalo کاپارو/کاپالو
neelaj نیلاج	neer/neel نیل/نیل	farzah فرضه	phurdo فُردو
qarnafil قرنفل	karan phul کرڻ ڦل	karmiz کرمز	kirmich کرمج
jaifal جانفل	jae phal جاء ڦل	footaa فوطه	potee/poto پوتي/پوتو
atrefal اُترِڦل	tiphulo تِڦلو	hindol هندول	hindoro (cradle) هندورو
mikh مخ	mikh مک	ba'iyanaa بعيانہ	biaano (token) بيانو
azraq ازرق	ajrak اَجَرَک	sheet شيت	chhait چيت
zofraan زعفران	jaafraan جافران	qarfas قرفس	kapaha (cotton) ڪپھ

Similarly, below is a list of words that entered the Arabic language of those people who were settled in Sindh. They continued using them and thus enriched their vocabulary. Some examples are as under:

After entering Arabic	Sindhi words	After entering Arabic	Sindhi words
qaatae قاطع	kaat کات	amba, ambaj انبه/انبج	ambu اُنْبُ
mutarqa مطرقة	muturko مَترکو	Bahta/bahta بهطه/بهطا	bhat پت
halela هليله	halelaa هليلا	kaasah كاسه	kaaso کاسو
saazaj ساذج	sāg ساگ	sandaan (15) سندان	sandaan سندان
musk مُسک	mushk مُسک	sukaan سُکان	sukhaan سُکَان
kaafūr کافور	kapūr کپور	aakra عاکره (15)	aakro آکرو

Maulana Abdul Wahab Chachar writes in his article:

“Sindhi merchants used to take cloth and other merchandises to Yemen even before the advent of Islam in Sindh, from where these goods were transported to Madina and Mekkah and other areas. The Yemenese sheets and other clothes were not manufactured in Yemen but were sent there from Sindh. It has been said about one such Yemenese sheet which was made of ‘*azraq*’, type of cloth used by Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) which ‘contained red streaks on a white background’. This ‘*azraq*’ kind of fabric is called ‘*Ajrak*’ in Sindh. Similarly onions and garlic are not produced in Arabia, and like other fragrances and spices were imported from Sindh, and their names were adopted and they were Arabicised, so much so that they have been mentioned even in the Holy Quran.

The Sindhi cloth was exported in such a huge amount that some *Fiqah* books refer to ‘*Zati* cloth’ in chapters on trade. The interpreters have explained that *Zati* cloth was brought by *Zat* (*Jat*) people of Sindh.” (16)

Dr. Baloch writes:

“One can not say when the names of the commercial and medicinal terms had started to be used in Sindhi and Hindi, but perhaps this system started in Sindh in the 2nd Hijri century by the scholars of Mansoorah and then it reached Baghdad.” (17)

Dr. Baloch has written at another place:

“From the 2nd to 3rd Hijri century onwards, the Arab scholars started their research work on ‘medical science’, and books started to be written on the minerals, medicinal plants.” (18)

It is clear from Dr. Baloch’s opinion that about 200 years before Al-Beruni (973-1048 AD), the names of commercial items and medicinal plants were written in Sindhi in the Arabic-Sindhi script and for the purpose of pure Sindhi sounds, appropriate Sindhi letters were created by bringing about changes in the Arabic alphabet. The reference quoted by Dr. Baloch also reveals that:

“Around the end of the 4th Hijri century, Bashar bin Abdul Wahab Alfazari wrote in his book ‘*Tafaaseer-ul-advia*’ (تفاسير الادوية), names of the commercial items, medicinal plants and shrubs in more detail in Hindi and Sindhi. Later the scholar Al-Beruni wrote his book ‘*Aleidna-fil-Tib*’ (العيده في الطب) in 1050-1052 AD where he recorded the names of the herbs and medicinal plants and medicines Greek, Saryani, Arabic, Persian, Sindhi and Hindi and other local languages. Biruni also came to Mansoorah.” (19)

In his article, Maulana Abdul Wahab Chachar writes:

“Nouns of one language are used in other language. The language of the Holy Quran is extremely rich and comprehensive in itself, has the words of Sindhi and Hebrew languages; like ‘*musk*’ (مُسك) and

‘zanjabeel’ (زنجبیل) and ‘kafoor’ (کافور) (camphor), which has not decreased the grandeur of the book.” (20)

7- Sindhi Phonetics and Grammar:

In order to write the words mentioned on the previous page and quite a few other words, changes were made in the already existing letters of the alphabet, to accommodate peculiar Sindhi sounds because these sounds or their representing letters were not present in the Arabic alphabet. For example: (a)

Sindhi sounds	Arabic-Sindhi letters (21)
ف	ph ف
ر	r ر
ن	n ن
بھ	Bh پھ
ث / ف	th تھ
ب	b پ
ک	kh کھ
ب / ف	p پ
ک / ق	g گھ
نگ	ng گھ
نج	j جھ

(b) The Sindhi words with suffix ‘او=’ had been changed into ‘a’ in Arabic-Sindhi script. For example:

Sindhi word	Arabic-Sindhi script
maṭarqa مطرقہ	muturko مترکو
kaasah کاسہ	kaaso کاسو
ba'yana بیانہ	biyano بیانو
qabala قبالہ	kaḥāro/kaḥaalo کاہارو/کاہالو
farza فرزہ	phuro فرو
tootiya توتیہ	tootyو توتیو

8- Cultural and educational relations of Sindh with the Arab world before the arrival of Al-Beruni:

(a) Long before the arrival and stay of Al-Beruni, Sindh had strong relations with the major cities of the Islamic world regarding Sindh and Hind studies and the foundations for research had already been laid in this field. The basis for Al-Beruni’s research for ‘Sindh and Ghazni’ was the continuity of his research on ‘Sindh and Baghdad’, because the foundation for this research had been initially laid in the Umayyad period which became even stronger in the Abbasid Period.

It is clear from historical references left by Blazery (730-734 AD) that after the conquest of Sindh (712AD), it (Sindh) was made a part of the Umaayyad Empire. The monument of conquest of Sindh was laid in the ancient city of Bhamnva (Brahamanabad) and it was renamed as Al-Mansoorah(22), which was made the capital by the new rulers. This city was already a main center for learning, literature, trade and commerce, and this

new status gave this city a renewed importance. Dr. Baloch states:

“Al-Mansoorah became a center of Indo-Arabic Studies in this era.” (23)

(b) After the establishment of Baghdad in 762 AD during the period of Abbasid Caliphate, Al-Mansoorah became an important provincial center of the Islamic state. The exchange of scholars and *sughars* resulted in getting Al-Mansoorah more importance as the scientific, educational, literary and cultural activities increased. Similarly Multan, which was situated in the north of Sindh, achieved the status as a center of religious, cultural and literary activities, after the conquest of Sindh by Muhammad Bin Qasim (712 AD). This city was then made the capital of the northern areas of the province Al-Sindh. Multan had remained an important city of Sindh before the arrival of Arabs. In their era, Multan in the north, Aror in the central Sindh and Al-Mansoorah in the south of Sindh became the cities of immense importance.

(c) The borders of ancient Sindh had penetrated as far as Bhilmil (Gujrat) in the east, which was the capital of Gujrat state and was considered a part of Sindh. Bhilmil was known on one hand for its eminent scholar of astronomy, mathematics and prosody, and on the other side for having good relations of its scholars with those of Sindh.

The importance of ‘Bhilmil’ and the expertise of its scholars Brahm Gupta has been mentioned by Prof Jhamatmal Bhavnani and Mr. Param Abhechandani in their writings mentioned in 3rd chapter. Prof Jhamatmal Bhavani writes:

“Because of the relations between the Western borders of Rajasthan and Gujrat with the southern, south-eastern and eastern parts of Sindh, the scholars and wise *sughars* of these areas frequently travelled and visited each others’ countries.” (24)

He further states:

“Different national languages like Sindhi, Rajasthan, Gujrati and Hindi, had separated from the Apabhramshas around the 11th Century AD, and from there on, for at least two centuries in Sindh, no changes occurred in the spoken language of Western Rajasthan.

Some Sindhi scholars excelled in the literature of Arabic and Persian languages but Sindhi continued to be used by the common man, and it was not much different from the Western Rajasthani. Some centuries later, some parts of the present Sindhi had political relations with Rajasthan. From the literary point of view that was a period of ‘*Charani* folk songs.’ (25)

Some people from the Banu Alafi tribe from Arabia used to live in Bhilmil. (26)

The chief, Muhammad Bin Alafi, came to live in Sindh in 680 AD long before the Arabs conquered Sindh in 712AD. (27) He had the trust of Raja Dahir. He had made connections with the local people and because of this the people had surrendered to Muhammad Bin Qasim and avoided a war with him. This was one of the reasons that after the conquest of Sindh, the relations between the people of Bhilmil and the cities of Sindh got stronger and this helped in the development of education and science. Dr. Baloch writes:

“Many families living in Bhilmil accepted Islam. Their scholars studied the Arabic language and its literature. They included ‘Abdur Rehman Ibn Albelmani’ who died around 757-767 AD. He was a singularly important scholar of the Belmani family. The Belmani Muslim scholars helped the other Muslim scholars of India in learning the local and classical languages. In this way, he helped them in learning astronomy and other sciences in Bhilmil.” (28)

9- Laying the foundation of Sindhological and Indilogical shapes:

(a) Ten years after the victory of Muhammad Bin Qasim in 712 AD, treaties of peace were signed with Bhilmil and other Hindu states. ‘Umer Bin Jabeera Alfarazy’ of the Alfarazy clan was appointed as the ruler of Iraq by Yazid Bin Abdul Malik. It was then that Sindh and other eastern states came under his rule. Alfarazis had an interest in Sindh as their chief Umer had married a woman named ‘Hubaba’ from Sindh. (29) Umer Bin Jabeera Alfarazy appointed Junaid bin Abdul Rehman (723AD/105H) as the governor of Sindh. During the governorship of Junaid bin Abdul Rehman, some people from the Alfarazi clan developed an interest to study the books written about astronomy in Sanskrit, and this is how a foundation of Indology was laid. Later on, this task was taken up by the famous Arab scientist and a linguist ‘Ibrahim bin Habib Alfarazi’, his son Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim and some colleagues of Muhammad’s son Yaqub bin Tariq and Bashar Alfarazi. Muhammad bin Ibrahim Alfarazi was the first Arab scholar who introduced the sciences of Sindh and Hind to the scholars of the Arab world, and expressed the importance of these areas, although Al-Beruni thought that he (Alfarazi) had never understood the Indian sciences such as astrology and astronomy etc. (30)

(b) Astronomy and other sciences were not only at their peak in Bhilmil; the scholars of Multan, Aror and Bhamnava were also well advanced in these sciences. These sciences flourished in Bhilmil under the wisdom of ‘Brahm Gupta’ (born in 598AD), who wrote books on astronomy etc. in addition to principles of prosody and rhyming methods in poetry. His books were not only read by Al-Beruni; but on the basis of these books he further developed these sciences. (31)

(c) Muslim translators named the translation of ‘*Brahm Sidhant*’ as ‘*Al-Hind val-Sindh*’ (الهند والسند) while the name of ‘*Kiran Khand Khadek*’ (ڪرن ڪانڊ ڪڏيڪ) was translated as ‘*Al-Arkand*’ (الارڪند). Both these books were famous in the Muslim world. Upto the period of Governor Junaid, the newly converted Muslim scholars who were quite well versed with the written forms of educational and literary treasure with regard to local languages, became acquainted with Arabic language. Some of whom had become quite good at it. This way, the Arab Muslims living in Sindh became familiar with Sindhi and other languages of Hindus.

(d) About the middle of the 8th century (730-734AD), Brahmanabad (Al-Mansoorah) was already known to be a center of learning, science, mathematics and literature etc. from the time of the Brahman rule and even earlier, and had assumed an

important position. In this era (Abbasid period), numerous books on different scientific subjects written by the local scholars had been translated into Arabic. '*Kiran Khand Khadek*' written by Brahm Gupta was especially an important book that was translated into Arabic in Brahmanabad (Al-Mansoorah). (32) The scholars who translated it kept the geographical, traditional and cultural aspects of Sindh in the perspective, and made additions according to the circumstances of Sindh with its maps and charts. In this way these books were translated with reference to Sindh. (33)

(e) Another fact of immense importance that became known through '*Kiran Khand Khadek*' (الارڪند) is about the 'Sindhi Era', which was mentioned for the first time in the history of Sindh (34). Al-Beruni has especially mentioned the Sindhi era in the work, '*Kitab al-Hind*' with reference to this book. Sindhi era is concerned with astronomy. According to Al-Beruni, the astronomers of Sindh believed that the first month of the Sindhi era should be the month of '*Chait*' (چیت) (mid March to mid April). (35) Even now the Hindus of Sindh celebrate the '*Chait*' as the first month of the Sindhi/Hindu calendar. They organize a huge congregation at the shrine of '*Shri Udero Lal*' (شري اڈيرو لال) on every 1st of the month of '*Chait*'. This congregation is called '*Jaata*' (جائ). The Sindhi Hindus living in India now celebrate the Congregation of '*Chaiti Chandu*' (چیتي چنڊ) as a sign of their love and passion for Sindh.

Astronomers used the word '*Kaal*' (ڪال) for Era. Referring to Al-Beruni, Dr. Baloch has discussed the Sindhi *Kaal* in quite detail. He writes:

"Brahm Gupta had written '*Kiran Khand Khadek*' (ڪرن ڪانڊ ڪنڊيڪ) in 665 AD, at a time when 39 years had passed since the start of the 'Sindhi Era'. It means that the Sindhi Era started on 4th March, 626 AD/ 29th Ramadan 4 Hijri, on the 1st day of the month of Chait on a Thursday. This year corresponds to 548 Shaka Kala." (36)

Al-Beruni writes:

"According to the scholar, 'Durlabh' of Multan, the Hindu year (Sindhi Era) used to start from Margherash (i.e. Naahri=mid November to mid December). But other astrologers and astronomers of Multan would start New Year with the month of '*Chait*'." (37)

Sindhi Era is considered important in the history of Sindh because it corresponds to the freedom of Sindh from Iranian occupation on this day by Raja Saherus I, which was Thursday the 4th of March 626 AD which, according to the Islamic Calendar, corresponds to the 29th Ramadan 4 Hijri. The Raja was killed in this war but then his son 'Raja Sahasy Rai' ascended the throne and laid the foundation of independent rule of the Rai family, marking the end of the Sasanian Rule in Sindh. (38)

10- Sindhological Studies in Abbasid Period:

(a) As mentioned above, the second period of Sindhological Studies started in the Abbasid era, at the time of Caliph Almansoor (ruled 754-775 AD). This period has been divided into two parts. The patron of studies and all kinds of research in the first part was

the Abbasid, 'Caliph Almansoor'. During his tenure, after the establishment of the city of Baghdad (762AD), numerous Sindhi astronomers and experts of other sciences, visited his court/*darbar*. The court astronomer 'Ibrahim Bin Muhammad Alfarazi' took special interest in the works of the astronomers from Sindh and learnt a lot from them. With the assistance from the Sindhi scholar he prepared a plan to get books from India, particularly from Sindh on the subject of astronomy to get them translated into Arabic. Among these translations '*Al-Arkand*' and '*Brahm Sidhaant*' (برہم سڌانت) left a deep imprint on the minds of the Arab scholars on scientific lines. These Arabs learnt a lot from Brahm Gupt even before Ptolemy (تالمی). Around 776-77AD, a scholar named 'Abu Usman Ibn Behrul Haaz Al-Basry' wrote a book titled '*Kitaab Alyaan Val-Tabaéen*' (کتاب الیان و التابعین) where he has mentioned the names of the Sindhi scholars who were present in the court of Khalifa Al-Mansoor.

(b) In this period, scholars like Brahm Gupta and others wrote books on the subject of celestial science (علم هیت) and continued their further research. With the assistance of the Sindhi scholars, Ibrahim Bin Muhammad, who belonged to the clan of Alfarazy, played his role in translation work at Mansoorah.

With the help of Sindhi scholars, Al-Beruni critically analyzed the translation of the book 'Rotation of Stars' (ستارن جي گردش), done by Alfarazy and Yaqub Bin Tariq. According to him either the Sindhi scholars had failed to explain the science of celestial bodies properly to the Arabs or the Arabs had not been successful in correctly translating the text of the book.

(c) Caliph Al-Mansoor appointed Hasham Bin Umer Al-Taghalby as the governor of Sindh. During his reign (768-774 AD/151-157H), the second delegation of Sindhi scholars visited the court of the caliph. According to Al-Beruni, the delegation included astronomers and scholars of celestial sciences from Sindh. This delegation presented the book '*Sidhaant*' (سڌانت) to the caliph that encouraged the court astronomer Muhammad Bin Ibrahim to translate this book and work on it. This book introduced the numerical system being used in Sindh in the Abbasid courts. The Arabic name of '*Sidhaant*' was translated as Al-Hind val-Sindh

(d) The second influx of the sciences from Sindh in Baghdad occurred in the reign of Caliph Haroon-al-Rasheed (786-808AD). The Barmaki family held the ministerial portfolio, which later travelled with the ruling family to Balkh where their elders had a lot of influence on the Buddhist temple 'Nau Vehar'. Dr. Sachau writes:

"Bramak seems to be the name of Indian origin and means *paramak* (پَرَمَک) i.e. nice and superior or 'the head of the temple'." (39)

The Barmaks sent a few scholars of Baghdad to Sindh to study medicine, pharmacology and astronomy. Moreover, they invited the Hindu physicians and medical scientists to Baghdad and appointed them in their institutions and hospitals. They were also asked to translate Sanskrit books on these subjects into Arabic. In addition, they

were asked to translate books on the subjects of toxicology, philosophy, celestial sciences, astronomy and other subjects into Arabic.

11- Scholars and traditional physicians of Sindh in the Abbasid Court:

(a) From 801 to 821 AD, educational and cultural exchanges between Baghdad and Sindh were promoted. (40) Around 807-8 AD, Caliph Haroon-al-Rasheed became very unwell. Pandit Manik of Sindh was a very well known physician in Sindh. He was summoned to Baghdad to treat the caliph. After the treatment, the caliph got better and he appointed Pandit Manik in the Darul Hikma, who later on translated Sanskrit books on medicine into Arabic. Around this time (801-808AD) he translated an other book named 'Susruta' (سُسْرُت) on medical science as well. (41) He also translated books on toxins into Persian with the help of Abu Hatim Balakhi. He also translated books on the subject of 'medicinal plants' for Sulaiman Bin Ishaq. (42)

(b) In addition to Pandit Manik, there was another great physician named Pandit Gangu, who was also a personal physician of Caliph Haroon al Rasheed. He, too, was appointed at Baitul Hikma along with Pandit Manik. (43)

(c) Saleh Ibn Bhallo was the third physician of the court/darbar who was appointed for medical care of caliph's brother-in-law. Caliph Haroon-al-Rasheed had also invited other physicians from Sindh (44), a few names are as follows:

(i) **Guloo:** Al-Beruni has called him with the name 'Kalar' (كلر). Sachau suggests that it should be read as 'Kulusha' (كلوش) because the name of the Brahmin minister of Raja Sambaji was *Kulush* (45), but I think it should be read as *Guloo* (گلو).

(ii) **Ibn Dhanoo** (ابن دڻو): Al-Beruni has written this name as 'Ibn Dhan', but I think it should be read as *Ibn Dhanoo*. The name *Dhanoo* (دڻو) was a common name then and even today a lot of Hindus and Muslims in the rural areas of Sindh have this name. Ibn Dhanoo means son of Dhanoo and this scholar was a famous physician of his times. He was the director of the Barmakis Hospital in Baghdad. Sachau has written that this may be either 'Dhani' or 'Dhannan' which, according to the etymology, is related to 'Danvantri'. In the 'Manushaaster', *Danvantri* was the imaginary physician of the deities (46) but as per Sindhi tradition it should be pronounced as *Dhanoo*.

(d) Readers are aware that the local names in Sindhi language have a deep relation with Sindhian mythology. The anthropological study of these names and their mythical background is quite interesting. For example the following names are worth mentioning:

"aasar, aagay dino, bhaag, bhaagabhari, bhoongar, piṭho, paṭho, ḥaanh, ḥanhan ḥinhu, padmaṇi, paro, paroo, phatoo, phoṭo, jodho, jogi, chaaga, chaagilo, chaagili, chatoon, chhato, chhuṭo, chhatee, chhattalu, jaam, dev, devi, dodo, daadoo, dahesars, raano, raani, rato, soḍho, sonee, sonal, sonoo, sabhago, sabhagi, sadoro, sadori, soonharo, soonhari, sindhu, soonhan devi, sukha, sukhi, sukhyo, saeen-a dino, saeen-a rakhio, sacho, sachal, saanwan, shewak, karo, karami, karam sain, koondhar,

khaato, kheti, khaṭoo, khiaanto, laakho, ladho, laung, mor, mircha, miṭho, miṭhoo, malooka, nathu, naatho, nathar, nangar, gope, gopi, gopaaul, koonja, kanwal, varyam, varyah, varo etc.”

The other noteworthy physicians were as follows:

(iii) **Vaaṭoo**: Sachau has written this name as Vaatar. But I think it should be pronounced as ‘*Vaato*’ because *Vaaṭoo* and *Vaaṭoomal* are names commonly in use in Sindh. *Vaaṭro* was a renowned physician and had written a book on drinkables.

(vi) **Baidba (Baidpae)**: This name has been written as Baidbah, who had written a book on a branch of philosophy. Sachau believes this name was ‘*Veda Vyasa*’ as he thinks that it has also been written as ‘*Vyaas*’. This scholar was the founder of Vedanta school of philosophy.

(v) **Sachoo**: Al-Beruni has written this name as ‘*Satya*’ who was the author of the book *Jataka* (جَتَاک). It should be read as *Sachoo*; linguistically according to the principles of assimilation, ت + ي (t+y) when joined together influence each other and get changed into the phoneme ‘چ’ (ch). Sachau thinks that it is an assimilated form of ‘*Satya Varman*’.

(vi) **Sanjar**: Al-Beruni has written this name as ‘*Sanjhal*’, which should be pronounced as ‘*Sanjhar*’. The name *Sanjar* is very common in Sindh even now. Since Sachau was not well versed with Sindhi language, he has written about this name as:

“A firm opinion about the Indian equivalent for this name cannot be given.” (47)

(vii) **Gosh**: Also called as Badaagosh, had written a book on the cunningness of women, that was later on translated into Arabic as well.

(viii) **Chander**: He was a Buddhist and was a renowned grammarian.

(ix) **Sugri**: Al-Beruni has written this name as ‘*Sugri Va*’. He was a Buddhist and an expert astronomer. The name ‘*Sagri*’ is also very common in Thar and Lar e.g. Sugro, Sagraam etc.

(x) **Pingul**: He was an eminent in *Chhand Vidya* (prosody) and was a founder poet of the ‘*Shalook*’ (شَلوک), which is a form of poetry.

(xi) **Ratan**: He was a renowned mathematician and this name is quite common in Sindhi Hindu community.

(xii) **Jodho**: He, too, was a renowned physician.

(xiii) **Durlabh**: He was an astronomer from Multan. He wrote a book on law (Ahergan)

(xiv) **Pandit Bhallo**: He was a famous physician and so was his son ‘Saleh’.

(xv) **Pandit Bakhar**: He was a good physician.

(e) In addition to the Hindu scholars, there were many local and Arab Muslim scholars in the Ummayyad and Abbasid periods. Some of them were historians and poets, while some were Hadith narrators (*Muhadis*). Some of their names are as follows:

(i) Abu Atta Sindhi: He lived in the Ummayyad period around 749 AD/132H. He was a renowned scholar of Arabic literature and was highly respected by the Arab scholars. As a child, he was a prisoner of war and had sung such poetry of praise that his captor released him.

(ii) Abu Zila Sindhi Mansoori: He was a great poet and a scholar. He was brought to Baghdad as a prisoner and was never able to return to his homeland. But as long as he lived, he always used to admire his motherland. A poem of praise for his country has been found in the book entitled '*Asaar ul Balaad Qazveeny*', a few of the verses are reproduced here:

“At the war front the Indian (Sindhi) swords and arrows were praised,
a friend denied to accept the excellence of art of Sindhis. Their denial was
inappropriate in all responds.

I swear on my life when it rains in India (Sindh), the people devoid of
ornaments consider the rain droplets as pearls.

There (in my homeland) is abundance of musk, camphor, teak and
sandalwood, and there are fragrances of many kinds for those who need
them.

There (in my homeland) are many types of plants and fragrant flowers
and sandalwood trees grow tall.

In my homeland there are huge mountains of copper sulphate and in its
jungles there are many lions, tigers, elephants, wolves, peacocks, parrots,
pigeons and other kinds of birds and animals.

In India (Sindh) there grow the plants of sesame seeds and black
pepper.

When swords of unmatched quality are used, the whole army starts
vibrating.

And only some stupid person can deny the excellence and intelligence
of the people of India (Sindh).” (48)

(iii) Abu Abdul Malik: He was taken to Baghdad as a slave. He later became a
very prominent scholar.

(iv) Abu Maasher Sindhi (Najeesh bin Abd Rehman): ‘He was brought to
Baghdad as a prisoner of war, later became an eminent scholar of the Sunnah of the
Prophet (PBUH). He has been praised by Arab scholars. The Abbasid caliph, Mehdi
(776-777 AD), brought him from Medina to Bavarah and appointed him in his court. He
died in 787AD (170H) in Baghdad and his funeral prayer was conducted by the Caliph
Mehdi himself.

(v) Imam Ozai Abdul Rehman bin Umer O Shaikhul Islam: He died in
772AD (156H)

(vi) Hafiz Abu Muhammad Khalf bin Saalim Sindhi: He was one of the
greatest Hafiz of Hadith, and lived in Muhalla Mukhram of Baghdad, and therefore was
also known by the title ‘Mukhrami’.

(e) All these scholars earned their fame in the Arab literary circles. Similarly, in the initial period of Arab rule, the scholars of Debal became very famous for their literary works, which was a centre of learning in those days. Allama Samani has called these scholars with the title of Debalī. Some of those scholars were as under:

- 1- Abu Jafer Muhammad bin Ibrahim bin Abdullah Debalī.
- 2- Ibrahim bin Muhammad bin Ibrahim bin Abdullah Debalī.
- 3- Abu Qasim Shoaib bin Muhammad bin Ahmad bin Shoaib bin Bazeeu bin Savaar Debalī.
- 4- Abul Abbass Muhammad bin Abdullah Varaaq Debalī.
- 5- Abul Abbass Ahmad bin Abdullah bin Saeed Debalī.

Similarly many scholars of Arab origin studied the Sindhi language and its literature. This proved that during the period of Arab rule (712-1010AD) Sindhi language and literature was popular and a few of the above mentioned scholars were recognized as good poets too.

(f) The knowledge of mathematical calculations was termed as '*Al-Hisaab Al-Hindi*' by the Arab scholars. In this era, the Arabs translated books on the subjects of snake venom, snake charming, knowledge of venoms (*Visha Vidya*), magic, reading of mantras, alternative methods of treatment of snakebites, veterinary science, biography of Buddha, logic and philosophy, mannerism, politics and science of war. That is to say that Sindh had plenty of people with knowledge of these sciences and the Arab scholars would seek their assistance for translating books written by Hindu scholars. They critically analyzed their works. *Al-Hisaab Al-Hindi* was their favorite subject which was later propagated by Al-Kandy and other scholars.

(g) Names of many physicians and scholars have been mentioned above. They have preserved the Sindhi names of shrubs, drugs and medicines, planets and stars in their Arabic books. In this regard Dr. Nabi Buksh Baloch opines as under:

“With constant interaction between Arabs and Sindhis, and due to the knowledge of Sindhi acquired by Arab scholars through their books, emphasis was given to the pronunciation, correctness and spelling etc. Several Sanskrit books were translated in Sindhi at Mansoorah. Those able scholars who were well versed with Hindi and Sindhi languages must have emphasized on the correct pronunciation of the words in these translations. In such a scholarly environment spelling of Sindhi words were written in such a way that even today the actual Prakrit words can be traced through Sindhi words. This was the time when Sindhi was written in the Arabic script for the first time.” (49)

As mentioned above, among the Sindhi it is thought scholars, Abu Atta Sindhi was a great Sindhi poet and scholar of the 2nd Hijri century. He must have written poetry in Sindhi and must have written the Sindhi words in Sindhi-Arabic script. Similarly, Abu Mahsher Sindhi was also a renowned historian, and he too might have written Sindhi words in Sindhi-Arabic script. Likewise Abu Zila Sindhi and others might have written in Sindhi.

12- While the scholars of Sindhi origin learnt the Arabic language and its sciences, the Arabs too learnt and excelled in the usage of Sindhi language. Mansoorah, on one hand, became a center for learning whereas Debal also became famous for this very reason. In this context Dr. Baloch writes:

“The land of Sindh not only had institutions for studying Sindhi; arrangements were also made to learn Hindi and other languages of India. Sindhi as well as Arabic had a great place in Sindh because of the co-existence of the two communities. They understood and spoke each others’ languages. All the Arab travellers have said that Sindhi and Arabic were both in use in Sindh, which proves that the Arab government gave a lot of importance to Sindhi language and arrangements were made for its development and promotion.” (50)

(a) The written words of Sindhi language found in the travelogues of these travellers in the Arab era are as under:

	Sindhi word	Arabic form	Sindhi word	Arabic form	Sindhi word	Arabic form
Names of people	<i>Budha</i>	Budaha	<i>Gangu</i>	Kanka	<i>Rasik</i>	Rasikh
	<i>Sanjar</i>	Sanjhal	<i>Dahir</i>	Dahir	<i>Maṇik</i>	Mankah
	<i>Bhalo</i>	Bhala	<i>Jodho</i>	Jodr	<i>Changi</i>	Jangee
	<i>Budhrakho</i>	Budahrakh	<i>Rattan</i>	Rattan	<i>Dhanu</i>	Dhan
	<i>Joonu</i>	jona				
Names of places	<i>Kech</i>	Kez	<i>Tooraan</i>	Ṭoraan	<i>Makraan</i>	Makraan
	<i>Sibi</i>	Sibvi	<i>Kanzpur</i>	Qanzpur	<i>Brahmanab</i>	Brahmanab
	<i>Bharj</i>	Bharj	<i>Aror</i>	Alror	<i>ad</i>	ad
	<i>Mehraṇ</i>	Mehran	<i>Bulri</i>	Bulri	<i>Panj aab</i>	Panj aabm
	<i>Khanbhaat</i>	Khanbaya	<i>Bakaar</i>	Bakaar	<i>Mastong</i>	Mastanj
Names of fruits	<i>Thaṇṇoo</i>	Taana	<i>Sando</i>	Sindon	<i>Bakhar</i>	Baakher
	<i>Lemoona</i>	Leemoon	<i>Naranj</i>	Naarangi		
	<i>Anbij</i>	anb		mevo		
Names of foods and vegetables	<i>Sambosa</i>	Samosakh	<i>Mung</i>	Munj	<i>Kishri</i>	<i>Khichri</i>
	<i>Khaṇḍ</i>	Qand	<i>Bhat</i>	Bahta	<i>Basal</i>	<i>Basar</i>
Names of weeds and drugs	<i>Mushk</i>	Masky	<i>Sandal</i>	<i>Chandan</i>	<i>Darcheeni</i>	Darjeeni
	<i>Kakh</i>	Kakh	<i>Qaranfal</i>	<i>Karanhphal</i>	<i>Kapoor</i>	Kafoor
Names of trades, dress & castes			<i>Qurmuz</i>	<i>Kirimchi</i>	<i>Mikh</i>	Mikh
	<i>Sandaan</i>	Sandaan	<i>Aakro</i>	Aakra	<i>Jat</i>	Zut
	<i>Dangi</i>	Donej	<i>Sirh</i>	Shara’	<i>Hindoro</i>	Hindol
	<i>Poti/Poto</i>	Futa	<i>Chheet</i>	Sheet	<i>Bajaaḷ</i>	Bazaz

(b) Letters for Sindhi sounds:

New Arabic-Sindhi letters were formed to write the above said words and thousands of other words. For example:

Arabic-Sindhi letter	Sindhi sound	Arabic-Sindhi letter	Sindhi sound	Arabic-Sindhi letter	Sindhi sound
ب	ب	ب	پ	ک	ک
پ	پ	ن	ڻ	ز، ص	چ
ک	ک	ک	گ	ر	ڙ
ن	ڻ	دھ	ڌ	د	ڏ
ت	ت	نج	ج	نگ	گ
		د	ڍ	ت/ث	ث

(c) The Sindhi language and its richness, intellect and knowledge of the people of Sindh reached to such an extent in Arabic era that (as mentioned earlier) Raja Mahrook of Alra and Kashmir, in 270 AD, wrote to the Amir of Mansoorah Abdullah bin Abdul aziz Habari to depute any scholar who could translate and write the Islamic teachings and interpretation of the laws. Abdullah the Amir of Mansoorah sent an Iraqi scholar and poet who had been brought up and trained in Sindh, having command on many local languages. He spent three years there in the court of Raja and translated the Holy Quran into Sindhi and wrote a '*qasida*' as well. (51)

13- Conclusion drawn from this chapter:

(i) Sindhi was spoken and written language of the people of this region long before the conquest of the Arabs.

(ii) During the Arab period (712-1010AD), Arabic was the language used in offices and for religious affairs, but Arab and Sindhi traders spoke Sindhi and Arabic. The Sindhi merchants and traders kept their record of book keeping and accounting in Sindhi script. In this regard, it is known from the travelogues of Arab travellers like Bishari Al-Muqadasi, Yaqoobi, Buzurg Bin Shehryar and Al-Beruni and also from the excavations from the ruins of Brahmanabad and Bhambhore that *Saindhui* and *Ardhnagri* scripts were used in Sindh and the common language at the time was Sindhi, and it was being used for all trade and commercial purposes.

(iii) Sindhi language also got the status of the language for preaching Islam. In this context the opinion of Buzurg bin Shehryar about the translation of Holy Quran in Sindhi carries a lot of weight.

(iv) Upto the Arab era, Sindhi language had become so rich that in addition to trade and commerce, it was used for learning, literature and poetry, astronomy, astrology, traditional medicines and medicinal plants, which were being used for treatment of illnesses.

(v) Sindhi language borrowed thousands of Arabic words and its vocabulary was enriched.

(vi) In this era, the study of grammar and phonetics, phonology of Sindhi language were promoted.

(vii) It was in this era that Sindhi started being written in Arabic-Sindhi script and new Arabic-Sindhi letters were formed for special Sindhi sounds. For example:

Arabic-Sindhi letters	Pure Sindhi sounds	Arabic-Sindhi script	Sindhi Words
ب ن م س ج	ب ن م س ج	bilanj Sandal	<i>palang</i> (bed) <i>chandan</i> (sandalwood)
		Kafoor Banyaana	<i>kapoor</i> (camphor) <i>vaaniya</i> (Hindu traders)

(viii) Sindhi language had penetrated right up to Kashmir. Raja Mahrook probably knew Sindhi language and perhaps that was the reason why he requested the ruler of Mansoorah to get the Holy Quran translated into Sindhi for him.

(ix) Sindhi language had achieved such an importance that the Arabs living in Sindh, not only spoke that language but were able to write it and even compose poetry in it.

(x) Poetry in Sindhi was a favorite tradition of the people.

(xi) Sindhi language achieved this richness and was enhanced to such an extent that it had all the appropriate words for translation of the Holy Quran.

(xii) A Sindhi-Arab scholar wrote a narrative with answers to Raja Mahrook's questions explaining all what the Raja had asked for.

(xiii) In addition to having the appropriate words for astronomy, astrology, medicinal science and mathematics, Sindhi language had a great treasure of words for the study of snake venoms, magic, poetry, medicinal plants, mantras, alternative methods of treatment of ailments etc.

It can be understood from the names of the scholars, pandits and physicians of that time that the names of people like Manhik, Gangu, Bhalo, Dhanu, Guloo, Ratan and Sachu etc. were kept according to the country's psychological, societal behaviors and mythological beliefs. For example:

- After the names of stars and planets 10
- After the names of precious stones 11
- After the qualities of bravery 12
- With reference to the characteristics of psychological approach 17
- In accordance with the names of items of domestic usages, objects, medicinal plants, shrubs and plants. 18
- According to the names of trees, vegetables and fruits 19
- After the names of animals, birds etc 20

14- Position of Sindh in the Past:

(a) After the Abbasid period, and during the Samani period (892-999AD), the Abbasid caliphate had become very weak. The Samanis developed their relations with Kabul and Sindh. Their ministers collected information about Sindh and India. Alpatgin, the ruler from slave dynasty of Samanis, almost declared himself as independent ruler. This was a period just before Al-Beruni was born (973AD). After Alpatgin, his son Sabuktagin became the ruler. He tried to attack Sindh and India, then his son Mahmood

Ghaznavi also attacked Sindh, Multan and Gujrat and destroyed the cities of Multan, Mansoorah and Somnath in Gujrat.

(b) Mr. Sibte Hassan has summarized the Arab era as is reproduced here:

“Over a long period of 300 years, the people of Sindh and the Arabs learnt a lot from each other. The tools of agriculture remained the same as they were used before the Arab conquest. There was no change in the type of social life. Thus, the national culture and traditions of Sindh remained unchanged as it had evolved from the soil and waters of the Indus valley. But the teaching of the spirit of Islam always had deep influence on the traditions and civilization of Sindh. The social and political leadership remained in the hands of the elite who enforced the norms and rules of business in the society

Sindhi language changed a lot; it borrowed plenty of words from Arabic and thus its vocabulary enhanced in every field of life. (52)

(c) Although during the Arabic period, the structure and system of the Sindhi language did not change, but by means of addition of prefixes and suffixes to Arabic words, a lot of new Sindhi words, nouns, adverbs etc. were formed. For example:

<i>dafan</i> (bury)	<i>dafinan</i>
<i>vafa</i> (trust)	<i>ba-vafaa, be-vafaaa, vafaadari, be-vafaai</i>
<i>dil</i> (heart)	<i>be-dil, pur-dil, dilyaan, be-dilyo,</i>
<i>qabool</i> (accept)	<i>qaboolan, qaboolio</i>

(d) This was an era of Arabic and Sindhi languages when both these languages were spoken in Mansoorah, Multan, Debal and other cities. (53) This continued till the end of the Arabic rule, and in the end Sindhi prevailed over Arabic. Even then the influence of Arabic did not end.

(e) The direct relationship of Arabic and Sindhi continued up to 1036AD. Even after the end of the Arab rule thousands of Arabic words entered Sindhi directly or through Persian. (54) Analysis of these words shows that Arabic language enriched the vocabulary of the Sindhi language. Arabic has also had some influence on the phonetical, phonological, morphological, syntactical and grammatical formation of the Sindhi language. More on this subject can be read on pages 322 to 328 of the book titled ‘A Study of Sindhi Language’. Not only a great number of Arabic words became part of the Sindhi vocabulary but by addition of prefixes and suffixes of Arabic morphological system, a lot of new words were also formed. For example: *lājawāb* (unmatched), *lāshak* (doubtless), *ghair waqif* (unknown), *be-gharz* (not greedy), *be-misāl* (exemplary) etc. Similarly native prefixes and suffixes were added to Arabic roots to form new words like: *Ana-laiq* (unwise), *aibāito* (defective), *raesko* (princely), *raesāno* and *ana-waqif* (unknown) etc.

(f) Also similarly, according to Sindhi grammatical principles, many compound verbs were formed by addition of Sindhi auxiliary verbs at the end of Arabic nouns. For example:

Compound Verb

madada karan (to help)
qabool karan (to accept)
zarab lagain (to inflict injury)
zarab lagan (to have an injury)
nazar vijhan (to glance)
nazar karan
nazar lagan

Auxiliary Verb

karan (to)
karan (to)
lagain (to inflict)
lagan (ta have)
vijhan (to put)
karan (to)
lagan (to have)

Arabic Noun

madad (help)
qabool (accept)
zarab (injury)

nazar (look/glance)

Gradually the Arabic nouns started taking Sindhi grammatical shapes according to the structure and formation of Sindhi language; for example, those Arabic feminine nouns that have 'ة' sign at the end of a noun were changed according to the Sindhi grammatical principles into 'او' (o) or 'ات' (at). For example:

Sindhi word	Sign of Sindhi Language	Arabic noun
<i>juso</i> جڻو	او	<i>jusa</i> جڻو
<i>khutbo</i> خطبو	او	<i>khutbah</i> خطبه
<i>khatro</i> خطرو	او	<i>khatrah</i> خطره
<i>zakheero</i> زخيرو	او	<i>zakheera</i> زخيرہ
<i>falsafo</i> فلسفو	او	<i>falsafah</i> فلسفہ
<i>qaflo</i> قافلو	او	<i>qafrah</i> قافله
<i>faaedo</i> فائڊو	او	<i>Faedah</i> فائده
<i>qaedo</i> قاعدو	او	<i>qaeda</i> قاعده
<i>fitno</i> فتنو	او	<i>fitnah</i> فتنہ
<i>daavat</i> دعوت	ت	<i>da'ava</i> دعوت
<i>aafat</i> آفت	ت	<i>aafah</i> آفة
<i>ulfat</i> اُلفت	ت	<i>ulfa</i> اُلفة

(g) The Arabic letter ة appearing at the end of feminine Arabic common and proper nouns is changed according to the Sindhi grammar into ā-aa or ه, as seen below:

Sindhi noun	Arabic noun	Sindhi noun	Arabic noun
<i>Saleha</i> صالحه	<i>Saleha</i> صالحه	<i>Saaeda</i> سعيده	<i>Saeeda</i> سعيدة
<i>Fareeda</i> فريده	<i>Fareeda</i> فريده	<i>Ameena</i> امينه	<i>Ameena</i> امينة
<i>Sajida</i> ساجده	<i>Sajida</i> ساجده	<i>Taliba</i> طالبه	<i>Taliba</i> طالبة
<i>Fatima</i> فاطمه	<i>Fatima</i> فاطمه	<i>Mualima</i> معلمه	<i>Mualima</i> معلمة

Thus the conclusion is that during and after the Arabic rule, Sindhi as a language got richer under the influence of Arabic, and its vocabulary had also enriched tremendously.

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- 26- Al-Beruni, Ghuratul-zijjat,Op,Cit, p:15
- 27- Ref: 22, pp:13-16
- 28- See ref 23, Op. Cit. Vol. I, Preface, p:xxxiv
- 29- Al-Beruni writes that: "The best period of the conqueror Muhammad Bin Qasim was between 707 to 714 AD, but the message of Islam had reached Sindh 32 years before his conquest, i.e. in and around 610AD, in fact the influence of Islam was established before 710AD; see Sachau, E.C, Dr., Op. Cit. Vol. I, 1962, p:35
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- 35- Sachau, Op. Cit., pp 12 & 13
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- 38- Mr. Muhammad Hussain Panwhar believes that: 'The Rai dynasty established their rule in 499 AD; and continued according to lunar calendar for 137 years and from the solar system for 133 years i.e. up to 632 AD. The founder of the Rai dynasty was Devji Rai and he was a Buddhist. They defeated the Iranian descendants of Sasani dynasty ruler King Kaikubad and brought an end of their empire. Mr. Panwhar writes with reference to Dr. Baloch that the Rai dynasty started in the time of Khusro I. This dynasty had 5 rulers: 1- Rai Devji, 2- Rai Saheras, 3- Rai Sahasi, 4- Rai Saheras II and 5-Rai Sahasi II
Mr. Panwhar writes that Chach Brhman was enthroned in 640 AD. If one

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- accepts Mr. Panwhar's opinion, then the rule of Rai dynasty would have started from 507AD because the Chinese tourist Hiuen Tsang has written that the ruler who started his rule in 640 AD was Sudra who belonged to Rai Devji's family.
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Chapter Five

The Standardization of Sindhi Language Period of local rulers (Soomra) 1010 to 1351 AD

1- Period of Al-Beruni:

(a) This period is essentially included in the period of Soomra rulers. Al-Beruni came to ancient Sindh in this very period and stayed here from 1017 to 1031 in Nandina (i.e. present day Punjab) in a fort near the city of Jhelum; hence, the first part of this period can be called the Al-Beruni period.

In those days, Sindh was ruled by Soomras (Soomra rule started in Sindh in 1010AD); in fact, there exists confusion in the written histories about the beginning of the period of Soomra dynasty. Because of the weakening of Abbasid dynasty in Baghdad, Sindh was ruled by the native Arab dynasty i.e. the Habarid from 980AD (375H). At that time, the government of Mansoorah was not under the control of Multan, and both these governments were independent of each other. (1) Mahmood Ghaznavi attacked Multan in 1010AD and brought an end to the Ismaili rule. It is also known that in that very period, the Imam (spiritual leader) of the Ismaili faith and Fatimid Caliph Al-Hakim Bi-Amrullah encouraged the Sindhi Soomra chief Ibn-Soomar Rajpal to form an Ismaili government through his letter (2) and gave him the title of Shaikh. History books mention his name as Khafif Soomro, who established his rule in Mansoorah (in 1010AD). In other words, one can say that the evidences of rule by Soomras in Mansoorah in Sindh are found from 1010AD (the Soomras were Ismailis at that time). (3)

Mr. Muhammad Hussain Panhwar has written in this regard:

“It is possible that following the defeat of Ismailis in Multan, Mansoorah had become the center of Ismaili movement. They (Ismailis) gathered in Mansoorah and brought an end to the Habarid rule. (4)”

The evidences of rule by Habari family are found from 987AD onwards. Abu Zafar Nadvi believes that the Ismaili occupation of Mansoorah may have happened between 986AD and 1010AD. (5)

In this context, Mr. Molai Sheedai is of the opinion:

“Up to 1010AD Mansoorah was ruled by the Habarids and then Qaramatians (Ismailis) occupied it, and it is possible that the Habarids may have converted to Ismaili sect.” (6)

But referring to Abu Aseer, Syed Suleman Nadvi writes:

“Ismailis brought an end to the rule of a Sunni ruler of Habarid family after 986AD and captured Mansoorah, and according to Bishari Muqadasi, the name of the Fatimi ruler of Multan was read in congregations. Ismailis

also took over the government of Sindh which was brought down by Mahmood Ghaznavi in 1025AD.” (7)

Mr. Muhammad Hussain Panhwar believes that:

“The name of the 5th and the last ruler of the Habarid family was Ali Bin Umer Habari who died in Mansoorah. After his death, Khafeef Soomro became the ruler of Mansoorah in 1010AD.” (8)

According to Pir Hisamuddin Rashdi’s opinion:

“The last ruler of Habari clan, Ibn Ali Ibn Umer Alhabari, ruled up to 1010AD, after that Khafeef Soomro became the ruler of Mansoorah and he ruled till 1025AD.” (9)

(b) In the history books available on Sindh, the name of Khafeef does not appear as the first Soomra ruler. His name appears on number 9 in “*Tareekh Masoomi*” in the following order:

“Soomar, Bhoongar, Dodo, Taree, Sanghaar, Himoon, Phatu, Khairu and Khafeef who was Khairu’s successor.” (10)

(c) According to “*Muntakhibul Tawareekh*”, the name of Khafeef appears on number 6 in the list of Soomra rulers. The list is as under:

“Soomra (ruled from 445H), Bhoongar Bin Soomro (died in 461H), Dodo Bin Bhoongar (died in 485H), Taree, Sanghaar and Khafeef (Sanghaar’s brother-in-law, died in 536H).”

This book also has Khafeef’s name at another place on number 17.

Likewise, in “*Tuhfatul-Ikram*”, the name Khafeef appears on number 5 and this was much later, after the period of Mahmood Ghaznavi.

(d) The above quoted examples prove that Khafeef Soomro, who ruled over Mansoorah from 1010AD to 1025 AD, was some other person who was there much earlier and who was defeated by Mahmood Ghaznavi, which brought an end to the Ismaili rule. This fact is mentioned in the written histories but they do not show Khafeef as the name of the ruler. Anyhow, the Soomra rule was re-established in Sindh that lasted uptill 1351AD.

Soon after the death of Mahmood Ghaznavi, Sindh became a free country, as his son Sultan Masood could not control such a vast kingdom and having been defeated at the hands of *Saljoques* escaped initially to Ghazni and then to Lahore. On his way to Lahore, his people killed him near Margalla situated between Attock and Rawalpindi. This happened on 11th Jamade Sani 433H (1042AD). (11) It is mentioned in *Tareekh Masoomi* that the Soomras met in ‘Tharee’ during the period of Sultan Abdur-Rasheed where they established their rule and enthroned their new ruler. (12)

At the time of Al-Beruni’s visit to Sindh and Multan (1017-1031AD), Sindh was being ruled by the Soomras. According to some historical references the ruler Khafeef Soomro was an Ismaili. At the time of Mahmood Ghaznavi’s conquest, Al-Beruni had accompanied him but none of his books say who the ruler of Mansoorah was.

2- While Al-Beruni (973-1048 AD) was in Sindh, he had observed that the scholars of Sindh were quite advanced in the knowledge and study of astronomy, astrology, mathematics, medicine, magic etc. as mentioned before as well.

Al-Beruni made the books of the scholar Brahm Gupt of Bhilmil his reference point for his research. (13) Al-Beruni's writings indicate that a Sindhi scholar of Arab origin named Bishar was well versed with Sindhi language. Bishar was aware of the weeds and medicinal plants and their names in the local dialects. Al-Beruni had known a lot about Sindhi scholars and met many of the pundits and wise men. He sought their advice and discussed matters that helped him write new books and correct the translations that he had also critically analysed. Dr. Sachau believes that:

“Al-Beruni had copied the charts, maps and designs of the revolving of planets and stars from a Sindhi ambassador of Caliph Al-Mansoor's court (771 AD), who was well versed in these subjects of and astrology.” (14)

On his arrival in Sindh, initially Al-Beruni stayed in a fort named Nandna near the city of Jhelum (possibly present day Kataas Fort). He travelled widely between 1019 to 1029 AD to various cities and wrote his observations in his book called *Kitaabul Hind*. About Muhammad Bin Qasim, he writes:

“(He) entered Sindh through Saijistan (Sakistan) and conquered Bhamnava and Molhisthan. He renamed Bhamnava as Al- Mansoorah and Molhisthan as Al-Maamoorah. Passing through Gandhara he went upto Kanoj and on his return he conquered Kashmir.” (15)

3- Scholarly, Literary and Linguistic Treasure:

Al-Beruni has mentioned about the research work done on Hind (India) and Sindh during the Soomra rule and two to three centuries before them. He has also written about other subjects like lexicography, grammar, poetry and prose, folk literature, mythology and anthropology which were pursued by Sindhi scholars in those days. He paved way to the study of myths, medieval stories, magic and mantras and has thrown light on human psychology, mental evolution, cultural and social conditions, livelihoods, food, local customs and traditions, and festive days leading to spread of knowledge of cultural anthropology. Among his other books, Al-Aasaar Al-Baaqia (Chronology of Ancient Nations) is an exceptional book.

Al-Beruni writes that scholars commanded great respect in those times. The rulers had great regard for wise men and scholars. The scholars of astronomy, medicine, alternative medicine and mathematics were especially very famous. According to him, astrologers were consulted before starting anything in life. They were asked about compatibility and effects of stars and planets' movement in their daily life events. The advice of astrologers was considered essential for almost everything.

Astronomical calculations and astrology were given great importance in ancient Sindh. In Al-Beruni's times, the book *Sidhaant* was considered a great document. *Sidhaant* means straight or direct, one that is not crooked or twisted, therefore every book of astronomy was called as *Sidhaant*. Five of such *sidhaants* were quite famous. They are:

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- i- ***Suriya Sidhaant*** i.e **Sun Sidhaant**: This book was written in Larr (Kathiawar)
 - ii- ***Vasbasht Sidhaant***: This book about the “great bear” was written by Vishnu Chander
 - iii- ***Pulisa Sidhaant***: A *Sidhant* was written by Pulisa
 - iv- ***Romaka Sidhaant***: This book contained material about the Roman Empire
 - v- ***Brahm Sidhaant***: This book was written by Brahm Gupta’s son named Jasvaji. This scholar also belonged to Bhilmil.

4- Long before Al-Beruni’s arrival and during his times, the application of traditional medicine (Tib) was at its peak. Its importance was almost as much as that of astronomy. The book of this famous genre of medicine was called *Charakar* after the name of its author. People commonly held the belief that *Charakar* was a wise man of medicine who lived in *Devapur Yug* (era) as a saint. This book was especially translated for the princes of the country.

It has been mentioned above that Al-Beruni had studied several books and other material pertaining to the weeds, potions and household remedies prevalent in Sindh used before his time. A lot of medical literature from the last two centuries, before Al-Beruni’s arrival, was still available. Dr. Baloch is of the view that:

“The Arab scholars had done research since the 2nd and 3rd Hijri centuries and they had written many books about minerals, weeds and potions used in medicinal preparations. To understand the names and nature of medicines, domestic remedies and similar weeds, it was thought essential to give their names in languages having international recognition in those times. Sindh had a known international status and the trade of grocery items was so well standardized that weeds and potions from other regions were transported to the West through Sindh. It was therefore deemed necessary to name the weeds and grocery items in Sindhi language in addition to contemporary languages.” (16)

Dr. Baloch further says:

“One cannot say when the names of grocery items started being written in Sindhi and Hindi; perhaps it started in the 2nd Hijri century by the scholars of Mansoorah which later on reached Baghdad.” (17)

It is quite clear from the last paragraph of Dr. Baloch’s opinion that about 200 years before the visit of Al-Beruni, the names of the weeds, potions and other grocery items of Sindhi language were written in Arabic-Sindhi script having letters for peculiar Sindhi sounds for this purpose. Arabic letters were modified to form appropriate Sindhi letters. According to Dr. Baloch:

“Around the end of the 4th century Hijri, Bashar Bin Abdul Wahab Al-Faziri explained in detail the Hindi and Sindhi names of medicines, weeds and grocery items in his book called *Tafasserul Advia* (A glossary of Medicines). And after him the researcher Al-Beruni (in 1050-1051) (18)

wrote his book “*Al-Sayedna Fil-Tib*”, where he enlisted the names of medicines and weeds etc. in Greek, Suryani, Arabic, Persian, Sindhi, Hindi and other local dialects. Al-Beruni had also visited Mansoorah.” (19)

In this book, Al-Beruni has given names of about 75 medicines and weeds in Sindhi and more than half of them have been written with reference to Bashar Bin Abdul Wahab Al-Faziri’s book (*Tafasserul Advia*). (20) The remaining names are based on his own research. The list of names in Sindhi language is so important that it has become a historic document. (21)

Below is a list of names of the medicines, weeds and potions given in the books of Bashar and Al-Beruni which Dr. Baloch had included in his book. The words and their script can be noted from their written form.

Sindhi words given in Bashar’s book Tafaasir-al-Advia	Same words written in Al-Beruni’s book Alsaidina-fil-Tib.	Present Sindhi Usage	Change in Letters	
			Arabic-indhi	Present Sindhi
لِمرِ <i>limu</i>	لِمرِ <i>limu</i>	لِمرِ/نِمرِ <i>limu/nimu</i>	ل ۽ م	ل ۽ م
-	وَنُ <i>vanu</i>	وَنُ <i>vanu</i>	ن	ڻ
-	پَنج <i>panj</i>	پَنگ <i>hang</i>	ھ	ھ
			ب	ھ
			نِج	ڳي
	دھڻورا <i>dahtoora</i>	ڏاٿورو <i>dhatooro</i>	دھ	ڌ
			ر	ر
توتيه <i>tootiya</i>	توتيه <i>tootiya</i>	توتيو <i>tootiyo</i>	ت	ت
-	مَنبھل <i>manbahal</i>	مِڻ ڦل <i>menphul</i>	بھ	ڦ
خرمل <i>harmul</i>	ھملو <i>hamlo</i>	ھرملو/ھرمرو <i>hurmlu/hurmuro</i>	ل	ر
-	ھين <i>heen</i>	ھِڱ <i>hinga</i>	ن	ڳي
-	رُفائطي <i>rufaati</i>	رُپاڪٽي (چانديءَ جي ڪٽ) <i>rupakuti</i>	ح	ھ
			ف	پ
-			ق	ڪ
-	بولو <i>boolo</i>	بُلھڻ <i>bulhan</i>	ب	پ
-	سُند <i>sund</i>	سُنڊ <i>sunḍh</i>	د	ڍ
-	ڪٿوره <i>katora</i>	ڪٿوري <i>khatoori</i>	ڪ	ڪي
-			ت	ٿ
-	شَنڪرُ <i>shankharu</i>	سَنگر <i>sangar</i>	نڪ	ڳي
-	درب <i>darb</i>	دڀ <i>dabh</i>	در	ڊ

The above examples prove that the Arabic-Sindhi script had been used in the Arab era around 864 AD, by the famous traveler and tourist Jahiz, the examples of which can be found in his book called *Risala Fakhral Soodaan Alalbaidaan*. This proves that about 300 years before Al-Beruni's arrival in the 5th Hijri:864 H year 1017 AD, it had already started. Although one has to concede that Al-Beruni modified it and made a few new letters, making the Arabic-Sindhi script look more appropriate and standardized, which was once written both in *Nastaleeq* and *Naksh* scripts.

One can infer that the oldest examples of Arabic-Sindhi script are found in Jahiz's book called *Risala Fakhral Soodaan Alal baidaan* from around 864 AD. Jahiz used similar Arabic letters for Sindhi letters. For example:

Letters used by Jahiz	Present Sindhi Letters	Words Used by Jahiz	Words
ن	ڻ	سندان sandan	سنداڻ sandaṇ
ش	چ	شيت sheet	چيٽ chhait
ت	ت		
ص	چ	صندل sandal	چندن chandan
ب	و	بنيانه banyana	واڻيا vaṇya
ڪ	ڪ	ڪافور kafoor	ڪپور kapoor
		ف	پ
ج	گ	دونيچ doneej	دنگي dangee
د	ڊ	هندول hindol	هندول handol

Soon after that, an example of Arabic-Sindhi script can be seen in a *qasida* that was written before 898 AD and was recited in the court of Yahya Bin Khalid Barmaki. Dr. Baloch has referred to this, saying:

“A poet of Sindhi language had composed a *qasida* in Sindhi, admiring the Barmauki ministers of Baghdad. This verse was recited in the court of Yahya Barmuki. Since Haroon Raheed had executed Jafer Bin Yahya Barmuki, it becomes clear that this poem would have been composed before 187 H. The verse is reproduced as under:

“ara bara kankara kara kari mandra” (22)

Dr. Baloch further writes,

“This is the first ever Sindhi verse written in Arabic script that has now assumed such a shape that the original words can not be ascertained. Despite that, this ancient reference is a priceless asset for the history of Sindhi language. Most importantly, this is the first ever sample of Arabic-Sindhi script of Sindhi language.” (23)

When Al-Beruni came to Sindh and Multan, it was impossible for him to keep contact

with local people because he had relations with the court of Mahmood Ghaznavi's astronomer. Mahmood Ghaznavi had defeated Rajpal, the ruler of Bhatia and had brought an end to the Hindu rule of the Pal family in the Northwest of Sindh (present day Punjab and Kabul). Therefore the local rulers of the North West were bitter against Mahmood Ghaznavi. They had made a united front against him including Dawood, the Ismaili ruler of Multan. These rulers were always apprehensive of Mahmood Ghaznavi's wrath.

5- Grammar, Poetry, Chhand Vidya (Prosody) and Linguistics:

In Al-Beruni's time, that is, in the initial years of Soomra rule, Sindh was at its peak in education, literature, poetry, lexicography, linguistics, grammar and *Chhand Vidya*. According to him (Al-Beruni), grammar and *Chhand Vidya* (local metres) were taught as additional subjects. Among these subjects, grammar was given more importance. According to Sindhi scholars:

“Grammar means the principles for correct usage and etymology of words in speech that help in acquiring literary and classical style for reading and writing.” (24)

Al-Beruni writes that, “I have been asked to read the following books to learn grammar. (25)

- i- Aindra
- ii- Chandra: This book was written by Buddhist monk named Chander.
- iii- Paṇinī Viyakran: This book was written by Paṇini who was a scholar at Taksh-shala (Taxila).
- iv- Katantra: This book was written by Sarava Varman.
- v- Sāsīdeva Virritti: This book was written by Sasidev
- vi- Sishyāhita Viritti: This book was written by Ugra Bhatia.

According to Al-Beruni's writings, Ugra Bhatia was the tutor of Shah Ahmad Pal who was the son of Bhatia ruler Raja Jaipal. Al-Beruni has especially mentioned Ugra Bhatia and Paṇini, and has discussed the branches of anthropology and historical, comparative and descriptive linguistics, which help in understanding the branches of anthropology. He has also mentioned Sanskrit, Prakrit and its Apabhramshas and the scripts in usage for them.

After grammar, Al-Beruni has mentioned the written definition of *Chhand vidya*. He has written a lot about poetry and its minute intricacies and the laws governing poetic verse writing (like the lyrics, vocals, rhymes and rhythms). According to his writings, *Chhand vidya* is related with the sounds, vocals, syllables of poetry and their measurements or divisions and their application in poetic works. He writes that the Hindus were enthusiastically involved in poetry and their way of reciting poetry combined with movements of their hands was a source of pleasure for the people. (26)

Al-Beruni believes that the scholars and wise men preferably wrote rhyming and rhythmic sentences, instead of simple prose; they preferred writing poems. Some books of those times were written in the form of *Salok* which were also very lyrical; in this way, it was easier to memorize the matter. (27) Therefore, scientific subjects like *Aqleedas* and

difficult topics like astronomy and other facts were also written in a lyrical mode as it was easier to remember and reproduce them. Mr. Bherumal writes in this regard:

“Since after the Vedic times, Sanskrit had mostly Sutras, therefore, that type of language was called Sutric Sanskrit. Sutra is the same word still spoken in Sindhi as ‘*Sut*’ meaning ‘cotton thread’. In the middle period, many long narratives were uttered with very limited number of words just like beads in a thread. The main quality of Sutras is less words used. Most of the proverbs/idioms are in the form of Sutras, for example “*jurria khay jassu*”, “*kando so paeendo*”, “*jehri karnhi tehri bharnhi*” etc. One can see that these idioms have very few words but contain a great philosophy. Sutras also mention certain principles; *Dharam Sutras* explain religious aspects and *Greha Sutras* are concerned with domestic issues. In this way, the meaning in the words of the sutras comes out to be some rules mentioned in minimum but meaningful words.” (28)

The ancient treasure knowledge in Sindh includes Sanskrit words as well as the prayers in Sindhi language written by Ismaili preachers, the Sindhi-Seraiki sayings of Baba Fareed Ganj Shakar, ancient folk literature, folk poetry, verses on *Seengar Ras*, *Veer Gatha* (stories of bravery), wise men’s quotes, sayings, idioms, advisory notes and riddles can be studied to authenticate Bherumal’s claim quoted above. Lyrically composed prayers of Ismaili preachers were either in poetic prose or rhyming stanzas in Sindhi language. These are very good examples of that early period of Soomra rule.

6- Use of Local Dialects for Religious Preaching:

The Ismaili preachers used local dialects as a medium for study and spread of Islam. They used the same old system of memorizing the religious prayers (for Ismaili followers) and compiled these prayers for new Muslims in Sindhi, Seraiki, Punjabi, Hindi and Western dialects with lyrical quality which was basic enough that even elderly people could find them easy to memorize. Some examples of such lyrically composed prayers are as under:

(الف) يا شاه، حق تون، پاڪ تون، بينا تون
اول تون، آخر تون، ظاهر تون، باطن تون، پيدا تون، پناه تون...الخ
ya shah, haq toon, paak toon, beena toon
awal toon, aakhir toon, zahir toon, batin toon, paida toon, panah toon...alakh

(ب) يا شاه، اتر، پورب، دکشن، پشچر
چار ڏسيون، چار او ڏسيون، چار کاڻيون، چار واڻيون
چار ڪتاب، چار ڪلپ، چار جُڳ، چار ويد...الخ
ya shah, utar, poorab, dakshan, pashcham
chaar disyoon, chaar awa disyoon, chaar khanyoon, chaar vanyoon
chaar kitab, chaar kalap, chaar juga, chaar veda... alakh

Baba Fareed Ganj Shakar had also composed poems in a Sindhi-Seraiki dialect, the examples of which have been quoted by Mr. Agha Salim in his book. (29)

(Note: in all these lyrical prayers the focus is on the omnipotence of God Almighty)

7 (a) A study of the forms of Sindhi folk literature such as idioms, riddles, sayings of the wise men would be quite helpful in this regard. The basis of formation and the structure of these form is on poetic figures and rhyming of words. For example:

- (i) اوھان تون، اُھين تون، ايھان تون، ھون ھون
اوھان تون، اوھان تون، اوھي، ايھي، ايھي
awhan toon, uheen toon, aehan toon, hoon hoon
oohan toon, oohan toon, aohe, aehe, aehee
- (ii) اُھو تون، اُوھو تون، ايھي تون
اُھو تون، اُھو تون، ايھين پي تون
iho toon, uho toon, aehe toon
uho toon, iho toon, aeheen bhi toon
- (iii) ايھ نہ تون، اُھو نہ تون، اُھو نہ تون، اُھو نہ تون
ae na toon, iho na toon, uho na toon, iho bi na toon

(1) Sayings and quotes:

- (i) ڪٿيون آيون ڪاپار، مورڪ مينهن گهرن
katyoon ayoon kapar, moorakha meenhan ghuran
(Season of sowing has arrived the unwise are asking for rain)
- (ii) لوڙهي ڏرو، سارين ڪرو
lorhe daro, sarin kharo
(The boundary was broken the paddy would be stolen)
- (iii) ڏکڻ مينهن نہ وسڻو، وسي تان ٻوڙي
dakhan meenhu na wasno, wase taan bore
(Rain from south is impossible, it would drown all)
- (iv) ڪانڌر ڏک نہ هڻڻو، هڻي تان توڙي
kanyar dhak na hanino, hane taan tore
(A coward would it hit, but if he does, he would harm himself)

(2) **Gujharat (Riddle)** is also a very old form of folk Sindhi literature. Professor Sehar Imdad writes in one of her articles:

(a) “The Soomra period does not mark the beginning of the art of riddle writing, but it saw historic climax of this art. The form of riddle that is based on Prosody is very ancient.” (30)

Sehar Imdad has presented the opinion of Makhdoom Talibul Maula as a reference, who had said, “Riddle in Sindhi is a form of ancient poetry.” (31)

(b) In the light of Al-Beruni’s books, if we look into the history of literary forms of the early Soomra period or from the times before it, we may perhaps find this form of folk literature i.e. *Gujhaarat* (riddle) being composed by the *sughars*. Al-Beruni has mentioned about the literary genres of *Chhand* (prosody) as *Salok* and *Sutras* of his times and even before that, which he has narrated his book in ‘*Kitabul Hind*’: The other names of the genres like *Sortha*, *Doha*, *Mat*, *Malti*, *Ginan*, *Gah*, *Geecha*, and *Seengar Ras* are

also found in the Soomra period. Makhdoom Talibul Maula writes: “Riddle is a superior genre of Sindhi *Salok*.” (32)

(c) This means that *Salok* was a common name and its genres included riddle, *sutra*, *bol*, *doha*, *sortha*, *pahaka*, *chawnyoon* (sayings) etc. In other words, one can say that it is a form of ancient Sindhi literature from ancient Sindh that needs to be researched from books belonging to the era of the Rai clan or the locations of Hindu royal clans and in the ruins and temples/shrines of Rajasthan, Gujrat, Kathiawar and Haryana, Himachal Pardesh and Kashmir, as is clear from the examples quoted by Hiro Thakur and Dr. Muhammad Hassan.

Similarly the ancient proverbs and sayings of Sindhi language should also be researched which were used by poets and prose writers of almost every era. Some of the commonly used proverbs (*pahaka*) are as under:

1. *anban boor, akhin seor* (انبن پور، اکین سور)
(Posy of Mango plants hurts the eyes)
2. *eeman mizmaan ahe* (ایمان مزمان آھی)
(Faith is like a guest)
3. *akhinjo dhau, paita ji bukha* (اکین جو ڏی، پیٽ جي بک)
(Eyes satiate, stomach doesn't)
4. *pokhe wadhje, rahaye na wadhje* (پوکي وڍجي، رهائي نه وڍجي)
(Cut the crop, not the relations)
5. *saga seyi sainā, pakha jinni audra* (سڳا سيئي سين، پکا جني اوڏڙا)
(Real friends are those who live near)
6. *sanwāṇa jo suto, kati-a jo kuto* (سانوڙ جو سٽو، کٽيءَ جو کٽو)
(One who sleeps in the rainy season remains empty handed in the next season)

8- Al-Beruni writes that the names of the scholars who invented the art of *Chhand vidya* were Pingal and Chhalitu. (33) *Salok* and *Sutras* were the popular genres of poetry in those times. One of the chapters of the book *Brahm Sidhant* was about *Chhand vidya*.

Explaining *Chhand vidya*, Al-Beruni writes:

“*Chhand* is based on *maatras*. *Maatras* can be long or short. The long *maatras* are called *Drigha* and the short ones are called *Laghu*. The sign for long *maatra* is (ḍ) : while for the short ones it is ¹ (a). The count of the *maatras* is called ‘*ganachhand*’ i.e. the *Chhand* that depends on count. Light *maatra* is called *Laghu* and heavy *maatra* is called *Gurvu*. *Gurvu* is twice the size of *laghu* i.e. one *Gurvu* is equal to 2 *Laghus*, whereas *Drighu* and *Gurvu* are equal to each other. *Drighu* contains a long vowel and *Laghu* has a short vowel.”

He writes:

“I have not yet been able to completely understand *Laghu* and *Gurvu* therefore I can not quote their examples in Arabic. But according to my

understanding *Laghu* does not mean that it is a consonant without a vowel i.e. it is a silent consonant, should *Gurvu* be interpreted as a sonant consonant has a vowel attached to it; on the contrary *Laghu* is a consonant with a short vowel attached to it, in an occult manner, like گ (k), س (s) have occult or hidden vowels.” (34)

Researcher Al-Beruni further states:

“*Chhand* has different names according to the forms of poetry i.e. the verses with several lines will have a common name; similarly the *Chhand* used in them will be variable or different. At times they used different metres in the same poem and it appears like a piece of silk with embroidery in different colours.” (35)

Al-Beruni has mentioned the name of a scholar of lexicography called Haribhat, who was an expert on *Chhand*. Haribhat has discussed the long and short *mastras* at length and has also written a lot about the arrangement of a line of a poem according to the rule. Al-Beruni writes;

“The *Salok* has 4 syllables and each syllable has in turn 8 sub-syllables. Out of the 4 syllables each one should have the same ‘*gur*’ at the end. The 5th sub-syllable in every syllable is a *Laghu* and the 6th sub-syllable should be a ‘*gur*’.” (36)

Al-Beruni has discussed the study of *Chhand* in detail. His research proves that long before the advent of Islam, Sindh had many great scholars and wise men who possessed the knowledge about poetry and *chhand* and that its words required for the study were the same as they are today with some changes in pronunciation and are still in use in Sindhi language. For example:

Al-Beruni's words	Present Sindhi words
<i>drigh</i> درگھ	<i>dighol/dighi</i> دگھو/دگھی
<i>mātra</i> ماترا	<i>mātra</i> ماترا
<i>charaṇ</i> چرڻ	<i>charaṇ</i> چرڻ
<i>pad</i> پد	<i>pad</i> پد
<i>chhand</i> چند	<i>chhand</i> چند
<i>guṇ chhand</i> گڻ چند	<i>guṇ chhand</i> گڻ چند

Al-Beruni's research also proves that the scholars of *Chhand* were also experts of phonetics. They had knowledge of linguistics as well. They were aware of the classification of sounds in consonants and vowels. They knew about vowels being short and long and about the sonant and silent consonants. They were aware of the count of the *mastras* required for the arrangement of a line of a poem according to the rules. So, one can conclude that Sindhis were very advanced in knowledge about the Sindhi language and linguistics.

9- The ancient literature of Sindh was written with poetic figures and rhyming etc. which was a sort of poetic prose. This was later differentiated in poetry and prose. The names of experts like Pingal, Chalat, Panini, Aender, Jeander and Agarbhati; and books

like *Brahm Sidhant* and *Panj Tanter* and some other books show that this was present in ancient times. Books by other grammarians, pundits and scholars should also be looked for. Sindhi, Kachhi, Gujrati, Kathiawari and Rajasthani scholars living in India should try and search for such books and materials in the temples and monasteries of Kachh, Rajasthan, Gujrat, Kathiawar, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Kashmir, as searching for these materials from present day Sindh will be futile.

10- Ancient Sindhi words for numbers, weight measures and coins:

(a) From Al-Beruni's book named *Kitabul Hind*, one finds that in his times (1017-1031 AD) the coinage and weight measures used in different dwellings and towns of ancient Sindh had different names. He has mentioned one of the coins at that time as Dank. According to him, seven *Danks* were equal to one *Dirham*. (37) Gold coins were also in use in that period. They weighed gold only when they had to make jewelry from it. The measure of gold was called *Savaran*. (38)

The words quoted by him for numbers are still used in Sindhi language even today. He has used the word '*Anak*' (*angka*) for numbers. He writes: Numbers are called '*Anak*' (*angka*). (39) He further states that:

"Numbers are used for counting of sums and mathematics in Mansoorah, the capital of lower Sindh, and these are different from those used in other parts of India." (40)

According to Al-Beruni, '*Anak*' was used for numbers instead of letters. He writes that the signs used for the numbers have been taken from the best system of Hindus. Mathematicians get assistance from grammarians for parts and fractions of numbers. (41) Al-Beruni has mentioned some numbers prevalent in language of that era, which are used in the present day Sindhi as well, with minor modifications. For example: (42)

Al-Beruni	Present Sindhi
<i>ekam</i> اِڪَم	<i>ekamiek</i> اِڪَم، اِڪَمِيڪ
<i>satam</i> سَتَم	<i>satam/satoon</i> سَتَم، سَتُون
<i>dasam</i> دَسَم	<i>dahon</i> دَھُون
<i>laksh</i> لَڪَش	<i>lakh</i> لَڪُ
<i>padam</i> پَدَم	<i>padam</i> پَدَم
<i>kharo</i> کَرُو	<i>kharab</i> کَرَب
<i>shun</i> شَن	<i>buri</i> (zero) بُوِي

Sachau writes:

"Al-Beruni has given certain numbers that are seen in present day Sindhi society in exactly the same form." (43)

Referring to page 158 of Dr. Trumpp's grammar, Dr. Sachau has written that the numbers used by Al-Beruni for the first day of *Paksh* is *barkh*. Sachau has also mentioned the numbers of count still used in Sindhi. For example

Al-Beruni's word	Present Sindhi	Al-Beruni's Words	Present Sindhi
<i>barakh</i> بَرِک	<i>barakh</i> (first) بَرِک (پهريون)	<i>biha</i> بِيَه	<i>byo</i> بِيَو
<i>triha</i> تَرِيَه	<i>tryo, tyo</i> تَرِيَو، تِيَو	<i>choitha</i> چَوِث	<i>chothoon</i> چَوِثُون

<i>punji</i> پُنڇي	<i>panjoon</i> پَنڇون	<i>chhava</i> چَھو	<i>chhahoon</i> چَھون
<i>sataṽ</i> سَتَو	<i>satoon</i> سَتون	<i>aṭhava</i> اَٹو	<i>aṭhoon</i> اَٹون
<i>naao/naov</i> ناَو/ناو	<i>naoon/nava</i> ناَوَن، ناَو	<i>dahva</i> دَھو	<i>dahoon</i> دَھون
<i>yarhov</i> يارَھو	<i>yarhoon</i> يارَھون (44)	<i>ḥarḥva</i> ھارَھو	<i>ḥarho</i> (45)/ <i>ḥarhon</i> ھارَھون
<i>terhav</i> تيرَھو	<i>terhoon</i> تيرَھون (46)	<i>choḍahva</i> چوڌَھو	<i>choḍhon</i> چوڌَھون (47)

(b) Sindhi words for weights and weight measures:

Al-Beruni has quoted the Sindhi words in use (in his time) for weight and weight measures. He has mentioned the word *Savarṇ* (سَوَرَن) for weighing gold was usually used in Sindh and Multan. *Tola* was used as a measure to weigh objects of common use. One *Savarṇ* was 1/3rd of a *Tola*; a *Tola* was equal to 2-1/10th *Misqals*. *Tola* had 2 parts or fractions; one of those parts was called *Masha* (*masa/maso*). One *Masha* was 1/12th of a *Tola* i.e. one *Tola* had 12 *Mashas*. This arithmetic table/system was in vogue in Pakistan until the decimal system of weight was introduced. To this day, many goldsmiths and even ordinary people understand this system. During Al-Beruni's stay the system was used as under: (48)

Al-Beruni's quoted system

1 *tola* = 12 *masha*
 1 *masha* = 4 *andi* (i.e. the seed of castor)
 1 *andi* = 4 *yav* (maize grain)
 1 *yav* = 6 *kala*
 1 *kala* = 4 *pada*
 1 *pada* = 4 *mudri*

System in use before decimal system

4 *mungs* = 1 *rati*
 8 *ratis* = 1 *masha*
 12 *mashas* = 1 *tola*
 5 *tola* = 1 *ana*
 4 *ana* = 1 *pao*
 4 *pao* = 1 *seer*
 40 *seer* = 1 *maund*
 8 *maunds* = 1 *khandi* (49)

Similarly, Al-Beruni has given another arithmetical table for the system of counts:

4 *yav* = 1 *andi*
 4 *andi* = 1 *masha*
 16 *masha* = 1 *savarṇ*
 4 *savarṇ* = 1 *pala*

Likewise, many technical words of the count used in the old system can be seen nowadays, although sparingly used. For example:

Joro: A pair (جوڙو) of clothes

Joro: A pair (جوڙو) of shoes

Pako: Mangoes in 100 = 130 pieces

20 (numbers) = 1 *Koree* (the system of count used in the 20s
 e.g. five 20s, six 20s etc) (50)

5 *Korees* = 1 *Sao* (hundred)

2 ½ *Seer* = 1 *Dharee*

Talee (number) of birds = 4 birds

Haree of Pallas (fish) = pair of male and female *Pala* Fish

Kacho Seer= 1 *seer*

Pako seer= 1 *seer* + 1 *pao* (quarter)

(c) Sindhi words for measuring time:

Al-Beruni has also mentioned the measures of time used in his times. In the earlier chapters, the Sindhi “*sun*”/“*kaal*” have been mentioned with reference to measure of times and eras. Quoting the views of the scholars of India and Sindh, Al-Beruni has divided the timings in 4 “*Jugs*” (جُگ). These are:

i- *Kirta jug*

ii- *Tireta jug*

iii- *Davapur jug*

iv- *Kal jug*

He has further stated the details about the span of these times and years as under:

- *Kirta jug*; 1728000 lac years
- *Tireta jug*; 129 6000 lac years
- *Davapur jug*; 864000 lac years
- *Kal jug*; 432000 lac years

With reference to books written before his times, he has also given measures and spans of time i.e. he has divided the day into ‘*Pal*’, ‘*Piranh*’ and ‘*Dums*’. These words are still in use in Sindhi. In addition to this, the scholar has also given the names for the days of the week, the months and seasons. All these words are still used in Sindhi with subtle phonetic changes. For example, explaining the length of time, he has postulated the following tabular system:

- An hour is called *Vighataik* (وگھٹیک)
- An hour was divided into 60 parts; each part of the hour was called *Pal* (پل). *Ghaṭi* (*Ghaṛi*) Each *Pal* was divided into 60 parts, each of these parts has been called *Chashak* (چشک)
- Each *Chashak* was divided into 6 parts, each of which was called *Piraṇ* (breath= پراڻ) i.e. *Dum*.
- 15 *Chashaks* i.e. 1/4th of a *Gharhee* was called ‘*Kshan*’ or ‘*Khan*’ (کشن)
- Each *Kshaṇ* was divided in 15 parts, which were called *Kala* (کل).
- *Kala* was another name for *Chashak*

Similarly the tabular system for measurement was as under:

6 *Piraṇ/dum* = 1 *Chashak/kala*

15 *Kal/Chashak* = 1 *kshan (khan)*

60 *Kal/Chashak* = 1 *Pal* (minute) (51)

60 *Pal/Ghaṭi (Ghaṛi)* = 1 *Vighataik* (equal to an hour)

A day was commonly referred to as “*Dimas*” and in classical language it was called “*Devas*”. The night was called *Raatri*, a month was called ‘*Maas*’ and half a month was called *Paksh* (*pakh*). The first luminous half of the month was called “*Sukal Paksh*” as the

first 14 nights were moonlit nights. The latter or the darker half month was called *Krishan Paksh* (even now they are sometimes referred to as *Suhao pakh* and *Onndaho Pakh*).

- A year was called *Barha/Barkha* or *Barsh* (*Varash*, *Vareh*) and was considered to have 6 seasons; Each season was called “*Rut*”. Each “*Rut*” consisted of 2 months. In the Somnath (Gujrat) region, there used to be 3 seasons each consisting of 4 months.

Researcher Al-Beruni opines that:

“The Hindu months in Sindh are counted as Lunar but their year is considered as Solar. The lunar year is 11 days shorter than the solar year, therefore according to the Hindu system the “*Adhak*” i.e. the leap year is of 13 months, because the *Adhak/Adhimaas*, *Adhar* month is added to the year. The year with *Adhak* month (leap year) is called by Hindus as “*Malamas*”; Mal means dirt that sticks to the hands and since that dirt is not a constituent part of the hand and is cleaned thereof, similarly *Malamas* is not considered a month of the year. A year is considered to have only 12 months. Anyway, *Malamas* month is called *Adhimaas* which is considered “Ominous” and weddings or any such festivities are not usually celebrated.” (52)

11- Sindhi names of sides, directions, days and months:

(a) Al-Beruni has mentioned the names of the sides, directions, days and months in his books, that were in vogue in the Sindhi civilization of those times. He has described Seven Skies and Seven Earths. The names he has given are still used in Sindhi language; therefore, any claims that Sindhi language came into being in the 11th century AD by separation from a Virachid Apabhramsha should be considered as false. In fact, a study of the words described by Al-Beruni for trade and commerce of those times, and other words for geography, arithmetic, astronomy, business calculations and other subjects reveals that during the period of Al-Beruni’s stay in Sindh and Multan (1017-1031AD), Sindhi language had the status of a complete, comprehensive and rich language. It can therefore be said that Sindhi is quite an ancient language that has had a large vocabulary since time immemorial.

The names of sides and directions described by Al-Beruni are as under:

Al-Beruni	Present Sindhi
Utar اُتر	Utar اُتر
Purav پورَو	Purab پورَب
Dakshan دَكشَن	Dakhan دَكَن
Pashcham پَشِچَم	Pachhm پِچَم

(b) Names of days:

The names for days as described by Al-Beruni are still used in the language with subtle phonetic changes. The names are the same as for different satellites and planets and for the purpose of identification of these names a suffix “*baar/vaar*” is added to the name of the planet. (53)

The “baar’ is pronounced as “Vaar’ in the present day Sindhi and the **b** is changed to **v** in common usage. The names of the days are as under:

Al-Beruni’s Word

ādeti bār آدتي بار
som bār سوم بار
mangal bār منگل بار
budhwār بُدوار
braspatibār وسپت
sukr bār سُکربار
sainshcharbār سانشچَر بار

Present day Sindhi

āḍatwār/ārtwār/āchār/uchar آڏتوار/آرتوار/آچار/آچَر
somwār/soomār/soomar سَوموار/سومار/سومَر
mangalwār/mangal منگلوار/منگل
budhwār/buddr بُدوار/بُدَر
wispat برهسپتي بار
shukrwār شُکروار
chhanchhar چنچر

Similarly, Al-Beruni has written about stars and planets at length. The names he has given for the planets are:

Al-Beruni

surya/adeti سوريه/آديتي
som/chandar سوم/چندر
mangal منگل
bud/chandr بُد/چندر
brahspati وَرَهسپتي
sakkhar/bharj سکر/پرج
sanshchar سانشچَر

Present Sindhi

surya/suraj/adat سَورِيه/سورج/اڏت
som/chandar/chand سوم/چندر/چنڊ
mangal منگل
bud بُد
wispat وسپت
bharj پرج
chhanchhar چنچر

English

Sun
Moon
Mars
Mercury
Jupitar
Venus
Saturn

(c) Names of months:

Al-Beruni has also given the names of months used in his times and they are still in use with some phonetic changes. For example

Al-Beruni’s Word

chetar چيتر
weshakh ويشاک
jashṭh جئشث
āshār آشار
sarāwan سَراوَن
bādrpad پادَرپَد
ashwbhoj آشو پوج
kartak کَرَتَک
margrash مرگشرش
posh پوش
māgh ماگھ
phalgam فالگن

Present Sindhi

cheṭ چيٺ
wesakh ويساک
jeth جيٺ
ākhar آکار
sānwan سانَوَن/سراوَن
baḍol/baḍro بَدو/بَدرو
asoo اَسو
kati کَتي
nihāri نِهاري
poh پوه
māgh ماگھ
phagun فِگَن

11- Language and Scripts:

All the scholars, wise men, geographers and researchers from Jahiz to Al-Beruni who came to Sindh, have described Sindhi to be the language for everyday use for trade, commerce and business. They have also written that Sindhi was written in different types

of scripts. The travelogues of those times provide ample information that Sindhi was spoken upto the adjoining areas of Multan. In fact, the research done in recent times has proved that the traces and signs of Sindhi language can be found in the regions of Sindhu-Kohistan and Swat-Kohistan areas like Torwali, Bushgali, Pashai and North-Eastern Afghan regions; its traces are also found in the inhabitants of the Ushoo region of the Swat valley i.e. the languages of Gujrat-Gojri and Hindko.

Al-Beruni has written a chapter about the usual script of languages of India and Sindh in his book Kitabul Hind. He writes:

“Writing on bones is not in vogue in Sindh, although writing on (dried) leaves and strips of wood from trees is common.” (54)

About the art of writing, Al-Beruni writes:

“Spoken language (tongue) is a medium of communicating the speaker’s thoughts to the listeners. This (speaking) is not preserved after some time that is why the historic events lose their importance with the passage of time, in oral traditions. It was the reason why man invented the art of writing to store and preserve important events and literary works.” (55)

Al-beruni writes:

“The people of Sindh call a book as *Pothi* (پوٿي) and *Pustak* (پستڪ).” (56)

In his (Al-beruni’s) opinion:

“The Hindus had forgotten the art of writing but Vyasa, son of Parasara re-invented the alphabet that had 50 letters. These letters were called *Akshar* in Sindh. They wrote from left to right; they drew a line and wrote the letters beneath that line. The marks that they put above the line are used for grammatical purpose.” (57)

Al-Beruni has described the various scripts commonly used in Sindh, Multan, Bhatia and other regions. He writes:

“Every region has its own script with a separate name. The most famous script is called “*Siddha Matrika*”, which according to some scholars was invented in Kashmir for use in Kashmir but this script is also used in Varanasi, Madhiadesh and Arya Vart (the country around Kanoj). Nagar script is used in Malva which is quite different in shape and form from *Siddha Matrika*.

The other type of script is *Ardh Nagric* that is in use in Bhatia and some areas of Sindh. Likewise, in southern Sindh upto the coastal belt, and in Malvashan region usage of *Malavari* is found. Similarly, *Saindhava* script is used in Bhamnava (Mansoorah) and *Larri* script in *Lar desh*.” (58)

The detailed description of formation and usage of Arabic-Sindhi script that occurred from the times of Al-Beruni's arrival in Sindh and Multan, has been given in the 4th chapter of Al-Beruni's book Kitābul Hind. The use of Arabic-Sindhi script by Al-Beruni for Sindhi names and style of writing provides immense help for an in-depth study of Sindhi language and it proves that even in the beginning of the Arab era, Sindhi had started being written in the Arabic-Sindhi script.

The 4th chapter also contains a detailed narrative about the new letters invented by the Arab scholars for indigenous Sindhi sounds and words in Arabic-Sindhi script.

28 letters of Arabic script were used for Arabic-Sindhi alphabet, out of which 16 were already commonly used for Sindhi and Arabic sounds, while 12 letters were in use for purely Arabic sounds. In this way, 23 letters were formed by adding dots or bringing some change to Arabic letters in order to have letters for pure Sindhi sounds. The detail of the letters is as under:

(i) Letters for sounds similar in Sindhi and Arabic:

ا ب ت ج د ر ز س ش ل ک م ن و ه ي

These are 16 letters. The Arabs used ک for the 'k' (ک) sound.

Letters for pure Arabic sounds are 12 in number:

ث ح خ ذ ص ض ط ظ ع غ ف ق

Letters formed for pure Sindhi sounds:

Pure Sindhi Sound	Arabic-Sindhi letter	Roman Sindhi
پ	ب	b
پ	ف/پ	p
پ	ب/بھ	bh
ت	ف/ت/ث	th
ت	ت/تھ	t
ن	ت	th
ق	ف	ph
ج	ج	j
جھ	جھ	jh
چ	نج	i
چ	ش/ص	ch
چ	-	chh
ڌ	دھ	dh
ڌ	د	d
ڍ	ڍر/د	ḍ
ڍ	ڍر/د	ḍh
ڙ	ر	r
ک	ک	kh
گ	گ	g
گ	گ	g
گھ	گھ	gh
گ	نگ/نج	ḡ
ڻ	ن	n

These are 23 letters.

And in this way by use of (ء) to show a mixture of vowels, 52 letters were in use for Arabic-Sindhi alphabet.

(ii) The Arab experts used the following 10 vowels for the vowel system:

a, aa, i, ee, u, oo, aiy, ay, o, ava

(iii) The greatest help in this regards can be had taken from Chachnama and Al-Beruni's books called Kitābul Hind and Al-Arkind, in addition to articles and travelogues of various scholars and travellers. Chachnama contains thousands of pure Sindhi words that include names of people, places, countries, castes, tribes, clans, lakes, riverines, rivers, canals and human dwellings.

(iv) Al-Beruni's books contain very interesting material about Sindhi sounds, phonetic and phonological system in addition to *Chhand* and grammar. He not only invented new letters for the pure Sindhi sounds but expressed his purpose by forming possible Arabic letters for similar sounds. For example:

Pure Sindhi Sound	Al-Beruni's Letter	Sindhi Sound	Al-Beruni's Letter
(dh) ڌ	ده	(g) گ	گ
(d) ڍ	در	(n) ڻ	ن
(chh) چ	ج	(i) ڇ	ج
(ph) ڦ	ب/ف	(g) گ	گ
(bh) پ	ب/پ	(ch) چ	ج
(g) گ	ک/گ	بيڻپاء	بيڻپا
bhang ڀنگ	بانج	ڙپاڪڙي	(رفاڪڙي)
brahamgupt برهم گپت	braham gupt برهم گپت	thoohar/khatoori	toohar توهر
gangu گنگو	kank ڪنڪ	ڏاتورو	dahtoora دهطوره
(p) پ	پ/ف	dhano ڏنو	dhan دهن
(t) ٽ	ت/ط	van وڻ	van ون
(th) ٺ	ت	ramar رمڙ	ramar رمڙ
(k) ڪ	ک	dabh ڊپ	darb درٻ
(h) ھ	ده	munḍh مُنڊ	sund سُنڊ
(ṇ) ڻ	ن	kodī ڪوڏي	kado ڪڏو
(r) ڙ	ر	bulhaڻ ٻلهڻ	bolo بولو
(d) ڍ	در	sanjhar سنجهر	sanjhal سنجهل
(h) ھ	د	sagar سگر	shankar شنڪر
(d) ڌ	د	bhang ڀنگ	banj ٻنج
(b) پ	ب	hinga هڱ	heen هيڻ
(t) ٽ	ط/ت	angur آگر	angul انگل
(g) ڱ/انگ		akhar اکر	kashan/akshar ڪشن/اکشر
(kh) ڪش			

Phonetic Changes:

(a) For compound sounds of Sanskrit and Hindi, he took help from the law of

Assimilation according to which sounds, used in compound sounds by virtue of their effect on each other, change to form a new sound. For example:

Al-Beruni's Words	Compound sounds	Parts of compound sounds	New sounds due to assimilation
widyat ودیت	dy دی	(d+y) دی	(j) ج = wij وچ
moksh موکش	ksh کش	(k+sh) کش	(kh) ک = mokh موک
kushtri کُشتری	kush کش	(k+sh) کُش	(kh) ک = khatri کتری
akshar اکشر	ksh کش	(k+sh) کَش	(kh) ک = akhar اکر
samundr سمندر	dr در	(d+r) در	(d) د = samood سمنڈ
chetr چیتر	tr تر	(t+r) تر	(t) ت = che f چیت
jesht جیشت	sht شت	(sh+t) شت	(th) ٹ = jaith جیٹ
vitsi وِسی	st ست	(s+t) سَت	(th) ٹ = withi وِٹی
satya ستیہ	ty تیہ	(t+y) تیہ	(ch) چ = sach سچ

(b) Changes of sounds:

Some sounds change themselves; for example:

Sound	Word
ج (j) - ی (y)	yara یَرَا , java جَوَا
ر (r) - ل (l)	nalo نَلَو , nalo نَری

(c) The use of vowel phoneme at the end of a word:

(i) According to the phonetic system of Sindhi language, the presence of prominent vowel at the end of a word is a peculiar quality of the grammar of Sindhi. Sachau's opinion is a strong proof of such a claim, according to which:

“Sindhi language still contains that quality that vowel ‘U’ is present as a suffix in various nouns of Sindhi language.” (59)

(d) The list of Sindhi words given in Al-Beruni's book:

In addition to the above quoted words, other Sindhi words present in Al-Beruni's book are being given which were used in Sindhi a long time before the arrival of Islam in Sindh. For example:

Tabular system (جدول)

Page No. of Al-Beruni's book	Words	Page No. of Al-Beruni's book	Words
19	malīchh ملیج	89	rakshas راکش (راکاس)
21	ishwar ایشور	89	bhoٹ پُٹ
40	bdh بدھ	89	pishaj پشاج
42	wadyat (وچ) ودیت	89	ashwar اشور
42	panj matras (پنج مائرون) پنج ماترس	89	dev دیو
42	shabd شبد	100	waran ورث
42	roop رُوپ	101	kshter (کتری) کشتري
42	pothi پوٹی	101	shudr شودر
42	ras رس	120	padam پدم
42	gandh گندھ	127	katar کتار

45	<i>vishnu pran</i> وشنو پراڻ	135	<i>viyakrṇ</i> وياڪرڻ
52	<i>vasu dev</i> واسو ديؤ	178	<i>chhandas</i> (چند) چنداس
54	<i>amrith</i> امرث	180	<i>agho</i> (هڪو) اگهو
54	<i>lakshmi</i> لڪشمي	217	<i>gur</i> (گرو) گُر
54	<i>mahadev</i> مهاديؤ	217	<i>mātra</i> ماترا
54	<i>uma devi</i> اُما ديؤي	217	<i>pravat</i> پروت
54	<i>kalp</i> ڪَلپ	217	<i>jolan</i> (جو، جوڙ، چوڙ، چَر) جولن
59	<i>lok</i> لوڪ	217	<i>kanya</i> ڪنيا
59	<i>swar lok</i> (paradise) سوار لوڪ	217	<i>savarn</i> سَوَرڻ
59	<i>nar lok</i> نار لوڪ	217	<i>masha</i> (ماسا) ماشا
59	<i>madya lok</i> مديءَ لوڪ	217	<i>tula</i> (تور) تُلّا
70	<i>shivas</i> (ساه) شواس	217	<i>pavak</i> پاوک
70	<i>vivek</i> ويڪ	217	<i>dhan</i> (ڌن) ڌن
70	<i>moksh</i> موڪش	219	<i>tapan</i> تپڻ
89	<i>parjapati</i> پرجاپتي		

The measure of distances: (page 166 of Al-Beruni's book)

8 Yav = 1 Ungle (*aangur* i.e. Finger)

4 Ungle = 1 Laam

24 Ungle = 1 Hatha

4 Hatha = 1 Dahan

40 Dahan = 1 Nalo (*naree*)

25 Nalav = 1 Krosh (*koh*)

1 Krosh = 4000 Hatha

Words for measuring the distances from the tip of the thumb to the tip of little finger:

The gap between the tip (end) of the thumb to the end of the little finger= *vitasti* (vithi)

The distance between the tip of the thumb to the end of the ring finger= *karb*

The distance between the tip of the thumb to the end of index finger= *gokarāṇa* (gokala)

The distance between the tip of the thumb to the end of middle finger= Taala

12- Methods of teaching and words related to it:

(a) Al-Beruni has written about the methods of teaching which he had observed during the period of his stay, that reveals that before the arrival of Islam in Sindh, children were taught in Hindu schools (called *Pathshaala* پائشالا). He writes.

“Hindu schools (*pathshaalas*) existed then, where children used black slates; and they held and wrote on the slates on their lengths rather than on the broader side. They wrote the title of the book on either the beginning or the ending page and not on the front or the edge of the page.” (60)

(b) Indeed it is proved from the narratives of Al-Beruni that from ancient times (before the advent of Islam, the beginning of Soomro rule- (from 1010AD to the period of Al-Beruni's stay i.e. 1031 AD) and onwards, Sindhi had acquired the status of a rich, vast and exceptional language used for art, literature and science, in addition to being used for religious preaching. And that it had a huge treasure of countless words,

grammar, poetry, literature and educational materials. In this context, one can say that long before the arrival of Islam, Sindhi was a rich and developed language but it was influenced by different languages over the years. This narrative can be said to infer that Sindhi language did not take its form in the 11th century but that long before the advent of Islam, in the ancient times in Sindh, it existed with a status of a rich language.

(c) Not much has to be said about the origin of Sindhi language in this chapter or this book, but it is important to mention that Sir Grierson himself has conceded in the latter part in his book (Linguistic Survey of India Vol. VIII, Part-I), despite his claim that Sindhi language was from the Western group of Aryan languages, that “Sindhi and Lahanda are languages of the western group; whereas Hindi, Rajasthani and Eastern Punjabi belong to the central group of Indo-Aryan languages; but there are a lot of similarities between these languages.

Therefore Prof Jhamatmal’s claim that Sindhi language is very much like western Rajasthani carries a lot of weight; this has been discussed in the 2nd and updated edition of the book “The Origin of Sindhi Language.”

As mentioned earlier, Al-Beruni stayed in Sindh and Multan from 1017 to 1031 AD. He also visited Mansoorah and witnessed the downfall of the Ismaili rule in Mansoorah at the hands of Mahmood Ghaznavi. Anyway, 26 years later i.e. in 1051 AD there are evidences in history of Sindh about the second term of Soomra rule, as has been mentioned earlier. Syed Sibte Hassan writes:

“The Ismailis ruled Multan for 45 years (965-1010AD) which was finally brought down by Mahmood Ghaznavi. But in 1030 AD, when Mahmood Ghaznavi died and his descendants were engaged in wars over the throne, Ismailis got another chance. They gathered under the command of a local Soomra chief named Shaikh Ibn Soomar Rajpal; and he conquered Sindh and Multan once again in 1051. They (Ismailis) ruled over Multan for about a century and a quarter.” (61)

One can raise doubts about Sibte Hassan’s opinion, because a Fatimid Caliph Syedna Al-Hakim Bil-Amrallah had written a letter to Shaikh Ibn Soomar Rajpal in 1010AD from Egypt, meaning that in 1051 AD the Soomras would have elected some other person as their chief and not Shaikh Ibn Soomar Rajpal. And in 1051 Imam Al-Hakim Bil-Amrallah was not even alive.

13- The Progress of Sindhi language and literature in the Soomra rule:

(a) The Soomra rule was a national government of the indigenous Muslims who reigned from 1010-1351AD. Although during this period the chiefs of Ghori and Ghulam clans captured some parts of Sindh but notwithstanding that the southeastern, eastern parts and areas of Kachh were still ruled by Soomras. Dr. Baloch writes:

“In Southeast Sindh, the Sindh-Kachh border was a center of power and special influence of the Soomra government. Therefore, Sindhi language expanded in the central regions. In the initial period of Soomra rule, the main direction of their force was focused on Kachh, Kathiawar

and the borders of Gujrat with resultant formation of Soomra and other Sindhi townships and Sindhi language spread to the areas of Kachh.” (62)

(b) Due to relative peace and tranquility in the Soomra era, social functions and events progressed. There was an increased interest in fine arts and poetry; the wise men and *Sughars* were the forbearers of these parties who were mostly Bhattas, Chaaaras and Jajiks. Such evidences are also found in Al-Beruni’s books. These functions and programs consisted of discussions and thoughtful exercises about folk stories, love stories and certain special local events. Dr. Baloch writes in this context:

“On studying the subject of love stories and other popular themes of Sindh, it becomes known that the seed of these festivities was sown in the fertile soil, in the Soomra period.” (63)

14- Promotion of Persian Language in Sindh:

It has been mentioned earlier that despite being the official and religious medium in the Arab era, the Arabic language could not become the language of the masses of Sindh; ordinary people still spoke in Sindhi. Although, for some time Arabic was in use along with Sindhi in Debal, Mansoorah, Multan and some other towns, as is evident from statements of Astakhri (arrival in Sindh in 951AD) and Bishary Al-Muqadasee (arrival in Sindh in 985 AD).

The latter gentleman opines:

“Most of the people in Multan are Arabs. Persian is also understood in this region.” (64)

Pandit Manic had great command over Sindhi, Persian and Arabic. (65) This opinion proves that the teaching of Persian language in Sindh is also quite old. Furthermore, after the Habari clan became independent, the relations between Damascus and Iraq with Sindh were also disconnected. (66)

Though the Persian language had an influence during the Soomra rule, yet the common people did not give much importance to Persian as compared to Sindhi, as was the case in the Arab rule. The mother tongue of the reigning rulers was Sindhi, therefore, it had a chance to expand and progress during this period. So much so that Ibn-e-Batuta (1317AD) had to say: “The walls of the Lahri port had many epithets written in Sindhi (Hindi) script.” (67)

15- Collection of Literature in Sindhi language:

(i) Like the Arab era, the Soomra period was an important time for development of Sindhi language and its literature. This was a period of immense expansion of Sindhi literature. Although there are evidences of presence of Sindhi prose and poetry (rhyming poetic prose and riddles etc) before this period as well, but this particular period was a romantic one for Sindhi language and literature. All the peculiarities, subjects and articles of this era were a continuation from the previous periods and this strong link of continuity was persevered in the next era as well. A lot of literary work from this period

is available which has been termed as part of Oral literature. This literary treasure can be divided into the following types:

- 1- Love stories
- 2- Semi-love stories
- 3- Literature of religious movements
- 4- War poetry or Epics (*Razmia*)
- 5- Eulogies or praise poetry (*Qasida*)
- 6- Folk songs (*Geech*)

(ii) The ancient social and political connections of Sindh, Gujrat, Kathiwar, Rajashtan and Punjab prove that the tradition of Sindhi poetry and literature in Sindhi language was well established since ancient times just like in the places mentioned above. In this context, Grierson believes that:

“Nagar Apabhramsha was the medium of education and literature in ancient times that prevailed in a literary sense over Gujrat, Rajasthan and to the regions to the west of it.” (68)

(iii) In this regard, some references from the research done by Prof Jhamatmal Bhavnani and Param Abechandani have been quoted in chapter III. The examples of Sindhi poetry clearly indicate that the language had the required expanse and quality. One can easily observe the sounds of Sindhi language, its phonetic system, formation of words and its syntactical and grammatical format from the language of the period of the Rai and Brahmin families. Evidences about the linguistic treasure of Sindhi language can be found in Chachnama, Kitabul Hind and other books mentioned earlier.

(iv) The second period of Soomra rule (1025-1351AD) was one where, among other sects of Islam, the preaching of the Ismaili following was blooming in ancient Sindh (and Multan), Kachh, Gujrat and Kathiawar. The Ismaili religious scholars preached their religion to general public, skilled workers, craftsmen, professionals and to the people of the lower social strata. The names of all those clans and castes can be found written on the tomb of Pir Shams Sabzwari Multani (1165-1276AD), who had sworn allegiance to Islam at his hands.

Sibte Hassan has written in this regard:

“The other quality of Ismaili preachers was that they tried to harmonize the Islamic teachings with the local traditions. This was done so that the common man would not feel that Islam was against their customs and traditions of normal life. The Ismaili clerics described the simple and straightforward tenets of Islam in the local dialect of the people and did not insist on learning Arabic or assuming an Arabic life style. These clerics did not push the newly converted Muslims to change their Hindu names. And because of their preaching initially, the people of Soomra and later Sama period accepted Islam.” (69)

(v) Sindhi and Kachhi *Ginans* by a preacher of Ismaili following Pir Nooruddin

(Pir Satgur Noor) have been found from 1079 AD. And around the same time, the famous grammarian Hemchander (1081-1172 AD) has given examples of Sindhi poetry. Initially, the *Ginans* by Pir Satgur Noor were in the form of oral literature. These *Ginans* were memorized by some pious men and *bhagats* (disciples). This type of literature was brought into a written form much later.

The famous grammarian Hemchander collected some samples of poetry in his book “Sath Hemchander” calling them *Gathas*. (70) A linguistic analysis of one of these *Gathas* i.e. *Gah* mentioned in his 3rd chapter reveals that the language used in this is similar to that used in the eastern and southeastern regions of ancient Sindh greatly influenced by the Pingal and Nagar dialects of Rajasthan and Gujrat. (71) The words used in this *Gatha* are still pronounced almost the same way but with subtle phonetic changes in the southern, southeastern and eastern areas of Sindh (Thar and Parker). For example:

پلا هئا جو ماريو، ڀيڻ مهارو ڪنت
لجڻج تو ويڻ سن، جو ڀڳا گهر انت (72)
bhalā huā jo māryo, bhain mahāro kant
lajenj to weṇ sīn, jo ghagā ghar ant

Translation: It was good that my husband got killed

If he had run away and returned home it would have caused him shame

One of the words used in this verse is *kant*=*kānt* i.e. =*kāndh* (meaning husband or beloved) which is a Sindhi word. And all the other words used also belong to Sindhi. Likewise, the word ‘*lajainj*’ is equivalent to ‘*lajj lae ee*’ (for honor’s sake) and the meaning of *vaiṇ-sīn* is a sarcastic remark while the meaning of Jo here is ‘if’. These and other such similar words have been used by Syedna Pir Sadruddin and later by Shah Abdul Latif in their works.

16- During the Soomra rule, the stories of national freedom and bravery resulted in broadening of peoples’ mindset and through the gatherings held in the courts of chieftains, it brought about a new interest in local love stories. The special ones among these stories were of Sassi Punhoon, Saiful Malook and Badiul Jamal, Moriro Mirbahar, Sorath and Rai Dyach, Umer Marvi, Leela Chanesar and Sohni Mehaar. (73) Some of these stories belong to the last years of Arab rule while some belong to the Soomra period. In addition to these eight famous classical stories, the foundation of other stories is also supposed to be laid during the period of downfall of the Arab empire and the beginning of the Soomra period. Some of the love stories are as under:

- i- Mal Mahmood and Mehar Nigar
- ii- Daman Sonaro
- iii- Khuda dost and Mahmood Ghaznavi.

Certain *Gahs* related to these stories are also available, and a study of these reveals a lot of material relating to Sindhi language.

According to Dr. Muhammad Hassan’s opinion, “The samples of Apabhramsha poetry (*Gathas*) are found from the 7th Century AD.” (74)

By looking at the entire educational and literary material from this era, it can be divided in 3 literary genres, which are as under:

- i- Religious preaching literature which includes, Sufi and Mystical material which contains *Ginanas*.
- ii- *Razmia* or Epic poetry
- iii- Folk songs (*piran*, *geech*, *bol* and riddles etc)
- iv- Poetry of *Seengar Ras*

(a) Ginan:

(i) It has been mentioned earlier that the subjects of the poetry of Apabhramshas have been religious teaching and bravery. From the times of Ghazi Muhammad Bin Qasim to the last days of Abbasid Caliphate, it appears that the language for the spread of Islam was Arabic. And the last period of the Habari government had made Sindhi and other local dialects, a medium of preaching of Islamic belief.

It was in the Soomro era when the preachers of different sects of Islam spread throughout the country (75), and like the Buddhist monks and the clerics of Jain religion, the Islamic clerics also started explaining the religious rites to the newly converted Muslims in their local languages. On one hand the Ismaili clerics were busy preaching their own religious philosophy, on the other end the Qadri clerics and the Ghousi wise men had also spread to different areas of Indus valley. Syed Sibte Hassan writes:

“The Sufis were popular people. They communicated with ordinary people but in order to win their hearts and to appeal their emotions, it was essential for them to use the language of the common man. In an era when the wise men and chiefs coming from Iran and Turkistan used to be proud of having command over Persian language and looked down upon the local dialects, these Sufi saints not only learnt the local languages with immense interest but they also composed the sufistic thoughts in the local dialects so that the common man could find it easy to understand. (76)

Since the reigning rulers (Soomras) were Ismailis, publicly and privately Ismaili teachings received a lot of support. Because of decreasing influence of Ismailis in Multan, the Fatimid Caliph and the 17th Imam (leader) of the Ismaili sect Syedna Al-Hakim Bil-Amrallah of Alqahira (Egypt) gave the title of ‘Shaikh’ to the chief of Soomras of Sindh Ibn Soomar Rajpal and made him the chief of Ismailis of Sindh. (77) Therefore, after Multan, Mansoorah in southern Sindh became a center of Ismaili preaching and hordes of clerics started coming to Sindh. History tells us that in 1025 AD (416 H), Mahmood Ghaznavi attacked Mansoorah and brought an end to the Ismaili government. (78) But the Ismailis did not lose heart and re-established their dominance in Multan. (79)

Referring to Abdul Ghafoor Quereshi, the author of Punjabi Adab di Kahani (A story of Punjabi Literature), Syed Sibte Hassan writes:

“The tradition of preaching through poetry in local dialects was started by Ismaili missionaries in the 11th century. Among them Syedna Noorul-

Din alias Satgur Noor, Shah Shams Sabzwari Multani (1165-1276 AD), Pir Shahabuddin Shah and Pir Sadruddin are most famous.” (80)

(ii) In the Soomra period (1079AD), the first local Ismaili preacher who became known was Pir Nooruddin who called himself Pir Satgur Noor. (81) This saint started a new trend in the teachings of Islam. He devised a system of preaching the tenets of Islam by composing them in poetic verses and rhyming tunes so that the newly converted Muslims and his other followers could understand and memorize them with relative ease.

(iii) The tradition of poetic art and singing has been followed in Sindh since ancient times, which has been mentioned by Al-Beruni and other scholars and travellers as well. Before embracing Islam, these new Ismaili followers were used to *Bhajan* singing and Sat Sang (Hindu ritual). Because of this, Pir Noorudin composed his verses (*Ginans*) in accordance with the poetic and melodious system of *Surs* so that his followers could recite the *Ginans* the way they used to with *Bhajan* singing; and so they could help others to understand the directions and other religious teachings. This type of thinking or Panth was named Sat Panth (Siratul Mustaqeen i.e. straight path) and for recitations of these verses (*Ginans*) they were composed on devotional music.

The teachings of Ismaili following are based on esoteric mysticism. And so Pir Satgur Noor explained the principles and rules of faith and mysticism through Kachhi, Gujrati, Seraiki, Hindi, Punjabi and Sindhi poetry (*Ginans*) in a new style by means of symbols and signs, similes and metaphors for easy understanding.

(iv) It has been mentioned earlier with reference to Al-Beruni that for memorizing some learning points, the use of *Saloks*, *Sutras* and small sized rhyming sentences was initiated. Pir Nooruddin also used this type of teaching method. He came to Sindh, Multan and Gujrat 35 years after Al-Beruni's death and so the system of rhyming sentences, *Chhand*, *saloks* and *sutras* must have been in place. Pir Satgur Noor named his works as *Ginans* instead of *Saloks*. This was the first time that this literary genre with the name of *Ginan* started being used in Sindhi literature. The word *Ginan* (گنان) has come from *Giyān* (گیان) meaning knowledge. Anyway, one can say that Pir Satgur Noor introduced this type of poetry in Sindhi language in 1079 AD in large quantity, even though the above quoted *Gahas* (*Gathas*) are said to be from the 7th Century AD. In addition to this *Gatha*, seven other examples have also been mentioned by Dr. Jetli and Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji.

(v) In addition to the analysis of *Ginans* of Pir Satgur Noor, and other examples of Sindhi poetry, it reveals the form of Sindhi language used in the 7th Century AD. In Pir Satgur Noor's time, it had been only 28 years since the second term of Soomra rule.

In the second phase of Soomra rule, the Sufis, saints and preachers of Ismaili following who came to the Indus Valley after Pir Satgur and those who composed *Ginans* in Sindhi, Kachhi, Seraiki, Punjabi, Hindi and Poorabi (western dialects) are as under:

(a) **Pir Shams Sabzwari Multani (1165-1278 AD, 560-675 H):** This saint was a contemporary of Baba Farid Ganj Shakar (569-667 H, 1182-1280 AD). He is commonly

known as Shams Tabrezi but that is not correct; Shams Tabrezi was long before this saint, who was, in fact, a tutor and mentor of Maulana Rumi and was the brother of the 18th Imam (leader) of the Ismaili sect, Syedna Allauddin. The 30th Imam of Ismaili sect Syed Qasim Shah had sent Pir Shams Sabzwari to Sindh for preaching the Ismaili belief.

(b) Pir Salahuddin: He was son of Pir Shams Sabzwari Multani's son and he preached the Ismaili sect in Punjab and Gujrat. His works have not been found.

(c) Pir Shahabuddin: He was the grandson of Pir Shams Sabzwari and was the son of Pir Salahuddin. Some of his works (*Ginans*) have been found.

(d) Pir Sadruddin (1290-1409 AD, 689-808 H): He was the great grandson of Pir Shams and was son of Pir Shahabuddin. His grandfather Pir Salahuddin and his father Pir Shahabuddin were esteemed preachers and poets of Ismaili following.

The works (*Ginans*) of these Pirs in Sindhi, Gujrati, Seraiki, Multani, Punjabi and Hindi are available but most of such literature comes from Pir Shams and Pir Salahuddin and their sons Pir Imam Shah and Pir Hasan Kabiruddin. Numerous examples of sufistic material of fantastic qualities are seen in language used by them in *Ginans*, which have been pondered upon in detail in later pages. The subject matter of the works of these preachers is related with mysticism and guidance. They have also written poetry on the subject of love and like other poets and saints of the subcontinent, they have taken a woman as a devotee (*salik* سالک) and have used metaphors and symbols for the beloved.

Mr. Agha Salim has written in his research work "Baba Farid's *Dohas* (verses)" that the Sindhi element is very obvious in the works of Baba Farid. Like *Ginans*, the works of Baba Farid show a mixture of Sindhi, Seraiki and Punjabi." (82) Agha Salim further writes:

"A study of Baba Farid's poetry reveals that some influence of his poetry may be seen on Sindhi poetry. I believe that the symbols of *Kangal* (crow) and *Hanj* (goose) have entered Sindhi poetry through the poetry of Baba Farid." (83)

Mr. Agha further writes on:

"The poetry of Shah Latif and Kazi Kadan also show a clear imprint of the influence of Baba Farid's poetry. Indeed Shah Latif has quoted Baba Farid's verse almost word by word; e.g.:

سرور پنکي هيڪڙو، ڦاهي وال پڄاس
اي تن لهرين گڏ ٿيا، سڄي تري آس
sarwar pakhi hekro, phaāhiwāl pachās
e tan lahren gaḍḍḍi thya, sachi teri ās
shah latif has composed a similar couplet
سر ڀر پکي هيڪڙو، پاڙي هري پنجاه
سندي آس الله، لڏي لهرون وچ ڀر (84)

sara men pakhī hekro, paṛehri panjah
sandī ās Allah, lude lahrun wich men

Same of Baba Farid's dohas:

1. کوني مندپ ماڙيا، ريت نه لائين چت
مٽي پئي اتولين، کوني نه هوسي مٽ
kaṭhī mandap maṛya, aitin lāeen chit
miti pae utalen, koī na hose mit
2. هنج اڏر ڪو ڏري پيا، لوڪ اڏرڻ جاءِ
گهلا لوڪ نه ڄاڻن، هنج نه ڪوڏر ڪاءِ
hanj uḍar ko dare pya, lok uḍran jae
gahla lok na jaṇan, hanj na kodar khae

Shah Latif and Pir Sadruddin have also touched this subject in their works. Ismaili preachers narrated the subject of mysticism in prose and poetry in Sindhi, Kachhi, Seraiki, Punjabi and Hindi languages and used phrases and subjects like *Jog*, *Jogesar*, *Jogi* and *Bhaboot* in their works. In other words, one can say that the propagation and preaching of mysticism and Bhagti Mat started from the early period of Soomra rule and the Ismaili preachers took an active part in it.

The Ismaili Sufis, saints and Pirs advised their disciples to consider this world as finite; not to get enchanted by the obvious colourfulness and beauty of the world, have faith in oneness of God Almighty, consider Prophet Muhammad Mustafa (pbuh) as the last prophet of Allah, and pray to Him. They (Ismaili preachers) used the *hans* (goose), stork, fish, boat, spinning wheel, butter, palaces, roof tops, sheds, spinner, shops, weight measures, wasp, flowers and plants as symbols and metaphors.

The format and structure of *Ginans* of all the Pirs are not uniform in a poetic sense. The format of the *Ginans* of Pir Nooruddin are similar to *Dohas* while Pir Shams, Pir Sadruddin and the Pirs of later periods have written *Ginans* in the shape of *Kafi* where after every verse a line is repeated. This format has been called *Salok* by an ancient poet of Punjabi language named Madhulal Shah Hussain (1538-1601 AD) in his collection of poetry. Perhaps Al-Beruni meant *Kafi* when he called them *Salok*. (85) Pir Shams (1156-1280 AD) and Pir Sadruddin (1290-1409 AD) were also of a period 300-375 years before Madhulal Shah Hussain and perhaps poetry in the form of *Kafi* was started by these honourable poets.

Based on the subject and topics, the Ismaili Pirs named the *Ginans* by different names and titles, e.g.

- i- aartiyoona آرتيون
- ii- garbiyoona گربيون
- iii- vainatiyoona ويتيون
- iv- ant akharo انت آڪارو
- v- das avatar دس اوتار
- vi- chaogharya چوگهريا etc.

Maulana Ghulam Muhammad Girmi writes about the language used in *Ginans*;

“Even though the presented *Dohas* are not strong from an artistic or religious value as per the rules of *chhand vidya*, but because of their originality and simplicity they can acquire an important status in Sindhi poetry. It is another thing that perhaps the researchers did not like the Birj Basha and along with it a mixture of Uchki, Multani, Gujrati and ancient Sindhi. But in any case when one keeps in mind the evolving Sindhi language a thousand years back, perhaps then this type of composition, writing style and mode of expression can be understood and only then the mixed Birj, Sindhi, Multani and Gujrati languages may be termed as the ‘evolving dialects of Sindhi language.’” (86)

An opinion about the format of *Ginans* by Pir Shams and Pir Sadruddin has been given earlier, the *Ginans* of Pir Satgur Noor point to an evolving structure and form of poetry of Sindhi language. Every couplet of *Ginans* by these two honorable poets is in the form of *Salok*. And as mentioned earlier, the format of *Ginans* by Pir Shams and Pir Sadruddin is of a different kind. The *Ginans* of Pir Satgur Noor and Pir Shams are quoted as under, as an example:

Pir Satgur Noor Says:

- (i) بهت پريت مَن پاوسين، تُمهين چپو الله رسول
کلمو کھو دل پاک سون، تو کُل وگھن هوئيسي دور.
bahut preet man bhavaseen, tumhin japo Allah Rasool
kalmo kaho dil pak soon, to kul vighan hoesi door.
- (ii) بن کلمي بندگي کري، تو بندگي سجي سارِ
جيون نِت اُت راه چلڻا، آخر اچڙ واس
bin kalme bandagee kar, to bandagee sunji saar
jeevan niti uṭh raah chalṇa, akhir ujaṛ vaas
- (iii) پياسون پريتج ٻانڌيئي، ماڻڪ مانھ ويھ،
ست پنٿ ساڌيئي، پنٿي پوراتي.
pyasoon pritaj bandheyi, maṇik manh veh,
sat panth sadhiye, panthi poorati

In addition to Hindi and Gujrati, Pir Shams’s *Ginans* are also found in Punjabi and Seraiki. One of the *Ginans* of Pir Shams in Punjabi is quoted as an example as under:

ايڪ تيرٿ وڻندڙان، پير شمس غازي سڻندڙان
سُناناوو ناوو ناوڙان، ويسران ناوڙان
نائين ڌوئي سي جيا، جي ني گر دا فرمايا ڪيا،
اورنهيئن ناوڙان، نهين ناوڙان
راهو، راهو، جڳو، سنان، پير پڇي راه چلو
اچڙ پڳ نهين پاوڙان، نهين پاوڙان
پير شمس اوراهه پر بوڌڙان
مَن پئي روحاني سمجهاوڙان، (اي) سمجهاوڙان
ايسا در ميري صاحب راجي دا سڻندڙان

سوئي دي دفعي وچ هستي ماوڙان (ويران) ماوڙان
 پير شمس غازي ٻوليا، قل سڄي ياري مومن پاوڙان
 (ويران) پاوڙان.
aik teerath vaindṛan, pir shams ghazi saindhṛan
tusanavoo navoo navaran, veeran navṛaan
nayin dhoyi se jiya, je ni gur da farmaya kiya,
aur nahin navaran, nahin navaran
rahoo, raha, japo, tusan, pir puchhe raha chalo
ujar paga naheen pavaran, nahin pavaran
pir shams aurah par bodharan
man puṭhi roohani samjhavarān, (aye) samjhavarān
aisa dar mere sahib raji da saindhṛan
soyi di dafayee vich hasti mavarān (veeran) mavarān
pir shams ghazi bolya, phal sachi yari momin pavaran
(veran) pavaran.

Two verses of *Ginans* by Pir Shams in Seraiki language are quoted as example as under:

Ginan Shareef

اي سپاڳا! ايس دنيا وچ ڪيا گيهن آئيو
 ڪيان گهن وئسي نال، سپاڳا!.....
 اي سپاڳا! نانگو تون آئيو، نانگو تون وئسو
 ڪڇ نه نيسي نال.....سپاڳا!
aye sabha ga! is dunya vich kya gabhin aaiyo
kiyan ghin vaisi naal, sabhaga!.....
aye sabhaga! Nango toon aaiyo, nango toon vaiso
kuchh na nibhsi naal.....sabhaga!

The genre of the above mentioned *Ginans* of Pir Shams are similar to *Kafi*. Same is the case with Pir Sadrudin's *Ginans*. Pir Sadrudin and all the Pirs who came after him have *Ginans* with the repeated line (*thal*) coming after every couplet (*bund*). Dr. Abdul Jabbar Junejo's opinion in this regard is very interesting. He writes:

“His *Ginans* are mostly in the form of *Kafi*. It is quite amazing that knowledge about this form became known much later and is not found up to the Kalhora era.” (87)

Repeating the *thal* (line) after every two lines of a *doha* is a theme that may be called as an ancient version of *Kafi*, that was perhaps in vogue in Al-Beruni's time as well. This genre of Sindhi, Seraiki and Punjabi is evident in the works of Pir Shams in the 12th century and Pir Sadrudin in the 13th century. The genres of *Chhand* have been mentioned by Al-Beruni and he has named one of them as *Salok*. And the genre the Ismaili Pirs, except Madhulal Shah Hussain named, as *Kafi* is usually composed on a

lyrical/melodious format. It means that in order to compose any poetry in Sindhi language. there were three principles or bases that were followed: one of them was based on *Chhand Vidya* (prosody) according to which *doha*, *bait* and *soratha* etc. were composed; the second was based on melodious tunes on the basis of which *Ginan*, *Kafi*, *jhoollana* and *vai* etc. were composed; and the third base was that of Persian meters (ilm urooz). Therefore, one can say that the trend of changing the structure of compositions from *Chhand Vidya* to *Kafi* in poetry of Sindhi, Punjabi, and Seraiki language occurred in Sindh in the 11th and 12th Century AD. Some researchers have attributed the genre of *Kafi* to the works of Madhulal Shah Hussain (1538-1601 AD).” (88) As mentioned earlier, long before the time of Madhulal Shah Hussain, we have the *Ginans* by Pir Shams and Pir Sadruddin composed on this theme. And on the basis of studying these *Ginans*, one can say that the system of composing poetry on this format in Punjab and Sindh was present since a long time. The early centers of Ismaili preaching were Multan, Uch Sharif, and in Sindh at Kotri Allah Rakhio Shah and Lahry Bander; therefore the Ismaili preachers acquired the system of composing poetry on the same lines as was in vogue in Multan, Uch and other regions. (89)

Some experts have called this genre as *Gah* (*gatha*) but *Gah* is usually related to an event, story or narrative, therefore it would not be correct to call *Ginans* as *Gahs*. Sindhi *Gahs* are also found in war poetry (*razmia*). Dr. Baloch believes that:

“Some of the verses of *Gah* are such that they appear quite old and it is quite possible that they belong to the Soomra period and have reached us through continuous vocal traditions.” (90)

17- (a) Detailed study of war poetry is not the subject of this book and we are only concerned with scrutinizing the narration, progress and expanse of the language. Anyway, the story about the war between the Soomras and Allaudin is a priceless treasure for analyzing the language of those times. Some of the events of this epic are in the form of *Gahas*. The language used in these *Gahas* is a huge and valuable cache as the virtuous poets (*sughars*) used this language for presenting the bravery and courage of Soomras and Abro Samo. In this regard, Professor Mehram Khan writes:

“Here Bhag Chand Faqir appears as a ‘new face’ of Chandr Burdai. He sang ‘Dodai Raso’ in the style of ‘Prithvi Raj Rasa’ in honour of Dodai Veer, which is a great epic story.” (91)

The subject narrated in ‘Dodai Raso’ will have to be accepted as a priceless treasure in the context of Sindhi language, because it contains unmatched examples of the Sindhi society and psyche. Some of the *Gahas* of this epic story are given below as examples so that an opinion can be formed about the language that has been used in them.

او آبرو آڀڳ، او ڏونگر ئي ڏيهه ٻيو،
او جوڻا چاڻو جڳ، جو سرڻين سوڻا سهي.

o abro abhag, o doongar ee deh biyo,

o joṇa chano jag, jo sarneen sonṭha sahe.

This verse, formed on the basis of *chhand soratha*, gives an account of the bravery

of Abro Samo and the description of motherland, depicting the social conditions of that era.

From a grammatical point of view, in addition to nouns, adjectives, adverbs, verbs and derived words, this *Gaha* shows the tenses of a verb.

This *Gaha* also proves that the practice of adding prefixes and suffixes before and after a root according to the principles of morphology is also quite old. For example:

abhag (اڀڳ): This is a compound word. To form this word the prefix ‘a’ has been added in front of the root ‘*bhag* (ڀڳ) to get the final word as ‘*abhag*’.

Joona Chaaṇu (جوڻا چاڻو): This word is also a compound word that has been formed by adding a dependent word “*Chaaṇu*” at the end of *Joona*.

Many such examples can be given here. Prof. Mehram Khan is right in saying:

“Representing the normal daily life matters, piety, success and truthfulness of the people of their times (Soomra rule), the Jajiks and Charaṇs narrative is a very worthy document. The competitions of Mathera and Amnjhis, incidences of massacre of young men, the acts of philanthropy of wise men were sung with such lovely tunes that they have become eternal.” (92)

It is indeed a reality that the stories of the philanthropists and generous people and their contributions have become eternal because of the fact that their donations and generosity was recorded and secured in the written form through language. These records appear fresh despite being centuries old. It is the language that has helped in storing the narratives of history, geography, tradition and customs of Sindh. With the help of *Gahas* patriotism, self sacrifice, determination, courage and respect of the children and women of those times have been preserved.

(b) The *Gahas* have been discussed first and even chronologically, *Gahas* are found to have existed before the *Ginans* in the Soomra era. The languages of *Ginans* by Pir Noorudin are Sindhi, Kachhi, Gujrati and Multani. The year of Pir Nooruddin’s *Ginans* is 1079 AD, therefore to analyze his language, one will have to study the language that existed 1000 years back. Pir Norruddin’s *Ginans* are the oldest examples of poetry in the history of Sindhi, Kachhi, Gujrati and Multani literature. Al-Beruni has mentioned the genres (*salok* and *sūtar*) of poetry of *chhand*, but their examples have not been found. The examples presented by Dr. Jetli and Dr. Chatterji are in every way older than the *Ginans*.

The time of Pir Nooruddin was favourable for such religious poetry (*Ginans*) and *Veer Gatha* (Story of Bravery-*Veer-Gah*). The *Veer Gatha* presented by Hemchander, examples given by Dr. Jetli and Dr. Chatterji are definitely of a time long before Pir Noorudin, but the era of putting them to writing is the same (1081-1172AD). After comparing the said *Gahs* and Pir Nooruddin’s poetry, one can say that there were a lot of similarities of vocabulary, grammar and syntax. Some verses of Pir Noorudin’s poetry have been mentioned above as examples; they are reproduced here in order to form an opinion regarding the language that has been used in these *Ginans*.

(i) بُهت پریت مَن ڀاوسين، ٽُهين چڀو الله رسول،

ڪلمو ڪهر دل پاڪ سون، تو ڪُل وگهن هوئسي دُور
bahut preet mana bhavaseen, tumhen japo allah rasool,
kalmo kaho dil paak soon, to kul vighan hoysi door.
(ii) بن ڪلمي بندگي ڪري، تو بندگي سجي سار
جيون نت اٺ راه چلڻا، آخر اچڙ واس.
bin kalme bandage kare, to bandage sanji saar
jeevan nat uṭh raah chalṇa, aakhir ujaṛ vaas.
(iii) پياسون پريتج ٻانڌيئي، ماڻڪ ويهر،
ست پنٺ ساڌيئي، پنٺي پوراتي.
piyasoon pretij bandheyi, maṇik veh,
sant panth sadheyi, panthi porati.

Analysis of the language used by Pir Noorudin reveals that the Sindhi language had a comprehensive and appropriate treasure of vocabulary to describe the sufistic and guiding principles. The main titles of these subjects are as under:

Reciting names of Allah and His prophet (PBUH), being honest, abstaining from lying and hatred, considering this world as finite and keeping oneself on the straight path. There is a strong imprint of Kachhi accent in Pir Satgur Noor's poetry, or one can say that his poetry is in Kachhi language. His language contains words like *soon*, *tay*, *to*, *jee* etc. that were perhaps used in the language of those times.

The word *soon* used in the *Ginans* of Pir Satgur Noor is a postposition, which is used in the present Sindhi as *saan*. In those days, *soon* was used as a postposition rather than *saan*, and much later Vali Deccani (of Urdu) used this *soon* in the following way:

مت غصے کے شعلوں سوں، جلتے کو جلاتي جا
نڪ مهر کے پاني سون يه آگ بجھاتي جا

The words 'tay' and 'jay' are also used as postpositions. These very words are later found in the poetry of Shah Latif as well; even though Shah Latif's period was approximately 600 years after Pir Satgur Noor. The examples of these words in Shah's poetry can be seen in his 'vai' as under:

- (i) *achyo aatan varyoon, taana deenmi te* (اچيو آتن واريون، طعنا ڏينر تي)
- (ii) *te laye dhani-a dhua, je laye vaya vehdat gadji* (تي لاءِ ڏئي ڏئا، جي لاءِ ويا وحدت گڏجي)
- (iii) *tar niharyan te, munhja bandari vera je* (تر نهاريان تي، منهنجا بندر ويڙا جي)

Syedna Pir Sadrudin (1290-1409 AD) can be called the greatest poet of the Soomra period. He saw the periods of both the Soomras and the Samas. Pir Shams Sabzvari Multani was his great grandfather. His father Syed Shahabuddin was a preacher of Ismaili sect and a good poet, as has been mentioned earlier.

(c) Pir Sadrudin had established his center for preaching at Village Kotri Allah Rakhio Shah and Lahri Bander in District Thatta, a part of the Larr (lower) region of Sindh, while Multan and Uch Shareef were his centers for preaching in Punjab. Since Pir

Sadraddin was born in the central region (Uch and Multan) of Sindh, he had travelled well throughout the areas of Multan, Uch Shareef, Joon, Fateh bagh, Kotri Allah Rakhio, Lahri Bander and the coastal belt of Gujrat and Kachh including Kathiawar since his childhood and for his preaching. He was well versed with Multani, Uchki, Sindhi, Kachhi, Punjabi, Gujrati and Hindi languages from his young age. He was a great Sufi poet; he studied Hindu religion deeply for his religious reasons and he studied the *Vedas*, *Shasters*, *Granth*s and *Vaanis* of Hindus to acquire expertise in the polytheistic philosophy. Because of mastering various languages he was able to explain the religious teachings to his newly converted Ismaili disciples (whom he had given the title of Khwaja) through his *Ginans* in Hindi, Gujrati, Kachhi, Mutlani and the Larri and Kachhi dialects of Sindhi language.

By studying the language used in his poetry it is revealed that in those days, the principles of Sufism and mysticism were present in the language spoken in the Indus Valley. Pir Sadraddin's language is very interesting in the aspects of linguistic expanse, vocabulary, sociological study and grammar. For example:

چيتهارا تميهن چيتجو، ڪريو خوب ڪماي
انتڪال ايڪلا چالڻا، ساڻ ڪوئي باپ نه مائي.

chetan-hara tumhin chetjo, karyo khoob kamayi
antkaal aikla chaalna, saath koyi baap na mayi.

This verse from one of his *Ginans* shows that the speakers of Sindhi language of those times were well versed with the grammatical principles, like those of adding a prefix or suffix before and after a word and in this way were able to form new words as is clear from the word '*chetan-hara*' (چيتهارا). Similarly, the case/tense of the word '*chetjo*' is an example of 'imperative of honour'. The word '*tumheen*' was also commonly used in Kachhi. And words like "*karyo, khoob, kamai, aikla, chalna, saath, koi, baap and mai*" etc. were also part of the vocabulary in Sindhi language.

Since Pir Sadraddin was a religious scholar and a preacher and travelled widely in various regions for his cause (preaching), therefore, the language in his poetry of the early period is an admixture. The Kachhi he used was influenced greatly by Gujrati. Despite that, the *Ginans* he wrote in Larri truly depict the Larri dialect. He has used numerous similes, metaphors, allusion, symbols, analogy and parables in his works. Some forms of the words used are not in use anymore in the present day Sindhi, for example, *chetan-hara, tumheen, antkaal* and *patoontra* etc. Pir Sadraddin has used some phrases that can be found some 400 years later in the language used by Shah Latif. For example:

سر ساتو ڏيڻ، سر ساتو ڪرڻ، وٽ وڃائڻ، گچي ۽ وجهڻ، ڳاڙهو ٿوڪ، مَن مانِيو، چُڻڻ، مَن
مانِيو چُڻڻ، جِيو، جِيو جي جهوري هئڻ، هت ڏيڻ، هاءِ هاءِ ڪرڻ، هت هُڻڻ، مرڪڻ، سرتين
وچ مرڪڻ، پاڻ سان نه نيئڻ، شاه پير سڃاڻڻ، چٽ پائڻ، ڌوڙ ۾ نيئڻ، ڪماي ڪرڻ ۽
جِيو لڳائڻ.

sir sato diyan, sir sato karan, vata vinjayan, gichi-a vijhan, garho thok,

mana manyo, chuṇaṇu, mana manyo chuṇaṇu, jiyo, jeeva je jhori huaṇ, hath diyaṇ, hai hai karav, murkaṇ, sartin vich murkaṇ, paṇa san nh niyaṇ, shah peer sunjaṇaṇ, chita payeṇ, dhoor men niyaṇ, kamayi karaṇ and jeev lagaṇe.

For example:

سر ساتا جو ڪيجهي، تو رڻڻي جاڳيئي آپ
جيو لڳائي، پريو سون، تو ساڇا سريجن پاس
sar sātā jo kījiye, to rainī jāgeyi āp
jīv lagāeyi, prem sūn, to sāchā sarijan pās

400 years before Shah Latif, Pir Sadrudddin has used various nouns as metaphors and symbols like ‘hans’ (goose) and ‘bbaghu’ (stork), flower, fish, moth, boat, sailors, weavers, yogis etc. in his *Ginans*. He has used the ‘hans’ (goose) for the believer and ‘bbaghu’ (stork) for the infidel as symbols. Similarly, he has used ‘nangra’ and ‘sagra’ as symbols. The following verses from his *Ginans* are matchless examples of similes. These *Ginans* are in Kachhi, he says:

(i) پيو پيو، تو جيو جنت ڪري، پيو نه پاوي ڪوءِ،
جپ جپتان جو پيو ملي، تو ڳهلا هنسج (93) هوءِ.
piyo ‘payo’ to jeev janat kare, payo na pave koye,
jībha japtan jo payo mile, to ḡaghla hansj hoye.
(ii) ڳهه هنس پي پتو نٿا ڏسي ايڪ ورن
ڳهه چڻي من مانيو، هنس موتي چڻن.
ḡagha hans ḡi pato natra ḡisee aik varan
ḡagh chane man manyo, hans moti chanin.
(iii) نڱوا سڱرا پي پتو نٿا صورت ايڪ سان
نڱرا چهاوي ڏام ڪون، سڱرا صاحب ڪا نام.
nagra sugra ḡi pato natra soorat aik saan,
nugra chahave daam kon, sugra sahib ka naam.

The language used by Pir Sadrudddin shows all the grammatical qualities that are seen in Shah Latif and Shah Karim’s poetry but since Pir Sadrudddin’s time was 400 years before Shah Latif, one can say that these phrases and principles of grammar were in use even then, but they were confined to spoken language. And when they were applied to poetry, it was noted that the grammatical peculiarities were present in Sindhi language even before Pir Sadrudddin’s time and continued not only after him but are still applicable.

(d) The other great accomplishment of Pir Sadrudddin is that he assigned a Sindhi script with the name of “Chaleeh akhree” (40 letters) for “Khwajki Sindhi script.” (94) As mentioned earlier, Al-Beruni and other Arab scholars have mentioned names of the scripts used for Sindhi language. It is the excellence of Pir Sadrudddin that he brought about some technical modifications in the already existing “Luhanko” Sindhi script for his newly converted Muslim Ismaili disciples (Khwajas) making it harmonious with Arabic

by adding some appropriate letters. He had asked his disciples to follow that script named as *Chaleeh Akhree* or Khwajki Sindhi Alphabet. The reason Pir Sadruddin chose the *Luhanko* Sindhi script for his disciples was that the majority of his disciples who had recently converted were *Luhanas*, who were already using the *Luhanka* script. (95)

Not only did Pir Sadruddin assign this script for his new Muslims (Ismaili Khwajas) but he trained them by writing *Ginans* about religious principles in addition to worldly education, arithmetics, accounting, book keeping etc. By bringing about the following changes and additions in the *Luhanka* script, he named it *Chaleeh Akhree* or Khwajka Akhar:

- (i) There was no system of diacritical marks in *Luhanko* script, he added them to it and gave it an academic touch.
- (ii) There was no sign for affricates and compound sounds like 'dr', 'tr', 'ksh', and 'gun' in the *Lohanko* script. Pir Sadruddin formed new signs for these affricates and compound sounds.
- (iii) *Lohanko* script did not have letters for Arabic sounds like 'غ', 'ز', 'ق', 'ف' and 'خ', 'ص', 'ض', 'ط', 'ظ'. For such sounds, Pir Sadruddin made addition to 'Khwajka Script' and invented new letters; Like:

ف = ز = ع = خ =

- (iv) He prepared a complete representation of the 40 letter script according to the phonetic values (pl. see page 39 of the 4th edition of Sindhi *Sooratkhati*).

After these modifications and additions, hundreds of books were written in this script.

Khwajko script was not only used for religious books but also for literature, history, arithmetics, accounting, trade and commerce, and philosophy. A huge cache of material written in this script from 15th and 16th centuries are available in the British library in London. Since this script was based on 40 letters, it was called *Chaleeh Akhree*, but in Mumbai, Kachh, Gujrat, Kathiawar and Africa, this script is called Sindhi.

(e) Pir Satgur Noor in the 11th, Pir Shams in the 12th and Pir Shahbuddin and his son Pir Sadruddin in the 13th century explained the principles of religion through *Ginans* and prayers written in prose in Sindhi (*Larri*), Hindi, Seraiki, Gujrati, and Multani languages.

This narrative proves that the teaching of religious affairs started by the Buddhists was continued by the Ismaili preachers. The teaching material prepared by them has been given in the next few pages. This proves that with the help of the poetry of the Ismaili preachers and Pirs in the 11th century, Sindhi language had acquired an expanse and richness in vocabulary and literary treasure of words that it was possible to explain the concepts of Sufism, mysticism and religious tenets of Islam in the form of poetry as well as prose. The Pirs wrote on various subjects in addition to religious matters, like social conditions and various professions of weavers, cloth merchants, sailors, yogis, fishermen, goldsmiths, physicians etc. They used various poetic figures like symbols, metaphors, similes, phrases, idioms and proverbs to explain these subjects. For example, this famous

Ginan of Pir Sadruddin deserves to be noted:

اُتي الله نه گهرين بندا، تون ستين سجي رات
نڪا جهوري چيو جي (بانها)، نڪو سمر ساٿ
شاه جو مڃيئڙو تني کي، جيڪي صبحوڙي جاڳن.
uthi Allah na ghureen banda, toon suten saji raat
naka jhore jeeva je (banha), nako samara saath,
shah jo manjeearo tine khe, jeke subohari jagan.

This verse of the *Ginan* shows that all the words are from the Sindhi language.

ٻٽ اڌ ڏڻ ڇڻ

The second verse of the same *Ginan* says:

صبحوڙي نه جاڳن، تن کي حورون نه ڏين هٿ
سي هاءِ هاءِ ڪندا، هٿ هٽندا، جيئن هاريءَ وڃائي وٽ
شاه جو مڃيئڙو.....
subohari na jagan, tin khi hooron na diyan hatha,
se hai hai kanda, hatha hananda, jijan hari-a vinjaye vata
shah jo manjiaro.....

An analysis of the grammar of Sindhi language used in this verse follows:

Jaaggani: Inflexion of the aorist of the verb ‘*Jaagg*’ shows the pattern of grammar.

Deeni: It is an example of the aorist of verb ‘*De*’.

Similarly, ‘*hai hai kanda*’ and ‘*hath hananda*’ gives an example of inflexion in future tense of compound verb.

Vinjaee: It is an example of inflexion of verb *vinjay*, in the past tense and pronoun in the third person singular.

In addition to the infinitives *jagaj* (to wake up), *kara* (to do), *vinjaya* (to lose), *hana* (to strike), *diya* (to give), etc. the other phrases used in this verse are as under: ‘*hath diya*’, ‘*hai hai kara*’, ‘*hath kara*’, *wata vinjaya* etc. Similarly, the 3rd verse of this poem is full of interesting things. For example:

بانها، تونجو تڪيو، ڪنڊن ۾ ڪيو
جڏين، سچاڻو سور ڪئين، تڏين سمريو
شاه جو مڃيئڙو.....
banha, tonjo takyo, kandan men kayo
jaden, sachaṇo soor kayeen, taden samryo
shah jo manjiaro....

This verse is written entirely in Larri dialect. Therefore the forms like ‘*jadeen*’, ‘*toonjo*’, *kaeen*, *tadeen* etc. are also important from the aspect of Sindhi grammar.

The 2nd *Ginan* of Pir Sadruddin is also full of sufistic explanations and guide lines. In this *Ginan*, sailors, fishermen, boatmen, rivers and their banks have been used as

metaphors. For example:

پائڙ پاڱا مَر تَوو (آئين)، مَر ٻوليو اُڙپ
bhaura bhangā ma taṛo (ayin), ma bolyo adap

The complete *Ginan* has been quoted in the chapter on Samas so it is not reproduced here.

The language of this *Ginan* is Kachhi and Larri (Sindhi). The following words in the above said verse are important for the analysis of Kachhi and Sindhi languages. For example:

پائڙ، تَوو، آئين، مَر، اُڙپ، گڏ (ڳڙهه)، تَرهو، وڻج، جوکو، جيو، مٽ، وَل، وچوٽي، ڌوڙ، تَر،
وڻجارڙا، هَروڙو، وَکَڙي، ساڻو، کيڙيون، کَڙوي، کچي، پکي، چکي، کريچ،
ڏوتئين.

bhāura, taṛo, āeen, ma, aṛapa, gadu (gaṛhu), turho, vaṇaj, jokho, jīva, mīta, wal, wichhotī, dhoor, taṛ, waṇjāraṛaā, harūaṛo, wakharṛī, sāthro, kaiṛyūn, karvi, kachī, pakī, chakhī, karīj, dhūtaīn.

In the above said words, in addition to the different types of pronouns, adjectives, diminutive nouns and abstract verbs, the following words have been used as postpositions, compound verbs, conjunctions, adverb, and possessive prepositions and particle etc. For example:

Compound Verbs:

تولي ڏين، ٻڌي ساسائين (سهسائين)، نيئي دريندء، ٿاڻي ٻڌو، سڌ ڪندي، ساري ڏيچ
tole diyan, buḍi sasayin (sahsayin), niye dreendaye, taṇe budho, saḍ kandi, sare dij.

Imperative (honour): *dhotaij* ڌوتائج

Conjunction: *taa* ٿا

Adverb: *na, ma, mathan, mathe, jaden* نه، مَر، مٿان، مٿي، جڏين

Preposition: *te, men* تي، ۾

Participle: *mateendara* مٽيندڙا

Similarly, several examples of pronominal suffixes added to verbs can be seen.

dhotayeen ڌوتائين، *dareendaye* دريندء، *adayeen* اڏائين، *sanbhareen* سنڀارين، *payeen* پائين.

18- An analysis of the increase in the vocabulary of language in this era shows that there were *Pathshaalas* for learning Sindhi language. For this learning of language, analysis of the Sindhi sounds, Sindhi phonetics, the division of sounds on the basis of their pronunciation, and the script for writing these sounds were considered. The phonetic structure of language and the principles of making words according to the sounds, i.e. phonetics, and the rules governing it, like monosyllabic words, bi-syllabic, tri-syllabic and tetra-syllabic words were also taught. And in this way the children were not only taught the phonetic system of words through syllabic arrangement but at the same time their word-power (vocabulary) also increased gradually.

These children were also taught the principles of grammar, laws of morphology,

ways to use the words in sentences, formation of words, their formatting, in addition to the gender, singulars and plurals, aspirates and laws of inflection of verbs and pronominal suffixes.

For teaching mother tongue, they were taught principles of the formation of words according to their classes, but these principles were put in their syllabus as well. Initially, they were taught the '*Baar Bboddh*' i.e. Nursery rhymes, followed by '*Pehli Kitab*' (first book), then '*Beeji Kitab*' (second book), '*Treeji Kitab*' (third book) and then the '*Chothi Kitab*' (fourth book). They were taught grammar as well.

19- In the Soomra period, the name of a distinguished woman 'Mai Murkhaan' is also found. Her name is important for understanding the literary and linguistic aspect of Sindhi Language. This saintly woman lived in Maji region of 'Run of Kachh'; the boundaries of Maji region were adjacent to the 'tapo Chor Hadee', an old taluka of Badin district. Presently this region is included in the Rann of Kachh. According to Mr. Muhammad Soomar Shaikh, Mai Markhan passed away around 1300 AD, ten years after Pir Sadrudin was born. This means that she had lived her life before the Pir and her poetic works are also older than that of Pir Sadrudin. (96)

This lady had a lot of respect for her mentor Shaikh Karhayo Bhāndarī. The poetry she wrote in his honor is called *Peeraṇa*. The female disciples of Shaikh Karahyo Bhaandari still recite her *Peeraṇas* at his shrine with great reverence and respect.

The *Peeraṇas* composed by Mai Markhan are a priceless treasure for Sindhi language. Two verses from her *Peeranas* are reproduced below showing the qualities of affection, pensiveness and respect. For example:

1
هيءَ ڪانڊيرڙي لَسَ
هيءَ واسرڙي وَسَ
آءُ ڪلندي ڪڏندي اڃان
ڪرهيل ڏنر سڪ پار ۾
آءُ ڪلندي ڪڏندي اڃان
پانڊاري ڏنر سڪ پار ۾
آءُ ڪلندي ڪڏندي اڃان
hi-a kanderiṛi lasa
hi- vasarari vasa
aaun khilandi kudande achan
karhel diṭham such paar men
bhandare men such para men
aaun khilandi kudandi achan

2
مريدني تنهنجا ڏس ۾ آوارا ڄاما
شيخ ني تنهنجا ڏيهه ۾، ڪوئري جا ڄاما

پورڙيون ڪئير، پير پانڊاري
تنهنجو ساٿ سلامت آيو
تنهنجو ٻيڙو ڪٿي گهر آيو.
muridi tunhja, dasi men awara jama
sheikh ni tunhja deha men, khaunri ja jama
poririyoona kaiyam, pair bhandare
tunhjo saath salamat ayo
tunhjo bero khate ghar ayo.

These verses by Mai Markahan are full of wishes, usually seen in the *Geech* form of poetry. The above quoted verses (*Peeranas*) contain lines with small sentences made on a rhyming theme where ‘*kander-ro*’, ‘*vaasar-ray*’, ‘*pooriryoon*’ etc. have been used as diminutive nouns. These verses have a similar grammatical format. Pronominal affixes have been used extensively.

20- Similarly, the language in the poetry of Sumang Charan in the Soomra era provides evidence of the magnificence of language of that era. Some of the examples of Sumang Charan have been quoted by Dr. Nabi Bux Khan Baloch and Prof. Mehram Khan. (97)

Sumang Charan lived in Kerakot near the border of Sindh and Kachh and was a musician for Jam Lakho in that period. He was a strong opponent of Soomra government and proponent of the Samas. Hameer Soomro had issued orders for his confinement. Sumang pondered and provoked anti-Soomra sentiment and uprising against them. (98) Some of his verses against the Soomras and in praise of the bravery and generosity of Samas are reproduced below. (99) Sumang composed these lines according to the *Bol* (ٻول) genre and so it would be more appropriately called Sumang Charan’s Bols.

(i) هميرَ ڪان پيئي، سومرن ڪان ويئي
هميران پوراه، راج نہ ڪندا سومرا
hameera khan peyi, soomran khan veyi
hameeran porah, raj na kanda soomra
(ii) ستينءَ هو سوجهرو، ائينءَ ٿي اونڊاه
هميراڻي باه، وسائي ورهين ڪي
satiyan ho sojhro, aṭhiyan thi oondah
hameerani baha, visaye varhyan khe
(iii) وڻين جهليو نہ رهي، هوڻيءَ سندو گهاءَ
ڪونہ پرائيندو پاءَ، تنهن سان وجهي مامرو
vaṇen jhalyo na rahe, hothi-a sando ghaau
kona bharaindo bhau, tanh san vijhe mamro
(iv) دَرُ آئي مڱئي، دانُ سڳو ڏي
سڀڙ سو ساري، دانُ سڳو ڏي
dara aayi mangni, danu sabhko de
sapar so sare, danu sabhko de.

Sumang’s works also include some *Gahas* that show the structure of Sindhi

language of the last years of Soomra reign. One can observe the culture and traditions, circumstances, daily life and history of that period from his *Gahas*. Following elements of Sumang's language are worth mentioning:

- i- Sumang used Sindhi language for picturizing events and characters and has used very apt and appropriate words, phrases and idioms for this purpose.
- ii- He has done remarkably well in finding words that match and fit in particular circumstances. The words he has used to show the courage and bravery of Hothi are so picturesque that one can easily imagine the happenings.
- iii- He has used very pertinent words even for hatred and despise.
- iv- The following examples demand attention from a grammatical point of view.

Hameeran Poorah: The position of *Hameeran* in this phrase is very interesting. Here *Hameeran* means 'since Hameer'. According to grammatical structure of Sindhi language, this is an example of the ablative case of formative word.

Hameerani bahi (fire): It is a complex, restructured word.

Vanain: The structure of this word is unique.

Aae: This word form is also seen in Shah Latif's poetry. 'Aae' means "after coming", and its grammatical position is one of conjunctive participle.

Jhooprian: This noun is in the oblique case as a postposition has been used at the end.

(f) Similarly, Bhaago Bhaan was also a famous and learned poet of the Soomra period. The language in his poetry is also worth analyzing and pondering upon. For example, a couple of composed *Gahas* are reproduced below.

(i) ٻاٽي ٻاٽي ڏينھڙا، لڳا پونگر راوستي

مڙدن اچي مامرو، ٻڌڙو ٻڳ مٽي

bāte baate dīnhara, laḡa bhoongar ravasti

mardan ache mamro, budhro paḡa mathe.

(ii) اٻ سڀڪنهن آڇو، اٻ نه آڇو ڪو

مٽي به مٽي ٿيو، سورھ سر سندنو

ubha sabh kenh ucho, ubha na ucho koye

muye bi mathe thiyo, sorahh sar sandoye

According to Prof. Mehram Khan's opinion, the epic story of war between Allaudin and Soomras from where these dohas have been selected, are in the form of *Gahas*, where he (Bhago Bhaan) has sung praise of the bravery of Soomra chieftains in addition to the bravery of Abro Samo. Prof. Mehram Khan believes that this epic was composed by Bhago Bhan. He writes:

"Here Bhag Faeer appears to be a reincarnated figure of Chandr Bardai. He sang Dodal Raso in praise of Dodal Veer on the pattern of Prithvi Raj Rasa which is a great war story." (100)

(g) Bhago Bhan's language appears to be quite old. In this regard, Dr. Baloch writes:

"Some *Gahas* and verses from the epic story about the wars, written in praise of Soomra rulers and later the Sama chiefs have been found. Most of that poetry appears to belong to later years, but the language of some of

the *Gahas* is such that the historic references render it quite old and it is quite possible that the *Gahas* belong to the Soomra rule and have reached us as continued oral history.” (101)

In addition to the names of Soomra rulers, chiefs and poets, there are names of other castes that also point to the historical existence of social linguistic and cultural trends of Sindh. For example the following names are worth mentioning:

Soomro, Bhoongar, Dodo, Bhagul, Nangar, Doongar, Khafeef, Hemo, Bai, Phattoo, Chanesar, Hamio, Amro, SUMang, Hothi, Sanghaar, Spaarsh, Bhago, Bhan, Charan, Sama, Bhatt and Jajik etc.

21- Ancient Sindhi prose and the ancient language used:

(a) It has been mentioned with reference to Al-Beruni that in the Soomra period the custom of presenting quotes, proverbs, idioms and sutras was quite common. Al-Beruni writes:

“Scholars and wise men preferred to write poetic prose on rhyming themes. Some of the books of that period are written on a rhyming pattern because it made these *saloks*, *sutras* and rhymes easy to memorize. Therefore in the olden days, scientific subjects like that of Archimedes and other topics like astronomy and their narration were done in a poetic prose. And this way, as mentioned already, it was easier to reproduce and memorize.” (102)

Al-Beruni’s opinion reiterates Bherumal’s claim mentioned before. He writes:

“After the Vedas, Sanskrit mostly contains sutras therefore it is called Sanskrit of the Sutra period. Sutra is the same word whose pronunciation in Sindhi is ‘*sutu*’ (cotton thread). In the medieval period longer statements were summarized in a few words like beads in a string. The main quality of the sutras is ‘brevity’. Most of the Sindhi idioms (*pahakas*) are formed on the pattern of sutras.

jari-a khe jas جڙيءَ کي جس = Appreciate what is done.

kando so paindo ڪندو سو پائيندو = you reap what you sow.

jehri karṇi tehri bharṇi جهڙي ڪرڻي تهڙي پرڻي = you reap what you sow.

One can see that despite having minimum number of words, they contain wisdom.

Most sutras have certain principles explained in them. The *Dharmi* (religious) sutras define religious principles while *Gireh sutras* explain household rules. This way the sutras mean a principle, rule or point that is present in fewer but meaningful words.” (103)

(b) This type of prose was common in Sindhi language before the advent of Islam. In the Soomra era, the prayers composed by Ismaili preachers are in poetic prose and the sayings of the saints and wise men of that period and their sayings, *bol*, idioms, riddles and puzzles were presented in sutras, ornamental prose or rhyming notes.

For example, it is mentioned in my book ‘Sindhi Nasar ji Tareekh’ (The History of Sindhi Prose) that:

“Right from the period when Sindhi poetic literature of Ismaili preachers was composed, the Ismaili Jamat passed it from generation to generation. All this material was composed in rhyming prose.

The Ismaili elders used the same old method for their newly converted Ismaili disciples for memorizing the religious literature in prose, prayers and wise quotes. They composed them in local languages in rhyming prose so that even elderly folks could easily memorize them. Some of these prayers are as under:

(i) يا شاه! حق تون، پاڪ تون، دانا تون، بيٺا تون،
اول تون، آخر تون، ظاهر تون، باطن تون، پيدا تون
پناه تون.....الخ
ya Shah! Haq toon, paak toon, dana toon, beena toon,
awal toon, aakhir toon, zahir toon, batin toon, paida toon,
panah toon.....alakh

(ii) يا شاه! اتر، پورب، دکشن، پشچر،
چار ڏسيون، چار اُوڏسيون، چار کاڻيون، چار واڻيون،
چار ڪتاب، چار ڪَلپ، چار جڳ، ويد الخ (104)
ya Shah! Utar, poorab, dakshan, pashchim,
chaar dasyoon, chaar awadasyoon, chaar khanayoon, chaar varyoon,
chaar kitab, chaar kalap, chaar juga, veda.....alakh

These and similar other prayers are composed in easy and rhyming prose. This way a scrutiny of Sindhi poetry reveals the historic treasure, grammatical structure, idioms, riddles, puzzles in addition to rare and wonderful works. Similarly, the language used in Sindhi prose also needs to be discussed and studied in detail. One can say with reference to Al-Beruni that the system of sutras in Sindhi is quite ancient; the proof of which should be searched in Brahm Gupt and books by other experts.

(c) In addition to the prayers composed by the Ismaili Pirs mentioned above, the other books of that period can be explored for words of wisdom, sayings, idioms, and sutras. In this context, a saying in Sindhi language has been found that lifts the veil from the literary history, especially of the chapter of Sindhi prose of the Soomra period. That saying is as under:

”يا شيخ لو ڦا، دين دنيا جا ڏوڻڪا“
”*ya sheikh lo qa, deen dunya ja daunka*”

This saying has been mentioned in my book *ثقافتی تاریخ ادبی ۽ ادبی* (The Literary and Cultural History of Larr). (105) This saying is related to Syed Shahabuddin Shah alias Shah Loqa who was son of Syed Jameel Shah Daataar (1244 Ad, 642 H) whose tomb is located in front and to the west of the shrine of Pir Putho.

Similarly, another saying is:

”ببرکت پير پنا، هڪ مُٺا هڪ تُٺا“
”*babarkat pair puṭha, hik muua hik tuta*”

Like the earlier mentioned saying, this too is on a rhyming pattern. According to Mr. Bherumal, this can also be taken as an example of sutra. The words ‘Patha’ and ‘Tatha’ are examples of rhyming and both these words are anagrams as well.

(d) When the ‘*Gahas*’, ‘*dohas*’ and ‘*sorathas*’ of the Soomra era are studied, it becomes known that the lines have many such signs where the syntactical structure resembles the structure of prose. Some examples of the prose structure with relation to syntax are as under:

ٻين سڀني ڏنيون، ڏني نه ڏونگر راءِ
اڻ ڏٺين آڏو ٿئي، ڏٺيون ڏٺي ڪيا!
لوڙهيو لڪَ مٿاءِ، تنهن مٿيري
موتائون.

biyan sabhni dinyoon, dini na doongara raye
ana diṭhen ado thiye, dithyoon diye kya!
lorhyo laka mathae, tenh mathere motaiyoon.

The following signs of the lines of this *Gaha* are in prose structure (106):

- (i) *biyan sabhni dinyoon* (ٻين سڀني ڏنيون)
- (ii) *tenh mathere motaiyoon* (تنهن مٿيري موتائون)
- (iii) *ana diṭhen ado thiye* (اڻ ڏٺين آڏو ٿئي)

Not only the sentences have prose structure, but the following grammatical forms are also visible in the above quoted *Gaha* like:

- i- The transformative case of the ordinal numerals of an adjective.

Agent case

bia (ٻيا) (others)

sabh (سڀ) (all)

Transformative case

bian (ٻين)

sabhni (سڀني)

- ii- Compound and complex (transformed) words have been used in this *Gaha*:

Complex Word: *an-dithyain* (unseen) with prefix ‘*an*’, and Matheri.

Compound word: *Doongar Rai*

- iii- Co-relative pronoun: *tenh* (تنهن)

Sentences of prose are also found in the following *Gah*:

آڙ آڏي هئي اُٻڙي، ٽوڇليون ڏه لڪَ
گهوڙي ڪنڌ نه ڦيريو، ماري او خلق
aara adi hui abre, nao chhaliyoon dah lakh
ghoray kandh na pheryo, mare o khalq

The sentence “*ghoray kandh na pheryo*” (meaning the horse did not look back) is in prose, this shows that there was a trend of using such sentences in the language of that period, having both the subject and the object.

This *doha* proves that Sindhi language had numerals for trade and commerce, measures, counts and ordinal numbers. For example, “*Nao chaliyoon dah lakh*”; this phrase proves that the numbers for *nao* (9), *dah* (10), *lakh* (100,000) and *chaliyoon* were

in use those days.

It was mentioned earlier that Al-Beruni has also given the count starting from number 1. This *doha* also tells us that certain collective nouns were used for people, birds, animals or for congregations etc. The word Khalaq (خلق) has been used for a gathering of people. The present Sindhi also uses this word in a similar meaning.

22- Linguistic analysis of language of the Soomra period:

The developments that Sindhi language achieved over the years till reaching the Sama period are presented as under:

- (a) Sindhi language was the customary language of the Sindhi society.
- (b) This language was also used for dealing with trade and commerce, accounting, book-keeping, daily records, ledgers and other business communications like registers, crop agreements and trading.
- (c) It was a language for Sindhi folk literature, Sindhi oral history, genres of *Chhand* like *Salok*, *Sutras*, *Bol*, Riddles, Sayings, and of other composed genres of singing like *Ginan*, *Kafi*, *Jhoolno* and common traditional literature. In this context, *Dohas*, *Ginans*, *Soratha*, *Gaha*, *Dithoon* and *Bahagūnan ja Bol* were prevalent at that time.
- (d) The patterns of writing based on rhyming and prose like compositions of prayers, sutras, rhymes, riddles, ledgers and commercial book keeping records were in vogue.
- (e) Sindhi language was a medium of preaching mystic way of life and also of general religious teachings.
- (f) The concepts, principles and rules for phonetics, grammar, medicine, geography, linguistics, moral values, religious training was written in Sindhi language.
- (g) Sindhi language was written in various scripts e.g. Ardhanagri, Devnagri, Lohanki, Khwajki, Memonki, Bhatia, Khudavadi, Sakhroo, Vangaar, Thatta, Malvari and Saindhu, samples of these scripts have been found from the ruins of Bhambhore and Brahmanabad.

23- The spread and expanse of Sindhi language:

Scrutiny of the education and literary collections from the Soomra period reveals the following information about Sindhi language:

- (a) After the Arab conquest, Soomra rule was the first indigenous government, the stability of which resulted in increasing the influence of Soomra rule on the borders of Sindh, southeast Sindh, Kachh, Kathiawar. Since Sindhi was the language of the rulers of the state, it was spread to all these regions.
- (b) Al-Beruni's narratives show that Sindh had a purely indigenous Sindhi atmosphere and this got further promoted during the Soomra era. In the courts of the Soomra rulers and other chiefs, discussions about the local stories, love dramas, and other important events were conducted in their mother-tongue i.e. Sindhi language. (107)
- (c) According to Al-Beruni, local languages were used for folk stories told on festive

days and congregations, games etc.

- (d) The use of Arabic language for official use stopped with the end of the Arab rule and Persian took its place, but even then the language of the rulers and ordinary citizens was Sindhi. Even when the Arabic language was used in offices during the Arab era, ordinary people and traders of Arab and Sindhi origin used to communicate in Sindhi language.
- (e) Sindhi language was also systematically written and therefore different scripts were introduced as mentioned earlier.
- (f) Soomra period was one of a national awakening, where patriotism, prowess, bravery and gallantry were praised in the form of *Gahas*. Epics and stories of valour were written in Sindhi language.
- (g) The Bhattas, Bhaans, Charans, Jajiks, bards and poets were courtiers of the Rajas and chiefs and therefore there is an abundance of poetry of praise and admiration of that period.
- (h) The most important element in the poetry of this era was religious and moral education. Sufism and mysticism had a lot of influence on the society. Sindhi language was also a medium of religious education and preaching and therefore the teachings of the religious leaders and their literary collections were preserved in Sindhi language in Sindh.
- (i) Preachers of different sects of Islam were engaged in their missionary work in Sindhi in that period. Since the Soomras were Ismailis therefore the Ismaili preaching got a better chance to progress and develop in areas of Sindh, Gujrat, Kachh, Kathiawar and Seraiki regions. The Ismaili preachers composed their works in local languages like Sindhi, Gujrati, Kachhi, Kathiawari, Hindi, Multani and Uchki languages. The poetic genre they used preferably for composition of Islamic, Sufitic guidance etc. was named as *Ginans*. The poetry in *Ginans* was divided among various subjects.
- (j) The religious clerics and sufi saints employed Sindhi language and other local languages for spreading and preaching the issues of Islamic *Shariah*, religious education and the principles of Sufism and mysticism.
- (k) The narratives about the bravery of men, epic stories, praise poetry etc. were composed in the form of *Gahas*.
- (l) The genres of *Geech*, *Gia* and *Piranas* were composed in Sindhi language describing the routine life, local civilization and culture in addition to the feelings of pensiveness, separation from the beloved, pain and desire. Verses for local events, sayings and proverbs were formed in Sindhi language, by means of which light was thrown on the places like Debal Bander, Nasarpur, Joon, Fateh Bagh and Noorani Shareef.
- (m) The subjects of the poetry of those times shows that the Sindhi language had the

richness and abundance of literary treasure to express these subjects. Plenty of material is available on the history, geography, culture and traditions and the social conditions of Sindh.

- (n) Sindhi language had acquired the magnificence, expanse and maturity. The use of metaphors, poetic figures, scenic beauty, characterization, symbols, signs and their purposeful usage proves that the language was substantially developed.
- (o) The dialects of the language used in the poetry of those times also invite our attention. The dialect used in *Geech* and *Gahas* is Larri, whereas the dialects of *Ginans* are Larri, Kachhi, Uchki, Multani, Gujrati or Hindi. The Kacchi dialect of *Ginans* of Pir Shams and Pir Satgur Noor is quite old which was used in every day chores of the common people of that era. There is a major difference in the present Sindhi language and the language of that period, and a gradual and evolutionary study makes this difference clearly apparent.
- (p) Some peculiar points of grammar are also apparent in the language of the *Ginans* For example:

ست پنڻي تي، جي ست سون رهي
 برو نه راڪي مَنَ
sat panthi te, je sat son rahe
buro na raakhe mana

- (q) The words *tay* (تي) and *jay* (جي) in these lines have been used as adverb of time. Similarly, the word *soon* has been used as a postposition. The first two words i.e. *tay* and *jay* can be easily traced some 400 years later in the poetry of Shah Latif in the same pattern. For example:
- (i) *achan aataṇ varyoon, taana dīnam te* (اچن آتڻ واريون، طعنا ڏينر تي)
- (ii) *te laye dhani-a dhua, je laye waya wehdat dadji* (تي لاءِ ڏنيءَ ڏٺا، جي لاءِ ويا وحدت گڏجي)
- (iii) *taṛ niharyan te, munhja bandar vera je* (تڙ نهاريان تي، منهنجا بندر ويڙا جي)
- (r) These examples prove that the grammar of the Soomra period was steadily evolving and progressing.

The Ismaili Pirs used the preposition *Soon* instead of *Saan* in their *Ginans*. It is possible that 1000 or 800 years back, the postposition *Soon* was commonly used instead of *Saan*. Plenty of examples of usage of *Soon* are seen in the ancient poets of Urdu language also, like Wali Deccani and his contemporaries. (108) For example:

مٽ غصه ڪي شعلون سون، جلجي ڪو جلائي جا
 مٽ مهر ڪي پاني سون، به آگ بجھائي جا

- (s) The bricks found from the ruins of Bhambhore and Brahmanabad contain a script which is still in vogue with the Khwaja Ismaili community. It proves that the Hindu Luhanas who converted to Islam, having been impressed by the preaching of Syedna Pir Sadruddin, had that Lohanka script in use in those times.

After these Lohanas accepted Islam, the preacher Pir Sadruddin did not stop them from using their own script (*Lohanka* script) for their daily chores, record keeping of business and trade, commercial communiqués, ledgers, agreements etc, as has been mentioned before. It is a remarkable achievement of Pir Sadruddin that he brought new changes and improvement in the said script; and he gave this script an academic touch by addition of *maatras* (diacritical marks) and letters and by forming the phonetic alphabetic chart. Pir Sadruddin named this script as Khwajki Sindhi Alphabet or *Chaleeh Akhree* which is famous in the world as Sindhi letters in the Khwaja community (*Jamaat*).

- (t) The researcher Al-Beruni has also mentioned schools known as *Pāthshālas*; and about the system of writing on wooden strips and on leaves of trees. Al-Beruni has also mentioned the causes for invention of this art.
- (u) According to Al-Beruni, the people of Sindh called books as *Pothi* or *Pustak* and letters as *Akshars*. He has also mentioned the style of writing i.e. script.
- (v) In addition to Al-Beruni, other tourists and travellers have also given different names for the different scripts used for Sindhi language.

After studying this entire material, one can say that upto the period of Soomra rule, Sindhi was a language with substance and superb qualities and was an integral part of the Sindhi society.

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 - 44- Also pronounced as Yaro in Larr
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Chapter Six

The Superior Standard of Sindhi language

(The period of indigenous Sindhi rulers (Samas), foreign rulers (Arghuns and Tarkhans) (1351- 1551 AD)

The Sindhi language became better than ever in the times of Samas and Arghuns and owing to the progress in relations with Punjab and the Seraiki belt, Rajasthan and Gujrat, the spread of Sindhi language also progressed. The details of these relations are as under:

1. The relation of Seraiki with Sindhi:

(a) It shall be observed in this chapter as to how old the relations between Sindhi and Seraiki languages are. It has been mentioned earlier that Sindhi and Lahandi are branches or off shoots of Saindhui which was the indigenous and ancient language of the Indus Valley, and therefore Sindhi and Seraiki have a lot of resemblance with each other.

It has been proved by examples in chapter 5 that the literary relations between Sindhi and Seraiki languages in the Soornra period can be seen in the poetry of Baba Farid Ganj Shakar. Mr. Agha Salim writes in this regard:

(i) "Baba Farid's poetry has left an invaluable imprint on Sindhi poetry."

(ii) "Baba Farid composed poetry in Sindhi language in addition to Seraiki which is necessary for the study of history and progress of Sindhi language." (1)

He further says:

"The study of Baba Farid's poetry reveals that his poetry has left an invaluable imprint on Sindhi poetry and I think that the symbols of '*Kangal*' and '*Hanj*' have come in Sindhi poetry through his works. The poetry of Shah Latif and Kazi Kadan also shows a clear influence of Baba Farid's poetry." (2)

This has been described with the help of examples in chapter 5. Dr. Baloch has also described the same point from pages 129 to 133 of the 3rd edition of his book "Sindhi Boli ain Adab ji Tareekh." (3)

(b) At the same time, the frequent travels of Ismaili preachers to the Seraiki belt of Multan and Uch Shareef and upto Larr in Sindh, and the poetry composed by them for their disciples in these languages shows that the people of Sindh were quite familiar with Seraiki language. Similarly, there was widespread influence of the teachings of Hazrat Ghous Bahauddin Zakariya Multani in Sindh and many of his disciples used to travel to Multan.

Mr. Agha Salim has quoted the following examples as evidence of influence of Baba Farid on Kazi Kadan:

Baba Fareed:

فریدا! دکان سیتی دینهن گیا، سوالان سیتی رات
کڑا پکاری پاتتی، بیڑا کپر وات
fareeda! dukhan sete dinh gaya, sawalan sete raat
khara pukare patini, bera kapar waat

Kazi Kadan:

دینهن لٹا، سنجھا پئی، اگئون آئی رات
کڑا پکاری پاتتی، بیڑا کپر وات
dinh latha, sanjha payi, agaun aayi raat
khara pukare patini, bera kapar waat

Baba Farieed:

فریدا! اک وھا جین لوڻ، بیا کستور جھنگ چوی،
باھر لاءِ صابوڻ، اندر اجا نہ ٿیوی
fareeda! ik wiha jeen loon, biya kastoor jhang chawe,
bahar laye saboon, andar uja na thive

Kazi Kadan:

هٽ وھا جیئن لوڻ، کستوری جھنگئن گھری
سچان دی صابوڻ، اندر اچا کری
hat viha jijan loon, kastoori jhangaun ghure
sachan di saboon, andar achha kare (4)

Mr. Agha Salim writes about the relationship of Sindhi and Seraiki:

“It appears that at a certain stage, some form of Seraiki was in use in the entire Punjab and then gradually some internal language started affecting and pushing away Seraiki. When it had affected Seraiki significantly, because of its influence Punjabi language came into being, and Seraiki language was so greatly influenced by this internal language that it could not sustain its original status. I think that the form of Seraiki common in the entire Punjab had so much resemblance with Sindhi that it was difficult to differentiate between them. At one time there was a similar resemblance between the Kakia Pishachi of Multan and the Virachid Pishachi of Sindh. Therefore, the great grammarian of Prakrit named Markandya had said that the Pishachi of Sindh is just like the Kakia Pishachi. The Arab tourists could not differentiate between the languages of Multan and Sindh and indeed Masoodi Astakhri and Ibn Hawakul have termed the languages of Sindh and Multan as one. And gradually under the influence of this internal (indigenous) language and by breaking away from Sindhi, Seraiki assumed a different shape. One finds from the *Dohas* of Baba Farid that even in that period, Sindhi and Seraiki had a lot of similarities.” (5)

Describing the history of ancient relations of Sindhi and Seraiki, Dr. Baloch writes:

“Initially, during the times of Rai and Brahman dynasties and then in the Arab period, Sindh and Multan remained under one political power for a long time, the center of which was Sindh (initially Aror and later Mansoorah). As a result of this political unity, there started the relations of the languages of Sindh and Multan. For some time in the Soomra period Multan and the southern part of Multan province (present Bahawalpur area) were part of Sindh, which also helped the relations between Sindhi and Seraiki grow. Also in the Soomra period, the famous saint of Suharwardi following, Ghous Bahauddin Zakria’s preaching had a great effect in Sindh and especially his followers from the Sama clan became his disciples, and hundreds of them used to visit this saint at Multan in his life and even after, almost every year.” (6)

Dr. Baloch writes further in this regard:

“Anyway, the Sama rulers as well as the people of Sindh had a spiritual relationship with the saints of Multan and Uch, which strengthened the bond between Sindhi and Seraiki.” (7)

Dr. Baloch further writes:

“As a result of the historic relations, political and social understanding through the centuries, the relationship of Sindhi and Seraiki progressed. Sindhi influenced the language of the area of present Bahawalpur in the south of Multan and a lot of words and phrases from Sindhi entered the local dialect. On the other hand in Sindh, the Sindhi-Seraiki dialect was introduced. In the beginning of the 9th Hijri century, Seraiki started being written as prose in Sindh and the regions of Bahawalpur, the evidence of which can be seen on bricks and shards found from Bhawalpur and Sindh as under:

سلان سلبنڊ ٿپيان، ڦڳيان نامر نصير،
 ڪو ڪٿايان پٿر گانمن دي، اونڙ نامر همير،
 وقت سڪندر بادشاه، ملڪ ڌڻي پهلوان،
 رعيت راضي ايهه جهي، جو ٻڌا نٽ جوان،
 هڪ لک سلان لڳ چڪيان، ٿيا ڪو تمام،
 تري سو ٻوٽي باغ دي، راڌي اونڙ چام” (8)

*salan salband thapyan, phagyan naam naseer,
 khoo khanayan putar ganman de, onar naam hameer,
 waqt sikandar badshah, mulk dhanī pahalwan,
 raiyat raazi aeh jihi, jo budha nit javan,
 hik lakh silan lag chukiyan, thiya khoo tamam,
 tari sau booti baagh di, raadhi onar jam*

2- Like the Soomras, Samas were also indigenous Sindhi rulers. Indeed the Sama period was more important as far as the progress of Sindhi language and literature is concerned. The education and literature developed in this period resulting in spread of the

language. The main reason of the development and progress of Sindhi language and literature was the patronage of these by the indigenous Sama rulers. The scholars were encouraged and honoured. Some of the Sama chiefs were good poets and scholars of Persian language. The brother of the Sama ruler Jam Nando (RIP 1508AD, 914 H) named Jam Ba Yazeed was himself a great scholar. Various good poets and literary people were appointed on prime positions in their courts. As a result of the encouragement by him (Jam Bayazeed), many scholars moved from distant areas and settled in Thatta.” (9)

The Sama ruler Jam Nando was a great scholar and a patron of literary activities. Scholars and saints like Kazi Kadan (1465-1515AD), Kazi Muhammad Uchi, Maulana Ziauddin Rahuthi, Maulana Salahuddin Larri and Syed Murad Shah Sheerazi (1427-1487 AD) were contemporaries of Jam Nando.

(a) The religious preaching in Sindhi language continued in the period of Sama rule. The Ismaili preachers were also engaged in their missionary work. Pir Sadrudin passed away in this very period in 1490 AD. And as has already been mentioned that along with Pir Sadrudin, his sons Pir Imam Shah, Pir Hassan Kabiruddin and Pir Tajuddin (Shah Turial- whose tomb is situated near Tando Bago) too were assigned missionary work in Sindh, Punjab, Gujrat and Kathiawar. They tried to spread their message through their *Ginans*.

(b) The scholars and literary people of this era used Sindhi language for their daily chores in addition to writing poetry and other literary works. From among them the poetry, sayings and proverbs of Kazi Kadan, Syed Murad Ali Shah Sheerazi and Syed Aali Sheerazi have been quoted as examples in the next few pages.

(c) In this era, the relations between Sindh and Gujrat, Kacch, Kathiawar, Rajasthan, Multan, Dera Ghazi Khan, the mountainous range of Pahari, the Sibbi region, Lasbela and upto Makran was resulting in spread of Sindhi to these areas. Reciprocally Kachhi, Gujrati, Rajasthani, Balochi and Seraiki languages and their culture had an effect on Sindh including Larr and Sindhi language got the political backing and strength. (10)

The shrines of saints, the inns of wise men and religious people and the gatherings held there became a very effective strong method of progress and spread of Sindhi language. The era saw the progress of *gaha*, *geechee* in addition to *Ginans*, and the Sindhi *doha* and *soratha* and mixed *doha-soratha* or *soratha-doha* genres. In addition to them, *saloks*, *sutras* and other rhyming forms also progressed.

3- (a) In Sama period, too, poetic forms were used to describe the subjects of sufism, love, war and heroism, and the language used by the poets of the time was the same like that of the Soomra period, but it had acquired some different words to throw light on the social and political circumstances, history, geography, religious movements, religious teachings and spiritual connotations. The renowned saint Noah Hothiani and the *Mamui faqirs* used allegories for describing their beliefs and the conditions prevailing in the country's political landscape. In the poetry of *Mamui faqirs*, Syed Ali Sheerazi Sani and Shaikh Hammad, there are names of rivers, lakes, water courses, famous cities, trees, plants and fruits. For example:

هاڪ وهندو هاڪڙو، ڀڄندي ٻنڌ اروڙ،
 به، مڇي ۽ لوڙھ، سمي ويندا سوڪڙي!
haka wahando hakro, bhajandi bandha aroor,
biha, machhi ayen lorha, same weenda sookhri!

This verse throws light on the cultural and social history of those times. It contains the names of Hakro River, the town of Aror and its protective barriers, in addition to the lotus root, fish and vegetables; so one can say that the words customarily used in that era were used both in prose and poetic genres.

(b) Pir Sadruddin (Ismaili preacher) saw through the first 58 years of the Sama rule. He passed away in 1409 AD. If his poetic works would have been noticed from the beginning by non-Ismaili experts and critics, his works would have been known long ago, and the scholars and critics of Sindh, Gujrat and the Seraiki and Punjabi belt would have been more familiar with his works and that of his successors and would have definitely said that he (Pir Sadruddin) was also one of the greatest poets and saints of the Sama period, as his works are available in Sindhi, Kachhi, Gujrati, Seraiki, Punjabi and Hindi languages.

In the literary and scholarly history of Sindh, Kazi Kadan holds a key position as one of the greatest poets religious scholar and Kazi of this era. The entire work of Kazi Kadan is very important. For example one of his verses is reproduced below:

لوڪان نحو صرف، مون مطالع سپرين
 سوئي پڙهيو سو پڙهان، سوئي سو حرف
lokan nahav sirf, moon mutalay supreen
so ee parhyo so parhan, so ee so harf

It appears from the first line of this verse that there were seminaries for religious teaching in the Sama period where grammar and syntax were also taught. The verses quoted below are by Kazi Kadan and they provide evidence about the expanse and quality of the language used in them in the Sama period:

(1)
 جوڳي، جاڳايوس، سٽو هوس نندا ڀر،
 تھان پوءِ ٿيوس، سندي پريان پيچري!
jogi-a jagayos, suto hos ninda men,
tihan poye thiyos, sande paryan pechre!

(2)
 ڪنڌوري قافيا، ڪو ڪين پڙهيوم،
 اهو پار ٿي ٻيو، جهان پرين لتوم،
kinz qadoori qafya, ko kina parhyom,
iho par ee biyo, jihan preen ladhom.

(3)
 سڄڻ منجه هٿام، مون اٿي ويا اوليا،
 هيڏانهن هوڏانهن هٿا، هنڌي جاڙ وڌام

*sajan manjh huam, moon uti waya oṭhiya,
hedanh hodanh hathra, hinyare jara vidham*

(c) The importance Sindhi poetry got in this period was due to the vastness, finesse and superior qualities of the language and this proves that this language had acquired the status of a complete language of very high standard, even before the Arab invasion. Later on, there were improvements and positive literary additions to this language and newer genres were introduced. Numerous new and semi-historic stories and narratives are attributed to the Sama period which were taken up by the Sindhi poets their subjects and sang songs about them. The stories are as under:

Jam Lakho and Mehr Rani, Jam Jakhro, Hunund Hothiani, Vikio Daatar, Sorath and Rai Dyach, Jam Lakho and Odan, Udho Kehar and Hothal Pari, Jam Jarar and Bobana, Raja Jasodhan, Jam Tamachi and Nuri Muhani, Doolah Daryah Khan and Hamoon Rathore. All these stories were narrated by the *sughars* and poets of those times in Sindhi and in between these stories they have given some *gahas* as well. These *Dohas* are understood by Dr. Nabi Buksh Baloch to be from the Sama period. (11) The language in some of these *gahas* is very similar in structure and format to the Sindhi spoken today. For example:

(1) جھوئي تون پُراڻ، جُڳ چئيه سنڀرين،
تر ڪي ڏنا هان، لاکي جهڙا پهيڙا!
*jhoyee toon puran, juga chhateeha sanbhreen,
to ke diṭha haan, lakhe jehra pahiyara!*

The study of this *gaha* reveals that it was composed in the style of a *Soratha*. There is not a word in this *gaha* which is phonetically, grammatically and syntactically different from the structure of Sindhi language of today. The nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs and the verbs all appear like the present day Sindhi. For example:

(2) آڏا تو سين آر، ڪَر وسرين نه سڀ ڄمار
شَل ٿَر- ٻاڻيهو ٿي مران.
*uḍha to seen aar, kara visreen na sabh jamar
shala thara-baḍeeho thee maran.*

In addition to the vocative and subjunctive cases, the other grammatical forms seen in this *gaha* are as under:

Postposition: In this *Gaha*, “seen” (سين) is used instead of “saan” (سان). It looks as the postposition “soon” of the Soomra period changed in the next 300-400 years to become “seen”. Such changes help in depicting the evolution of language.

Subjunctive case: The word “kar” (ڪر) denoting Subjunctive case in Sindhi language is in fact a diminutive of “jekar” (جيڪر). Similarly, the poet has also used the word “shal” (شل) as subjunctive case.

Subjunctive Imperative (amur tamana): “maran” the verbal form is used as Imperative Subjunctive.

Aorist: The word ‘*maran*’ which is an imperative subjunctive has also been used as an aorist or a potential verb.

Compound words: The experts of Sindhi language took help from the principles of syntax to form newer words even before the era of Arab rule. Some examples of such complex or compound words formed in the Arab and Soomra periods have been mentioned above. In the above quoted verse *Thar-Babiho* is an example of such a compound word invented by the *sughars*.

The most remarkable thing about the poet in this *Gaha* is that he has used different grammatical forms based on the knowledge of sound grammatical principles. For example:

Thee-marān which is a subjunctive form of the verb in accordance with its aorist, but had the poet used the verb-form *Marān-thee* instead of *Thee-Marān*, the meaning of subjunctiveness of the line of the verse would have vanished and the syntactical structure of the verb would not have been that of the aorist but of the present tense, which could have killed the sentiment of love and affection, and of the subjunctive mood of the poet.

Similarly, other *Gahas* are also available for study mentioning of Jam Lakho, Jam Jakhro, Vikio Dātār and others.

In this context, the poetry of *Mamui Faqirs* provides evidence of the development and magnificence of Sindhi language. For example, as mentioned earlier:

(1) ھاڪ وھندو ھاڪڙو، ٻڄندي ٻنڌ اروڙ،
 ٻھ مڇي ۽ لوڙھ، سمي ويندا سوکڙي.
haka vahando hakro, bhajandi bandha aroora,
biha machhi ayen lorha, same weenda sookhri.

This verse is composed on a *Doha-Soratha* structure. In addition to the signs of history, geography and culture of Sindh, it contains the phonetic, syntactical and grammatical form that is present even in the present day Sindhi. The vocabulary is also similar. Likewise, please see the following verses of *Mamui faqirs* (12)

(2) جر ويھجا ماڙھوئا، ننگر جي آڌار،
 پراڻا پار، نوان آڌجا نڇھرا!
jam wejha marhua, nangar je adhar,
purana parar, nawan adja nijahra!
 (3) وسي وسي آر، جڏھن وڃي ڦٽندو،
 تڏ ٻاروچاڻو ٻار، پنجن درمين وڪبو.
wase wase aara, jadenh vanji phutando,
tad barochano bar, panjen darmen vikbo.
 (4) ڪاري ڪاٻاري، جھيڙو لڳندو ڇھ ٻھر،
 مر مڇي ماري، سک وسندي سنڌڙي!
kari kabari, jhero lagando chhaha pehara,
mar michi mare, such wasandi sindhri!
 (5) مرمڇي ماري، مر مڇي ڪھڙا پار،
 هيٺين ڪاريون پوتيون، مٿن ڪارا وار.

*mar michi mare, mar michi-a kehra para,
heṭhain karyoon potyoon, mathan kara wara.*

(6) نيرا گهوڙا نقرا، اتر گئون ايندا،
گهاگهيرون گسن تي، وراهي ويندا،
تهان پوءِ ٿيندا، طبل تاجاڻين جا!

*neera ghora naqra, utara khaun eenda,
ghaghairyoon gasan te, warahe weenda,
tihaṇ poye theenda, tabal tajanin ja!*

(7) لڳندي لاڙان، سونڪو ٿيندو سري ۾،
جڏهن ڪڏهن سنڌڙي، اوڳاڻان وڻاه!

*lagandi laṛan, saunko theendo sare men,
jadenh kadenh sindhri, augaṇan vanah!*

4- The names of the poets of the Sama period have been mentioned earlier, such as Pir Sadruddin (d. 1409AD), Shaikh Hammad Jamali (d. 1438 AD), Mian Syed Murad Shah Sheerazi (1427-1487 AD), Miala Syed Ali Sani Sheerazi (d. 1522 AD), Ishaq Ahangar and Kazi Kadan (1465-1551 AD). The language used in the works of these poets appears as a fantastic example of the splendour and richness of Sindhi language.

(a) While mentioning the Soornra period, examples of language and poetry of Syedna Pir Sadruddin have been given. In this period, his poetry in Sindhi and Seraiki appears more mature and stronger, which can be observed by studying the following Sindhi *Ginans*. (13)

پاڻر پاڳام ٿڙو، مَر بوليو اُڙپ،
هن شاه جي پيار سين، تڙ وچوڻي لڇ،
سُن وڻجارڙا، هو يار، هي مَن هريڙو (هروڙو) ٿو جهولي!
هي مَن هريڙو ٿو جهولي
يار! چڪي ڪڙوي ول، تا توجي جيو جو جوکو نه ٿئي،
سُن وڻجارڙا هو يار.....
هن جيو سنڌي ڪج ڪا ڪريا
واڻ سُهيلي هوئي، (مومن پاڻي)، هو يار
سُن وڻجارڙا.....
ڪچي ماڻي مئيندڙا (يار)، ڪوڙي تولي ڏين،
هيءَ ٽني جي وکرڙي، ٻڏي ساسائين (سُهسائين)
سُن وڻجارڙا هو يار.....
تون وڻجارو ويرا لئي، آڇا وڻج ڪريج،
ٿو ني ڪين (ڪنهن) ڪي مَر ڏوتين، پاڻ ڏوتائيج،
سُن وڻجارڙا.....
تون وڻجارو ميڏني، ڪونا ٿو اڏائين
صحيح سنڀوڙو ساڻڙو، سات نه سنڀاريين
سُن وڻجارڙا.....
ڪيڙيون اڏائين گڏ ماڙيون، تين تي ڪيڙا پائين ڇٽ،
نيئي ڏريندي ڏوڙ ۾، مٿان لتون ڏيندي مٽ
سُن وڻجارڙا.....

نانگي مٽي تَرهو، ٿاڻي تو نه ٻڌو
جڏين (جڏهن) لهريين گوڙيو، تڏين (تڏهن) ٿو سنپاريين
سُن وٽجارڙا.....

پيڙي ڍوئي تڙ مٽي، عليءَ سڏ ڪندين
گهر پريو تو جي پانڊشي، سيئي نه هلندي ساڻ
سُن وٽجارڙا.....

دن گڏئين نه چڙي، توڻي نه پڇي ماس
جو تون مالڪ مڃين، گرڻر پيئي تو جي آس
سُن وٽجارڙا.....

نو وانا نر ڪي، ڏهون تون ساري ڏيڇ
تون ئي تو جي ايمان سين، صحيح سلامت ڏيڇ
سُن وٽجارڙا.....

روڙو ني گڏ امرپوري، پائر پاڱا پير
ٻار ڪروڙئين شاه نظر چڙهي، صحيح ڄاڻو صدرالدين
سُن وٽجارڙا.....

*bhaira bhanga ma taro, ma bolyo arapa,
hina shah je pyar seen, tara vichhote laja
sun wanjara, ho yaar, hee mana hariyaro (haruaro) tho jhoole!
hee man hariyaro tho jhoole
yaara! chakhe karvi wal, ta to je jeeva jo jokho na thiye,
sun wanjarira ho yaar....
hina jeeva sande kar ka kriya
waata suhaili hoye, (momin bhai), ho yaar
sun wanjarira ho yaar....
kache maape mayendirā (yaar), koorē tole deeni,
hee-a tini j wikhariri, buḍi sasayeen (sahsayeen)
sun wanjarira ho yaar....
pake maape mayendirā (yaar), poori tole deen,
hee-a tini ji wikhariri, sahi salamat neen,
sun wanjarira ho yaar....
toon wanjaro veera laye, aachha vanij kareej,
too ee keen (kenh khe) khe ma dhooteen, paana dhataij,
sun wanjarira ho yaar....
toon wanjararo maidanee, koṭha tho adayeen,
sahi sanbhorō sathro, sath na sanbhareen
sun wanjarira ho yaar....
kairyoona adayeen gad maryoon, teen te kera payeen chita,
neyi dhareende dhoor men, mathan latoon deende mita
sun wanjarira ho yaar....
tange mathe turaho, taane to na badho
jaden (jadenh) lahreen loryo, taden (tadenh) tho sanbhareen
sun wanjarira ho yaar....*

beri dhoye tar mathe, ali-a sad kanden
ghar bharyo to je bhandaye, seyi na halande saath
sun wanjarira ho yaar....
din gadayeen na chare, toyee na puchhe maas
jo toon malik manjeen, gurnar bheete to je aasa
sun wanjarira ho yaar....
nawa wata nara khe, dahon toon sare deej
toon ee to je eeman seen, sahi salamt deej
sun wanjarira ho yaar....
ro-ro nee gada amrapuri, bhayir bhangha bhair
baar karorayen shah nazaar charhsee, sahi jano sadaruddin
sun wanjarira ho yaar....

Analyzing the language used in these *Ginans*, one can say that they are enriched with the linguistic qualities of Sindhi language and its phonetic, syntactical and grammatical peculiarities. Using similes, metaphors, allegory, symbols and other poetic figures of Sindhi language and its properties, he has given numerous examples to show the vastness and majesty of Sindhi language.

The use of pronominal affixes, newer words, and words for weight measures, idioms and phrases can also be seen 400 years later in the poetry of Shah Latif. The poetry of Pir Sadrudin can be presented as a matchless example of the richness of Sindhi language of the Sama period.

Similarly, another *Ginan* by Pir Sadrudin written in Kachhi and Larri dialect is presented here as an example: (14)

سائين سريو م ڊيل ڪر، (بانهان)، جان جيئن ڏينهن ڪوئي (1)
 جيئن ور کان، تيئن مانڪا، تنهنجي ڇايا ڦرن تي هو
 هلڻ هارا سيئي جڳ، اويچل نه رهندو ڪوئي،
 سائيان جي، بيه ملائين، بيه ملائين، تنهن سڄڻ کي
 منهنجا صاحب جو تون ڏيهه ۾ پيارا
 اي مون الله
 جو تون بهت گن ڳائين
 اي مون الله
 سائيان جي بيه ملائين....

sayeen sarevo ma dhala kar, (banhan), jaan jiyen deenh koyee
jiyan varkha, tiyan maankha, tunji chhaya phiranti hoye
halan hara sabhayi jug, avechal na rahando koyee,
saiyaan ji, beeha milayeen, beeha milayeen, tinahan sajanan khe
munhja sahab jo toon rideha men pyara
aye moon Allah
jo toon bahut gun gayeen
aye moon Allah
saiyaan ji beeha milayeen....

- (2) سائين سريو و مَر ڏيل ڪر، (ٻانها)، جان جيئين ڏينهن چار
هي پرايو ڏيهڙو، تنهن ۾ ثمر وڪر سار،
ايڪ چلنتي دوئي چليا، هي ٿر نه رهندو سنسار،
سائيان جي بيه ملائين....

*sayeen sarevo ma dhala kar, (banha), jaan jiyen deenha chaar
hee parayo deharo, tenh men samar vikhar saar,
aik chalanti dooyi chalya, hee thar na rahando sansaar,
saiyaan je beeha milayeen....*

- (3) شيوا ڪارڻ آئيو، (ٻانها)، سڄو هي سنسار
جنهن سريو شاه ڪي هيڪ مَن، سي تان پاميندا موڪش ديدار
پوري ڪرڻي جا سڄا يار، پونس لنگهيندا پار،
سائيان جي بيه ملائين....

*sheva karan aiyo, (banha), sa jo hee sansar
jinheen sarevyo shah khe heek mana, se taan pamenda mokhs deedar
poori karṇi-a ja sacha yara, bhons langheenda paar,
saiyaan je beeh milayeen....*

- (4) سائين سيئي سڄڻ ميڙين (الله)، جي منهنجي مَن وَسَن،
سي مون ڪي ٻولين انبرت (عنبرت)، سر ڪيوڙي جيئن ٿا وَسَن،
ڪنهن جو اوگڻ ايڪ نه سنڀري، گڻ ڪرين دوش گمن
سائيان جي بيه ملائين....

*sayeen seyi sajan merin (Allah), je munhje mana wasan,
se moon khe bolin anbrat (anbrat), sira kiyore jiyan tha wasan,
kenh jo awagun aik na sanbhre, gun kareen dosh gaman
saiyaan je beeh milayeen.*

- (5) سائين وچوڙا مَر ڏيئين، (الله) پي ميلاوو هو،
جي وَسَن سڻو ڪوسڙي، منهنجي هيئڙي اندر سو،
الله جنهن ڪي موڪش پيارو، مولا تنهن ميلاوو هو،
سائيان جي بيه ملائين.....

*sayeen vichhora ma diyeen, (Allah) bhi melavoo hoye,
je wasan sao kosre, munhje hinyare andar soye
Allah jinheen khe moksh pyaro, maula tinheen melavoo hoye,
saiyaan je beeh milayeen....*

- (6) رنگ ڪسونڀو، (ٻانها) ڪو گهرين، گهر اونچي چوڙ مڃڻ،
جيئن ڪمل تي پمرڙو، تيئن شاه رڏيه ۾ ويٺو
سو تون صاحب ڪيئن ٿو وسارين، جو گهٽ اندر اکين ڏٺو،
سائيان جي بيه ملائين.....

*rang kasonbho, (banha) ko ghureen, ghar unche chaur majath,
jiyen kamal te bhimiriro, tiyen shah rideha men vaitho
so toon sahib kiyeen tho visareen, jo ghat andar akhin ditho,
saiyaan je beeh milayeen.....*

- (7) آلم پيريون، چتر سر (بانهان)، نه نباهيو ڪنهن،
هتي جيونتا جي ڪندا (ياران)، مهندا لوھ هستي
الله درم تورو هت ڀر، سر صاحب ڪشيندو سڀ ڪي،
سائيان جي بيه ملائين

*aalam bhairyoan, chhatar sir (banha), na nibahyo kenh,
hite jeevanta je kanda (yaran), mahanda loh hasti
Allah darm toro hatha men, so sahib kasheendo sabh khe,
saiyaan je beeh milayeen....*

- (8) ڪوٺا منڊپ ماڙيون، گهر گهوڙا پندار
ڪين نه نيٽو پاڻ سين (بانها)، جيو چلتي وار،
وارا نڪي واٽري، سي تان لنگهيندا سڄا يار،
سائيان جي بيه ملائين

*kotha mandapa maryoon, ghara ghora bhandar
keen na niyara pana seen (banha), jeev chalanti vara,
vara naki vatar, se taan langheenda sacha yara,
saiyaan je beeh milayeen....*

- (9) دوئي چڻي ملي ڇايو بانهو چئين اُٺايو يار
تتي ماءُ نه ٻاپ ڪوئي (ياران) تتي ڪنهن آڌار
تتي داد سڻندو مون ڏٺي، صاحب ڪرا ڪوٽ سي آر،
سائيان جي بيه ملائين

*doyi jane mili jayo banho chayeen uthayo yaar
tite maa-u na baap koyi (yaran) tite kenh adhaar
tite daad sunando moon dhan, sahib khara khota se aar,
saiyaan je beeh milayeen....*

- (10) هيءُ پنڊي سون تڻي، نهِي رکيندءُ ڪلر مانهن،
تتي نه مهيري نه مٽ ڪوئي (بانها)، تتي نه ساڻي ڪوئي،
هيءُ جا پنڊ نيائي سڪ سان، ستر جهري جهري مٽري هو،
سائيان جي بيه ملائين

*hee-a pinḍi sona tane, nehi rakheendai kalar manhen,
tite na maheri na mit koyi (banha), tite na sathi koyi,
hee-a ja pinḍ nibhaiye sukha saan, satar jhuri jhuri mitri hoye
saiyaan je beeh milayeen....*

- (11) پير صدرالدين ٻوليا ويتي، سڄا صاحب تو آڌار،
هي جڳ ائين ڪري ڄاڻجو، جيئن نائي مانهن سنسار
اوڻا پورا آسونتا، مولا سڀئي لنگهه تون پار،
سائيان جي بيه ملائين

*pir sadaruddin bolya vainati, sacha sahib to adhaar,
hee jag iyen kare janjo, jiyen nathe manhain sansaar,
auna pawara aswanta, maula sabhayi langhayee toon par,
saiyaan je beeh milayeen....*

5- In his book, Dr. Baloch has also quoted examples of some other poets of the Sama period. Even though that poetry is sparsely available, it cannot be ignored for the highest quality and stature of Sindhi language. For example:

جو گهڙي سو ني، ڪو جو قهر ڪلاچ ۾
 خبر ڪونه ڏئي، رچ ڪڇاڙي رنديو. (15)
jo ghirī so nee, ko jo qahar kalach men
khavar kona daye, rachha kujare randiyo.

The language of this *Soratha* is Larri. The following grammatical peculiarities in it are worth our attention:

Jo (جو): Relative pronoun

So (سو): Co-Relative pronoun

Ko (ڪو): Indefinite pronoun

Kujaray (ڪڇاڙي): Interrogative pronoun

Main (۾): Postposition

Ghire, ni, day (گهڙي، ني، ڏي): Verb showing aorist or potential tense

Ko na (ڪونه): Negative adverb

Randhio (رنديو): The grammatical form of this verb is of passive voice.

The Arabic words ‘qahar’ (قهر) meaning curse and *Khavar* (خبر) meaning news have been used in this *Soratha*.

Second example: Dr. Baloch believes this verse to be from the works of Mian Ali Sani.

سرتين سانگ سڪن جو، مون کي رويو رهائين،
 آءُ ٿي هلاڻ هوت ڏي، تان هو واريو وهارين،
 ورهتيون ورن سين، وينيون گهر گهارين.
 ڪهندا ٿيون ڪهرين، ڪانه هلائي ڪيچ ڏي. (16)
sartin sang sukhan jo, moon khe royo rihain,
aaun thi halan hota de, taan hoo varyo viharin,
varetiyoon varan seen, vethyoon ghur ghirin.
kuhanda thiyoan kuhrin, kana halaye kaicha de.

The grammatical form of the words in this verse is as under:

Jo (جو): The word used here as a possessive case showing belonging.

Moon khay (مون کي): It is a declension of the oblique case.

Khay (کي): Preposition

Taan (تان): Conjunction

Aoon hallan thee (آءُ هلاڻ ٿي): It is a declension of the present tense.

Hoo (هو): Demonstrative pronoun/ third person

Aoon (آءُ): First person pronoun (singular)

Moon (مون): It is a form of *oblique* case and it is a declension of the subject *Maan* (مان).

Varan (ورڻ): The study of this word shows it to be a declension of the singular

noun *Varu* (ور) and its plural *Vara*, as per the principle of declension in transformational case.

Number	Nominative case	Transformational case
Singular	<i>Varu</i>	<i>Vara</i>
Plural	<i>Vara</i>	<i>Varan</i>

Varan Seen (سين ورن): *Varu* is the form of singular noun and its plural is *Vara*. Because of the postposition ‘seen’ behind the plural ‘vara’ the oblique case of the word has taken the form of ‘varan’ and ‘varan seen’ is an example of such occurrence.

Thioon Khareen (ٿيون ڪارين): the prose form of this is *Khareen thioon*. This is the declension of verb in the present tense.

Ka na (ڪانہ): Adverb of negation or Negative adverb

Day (ڏي): Adverb of place

Royo (رويو): Conjunctive participle

Pandhaan (پنڌان): ‘pandh khaan’ is the oblique (ablative) case of *Pandh*.

Halā-ay (هلائي): Casual verb

Khāren (ڪارين): Casual verb

Varaytiyoon (وريتيون): *Varan varyoon*: Nominative noun

Royo rahaeen (رويو رهائين): Compound verb

Varyo vihareen (واريو وهارين): Compound verb

Vethiyoon ghareen (وينيون گهارين): Compound verb

Similarly, ‘rahāin, ghāran, halana, vihāran, kharan etc. are examples of the Infinitive.

Third example:

سائر ڏيئي لَتَ، اونچي نيچي ٻوڙيئي،
هڪائين هڪ ٿيو، ويئي سڀ جهٽ
sayer ڏeyi lata, unchi neechi ٻoryae,
hekayeen hek thiyo, veyee sabh jihata.

This is an example of *Doha-Soratha* mix from the poetry of Kazi Kadan, which shows the following grammatical properties:

Dayee (ڏيئي): Conjunctive participle

Haik (هڪ): Adjective

Sabh (سڀ): Adjective

Following idioms have been used in this verse: *Lat diyan, haik thian, jihat vanjan*.

6- (a) The verses of *Mamui Faqirs* have been mentioned earlier which are considered as predictions. For example, the language used in the following verse resembles the language used in the period from Shah Karim to Shah Latif. e.g

چَر ويهجا ماڙهوا، ننگر جي آڌار،
پراڻا پرار، نوان آڏجا نجهرا!
jima vehja maṛhua, neengar je adhaar,
puraṇa pirar, navan adja nijhara!

The grammatical analysis of the language used in this *Soratha-Doha* mixture is as under:

Jima (جرم): This word is not seen in poetry or prose after the period of Shah Latif; its form is that of a Negative adverb.

Veh-ja (ويھجا): It is a Subjunctive Imperative of the verb ‘Veh’ and shows plurality.

Maṛhua (ماڙھڻا): At places the word ‘maṇhoon’ (ماڻھو) is also used as *Maṛhoo* (ماڙھو). Shah Latif and Sachal Sarmast have also used the word *Maṛhoo*; the ‘ua’ suffix behind the noun *Maṇhoon* has been used to show the vocative case. In the olden days, the noun in the vocative case in Sindhi language used three numbers i.e. singular, double or dual (*tasmia*) and plural, as has been described in my book. “The Origin of Sindhi language.” The double (dual) number in Sindhi grammar is used to show humour in the book as mentioned for further details.

For Example:

Noun	Singular	Dual	Plural
maṇhoon/maṛh oon ماڻھو/ماڙھو	maṇhoon/maṛhoo ماڻھو/ماڙھو	maṇhunau/maṛhuau ماڻھونو/ماڙھونو	maṇhua/maṛhua ماڻھوڻا/ماڙھوڻا
kaichi کيچي	kaichi کيچي	kaichiyo کيچيو	kaichiya کيچيا
saiṭh سيٺ	saiṭh سيٺ	saiṭhiyo سيٺيو	saiṭhiya سيٺيا

An analysis of some other forms is presented here:

Puranan: Puran khan: The older grammarians have called this as oblique case of the noun but the new grammarians term it as *Transformational* case.

Adja (اڏجا): It is a plural of the verb “*Ad*” (اڏ) with the case being subjunctive imperative (*amar tamana*)

(b) Similarly, study of the following verse is very interesting. This *Doha* (couplet) was included first time by Dr. Baloch in his research (17):

جوڻو مت اوڻو، ڄام تماچي آءُ،
سباجهي باجهه پيئي، توسين ريتو راءِ.
jooṇo mat oono, jam tamachi aun,
sabajhi bajha peyi, to seen redho rau.

The following words in this couplet draw our attention:

Mata Ooṇo: This is a compound word.

Sabajhi (سباجهي): It is a *transformational* form of the adjective “*Baajh*” and is a derived word. The root *Baajh* has an addition of “s” as prefix and then “re” dependent form is added to the same root as suffix.

Seen (سين): It is an older form of the postposition “*Saan*” (سان).

Redho (ريٽو): It is a very good example of phonetic change according to syntax.

As seen below:

Infinitive derived	Imperative	Symbol of past	Phonetic change	Verb formed
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reejhaṇ (ريجهڻ)	reejh (ريجه)	Yo (يو)	“jh changed to “d”	redho (ريٿو)
rusaṇ (رسڻ)	rus (رس)	O (او)	“s” changed to “th”	ruṭho (رٺو)
lāhiṇ (لاهن)	lah (لاه)	O (او)	“h” changed to “th”	latho (لاٿو)
dāhiṇ (ڏاهڻ)	dah (ڏاه)	O (او)	“h” changed to “th”	daṭho (ڏاٿو)

(c) It has been mentioned in the previous pages that Kazi Kadan was a great poet of this era. The language used by Kazi Kadan shows many prime linguistic qualities. For example:

جوڳيءَ جاڳايوس، سٽو هوس ننڊ ۾،
تهان پوءِ ٿيوس، سندين پريان پيچري!
jogi-a jagayos, suto hos ninda men,
thian poye thiyos, sanday piryan pechre!

This “*Soratha*” (verse) shows a beautiful example of a pronominal suffix. Even though Kazi Kadan belonged to upper Sindh but in this verse the examples of pronominal suffix represent the Larri (from lower Sindh) dialect of Sindhi language, words such as *Jagayos* (awakened), *suto hos* (was asleep) and *Thios* (I became). Among these verbs, the verb *Jagayos* has been used instead of *Jagayom*. In the Larri dialect, in such form of verb, the pronominal suffix “s” is used normally for third person singular instead of a pronominal suffix “m” of the first person singular. And Similarly, in verbs like *suto hos* and *thios*, the pronominal suffix “s” has been used instead of the sign “m” for the first person singular. This usage of pronominal suffixes is correct according to the Larri dialect.

This *Soratha* (verse) also shows numerous examples of the possessive case, oblique case, transformational case and compound verb as seen below:

***Sanday piryaan* (beloved’s):** i.e. *piryaan sanday* is an example of possessive case. *Paichray*: shows the usage of the oblique case i.e. *paichray tay*.

***Sandian* (theirs’):** It is a possessive word which has the meaning of “*jo/ja*” (of). In the present day language, *Sanday* is in use instead of *Sandian*.

***Tihaan* (after):** This word is the diminutive form of *tenh khan* where the postposition *khan* has been omitted. Numerous examples of the oblique case of this type are also seen in the poetry of Shah Latif.

***Poe* (after):** adverb of time.

***Jogi-a*:** A declension of the noun *jogi* according to the transformational case.

(d) The verses of Kazi Kadan given below also require special attention with reference to their grammatical peculiarities. For example:

(a)
‘لا’ لاهيندي ڪن ڪي، ‘لا’ موراھين ناھ،
باللھ ري پريان، ڪٿان ڏسجي ڪي ٻيو
‘la’ lahindi kin khe, ‘la’ morahin naah,
billah re paryan, kithan disje ki biyo
(b)

سچڻ منجه هٿام، مون اُتي ويا اوني
هيڏانهن هوڏانهن هٿرا، هنٿري جاڙ وڌام

sajan manjh huam, moon uthi vaya othiya
hedanh hodanh hathra, hinyare jara vidhaam

Following words from these verses need to be analyzed grammatically:

Word: *kin*, *lāhīndī*, *nah*, *moraheen*, *re*, *re piryaan*, *disjay*, *bio*, *kee huām*, *vidhām*
sajan, *manjh*, *uthī*, *uthī viya*, *othia*, *hedanh*, *hodanh*.

A grammatical analysis of these words reveals that these are indefinite pronouns (*ko*, *ki*, *kin*), present participle (*lahīndī*), diminutive forms of verbs (*nahay=na +ahay*), adverbs (*morāhāin*), usage of Persian prefix (*re-piryan*), passive forms of verbs (*disjay* from *dis*), ordinal number of adjectives (*bio*), pronominal suffix (*huām*, *vidhām*), conjunctive participle (*uthī*, *uthī viyā*), compound verb (*uthee viya*), the dual usage of adverbs (*hedanh hodanh*), usage of diminutive nouns (*hathra*, *hinyara*) etc. The analysis of these and other grammatical forms proves that Sindhi language had achieved the status of a standard and complete language.

7- It was mentioned earlier that in the Sama period, the relations of Sindh with Gujrat, Kachh, Kathiawar, Rajasthan, Bahawalpur, Multan, Uch, Dera Ghazi Khan and the Leghari mountainous regions, and in Balochistan with Lasbela, Jhalawan, Khetran and the farthermost borders of Mekran coast progressed thereby introducing Sindhi language in these areas, and reciprocally Kachhi, Gujrati, Rajasthani, Seraiki and Balochi languages and the culture of these areas influenced many parts of Sindh.

(a) In the Sama period, the shrines of saints and special gatherings of the sufis and sugars were a great source for progress and propagation of Sindhi language. Poets expressed their sufistic and guiding principles in the form of *Ginans*, *Kafis*, *Saloks*, and *Gahas* in the genres of *sorathas* and *dohas*. In addition to these genres, other newer forms of poetry were added to the treasure of Sindhi language. The unison of *dohas* and *sorathas* gave birth to the genre like *bait*.

(b) During this period, the linguistic treasure of Sindhi language also expanded. In addition to guidance, Sufism and war poetry, the subject of love also started being explored, thereby causing addition of thousands of words belonging to these emotions in the Sindhi language. The poets used their works to throw light upon the social and political circumstances, historical narrations and geographical descriptions, e.g. villages, dwellings, cities, rivers, lakes and their cultural and social aspects. In this context the verses of Shaikh Hammad, Nooh Hothiani and *Mamui faqirs* depict the prevailing conditions of the country and contemporary rulers.

Syed Hisamuddin Shah Rashdi writes in Maklinama:

“Syed Ali was a great poet and scholar of Persian and Sindhi languages. He wrote poetic verses in Sindhi language as well. Syed Ali and Dars Allaudin were remembered by people of those times for their poetry but it could not be preserved, and only one of the verses (*doheero*)

has been given by the author of Muariful Anwaar in his book.” (18)

(c) It was the poetry of this period which has described the rural culture of Sindh. For example this Sindhi verse (*soratha*) by Ishaque Ahaangar presents a scene quite common in rural life:

ٿيان مان جهرك، ويهان پرينء جي چچ تي
مان گرن ڊرڪ، بوليءَ باجھاريءَ سين.

thiyan man jhirk, vehan priyan je chhaja te
maana karan daruka, boli-a bhajhari-a seen.

In addition to description of culture and traditions of rural Sindh, this verse contains remarkable grammatical peculiarities in words like *thiyan* (to be), *karan* (to do), *bajhari boli* (self compassionate talk), *chhaj* and *jhirk* (sparrow). No doubt this verse (*soratha*) shows the importance of Sindhi language of the Sama period and it proves that in this period, a pure and beautiful language containing the idioms and phrases of customary daily life were commonly used; for example *chhaj*, *jhirk*, *machhi*, *lorha*, *biha*, *kalach*, *rachh*, *vangi*, *kalar*, *vathi*, and the imagery of a flying sparrow from the roof for the beloved, is a splendid example of the beauty of the language. Similarly, in many other verses, words like *chaak chikhan*, *autaqa karan*, *aasaa band hujan*, *sir dayi sita joran* and *munh moran* etc. are examples of phrases commonly used in household speech.

Verses of some poets from the Sama period are found in “*Bayan-ul-Aarfain*” of Mian Shah Karim that the honorable gentleman told his disciples at various occasions. They also contain verses by Kazi Kadan. Some of the verses belong to a poet named Parar. For example:

چندن چور ڪريندي، رتو مه ڪهاڙ
سجڻ ڏجن نه ٿئي، رسي جي سوار،
پروڙيو پراڙ، نه ڪرهيدي قرب ٿئي.

chandan choor karinde, rato muh kuhar
sajan dujan na thiye, ruse je sau vaar,
parurio parar, na karhede qurb thiye.

Dr. Baloch has also quoted examples of a verse from another poet which is included in *Biaanul Aarfain* (19):

ڪارين ڪنين ڪڪڙا، ڪرھ ولاڙ وڃن،
ويلو ڪن نه وڃ ڀر، نه اوڳار پڃن.
karen kanen kakra, karaha valar vanjan,
velo kan na vicha men, na augar bhajan.

Both these verses require our attention because of the qualities of imagery and grammar in addition to the richness of the language.

(d) The poetry of this era shows extensive use of poetical figures to express the beauty of the beloved. In this context, numerous examples of poetic figures (*sanat majaaz mursul*, *tajnees harfi*, *sanat tajnees khati*, *sanat tajahul arfana*, *sanat ihaam*, *sanat tashbeeh*, *istaara*, *sanat murasa* and *sanat musaja*) have been used.

8- The Beginning and Progress of Sindhi Prose:

In addition to poetry, numerous examples of prose are found in the Sama period; showing that Sindhi language had progressed in the genre of prose as well. Numerous sayings, proverbs and quotes have been found to belong to this period which provides ample evidence of the vastness of the linguistic treasure of Sindhi language along with the thought process and wisdom of the scholars, poets and *sughars* of those times.

Syed Hisamuddin Shah Rashdi has given a line quoted by Syed Murad Shah, which Mr. Rashdi believes to be a prose sentence. (20) One may say that Syed Murad Shah would not have uttered just one line or sentence, indeed he would have spoken in his mother-tongue about normal daily life but only one of his sentences has been preserved in the written form. In fact, it is quite clear that Syed Murad Shah would have spoken/written in prose in Sindhi language. Anyway, this is a sentence that he uttered randomly on hearing about the birth of his grandson Syed Ali Sani Syed Hisamuddin Shah Rashdi writes:

“Until now (the Sama period), in the Arghun period, we have found seven verses of Kazi Kadan but from the piece of prose by Pir Murad Shah it appears that in addition to Kazi Kadan, other Sindhi poets also existed in that period.” (21)

The sentence is as under:

“او ڀاءُ! رب ڏيئي وڌي ڄمارَ”

“*O bhāu! Rabu dyae wadī jamāra*”, (meaning: O Brother! May God grant you a long life)

This is a vocative or subjunctive sentence which is used even now to express a desire otherwise, according to the principles of syntax, the verb “*dyae*” should have appeared at the end of the sentence; but if this verb had been used after the word *jamaar* (life), the expression of a desire or wish would not have been there, which the speaker had intended. e.g. please note the differences in the following examples:

Simple Sentence	Syed Murad Shah's Wish
او ڀاءُ! رب وڌي ڄمار ڏئي ٿي.	او ڀاءُ! رب ڏيئي وڌي ڄمار!
<i>O bhau! rab wadi jamar diye ee.</i>	<i>O bhau! rab diyae wadi jamar!</i>

In the simple sentence, an impression of a prayer can be noticed but the sentence of Syed Murad Shah shows both a prayer along with a desire. The word ‘O’ in the beginning of this sentence has been used as a vocative letter, which is in accordance with the principles of syntax of Sindhi language of modern times. The expression and meaning of both the sentences depend on the intonation and accent. Everyone who speaks Sindhi should feel the difference in the two sentences on the basis of this intonation.

9- The Period of Foreign Rulers (Mughal Nawabs) from 1555 to 1700 AD:

(a) Even though Arghuns and Tarkhans were also foreign rulers but despite that, Sindhi language progressed during their times. The progress of language during the rule of the indigenous rulers (Sama and Soomra) was also quite good, when numerous good poets, scholars and *sughars* were born who served Sindhi language in every possible

way. Based on studying the works of these scholars and poets, one can observe the splendid qualities of Sindhi language in addition to the treasure of words described earlier.

(b) The Arghun and Tarkhan period is also marked by the birth of numerous scholars, educationists, poets, sufis and saints. Among them Hazrat Ghousul Azam Makhdoom Nooh Sarwar, Shah Abdul Karim Bulrai (1536-1623), Shah Lutfullah Qadri, Makhdoom Bilawal, Makhdoom Mato Thattvi and other poets and scholars are worth mentioning, who have left priceless and uncompareable examples of the qualities of Sindhi language in their works.

(c) The official language in the period of Arghuns and Tarkhans was Persian. Scholars and historians like Ameer Abdul Qasim Sultan, writer of Beglamnama, Mulla Abdul Karim Atta and others used Persian for expression of their thoughts in their writings. The religious clerics and scholars wrote their decrees (fatwa) in Arabic. Makhdoom Mato Thattvi was one of the very famous, scholars. Professor Qureshi Hamid Ali has written about this scholar in his article:

“Makhdoom Mato Thattvi, whose real name was Ruknuddin was the Khalifa of Makhdoom Bilal of Talti. He was a renowned scholar who had command over the subject of Hadith. People who believed in praying and piety were his followers and disciples. He authored many books and periodicals including Shariah Arbaeen and Shariah Gilani etc. He passed away in Thatta in 949 AH (1543 AD).” (22)

Similarly, Shaikh Sadraddin, Makhdoom Ali Qadri, Allama Kazi, Makhdoom Thattvi, Mulla Abdur Rasheed of Larri Bander, Syed Qazi Shukrullah Sheerazi, Mir Tahir Muhammad Nasiani, Syed Jamal Bin Mir Jalaluddin and others were very prominent scholars of that time. (23)

(d) Shah Abdul Karim Bulrai (1536-1623 AD) was a great poet and sufi saint of this era. Kazi Kadan was also one of the great names of this period and he held the post of Chief Justice (*Kazi*). Moreover, Makhdoom Nooh Sarwar was also a great poet and scholar from this era who introduced the genre of *Dahar* in Sindhi poetry. These scholars and poets brought about newer words, idioms, phrases, topics and novel concepts in Sindhi language. Luari Sharif, Aghamkot, Bulrai, Rajo Khanani, Thatta, Sehwan, Nasarpur, Miranpur near Jhok Sharif, Karyo Ghanwar, Joon, Kot Alam, Paat, Rohri, Shikarpur, Hala, Badin, Boobak and other cities were places where literary activities were very commonly held.

(e) Shah Beg Arghun had defeated Jam Feroz Sama in 1521 AD and conquered Sindh. He brought Persian and Turkish poets and scholars with him to Sindh, therefore, in addition to Arabic, literary activities in these languages also systematically started showing their presence in Sindh. Centers for Sindhi language teaching had been established in Sindh from the days of Soomra rule.

Shah Beg Arghun died in 1521 AD and his son Mirza Shah Hassan (1523-1555) became the ruler of Sindh. Literature continued progressing in his time as well. He was a good poet of Persian language and his pen-name was *Sipahi* (meaning a soldier). (24)

Owing to his interest in literature, scholars of Iran came to Sindh thereby increasing the trend of expression of ideas in prose and poetry in Persian language.

The Language of Kazi Kadan's Poetic Works:

Kazi Kadan saw the periods of Sama and Arghun rule. He was born in 1465 AD. Dr. Baloch writes:

“Kazi Kadan is the first great poet of Sindhi language; he is the father of contemporary Sindhi poetry. And he is the famous poet whose authenticated poetry in the written form is available and it throws light on the Sindhi language of the region adjoining Bakhar.” (25)

The purpose here is not to argue who was the first big poet of Sindhi language; Pir Sadruddin, Kazi Kadan, Mai Markhan, Sumang Charan, Bhago Bhaan or someone else for that matter! It is besides the point that Pir Sadruddin and after him, the entire works of his successors were kept safe by the Ismaili community within the confines of their seminaries and they thought of those writings as secretive poetry, but so far as the written form of poetry in Sindhi, Seraiki, Gujrati and Hindi languages is concerned, one can say, without any doubt, that Pir Sadruddin's works are enormous. Not only is his poetry voluminous but the topics and the lyricism according to the poetic principles are in abundance. Different types and genres of his poetry are available in various parts that are recited in unison regularly in the seminaries of the Ismaili community throughout the world. There is a strong influence of Maulana Rumi on the poetry of the Pirs and a discussion about the reasons of such an influence is beyond the scope of this book.

The language of Kazi Kadan's poetry indicates towards the customary language of the Sama and Arghun periods. Kazi Kadan's poetic language shows these peculiarities. Dr. Baloch writes with reference to Tareekh-e-Masoomi as:

“Kazi Kadan was a Hafiz (one who remembers the Holy Quran by heart) and possessed the art of recitation in addition to being a scholar who mastered the knowledge of Hadith, Fiqah (jurisprudence) and references of Sindhi language. He was a champion of essay writings of his times. He was well versed with mathematics and had expertise in engineering. He knew Sufism and explained different methods in Sindhi language. He was therefore taunted upon by other scholars. He travelled widely and visited religious sites many times. He was a disciple and follower of Syed Muhammad Jonpuri who got fame with the title of Miran Mehdi.”

The above narrative by Mir Masoom clearly shows that Kazi Kadan was an intelligent, honest and spiritual saint and scholar. This is also evident from his verses. (26)

Since Kazi Kadan was a resident of Bakhar, studying the language used by him provides ample information and knowledge about the language of Upper Sindh in the 16th Century i.e. the *Utraadi* dialect. Dr. Baloch writes about his language as:

“The verses from the immense collection of Kazi Kadan's poetry provide strong signs of the language of the Upper Sindh in the area of Bakhar in the 16th Century AD.” (27)

He further writes:

“If we look at the verses of Kazi Kadan they reveal a lot about the words, phrases and syntactical structure of Sindhi language of those times; additionally, it confirms the description of novel ideas, concepts and deep philosophical and other thought processes.” (28)

(f) While discussing the period of the Sama rule, the qualities of the language used by Kazi Kadan in his poetry have been described earlier. In this context, the following verse of his has been grammatically analyzed:

جوڳيءَ جاڳايوس، سَٽو هوس نندِ ڀر،
تهان پوءِ ٿيوس، سنديي پري ان پيچري!
jogi-a jagayos, suto hos ninda men,
tihan poye thiyos, sandye paryan pachre!!

Few more verses of Kazi Kadan (29):

- (1) سيئي سيل ٿيام، پڙهيام جي پاڻان،
اگر اڳيان اڀري، واڳو ٿي وريام.
seyi sail thiyam, parhyam je paṇan,
akhar agyan ubhri, vagu thi varyam.
- (2) ڪنڙ قدوري قافيا، ڪي ڪو نه پڙهئوم،
سو پار ٿي ڪو ٻيو، جڻان پرين لڏوم.
kinz qadoori qafya, ko kina parhyom,
iho par ee biyo, jihan preen ladhom.
- (3) لوڪان نحو صرف، مون مطالع سپرين،
سوئي پڙهيو سو پڙهان، سو ٿي سو حرف.
lokan nahav sirf, moon mutalay supreen
so ee parhyo so parhan, so ee so harf
- (4) سڄڻ منجه هٿام، مون اُٿي ويا اونيآ،
هيڏانهن هوڏانهن هٿڙا، هيٺڙي جاڙ وڌام.
sajan manjh huam, moon uti waya oṭhiya,
hedanh hodanh hathra, hinyare jara vidham
- (5) سائر ڏيئي لت، اوچي نيچي ٻوڙئي،
هڪائين هڪ ٿيو، ويئي سڀ جهت.
sayer deyi lata, unchi neechi boryaee,
hekayeen hek thiyo, veyee sabh jihata.
- (6) ’لا‘ لاهيندي ڪن ڪي، ’لا‘ مورھين ناھ،
بالله ري پريان، ڪٿ نه ڏسي ڪي ٻيو.
’la’ lahindi kin khe, ’la’ morahin naah,
billah re paryan, kithan disje ki biyo
- (7) ڪنڙ قدوري قافيا، جي پڙهين پروڙين ٻسپ
ت ڪر منڊي ماڪوڙي ڪوھ ڀر، پيئي ڪچي آب.

*kinz qadoori qafya, parhi parooin sabh,
ta kar mandi makori, khooha men, peyi kuchhe ubh.*

Khan Bahadur Muhammad Siddique Memon writes:

“The word ‘jogi’ was first used in Sindhi literature by Kazi Kadan, which was later used by others as well.” (30)

In this context, it is essential to mention that about 275 years before Kazi Kadan, Pir Shams Sabzwari Multani (1165-1276 AD) had not only used the words like ‘jog’, ‘jogi’ and ‘jagesar’ in his *Ginans*, but he had written five consecutive ‘*Ginans*’ on this subject. After Pir Shams Sabzwari, it was Pir Sadruddin (1290-1409 AD) who also composed ‘*Ginans*’ with these words. Therefore, there is a need to modify the opinion of late Mr. Memon.

(g) The following verse by Kazi Kadan is also very interesting for the study of Sindhi grammar:

سيئي سيل ٿيام، پڙهيام جي پاٿان،
اڪر اڳيان اُپري، واڳو ٿي وريام.
*seyi sail thiyam, parhyam je panan,
akhar agyan ubhri, vagu thi varyam.*

The verse contains the words like ‘*saiyee*’, ‘*thiyam*’, ‘*parhiyam*’, ‘*panan*’, and ‘*varyam*’ where in addition to the pronominal suffix and inflection of verbs, examples of usage of compound verbs is also seen.

The words ‘*parhan*’ (reading) and ‘*akhar*’ (letter) draw our attention towards the method of education and teaching. Similarly, the word ‘*vagoo*’ has been used as a metaphor. Regarding this verse, Khan Bahadur Muhammad Siddique Memon opines:

“Kazi Kadan has emphatically discussed the obvious/exoteric form of education, since he was a learned man himself. He has described his experiences in a very effective manner.” (31)

The verse quoted below shows the apparent topics like ‘*qanz, qadoori*’ (religious subjects) and in addition the reading and understanding of ‘*qafia*’ (rhyming); in this context, it throws light on the apparent knowledge of that era.

ڪنز قدوري قافيه، پڙهي پروڙين سڀ،
ته ڪر منڊي ماڪوڙي، ڪوه ۾، پيئي ڪچي اُپ.
*kinz qadoori qafya, parhi parooin sabh,
ta kar mandi makori, khooha men, peyi kuchhe ubh.*

It is quite remarkable of Kazi Kadan that he has explained the obvious knowledge by means of using the customary idiom of that era and has expressed that there are no bounds or frontiers of knowledge. The meaning of the idiom ‘*ubh kuchhan*’ is ‘working for the impossible’. Similarly, by using the simile of ‘*mandi makori*’ (a limping ant), he has shown the expanse of Sindhi language thereby proving his command over the language.

(h) In the romantic stories like *Sohni Mehar* and *Sasui Punhoon* he has used the

figure of metaphor in his verses. These symbols and metaphors have increased the beauty, greatness and magnificence of Sindhi language. For example;

سائر ڏيئي لَت، اونچي نيچي ٻوڙيئي،
هڪائي هڪ ٿيو، ويئي سڀ جهت.
sayer deyi lata, unchi neechi boryaee
hekayee hek thiyo, veyi sabh jihat
سڄڻ منجه هٿار، مون اٿي ويا اونيا،
هيڏانهن هوڏانهن هٿرا، هيئڙي جاڙ وڌار.
sajan manjh huam, moon uthi vaya othiya,
hedanh hodanh hathra, hinyare jara vidham.

10- (a) The other great poet of the Arghun and Tarkhan period was Shah Karim Bulrai (1536-1623 AD). He was born in the period of Tarkhan rule when Kazi Kadan was still alive. Although he composed verses in Persian and Sindhi languages but, he did not record or preserve them in written form. It was six years after his death when one of his disciples Mian Muhammad Raza s/o Muhammad Wasay wrote a book called ‘Bayanul Arfain Fi’ in Persian, in which he compiled Shah Karim’s Sindhi and Persian verses that had been recited in his speeches and literary meetings which were memorised by Mian Raza and other disciples. There were 107 Sindhi and 11 Persian verses. Among the Sindhi verses, 6 belonged to Kazi Kadan while 5 were from other poets, leaving behind 96 Sindhi verses that belonged to Shah Karim. (32) These were considered as quite a big number at that time. Khan Bahadur Memon writes:

“A proper script for writing Sindhi language was not in place and the learned men of those times did not consider it important to have their poetry preserved; and therefore one can surely say that the complete works of Shah Karim have not been passed on to us in this day and age. The poetry of the King of Sindhi poetry i.e. Shah Latif’s, seems to have been influenced by Syed Abdul Karim, which is a proof of the greatness of Shah Karim and his poetry. Therefore he is considered as an accomplished poet of ancient Sindh without any doubt.” (33)

(b) In the days of Shah Karim i.e. by the time the Tarkhan rule ended, Sindhi language had developed a lot and its vocabulary had increased significantly. It had included newer subjects and through the use of locally used similes, symbols and metaphors, the Sindhi culture, traditions and customs were preserved. In this context, Sindhi language was blessed with great poets and scholars like Pir Sadruddin, Ishaq Ahangar, Kazi Kadan and after them Shah Karim, Makhdoom Nooh, Lakho Lutf Shah and Shah Lutfullah Qadri who left indelible imprints of the Sindhi culture, traditions and civilization through picturesque quality of their amazing poetry. Quoted below are a few verses by Shah Karim, Makhdoom Nooh, Lakho Lutfullah and Shah Lutfullah Qadri, that

depict a picture of the Sindhi Civilization.

(1)

ڌڪين ڌات پيو، هيئنڙو لوھ سنداڻ جيئن،
سنياري ڪي سڄين، ورڇي تا نه ويو.
dhikeen dhat payo, hinyaro loh sandan jiyen,
sanbhare khe sajanen, virche ta na vayo.

(2)

سهي جيئن سنداڻ، ڌڪن مٿي ڌڪڙا،
وھ وڃايو پاڻ، ڏي ڏٻائون ڏگرين.
sahe jiyen sandan, dhakan mathe dhakra,
vah vinjayo pana, de dubaon dangren.

(3)

سرُ سنداڻ ڪري، پڇ پوءِ پريتو،
ڌڪن هيٺ ڌري، مان گڏينئي رُڪ سان.
siru sandan kare, puchhij poye pretino,
dhakan heh dhare, mana gadyanyi ruka san.

In these verses Shah Karim has symbolized ‘hinyaro’ (heart) with ‘sandan’ (anvil) to explain his love. His poetry contains splendid examples of similes, metaphor, *Majaz Mursil*, *Tajnees-e-Taam* (pun) and alliteration. For example:

وَر وِسرِي تہ ڪوھ، وِرُ نہ وِسرِيوس
ڪونہ چوندو ڪڏھين تہ اڱڻ اونداهوس.
vara visre th kooth, varu na visryos
kona chavando kadhen ta anganu undahos

Similarly, he has used many words showing opposites:

مُٺ پيڙيائي پلي، جو اُپٽين تہ واءُ،
جُ پٽرو وڌَ ڳالھڙي، تہ چڏي وڃي ساءُ.
muṭh bheryayee bhale, jo upteen ta vaau,
juh padhro vidhai galhiṛi, ta chhade vanje saau.

(c) Shah Karim’s language contains enormous grammatical qualities. He also composed new words and has used pronominal suffixes a lot. He has introduced new idioms and proverbs. His dialect is Larri and has some words used only by the people of Larr (Lower Sindh). For example, ‘koh’, ‘sainan’, ‘kainan’, ‘gharoe’, ‘karhai’ and ‘tiyan’ etc.

(d) Shah Karim’s poetry shows frequent use of pronominal suffix; for example

اُمڙ ڪوئ گھروءِ، مونٿان ساڻڙو وڃي نڪريو
amar khoye ghuroe, munaan sathro vanje nikryo

The ‘oe’ of the word ‘gharoe’ (گھروءِ) is used as a pronominal suffix. And the words in this line like ‘amar’ and ‘sathro’ are examples of diminutive nouns. The verses quoted below show numerous grammatical peculiarities in addition to the use of pronominal suffixes. For example;

وَر وَسري ته كوه، وَر نه وسريوس،
كونه چونندو كڏهين، ته ڪو اڱڻ اونڌاهوس.

vara visre ta kooḥ. varu na visryos,
kona chavando kadḥeen, ta ko angaṇu undahos

Vara: Oblique case of *varu*

Visri: “*visri veyi*” Past tense with verb in passive form

Koh: Interrogative pronoun

Visrios: In this verb “s” is a symbol of pronominal suffix of third person singular.

Ko: Indefinite pronoun

Hos: Symbol of pronominal suffix of the third person singular

Second example:

سپڙ ڄام سيٿان، ويهي رات ورونهيو!
sapaṛ jama sainan, vehi raat vironhyo!

A grammatical analysis of this line is presented here:

Sainani- i.e. ‘*sānun*’; here in the word ‘*saināni*’ the ‘*ni*’ is a sign of pronominal suffix in third person plural. “*sān*” (preposition) has also been used with this word, and other such examples are *kainani*, *paṇani*, *kaṛbai* etc.

(e) Shah Karim’s poetry shows the usage of compound postposition quite frequently. For example:

(1) ڪا لءِ سنڌي سڄڻين، ڪا پورهئي ڪاڻ پري،
ka laye sande saṇen, ka porhye kaṇ bhare
(2) جو لکڻ منجهه ماڻهوين، سو ڪڻ منجهه ڪير.
jo lakhaṇ manjh maṇhuven, so makhaṇ manjh kheer.

In the first line, the ‘*lae sanday*’ is an example of compound postposition.

Khan Bahadur Memon believes that Shah Karim has made genitive case using the possessive case. For example: (34)

(1) هنيون نه حاضر جن، پرين نه اڳڙين ڀر.
hanyon na hazir jin, preen na akhṛin men.
(2) اڳڙيون تو هي، مڇڻ ويهين وسهي.
akhṛiyoon to he, machhaṇ vehin visahi.
(3) چارئي پلڪو چڪ ڀر، اديون مون آهين.
chaar ee palava chika men, adyoon moon ahin.

In these verses:

Jin hinyoon: means *jin jo hinyoon*: (whose heart)

To akhṛioo: means *tuhinjoon akhṛioo*: (your eyes)

Chāraee palav moon: means *munhija chaāraee palau* (all of my four corner (of cloth))

One can infer that Shah Karim’s language, enriched with wisdom, vast vocabulary and grammatical qualities, is a symbol of the greatness of his expression:

آهي پاڻ ئي سلامت، پاڻ ئي ڏئي سنيهڙا،
پاڻ ئي ڪر لهي، پاڻ سڃاڻي پاڻ.

*ahe paṇa ee sultan, paṇ ee ḍayi sinehara,
pana ee kara lahe, paṇ sunjane paṇ.*

The word ‘*paṇ*’ (self) has been used five times in this verse. Khan Bahadur Memon writes:

“The literal meaning of *balaghāt* is to achieve the goal of complete match of the meanings with their presentation of words and recital at a very high standard. It is obvious that every word has a meaning as defined in the dictionary but to give another greater meaning to a word while still following the defined parameters and principles is a work of *balaghāt*. And the principles and rules according to which a word can be assigned other meanings in addition to the pre-defined and prescribed meaning is called ‘*ilm-e-bayan*’ i.e. the knowledge of words and the expression of their meanings.” (35)

(f) In addition to poetical figures, Shah Karim has used many idioms in his poetry.

For example:

paṇ vijayan (losing oneself), *liyaka latain* (crossing borders), *pireen pasan* (beholding the beloved), *paira digha karan* (extending one’s boundaries (feet)), *dhakain dhaat pavan* (struck like metal), *virchi vajan* (getting bored or fed up), *sang chhinan* (breaking ties), *mat ginhan* (take advice), *hinyon diyan* (give heart), *linga gadan* (physically joining), *jafa diyan* (to betray), *hath karan* (to find), *gharo bahran* (to fill a pot-to serve), *vela karan* (arranging food), *choor karan* (to make tired), *saina huan* (being relatives), *akhyan dhar thiyan* (being away from sight), *kara lahan* (to care for), *paṇ sujanan* (soul-searching), *khoe pavan* (to lose importance), *pata pacharan* (to defeat), *vaina sahan* (to tolerate taunts)

(h) Among Shah Karim’s contemporaries, Makhdoom Nooh was also a poet of great qualities. For example:

(1)
پيئي جا پريات، ماڪ نه پائيو ماڙهوئا،
روئي چڙهي رات، ڏسي ڏکوين کي.
*peyi ja pirbhat, maka na bhanyo marhua,
roye charhe raat, dise dukhoyin khe.*

(2)
اُپتيان ته انڌيون، پوريون پرين پسڻ،
آهي اکڙين، عجب پر پسڻ جي!
*uptiyan ta andhyoon, pooryon preen pasan,
ahe akhrin, ajab pari pasan je!*

(3)
نه سي جوگي جوءَ ۾، نه سا سگهي ڄاڻ،
ڪاڙين ڪنات، وڏي ويل پلاڻيا.

na se jogi jo-a men, na se saghe chanṭh,
kaprin kanwat, vadi-a vail palanya.

(g) From among the other earlier poets and scholars, in addition to Kazi Kadan, also mentioned by Shah Karim, the names of great saints from Aghamkot called Makhdoom Ismail Soomro and his contemporary scholar Makhdoom Usman Aghami are also important. According to Shah Karim, Makhdoom Usman Aghami was a famous poet and scholar who had recited the following verse while responding to a question asked by the daughter of Makhdoom Ismail Soomro, which is quoted here:

چار ئي پلئ چڪ ۾، پچي پارير وٺ،
ان اهڙي احتياط سين، ڦٽ پڄاڻا ڦٽ!

char ee palava chaka men, puchhe pareyar viṭh,
ina ehri ehtiyat seen, phatha pujaṇa phatha!

11- The Arrival of Sindhi language and Culture to the States of Rajasthan and Gujrat:

We have already mentioned about the poetry of Kazi Kadan found from Ranela village of district Bhawani in the Haryana State (India) by Mr. Hiro Thakur which was written in Devanagari script. It was discovered from the temple of Dadu Panthi Bhagat Haridas which he later got published from Delhi in 1978 with the title “Kazi Kadan Jo Kalam”. (The poetic works of Kazi Kadan).

Similarly, names of two more poets of that era have been found which were not from Sindh. One of them was Darvesh Dadu Diyal (1544-1603 AD) who wrote a few Sindhi verses having been inspired by Kazi Kadan. The other saint was Mahamati Pran Nath (1581-1694 AD) who was born in Umerkot in Sindh but lived in Navankot and Rajkot towns of Jam Nagar State in Kathiawar. He has composed a lot of verses in Sindhi language which are full of grammatical qualities, the examples are quoted below.

(a) The Language of Dadu Diyal's Poetry:

It was mentioned in earlier chapters that there are a lot of similarities between Sindhi culture and that of the present day Rajasthan and Haryana. There is a likeness of thought among the poets, scholars and saints. And because of that the sufis and saints of Sindh and those of Rajasthan, Gujrat, Kachh, Kathiawar and Haryana in India visited each other quite frequently. The proof of such a claim is found in the reports of the experts of archaeology. Mr. Hiro Thakur had found a book written in Devanagari script from the shrine of Dadu Panthi Bhagat Haridas, which contained poetry of about 68 *bhagats*. One of its chapters was consisted of poetry by Kazi Kadan and other *bhagats* of Sindh. (36)

Dadu Diyal was quite impressed by the words used by Kazi Kadan. Dadu Diyal's influence was not confined to Haryana and a pupil of Dadu Diyal in the main town Jaipur of State Jaipur in Rajasthan also had a collection of poetry by these saints of Sindh.

Dadu Diyal was a contemporary of Shah Karim Bulrai. As mentioned earlier, Sindh, Rajasthan, Gujrat and Kachh held close social, educational, cultural and literary

relations with each other. From ancient times the eastern and south-eastern borders of Sindh were shared with them and all these regions were under the Empire of Sindh. In the east up to Bhamal and Lothal, and in the south-east the whole region up to Soorat was within the borders of Sindh. Therefore the conditions of these areas were similar to Sindh; and because of the social interaction the language was also almost similar and the Dhatki dialect of eastern Sindh provides credence to such a claim. Similarly, in Rajasthan, the Jaisalmer, Mewari and Marwari dialects have a lot of resemblance with Sindhi language.

Dr. Baloch has written:

“Up until partition, the main clans and tribes that had lived in this area were: Sodhas and Thakurs among the Hindus and Sameja, Rahuma, Nohria, Sangrasi, Dohath and some others were among the Muslims.” (37)

With reference to Dadu Diyal, Dr. Baloch writes:

“The poetry of the Sufis and saints of Sindh influenced the bhagats and virtuous men of Rajasthani region who were also followers of the sufi principles and believed in the oneness of God. Especially the poetry of the great scholar and sufi saint Kazi Kadan (1465-1551) had a remarkable effect on the Rajasthani sufi Dadu Diyal (1544-1603) and under this influence, Dadu Diyal not only wrote poetry in Sindhi but even his pupils and disciples made the poetic works of Kazi Kadan famous in Rajasthan and its adjoining areas.” (38)

Some examples of Dadu Diyal's poetry are given below (39), so that one can observe the qualities of Sindhi poetry of one of Shah Karim's contemporaries.

- (1) دادو! دعوا چوڙ دي، بن دعوا ڍن ڪت،
ڪتني سودي ڪر گئي، اس پاساري ڪي هت.
dado! dawa chhor de, bin dawa din kat,
kitne sode kar gayee, is pasari kay hat.
- (2) دادو! دعوا چوڙ دي، تو هووي خير ڪا خير،
نا ڪسي ڪي دوستي، نا ڪسي ڪا بير.
dado! dawa chhor de, to hove khair ka khair,
na kisi ki dosti, na kisi ka bair.
- (3) دادو! جهاتي پاڻي پس پري، هاڻي لاءِ مَ وِير،
سٺ سپوڻي هليو، پوءِ سندن ڪير.
dado! jhati pa ye pas pare, hañe laye ma vair.
sath sabho ee halyo, poye sandoni kair.
- (4) دادو! غافل ڇو وتين، آهي منجهه الله،
پري پاڻ جو پاڻ سين، لهي سپوڻي ساه.
dado! ghafil chho vateen, ahe manjh Allah,
pare pañ jo pañ seen, lahe sabhoee saah.
- (5) دادو! جين تيل تِلن ۾، جين ڳنڍ ڦلن،
جين مڪڻ ڪير ۾، تين رب رهن.

*dado! jen tel tilan men, jen gundh phulan men,
jen makhan kheer men, teen rab rahan.*

The Sindhi used in these verses of Dadu Diyal is full of words and grammatical qualities of Rajasthani languages. He has used almost the same similes and metaphors that Pir Sadruddin had used 125 years before this saint. For example: 'soday ker gayi' (traded), 'dawa' (claim), 'pasari' (grocer), 'hut' (shop), 'sath sabhoye halio' (went along others), 'ghafil' (Sleeping or unaware), 'tail tilan mai' (meaning having qualities), 'gundh phulan' (nectar/sap), 'makhan kheer' men (butter in the and milk).

(b) The Chopayoon of the Gujrati Saint Mahamati Pran Nath:

Mahamati Pran Nath is a prominent name among the Gujrati poets who were contemporaries of Dadu Diyal; Mr. Jhamoon Chhugani has published two volumes of his research on his poetry.

As mentioned earlier, Gujrat, Kachh, Kathiawar and Rajasthan regions were once a part of Sindh. In addition to cultural, social and commercial ties between these areas, the scholars and poets had relations with each other since ancient times. The civilization of Sindh was spread on one side to Lothal and its eastern side up to the coast of Maha Nadi; in the north it extended up to the Oravali Mountains to the south-east up to the Mandva coast of Kachh and the port of Soorat; and their rulers were subordinate to the kingdom of ancient Sindh. That is the reason for the resemblance of these languages with Sindhi; the details of the occurrences can be found in the book "Sindh ji Lisani Geography" (A Linguistic Geography of Sindh).

Mahamati Pran Nath was born in the city of Jareja Samas called Jam Nagar in Kathiawar state in 1581 AD i.e. during the era of Moghul Nawabs. He was son of Keshu Thakur, the chief minister to the Jam of Jam Nagar. His mother was a Sindhi woman whose name was Dhan Bai; and so the mother-tongue of this saint was Sindhi. (40)

The mentor of this saint was also a Sindhi saint who was born in Umerkot in 1581 AD and his name was Dev Chander but he became famous later under the name of Sami Najanand and had migrated from Sindh in 1606 and lived the rest of his life in Navan Nagar where he met Mahamati Pran Nath. (41)

It is common knowledge that even the present language of Navan Nagar is Kathiawari. The courts of the Raja of this state and other states of Kathiawar had a good number of writers, poets, scholars and virtuous men and therefore people of these areas were well versed with Sindhi. Furthermore, the arrival of saints like Sami Najanand who had sufi visitors at his place where the verses, *saloks* and other genres of poetry were frequently recited; therefore Sindhi language was a common and known language here.

Hearing the poetry in his teacher's quarters, Mahamati Pran Nath also started writing poetry. He frequently visited Thatta and other cities of Lower Sindh. One Lal Das from Thatta became his disciple. This saint (Mahamati Pran Nath) passed away 4 years after Shah Latif was born i.e. on 29th June 1694 AD.

The poetry (*chopayoon*) of Mahamati Pran Nath has been published in Sindhi-

Arabic script by Jhamu Chhugani. In order to give an idea of this book, a few of his *chopayoons* are reproduced here as examples: (42)

(1) آخر ويرا اٿڻ جي، آئين روحين ڇڏيجا راند
اٿي وڃ عرش جي، ڪوڏ ڪري مڙون ڪانڌ
aakhir vaira uthan jee, aayin roohen chhadeja rand
uthi vich arsha je, kodu kare miroon kandh
(2) ڌڻي موهجي روح جا، هاڻي چوڻان ڪين ڪري،
روح کي ڏنو پر ڏيهڙو، چئو سو دل ڌري
dhan moohji rooha ja, hane chuan keen kare,
rooh khe dino pardehazo, chao so dil dhare
(3) ترسائين ته ترسان، مون کي مون منجهان ڪي نه سريو،
سڀ ڳالهيون آن جي هٿ ڀر، ڄاڻي تيئن ڪريو.
tarsayeen ta tarsan, moon khe moon manjha ke na saryo,
sabh galhyoon aan je hatha men, jane tiyen karyo.

The language used by Mahamati Pran Nath is entirely the Kathiawari dialect of Sindhi language which is clear from the words like ‘*mohjay*’ (impress), ‘*choaan*’ (say), and ‘*aan*’ (me) etc. Studying the works of these two saintly poets i.e. Dadu Diyal and Mahamati Pran Nath clearly shows that by the time of the Moghul rulers, Sindhi language had become a complete and standard language due to its large vast vocabulary and grammatical qualities.

12- Similarities between Sindhi and Dhatki Dialects:

It has been mentioned earlier that Sindhi, Lahandi, Gujrati, Kachhi, Kathiawari and Rajasthani belong to a single group of languages i.e. they are off-shoots of one principal language. That is why Mewari, Marvari, Jaisalmeri and other dialects of Rajasthan and Sindh are linguistically similar.

Although the Dhatki dialect is considered as one of the Rajisthani group of languages, but this dialect is a sort of a mixture. Dr. Baloch has written about Parkari-Sindhi-Dhatki as under:

“The basic structure of Dhatki is that of Sindhi but its fabric has clearly got Rajasthani colours. From ancient times, Dhatki dialect has been the connecting link between the Sindhi and Rajasthani cultures. Some Rajasthani proverbs, quotes of wisdom and folk stories like *Dhol Marvi* etc. became known in Sindh through Dhatki. On the other hand Sindhi proverbs, stories and verses of poetry were popular in Rajasthan. The tribes and clans belonging to Sindh settled in the parts of Rajasthan made Sindhi language famous there.” (43)

13- (a) It is important to look at the language used by a poet who was a resident of Sindh in the Moghul period. The poet’s name was Pir Lakho Lutfullah, but Lakho or Lakhano was his pen name. This gentleman was born in 1591 AD i.e. the period when Sindh was ruled by the Moghuls. His poetry has become mixed in the *Risalo* of Shah Latif. Only three of his verses have been discovered where he has expressed the scenic

beauty of spring and *Sohni* as metaphor of love. He used pure Sindhi similes and words like ‘*angoorioon*’ and ‘*keetkiyoon*’ to praise the beloved.

(b) Pir Lakho Lutfullah has given the names of flowers and plants as similes, metaphors and symbols and has used selected and special words of Sindhi to describe the beauty of the plains in the month of *Phagan* (spring of the lunar calendar) that had never been used before him. For example:

pholiyun (ڦوليون), *phagan mānhan* (ڦڳڻ مانهن), *kānhan* (ڪانهن), *phul* (ڦل), *pholy hinyoon* (هنيون ڦولي), *sailh* (سيلهه), *bailha* (بيلهه) etc.

(c) This *sughar* poet formed numerous compound and complex words e.g. *ri lalan* (ري لالڻ), *sabhaḡ* (سياڳ), *phagan manhan* (ڦڳڻ مانهن).

(d) He used many pronominal suffixes like *khajayas* (disturb), *vadhyas* (grew), *sikhyas* (learnt), *vayaas* (went). The pronominal suffix ‘s’ in these verbs should be studied carefully because he has used this suffix for first person singular very much like Kazi Kadan who had used it in his poetry e.g. *jogi jagayos*, *suto hos ninda main*.

(e) Similarly, Lakho Lutfullah has used numerous compound verbs (potentials) e.g. *pasio pholay* (پسيو ڦولي), *varay vidhyas* (واري وڌياس), *chhajj karan* (چيچ ڪرڻ) and *vihu vijhan* (وهه وجهڻ) etc. The following words not only point to the vast vocabulary of Sindhi language but need to be analyzed grammatically e.g. *kharkan* (ڪڙڪڻ), *sukan* (سُڪڻ), *burran* (برڻ), *chhankan* (چڻڪڻ), *baily* (بيلي) and *vihu* (وهه).

Some examples of his poetic words are as under:

(1)

انگوريون ۽ ڪيتڪيون، ڦوليون ڦڳڻ مانهن،
ري لالڻ لاکو چئي، سي آءُ ڪريان ڪانهن،
جي سڄڻ هئي مون ٻانهن، ته ڦل پسيو ڦولي هنيون.
angooryun ayen ketkiyun, pholyun phagan manh,
re lalan lakho chaye, se aaun karyan kanhan,
je sajan huyi moon banhan, ta phul pasyo pholay hanyon.

(2)

انگوريون ۽ ڪيتڪيون، ڦوليون ڦڳڻ هيل،
ري لالڻ لاکو چئي، سي آءُ پانڻيان سيلهه،
جي سڄڻ هئي مون بيلهه، ته ڦل پسيو ڦولي هنيون.
angooryun ayen ketkiyun, pholyun phagan haila,
re lalan ‘lakho’ chaye, se aaun bhaniyan selha
je sajan hui moon bailha, ta phul pasyo phole hanyon.

(3)

ڪڙڪڻ ڪجاياس، بيلي پاس ٻُرن جي،
چڻڪڻ جي چيچ ڪيا، تن واري وهه وڌياس،

لاکو لطف الله چئي، آچي آب گهڙياس،
 سرتيون ڪنهن سياڳ کي، سڪڻ لئي سڪياس،
 وسان ئي ويياس، مليس جي ميهار کي.
kharkan khajayas, beli pas buran je,
chhankan je chhaija kaya, tin vare vihu vidhyas,
lakho lutfullah chaye, aachhe aab ghiryas,
sartyoon kehn sabhag khe, sikan laye sikhyas,
vasan ee veyas, milyas je mehar khe.

14- (a) Shah Karim died in the days of the Moghul rulers in 1623 AD. During this very period, another great poet Shah Lutfullah Qadri was born. According to Dr. Baloch's opinion, he was born in 1611 AD (1020 AH). (44) Dr. Baloch has written in the book "Shah Lutfullah Qadri jo Risalo" as under:

"While composing 'Minhajul Maarfat' he knew how to explain the points of *sulook* (mysticism) in Sindhi since he included Sindhi verses in different chapters; perhaps these verses were greatly appreciated by people and Shah Lutfullah felt that all the basic important points of *sulook* (mysticism) could be easily understood in Sindhi verse; therefore he compiled this collection of poetry (*Risalo*) as a conscious effort and with great dedication and commitment."

The subject is *Wahdat* (oneness of God) and the ways to follow *Tareeqat* (religion). It starts with the description of the guide, disciple and Shariah and ends on the divine qualities and oneness of Almighty Allah. The *Risalo* ends with a discussion about oneness of God Almighty and the conditions of disciples and the saints and Pirs.

The number of verses composed by Shah Lutfullah Qadri amounts to about 400. Based on the present research one can say that Shah Lutfullah Qadri's *Risalo* is the first voluminous book of Sindhi poetry. (45)

(b) This opinion proves that by this time in the literary history, Sindhi language had achieved such progress and development that large volumes of books on the oneness of God and on *tareeqat* had started being written. The opinion of Dr. Baloch that follows appears rather partisan when he says:

"Perhaps, since the 19th century AH (15th century AD) the saintly men and scholars had started propagating their teachings to improve human and social attitudes by means of their poetry. Soul-satisfaction, understanding divinity for self-betterment, sympathy for fellow beings and search for the truth and reality became the main subjects of their poetry; and in this way simple 'narration and talk' was replaced by 'meaning and concept' in Sindhi poetry. Stories and nuances were envisioned as a metaphor in order to emphasize 'truth and reality'. The initiation of poetry

of wisdom and Sufi following which was thought provoking flourished the plant of substantive Sindhi poetry, that is visible from the poetry of Kazi Kadan, which finally took the shape of a blossoming tree in the poetry of Shah Latif. The poetic works of Shah Lutfullah Qadri appear like a bridging link of Sindhi poetry between Kazi Kadan and the times of Shah Latif.” (46)

The above quoted opinion by Dr. Baloch has been called partisan; because for some unknown reason Dr. Baloch does not believe that the poetry of Ismaili preachers or the Sufi saints of Punjabi language, the Sufi poets of Rajasthan and the Kathiawar like Shah Lutfullah Qaddri is said to have composed about 400 verses. Baba Farid Ganj Shakar, Madhu Lal Shah Hussain, Baba Bulhay Shah, Dadu Dyal and Mahamati Pran Nath, contain the subjects of soul searching, divine understanding, and realisation of truth and reality. If Dr. Baloch talks only of the Sindhi poetry, it would serve well to remind the readers about the subjects defined in the poetry of Ismaili Pirs, Baba Farid Ganj Shakar, Dadu Dayal, Mahamati Pran Nath and Pir Lakho Lutfullah that are summarized below. Further the *Ginans* given in earlier chapters and the poetry of Baba Farid and other poets can be referred to. The subjects are as under:

“To have an open heart, to recite the names of Almighty Allah and His Prophet (PBUH), to avoid hatred and falsification, to consider the world as finite, to believe in Oneness of God, to consider the Prophet (PBUH) as the last messenger of God, to recite the *Kalima* of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and in addition to these, the description of the peculiarities of an infidel and a believer by means of similes and metaphors.” (47)

(c) The question arises: whether the poetry on these subjects in Sindhi, Kachhi, Punjabi, Gujrati, Seraiki and Hindi would not be considered to enlighten the human thought and purification of the soul?! The truth is that the Ismaili elders and other sufis and saints had started writing such poetry long before the 11th century AD. Therefore, a claim has to be made that the poetry of Sindhi language containing these subjects along with lyrical prose had started some 400 years before Kazi Kadan (1465-1551 AD) by Ismaili saints and preachers. The first Ismaili saint whose Sindhi poetry has been found in the genre of *Ginans* was Pir Satgur Noor who had come to Sindh and Multan in 1079 AD with the purpose of preaching, as has been mentioned earlier as well.

Kazi Kadan (1465-1551 AD) was without doubt a predecessor of Shah Karim (1536-1623 AD) and Shah Lutfullah Qadri (1611-1679 AD). (48) Shah Karim was 14 years old when Kazi Kadan passed away. He was very much influenced by his sufistic verses. Shah Karim was the one who was the sole narrator of Kazi Kadan’s verses. He used to recite his poems in his social meetings; and from which 7 verses were included in his poetic works. (49)

Based on the research done on the poetry of Kazi Kadan by a Sindhi scholar, Mr. Hiro Thakur, our local researchers have brought a change in their opinion. (50) Recently Dr. Baloch has done an extensive research on his poetry. Anyway, one has to concede

that in order to visit the history of Sindhi language, we need to find such poetry in the temples and other places of worship in the neighboring areas of Sindh like the Indian states of Kachh, Gujrat, Jam Nagar, Rajkot, Mana Vadhar, Junagarh, Jaisalmer, Jaipur, Bikanir, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh and in addition to them, in the personal libraries of the Rajas and Maharajas of these ancient states of India.

(d) The analysis of Sindhi language used by Kazi Kadan in his poetry (as above) was to try and prove that Sindhi language was a fully developed language even in the Sama period; which was used for describing scholarly thoughts and complex subjects. There was enough treasure of words to describe and explain these subjects.

Dr. Baloch believes that in the classical poetry of Sindh, Shah Karim was perhaps the first poet who depicted 15 of the commonly known (folk) stories for his allegorical verses; for example stories of *Sohni*, *Marvi*, *Sasui*, *Lilaan* and *Moomal*, in addition to the *Ghatoos* (fishermen), *Mokhi* and *Matara*, the bards of Kachh, *Khahoris*, *Dataars* and *Manganhars*; and other topics. The symbols of *Hans* (*hanj*), meeting the beloved travelling on a camel, blacksmiths, seamen and their spouses, *Morkhan* and *Morkhai*, the hideouts of the thieves etc. were used by him as metaphors.

(e) In the earlier chapters, examples of the poetry of Pir Satgur Noor, Pir Shams Sabzwari Multani and Pir Sadrudin were used as a proof of the magnificence, richness of structure and of the development of Sindhi language and the subjects of their poetry containing metaphors, similes, signs and symbols. For instance the Ismaili preachers used the local words and circumstances to preach to the common people of Sindh, especially the newly converted Ismaili disciples through their *Ginans*. They used the symbols of the *baghu* (stork) and the *Hans* (goose), metaphors, symbols and similes to explain the difference between believers and the infidels. The Ismaili saints made use of weavers, fishermen, boatmen, blacksmiths, goldsmiths and their crafts as metaphors and symbols to spread their message. They also used *Jogis*, *Khahoris*, *Samis* and pre-Islamic folk stories like Raja Pehlaj, Harmakas, Raja Yadhshatar, Tara Rani, Diyat Kalingi and other stories metaphorically. In this context, Pir Shams and Pir Sadrudin have done wonders. An article published in the journal Mehran had this to say:

“Pir Sadrudin’s works are full of subjects of Sufism and spirituality. They have called the world as finite and have advised their disciples that one will not achieve much from the worldly things, therefore it is essential to remove hatred and false notions from the heart; and avoid being a slave of the soul and be free from bad practices and dedicate oneself for truth.” (51)

Pir Sadrudin has said regarding human life that:

“Man has been given this life to pray and dedicate himself to God. He has repeatedly advised to avoid careless attitudes and has cursed slumber.” (52)

Pir Sadrudin believed in the concept of faith (*Hum-a oost*). One of his *Ginan* gives the following message:

“The way eyes have vision, flowers have fragrance, milk has butter

and the sun has light, similarly, God Almighty exists in the human soul in addition to other things.” (53)

(f) It is indeed correct that the ancient qualities of Sindhi language before the 11th century AD are found in the language of the sufis, saints and *sughars* of later periods; which were continued by poets like Ishaque Ahanger, Kazi Kadan, Shah Karim and Makhdoom Nooh and other spiritual poets outside Sindh. And after them, it was used in the language by great scholars like Shah Lutfullah Qadri. Dr. Baloch writes:

“Shah Lutfullah Qadri had a subject of *Sulook* and *Tareeqat* which he wanted to explain using examples of poets and virtuous men who searched for truth and reality which he symbolized with the boatmen who buoyed their boats in deep seas and with the *Jogis*, who faced hardships to achieve their goal. Shah Lutfullah Qadri started the use of new metaphorical subjects in classical Sindhi poetry like *Samoondi* and *Nakhuan* (seamen and the boatmen) and “*Jogis* and *Adesis*” (ascetics and mendicants) that had not been used by any other poet before him; although after him these subjects became models for poets like Miyon Shah Inat and Shah Abdul Latif. Both these poets used them (in *Sur Samoondi*, *Sur Surirag*, *Sur Poorab* and *Sur Ramkali*) with great inspiration.” (54)

The examples of symbolic and metaphorical poetry by the Ismaili preachers given above can be relied upon to negate the opinion of Dr. Baloch:

“Through these examples Shah Lutfullah Qadri initiated new subjects in classical Sindhi poetry like *Samoondi*, *Nakhua*, *Jogi* and *Adesis*, that had not been used by any poets before him.” (55)

The Ismaili preachers had been using these subjects like *Jogis* (ascetics), *Sami*, *Adesi* (mendicants), *Nakhua* (boatmen), *Vanjarra* (sea-traders), *Katar* (weavers), *Vapaar* (businessmen), *Hari* (farmers), *Lohara* (ironsmiths) and *Sonara* (goldsmiths) in their poetry since the 11th century; although one can concede that:

“After him (Shah Lutfullah Qadri) these subjects became examples for Miyon Shah Inat and Shah Latif and both these poets used them (in *Sur Samoondi*, *Sur Surirag*, *Sur Poorab* and *Sur Ramkali*) with great inspiration.” (56)

Dr. Baloch has analyzed the artistic structure of the poetry of Shah Lutfullah Qadri and his use of novel genres and ideas and all the forms and steps of evolution from Sindhi *Doha* (couplet) to Sindhi *bait* (verse). He has quoted examples of addition of verses in the two lines and writes:

“Contrary to that, the poetry of Shah shows frequent examples of verses where with 4 or 5 lines and in certain Lutfullah Qadri shows use of 6 to 7 lines.” (57)

This peculiarity of the poetry of Shah Lutfullah Qadri can be considered as a great

proof of evolution of Sindhi language. Dr. Baloch has thrown light on another novelty in the poetry of Shah Lutfullah Qadri in very emphatic words. According to him, the use of *Varaan* (repeating) in a poetic way is observed for the first time in the poetry of Shah Lutfullah Qadri consistently. (58) This may also help in the study of the evolution of Sindhi language, to show the magnificence of Sindhi language in the Tarkhan and Moghul periods. Explaining the *Takrar* (duplicate) and *Varaan* (repeat) verses, Dr. Baloch says:

“According to this system, the poet uses certain words, idioms or phrases in more than one verses repeatedly. The purpose of this repetition is providing credence and support to a thought or concept, or as an expression of heart-felt desire and praise.” (59)

According to Dr. Baloch’s research, not only Shah Lutfullah Qadri made important additions in the appearance and artistic design of Sindhi verse but also increased the number of rhyming lines forming longer paragraphs (*band*), the examples of which are noticed in his poetry. (60)

Dr. Baloch writes:

“Based on the present knowledge, one can say that the most ancient poetry in Sindhi language is in the form of long *band*. After Shah Lutfullah Qadri numerous other poets and scholars used this genre of ‘long *bands*’ to express various subjects. And the first few examples are found in ‘Abul Hassan ji Sindhi’, ‘Ziauddin ji Sindhi’, ‘Makhdoom Muhammad Hashim ain Mian Abdullah’s books’. These scholars explained the religious issues in Sindhi for easy understanding.” (61)

15- (a) Another important factor that Dr. Baloch has pointed to with reference to Shah Lutfullah Qadri is ‘imparting education in mother-tongue’. In this context too, Dr. Baloch has quite a partisan view. He writes:

“The writings of poets and scholars before Shah Latif, whether they are in prose or poetry, either in Arabic or Persian. Shah Lutfullah Qadri was perhaps the first Sindhi scholar and saint, who felt that the people of Sindh, whose mother-tongue was Sindhi, would be able to understand things better in Sindhi; and for their ease and benefit it was necessary that educational and scholarly deliberations be made only in their own mother-tongue so that not only could they easily comprehend them but develop an affinity and interest in them. Under this concept he composed his *Risalo* with great affection in Sindhi for the following three purposes:

- (i) Scholars can understand the educational issues in Arabic or Persian but the common man who possesses less knowledge compared to the scholars can not, therefore these issues (problems) should be elaborated in Sindhi so that the people could find it easy to comprehend them:

“And that Sindhi verse being easier, those with low acumen

understand it.”

- (ii) When the book is in their ‘own language’ i.e. their mother-tongue, they will be able to learn much faster:

“Language being their own, understand they will faster’.

- (iii) They will like and learn with interest if its in their mother-tongue:

“With interest and love, says Lutfullah! They will learn and read.” (62)

- (b) Explaining further, Dr. Baloch writes:

“These three purposes carry immense importance in the concept of education and training. The reason behind the compilation of the *Risalo* was not just poetry but it was education: i.e. explaining the subjects of *Tareeqat*. For this educational purpose, he considered writing the *Risalo* in their mother-tongue because he believed that a person can learn quicker and better in that medium. And in this way Shah Lutfullah Qadri laid down the foundation of the concept of education through mother-tongue of the Sindhi people in his Sindhi *Risalo*. Makhdoom Abul Hassan Thattvi, who was perhaps his younger contemporary, practically materialized this concept and wrote a book in Sindhi for educating people, that was later taught in the educational institutes of Sindh by scholars and teachers.”

Anyway, according to the present information, Shah Lutfullah Qadri’s *Risalo* is the first important book which entirely consists of Sindhi verses.” (63)

(c) In this regard, discussing the early period of Soomra rule and the Arabs, it was mentioned that examples of teaching through Sindhi medium had been mentioned by researcher Al-Beruni in his famous book *Kitabul Hind*. As far as the question of religious teaching through another language is concerned, it has been emphatically stressed upon with references that the foundation of religious teachings of Islam in mother-tongue (Sindhi language) was laid by Ismaili preachers, as has been claimed above with examples (64) and in addition for trade and commerce, accounting, numbers and names of things and other subjects were also taught in Sindhi language for which Al-Beruni has provided evidences. It has been proved by examining letters and writings present on the shards and bricks found during the excavations of the ruins of Brahmanabad (Mansoorah) and Bhambore that long before the advent of Islam in Sindh, Sindhi language was used as a medium of education in *Pathshaala* (Hindu schools) and commercial shops. And so it was asserted that the system of training and education in Sindhi language had been there even before the 5th century AD. Although in this context, the first major book written in a standard and developed form in Arabic Sindhi script was “The *Risalo* of Shah Lutfullah Qadri.”

(d) Although Shah Lutfullah Qadri has used the rather easy and commonly spoken language and has explained complex points of Islam through similes and metaphors, but the Sindhi language used has numerous Persian and Arabic words with some lines from the Holy Quran as well. Some of these words are given below as examples:

ijz (humility), *aqul* (wisdom), *fikr* (thought), *arif* (saint), *asfal*, *sujood* (bowing in prayer), *isim* (noun or name), *zaat* (caste/clan), *wahdat* (oneness (of God)), *haq* (truth), *ilm* (knowledge), *alim* (scholar), *inayat* (benevolence), *hasil* (acquire), *wujood* (existence), *haal* (present), *faani* (finite), *mahaal* (tedious), *hairat* (surprise), *makaan* (place), *harf* (letter), *hikayat* (story), *mehav* (engrossed), *khaas* (special), *aam* (common), *arsh* (sky-heaven), *kursi* (chair), *qaal queel* (dialogue, discussion), *hukum* (decree/order), *soorat* (shape), *seerat* (character), *husn* (beauty), *kamal* (perfection), *zarafat* (wit), *jamaal* (beauty), *zahir* (evident), *batin* (hidden-inner), *khayal* (thought), *ashiq* (lover), *ijtihaad* (new point), *uloom* (plural of *ilm* (knowledge)), *jabeen* (forehead), *subhan* (name of god), *subooh* (morning), *adab* (respect), *rooh* (spirit), *rab* (god), *hasab nasab* (pedigree), *aabau* (ancestors), *aab* (water), *autagan* (meeting place), *aaraam* (rest), *tauq* (a yolk), *huzoor* (respectable man (used for the prophet pbuh), *tafakur* (thoughtfulness), *tareeq* (way), *haqeeqat* (reality), *harkat* (movement), *hirs* (greed), *bagh* (garden) etc.

The following words used by Shah Lutfullah Qadri are very interesting from a grammatical point in Sindhi. He formed many new words and frequently used pronominal suffix. For example, the following words demand our attention:

bebaak (fearless), *nabood* (cursed end), *haqeen* (truly), *sabhkenh* (everyone), *saraaheen* (praise), *mulkain* (of countries), *hinahin* (he himself), *supak* (crisp), *abojh* (unwise), *sabojh* (wise), *pasaah* (breaths), *pireen-a ri'a* (without the beloved), *paroorij* (identify), *marhoo* (people/men), *haijan* (restlessness), *poe* (*pavay*) (occur/happen), *saisain* (thousands), *gujharat* (riddle), *kamtar* (lesser), *ubato* (upside down/opposite), *bhoon* (earth), *supriyan* (of the beloved), *dekharindar* (one who shows), *saireendar* (one who moves), *uthiyarindar* (one who awakens), *lokaan* (from peoplen), *jogiyān* (from jogis), *naangan* (serpents), *ooye* (you), *janan* (knowing), *jaan jaan* (as and when), *raatri* (night), *kuh janān* (do not know), *subhaag* (good fortune), *zaat na taat* (wilderness), *jijaan* (mother), *dehaan* (from one's country), *pasoon* (see), *khijaan* (get tired), *nisang* (no company).

Similarly, he has used many words for the *Jogis* (mendicants and ascetics) in his Sindhi poetry like: *kaapri*, *jogi*, *kachhoti*, *laang*, *saami*, *kakoria*, *adesi*, *babu*, *baooti*, *kainaro* etc.

Shah Lutfullah Qadri has used numerous phrases and idioms in his poetry and some of them are given as under:

hai hai karan (lamenting), *haik thiyan* (to unite/ become one), *ban diyan* (shun), *vaha vajān* (swim with the current), *hath rasan* (to acquire),

raah gum thiyaṇ (getting lost/losing the way), *wujood vijayaṇ* (forgetting oneself), *fi-llah main faani thiyaṇ* (sacrifice oneself in the Lord's way), *paan vijhaṇ* (set negation), *pair lahaṇ* (search/seek/try finding), *doray achan* (seek, find), *paan parooraṇ* (soul searching, self realisation), *paan vijayaṇ* (dedication), *sukh sumhaṇ* (resting peacefully), *mana main mach baraṇ* (have an internal fire), *doongar doraṇ* (searching the mountains), *aab autan* (shedding tears), *para main pachan* (burn in desire), *lokaan lok karan* (to make known), *khabar lahaṇ* (to enquire), *mairay vijhaṇ* (to collect), *kees karan* (to inflict pain).

All this proves that by this era Sindhi language had acquired a higher state with immense qualities. These two verses can be reproduced here as examples:

(1)

اي جڳ جوڳو جوڳين، جوڳين جوڳ سها،
جوڳيان سنڌي جوڳ ۾، مد منجهن مائ،
هئي مون کي هاءِ آءُ جوڳ نه سگهو جوڳين.

aye jag jogo jogiyen, jogin jog sahaye,
jogiyen sande jog men, mad manjehen maye,
hui monkhe haye, aaun jogu na sikhno jogiyen

(2)

ڪوڏا ڪٿو رسالو اي فقير جوڙي بيتن،
ته هو سنڌي وائي سھلو، بجهڻ اڻوجھن،
پاهنجي ٻولي ڪري، سگھائين اي سڪن،
لطف الله چئي لئ پيو، ور سڪن ۽ پڙھن.

koda kiyo risalo aye faqeerajore betan,
ta hoe sindhi vayee-a suhlo, bujhan abojhan,
pahanji boli kare, saghayen ae sikhən,
lutfullah chaye lay payo, var sikhən aen parhan.

16- (a) As mentioned earlier, writing prose in Sindhi language has also been there since time immemorial. Numerous exhibits of Sindhi prose from the periods of Soomra, Sama, Arghun, Tarkhan and Moghul rule are available. After an analysis of these one can say that although the examples of prose relating to modern sciences is not available but samples of proverbs, idioms, lyrics, lines and writings of traders (accounting books) have been found that provide credence to the claim pertaining to the richness of Sindhi language and the wisdom and acumen of its scholars and poets.

Earlier the lyrically composed daily prayers (*wazifa*) by the Ismaili Pirs, Sindhi proverbs and one-line sentences of Pir Murad Shah were quoted as examples. A saying from the Tarkhan period is also quite famous, in which cities of that period like Fateh Bagh, Noorai and Nasarpur and their magnificence are mentioned, in addition to the state's trade and commerce, economics and geography. These towns were so famous in

the period of Mirza Shah Hassan Arghun (1523-1555 AD, 930-962 AH) for their richness and commercial autonomy, that in the days of his exile, emperor Humayun had come to stay in Ama Bagh through Umerkot and had sent for his son Prince Akbar to come and stay there. The following saying provides proof of such prosperity of these cities which is also a great example of the prose of Sindhi language of those times. The saying is as under:

نرت نورائي، نار نصرپور، قل فتح باغ،
هلي ڏسو جoon، جتي ڪپھ جو واپار.

nirt noorayi, naar nasarpur, phal fateh bagh,

hali ڏسو joon, jite kapeh jo vapar.

(Noorai dance, Nasarpur's ladies and the flower of Fateh Bagh.

Come and see Joon where cotton is traded)

An analysis of this saying enables us to understand the economic prosperity of the country in those times. It also throws light on the grandeur of Sindhi language. The examples of its vocabulary is evident from words like *Nirt, Naar, Fateh Bagh, haan, hali disso, jitay kapah jo, vaapar* and other words can be found.

One learns from this saying that there was a practice of writing "Pur" with the name of towns. Like Miran Pur, and Nasarpur etc. Such towns are found even today where 'Pur' is a suffix at the end of the name of a city e.g. Mirpur, Budhapur, Unarpur and Shahdadpur etc. Similarly, there are towns with 'Bagh' e.g. Fateh Bagh and Barocho Bagh.

The saying also throws light on the economic conditions of Sindh and its different trades like cotton, various grains and grocery items. Not only that but this saying also tells us about the social and cultural circumstances of Sindh. It refers to the beauty of the women and the prowess and manliness of its menfolk. For example, the cities of Noorai and Nasarpur were famous for the beautiful eyes and features of women. The women of Nasarpur were known for their height, posture and shapely body contours. And thus, Sindhi language at that time, had proverbs which used in daily life.

Although some sayings and quotes of Shah Karim Bulrai have been found but since they were written by Mian Abdul Wasay in Persian, one cannot comment on the qualities and structure of the original language of these sayings.

(b) The greatest prose writer of this period was Late Makhdoom Jafar Boobakai (1589 AD, 998 AH) who wrote a book relating to the matters of divorce in Arabic with the name of "Halul Uqood Fi Talaqul Sunood" (A book relating to solutions to the problems relating to divorce). This book contains some Sindhi sentences as well. These and other Sindhi sentences written in Persian books of some other scholars have been given by Dr. Baloch in his book "Sindhi Boli Ain Adab Ji Tareekh" (i.e. History of Sindhi language and its literature).

The other famous scholars who lived in that period in addition to Makhdoom Jafar Boobakai are as under:

(i) **Makhdoom Abdul Qasim Sindhi:** This scholar was the son of Mufti Muhammad Dawood. Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir had appointed him as his *Shariah*

advisor. He died in 1691 AD (1103 AH). (65)

(ii) **Syed Shah Wali Thattvi:** This gentleman was Shah Abdul Qasim Sindhi's son and was a disciple of a great scholar of his time. He was very good at poetry and prose. His book named "Tuhfatul Majalis" is a result of his enlightened persona. He died in 1738 AD/1150 AH. (66)

(iii) **Makhdoom Fazlullah:** He was a great scholar of his times and humanities expert as well. He was always busy with his teaching. He was a contemporary of the rulers of Sindh, Mirza Issa Khan Tarkhan and Mirza Muhammad Baqi Tarkhan. (67)

(iv) **Makhdoom Abul Khair Thattvi:** This scholar was Makhdoom Fazlullah's son. He was a wise man with mastery on many sciences. He was involved in selecting problems of Fatawa Alamgiri. Nawab Qubad Khan Alamgir was one of his pupils. (68)

17- Sindhi language in this era was written in Nagric, Khwajki and other scripts in addition to the Arabic-Sindhi script. Among these scripts, Khwajki script was routinely being used for education, literature, trade and commerce through accounting books. In this context, Mr. Sirajul Haque Memon had written an article in January 1971 in 'Nain Zindagi' Magazine, where he had mentioned the presence of literary manuscripts in Sindhi language written in Proto-Nagric and Nagric scripts; one of these manuscripts is a record book of transactions (*Kaabaro*) in Sambat 1710 (1650 AD).

This notebook was written a year after the death of Shah Karim Bulrai (1623 AD) during the period when Shah Lutfullah Qadri was alive (1611-79 AD/1020-90 AH), and 39 years before Shah Latif was born; and this clearly shows that Sindhi language was used for commerce and trade in other scripts as well. The notebook under discussion has the following subject: (69)

”سنبت 1710: ورک ناريء (نھاريء) چنڊ، گروار (خميس) ڏھاڙي اکر ڪيا: ننگر ساموئي پيتري ڏنڪ نامي لھاڻي سورجي پرڻياڻي لھاڻا: آڏرڻڪ نامي پاڻي رامل تورسيانيءَ کڻي روپيا 101 انگين اکرين سو ايڪوترا: پورا: ڪرا: آڪڙا: حال چڪي (سڪي) جا: شاهجائي: وهاج (وياج) سان: وهاج ماس پريت (در مھيني) ايڪ ايڪوترا ورتي ڏيندو: ڏيندي هر هُج (حجت) ڪانه ڪندو: ناري ني (ڏسي ڪري/نھاري) ڪاٻاڙو لکيو: ديس پرديس سھي (صحيح) جڏھن سوا جي پرڻياڻي گھرندي، تڏھن رامل تورسياني پري جباب (جواب) ڪندو: اُجر (عذر) ۽ مالو (دير) نہ ڪندو: پيروماس هي ڪاٻاڙو انگي اڏارو نياڻين. سھي (صحيح): بيو اُجر (عذر) ڪونه ڪندو: مت رامل تور سياني جما (جمع) ٿيا: اکر سھي: رُپئين ايڪوترا: وهاج (وياج) پڻ ايڪوترا:“

“sanbat 1710: varkh nari-a (nihari-a) chand, gurwar (khameesa) dihare akhara kaya: nangar samoyi bheetre dank naame luhane soorji praiyani-a lahna: aadharak nami bhatye ramal torsyani-a kane roopaya 1010 angain akhrain sau aikotra: poora: khara: aakra: haal chhike (sike) ja: shahjayi: vihaj (viyaj) saan: vihaj maas preet (dar mahine) aik aikotra varti deendo: deende har huj (hujat) kana kando: nare ne (disi kare/nihare) kabaro likhyo: des pardes sahi (saheeh) jadenh soor je paraiyani ghurando, tadenh ramal torsyani bhare jabab (jawab) kando:”

*ujar (uzar) aen malo (dair) na kando: bhairomal hee kabaro angain
udharo niyaeen. sahi (saheeh): biyo ujar (uzar) kona kando: mat ramal
torsyani jama (jamaa) thiya:*

akhar sahi: rupayan aikotar sou: vihaj (viyaj) pin aikotar:”

Meaning:

Year Sambat 1710: on the moon of the month of Nahri : on Thursday the letter was written : Nangar Samoi gave and Lohana Soorji Piryani took : for his nephew named Ramal Toorsiani rupees 101 : in letters one hundred and one : full, pure, numbered in currently used currency : Shahjahai : with interest : interest shall be payable monthly one on one : will not make excuses in paying : wrote this *kabaro* under his direct vision : in any state when Soorji Piryani desires, then Ramal Toorsiani will pay as response : will not delay by excuses : Bherumas borrowed this note (*kabaro*) : okay : will not make excuse : deposited with Ramal Toorsiani in words correctly : rupees one hundred one : interest also one.”

On studying this trading and translations note (*kabaro*) in Sindhi language, one can say that in the 13-14th century AD notes accounts, *beejak* (invoice), *kabara* (record of transactions), daily reports (*roznamcha*), registers of daily trading, invoicing and letter writing were well established in that era. It is worth noting that a similar language was used for writing invoices and accounts before partition (of the subcontinent), so one can say that there existed a special trading or commercial language. The language in the above quoted note shows some special qualities and peculiarities of Sindhi language that are as under:

- (i) Even at that time there was a system of punctuation in the sentence writing and the break was denoted by using the sign of a colon of the present day language i.e. “:”.
- (ii) These notes were written in the local system of accounting in literal and legal manner where words like *vihaj* (interest), *jama* (total/add), *akhar kia* (in letters), *lahona* (owing), *poora* (full), *kharra* (pure), *akra* (price list), *angain dina* (given in numerals), *shahjahai siko* (currency that was called *Shahjahai*), *vihaj jo aghu* (rate of interest), *udharo vathan* (to borrow), *uzur karan* (making excuses), *huj karan* (giving reasons) etc. were used.
- (iii) The numerals in vogue in that era like 101 and in words (one hundred and one) and that in addition to cardinal numbers, the figures were also written in words. Fractions like half and full were also in use.
- (iv) The currency of that era was called *Shahjahai Sikko* (coin).
- (v) It also becomes known that interest was paid according to the lunar calendar and privately the rate was 100%.
- (vi) In addition to the names of the Sindhi months and days, it becomes known that account keeping was done according to the Sindhi lunar calendar and the

system of counting was according to the Vikramajeet Sambat.

(vii) It also shows that the Sindh *Kaal/Sambat* (year) was out of fashion, mentioned earlier with reference to Al-Beruni.

(viii) The grammatical structure of language used in this trading note (*kabaro*) shows:

Past tense: *Akhar Kia* (in letters), *Lahna* (borrowed), *likhio* (written), *nian* (took), *thia* (happened/occurred).

Future tense: *Var deendo* (will get), *huj kana kando* (will not make excuses), *ghurando* (will ask for).

Compound verb: *udharo nian* (taking loan, borrow).

Adverb: *jadenh* (when), *na* (no), *diharay* (in the day), *tadenh* (then).

Postposition: *saan* (with) and *kane* (to)

Genitive/Possessive case: *ja* (of)

Compound noun: *des pardes* (home and away)

Conjunctive participle: *naari nay* (having seen), *kabaaro likhio* (wrote a trading note)

Conjunction: *ain* (and), *pin* (also)

Third person pronoun: *hee* (he) etc

Similarly, the names of castes, people and family are present in this trading note and it can also be said that the suffix “-ni” was used at the end of the names of certain families in Sindh in those times; for Soorji Piryani, Ramal Toorsiani etc.

The use of *kabaaro* (trading notes), *Beejak* (invoice) and *Hundi* (bill of exchange) continued up until 1947. Honourable Professor Abdullah Magsi has given a sample of such a *Hundi* from the British period which is as under:

ایکو سہاء
”انگین اکرین روپيا سو چہ 600-00، نیمی روپيا سو ٽي، تنهنجا پيشا روپيا سو چہ، پائي
پریتمداس تلوکچنداڻي ڏيڃ۔ حیدرآباد مان تاراچند پرسراماڻي چوي اسان هتي پائي
پڳوانداس ناڪرداس جي پاسي راڪي۔ توهان ڪراچي، منجهه شاهه واپاري جوڳ پري
ڏيوڻا.

مٿي سانوڻ تاريخ سنبت 1943 درسني “ (70)

Aiko sahae

“in figures and words rupees 600-00, half of which Rupees three hundred, double of which is rupees 600, give to Bhai Tarachand Parsaramani from Hyderabad; that we kept it with brother Bhagwandas Thakurani; you may kindly give to trader Shah in Karachi.

Mah (month) Sawan dated Sambat 1943 darsani”

(c) It is important to clarify that *kabaro* is a special document in commercial communication and it has specific type of language. There is a special subject of such a document. It is written still the same way, especially by Hindu traders. There is no difference in their subject, language and the structure of the sentences. Therefore it

should not be misunderstood from the language used in the *kabaro* that up to that time the syntax of Sindhi language was such. Indeed the structure of the sentences used in day to day affairs was similar to the present day language.

Mr. Sirajul Haque writes in this regard:

“No scholar has given attention to the books written in Nagric script. One of the reasons for that is not knowing that script but the other reason is religious indifference if not religious bias, because the Nagric script has been a sign of Hindu religion; in which the books of Hindu religion were written whereas presently Arabic script is in use for Sindhi language. Therefore such instances were ignored in which Sindhi was written in the Nagric script. The result of such practices is that a great treasure of our language was either destroyed due to the lack of attention or whatever is left of it, is gathering dust in certain libraries, museums and basements.

It must be remembered that along with Arabic script, Nagric and Proto-Nagric scripts have also been in use for Sindhi. So much so that until the British rulers finally decided to get Sindhi language written and published in Arabic script, books were not only written in Nagric and Proto-Nagric scripts but were published as well. Presently our libraries have only the books written in Arabic script, while the books published in Nagric or Proto-Nagric are not available at least in any library of Sindh.” (71)

Mr. Sirajul Haque continues:

“Dr. Trumpp has given in his book the *Ashloks* of Mengha Bhagat in the story of Laila Majnoon (this book contains both the Arabic and Nagric scripts; 53 pages are in Nagric and 124 pages are in Arabic script. The corrigendum is of 7 pages and 17 pages are those of Dr. Trumpp’s notes and references). The poet of this epic Laila Majnoon is Syed Fazil Shah who was either Shah Latif’s contemporary or lived a few years before him. This story was written in 1136 AH/1723 AD and Shah Latif died in 1165 AH/1752 AD. The story comprising of 832 lines have been written in a very beautiful and good language. At some places the use of language is simply superb. The language of Mengha Bhagat’s Sindhi language is also remarkable. For example, have a look at this *Ashlok*:

نٿڙي چيچ نامر کي، چڏي گيري گاڙ
جنم پائي جگ ۾، سمجھي ڏس سماءُ
متئون همراھ، ٿيندءَ ڪٽنب، منجهان ڪون ڪو.“ (72)

niyare japj naama khe, chhade gere gao

janam patuya jaga men, samjhi dis samae

mataun hamrahu, thindai kutunba, manjhan ko na ko”

Mr. Siraj further writes: “Sasui Punhoon Jo Qiso”: Arch G Goldsmith 1863 AD; the poet of this story is Arif. (73)

Mr. Siraj writes under the heading of Ancient Language:

”ڪرستانن جي مذهبي تبليغ بابت لکيل آهي. 1880ع ۾ ڪراچيءَ ۾ ڇپيو. هيئن ڳالھ

ڪندا آهن ته تي پريا مڙس- هڪڙو مسلمان، هڪڙو ٻانڀڻ ۽ هڪڙو يهودي- ڪنهن ڪوھ جي ڀرسان پٽ تي ويٺا هئا، ۽ پاڻ ۾ بحث ٿي ڪيائون ته ماڻهن ۾ جي ٻوليون هلن ٿيون، تن مان ڪهڙي پراڻي آهي. بحث اهڙي جوش ۾ آيو ۽ هنن اهڙو آواز ڪيو، جو هڪڙو انگريزي ماڻهو، هنن جا هل ٻڌي انهيءَ جڳهه ڏي ڊوڙي آيو.“ (74)

“*karitanan je mazhabi tableegha babat likhyal ahe. 1880 men karachi-a men chhapyo. hiyen galh kanda ahin ta ٽه parya mursa- hikro musalman, hikro banbhan aen hikro yahoodi- kenh khooha je bharsan paṭa te vaiṭha hua, aen paṇa men bahas the kayaun ta maṇhun men je bolyoon halan thyoon tin man kehri puraṇi ahe. Bahas ahre joshā men ayo aen hinan ahro awaz kayo, jo hikro angraiz maṇhu, hinan ja hula budhi unhai-a jagah de dori ayo.*”

“It is written about religious preaching of Christians and was published in 1880 AD. They say that three wise men—a Mulim, a Banbhan (Hindu Brahman) and a Jew were sitting on the ground near a well. They were arguing about which of the languages spoken commonly by people is the most ancient. The argument became so heated and they made so much noise that an English man ran to the spot on hearing their voices.”

Siraj comments:

“How simple, fabulous and sweet this language is! (75)

Mr. Siraj continues:

“I have mentioned the books written in Nagric and Proto-Nagric scripts because I am certain that we have lost a huge treasure of our literary work due to our lack of attention towards them and because of this negligence inattention whatever is left of it is still hidden in shrouds of darkness. When I read an old book from 1685 AD which was written even before Shah Latif was born; this verse appeared on two places:

ماڻڪ مٽ ڪيوم، اونداهيءَ ۾ اوڃرو،
هلندي در حبيب ڏي، سمر سو ٿيوم،
تيلائين ٿيوم (ٿيوس)، اڳوندرو عالمر ۾.

*manik mitu kayom, undahi-a men ojro,
halande dar habeeba de, samara so thiyom,
telain thiyom (thiyos), agoondaro alama men.*

This book has been written by some Hindu scholar and it's a collection, in which he wrote whatever came to his mind, and had preserved it for his grand children and future generations. It has 196 pages. He has given a *chaleeh akhree* or *aghotree* (forty letter alphabet) in the beginning, where he has also given newly formed letters for Sindhi sounds by modifying Nagric letters. Scattered here and there can be seen sums of arithmetics, of multiplication and divisions, charts and calculations too. Most of the matter consists of religious *askloks* of Hindus, which are entirely in Sindhi at places, while at other places they are in Sindhi,

Kachhi, Malabari and the usual Rajasthani style. At places he has also written the Hindi *dohas* of Kabir Panthi preachers. He has written many Sindhi verses too. If he has remembered a verse or a line, he has written it up. Among the Sindhi poets I could see the names of Sumang, Narang and Permanand. The most surprising thing is that this book points to the arrangement of poems in *Surs*, which was employed in the works of Shah Latif and Shah Inayat almost two centuries later. The compilation and order of the Sur Sarang, Dhanasiri, Kalyan and Hussaini etc. is centuries older than Shah Latif. Have a look at this verse from Hussaini:

پيئي سڪ پچار، ديهه پر ڏونگر چار جي
سرتئين سورب پور جيئن، سڀني ڪيا سينگار
آرائيءَ آڌار، عالم لڳو آسري.

*peyi sukha pachar, diha men doongar jama je
sartiyen sorab bhor jiyen, sabhni kaya seengar
araji-a aadhar, aalam lago asre.*

From some of the verses one gets an impression that Shah Latif has either copied them or perhaps verses of other poets have been included in the *Risalo*. (76)

Mr. Siraj writes:

“In addition to the verses and lines, two epic stories of Sindhi poetic stories (*manzoom qissa*) are also there. The story of Saiful Malook and Badiul Jamal has been called by our writers as the story of “Malik Saiful” and it contains more than 100 verses or *dohas*. Another compilation is that of “Narsi Ji Hundi” which is a famous story of Kachh. This story has a very pronounced Kachhi accent. In addition to these, there are Ratan Mala (compiled), Baran Maho (compiled) and other compilations of stories. Among the religious *ashloks* are *Pipir ja ashlok*, *Sanan ja ashlok*, *Ganga ja ashlok* and others related with religious festivities. The only thing that is not clear is who the writer or the author of the book was. There is a square with 12 boxes on a page, which has the name *Suraj* written in it. The most peculiar thing about this square is that from whichever direction one reads it, the same name can be read.”

Mr. Siraj has also mentioned a trading note written in Nagric script which seems to have been written between 1641 to 1650 AD and is in Vikramjeet Sambat 1710. Mr. Siraj writes:

“I have kept a span of 10 years i.e. from 1640 to 1650 because at the time of writing that Sambat it is not known whether the author has written the Sambat including the prevailing month or the coming Sambat without the prevailing month. If it is a common Sambat or Samawat, then the year accordingly will become 1651 AD i.e. approximately a hundred years before Shah Latif’s death.” (77)

Mr. Siraj futher writes:

“A hand-written manuscript of Khwajas (of Ismaili following) is not without interest. Since this script was in common use in Sindh therefore I am quoting an example which I found from the British Museum, which was written in Sindhi in this script.” (78)

He describes further:

“I saw a note on hundreds of Sindhi literary manuscripts, found from Kachh which belonged to a Soomro. This proves that the Soomra period saw to the prosperity of Sindh in general and that of art and literature, in particular. So that even after their period of rule they kept them as a memoir of a Sindhi family, this was their national treasure and heritage.” (79)

18- The writing of Sindhi words in ancient Persian manuscripts:

It has been mentioned earlier that the Arab travelers, scholars and historians have written pure Sindhi words in their own way and style, but their writings have proven that in that period Sindhi language was regularly spoken and used for day to day matters.

And later on in the periods of Sama, Arghun and Moghal rulers, pure Sindhi words were written in Persian and Arabic books for their ease and some examples have been quoted below. In this period, Persian was established for official communications, administrative purposes, letter writing, education and in literary circles. Since Sindhi was being used for day to day life, commerce and trade and as a medium of common communication; therefore it could not be harmed by Arabic and Persian languages. Dr. Baloch writes in this regard:

“At a local level there started a reciprocal interaction between the Sindhi and Persian languages, which increased the importance of Sindhi language. There was a mutual exchange of Sindhi and Persian words and idioms.

The programs of music and meditation in Sindh that had influenced Punjab and Delhi in earlier times were expanded, in fact they reached at a climax. The Sindhi *bait*, *kafi* songs and lyrics influenced the eastern and northern India (Burhanpur, Delhi and Agra) which helped in promotion of Sindhi culture and widened its horizon. In the south it reached Gujrat and Kathiawar, and Sindhi words were used in Gujrati. This period also saw an exchange of idioms between Sindhi and Seraiki and the road-map for better literary coordination between Hindi and Sindhi also took place.” (80)

In the periods of Sama, Arghun, Tarkhan and Moghal rulers, numerous books were written in Sindhi on history, literature and other subjects e.g.:

- (i) Tareekh-e-Masoomi: Authored by Mir Masoom Bakhri.
- (ii) Tareekh-e-Thatta i.e Tareekh-e-Tahiri: Authored by Mir Tahir Muhammad Nasiani.
- (iii) Beglarnamo: Authored by Idraki Beglari.

- (iv) Mazhar Shahjahani: Aby Yousuf Mirak.
- (v) Hadeeqatul Aulia: Authored by Syed Abdul Qadir.
- (vi) Tuhfatul Tahireen.
- (vii) Tazkarul Mirat.
- (viii) Mathnavi Chanesarnamo: Authored by Idraki Beglari.
- (ix) Mathnavi Husn-o-naz: Authored by Mir Masoom Bakhri.
- (x) Tuhfatul Ikram: Authored by Mir Ali Sher Qane.
- (xi) Maklinama: Authored by Mir Ali Sher Qane.

Many words and terms as well as texts written in Persian were present in these and several other books. Dr. Baloch thinks:

“The importance of Sindhi culture and lexicon forced them to write about the literary trends in their books and used Sindhi words and sentences in Persian texts with meanings of some of them.” (81)

Dr. Baloch has given examples in this regard which are reproduced here for reference:

“Tarikh-e-Masoomi: Persian text, page 318 edited by Dr. Doudpota: *khoor* = *gana goota* (گوت = کن کوٹ), *ren* = *rin* (رین = رن) = desert, (pages 42, 67, 102) in Persian it is ‘chool’ (desert)

Mah saphro jumo (ماه سقرو جمعو) (page 52):

First Friday of the month.

Mah saphro soomar (ماه سقرو سومار) (page 53): First Monday of the month.

Tika, Teka (تک، تکیه) (page 32, 44)

Katari (کتاری = کتاری) (page 64)

Barji (برجی = برجی) (page 64)

Sava lak (سوا لک = سوا لک) (page 70)

Pahra (پهرو = پهرو) (page 76)

Daba (دبا = دبا) (page 108, 257)

Doondi (دوندي = دوندي) (page 129)

Lakho (لاکو = Sindhi name) King Akbar

Khat (کت = کت) (page 246)

Gaat (گات = گات) (page 247) etc. (82)

Similarly, apart from words and idioms, some Arabic Persian books contain original Sindhi sentences written in Arabic or Persian languages. Dr. Baloch has given their detail in his same book. For example:

(1) If any person from Sindh tells his wife thrice “*moon flani chhadi*” (مون فلاڻي چڏي) (83)

(2) *moon khe sunh wado ahe je heea chaanauth tuhinji langhan = munkhe sih wado ahe* (مون کي سنهن وڏو آهي، جي هيءَ چائنٽ تنهنجي لنگهان = منڪي سه وڏو آهي) (84)

In the similar way on the pages from 261 – 281 in Dr. Baloch’s book texts are

present which can still be understood.

19- Anyways the abstract of the development of Sindhi language during the Moghal period can be presented in these lines:

- (i) Sindhi was the language of society and idiom of everyday use.
- (ii) This language was used in business and trade, accounting, books, receipts and other business transactions such as bills of exchange, invoices and receipts, detailed accounts etc.
- (iii) This language was the medium of folk literature, oral literature, *chhand*, *saloks*, *sutras* and teaching and learning. There are quite a few examples of *ginans*, *dohas*, *sorthas*, *jangnamas*, *seengar* poetry, *veer gahas*, *gujharat*, sayings, *salok* and *sutras* of those times available in Sindhi.
- (iv) There were different versions of beautiful, rhyming prose also.
- (v) Sindhi was a medium of religious preaching.
- (vi) This language was used for religious education, temporal education, business transactions and daily use.
- (vii) The principles of phonetics, grammar, medicine, geography, linguistics, ethics, religious learning, Islamic belief and law were written in Sindhi.
- (viii) This language was written in Devanagari, Ardhnagri, Lohanki, Khuwajki, Memonki, Bhatia, Khudawadi, Saakhru, Thattai, Malvari and Saindo scripts.
- (ix) This language was being written in Arabic- Sindhi script from an early period, in which Al-Beruni had made alterations to write names of medicines, people and places and other things. Not only this but the script was used for writing Bayanul Arfeen, Kazi Kadan's poetry, Shah Lutfullah's Sindhi *Risalo*, Makhdoom Jaafar Boobakai's book with Sindhi sentences etc. In the period of Moghal governors, Makhdoom Abul Hasam also wrote in this script.
- (x) The *Ginans* of Ismaili pirs and accounting book (*Kabaro*) have also been discovered, which were discussed in this chapter.
- (xi) The addition or inclusion of more lines in the couplets (*baitis*) of Shah Lutfullah Qadri, can also be counted as examples of the development of language.
- (xii) The book referred by Mr. Siraj, written in Nagric and Proto-Nagric script, contains texts written in Sindhi.

Anyway, this development had been helpful in the expanse and richness of the language in latter periods, which will be evident in the next chapter.

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- 4- Agha Saleem, reference has been given, P:24
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- 10- Ali Sher Qane: 'Tohfatul karam', edited by Syed Hissamudin Shah Rashdi, Sindhi Adabi Board, P: 68 & 69
And also see: Qureshi Hamid Ali, Khanai, Dr., Column, "Sindh ja Chand Aalim ain Muhadis", Ref. Tohfatul karam, Third Edition, published in Nain Zindagi, July 1995, P: 13
- 11- Nabi Bux Khan Baloch, Dr., 'Sindhi Boli & Adab ji Tareekh', Third Edition, P: 178-182
- 12- Muhammad Siddique Memon, Khan Bahadur: 'Sindhi Adab ji Tarikh, Part I, Hyderabad, R. H. Ahmed and Brothers, 1962, P:15 & 46
- 13- Alana, Ghulam Ali, Dr., 'Laar ji Adabi ain Saqafati Tareekh', Ref. has been given, P:175
- 14- This Gnan was read in a religious gathering by Master Muhammad Hassan at goth Sultanabad (taluka Tando Allahyar), which was then written by one of the liseteners.
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80- Nabi Bux Khan Baloch, Dr., "Sindh Boli ain Adab ji Tareekh", Third Edition, P: 240 ain 241
81- Ibid, P:244-245
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83- Ibid, P:258
84- Ibid, P:260
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Chapter Seven

The Period of Shah Latif (1690-1782 AD)

1- This era consisted of the last decade of the Mughal Nawabs (Aristocrats) and of the reign by the Kalhora rulers (1700-1782 AD). Shah Latif was born in 1690 AD during the era of the Mughal rule (1), 10 years before the beginning of the rule by the indigenous Kalhora dynasty (1700 AD to 1782 AD). The progress made by the Sindhi language by that time will be discussed in detail in this chapter.

Analytical the progress of Sindhi language in the times of Shah Latif depends on the material including suffistic literature during this period, in addition to the religious, creative and folk literature. The material on Sindhi phonetics, linguistics and lexicography can also be considered. In addition to this, the influence of Arabic and Persian languages on Sindhi vocabulary and grammar will also be analyzed in this chapter. There are two ways to get such materials for the study and analysis of this kind; one that is written in the form of literary manuscripts (that may be published some time in future), and the other material can be acquired from what is generally called Oral or Folk literature. A part of this oral or folk literature has been published by the Sindhi Adabi Board and other institutions, but a significant part of such literature is still hidden in the hearts of the *sughars*. This material (oral or folk literature) has been passed on by one generation to the other. One can add to this, the matter available in the libraries or hidden treasures not yet seen by the scholars of the Sindhi language, just as the poetry revealed through research of Dr. Muhammad Hassan, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji and Dr. Murlidhar Jetli.

It is because of these materials that we understand how Sindhi language has been in the process of its evolution in every era. The main reason for this is that the political, social and economic conditions have been changing in every era and secondly the changes of circumstances and society also had their role in influencing the language. Social and political events affecting the society also had a direct impact on Sindhi literature and language. Hence with the passage of time, newer ways and trends have been witnessed in the literature and language. Mr. Karim Bux Channa is absolutely right when he says:

“Language can never be invented by an individual and just like the human civilization and culture, language too is formed as a result of numerous conscious and subconscious acts enacted by the effects of historic events, cultural relationships and societal changes. Sindhi language also cannot deviate from this common principle.” (2)

Sindhi language is an ancient language, so is its educational and literary status. One can say that every language is learnt in its very own indigenous atmosphere. It has

been proven from the seals found from Mohen-jo-Daro that there existed some form of a language in that civilization, which was not only spoken but written as well. This means that there must have been some system and arrangement for learning and teaching the language. There must have been some *pathshaalas* (schools) or similar institutions where the art of reading and writing was taught. In this regard, the letters found written on the shards retrieved from Bhambore and Brahmanabad, and after that period in the Arab and the Soomra period, till 1017 to 1031 AD i.e. for 15 years, were analyzed by researchers like Al-Beruni and other scholars as mentioned in the earlier chapters.

2- (a) A detailed discussion and suggestions have been given in the book “Sindhi Boli-a jo Abhiaas” (A Study of Sindhi language) in the chapter titled “The Present Status of Sindhi Language, Its Future and Progress”. The teaching of Sindhi in the Soomra period, as a medium of religious education, training of writing and communication skills for trade and commerce and other subjects and their arrangements are mentioned in detail in that chapter. (3) In this context, the possible curriculum for such education has been mentioned; and it has been explained at length that the Sindhi language in addition to being the commonly spoken language, was also used for education, religious preaching and commercial communication. Different cities had separate scripts even before the Soomra period. The crux of this entire narrative is that in the Soomra period, Sindhi language was present in religious literature, medicine, astronomy, mathematics, social and various other sciences, along with poetry and lyrical prose.

(b) From the Soomra to the Kalhora periods, numerous schools, seminaries and centers of education were established in many cities of Sindh. These were established in Thatta, Lahri Bander, Joon, Fateh Bagh, Sehwan, Nasarpur, Aghamani, Darbeli, Baberlo, Hala Kandi, Bakhar, Khuhra etc, where great scholars of Hadith and other subjects used to teach. Thatta had acquired the status of a Educational Gateway in the Islamic world, and at that same time, Sindh had become famous in the Muslim world for its proficiency in religious education, knowledge of the Holy Quran, Islamic jurisprudence and Hadith.

In the period of Shah Latif, Sindhi language had been established with a sound base in the fields of education and literature. It contained a large treasure of words in the poetry and prose as has been discussed in the earlier chapters.

Before analyzing the evolution of Sindhi language in Shah Latif’s period, we must have a look at the scholars, poets, writers, historians, religious clerics, lexicographers and masters of prose and folk literature present in that period who served the Sindhi language by contributing to its folk, religious and common literature. One also has to look as to how the creative work and translations done by these scholars, poets and writers can be divided into various subjects.

Following is a brief account of the literary persons, poets and religious scholars, etc., who represent the era of Shah Latif:

(a) Religious scholars:

Makhdoom Abul- Hassan, Makhdoom Ziauddin, Makhdoom Muhammad Hashim Thattvi, Moulvi Abdul Khaliq, Moulvi Muhammad Hussain, Makhdoom Muhammad

Ibrahim Bhatti, Makhdoom Ghulam Muhammad Bugaai, Qazi Abdul Karim, Makhdoom Abdullah Waiz of Narya, Muhammad Shareef Ranipuri, Makhdoom Muhammad Moeen Thattvi (1682-1748 AD/1093-1161 AH), Shaikh Muhammad Hayat Muhadis Sindhi (1163 AH/1749 AD) (4), Haji Faqirullah Alvi (1195 AH/1780 AD), Mir Abdur Rasheed Thattvi, Haji Muhammad Qaim Sindhi (RIP 1157 AH/1744 AD) (5), Makhdoom Roohullah Bakhri, Makhdoom Abdul Wahid Sehwani (1150-1224 AH/1737-1889 AD)

Some of these scholars shall be introduced in detail here (6):

- (i) **Shaikh Muhammad Hayat Muhadis Sindhi:** This scholar was a resident of the ancient city called Adil Pur. Some famous scholars who were his students are: Shaikh Ahmad Bin Abdur Rehman, Shaikh Muhammad Saeed Sagheer, Syed Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, Shaikh Ghulam Hussain Thattvi Madni who was a contemporary of Makhdoom Muhammad Hashim Thattvi and who held numerous educational and literary meetings with Makhdoom Thattvi. He had authored numerous books and died in Madina and was buried in Jannatul Baqee.
- (ii) **Shaikh Muhammad Abid Sindhi:** He was a great religious scholar and a master of Islamic jurisprudence of his time. He was born in the ancient city of Sehwan in Sindh. The Emperor of Madina had appointed him as a chief scholar of the time. He wrote numerous books and after his death he was buried in Jannatul Baqee.
- (iii) **Haji Muhammad Qaim Sindhi:** He was also a great scholar and had remained a student of Makhdoom Rehmatullah Sindhi. He was a scholar of the stature of Makhdoom Muhammad Hashim Thattvi and was held in immense esteem by his contemporary scholars. He produced some famous scholars like Muhammad Baqar Waiz and Makhdoom Noor Muhammad Nasarpuri, who were also famous scholars of their times.
- (iv) **Makhdoom Roohullah Bakhri :** This renowned scholar was born in the city of Bakhar which was famous for its education and history. He was also a good poet. He had a poetic exchange of ideas with Mir Qane over the succession and death of Nadir Shah Irani.
- (v) **Makhdoom Abdul Wahid Sehwani:** He was a scholar quite famous as an Islamic jurist and cleric. His father lived in Paat from where they relocated and came to settle in Sehwan where he was born.

His grandfather Abdul Wahid had also been a famous scholar and *mufti*. He was a good poet of Persian language and his poetic name was Wahidi.

(b) Poets and Mystics:

Shah Inayat Sufi Shaheed, Shah Inat Rizvi, Khwaja Muhammad Zaman of Lunwari Shareef, Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai, Sahibdino Faqeer Farooqui, Sachal Sarmast, Rohal Faqeer, Sabit Ali Shah, Ghulam Ali Madaah, Syed Muhammad Baqa, Makhddom Abdur Raheem Girhoree, Inayat Dero, Madan Bhagat, Tamar Faqeer, Mian Sarfaraz Khan Abassi, Muhammad Qaim Sindhi (1157 AH/1744 AD), Abul Qasim Sindhi Naqshbandi (1130 Ah/1717 AD), Shewak Ram Atarad, Muhammad Panah Ruja, Najamuddin Izlat, and Ghulam Ali Momin were famous literary personalities of Sindhi and Persian languages.

(c) **Historians:** Mir Ali Sher Qane (1727-1779 AD/1140-1203AH).

(d) **Poets (sughars) of folk literature:** Jalal Khatti, Shaikh Hamar, Juman Charan and Mian Sarfaraz Khan Abbassi.

3- The educational and literary material created or translated during the period of Shah Latif (Kalhora period) is discussed at length according to the subjects later in the chapter, but their subject-wise categorization can be done as under:

(i) **Religious literature (and *tafseer*):** This consists of the biography of the Holy Prophet (pbuh), religious principles and beliefs, explanation of prayers (*Salat*) and ablution (*Wudoo*), edicts of *Shariah*, and translations of Holy Quran and other religious literature.

(ii) **Poetry:** consisting of *chhand*, *Salok*, *dohra*, *bait*, *doha*, *soratha* and *kabat*.

(iii) **Poetry based on lyricism:** *kafi*, *vae* and *jhoolana*.

(iv) **Urooz (Persian meters) poetry:** like *ghazal*, *rubae*, *qaseeda*, *musadas*, *munaqaba*, *marsia*, *noha*, *salam* etc.

(v) **Folk literature:** *sutra*, *bole*, *chawnioon*, *pahaka*, *gujhaaratoon*, *seengar bait*, *dhahsnama*, *hunar*, *dith*, *dore*, *maulood*, *madahoon* and *nar bait*.

(vi) **Prose:** *muqafa*, *musaja* based phrases, *bole*, *pahaka*, *chawanhioon*, *sooter* and *varjisoon*.

Dr. Abdul Jabbar Junejo writes in his book named *Sindhioon*:

“Even though there was a trend of using Arabic and Persian in the Kalhora period, yet the scholars gave a lot of attention to the mother-tongue. The work of writing and publishing in Sindhi started in the period of Persian supremacy (*Parsi Ghore Charhsee*). The writing of poetic literature was due to two reasons; one, the scholars and writers had started realizing the importance of Sindhi, after a continuous period of education and writing in Persian. The second reason was meant for preaching method. Hazrat Shaikh Yousufuddin Baghdadi, a descendant of Hazrat Pir Abdul Qadit Jilani came to Sindh for the purpose of preaching and scores of people embraced Islam. In order to preach and explain the problems and edicts of religion and *Shariah*, it was essential that they be taught in their mother-tongue (Sindhi), as understanding of these principles was easier in their own mother-tongue. This was very similar to the way of the Ismaili pirs and preachers of the Soomra period, who spread their message through native languages in a better and effective way.” (7)

Dr. Junejo continues:

“Makhdoom Abul Hassan laid the foundation of Sindhi poetry of *Alif Ashbaa* that became common in the Kalhora period. This type of Sindhi poem was in fact a movement for the progress of Sindhi language.” (8)

The poem, Dr. Junejo is referring to, has subjects of religious nature. These subjects throw light clearly on the Islamic principles, *Shariah* and related issues, some of which are as under:

Salat (Prayers), *Wudoo* (ablution), *Hajj*, heredity, Islamic principles, jurisprudence, life of Holy Prophet (pbuh), ways and manners, *Zakat*, fasting, charity, *haraam*, *halal*, moral values, the qualities of faith, going to tombs and shrines of pious men to pray, visiting cemeteries, raising holy structures, magic, superstitious threads, dressing, education and skills etc. This poem also contains the explanation of the Holy Quran, all written in Sindhi language.

Besides the spiritual and religious literature, that era touched the heights of folk literature. In addition to *dohiro*, *bait*, *vae* and poetic prose, *Urooz* (Persian meters) poetry was founded in this era. Makhdoom Abdul Rauf Bhatti (1682-1752 AD) composed *mauloods* based on the Persian meters (*urooz*) and compiled *madahoon* and *moajza* on the pattern of long poems like Makhdoom Abul Hassan. In addition to this scholar, Mian Sarfaraz Khan Kalhoru compiled his famous *madah* on the Persian meter (*urooz*). A couple of verses from that are presented here as an example:

پلا چار، هن غلام، سندو سوال سٽج تون،
 آهيان ڏڏ، غمن گڏ، سچا سڏ سٽج تون
 پسي پاڻ، ڪرم ساڻ، ڏکين ڏاڻ، ڏئين تون.
bhāla jāma, hina ghulam, sando sawāl suñij tūn,
āhiyān ڏاڏ ḡaman gaḏ, sachā saḏa suñij tūn
pase pān, karam sāṇ, ḍukhin ḍāṇ, ḍiyeen tūn.

The important thing about this era has been mentioned by Dr. Baloch in his book on page 351, he writes:

“The wise scholars of Sindh worked on developing educational ideas and produced a lot of educational material for learning and teaching in Sindhi, which was of a very high literary standard. In order to attract the students, all the teachers and scholars provided this material in the compiled format. All the 49 subjects present in this collection are poetic in nature, which for the sake of ease may be called *manzoomia*. These 15 known compilers were not poets but knew how to compose a poem and had the knowledge of *baits* and *kafis*. These compilations are an important educational treasure, being academic as well as a literary collection.” (9)

Dr. Baloch has also given references of the language of these compilations and writes on page 368 as:

“It is clear that the language used in these compilations is very old and the subjects compiled are also very old. Even though the scribe ‘Izzat Bin Suleman’ copied this material in 1067-1069 AD, but certainly most of this material had existed even before that.” (10)

In this era, a poet named Syed Sabit Ali Shah Karbalai wrote war poetry *razmia*, and *marsia* in the meters of *ghazal* and *rubae*. Other poets and scholars of this era include Makhdoom Abul Hassan, Makhdoom Muhammad Hashim Thattvi, Makhdoom

Ziauddin and numerous others who explained the Islamic principles and described and praised the qualities of the Holy Prophet (pbuh). (11)

A list of names of the poets and scholars of Shah Latif's era has been given earlier in this chapter who wrote books in poetic prose, or in the form of *kabat* as Dr. Junejo calls them. He has named these compositions as Abul Hassan's Sindhi, Makhdoom Ziauddin's Sindhi etc. and on this ground he has collectively called them as *Sindhioon*. (12) This book will not deal with the subjects of these *Sindhioon* but with the language used in them and will try and analyze that.

4- (a) The book "Makhdoom Abul Hassan ji Sindhi" was written by the author in long poetic prose in 1700 AD, named as "Muqadmatul Salat", but the book is commonly known by the former name. This book has been written in Arabic-Sindhi script in the *Naskh* style. It is considered as the second such book in the Sindhi language as the first book (according to Dr. Nabi Bukhsh Khan Baloch) is the Sindhi *Risalo* (poetic works) of Shah Lutfullah Qadri. It was Shah Qadri's first such endeavour as mentioned in the chapter 5; but after having known about the books copied by Izzat Bin Suleman, we will have to reconsider such an opinion.

Makhdoom Abul Hassan had written the "Muqadmatul Salat" for the newly converted Muslims of that time and the students of his own seminary who had problems in understanding the Islamic principles and *Shariah* related issues in Arabic and Persian languages. The subjects pertaining to Islamic teachings that he explained using long poetic prose in Sindhi were: the need to pray, the way of ablution, bathing, washing the corpses before burial, the various types of praying modalities like *farz*, *wajib*, *sunnat* etc. Khanbahadur Memon opines about this book as under:

"Makhdoom Abul Hassan was the first to start this type of work in Sindhi." (13)

In view of Dr. Baloch's opinion, one needs to modify Khanbahadur Memon's point of view and should infer/say that this type of work in the Arabic-Sindhi script had started long before even Shah Lutfullah Qadri. A sample of the language used by Makhdoom Abul Hassan in *Muqadmatul Salat* is reproduced below: (14)

(1) ڪارڻ طلب طالبين، رسالو لکيوم
مقدمة الصلوة سنڌي، نالو تنهن رکيوم.
kāraṇ talab tāliben, risālo likhyom
muqadma tul salāt sindhi, nālo tanhan rakhyom
(2) صورت سجدي سَھو جي، هن پر پروڙيج،
جيئن سلام سڄي پار ڏانهن، ڏيئي ٻه سجدا ڪريج،
تهان پوءِ تحيات سين، دعا درود پڙھيج
تانپو پنھي پاران ڏانهن، سلام سنئون واريج.
sūrat sajde sahav jī, hina par parūrej,
jīyan salām saje pāra dānh, devī ha sajdā karej
tihān poye tahyāt sīn, duā durūd paṛhej,
tanpo binhee paran dānh, salam sanon wareej

(3) ابول عبدالعزيز پٽ، پڇي پڙهين کان،
 هي مسئلا نماز جا، ساري سنڌي واءُ،
 ته مان مومن تن کي، سڪن سهج منجهان،
 هن ڪمڻي کي ڪن ڪا، ڪارڻ ڏئيءَ دعا،
 سبب تنهن شال چٽي، هي عاضي عذابا،
 سين مڙئي مومنين، جي امتي نبيءَ جا،
 الاهي ابوالحسن ٿو، منگي تو مَلا،
 موليٰ مهربان تون، سائين سباجها.

*abol abdulaziz put, puchhe parhyen khan,
 he masala namaz ja, sare sindhi wau,
 ta maan momin tin khe, sikhan sahaj manjhan
 hina kameene khe kan ka, karan dhan-a dua,
 sabab tenh shaal chhute, hee aazee azaaba,
 seen mirayee momninan, je umati nabi-a ja,
 ilahi abual hassan tho, mange to mula,
 maula meharban toon, sayeen sabajha*

Khanbahadur Memon has written on page 165 of his book “Sindhi Adab ji Tareekh” (History of Sindhi Language):

“The poem about the Islamic principles is very simple, and is just like poetic prose.” (15)

It is clear from the above quoted examples from the poem by Makhdoom Abul Hassan that he has used the commonly used language of his times in his aforementioned book. It does not contain difficult and complicated speech and he has used the Larri dialect. The words from the Larri dialect are abundantly found in his poems, some of which are not in use now. For example:

Old word

vitro وٽرو

mahely مهيلي

jiha جها

mulaa مُلا

jeeṇo جيڻو

marahan مرهن

ubhan اُپڻ

Meaning

Fast تڪو (*tikho*)

Wife زال (*zaal*)

Like جهڙا (*jehra*)

From وٽان (*vataan*)

Right ساڄو (*sajo*)

To forgive مرهن (*marhan*)

Standing بيٺن (*beehan*)

He has also used pronominal suffixes in his language and there is no difference except that the dialect is Larri.

Most of the scholars of that period, especially those from the Larri region followed his way of using long poems in his book “Makhdoom Abul Hassan ji Sindhi”, but it certainly appears that the “Sindhi Risalo” by Shah Lutfullah Qadri (1611-1679 AD/1020-1090 AH) is perhaps a quarter of a century or more older than Makhdoom Abul Hassan. There are significant differences in the poems of both the manuscripts although both the books were written for teaching a similar subject.

Dr. Baloch writes in this regard:

“The magnificent text book “Abul Hassan ji Sindhi” and the academic book on the subject of *tareeqat*, “Shah Lutfullah Qadri jo *Risalo*”, are both the first books of a very high standard and they clearly show that the movement for teaching and training in one’s own mother tongue achieved its desired goal in this era, so much so that the great teachers of the educational institutions and the foreign scholars and researchers paid full attention to use the medium of Sindhi language; so that the students and others could learn with ease and interest in their own language.” (16)

Several books about religious education and other textbooks were written or translated one after the other in Sindhi language. They were known as *Sindhi*. The books were as follows:

b- Makhdoom Ziauddin Ji Sindhi:

This book by Makhdoom Ziauddin (1677-1757 AD/1088-1171 AH) was a text book for religious training and its subjects were: how to pray, Islamic principles and edicts, the seven pillars of faith, cleanliness of body and soul, method of ablution, narratives about the *ghusl*, *wajib*, *sunnat* and *mustahab*, *zakat*, *hajj* and fasting etc. A sample of his poem and the language used in it is reproduced below.

ست ادب موچارا، وضوء جا سٽيج،
دستار لاهي مٽي اتان، گوڏي تي رکيج،
پهريائين پاڻي ڪرڻان، هٿ جيڻي هاريج،
پوءِ تون ڏاڻي هٿ کي، اُن پر پاڪ ڪريج،
ڏوئي هٿ ڪرائيءَ سين، ٻئي ڦٽرا ڪريج،
پاڻي نڪ ۽ وات کي، ساري سڦرو ڏيج،
ڏنڊن هرئي ڪ سڪي سين، وات کي سوئيج،
جي نه لپي ڏنڊن کي، ته آگر هلائيج،
غرغرا ۽ گرڙيون، موچارون ڪريج.
Sata adaba mochara, wudu-a ja sunej
dastaar laahe mathe utan, gode te rakhej
pahryaeen paṇi kariyan, hatha jeṇi harej,
poye toon dayee hatha khe, un par paak karej
dhoyee hatha karai-a seen, bayi phutra karej,
paṇi naka & wata khe, sare saphro dej,
dandan harie ki suke seen, waat khe soyej,
je na labhe dandan ki, ta aanguru halayej
gharghara ayin guriryoon, mocharyoon karej

Dr. Junejo writes about the language used by Makhdoom Ziauddin:

“His vocabulary, pronunciation and use of pronominal suffixes belong to the Larri dialect. The language used in the poems of Makhdoom Ziauddin is not different from that of Abul Hassan.” (17)

Dr. Junejo has reproduced some words from the language used by Makhdoom Ziauddin on page 54 in his book; they are as under (18):

“*bharko* (turn), *harne* (slow), *wato* (part), *watarran* (boil), *soodho* (straight), *akardo* (independent), *kheto* (misbehave), *giran* (buy) and *kijah* (do).”
 ”پرڪو (پيرو)، هرڻي (آهستي)، واتو (پاڳو)، وٽارڻ (اوبارڻ)، سوڌو (سنئون)، آڪردو (آجو)،
 ڪيتو (انگل) ۽ ڳرڻ (ڳنهن) ۽ وٺڻ ۽ ڪجاه = ڪجو.“

Makhdoom Ziauddin has used typical and difficult words of Arabic and Persian languages as well, some of which are as under:

muhakum (محڪم), *qayam* (قيام), *qaul* (قول), *aajiz* (عاجز), *aasi* (عاصي),
fazal (فضل), *karam* (كرم), *zalalat* (ضلالت), *balaghat* (بلاغت), *ghusul*
 (غسل), *sidq* (صدق), *qatro* (قطرو), *ghaleez* (غليظ), *kamil* (كامل), *qaza* (قضا),
zawal (زوال), *fajr* (فجر), *sagheer* (صغير) and *ghaafil* (غافل)

As an example, please observe the words used in this poem:

قادر ڏھ بخشين، وڏي سين ڪرما،
 توبه ڪري تائب ٿيس، ڪر تون قبول،
qadir daha bakhshen, wade seen karma,
tobah kare taib thiyas, kar toon qaboola,

(C) Faraiz-ul-Islam:

This book was written by Makhdoom Muhammad Hashim Thattvi (1690 – 1761 AD/1104 – 1175 AH) originally in the Arabic language which he later translated to Sindhi. This book contains explanation about the tenets of Islam, and has been written in the format of long poems and rhyming of *Alif Ashba*. As an example, a sample of the Sindhi language used is presented here:

جيڪي فرض سنڌيءَ ۾، عاجز سڻايا
 سي ٻارهن سو ٻاهڻ ٿيا، ليکي شمارا،
 پر ڪنهن عالمن هيڪڙو، سو ٽيهه فرض چيا،
 لکيائون تن ۾ امر سي جي، فرض نه چڻيا،
 ڇڏيائون فرض ڪيترا، قطعي بچ ٿيا،
 سهو ٿي ان کان، بخشين مون موليٰ. (19)
jeke farza sindhi-a men, aajiz sunaya
se baranh sau bahaṭh thiya, lekhe shumara
par kanheen aaliman hekṛo, so teeḥa farza chaya,
likhyaoon tin men amar se je, farza na chayeba
chhadyaoon farza ketra, qatayee je thya,
sahav thee una khan, bakhshen moon maula (19)

Similarly, Makhdoom Muhammad Hashim Thattvi wrote many other books in the Sindhi language, some of which are:

Zibah Shikaar urf Rahatul Momineen, Tafseer Hashmi, Zaadul Faqeer Tafseer Tabarak Sindhi etc.

Makhdoom Muhammad Hashim Thattvi belonged to Larr district Thatta. He has used the Larri dialect of Sindhi language in his books. The grammatical forms in his language are similar to those of the Larri dialect. Khan Bahadur Memon writes in this regard:

“The above quoted example not only shows an example of the Larri dialect but it also proves that the poetic diction does not conform to the syntactical diction of today.” (20)

Some examples of language used in *Faraiz-ul-Islam* are as under:

(1) سنت ادب موچارا، وضوء جا سڻج، جي
مڙيو هوءَ ڪنهن ماڳ ۾، پاڻي پاڪيزو،
جي هوءَ سو ڏه ڏهن ۾، سوڌو عذرو،
اونهائي تنهن پاڻيءَ جي نريءَ جڻ ڀريو،
غسل اُن ۾، توکي رهيندو (الخ)
sant adab mochara, wudoo-a ja suṇej je
miṛyo hoye kenh maaga meṇ, paṇi pakeezo,
je hoye so dāha dahan men, sodho azeero,
oonhayi tenh paṇi-a jee niree-a jian bharyo,
ghusul una men, to khe raheendo

A list of such words used in the book *Faraizul-Islam* has also been given by Khan Bahadur Memon: (21)

Word		Meaning	Present Sindhi
<i>kareendar</i>	ڪريندڙ	Doer	ڪندڙ
<i>hoonis</i>	هونس	Have	هجنس
<i>pehro</i>	پهرو	First	پهريون
<i>suneen</i>	سڻين	Hear	سڻ
<i>hoe</i>	هوءَ	Exist, be	هجي
<i>choon-e</i>	چون	Say	چُون
<i>kajah</i>	ڪجاه	Do	ڪجو
<i>bhoonioon</i>	پوڻيون	Lands	زمينون
<i>haik</i>	هڪ	One	هڪڙو
<i>mahndioon</i>	مهنديون	Earlier	اڳيون
<i>chokharan</i>	چوڪارڻ	apply fully	ڇڱي، طرح مڙهڻ
<i>hayr</i>	هیر	Now	هينئر
<i>sanhee</i>	سنهي	Urine	پيشاب
<i>thulhee</i>	ٿلهي	Faeces	ڪاڪوس
<i>vayr</i>	وير	Width	ويڪر
<i>gundhan</i>	ڳنڍڻ	Food	پوڙ پاڙي
<i>viyau</i>	وياه	Children	اولاد
<i>saanḍha</i>	سانڍا	Care takers	سنڀاليندڙ
<i>rehak</i>	رهڪ	Living	رهڻي
<i>vadhanavay</i>	وڌانوي	Ninety nine	نوانوي
<i>reḥaaro</i>	رهڙو	Messenger	قاصد
<i>kanaan</i>	ڪنان	From	کان
<i>gayran</i>	گيرڻ	Taking	وٺڻ
<i>nimro</i>	نمر	Healthy	تندرست
<i>mehat</i>	ميهت	Mosque	مسجد
<i>posni</i>	پوسڻي	Cat	بلي
<i>khetpal</i>	ڪيتپال	Black snake	ڪارو نانگ
<i>mula</i>	مُلا	From	کان
<i>bango</i>	بنگو	The seed of cotton	ڪپه جو ڪڙور

<i>pahero</i>	پاهيرو	Delayed	دير سان
<i>chirko</i>	چرڪو	Delayed	دير سان
<i>thok</i>	ٽوڪ	Thing	شيءَ
<i>dahlee</i>	ڏهلي	Difficult, unhappy	ڏکي
<i>pareende</i>	پريندي	Firstly	پهريائين
<i>luhan</i>	لڻ	To spoil (food or any other thing)	لڪ لڪ ڪرڻ
<i>jaankeetan</i>	جانڪيٽان	Since	جڏھانڪر
<i>maheli</i>	مهيلي	Woman	عورت
<i>suberi</i>	سپيري	Breakfast and dinner	ٻنهي ويلن جي ماني
<i>saphro</i>	سڦرو	Nice	سٺو
<i>ayhaar</i>	ايهار	features	مھاندا

Except for few words in this list, the study of the remaining words of Sindhi language is indeed interesting.

5- (a) Makhdoom Muhammad Hashim Thattvi was a great scholar of Arabic language and because of his indulgence in Arabic, it was quite usual for him to use Arabic words during speech or writing in Sindhi language. He has used innumerable Arabic words in his books, some of which are as under:

Words		Meaning
<i>vajibul vijood</i>	واجب الوجود	
<i>farz</i>	فرض	Duty
<i>ilm</i>	علم	Knowledge
<i>azeem</i>	عظيم	Great
<i>aalim</i>	عالِم	Scholar
<i>fana</i>	فنا	Finite
<i>khalaq</i>	خلق	Create
<i>ghusl</i>	غسل	Bathe
<i>aqil</i>	عاقل	Wise
<i>baligh</i>	بالغ	Adult
<i>hukm</i>	حڪم	Order
<i>hakeem</i>	حڪيم	Philosopher/physician
<i>sabit</i>	ثابت	Proven
<i>takbeer</i>	تڪبير	Announcement (of allah's greatness)
<i>sifat</i>	صفات	Qualities
<i>mushtaq</i>	مشتاق	Desiring
<i>mazkoor</i>	مذڪور	Under discussion
<i>makaan</i>	مكان	Place
<i>kifayat</i>	كفايت	Judicious (monetarily)
<i>aqaid</i>	عقائد	Principles
<i>talug</i>	تعلق	Relation
<i>taharat</i>	طهارت	Cleanliness
<i>zakat</i>	زڪاة	Donation (2.5% of savings)
<i>sadqo</i>	صدقو	Donation
<i>aitikaaf</i>	اعتكاف	Praying in solitude
<i>rasool</i>	رسول	Prophet
<i>farziat</i>	فرضيات	Duty
<i>shart</i>	شرط	Conditions
<i>saheefo</i>	صحيفو	Divine book etc.

Similarly, we analyze the Sindhi language used in other books, it will make this chapter too lengthy, although a list of these books has been given for further reading.

The movement for mother-tongue as medium of education became so effective that every scholar of those times started writing books about religious education in Sindhi language. In this regard, Makhdoom Muhammad Hashim Thattvi and his students played vital role.

About the Kalhora period, Dr. Junejo writes:

“The language used by Makhdoom Muhammad Hashim Thattvi is very scholastic. The words used are nearly the same as used by Makhdoom Abul Hassan, most of which are not in use anymore. The feature that gives Mian Abul Hassan a special place above the other poets is that his vocabulary is much larger than the others except that of Makhdoom Muhammad Hashim.

The language of Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai used in this poetry was commonly spoken in the day to day life of that era.” (22)

Dr. Junejo continues:

“The dialect of all these scholars is Larri. From Abul Hassan to Girhoree, none of the scholars are free from the influence of Larr. The accent, pronunciation and the syntactical structure of the language of this period is deeply related to the Larri dialect.” (23)

The form used in the above mentioned books has been termed as *kabat* by Khanbahadur Memon, he has written:

“The trend of writing *kabat* in Sindhi language started in the Kalhora period. According to the rules of music (*ilm-moseeqi*) a verse is called *kabat* when there are about 15-20 rhyming lines in a meter that is assigned for *dohiraa*. Sometimes the entire story or play may be written in *kabat* style. Some indigenous Sindhi stories have been written in this type of poetry by the “*Bhat Faqirs*” to sing with their special organ called *Tanbooro*. The poetic *Sindhi Nocrnamo* by Maulvi Abdul Rehman consists entirely of verses of this kind, keeping the sound “aa” as the *qafia* (rhyming word) in the first line and thereafter the entire book ends on the same note.” (24)

This type of poetry has been called poetic prose by Khanbahadur Memon. (25)

Dr. Junejo writes about the poetic structure of *kabat* as:

“The *kabat* in Sindhi is related with *Chhand* (prosody). This view proves that in ancient times, the poetry of Sindhi language benefited from the *Chhand*.” (26)

A similar opinion was quoted in the early Soomra period (1017 to 1031 AD) by the famous researcher Al-Beruni. He had written that:

“Sindhi scholars and poets possessed the knowledge about *Chhand*, long before the advent of Islam in Sindh.” (27)

Professor Jhamatmal Bhavnani writes:

“The number of lines in a *bait* are limited, but there is no such binding for this type of long poem. The number varies from 20-25 to thousands. At places the rhyming word (*qafia*) changes after every 5-6 lines but at others hundreds of lines contain the same rhyming theme. Like the *dohiro* (*dohra-doha*), these are also based on *Chhand*, where the tunes and musical notes have a major role to play.” (28)

(b) By using this opinion, an attempt has been made to prove that Sindhi language had, since ancient times, progressed in *Chhand* Prosody and the knowledge of music and a lot of genres of this prosody had come into Sindhi language. Among them, the following genres can be quoted as examples:

Doha-chhand, soratha-chhand, salook, ginan, mat, doha-soratha joined, soratha-doha joined and dahar.

Dr. Junejo writes:

“According to the meter and structure, the said Sindhi poem is related to *chanderain*, at *burva* and *dakpal chhand*. These are *chhands* of *kabat*. There is a difference between them and the *doha chhand*.” (29)

It will be appropriate to mention the opinion of Alberuni, because this type of prosody has a close relation with phonology, a branch of linguistics, whereby one can learn about the sonant and silent consonants. According to the principles of phonetics, some consonants are heavy while others are soft; just like some vowels are long and some short, similarly, the vowels of *Chhand* prosody are also long and short but here they are called *maatras*. The words used by Al-Beruni about *Chhand* in his days (1017-1031 AD) have been mentioned in earlier chapters but are reproduced here:

“*Chhand* is based on *maatras*. *Maatras* can be long or short. The long *maatras* are called *Drigha* and the short ones are called *Laghu*. The sign for long *maatras* is (d) ॐ while for the short ones is ॐ (a). The count of the *maatras* is called ‘*ganachand*’ i.e. the prosody that depends on count. Light *maatras* is called *Laghu* and heavy *maatras* is called *Gurvu*. *Gurvu* is twice the size of *Laghu* i.e. one *Gurvu* is equal to 2 *Laghus*, whereas *Drighu* and *Gurvu* are equal to each other. *Drighu* contains a long vowel and *Laghu* has a short vowel. I have not yet been able to completely understand *Laghu* and *Gurvu* therefore I cannot quote their examples in Arabic. But in as much as I have understood *Laghu* does not mean that it is a consonant i.e. it is a silent consonant, neither *Gurvu* should be interpreted as a consonant that is sonant and which also has a vowel attached to it; on the contrary *Laghu* is that consonant which has a short vowel attached to it in an occult manner, like क ॐ (k), स ॐ (s) have occult or hidden vowels.” (30)

This proves that the people of Sindh were well versed with the phonetics and linguistic principles of Sindhi language and that the language had progressed in this branch of knowledge.

The lines of *kabat* and the qualities of their structure and meaning show etymological peculiarities. According to Khanbahadur Memon:

“The poem of Zaadul Faqeer contains the delicacy, sweetness and structure that satisfy the soul like the poetry of Shah Latif. Makhdoom Sahib has not forgotten the alliterations in any line.” (31)

He has mentioned other poetic figures as well, used by Makhdoom Muhammad Hashim Thattvi in his poetry. They are as under:

Sanat Ishtiqaq, *sanat tazaad* (opposites) etc.

In this regard, Dr. Junejo writes with reference to the books *Muajza* and *Munaqba* compiled by Dr. Baloch:

“The books written by Makhdoom Ghulam Muhammad Bugai and Maulvi Muhammad Salah are of a very high standard in their format and variety of subjects. The poetry of Makhdoom Bugai follows the meters according to principles. The formation of words, correct usage of alliterations makes it fantastic type of poetry. The language of the poems of Makhdoom Bugai and Maulvi Muhammad Salah is literary Sindhi. They have decorated the Sindhi language with effective metaphors and beautiful similes.” (32)

7- After this introduction of the scholars, writers and poets of the period of Shah Latif (Kalhora period) and services rendered by them, it would be appropriate to provide a list of different subjects of books with names of their authors, years of writing or translating and their role in the progress of Sindhi language.

	Subject	Name of the book	Name of author/translator	Year written/translated
1	Tafseer	Tafseer Hashmi, tabarak	Makhdoom Muuhammad	Written in 1150
2	=	Sindhi	Hashim Thattvi	AH/1732 AD
3	=	Tafseer Surah Yusuf	Makhdoom Abdullah of	Written in 1197
4	=	Tafseer Surah yusuf	Narya	AH/1783 AD
5	=	Tafseer Surah Alfatiha	Makhdoom Muhammad	-----
6	=	Tafseer Surah Ikhlas	Muqem Noorangpoto	-----
7	=	Tafseer Surah Alkauser	Makhdoom Abdul Raheem	-----
8	=	Tafseer Surah Yaseen	Girhoree	-----
9	Seerat (The life and miracles of the Holy Prophet (pbuh))	Qooatul Ashiqeen	Makhdoom Abdul Karim	Finished in 1709 AD
10	=	Rozatul Shuhadae Sindhi	Sindhi Naqshbandi	Finished in 1753 AD
	=	Hayatul Ashiqeen	Makhdoom Muhammad Hashim Thattvi	Translated from Maulvi Hussain Kashifi in 1758 AD
	=		Makhdoom Abdullah Bin	Written in 1755
	=		Makhdoom Muuhammad	AD/1168 AH
	=		Hashim Thattvi	

11	=	Qamarul Muneer	Makhdoom Abdullah of Narya	Poetic translation in Sindhi from Arabic book Sirajul Muneer. It is an authentic book about the life of the Prophet (pbuh) and contains 5000 verses that are all in the form of <i>doheero</i> .
12	Islamic religion	Muqadmatul Salat	Makhdoom Abul Hassan	Written in 1700 AD
13	=	Chao Ilmi	=	-----
14	=	Makhdoom Ziauddin ji Sindhi	Makhdoom Ziauddin Thattvi	-----
15	=	Faraizul Islam	Makhdoom Muhammad Hashim Thattvi	-----
16	=	Binaul Islam	=	-----
17	=	Aqaid Sindhi	=	-----
18	=	Vassiat Namu	=	-----
19	=	Zibah Shikar a.k.a Rahatul Momineen	=	Written in 1730 AD
20	=	Zaadul Faqeer	=	Contains explanations about fasting.
21	=	Matloobul Momineen	Makhdoom Abdullah of Narya	-----
22	=	Kanzul Ibrat (Vol 2)	=	Finished in 1150 AH/1736 AD. This book is about the pillars of Islam and its tenets. Dialect is Larri
23	=	Sadhioon Chhah Veehoon Farzan joon	Haji Muhammad Hulio	-----
24	=	Noorul Absaar	Makhdoom Abdullah of Narya	-----
25	=	Haft Bihisht	=	-----
26	=	Sangnamo	=	The book is about the faith (<i>mujamil and mufasil</i>), the rules of <i>Nikah (wedding)</i> and inheritance
27	Ghazwaat	Ghazwaat	=	<i>Ghazwaat sajaat syedul Anaam Khulfae Rashideen</i>
28	Qisasul Anbiaa	Qisasul (seerbustaan) Anbiaa	Maulvi Muhammad Hussain	Translated in 1763 AD with the name Seerabustaan. This book explains in detail the stories about the prophets, Quran and hadith and their interpretations.

29	Morality and mysticism	Tuhfatul Taibeen	Makhdoom Muhammad hashim Thattvi	-----
30	=	Naseehatnamo	=	-----
31	=	Sirajul Mushtaqeen	Ismail Shah	Ismail Shah belonged to the city of Paand in Kachh Finished in 1753 AD
32	Qissa Naveesi	Laila Majnoon	Khalifa Haji Abdullah of Karyo Ghanwar	
33	Dictionary	Muntakhibul Lughaat	Mir Abdul Rasheed thattvi	-----
34	=	Farhang Rashidi	=	-----
35	Poetry	Shah Inayat Rizvi	Shah Inayat Rizvi	-----
36	=	Shah Latif jo Risalo	Shah Abdul Latif bhittai	-----
37	Prose	Translation of Holy Quran	Akhund Azizullah Matiarvi	Translation

In addition to these books, Tuhfatul Ikraam, Maklinama, Maqalaatul Shuara, Takamal Makalatul Shuara and many other Persian books were also written in this era, as mentioned before. Mir Ali Sher Qane (1727-1789 AD/1140-1203 AH) was a great scholar and historian of this period who wrote many splendid books and histories in Persian.

Allama Makhdoom Muhammad Moeen (1682-1748 AD/1093-1261 AH) was also a famous scholar and poet of Hindi and Persian in addition to Sindhi; his pen-name was Bairagi.

8- It has been mentioned earlier that by the times of the Mughal rulers, Arabic-Sindhi script (*naskh* and *nastaaleeq*) had been established for Sindhi language. In this (Kalhora) period, it was consolidated and fixed by Makhdoom Abul Hassan, who wrote his first text book called Muqadmatul Salat in this script, which was approved for teaching in all the seminaries of Sindh and later was used all over Sindh. Before this, different scripts like *naskh*, *nastaleeq* and *ardhnagri* were in use for Sindhi. Bayanul Arifeen, Shah Lutfullah Qadri's Risalo and other such compilations were written in Arabic-Sindhi script but the script used in Muqadmatul Salat addressed most of the issues and in later years nearly all the scholars started using this (Abul Hassan's) script.

Even though the problem of script for Sindhi language was sorted for some time but it must be mentioned here that this script was not invented by Makhdoom Abul Hassan. As mentioned earlier this script was not only used by Al-Beruni 700 years before Abul Hassan but even 150 years before Al-Beruni in 864 AD by the Arab tourist Jahiz who gave this shape to the script. In fact, Makhdoom Abul Hassan used it in his book Muqadmatul Salat by modifying that script. In this context, an article published in the quarterly Mehran (1994/volume 4) by the name of "*Arabi-Sindhi Rasmulkhat ji Ibtida lae Weechar*" (Thoughts about the beginning of Arabic-Sindhi script) helps a lot; but the first complete books of Sindhi language were the compilations of Izat Bin Suleman, Shah Lutfullah Qadri's *Risalo* and Muqaadmatul Salat written in the *naskh* script. Abul Hassan had written his book in 1700 AD, so he must have used this script in the period of the Mughal rulers because this book was launched in 1700 AD. Dr. Baloch writes in this regard:

"Owing to the lack of knowledge about the history of the script of Sindhi alphabet, it was commonly believed that it was formed with the efforts of the British in the period of their rule. On the other hand, the

author of the book 'Literary History of Sindh' (Sindh ji Adabi Tareekh) assumed from the book called 'Abul Hassan ji Sindhi' that a scholar from Thatta i.e. Mian Abul Hassan after modifying the Persian and Arabic letters invented the Sindhi alphabet. But this opinion is flawed that he was the one who Abul Hassan formed a special script, or that he designed some particular shapes for pure Sindhi letters, previously not available.

The history of the beginning and evolution of present day Sindhi-Arabic script started around 864 AD, some 900 years before the time of Abul Hassan.” (33)

The Sindhi language not only progressed in its religious literature in the Kalhora period, but various examples and references of the language used in other genres of Sindhi literature prove that it was the richness and the vastness that supported the progress of the various genres of Sindhi literature. The presence of a large treasure of words helped the prose writers to express their views effectively; their literary acumen sharpened and they were able to use imagery and realism in their writings. Study of this literature also proves that in the Kalhora period Sindhi society expressed all their human feelings and psychological needs in their own language.

9- The first complete works (*Risalo*) consisting of *bait* and *vae* in Sindhi language was compiled by Shah Inayat Rizvi (1025-1053 AH) in the Kalhora period. And it is incorrect to say that Shah Latif invented the genre of *Vae*. In this regard, Mehar Khadim has written about *vae* in the July 1995 edition of the periodical Nain Zindagi: “*Vae* is considered as a classical genre of Sindhi poetry. The beginning of *vae* is found in the Sama period by a poet called Dadu Diyal. An Indian scholar Mr. Hiro Thakur has found 11 *vae*s of Dadu Diyal.

During the Arghun, Tarkhan and Mughal rule, Shah Inayat Rizvi composed splendid collection of 42 *vae*s which are very rich in their subjects and meanings. They have two types of formats; 33 of them contain the *qafia* (rhyming word) in the center of the first line in the verse; e.g.:

ساريان موڪ ملير، پيرون ڪيرون جيڏيون!
saaryaan moka maleer, pairoon khairon jedyoon
(Remembering the fruits and riches of Malir, my sisters!)

In the rest of the 9 *vae*s the *qafia* appears at the end of the first line of the verse; for example:

دوس قريشي، عرب ديسي، توکي رب سنڀالي، ميان سائين!
dos qureshi, arab desi, to khay rab sambhalay, mian saeen!

Shah Inayat's son Shah Sharif and his grandson Shah Bilal were also poets of *vae*. (34)

And indeed Shah Latif gave *vae* the real importance and depth as a genre. (35)

Shah Inayat Rizvi's poetry has artistic maturity and very colorful language. His poetry gives a glimpse of the prevailing conditions of Sindh and Sindhi society of those

times, just like Ishaq Ahangar, Kazi Kadan, Shah Karim Bulrai, Makhdoom Nooh Sarwar, Pir Lakho Lutfullah and other contemporaries.

Before Shah Inayat Rizvi, these poets had written hundreds of verses on the romantic stories of Sindh but Shah Inayat's works (*Risalo*) contains complete stories and *Surs* (musical themes) of the romantic stories like Sasui Punhoon, Umar Marui, Leela Chanesar, Moomal Rano, Noori Jam Tamachee using commonly spoken language of the people. He dealt with subjects of Sufism, mysticism and spirituality using similes, metaphors and symbolism in simple language. He has mentioned Malir, chastity of Marui, beauty and of Moomal, the pain of Rano's departure and a lovely metaphorical expression of the wait for the beloved. The following verses help in studying the language of Shah Inayat:

بيت: (1) اڌر ندر اڀري، ڪو جهي ڪمي،
تنهن سان ٻاروچل ٻاجهون ڪيون، هوت ڏسي هيٺي،
اڳهائي شاه عنايت چري، تنهنجي ٽڪر سان ٽيٽي،
جا هيءَ وَرَ جي وهيٺي، تنهن کي محب مليو مهاڙ ڀر!
adhar nidhar abhari, kojhi kameeni,
tenh san barochal bajhoon kayoon, hota disee heeni,
aghayee shah inayat chawe, tunhji takar saan teeni,
ja hee-a wara je waheenee, tenh khe muhib milyo mahaara men!

(2) اڻ ڇونڊن ڪير چئو، ڇونڊن چيو وسار،
اٽهي ٻهر عنايت چئي، پر اهائي پار،
پايو منهن مونن ڀر، غربت ساڻ گذار،
مفتي منجه وهار، ته قاضيءَ ڪاڻيارو نه ٿين!
ana choondan keema chao, choondan chayo wisaar
athayee pahar inaat chaye, par ihaaee paar,
payo munh moonan men, ghurbata saan guzaar
mufti manjh wihaar, ta qazee-a kaanyaro na thiyen!

واڻيون: (1) ڪاجا ڳاله ڪيائون، يا الا! مون من تهن موهيو!
حال حقيقت، منهن معرفت، ڏسي ذات ڏنائون-
يا الا! مون من تهن موهيو!
زرخريد جهان ڀر، اتي جي آئون-
يا الا! مون من تهن موهيو!
kaja gaalh kayaoon, ya alaa! moon manu taheen mohyo!

ha al haqeeqat, munh maarfat, disee dat dinaaon
ya alaa! moon manu taheen mohyo!
zarkhareed jahan men, une je aaon
ya alaa! moon man taheen mohyo!

(2) ڇونڊيس حال پهوار، جي ٿر
ويان، پائر ويان، آءِ اڃان!
شال م ٿيان ڪڏهن، ويهه چنڊا ڌار-
ڇونڊيس حال پهوار!

مَنان مَورُ نہ وسرين، ساڻه جا سنگهار!
 چُونڊيس حال پهنوار!
 وڃي آءُ وطن ۾، واسيان پنهنجا وار
 چُونڊيس حال پهنوار!
 الاهي عنات سين، سيل لهندر سار-
 چُونڊيس حال پهنوار!

10- After Shah Inayat, this period had two great personalities and poets: Shah Latif and Khwaja Muhammad Zaman of Lunwari Shareef. Shah Latif took Sindhi language to new heights, therefore he is called the “architect” and “flag bearer of Sindhi culture”. He paved the way for the progress and promotion of Sindhi language. He brought a new façade to the language and coined new words, phrases, riddles and various new formations. It was his greatness that he visited every nook and corner of Sindh and depicted the culture and traditions of different areas in his poetry. He used the words, phrases, riddles, proverbs and sayings of every region in his verses thereby preserving forever the huge vocabulary of Sindhi language in his *Risalo*. He utilized the Larri, Kachhi, Thari, Kharyji, Kohistani, Laasi, Jadgali, Jatki and other dialects and the phrases, proverbs and quotes commonly used in those dialects in various *surs* of his works. The rivers banks, the lakes and ponds, lands and harbours, jungles and forests, watercourses, culverts and canals, crops and orchards, the mountains of Kohistan, the peaks and troughs, tortuous paths and ways were his subjects used in his splendid language. It would have taken a huge toll on the poets, writers and scholars to collect such an immeasurable and priceless treasure of words and phrases but Shah Latif collected this magnificent treasure all by himself, thereby, adding to the vocabulary of this language and taking it to heights of splendour.

Not only did Shah Latif use words prevalent in various regions for his poetry but he used them to narrate the social conditions also. He used the commonly spoken language of the specific groups of people of every region to explain his views. For example, he used the words and language of goldsmiths, blacksmiths, dyers, weavers, washermen, fishermen, physicians, writers, seamen, jogis, camel-carers etc.

Profession/vocation	Words used in verses
Words related with Physicians: <i>vaijj</i> (doctor), <i>daroon</i> (medicine), <i>sutioon</i> (potion), <i>phakioon</i> (powdered medicines), <i>paijj</i> (rice water), <i>dabh</i> (herbs), <i>deel</i> (physique)	انڌا اونڌا ويڇ، گل ڪڇاڙڻان گائين، اسان ڏکي ڏيل ۾، تون پيارين پيڇ، <i>anda oondha vaija, khal kujariyan khayeen,</i> <i>asan dukhe del men, toon piyareen paij.</i>
Words related with potters: <i>nihaain</i> (furnace), <i>saree</i> (burn), <i>baaph</i> (steam), <i>manan</i> (squeeze), <i>kunbhaar</i> (potter)	(1) نهائينءَ کان نينهن، سڪ منهنجا سپرين، سڙي سارو ڏينهن، ٻاهر ٻاٽ نہ نڪري، <i>nihanyee-a khan ninhan, such munhja supreen,</i> <i>sare saro deenh, bahar bapha na nikre.</i> (2) نينهن نهائينءَ جان، ڍڪيو ڪوہ نہ ڍڪين، <i>ninhan nihanyee-a jaan, dhakyo koh na dhakeen,</i> (3) سنڌي ڪنڀاران، ڪن ڪريجا ڳالهڙي، <i>sande kunbharan, kan kareja galhiri.</i> (4) ڪي جو ڪنڀارن، مٽيءَ پاڻي مٽيو، <i>ke jo kunbharan, mitee-a paye manyo.</i>

<p>Words related with Blacksmiths: <i>sandaan</i> (anvil), <i>dhaat pawan</i> (mixing metals), <i>kaṛo</i> (ring), <i>lapaitan</i> (wrap), <i>jurran</i> (joining), <i>laalee</i> (red color), <i>dhawan</i> (bellow), <i>paani piyaran</i> (give water), <i>tikho karan</i> (sharpen)</p>	<p>(1) ڏکين ذات پيو، هيئنڙو لوھ سنداڻ جيئڻ. <i>dhakeen dhaat payo, hinyaro loha sandan jiyen.</i> (2) ڪڙو منجه ڪڙي، جيئن لوهار لپيٽي. <i>kaṛo manjh kaṛi, jiyen lohar lapaityo.</i></p>
<p>Words related with Washer men: <i>rachan</i> (imbibe), <i>raito thianh</i> (to take color e.g red), <i>ubatjan</i> (fade), <i>khunb</i> (place for boiling water with clothes), <i>halari</i> (dyed and fast colors of Halar mountainous region), <i>lalee</i> (red color), <i>dhobi</i> (washer man)</p>	<p>رچي جي ريتو ٿيا، ڪين اٻائجن او، ڪنڀ نه گاري تنهن کي، جو هالاري هو، توڻي ڏوٻي ڏو، ته به لالائي تنهن نه لهي! <i>rache je reto thiya, keen ubatijan oye,</i> <i>khunb na khare tenh khe, jo halare hoe,</i> <i>tone dhobi dhoe, ta bi lalayi tenh na lahe!</i></p>
<p>Words related with Weavers: <i>chinan</i> (break, snatch), <i>koree</i> (weaver), <i>katio</i> (weave), <i>tand</i> (thread), <i>kapaiti</i> (women who weave cotton), <i>poni</i> (a little cotton), <i>urt</i> (spindle), <i>kaapo</i> (weave), <i>tanban</i>, <i>woun</i> (cotton crop), <i>katarioon</i> (spinner women)</p>	<p>(1) چنن توءَ مر چن، پاءِ اميري ان سين. <i>chhinan toe ma chhin, paye umeri una seen.</i> (2) هلو هلو ڪورئين، نازڪ جن جو نينهن، گنديين سارو ڏينهن، چنڻ مور نه سڪيا! <i>halo halo koryen, nazuk jin jo ninhun,</i> <i>ganḍhin saro dinhun, chhinan moor na sukhyal</i> (3) ڪتي مٿي آيون، ڪري تند تيار! <i>kate mathe aiyoan, kare tand tayar!</i> (4) ڪاپائيءَ قرار، منجهان پوئي آيو! <i>kapayti-a qarar, manjhan poni-a aiyo!</i> (5) ڪتي ڪتي ڪالهه، اڃ نه آڻڻ آيون، ارت ڏرڪي مالھ، پوري ويون نجهرا! <i>kate kate kaalha, ajna aatan aiyoan,</i> <i>art ḍhurki malha, poore wayoon nijhara!</i> (6) ويهي ڪنڊ ڪاپو ڪڍ، گهٽون گوھيون ڇڏ. <i>vehi kunda kapo kaḍh, ghutoon gohyoon chhad.</i> (7) تنبائي تاڪيد سين، جن پڇايو پاءِ. <i>tunbayi takeeda seen, jin pachayo paye.</i> (8) نه سي وڻ وڻن ۾، نه سي ڪاتاريون. <i>na se wauna wanan men, na se kataryoon.</i></p>
<p>Words related with farmers and animal tenders: <i>duth</i>, <i>tubak</i>, <i>tubkida</i>, <i>golara</i>, <i>gaaha</i>, <i>pakha</i>, <i>kota</i>, <i>maru</i>, <i>pahnwar</i>, <i>singir</i>, <i>makhan</i>, <i>singharyoon</i>, <i>saiyoan</i>, <i>banhyoon</i>, <i>sarang</i>, <i>unjia</i>, <i>wisaij</i>, <i>pairu</i>, <i>chhachh</i>, <i>chhekryo</i>, <i>chhelda</i>, <i>patan pahraveen</i>.</p>	<p>(1) آئين ۽ چاڙهين، ڏت ڏهاڙي سومرا! <i>anin ain charhin, duth dihare soomra!</i> (2) مٿن ٽڪ ٽڪڙا، چمڪندڙ اڃن. <i>matahn tubak tubkida, chamkandar achan.</i> (3) ويٺي ساريان سومرا، گولاڙا ۽ گاهه. <i>veḥi saryan soomra, golra ain gaha.</i> (4) پکن منجه پساهه، قالب آهي ڪوٽ ۾. <i>pakhin manjh pasha, qalib ahe kauta men.</i> (5) جيها سي تيهه، مون مارو مڃيا. <i>jeha se teha, moon maroo manjya.</i> (6) پکن جي پریت، ماڙين سين نه مٽيان. <i>pakhan jee preeta, maryun seen na matyan.</i> (7) پکا ۽ پهوار، ڏئي مون ڏينهن ٿيا. <i>pakha ain pahnwara, diḥe moon dinhan thiya.</i> (8) سگر ساديڙين سان، ساڻيه منجه سڀندي.</p>

	<p><i>seengar saherin san, saneeha manjh satindi.</i> (9) مڪڻ پريا هٿوا، سنگهاريون سائون. <i>makhan bharya hathra, singharyoon saiyoon.</i> (10) ٻانهيون ۽ ٻايون، پڪي سونهن پانهنجي. <i>banhyoon, ain bayoon, pakhi soonhan panhji.</i> (11) سارنگ سار لهيج، الله لڳ اجين جي. <i>sarang sara laheej, Allah lag unjyan ji.</i> (12) وطن وسائج، سنگهارن سُڪ ٿئي. <i>watan vasaij, singharan sukh thiye.</i> (13) ستي سيئي ساريان، جي پاڻر جا پهوار. <i>sute seyi saryan, je paur ja pahnwar.</i> (14) چچان چيڪاريو چيلڙا، پتن پهراين. <i>chhachhuan chhekaryo chhelra, patan pahraveen.</i></p>
<p>Words related with seamen: <i>Pagaha, chodan, bera, baru, kharo, kherao, jar, jatoon, jarthar</i></p>	<p>(1) ڀڳ چوڙي جن، وڏا ٻيڙا ٻار ۾ <i>paga chhore jin, vidha bera bara men</i> (2) پرھ ڀڳھ چوڙيا، ڪاري گيڙائن <i>pirah pagha chhorya, khare kheraun</i> (3) جا جَل جاتون نه ڏئي، ڏيئا نه موھي. <i>ja jala jatoon na diye, diya na mohe.</i> (4) وڻ ٿڻ ٻڏي وائيتيون، جرڙ ڏيئا ڏي. <i>wana tina badhi vaintyoon, jar thar diya de.</i></p>
<p>Words related with jewelry: sona (golden), kurra (ear-rings), gichee (neck), haar (necklace)</p>	<p>(1) سونا ڪر ڪنن ۾، گچيءَ گاڙها هار. <i>sona kura kanan men, gichi-a garha hara.</i></p>
<p>Words related with traditions: <i>dukhi, danwan dain, parnain, nekhai, nakhrai, bhanan, bheryoon, paar padhra huan, diya mohan, jatoon dian</i></p>	<p>(1) ڪيچين اءِ نه ڪڙي، ڪنهن ڏکيءَ ڏانون ڏاڻيو. <i>kaichan aun na kari, kenh dukhi-a danwan daiyo.</i> (2) پرڻائي پنھونءَ کي، نڪيئي نڪڙالو. <i>parnaye punhoon-a khe, nikhai nakhralo.</i> (3) پنڻ پيريون جن، پار تنهي جا پٽرا. <i>bhinan bhairyoon jin, par tunhje ja padhra</i> (4) جا جار جاتون نه ڏئي، ڏيئا نه موھي. <i>ja jar jatoon na diye, diya na mohe.</i></p>
<p>Words related with fishermen: <i>khikhi, kharyoon, samo, kharyoon, chhichhi-a hana, chaja</i></p>	<p>ڪاريون ڪوڇيون ڪوڙيون، مھ نه موچاريون، وڻي ويٺيون وات تي، ڪڪيءَ جون ڪاريون، انهين جون آريون، سمي ري ڪير سهي! <i>karyoon kojhyoon kuwaryon, muh na mocharyoon, vathi vethyoon vat ate, khikhi-a joon kharyoon, unhin joon aaryoon, same re kair sahe!</i></p>

Similarly, many words related to jogis and wanderers can be seen in *Sur Ramkali* and *Sur Khahoree* in the *Risalo* of Shah Latif, e.g.:

jogi, jogiara, veragi, beragi, sanyasi, saami, kapdi, kanpati, kapata, kanotya, kana wadhya, kan cheer, kana phata, kana phaar, aadesi, langootia, godrya, sabri, dorya, adhotia, bhabhoti, samiara, lal, lahoti & famar.

Shah Latif has used various words in separate Surs that have now been abandoned; for example:

toe for tadan bi, aman for amar, chuki for thakal, ahanji for awhanji, meezala for manzil, apato for aophato, touunkar for khang jo awaz, bera for tukar tukar, chhuchhat for soosaat, aganhjo for zyada agato, chunkan for huran/uthan, jima for matan, jekas for shayad, jelah for chakan jo, jorano for azab, rao for wari, ghor for gol, kuh for chha?, kujaro for chha?, bahoon for ghano, chaka for taqat, purkana for laphoon, chounha for chaanha/chahat, phan for peran ja paba, kulhe ji phani, daha for danh, dhuni for choondi, bakhar for abahr, tani for chaka/sika, monhan for moon khan, garahi for ore, upri for khaji, bera for zaal/joe, thahar, araam, wange for badhi, hera for heenyar, daapha for gol mol, chaturan for reban, non for hethan zameen, chamar for kakar, batari for batal, anooro for ghabrat, tapi for ta bi, tai for tanh kare, keen for kedanh.

And similarly, there are thousands of words for human psychology, culture and traditions, superstitions etc, a study of which is a major subject for understanding Latif's works.

11- Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai is a sun that has been shining on the Indus valley, who enlightened many literary moons while many poets disappeared due to the influence of Shah Latif's poetry. Just like the earth that revolves around the sun, all the scholars, poets and writers of Sindhi literati started revolving around this literary sun (Shah Latif) and will continue doing so in future as well. Shah Latif holds a position similar to the great River Indus; the way the fountains, lakes, rivulets and canals from Ladaakh to Ketī Bander come to fall into this mighty river and lose their existence, similarly, Shah Latif has encompassed the poetry of the *sughars* and poets of Sindhi literature into his works and have made them redundant. The poetry of Shah Karim, Lutfullah lakho, Shah Inayat Rizvi, Shah Lutfullah Qadri and numerous poets, writers and *sughars* has enriched the poetry of Shah Latif. Today it feels as if Shah Latif is like the *Abbaseen*; he is the father of all the literary rivers, from which emanate many branches, canals and rivulets that waters not only Sindh and the south Punjab (Seraiki belt) but also Balochistan and some parts of KPK Province.

Therefore Latif is considered at a higher position amongst the poets and sufis of the entire country including names like Baba Farid Ganj Shakar, Madhu Lal Shah Hussain, Sultan Bahu, Pir Shams, Pir Sadruddin, Baba Bulhay Shah, Shah Inayat Rizvi, Sachal Sarmast and Khwaja Fareed.

Shah Latif not only preserved the basic literature but by bringing about changes in the classical literature and adding newer trends he converted it into modern literature of his times. He paved new ways for the literature of that period and gave it new dimensions. In addition to the subjects of poetry of his predecessors, he made invaluable addition to the vocabulary of the Sindhi language. Shah Latif described and portrayed all the points of mysticism, spirituality and Sufism in basic and commonly understood clear language. He described the facts and problems of daily life by using symbols, similes and metaphors. With the help of allegories, metaphors of stories and epics like Sohni Mehar,

Sasui Punhoon, Umer Marvi, Leela Chanesar, Noori Jam Tamachee, Lakho Rebaran and other stories, Shah Latif gave a new look and shape Sindhi language. He explained through these metaphors and symbols the issues pertaining to daily life. In a way his subjects include union with the creator and his manifestation in the forms of man and other creations.

While Shah Latif has narrated the points about mysticism and spirituality, he has also explained the matters regarding *Shariah*, prayers and various moods of human mind, in addition to the social issues and economic classes in his poetry. And it was Sindhi language that fulfilled all his needs for explaining things in his poetry.

Writing in the special issue of Sohni magazine on Shaikh Ayaz, the great critic, famous Sindhi scholar of India Mr. A.G. Utam says:

“Every artistic person has his own literary heritage. Shah Latif’s poetry is one such heritage for us that we have to preserve, and take it forward; and by using his language, characters and circumstances in accordance with the present age, Shaikh Ayaz has augmented the traditions of Shah Latif. Shah Latif has influenced not only Ayaz but also another great poet Narain Shyam. He too has used Shah’s language and characters. Other poets have also accepted Shah’s influence.” (36)

Mr. Utam’s opinion proves that Shah Latif is that spiritual sun around which all the literary stars and satellites continue to revolve and during the process imbibe the light and literary wisdom, and thereby continue to survive.

It has been mentioned earlier that by bringing about new trends and experiments in Sindhi literature, Shah Latif added to the vastness and expanse in it. He also started new ideas in *vae*. He initiated the singing of his *vae*s in his different ragas. He depicted various human feelings like meeting and the pain of being separated from the beloved, through his heroines in his poetry. For example the following verses should be examined:

(1) مٿن ٺٻڪ ٺٻڪڙا، چڪندڙا اچن،
 گڙيون ڪه پڪليون، پگهر سر پيرن،
 اي وڙ ويڙهيچن، مون لوڏان ئي لکيا
mathan tubak tubkīra, chikandṛa achan,
khuryoon kiha bhuklyoon, paghara sir pairan,
aye vara verhechan, moon lodan ee likhya
 (2) ڪاري ويڙ ڪڙن، ونگ سڀوئي وه ٿيا،
 پر سونهن جيئن سڀڻ، هنج هريوئي پير،
khari veera kharan, wing sabhoyee viha thya,
para soonhan jiyen sainan, hanja haryoe pairu,
 (3) سڙ سڪي سال ٿيا، هنج هريوئي پير،
 ڪنگ ويچارو ڪير، جو رسي ان رمز ڪي!
sara suki sala thya, hanja haryoe pairu,
kung waicharo kairu, jo raṣe una ramza khe!
 (4) وکر وهائين لوڻ، رُنگ ڪٿوري گهرين،
 پُنگو تنهنجو ڀرتي، ڪوه ڳالهين ڪوڙ،
 چم وڃاين مور، ڪٿيو تنهنجو گهوريو!

*vakhar wahain loon, rungu khathoori ghuryeen,
bhungo tunhjo bharti, koh galheen koor,
jima vinjayeen moor, khatyo tunhjo chhoryo!*

By studying the *Risalo* of Shah Latif, one can surely say that before Shah Latif, Sindhi language had acquired such an expanse that it could describe all aspects of human feelings and additionally economic, cultural, historic, traditional and geographical conditions. It had a great treasure of words for describing these subjects. Shah Latif had studied each region of Sindh and its issues different aspects deeply and writing upon each of these subjects would be beyond the scope of this book.

Shah Latif has depicted the scenes of the ebbs and troughs of the tides on the sea shores of Sindh; the description of the *soonhan* weeds at the shore is such that it should draw the attention of the botanists. After the high tide in these areas, everything becomes salty, but it is miraculous that this *soonhan* weed is not affected despite living in the salty waters, it continues to have its sweetness. Shah Latif has used this quality of *soonhan* weeds to metaphorically explain the qualities of mankind. So one can infer that all the subjects of the poetry in the works of Shah Latif augmented the vastness of this language.

12- Shah Latif brought about revolutionary changes in Sindhi language through his poetry. He took Sindhi poetry out from the limited quagmire of *sootr*, *salook*, *doha*, *soratha* and *kabat* and brought it to the open fields of *vae* and *bait*. From a linguistic point of view, Shah Latif enriched the language with all the qualities through his poetry; for example, he used words carrying multiple meanings which is called its semantic quality. In the following verses by Shah Latif, such words have been used which by slight change of diacritical marks have a differing meaning. The words that appear in bold font in these verse deserve our attention:

- (1) جتن کر جتن جو آيا ڪي ايندء
jatan kar jatan jo aya ke eendaye
(2) وَر ۾ ڪونهي وَر، ڏيرن وَر وڏو ڪيو.
vara men konhe varu, deran varu vado kayo.
(3) جَاهَوَ اندر جيءَ، سَاهِرَ ڏني ساه ڪي،
سَاهَوَ چڙي نه ساهه جي، سَاهَوَ سَاهَوَ ريءَ،
سَاهَوَ ميڙ سميع، ته سَاهَوَ چڙي ساهه جي.
jahara andar jee-a, sahira dini saha khe,
sahara chhure na saha ji, sahara, sahira ree-a
sahiru mer samee, ta sahara chhure saha ji.
(4) هلندي هاڙو مٽي، گسان ڪين گسان.
halande haro mane, gasan keen gusan.
(5) پاڻ م ڪڙج پاڻ سين، ري وسيلي وانءَ،
paṇu ma khaniju paṇa seen, re vaseele wan-u

The words in these verses like *jatan*, *var*, *sahar*, *gussan* and *paan* vouch for the expertise of Shah Latif from a linguistic aspect of Sindhi language. Slight phonetic

change gives the words new meaning, thereby indicating the expanse of Sindhi language.

Shah Latif has used another peculiar grammatical quality of Sindhi language i.e. dual words, or words with contradicting forms or repetitions of the words. Such kind of repetition is abundantly present in his poetry. A few verses are quotes here as examples:

- (1) اچي آريءَ ڄامَ جو، وَڻُ وَڻُ منجهان واس.
ache aar-a jama jo, vana vana manjhan vaas.
- (2) مُٺُ مُٺُ سورن سپڪنهن، مون وٽ وٽائڻ.
muṭhi muṭhi sooran sabhkenhen, moon wat wathana.
- (3) چوڏس چنيسر ڄامَ جو، ڏيه ڏيه منجه ڏهڪاءُ.
chaudas chanesar jam jo, deh deh manjh dehka-u
- (4) ٻارهن ڪُن، ٻنيه تڙ، تڙ تو مٽي تانگ،
 جن عشق جي اتانگ، ٻُجهان سي نه ٻڏنديون
baranh kun, bateeha tara, tar tar mathe tang,
jin ishq je utang, bujhan se na budandyyoon

This quality has also been observed in the poetry of other Sindhi poets.

13- An in-depth study of Shah Latif's poetry shows that he possessed the knowledge of the phonology of Sindhi language. He also knew that changing the phonemes in the words changes their meanings. For example:

- (1) ڪي ڪَريان پير، ڪ ڪَڙهان ڪيچ ڏٿين لاءِ؟
 ڏاڍو ڏنءُ ڏٿي ڏير، پاڻ پراها ويا.
kee karyan pair, ka karhan kaich dhani lae?
dadho dan-u dayi दौरا, pana paraha waya.
- (2) ڪَڙ پڻ پير سندان، ڪَڙه پڻ ڪيچ ڏٿين لاءِ.
 انهيءَ پر اتان، پوندينءَ مُنڌ پهاڙ مر.
kari pin pair sandani, karha pin kaich dhani lae.
inhai-a par utan, pavanden-a mundh pahara men.
- (3) پَر ۾ پير پُنهوءَ جو، ڪَڙي ۽ ڪَڙهي
 سڪ سڌائين سندرو، جانب لاءِ جڙي،
 لکن سر لطيف چئي، مُنڌ جهيڙي ۽ جهڙي،
 پڻيءَ تان نه پڙي، جي عمر سڀ ايهين ڪري.
para men pair punho-a jo, kare aen karhe
sik sadain sandoro, janib lae jare,
lakan sir lateef chaye, mundh jhere aen jhare,
pani-a tan na pare, je umr sabh aehin kare.

Words like *kariaan/karhaan*, *karru/karry*, *karre/karhee*, and *jehairy/jehree* show change in their meaning due to a change in their phonemes. Such an occurrence is only seen in the poetry of Shah Latif.

14- (a) Shah Latif used many words to explain the meaning of one word. For example he has used the following words/phrases for rain:

wada phuro meenh wasan (وڌڦرو مينهن وسڻ), *saarang saara lahan* (سارنگ سار لهڻ), *jhuran jo jhoongaran* (جهڙن جو جهونگارڻ), *badal wasan* (بادل وسڻ), *surahyoon paltan* (صراحيون پلڻ), *agoondro aab wasan* (اڳوندرو آب وسڻ) & *zhurphur jhaat diyan* (جهڙڦڙ جهاٽ ڏيڻ) etc.

(b) Some of the words used for camel are:

chaango (چانگو), *leero* (ليڙو), *mayo* (ميو), *karaho* (ڪرهو), *todo* (توڏو), *dagho* (ڏاڳهو), *kanwaat* (ڪنواٽ), *naaqo* (ناقو), *gaoonro* (گؤنرو), *bodo* (بودو), *mehree* (مهري) etc.

(c) Names according to the age of the camel:

dauk (دؤڪ), *paanchar* (پانچار), *naish* (نيش)

(d) Words for a dog:

janboor (جنبور), *kalaab* (ڪلاب), *sag* (سگ), *motiaro* (موتيڙو)

Shah Jo Risalo is a documentary evidence of the magnificence of Sindhi language which contains representations of the various aspects of cultures and traditions of various regions of Sindh. Mr. Allah Buksh Uquaili writes in this regard:

“If one were to count the different words of Sindhi language used in the *Risalo*, apart from Shakespeare and Goethe there will be very few poets from around the world who can be compared with Shah Latif, but only the word count will be insufficient for such a comparison.” (37)

15- After drawing the necessary conclusion from the analysis of the poetry of Shah Latif, one can say that new aspects about the grammatical principles, phonetics, structural format and syntax of the language can be learnt from the *Risalo*. Some of these unique grammatical forms have been pointed out in the book “Sindhi Boli jo Abhiaas” (A study of Sindhi Language), and a few examples given there are reproduced here for further understanding. They are:

- (1) پيتي جه پاسي ٿئي، منجهان رڳن روح.
peete jih pase thiye, manjhan ragun rooh.
- (2) سِرَ ڏني سِتَ جڙي، ته عاشق ايءِ اچن.
sira dini sita jure, ta ashiq ee-a achan.

The forms like *peeti* and *dini* seen in these lines seek our attention. Similarly, look at the following lies:

- (1) ڪُلُنئون ڪورين، عاشق عبداللطيف چئي.
kulanaon korin, ashiq abdul latif chaye.
- (2) پريم تنهنجا پار، ڪهڙا چئي ڪهڙا چُٺان!
prema tunhja para, kehra chayi kehra chuan!
- (3) اڏيءَ سِرُ ڌري، مان ڪُهَنئون سپرين.
adi-a siru dhare, mana kuhanaoon supreen.

In these lines from among the word *kulanaon*, *piriam*, *chuan*, and *kuhanaon*, the ‘m’ seen in *piriam* and ‘aon’ in *kuhanaon* are in fact pronominal suffixes. The Study of the pronominal suffixes in the poetry of Shah Latif is very interesting; for example have a look at these lines:

Pronominal suffix	Line
<i>chuan, aoon chavaan</i> (i say)	(1) چٽان تيئن چٽيج، تہ کنياتا! خوش هٿين. <i>chuan tiyan chaej, ta kany:ata! khush huen.</i>
<i>keenan=kanane, khain, hinan lae</i> (for them)	(2) اڄ اڳڻ ڪيٿان، اسر لڳي سوريان. <i>aj anganu kenan, asara lagi soryan.</i>
<i>monheen lago meehanho; monheen=moon khay</i> (me)	(3) ڪونروءَ جو ڪرت، مونھان مٿانھون ٿيو. <i>konro-a jo kirt, moonhan mathanhon thiyo.</i>
<i>choondias=aaoon chavandias</i> (i will say)	(4) ڏونگر ڏوراڻو، پھرين چونديس پرينءَ کي. <i>doongar dorapo, pehren choondyas preen-a khe.</i>
<i>seenhan=saanin, hinan saan</i> (with them)	(5) مون پانيو سيٺان، چپر ڪنديس پنڌڙا! <i>moon bhanyo sehan, chhapar kandes pindhra!</i>
<i>chooe=chavay</i> (say)s	(6) ويٺي چوءِ: ”الله، مون تي مٿ نہ موٽيا!“ <i>veṭhi choye; “allah, moon te mita na motya!”</i>
<i>dithiaan=awanh dithi</i> (you saw)	(7) جيڏيون ڏٺيان جي، صورت ساهڙ ڄام جي. <i>jedyoon diṭhyan je, surat sahar jam ji.</i>
<i>chaaeyain=toon chavaain</i> (you get said)	(8) سامي چاڻين، سڪ طلبين، تسادين نہ تن. <i>sami chayeen, such talbayeen, tasadayeen na tan.</i>
<i>hiaan=awanh khay hujay ha</i> (you should have had)	(9) جي هيان هوت پنھونءَ سين، مون جئن ملاقات <i>je huyan hot punho-a seen, moon jiyan mulaqat</i>
<i>kiaan=awanh kayo hujay ha</i> (you should have done)	(10) ٻانھن وجھي وات، ريهون ڪيان رين ۾. <i>banhan vijhi vat, reehun kiyan runjan men.</i>
<i>choon-e=hoo chavan</i> (thay say)	(11) سنيھا سڄڻ جا، چوٽيءَ چڙهيون چون <i>sineha sajanan ja, choti-a charhiyoon choon.</i>
<i>hoon-e=hujan</i> (be)	(12) ڪانگ نہ ڪوڙا هون، پريان سنڌي پار جا <i>kaang na koorā honi, paryan sande par ja</i>
<i>huyaas= aaoon huyas</i> (i was)	(13) سٽي سيج هيٺ، مون کي اھ اٿاريو <i>suti saij huyas, moon khe aah utharyo</i>

16- (a) Examples of usage of transformational case (Ablative case):

In the standard Sindhi dialect, for declension of noun, the postpositions *saan*, *khan* and *maan* are added before the pronoun and adverb, and in the dialect of the Upper Sindh *maoon* instead of *maan* and *khaoon* instead of *khan* are used. In the Larri (lower Sindh) dialect, the nasalization of the last nasalized (*Guna*) vowel *aan* is reduced from the postpositions *maan* and *khan*. The dialect used for the transformational/ablative case in Shah Latif's poetry is that of the Larri style. For example:

Line	Forms showing the case
(1) ٻاروچاڻا ٻار، توڙان ترس نہ سڪيا. <i>barochana baara, toran tars na sikhya.</i>	<i>toraan</i> (توڙان)= <i>tora khan</i> (توڙ کان)
(2) هوت ٻروچي لاءِ ڪنن ڪٿر پائين. <i>hot barochi laye kanen kunar paiyan</i>	<i>kanen</i> (ڪنن)= <i>kanan men</i> (ڪنن ۾)
(3) ڪڍي گهل گهرا، صلح ڪر سلطان سين. <i>kaḍhi gahal ghara, sulah kar sultan seen.</i>	<i>ghara man</i> , <i>ghara khan</i> (گهر مان، گهر کان)

(4) تہ تون تہ دراء، ڏيهاڙي ڏاڏ لھين. <i>ta toon tah dara, dehare daan laheen.</i>	<i>dara/daran</i> (درا/دران)= <i>dara khan dara tan</i> (در کان، در تان)
(5) پي مَ ٻهرا، وانءُ اورانگهي اوريان. <i>pe ma tahora, van-u auranghe auryan</i>	<i>tahora/tahoran</i> (ٻهرا/ٻهوران)= <i>tahor man</i> (ٻهرا مان)
(6) وڇا جي وصال ڪي، سي سڀ اجورا. <i>wicha je visaal khe, se sabh ajora</i>	<i>wicha/wichan</i> (وڇا/وڇان)= <i>wicha man, wicha khan</i> (وڇ مان، وڇ کان)
(7) مَٽي تہ ماڳا، اصل هئي ايتري. <i>miti ta maga, asal hui etri.</i>	<i>ma ga/ma gan</i> (ماڳا/ماڳان)= <i>ma ga taan</i> (ماڳ تان)
(8) هٿا جادمر جڪري، وٽي وڇ مَ پوءِ. <i>hatha jadam jakhre, wate wichu ma poye.</i>	<i>hatha/hathan</i> (هٿا/هٿان)= <i>hatha man</i> (هٿ مان)
(9) سمو سوائي، بهون ٻيٽان اڳرو <i>samo sawaye, bahon biyanaan agro</i>	<i>binaan/biyanaan</i> (ٻيٽا/ٻيٽان)= <i>biyan khan</i> (ٻين کان)

(b) In the Larri dialect, the postposition *saan* is also used as *seen* while in nouns and adjectives, this *saan* (سان) is deleted; indeed the phonetic 's' (س) is deleted and the vowel *aan* changes to *ain*. In pronouns, the preposition *saan* changes to *seen*. There are some places where even this happens while using postposition with nouns. For example:

Standard dialect	Larri dialect	Usage in Shah's poetry
1 <i>kanan saan/khan</i> (ڪنن سان/کان)	<i>kanen</i> (ڪنين)	جڪرا جيئن شال، تہ جو ڪنين مدو نہ سٿان. اڪين سوئي اوڙڪيو، جو ڪنين سوہ ڪَرن <i>jakhra jeen shaal, tuh jo kanen mudo na siṇan.</i> <i>akhin soyi orkhyo, jo kanen soh karan</i>
2 <i>hathan saan</i> (هٿن سان)	<i>hathen</i> (هٿين)	هٿين پيرين آر ڪٿين، مور نہ مُهاڻي. <i>hathen pairan aar khaṇen, mor na muhaṇi.</i>
3 <i>charaṇan khe</i> (چارڻن ڪي)	<i>charṇain</i> (چارڻين)	سمي سامائي، چنتا لٿي چارڻين. <i>same samayi, chinta lathi charṇain.</i>

(c) In Sur Bilawal, Shah Latif has used preposition, with prominent suffix *aan* (آڻ); like (آڻ) in the word *lāḍaṇ* (لاڏڻ) which means 'with'; the meaning of this word is 'with love' or with affection. This form in Sindhi grammar is worth paying attention; for example:

Word	Shah's verse
<i>laaḍaṇ</i> لاڏڻ	پلي جي لاڏڻ، سڀ لنگهيڏا لڪيون! <i>bhale je laḍaṇ, sabh langheenda lakyoo!</i>

17- (a) Oblique case: Some of the examples of oblique case in Shah Latif's poetry have drawn the attention of the experts. The declensions of oblique case in Sindhi language are formed by the usage of postpositions *khay*, *tay*, *saan*, *main*. And the declensions of nouns, pronouns and adjectives are formed by these postpositions. But in the examples in Shah's poetry, postpositions like *khay*, *tay*, *main*, *maan*, and *saan* have disappeared, in the event of inflection or declensions and instead short vowels 'a' and 'i' are used as diacritical marks. For example:

Examples of prepositions	Position	Shah's verse
1. <i>to sira chhatu</i> (تو سر چٽ)= <i>tunhye sir te chhatu</i> (تنهنجي سر تي چٽ)	Here <i>tay</i> has disappeared	سما تو سر چٽ، نه پاڳارا پُرس پٽا. <i>sama to sira chhatu, na pagara pursa biya</i>
2. <i>ana dithin</i> (اڻ ڏٺن)= <i>ana dithan khe</i> (اڻ ڏٺن کي)	Here <i>khay</i> has disappeared	اڻ ڏٺن آڏو ڦري، ڏٺي ڏئي ڪٿا. <i>ana dithan aḍo phire, dithi d̥ye kiya-a</i>
3. <i>tin</i> (تن)= <i>tin khe</i> (تن کي)	Here <i>khay</i> has disappeared	سمو تن سڏ ڪري، جن تي وڏو وير. <i>samo tin sad kare, jin te vado veru.</i>
4. <i>sathiyarani</i> (ساٿيون)= <i>sathin khe</i> (ساٿين کي)	-do-	امر اوڏي ٿان، نهي ڪيس نڪار. <i>amaru oḍi thian, nihe kayas nakar.</i>

(b) Although in the period of Shah Latif, there was quite an influence of Persian on Sindhi language and as a result the use of *zair izaafat* (diacritical mark for i, denoting Genitive) had started in Sindhi grammar, but despite that the indigenous grammatical forms of Sindhi were also frequently used. One of such form is *zabar izaafat* (diacritical mark denoting Genitive), which is frequently seen in Shah's poetry. For example:

Examples of diacritical marks (<i>zabar izaafat</i>)	Verses of Shah Latif
1. <i>raja rahoo</i> (راج راهو)= <i>raja jo rakhpal</i> (راج جو رکپال)	ڏيندو لک لطيف چي، راج راهو جي رس <i>deendu-i lakh lateef che, raja rahu-a je ras</i>
2. <i>haalaara dhaṇi</i> (هالار ڏٺي)= <i>haalaar jo dhaṇi</i> (هالار جو ڏٺي)	سرئين ڏيئي سڪ، هڪل سين هالار ڏٺي. <i>sirne diye such, hakal seen halara dhaṇi.</i>
3. <i>kachha dhaṇi</i> (ڪڇ ڏٺي)= <i>kachha jo haakim</i> (ڪڇ جو حاڪم)	تو در سڀ اچن، ڪنڌ نه ڪڍي ڪڇ ڏٺي. <i>to dar sabh achan, kandh na kaḍhe kachha dhaṇi.</i>
4. <i>dungara rao</i> (ڏونگر راءِ)= <i>doongara jo hakim</i> (ڏونگر جو حاڪم)	بين مڙني ڏيون، پر ڏئي نه ڏنڪر راءِ. <i>biyan mirni dinyoon, par diye na dungara rao.</i>
5. <i>uṭha peer</i> (اڻ پير)= <i>qaasid</i> (قاصد)	سومرن سامر ڪنئي، ابڙي ڪڙو اڻ پير. <i>soomran sama khanyi, abri kiyo uṭha pair.</i>
6. <i>bhara jhalo</i> (پَر جهلو)= <i>madadgar</i> (مددگار)	ابڙو آگاهن پر، پر جهلو باري <i>abro agahan men, bhara jhalo bare.</i>
7. <i>wadawaro</i> (وڏوڙو)= <i>wade ikhlaaq waro</i> (وڏي اخلاق وارو)	ابڙو وڏوڙو، سوڙو، سمو سونهن سين. <i>abro wadro, suwaro, samo soonhan sibhan.</i>
8. <i>jasa kharo</i> (جس ڪرو)=	جڪرو جس ڪرو، بيا مڙي ملي. <i>jakhro jasa kharo, biya mireyi malha.</i>

(c) Numerous words and forms have been used in Shah Latif's poetry which are no more in use. Like:

- (1) سُڪ نه سُتا ڪڏهر، ويهي نه ووڙين.
sukha na syta kaḍhim, vehi na woorin
- (2) عاشق عبداللطيف چئي، انهر په پٽا.
ashiq abdul latif chaye, unhim pah piya.
- (3) بي بها بالو، آڳي ڪٿا آڳهر.
be baha balam, aage kiya aghim.
- (4) ڄل وڃائي ڄاڻ، عاشق اجل سامهر.
jul vinjaye jana, ashiq ajal samuhami.

The words *kadehim*, *inahim*, *saamahim* and *hitahim* seen in these lines are not used in Sindhi now and such forms of words have become obsolete. Instead of them the words are written differently like *kadehim* = *kadenh*, *inahim*=*inahee*, *agahim*= *agaheen*, *saamahim* = *samhoon*. These grammatical compositions of Shah Latif are the main subjects of “Sindhi Boli ji Tareekh” and “Historic Evolution”.

18- (a) Study of the poetry of Shah Latif, shows that he not only used the commonly used language but formed thousands of new words, phrases and proverbs and a collection of these is an important element of the history of evolution of Sindhi language. This material has added a lot to the history and vocabulary of our language. The entire material has been divided by scholars into compound and complex words, like:

Word	Shah's Verse
i- <i>raj raho</i> = Rahu's reign	ڏيندء لڪ لطيف چي، راج راهوءَ جي رس <i>deendu-i lakh lateef che, raja rahu-a je ras</i>
ii- <i>kachh dhani</i> = the ruler of Kachh	تو درس سڀ اچن، ڪنڌ نه ڪڍي ڪڇ ڏئي. <i>to dars sabh achan, kandh, na kadhe kachha dhani.</i>
iii- <i>gangajar rau</i> = a name	پيئي پن پاتار ۾، جت ڳوهر گنگا جر راءِ. <i>peyi pan patar men, jata garh ganga jar rao</i>
iv- <i>halaar dhani</i> = the chief of Halaar mountains	سرتئين ڏي سڪ، هڪل سين هالار ڏئي. <i>sarnen deyi such, hakala seen halar dhani.</i>
v- <i>dungar rai</i> = name	بين مڙني ڏنيون، پر ڏئي نه ڏنگر راءِ. <i>biyan mirni dinyoon, para diye na dungara rao.</i>
vi- <i>utha peer</i> = messenger	سومرن سامر ڪنئي، پر ڏئي نه ڏنگر راءِ. <i>soomran sam khanyi, par diye na dungar rao.</i>
vii- <i>bharjhalo</i> = helper	ابڙو اڳاهن ۾، پر جهلو باري. <i>abro agahan men, bhar jhalo bare.</i>
viii- <i>vadvarho</i> = respectable	ابڙو وڏڙو، سوڙو، سمو سونهن سڀن <i>abro wadro, suvaro, samo soonhan sabhin.</i>
ix- <i>manah manee</i> = helper	منه مني جگرو، طاماعن تاري. <i>manaha muni jakhro, tama 'an tare.</i>
x- <i>madineh mochaar</i> = nice city	مون کي سڪ سيد چئي، اهي مديني موچار. <i>moon khe sika syed chaye, ahe madine mochar.</i>
xi- <i>jassa kharro</i> = name	جگرو جس ڪرو، ٻيا مڙيئي ملهه. <i>jakhro jasa kharo, biya mireyi malha.</i>
xii- <i>soan sang</i> = a golden pot	اڏمڻو اڄ ته وسندو سون سنگ <i>udhamiyo aj ta vasando sona sunga.</i>
xiii- <i>parakhandain</i> = in a faraway land	راهو تهجي ريت، پر ڪنڊين پٿري. <i>raho tuhje ret, parakhanden padhri.</i>
xiv- <i>khushbooe</i> = fragrance	خاوند ڏي خوشبوءِ ته سرهو ٿان سپرين. <i>khawand de khushboo-e, ta suraho thian supreen.</i>
xv- <i>badbooe</i> = stench	وڳند وري اٿيو، بدوسين بدبو. <i>vagandh vari aiyo, badoseen badboo-e</i>

(b) Dr. Murlidhar Jetly has given such words in the following manner:

Word	Shah's Verse
i- <i>sona warnyoon</i> (سون ورنیون)	سون ورنیون سوڌیون، رُپی رانڌیون ڪن. <i>sona varnyoon sodhyoon, rupe randyoon kan.</i>
ii- <i>ware-a phul, muhbatu mach</i> (واڙيءَ ڦل، محبتي مڇ)	وهسن واڙيءَ ڦل جنءِ، محبتي مڇ لاءِ. <i>vahasan vari-a phul jin-a, muhbatu macha laye.</i>
iii- <i>zahr piyaak</i> (زهر پياڪ)	عاشق زهر پياڪ، وه پسنو وهسن گهڻو <i>ashiq zahr piyaka, vihu pasao vahsan ghano.</i>
iv- <i>karalahoo</i> (ڪرلاهو)	سڄڻ مان اچي، ڪرلاهو ٿي ڪڏهر <i>sajan mana ache, karalahoo thi kadihim</i>
v- <i>utara wau</i> (اُتر واءِ)	اٿي اُتر واءِ، موکيءَ مٿ اٿتا <i>aane utara vau, mokhi-a mata uptiya.</i>
vi- <i>bheeja bhini</i> (بيج پني)	سڄڻ سوڀارو، بيج پنيءَ گهر اٿيو <i>sajan sobharo, bheej bhini-a ghar aiyo.</i>
vii- <i>wadaphuro</i> (وڌڦرو)	وڌڦرو ۽ واءِ، ڪرهي ڪاڏو ڪوڙيو <i>wadphuro aen vau, karahe khado khoryo.</i>
viii- <i>choudas, diha diha</i> (چوڏس، ڏه ڏه)	چوڏس چنيسر چار جو، ڏيه ڏيه منجه ڏهڪار <i>choudas chanesar jam jo, deh deh manjh dehkar</i>
ix- <i>akhyun thaar</i> (اکين ٿار)	ٿاڪر اکين ٿار، مٿي تي ٿي مٿين <i>thakur akhin thaar, maniye te thi mateen.</i>
x- <i>koranyoon</i> (ڪوڙ ڪيون)	اصل اهي آڳهين، سندن ڪوڙ ڪيون <i>asal aahe agaheen, sando kor kanyoon.</i>
xi- <i>rata warno</i> (رَت ورنو)	پسو سنه ساميءَ جي رَت ورنو روو <i>paso sunh sami-a je rata varno roye</i>
xii- <i>choudahi-a maah chand</i> (چوڏهيءَ ماه چنڊ)	چوڏهيءَ ماه چنڊ جنءِ، پڙ ڀر پاڳڙياس <i>chodahi-a mah chand jin-a, pira men pagaryas.</i>
xiii- <i>balochani baah</i> (بلوچاڻي باه)	پڇي پورج سسئي، بلوچاڻي باه <i>puchhe pooraj sasui, balochani baah</i>
xiv- <i>barochani baajha</i> (باروچاڻي باجه)	وڃي ڪيچ پنياس، باروچاڻي باجه سين <i>vanji kaich punyas, barochani bajha seen.</i>
xv- <i>barochana baar</i> (باروچاڻا بار)	باروچاڻا بار، توڙان ترس نه سڪيا <i>barochana bar, toran tars na sikhya</i>
xvi- <i>rati-a jee rihaana</i> (رتيءَ جي رهائ)	رتيءَ جي رهائ، جيءَ اڙاير جت سين. <i>rati-a ji rihaana, jee-u arayam jata seen</i>
xvii- <i>soran khat</i> (سورن خط)	سندو سورن خط، ڏنر هوت هٿن سين. <i>sando soran khat, dinam hot hathan seen</i>

(c) Similarly, numerous examples of compound verbs are found in Shah Latif's poetry. Like:

piken na parchan (پڪين نه پرچن)، *doonaa door gaya* (ڏونتا دُور گيا)، *buki-a banoon thye* (بچڻ کي بچائڻ)، *pachana khe pachainu* (پڪيءَ پنئون ٿئي)، *watyoona wah gadiyoona hujanu* (وٽيون وه گاديون هجن)، and *biyaae-a khe bakha vijhanu* (بيائيءَ کي هڪ وجهڻ)

(d) Shah Latif added prefixes and suffixes to many uncompounded words to form numerous formed complex words; for example:

Uncompound Words	Prefixes/ Suffixes	New Words	Shah's Verses
tar (ٿر)	awa- (اَوَ-)) su- (سُ-)	awatar (اَوَتَر) sutar (سُتَر)	اوتو نه اوليا، ستو ويا سالر avatar na olya, sutar waya salim
soonhin (سونھين) jaana (ڄاڻ) saari (ساري)	a- (اَ-) a- (اَ-) a- (اَ-)	asoonhin (اَسُونھين) anjaan (اڄاڻ) asaari (اَساري)	اهي اَسُونھينءَ جي، مٿي تو ميار. اوجاڳو اڄاڻ، ڪيئي نه ڪميئن جنءَ. اَساري اهڙي پر، پيءُ ڪيچن سين ڪاڻ. aahe asoonhin-a je, mathe to mayar. oja go ajan, kayui na kameenan jin-a asare ahre par, pee-e kechain seen kaan.
jan (ڄڻ)	sa- (سَ-) du- (ڏ-)	sajan (سَڄڻ) dujan (ڏڄڻ)	سڄڻ ڏڄڻ مَر ٿئي، رُسي جي سئو وار. sajan dujan ma thiye, ruse je sau waar.
sara (سَر)	ku- (ڪَ-)	kasara (ڪَسَر)	سَر لوهيڙا ڳپيا، ڪَسَر نَسريا. sara loheera gabhiya, kusara nasirya.
hoond (هُوند)	ana- (اَڻ-))	anhoonda (اَڻهُوند)	هُونديان هوت پري، اوڏي ٿي اَڻهُوند ڪي. hoondyan hot pare, ode thi anhoond khe.
wata (وات)	a- (اَ-)	awata (اَوَات)	اڃا توڻ وات، واتان پاسي وسري. anja toon avatu, vatan pase visre. (38)
tor (ٿور)	a- (اَ-)	ator (اَتور)	اڙياڻي اتور، ڏنر جت اکين سين. aryana ator, diham jat akhin seen.
jhal (جھل)	a- (اَ-)	ajhal (اَجھل)	سڪ تنهنجي سپرين، اندر ۾ اَجھل. sika tunhji supreen, andar men ajhal.
gumu (ڳڻ) soonhan (سُونھن)	awa- (اَوَ-) a- (اَ-) ayin- (اَين-)	awagun (اَوڳڻ) asoonhin (اَسُونھين)	جي هو اَوڳڻ ڪئي اَسُونھين، تون ڳڻائي ڳن. je hoo awagun kanayee asoonheen, ton ganaye gan
bajha (ٻاجھ)	a- (اَ-)	abajha (اَباجھ)	ڪيچ ٻهڄو ڪيئن، اهڙن اَباجھن سين kaich pohchibo kiye, ahra abajhan seen
wata (وات)	su- (سُ-)	suwata (سَوَات)	سونھن ٿي سَوَات، سهيو سڪيو جندڙو. soonhen thi suwata, sahyo sukhyo jindro.
bar (ٻر)	ni- (نَ-)	nibar (نَٻر)=be ruzar, zaeef (رُزَر، ضَعيف)	جيڪس نَٻر نيھ سئو، جئن مون اُپي، هن ٿيلو. jekas nibaru neh sando, jiyen mon utbhe, hin theliyo
pat (پٽ)	ni- (نَ-)	nipat (نِپٽ)=be lajo (لِڄو)	عشق نانگ نِپٽ، خبر ڪاڏن ڪي پوي. ishq nang nipat, khabar khadan khe pawe.
petu (پيٽ)	-ru (رَ-)	petiru (پيٽر)=ghan khau (گھڻ ڪاڻو)	سونھاري سيد ڏھ، پيٽر پند پڻو soonhare syed dahu, paitur pandh piyo.
aasa (آس)	-oo (اَوَ-)	aasao (اَساڻو)=aasao rakhanda (اَس رڪندڙ)	جي تون اسانڻو ائين، ته وَنءُ جگري لاهي. je toon asao ayen, ta van-u jakhre laye.

The following line is also worth paying attention:

(1) ڪلمو ته ڪريم تي، چٽو چايائين!
kalmo ta kareem te, chito chayaeen!

The shape of ته has been changing and by progressing with time has now become تنهن. Similaooe

rly, the word *chayain* is also interesting syntactically. According to the grammatical principles, it has changed over time and has now become *chavayaeen*; and to analyze this word one will have to scrutinize the intransitive and transitive form of verbs in addition to the casual and dual casual verbs.

One should not think that Shah Latif would have formed these and other grammatical forms of Sindhi language. Indeed all these grammatical shapes would have gradually come about to be present in the everyday life of those times. Shah has only used the various forms already customary in dialects of regions. He has, through his verses, preserved the region-wise pronunciations of these words and provided the material for a study of the evolution of Sindhi language.

(e) The use of the active and passive voice of verbs in his poetry is also a point worth paying attention; for example:

(1) جان وڍين تان ويھ، ناتو وٺيو وات وانءِ تون
jaan waḍheen taan wehu, nata vaṭhyo waata waan-u toon

The word *vaḍheen* in this line means ‘if you were injured/cut’; this verb has been used in its passive form in this line. Similarly, let us see another example:

سوا سنڌيندڻم سپرين، ڪيس جه ڪباب
sooa sandhindum supreen, kayas jih kabab

In this line the word *kayass* is a passive form of the verb *kayo* which means ‘that made me’. This is also a passive form of the verb.

(f) Shah Latif has also used ‘subject’ (Ism-faail) in his poetry that were in common use in his times. Some forms of ‘subject’ from Sur Pirbhati are reproduced here as examples:

Root	Subject
<i>raha</i> (رہ)	<i>raho</i> (راھو)
<i>tama</i> (طمع)	<i>tamau</i> (طماعو)
<i>aasa</i> (آس)	<i>aasao</i> (آساو)
<i>baar</i> (بار)	<i>baari</i> (باري)
<i>tara</i> (تار)	<i>taari</i> (تاري)

19- Use of Pronominal Suffixes:

(a) Pronominal suffixes are considered as an important and remarkable quality of Sindhi language. Every poet and writer has in his time made use of them and especially Shah Latif’s poetry is enriched with this type of syntactical formations. For example:

Use of pronominal suffix	Shah’s verses
1. <i>kayuee</i> (ڪيئي) = <i>to kayo</i> (تو ڪيو)	امر اوڏي ٿان، نهئي ڪيس نڪار.
2. <i>kiyas</i> (ڪيس) = <i>moon khe kayo</i> (مون کي ڪيو)	<i>amar odi thiyan, nahi-a kiyas nakar</i>
3. <i>wisryaam</i> (وسريام) = <i>moon khe wisree waya</i>	بها ڏر وسريام، ڏني جادو جگري.

(مون کي وسري ويا)

4. *meṛyamu* (ميڙيڙ) = *moon saan milayo* (مون سان ملايو)

5. *deendui* (ڏيندڙ) = *to khe deendo* (تو کي ڏيندو)

6. *widhos* (وڌوس) = *hun khe widho* (هن کي وڌو)

biya dara visryam, diṭhe jadam jakhre

اي آڳي جو احسان، جه هادي ميڙير ههڙو.

aye age jo ahsan, jih hadi meṛyam hehṛo

ڏيندڙ لک لطيف جي، راڄ راهو جي رس.

deendu-i lakh lateef che, raja rahoo j eras.

وڳند وري آيو، وسن کين وڌوس

wagandh vari aiyo, vasan keen vidhos

(b) Another form of pronominal suffixes seen in Shah Latif's poetry is in accordance with the Larri dialect. In this dialect, the pronominal suffix *iyein* is used instead of *ain* in the second person pronoun (singular), declension of aorist and inflexion of the verb. This pronominal suffix has been found abundantly in his poetry. For example:

Examples of Pronominal Suffix

1. *lahyen* (لاهيڻ) = *toon laheen* (تون لاهيڻ)

2. *winjaiyeen* (ويجائيڻ) = *toon winjaiyeen* (تون ويجائيڻ)

Shah's Verses

متان ٿورو لاهيڻ، مجوسي مٿا

matan thoro laheen, majoosi matha-u

متان ڏر ويجائيڻ، ڪه ٻي در ليلائي

matan var vinjaiyeen, kah be dar leelaye

(c) One can find examples of imperative future (*amar istaqbaal*) in Shah Latif's poetry because of the influence of Kachhi dialect; like:

Root	Imperative Future	Shah's Verses
<i>achi</i> (اچ)	<i>acheej</i> (اچيڇ)	(1) مجوسيءَ ماري، اڪبر ڏي اچيڇ. <i>majoosi-a mare, akbar de achej</i> (2) علي شاھ اچيڇ تون، ته ڪافر تي <i>ali shah acheej toon, ta kafir te</i>

20- a- Study of proverbs and phrases:

By the times of Shah Latif, thousands of proverbs, idioms and technical statements had started being used in Sindhi language, which he and his contemporaries like Tamar Faqir, Khwaja Muhammad Zaman of Lunwari Shareef, Mian Shah Inayat and other poets used in their poetry. Similarly, numerous types of idioms are used in this period. Some of the idioms used in Shah Latif's poetry are reproduced here as examples:

aarooṛji achan (آروڙجي اچڻ), *aado phiran* (آڏو ڦرڻ), *aaran badhan* (آڙڻ ٻڌڻ), *baanhan aachhan* (ٻانهن آچڻ), *chat charhan* (چت چڙهڻ), *dhaka dhakan* (ڍڪ ڍڪڻ), *daan lahan* (ڏاڻ لاهڻ), *unjoon relan* (اُڃون ريلڻ), *seeno sahan* (سينو ساهڻ), *kara lahan* (ڪڙ لاهڻ), *kasa lahan* (ڪس لاهڻ) etc.

(b) Some of the proverbs used by Shah Latif in his poetry are reproduced here as a sample:

1. لکيو منجه نراڙ، قلم کياڙيءَ نه وهي

likhyo manjh nirar, qalam kiyari-a na vahe

2. وڪڙ سو وهاءِ، جو پئي پراڻو نه ٿئي.

vakhar so wahaye, jo paye puraṇo na thiye

3. تتيءَ ٿڌيءَ ڪاه، ڪانهي ويل ويهڻ جي.

tati-a thadhi-a kaah, kanhe wail wehana ji.

4. ڪڏهن ڳاڙهو گھوٽ، ڪڏهن مڙھ مقام ۾.
kadahan garho ghot, kadenh marhu muqam men.
5. ڪنهن ڪنهن ماڻهوءَ منجه، اچي ٻوٽو بهار جي.
kenh kenh manhoon-a manjh, ache boo-e bahar ji.
6. ڊيسي سيٺ ڪجن، پرديسي ڪهڙا پرين.
desi saina kajan, pardesi kehra preen.
7. گهوڙن ۽ گهوٽن، جيئن ٿورا ڏينهن.
ghoran aen ghotan, jiyan thora deenhan.
8. الله ڏاهي مَر ٿيان، ڏاهيون ڏک ڏسن.
allah dahi ma thiyan, dahyoon dukha disan.
9. هنهن هوند مئي، پر ٻڏي جا ٻيٽا ٿيا.
hunhen hoond muye, par budi-ja beeta thiya.
10. اٿندو اهاڻي، جا ڪوريءَ مَن ۾.
unando uhaee, ja kori-a mana men.
11. ذات نه آهي ذات تي، جو وهي سو لهي.
dat na aahe zaat te, jo vahe so lahe.

21- The Diminutive Forms of Words:

Numerous examples of use of diminutive words can be seen in Shah Latif's poetry. In this regard, the preface written for the dictionary of contractions named "Lughaat Sindhi Mukhafifaat" by Makhdoom Muhammad Zaman Talibul Maula is worth reading, where this linguistic quality of Sindhi language has been discussed in detail. Abbreviating words in any language is related with a study of the day to day pronunciation of a language. Numerous examples of this quality of Sindhi language can be found in the language used by Shah Latif, for example:

Abbreviated forms

1. *sawalyun* (سوالين) = *sawal kandaṛu* (سوال ڪندڙ)
2. *sarnan* (سرٺن) = *jīn saraṇu warti aahe* (جن سرٺ ورتي آهي)
3. *chhutaye* (چٽائي) = *chhotkaro bakhshi* (چوٽڪارو بخشِي)
4. *dos* (دوس) = *dost* (دوست)
5. *khagmaro* (ڪڳمارو) = *khargmaro* (ڪڙڳ مارو)

Examples of pronominal suffixes

- سمي سوالين ڪي، ويل نه وساري.
same sawalyun khe, vela na visare.
- توڙيءَ پٽو ڪير، سرٺن جا سونا سهي.
tori-a biyo keru, sarinan ja soṭha sahe.
- مير محمد ڪارئي، اڙيا چٽائي.
mir muhammad karnay, aṛya chhutaye.
- دوس منا دلدار، عالم سڀ آباد ڪرين.
dost miṭha dildar, alam sabh abad kareen.
- ڪائن ڪڳمارو، ڪانئر پٽو ڪنو ٿئي.
khayin khagmaro, kanyer piyo kino thiye.

22- The use of Persian and Arabic words:

Shah Latif has used Persian and Arabic words in addition to hundreds of verses from the Holy Quran and the Hadith of the Holy Prophet (pbuh) as references and allusions in his poetry. Khanbahadur Muhammad Siddique Memon writes in this regard:

"The way he has used Arabic verses and quotations at numerous occasions in his poetry, it appears as if Arabic was his mother-tongue.

This has to be called a surprising quality, that he has amalgamated the verses of Holy Quran, Hadith and Arabic sayings with his Sindhi subjects in such a way as if he is defining these verses and Hadith.” (39)

The poetry of Shah Latif proves that in those times the use of poetical figures (*sanaya badaya*) was common in Sindhi language. Khanbahadur Memon writes in this regard:

“This means that eloquence (*fasahat*) is based on lexicography and etymology while conciseness (*balaghat*) depends upon art of expression (*ilm bayan*) and art of eloquence (*ilm badeeu*).” (40)

All of these linguistic qualities like eloquence, conciseness, etymology, *ilm bayan*, *ilm badey* and *ilm maani* show that Sindhi language had acquired a very high standard and status in the Kalhora period.

Shah Latif has used all the poetical figures in his poetry and with his art; he took the language to newer heights and stature. The poetical figures used in his poetry are as under:

tashbeeh (تشبيه), *ista'aro* (استعارو), *majaze mursal* (مجاز مرسل), *tajnees e harafi* (تجنيس حرفي), *tajnees e khati* (تجنيس خطي), *tajnees e taam* (تجنيس تام), *sanat e tazaar* (صنعت تضاد), *sanat e aehaam* (صنعت ايهام), *tajahil e aarifana* (تجاهل عارفانه), *sanat e qadar ul baireen* (صنعت قطار البعيرين), *sanat e tarseei* (صنعت ترصيع), *sanat e masjaa* (صنعت مسجع), *sanat e tazmeen* (صنعت تضمين), *sanat e talmeeh* (صنعت تلميح) & *sanat e husnul taaleel* (صنعت حسن التعليل).

23- Another quality of Sindhi poetry is in its humility, modesty, lovely words, softness and lyricism. Present in old and new poetry alike. For example, look at a line from a *ginan* by Pir Sadruddin, who was a poet from the Soornra and Sama period:

جاڳو جاڳو ڀاڳو، رڻن ويهاڻي

jago jago bhayara, rayan wehaani

Meaning: wake up dear brother, the night has ended.

The Ismaili Pirs used the words like *momin*, *momin bhai*, *veer*, *veeraan*, *bhai*, *veeraan bhai*, *bhairha*, *yaara*, *O saeen*, *saeen* etc. to show humbleness. The same pattern has been followed by Shah Karim, Shah Latif, Lakho Lutfullah, Mian Shah Inayat and Sachal Sarmast because humility, modesty and humbleness is a hallmark of Sindhi culture. As an example, this *vae* of Shah Latif is reproduced here:

مان ڀانهڙي آهيان، گولڙي آهيان،
اديون آءُ اڻڄاڻ!

maan hanhri aahyan, golri aahyan

adyoon aaun anjaan!

(ii) Another example:

ڪيچين ڪونهي ڏوه،
ڪنهن ڏکيءَ ڏاڍڻ ڏاڻيو

kechain konhe doh

kenh dukhi-a danwan daiyo

The same quality can be seen in the poetry of Sachal Sarmast as under

آءُ ڀانهي تون سائين،
پاتر پاند ڳچيءَ ۾ ڪڇڙو

aaun hanhi toon sayeen,

24- Writing about the vastness of Sindhi language in the poetry of Shah Latif, Professor Mir Muhammad Bhayyo has raised a question in his article titled “Hazrat Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai, Sindhi Boli jo Maimaar” (Shah Latif, an Architect of Sindhi Language); he writes:

“As a result, in the 18th Century AD, could the Sindhi language have more capacity than this? Why cannot we say that this period saw the highest standard and perfect structure of the Sindhi language.” (41)

25- National Passion:

The experts on Shah Latif have quoted numerous examples of the presence of nationalistic passion in poetry, in their books and articles. *Sur Marvi* is especially enriched with this passion and Shah Latif has used Sindhi language as a symbol of Sindhi nationalism. For example, the mention of motherland from a nationalistic perspective in the following verse:

سڄڻ ۽ ساڻيه، ڪنهن اڻاسيءَ وسري.
sajan ain saaneeh, kenh anasee-a visre.

(Only some shameless person can forget his motherland).

Some other verses contain unmatched examples of nationalism and love for the motherland such as:

- (1) سائينيم سڌائين ڪرين، مٿي سنڌ سڪار
دوست مٺا دلدار، عالم سڀ آباد ڪرين.
*saineem sadayeen kareen, mathe sindh sukar
dost mitha dildar, aalam sabh abad kareen.*
- (2) بوند بره جي بهار لڳي، درد ونديءَ جو ديس وسي پيو.
boond birah ji bahar lagi, dardvandi-a jo des vasi payo
- (3) سارنگ سار لهيج، الله لڳ اُچين جي،
پاڻي پوڄ پٽن ۾، ارزان اُن ڪريج،
وطن وسائيج، ته سنگهارن سک ٿئي.
*sarag sar laheej, allah lag unjeen je,
pani poj patan men, arzan an kareej,
watan wasaej, ta sangharan such thiye.*
- (4) واجهائي وطن کي، آءُ جي هت مياس،
گور منهنجي سومرا، ڪڇ پنهورن پاس،
ڏج ڏاڏائي ڏيه جي، منجهان ولڙين واس،
ميائي جياس، جي وڃي مڙه ملير ڏي.
*wajhay watan khe, aaun je hit mayas,
gor munhji soomra, kaj panhwaran pas,
dij dadane deh je, manjhan walren waas,
miyae jiyas, je wanje marh maleer de.*
- (5) آءُ ڪانگا، وڻ ويه، سڌيون ڏي ساڻيه جون،
ڇڱا پلا سپرين، ڪي سک وسي ساڻيه.

پرين لئي پرڏيه، مون تان گهڻو نهاريو.
aau kanga, waṇ veh, sudhyoon de saṇeeha joon,
changa bhala supreen, ke such vase saṇeeh.
preen laye pardeh, moon taan ghaṇo niharyo.

Persian was in vogue in his times and it was emphatically taught in the mosques and seminaries. It was the language for official communication as well. Some verses with this subject are found in his poetry; for example:

(1) پيمر پنائڻ سين، ٻولي جي نه بجهن،
 آءُ سنڌيءَ جو سعيو ڪريان، هو پارسيون پڇن،
 مون پڻ مَلا تن، سرتيون سور پرايا.
piyam paṭhaṇan seen, boli je na bujhin,
aaun sindhi-a jo saiyo karyan, ho parsyoon puchhan,
moon pin mula tin, sartyoon soora piraya.

(2) برو بگيرد بي، ڏين پارسيون پاڻ ۾،
 مون لوڏاڻ ٿي لکيا، ته هاجو ڪندا هي،
 ماريندا مون کي، پنهنون نيندا پاڻ سين.
buro bageerad be, deen parsyoon paṇa men.
moon lodan ee likhya, ta hanjo kanda he,
mareenda moon khe, punhon niyanda paṇa seen.

(3) جي فارسي سڪيو، گولو توءَ غلام،
 اُچيو تان آب گهري، بڪيو تان طعام،
 جو ٻڌو ٻن ڳالهين، سو ڪئن ڄاڻي ڄام؟
 اي عامن سندو عام، خاصن منجهان نه ٿي
je farsi sikhyo, golo toe ghulam,
unjyo taan aab ghure, bukhyo taa taam,
jo budho bin galhin, so kiy an jaṇe jam?
aye aman sando aam, khasan manjhan na thiy

Shah Latif has composed hundreds of verses to express his feelings of unmatched love for the motherland.

26- After Shah Latif and Khwaja Muhammad Zaman of Lunwari, Sachal Sarmast can also be considered as a representative contemporary poet of that period i.e. the Kalhora period. Sachal Sarmast was born in 1739 AD and had spent 44 years of his life in this period. He saw numerous poets, writers and scholars in that period. He wrote poetry in Sindhi, Seraiki, Hindi, Punjabi, Persian and Urdu and compiled *kaafi*, *bait*, *jhoolana* and *ghazals*. He expressed his thoughts through his poetry but since he is identified with the Talpur period (1783-1843 AD), therefore, the language of Sachal Sarmast will be discussed in the next chapter.

As mentioned earlier, the official language in the Kalhora period was Persian. Despite that, numerous famous and matchless poets, writers and scholars of Sindhi language were born in this period. Shah Latif ruled the minds and hearts of the people.

Similarly, the fame of the knowledge and wisdom of poets and historians like Myon Shah Inayat, Khwaja Muhammad Zaman of Lunwari, Makhdoom Addul Raheem Girhoree, Makhdoom Muhammad Hashim Thattvi and other poets of Persian language had reached outside the boundaries of Sindh.

Kalhora rulers were great admirers of literature. Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhora was a famous scholar and historian. Prince Mian Sarfaraz Khan was a splendid poet of Sindhi and Persian languages; some verses from one of his famous *madah* are presented here as an example:

پلا + امر، هن غلام، سندو سوال سٽج تون،
 آهيان ڏڏ، غمن گڏ، سچا سڏ سٽج تون،
 پسي پاڻ، ڪرم ساڻ، ڏکين ڏاڻ، ڏئين تون
 پلا

..... ڄام

.....

هدايت، حمايت، عنايت، ڪرين تون،
 پلا

..... ڄام

.....

bhala jama, hina ghulam, sando sawal sunij toon,
ahiyān ڏاڏ, ḡhaman gad, sacha sad sunij toon,
pase paāṇa, karam saāṇ, ڏukhin ڏaāṇ, ڏiyen toon,
bhala jama.....
hidayat, himayat, inayat, kareen toon,
bhala jam.....

After reading this *madah* (eulogy), one can claim that in the last part of the Kalhora rule, Sindhi language had progressed through the process of evolution and had achieved high standard which could compete with Persian. This eulogy is an excellent and unmatched example of the poetical figures (*sanat tarsee*) in Sindhi poetry.

27- (a) The Progress of prose in the Kalhora period:

Many samples of prose have been found from the Soomra period and quite a few of them have been given in my book: The History of Sindhi Prose.

Earlier, in Chapter 4, the lyrical compositions in prose by Ismaili Pirs in the Soomra period have already been mentioned, where in addition to (*muqfa* and *musaja*) lyrical prose, samples of proverbs, idioms and quotations have also been given.

Samples of the commercial handouts and ledgers given by the son of Syed Jamial Shah Dataar Gimari named Syed Shahabuddin Shah a.k.a Shah Loqa in Sindhi proverbs, a saying in lyrical prose by Pir Putho, the adages in prose by Shah Karim Bulrai and later from the book “Haliul uqood fi Talaql Sunood” by Makhdoom Jafar Boobakai (998 AH/1589 AD) contain sentences of Sindhi prose before the Kalhora period. These can be considered as the foundation of the history of Sindhi prose.

(b) A copy of a commercial agreement in Sindhi prose has been given in Chapter

6 which was written 50 years before the Kalhora period i.e. in 1650 AD. This agreement (*kabaro*) is written in Khwajki Sindhi letters. The pictures of this *kabaro* were published in an article by Mr. Sirajul Haque Memon in Nain Zindagi magazine in January 1971 on page 23. (42) This agreement can be seen word by word in the Chapter 6.

28- (a) The practice of prose writing continued without any change in the Kalhora period except addition of new words, and improvement of the commercial language. In this regard, Dr. Nabi Buksh Khan Baloch has given a reference in his book (43) which is reproduced verbatim; but one cannot agree with Dr. Baloch's opinion that prose writing in Sindhi had started in the 18th Century AD. Dr. Baloch has said:

“The system of writing statements in Sindhi prose had started in the first 50 years of the 12th Century AH (18th Century AD). In this context, a statement written in 1152 AH/1739 AD is given here as an example:

”ويھ ڳوڻيون سيد صاحبڏني واريون ايڪيهين جا پئسا (ڏنا ويا) سورهن ڳوڻيون ساهو جي هٿ تان آئي ڏنيون آهن. ڪڪا (ڪڪي) کي ڇھ ڳوڻيون صالح ڪنا حسن ڪٿي ويو آھ ڇھ ڳوڻيون بازار ۾ چوڙي ڳٽ منجهان مون ڏنيون آي (اهي) سيئي باب (پاڳا) ٿيا ڳوڻيون اوئونجاء سي سڀ ڏنيون آھين ڪڪا کي منجه وڙ ڏي جي آڏا جيڪين ڪٿايون ٿي ڪڪا ڪنا اڏني ڏيوڻا (44) (يا ڏيوڻي راءِ)“ (45).

“(veeha *gūnyoon* Syed sahibdine varyoon aikeehen ja paisa (*dina vaya*) sorahn *gunyoon saho-a je hata taan aṇe dinyoon ahin. Kika (kike) khe chaha gunyoon salah kina hassan khaṇi wayo aah. Chhaha gunyoon bazaar men chhore gaṭh manjhan moon dinyon ae (ihe) sabhayee bab (bhanga) thiya gunyoon unvanjah se sabh dinyoon ahin kika khe manjh vara de je adpa jeken khaṇayoon the kaka kina adaye devana* (44) (*ya devi raye*)” (45)

{Meaning: 20 sacks belonging to Syed Sahib Dino 21st was paid for, 16 sacks were brought from the shop of Sahu. 6 sacks are taken by Hassan from Kaka through Saleh, 6 sacks were opened and given by me in the bazaar, all these parts, 49 sacks were all given finally to Kaka from whom Adya Devna (44) (or Devi Rai) took them} (45)

(b) In fact, the above quoted statement is a “daily diary” (*roznamcha*), where the goods received by the trader had been recorded. This kind of entry is called *roznamcha* in trading language. The following points in this statement point to the progress and development of Sindhi language; for example:

(i) This statement contains numbers used in day to day life; like *chhah* (6), *sorahn* (16), *veeha* (20), *aikeeha* (21), *oonvanjah* (59) and *sabhaee* (all).

(ii) The phrases and formations used in commercial handling: like سيد صاحب ڏني (of Syed Sahib Dino, the money paid for 21st sack, Saleh took the goods from the sack) are examples.

(iii) The words used in trading: like *hut* (shop), *goonioon* (sacks), *bazaar*, *chhoray* (opened), *baab* (fractions), *devna* (has to give), *paysa* (money).

(iv) Use of postpositions: like *taan* (from), *khay* (to) and *kana* (from).

(iv) Oblique case: *hat taan* (from the shop)

(v) Ablative case: *manjhaan* (from)

(vi) Compound verbs: *khani vio ahay* (has taken away), *aanay dinyoon* (brought and submitted), *diyan lae badhal* (bound to give) etc.

(vii) Names of people: like Syed Shaib Dino, Sahu, Kaka, Saleh and Hassan.

29- (a) The poetic prose took a new shape in the form of *kabat* in the Kalhora period. This form of poetic prose was used not only by the scholars of Thatta, but in oral literature also where many types like *bahaguran ja bol* (sayings of virtuous men), riddles, *sutras*, *salooks*, sayings, proverbs, and *hunars* have been found. The scholars and poets of Thatta paved the way forward for such type of poetic prose. In this context, Khanbahadur Memon writes:

“The poem from Faraizul Islam, an Arabic book by Makhdoom Muhammad Hashim (translated in Sindhi) is a very simple poem, almost like poetic prose.” (46)

(b) The best work of prose in the Kalhora period is the translation of the Holy Quran in Sindhi prose by Akhund Azizullah. Since he has done the translation in sub-titles, therefore the sentences of the translation are in the Arabic syntax; for example:

”آي مؤمنه همراهي وٺو منجه مشڪلين ساڻ صبر ۽ نماز. تحقيق خدا ساڻ صبر ڪندڙ آھ،
۽ مَر ڇو واسطي تن جي، جي ڪسن ٿا منجه وات خدا جي، او ۽ مُثل نه آھين، بلڪ جيئرا
آھين، پر نٿا ڄاڻو آھين، ۽ آزمايون ٿا ان (اوهان) کي ساڻ ٽولن ڪنان خوف ۽ ڏڪن ۽ بکن
۽ ٿورو ٿڻ مالن جي ۽ مرڻ مڙسن جي، نه ٿڻ مڙسون جي (ته ڪي صبر ڪريو ٿا ڪ نٿا
ڪريو) ۽ بشارت ڏي تن صابرن کي؛ او صابر سي آھين، جڏهن رسي ان کي سختي، چوَن
اسين خدا جا آھيون ۽ خدا ڏانه موٽھون ٿا. او ۽ صابر، تن تي آھين رحمتون ڪنان رب ان
جي ۽ رحمت خاص، او ۽ هدايت وارا آھين. (47)

”*aye momina hamraahi waṭho manjh mushklin saan sabar ayin namaz. Tahqeeq khuda saan sabar kandar aah, ayin ma chau waste tin je, je kusan tha manjh waat khuda je, uye mual na aahin, balke jiyara aahin, para natha jaano aain, ain aazmayoon tha aan (awhan) khe saan tolan kinan khof ain dukhan ain bukhun ain thoro thiyaan maalan je ain maran mursan je, na thiyaan mewar je (ta ka sabar karyo tha ka natha karyo) ain bisharat de tin sabiran khe; o sabir se aahin, dadenh rasi una khe sakhti, choon asean khuda ja aahyoon ain khuda danh mothoon tha. uye sabir, tin te aahin rehmaton kinan raba un je ain rehat e khaas, oye hidayat wara aahin.*” (47)

According to Khanbahadur Memon’s opinion:

“Mr. Akhund has translated the Holy Quran in sub-titles and written the timing/schedule of its alightment in Sindhi prose.

This is the first book which provides evidence in Sindhi language, and its format is that of prose in Arabic syntax, translated in sub-titles.” (48)

The grammatical form of this translation by Mr. Akhund is that of Arabic

language but after studying this example we can draw the following conclusions:

- (a) One finds the idioms prevalent in those days; like همراهي وٺڻ (being together), خدا جي واٽ ۾ ڪسڻ (taking God's ways), بشارت ڏيڻ (give good news) etc.
- (b) **Postpositions:** *manjh* (inside), *khan* (from), *khay* (to), *saan* (with)
- (c) **Verbs:** *chao* (say), *vatho* (take), *ahay* (is), *kusan tha* (are killed/slaughtered), *aheen* (are), *natha jaano* (do not know), *aazmayoon tha* (test someone), *day* (give), *ahioon* (are), *choon* (say), *motahoon tha* (we return).
- (d) **Adverb:** *jadenh* (then), *danh* (towards), *main* (in), *na* (no)
- (e) **Vocative:** *ay* (O!!)
- (f) **Pronoun:** *aa* and *aan* (you), *tin* (they), *un* (that), *ohe* (those), *say* (them)

The dialect of Mr. Makhdoom is Larri but, in any case, this translation is a remarkable treasure of Sindhi prose and its progress.

30- (a) The sayings: “*guf̣ta*” in Sindhi prose by Makhdoom Abdul Raheem Girhoree (1778 AD) have been found from this period. These sayings are examples of beautified prose. The language used in them is easy and simple. These sayings are full of philosophical points in Sindhi prose. They have an advisory tone and since they are in beautified prose, they are easy to remember. These sentences are splendid examples of metaphor and simile. For example

- (i) *taki dangri hale, khara pasni jhale* (ٽڪي ڏنگري هلي، ڪڙا پاسني جهلي)
- (ii) *raani rao saan rache, abo bhaun re ache* (راڻي راو سان رچي، ابو پائن ري اچي)
- (iii) *kaafir kaf̣r khan ukaar, karo gadah dhoi ujaar* (ڪاف ڪفر کان اُڪار، ڪارو گداه ڏوئي اُجار)
- (iv) *mulon bihisht de halaye, chatoon parhe paro jaye* (ملون بهشت ڏي هلا، چتون پاڙهي پروجا)
- (v) *mulon kiyan bihisht men ache, koyi ser sona seen nache* (ملون ڪيئن بهشت ۾ اچي، ڪوئي سير سون سين نچي)
- (vi) *pahya joon parchaye, thulho muhurlo gharaye, wado khuharo khanaye* (پهيان جون پرچاء، ٿلهو مهرلو گهڙاء، وڏو ڪوهڙو ڪڙاء)
- (vii) *rizq kenh par ache, jian meenharo wase* (رزق ڪنهن پر اچي، جيئن مينهڙو وسي)

(b) After studying these sentences of prose by Girhoree Sahib, one can claim that such prose had been in practice in Sindhi language since ancient times. In this regard, the views of the famous researcher of the Muslim world, Al-Beruni, (who lived in Sindh from 1017 - 1031 AD) were quoted by me in a separate article (The Educational, Social, Cultural, Linguistic and Literary Identity of Sindh in Al-Beruni's Time) which you will find repeated below; as Al-Beruni's opinion supports my views. Al-Beruni writes:

“Wise men and scholars preferred writing in poetic or lyrical prose. Some books of those times were written in the poetic genre of *Salook* i.e. lyrically, because it was easier to remember them. Therefore, from ancient times, scientific and difficult subjects like geometry (*aqleedas* and astronomy and their narration was done either in *Salook* or in the rhyming prose i.e. they were written in *muqfa* or *musaja* prose style to make

remembering and repeating them was easier.” (50)

c. This opinion has been further supported by Mr. Bherumal, who writes in “Sindhi Boli Ji Tareekh”:

“The Sanskrit, after the Vedas mostly contains *Sūtr* and therefore it is called the Sanskrit of the time of *Sūtras*. ‘*Sūtra*’ is pronounced in Sindhi as ‘*Sutu*’. In the middle period, major issues were described in limited words, as if beads were put onto a thread. The main quality of *sūtras* is being short and ‘less worded’. Most of the proverbs in Sindhi are formed on the pattern of *Sūtras* for example: *juria khay juss, kando so paeendo, jehree karnee tehree bharnee*. These proverbs contain very few words but they carry a great wisdom.

Sūtras usually explain principles. *Dharmi* (religious) *sūtras* are related to religion and *graih sutras* are for domestic rules. So the meaning of *sūtras* is principles, rules or points that contain fewer words but a larger meaning.” (51)

(d) This trend of prose in Sindhi language was prevalent in Sindh before the advent of Islam. The Ismaili Pirs wrote, in the Soomra period, their prayers in Khwajki Sindhi (*Lohanki*) script and other virtuous men of those times preferred writing in poetic or lyrical prose, or in *muqfa* or *musja* type of language. The sayings (*gufia*) by Makhdoom Girhoree are examples of rhyming.

These types of sayings, quotes, proverbs and *gufia* are best examples of the Sindhi language of the Kalhora period which proves that it was fully progressed and rich language in prose as much in poetry. Following are a few examples of rhyming prose and *sūras*:

- (i) *katyoon aayoon kaapar, moorakha meenhin ghuran* (ڪٽيون آيون ڪاپار، مورڪ (مينهن گهرن)
- (ii) *aya kungaani, wiyo pinyari-a maan pani* (آيا ڪنگائي، ويو پياريءَ مان پاڻي)
- (iii) *dakhan meenhin na wasino, wase taan bore* (ڏکڻ مينهن نه وسو، وسي تان ٻوڙي)
- (iv) *kanyar dhak na hanino, hane taan tore* (ڪانڙ ڌڪ نه هڻو، هڻي تان ٽوڙي)

The proverbs:

- (i) *anban boor, akhyun soor* (انبن ٻور، اڪين سور)
- (ii) *eeman mizmaan aahe* (ايمان مزمان آهي)
- (iii) *pokhi wadhje, raahi na wadhje* (پوکي وڍجي، راهي نه وڍجي)
- (iv) *sanwara jo suto, kati-a jo kuto* (سانوڙ جو سٽو، ڪٽيءَ جو ڪٽو)

Bahagananh ja bol (sayings of virtuous men):

panja ee na thya, panja ee na thya (پنج ئي نه ٿيا، پنج ئي نه ٿيا)
dachar ghori, suchar zaala, chhidi kanka, ghata tira, udharo vihanu ihe panja ee na thya (ڏچر گهوڙي، سُچر زال، چڊي ڪڻڪ، گهاتا تر، اُڌارو وهانءُ اهي پنج ئي نه ٿيا)

Another example

chora khe paadar bhalo (چور کي پادر ڀلو)
sache khe aadar bhalo (سچي کي آڌر ڀلو)
aasan laye qadir bhalo (آسن لاءِ قادر ڀلو)

jaye khe sar dar bhalo (جاء ڪي سر در ڀلو)

(e) These and other examples prove that in the evolutionary period of prose, it was on the pattern of *sūtras* or *Salooks*, in the form of beautiful prose and this claim is strengthened by the opinion of honourable Makhdoom Talibul Maula, who says:

“*Gujharai* (riddle) is a paramount component of Sindhi *Salook*.” (52)

This means that *Salook* was a common name but the forms were *gujharat*, *sūtras*, *doha* and *soratha*.

31- (a) It has been said earlier that the parameters of teaching the mother-tongue and grammar were based on Sindhi phonetics. In this context, the books written by Thanwar Das and Baabnamo and new books of other writers may be referred to, which were also based on the old principles.

Al-Beruni writes:

“Grammar, linguistics, poetry and *Chhand* prosody were very common in ancient Sindh. He believes that the art of *Chhand* and grammar was taught as subsidiary subjects. And among these two, grammar was given more importance.” (53)

Al-Beruni further writes about how the Sindhi scholars had defined grammar; he says:

“Grammar means the rules pertaining to correct use of words for speaking a language, and that can assist in teaching, reading and acquiring a classical form.” (54)

(b) Sindhi language had become a standard language from every angle by the times of Kalhora rulers in which there was a system of linguistics. Teaching of word formation by joining two, three and four-syllables and preparation of bilingual dictionaries, grammars and phonetics was established. And the structure of language: letters for particular sounds, additional formations, declension of nouns, inflexion of verbs, teaching through mother-tongue, reading and teaching to read and write had begun.

(c) The trend of folk literature in Sindhi language is also very old, as has been said in the chapter relating with the language of the Soomra period. The references of Sindhi *Seengar* (adornment) poetry have been found even from around the 7th Century AD, but the *dahas* and *seengar* made a significant addition to the vocabulary of Sindhi language. Due to local influence, Jalal Khatti and Sabir Mochi were famous poets of these genres. Some verses of this genre have been found in the works of Shah Inayat and Shah Latif as well. Although this type of poetry usually entails praising and admiring the beauty of the beloved, but the poets and *sughars* have done a remarkable work in choosing the words for it. This genre of poetry usually contains verses with poetical figures like simile and metaphor in addition to *majaz mursil*. Even though verses of this genre have been found in the works of poets like Shah Latif and Shah Inayat, but Jalal Khatti and Sabir Mochi are more famous and representative poets of this genre. The verses composed by them are linguistically a work of art.

(d) Dr. Abdul Karim Sandeelo and Dr. Nabi Buksh Khan Baloch consider the

Seengar (adornment) poetry to be an imitation from Hindi *Shingar Rass*, for example they discuss as to ‘what is *Rass* and *seengar*’, ‘what are the subjects of this kind of poetry’, ‘what is *soranh seengar*’, how and when this kind of poetry reached Sindh; and discussing these subjects Dr. Baloch has written:

“As an ‘art’, *Seengar* poetry is comparatively a difficult subject, therefore it was hard for every poet or *sughar* to get into it. That is perhaps the main reason why well-known poets of this genre are rather limited; even though this poetry seems to have been in continuous use from the beginning of the Kalhora period to about 50 years back i.e. for approximately 175 years.” (55)

Dr. Sandeelo writes on this subject as:

“The *Seengar* verses sung by Sindhi poets are in fact imitation of Hindi verses. Having been inspired by Hindi *dohas*, the Sindhi poets have sung praises of the beloved’s adornments in their own circumstances very nicely. Although they have used almost analogous similes, but their verses clearly show the influence of their circumstances.” (56)

In this regard, Dr. Sandeelo continues further:

“Sindhi poets followed the trend of their Hindi counterparts. Hindi *dohas* also tell us that there are 16 adornments of the beloved.” (57)

Based on research done in the present times, the experts have suggested to modify the opinions of Dr. Baloch and Dr. Sandeelo. Mr. Param Abechandani has formed new opinions that appear more authentic. He has written:

“The *Seengar* poetry first reached the Tharparkar region of Sindh, as it joins the territories of Rajasthan and the folk singers and poets of this region had close relations with Rajasthani poets; moreover, the poets of his region in general were well versed in the Thari-Dhatki idiom, therefore, it was not difficult for them to understand the Hindi poems. This is also the reason that these subjects keep appearing in the poetry of the Sindhi *sughars*.” (58)

Dr. Fahmida Hussain does not agree with the views of Dr. Baloch, Dr. Sandeelo and Deewan Param Abechandani. She does not consider the Sindhi *Seengar* poetry to be an imitation of its Hindi counterpart. Dr. Fahmida claims that the Sindhi *Seengar* poetry is an indigenous genre of Sindhi poetry. She writes:

“With due apologies to Dr. Sandeelo, I believe that the verses of *Seengar* are infact an indigenous Sindhi genre, that later reached other regions of India and was carried on to Hindi. The Sindhi language is older than Hindi, therefore, the Hindi poets would have imitated and copied it rather than Sindhis doing that.” (59)

The views of Param Abechandani regarding the historic evolution of the *Seengar* poetry in Hindi support the claim made by Dr. Fahmida because his opinion proves that such poetry in Sindhi appeared much before that of Hindi language. Mr. Abechandani

writes:

“In Hindi, it was Kirpa Ram who made a move in this regard, but the vanguard of all of them was a great poet called Bihari Lal. He was born in village Gobindpur of district Gwalior in 1660 AD.” (60)

Mr. Abechandani's opinion confirms that Jalal Khatti had lived long before Bihari Lal, who was born in 1660 AD, while Jalal Khatti was at the peak of his art at that time. He lived through the last years of Mughal rule to the days of rule by of Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhoro i.e. in the period between 1718-1755 AD, and that he was older than Shah Latif (1690-1752 AD); he was among the predecessors of Shah Latif. Therefore, the magnificence and maturity of the *Seengar* poetry of Jalal Khatti proves that the tradition of this type of poetry in Sindh is much older, that had influenced Jalal Khatti and other poets.

Following are some examples of *Seengar* poetry by Jalal Khatti and Sabir Mochi:

تمھَر رُوپ تَرَنگ، هن ڪنول ڪيسَ قَريبَ جا،
سَهَ گَچي، قَد سَروي، ڪوئَر نيفَ نَنگ،
بُونگَر سِر پُراءَ جي، مَڙگان ڪيش خَدَنگ،
لَڪ ليشي، دَهرَ ڪپورَ، پرونَ پونَر پُونگ،
تَنهن سَسايا سارَنگ، جَلوي ساڻ ”جَلال“ چَئي.
tamhara roop taranga, hin kanwala qaisa qareeba ja,
siha gichi, qadu sarve, kontara naifa nisanga
boongara sir bura-a je, mazgan kaish khadanga,
lakh leshi, dahara kapoora, bhiroon bhonra bhavanga,
tinhsasaya sarang, jalwe saanu “Jalal” chaye.

Second example:

جيئن سي اَبرَ بهار، تيئن ڪنولَ ڪيسَ قَريبَ جا،
سي اَليَهَر وانگي اَليا، بَدَن ڀَريا ٿي ڀارَ،
سَرو ڪَنان سوڌا پَرين، مَنهن موتين موچارَ،
هَنج ڏسي لوڏَ لَڪي ويا، گَنيرَ ڪيئي گُفتارَ،
سَڻي ٻولي ٻاجه پَري، ڪي ڪوئل نا ڪوڪارَ،
چڏي شمس شِعا وِيو، گڏجي منجهَ غبارَ،
اَهَن چينَ چڪورَ جانَ، ٻي پَپيلَ پارَ،
سِينو موڪرو سَچَين، گُلبدن گُلزارَ،
پَنيا پرونَ پُونرنَ جانَ، اڪيون مَرگهَ آچارَ،
عارفَ جي تَ اچڻَ جا، ٿيا اَگَر ڀرَ اظهارَ،
ساجن ڀرَ سنسارَ، جانبَ وَڌَ جَلالَ چَئي.
jiyan se abar bahar, tiyen kanawal qaisa qareeb ja,
se alehara wange alya, badan dharya thi dhara,
sarva kana soodha preen, munh motin mochar,
hanj dise loda likee vaya, ganyara kayayee guftaar,
sunji boli baajha bhari, ki koyel na kookara,
chhade shams shuaa wayo, gadji manjh ghubar,
seeno mokro sajnen, gulbadan gulzar,
bhinbha bhiroon bhaunran jaan, akhyoon mirgha aachar
aarif jet a achana ja, thiya aagama men izhar,

sajan men sansar, janib wadhi jalal chaye.

One of the pieces from Sabir Mochi's verses is:

جهڙا گل گلاب، انهيءَ اعليٰ پرين،
پسي مينَ دهنُ دوست جو، مُجرو ڪيو مهتاب،
ڪيسن ساڻُ قريبَ جي، ڇا ڪارنهن پچندي قاف!
ڪن پيا ويسَ وڏاندرا، ”صابر“ چئي سر صاف،
ظاهر اڳتون زاف، اچي ڪو نه عجيب جي.

*jehra gula gulaba, unhai-a aala preen,
pase mena dahanu dosta jo, mujro kayo mehtaba,
kaisan saṇu qareeba je, chha karanh pu jande qaaf!
kan paya waisa waḍandara, “Sabir” chaye sir saaf,
zahir agton zaaf, ache ko na ajeeb je.*

32- (a) Folk poets and *sughars* had a matchless treasure of language. Dr. Baloch in his book “Belayan ja Bol” (words of the poets of *Bela*) writes:

“Folk poetry is a never ending mine of words. A folk poet is brought up in every region of Sindh. He has knowledge of the idioms and commonly spoken language in addition to the special words and idioms of his region, that he uses in his poetry. It is natural that he uses the literal as well as idiomatic meaning in them.” (61)

Dr. Baloch writes further:

“Folk poets are the fathers of the real and pure Sindhi language. Their surroundings contain the formations and deformation of words and idioms; new idioms and words sprout from their hearts and get consolidated in their social gatherings and meetings. The ancient treasure of real words is sound and secure in the rural areas not adulterated by the urban winds. And it is preserved in the oral form in the minds of the elders and is transferred from one generation to the next.” (62)

(b) Writing the introduction of the book “Sindh jo Seengar”, Mr. Ali Muhammad Sial says:

“Among the artistic treasure of *sughars* are included *dorr ja bait*, *gorha* or *hunr ja bait*, compiled quotations and sayings, riddles, allegories or narratives about kings, literary puzzles, moral taunts, feminine remarks, metaphorical riddles of pain, secretive messaging etc.” (63)

(c) In the series of folk literature, verses from “Dahas nama” from the Kalhora period are also available. Mr. Allah Buksh Tunio writes in the preface of this book:

“*Dahas* and *seengar* stand at the same mantle, but the pearls present in *dahas* are far more valuable than those of *seengar*, therefore if *dahas* are termed a priceless literary treasure of folk literature, this will not be an exaggeration.” (64)

In this regard Mr. Sandeelo has written:

“By finding similar ten words for *nang* (snake), *raat* (night), *bhaunr*

(moth), *kakar* (clouds), *haran* (deer), *sij* (sun), *chand* (moon), *khivan* (lightning), *son* (gold) and other nouns from other languages, poets have shown the depth of their wisdom in *dahas* poetry.” (65)

(d) *Dahas* is a special, pure and selected genre of folk poetry. It is a complex and strong machine that has been digging and tilling the literary land of various languages, with the result that numerous priceless words from there entered the Sindhi vocabulary, thereby enriching its reserves; for example:

سونَ ورنِي سوهڻي، آڌر عجب گل رنگ،
 کيسر لنکي ڪامڻي، ڪومل نيڻ ڪرنگ،
 ناسڪ ڪيلو، ڪوئل بيٺي، ڀرون ڀونر ڀونگ
sona warni sohni, aadhar ajab gul ranga,
kaisar lanke kamiṇi, koomal naiṇa kurang,
nasaka kailo, koyal bene, bhiroon bhaunr bhonga
 لب، چپ، اوشڻ، رڪ، هونڻ
 آڌر، شفت، اوڻ، جوڙ، اونڻ
lab, chapa, oshaṭh, rakh, hoonth
adhar, shaft, authi, jor, aonth
 ماه، هلال نوخ، مهتاب، قمر
 چاند، ڏجراج، پونر، سيس، بدر (66)
maah, hilal nokh, mahtab qamar
chand, dhajraj, poonam, ses, badar (66)

33- Truly the Kalhora period was the great and perfect period of progress of Sindhi language. It was this period when the structure of Sindhi language was complete in all aspects. The progress of language in this period can now be summed up as under:

- (i) Different cities, towns, villages and dwellings of Sindh had big seminaries and institutions of religious education, where teachers, scholars and preachers of a very high caliber were involved in the process of education and teaching.
- (ii) Thatta had acquired a status of *Darul Uloom* (the house of learning) for the Muslim world.
- (iii) The country of Sindh was famous in the Islamic world for its teaching and learning of Quran, Hadith, Islamic jurisprudence and religious knowledge.
- (iv) In the Kalhora period, Persian, Arabic and Sindhi were in use, but the attention of scholars was especially drawn towards teaching through mother-tongue. It was an era of *parsi ghoray charhsee* (Persian helps ride on the horse) but writing and compilation in Sindhi progressed a lot.
- (v) The tradition of reading and writing in Arabic and Persian changed in this period because the scholars and poets realized the importance of Sindhi language. This was why they thought it was necessary to teach religion to the Muslims, especially the young students, in their mother-tongue. This is to say that the scholars supported the movement of “teaching through the

medium of mother-tongue.”

- (vi) Muqadmatul Salaat was the first great textbook of Sindhi language, written on the pattern of long poems in 1700 AD (in this period).
- (vii) Different genres of literature were composed for teaching various topics and subjects of religious education, for example, poetry related with Chhand, poetic genres like *maulood*, *madah*, *munaqba*, *marsia*, *ghazal*, *rubaaee*, *noha*, *salaam* and *musadas* etc.
- (viii) The genres of folk literature of this era include *narr bait*, *dahassnama*, *Seengar bait*, *hunr*, *dithoon*, *pirolioon*, *dorr*, *gujharatoon*, *bol*, *gufta*, *muqfa* and *musaja* (beautiful) prose, proverbs, sayings, *Salooks* and *sūtras*.
- (ix) The foundation of long poem in Sindhi on the pattern of *alifashbaa* was laid that became common in the Kalhora period. This new genre played the role of a movement for progress of Sindhi language. Religious subjects were preached in this type of poetry whereby light was thrown on the principles of *Shariah*, faith and the tenets of Islam.
- (x) Many books were written in this era on the life of the Holy Prophet (pbuh), the holy wars, stories of the messengers (of God), mysticism and morality.
- (xi) Books were written in prose and on *vaae* and *bait* and the trend of translations in Sindhi language started. Makhdoom Muhammad Hashim Thattvi translated his own book *Faraizul Islam* with the same name. *Sirajul Muneer* was the second book of this series translated in Sindhi by Makhdoom Abdullah of Narya and he named it *Sairbustan* in Sindhi.
- (xii) The poetry of Shah Latif and Shah Inayat in the form of their *Risalo* (collection) and those of Khwaja Muhammad Zaman of Lunwari and Faqir Sahib Dino Faruqi vouch for the greatness of Sindhi language.
- (xiii) The *vaae* of Shah Inayat cleared the way for musical recitation in Sindhi language. He used the commonly spoken language prevalent in the society for his verses.
- (xiv) Shah Latif wrote verses on the farmers, fishermen, seamen, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, weavers, cloth merchants, potters, boatmen, washer men, physicians, *jogis*, wanderers and used the words spoken in these vocations in his poetry. He did a remarkable job of preserving and serving the culture, traditions on the one hand and Sindhi language and vocabulary on the other had.
- (xv) The *Risalo* of Shah Latif played a guiding role in Sindhi phonetics, linguistics and grammar.
- (xvi) Shah Latif invented and coined numerous new words, idioms, phrases and proverbs that he used in his poetry. They were also used in his times in the society.
- (xvii) Shah Latif used a colorful language and all the types of poetical figures in his poetry thereby providing a proof of the eloquence, conciseness and

beauty of the Sindhi language.

- (xviii) Shah Latif used multiple words with similar meanings, and vice versa which is a proof of the vastness of Sindhi language.
- (xix) Shah Latif used a single word with many meanings showing the eloquence of the language.
- (xx) Shah Latif used numerous words and phrases for description of the psyche and feelings of the people of Sindh providing substance for guidance to the experts of psychology.
- (xxi) Shah Latif composed verses based on patriotism and love for the motherland, for people of Sindh.
- (xxii) Mian Sarfaraz Khan Abbassi was also a good poet of this period. He wrote *madah* based on the meters of *uroozi* (Persian) poetry and used the poetical figures (*sanat mursa/tarseeh*) in it. *Tarseeh* means threading the beads; he has used rhyming in almost every word. This figure is also seen in Sachal Sarmast's poetry. Mian Sarfaraz Abbassi has used *sanat tarseeh* abundantly in his poetry. Tarseeh is defined as under:

“A genre in which each line of a verse has separate rhyming words i.e. the first line would consist of words rhyming with each other with the same arrangement for the second line as well. Such a formation is called *tarseeh* and it also means decorating separately.

- (xxiii) The first complete *Risalo* (collection) of *bait and vae* was written by Shah Inayat Rizvi, and later on other poets and Shah Latif's works were compiled on the same pattern.
- (xxiv) Sindhi poetry was arranged according to musical themes by Shah Inayat Rizvi, and in this way metaphorical and symbolic poetry got to its peak.
- (xxv) Shah Latif and other poets of this era, not only preserved the already available literature but brought changes to it and paved the way for modernization of literature. Shah Latif encouraged the poets and writers to bring modernity to literature.
- (xxvi) Critical books on the history and literature of Sindh were written in Persian in this period, like: *Maklinama*, *Tuhfatul Ikram*, *Maqalatul Shuaraa*, *Takamla Maqalatul Shuaraa* and *Fatehnama Sindh* etc.
- (xxvii) The *Naskh* script for Sindhi language was completely established in this era.
- (xxviii) Sindhi poetry of this era depicted the language and various psychological and social issues pertaining to different regions and represented them.
- (xxix) The profound secrets of mysticism and spirituality were explained in an easy language through the use of metaphors and similes in folk stories.
- (xxx) Shah Latif used the Larri, Kachhi, Kohistani, Laasi, Jadgali, Tharri and Dhatki dialects and the words, phrases, sayings and proverbs used in them in his *Surs* in such a way that his *Risalo* became a great treasure for research on different dialects of Sindhi language, the social and cultural history and

socio linguistic.

- (xxxi) A variety of new subjects were introduced in the grammar of language through the poetic works of Shah Latif, Shah Inayat, Khwaja Muhammad Zaman of Lunwari and Makhdoom Abdul Rahim Girhoree.
- (xxxii) Shah Latif also helped understand the phonemes, that is an important subject of Sindhi linguistics, such as the words *kar* and *karh*, and in *karian* and *karhian* where by using the phonemes like *r* and *rh* he has shown a difference in their meanings.
- (xxxiii) The use of pronominal suffixes in the poetry of Shah Latif indicates to this important point of Sindhi language.
- (xxxiv) Examples of Sindhi prose are found from this era including countless sayings, proverbs and idioms. Shah Inayat Sufi Shaheed has been a great scholar of this period who initiated and propagated the sense of patriotism and nationalism in Sindh. One of his sentences occupies a significant place in Sindhi literature, society and cultural history. That sentence is as under:

ڏونگر ڏني ڏاڙهي، ڪره ڪتي جو پڇ.

doongar dini darhee, karah kute jo puchh.

Appearance of idioms like *darhee dianh* and *kutay jo puchh* is a simile that has an important place in Sindhi traditions, and from which the values of Sindhi culture become known. Some proverbs and saying from Shah Latif's works in this era are reproduced here as under:

- *data na aahe zaat te, jo wahe so lahe* (ڏات نه آهي ذات تي، جو واهي سو لهي)
- *tati-a thadhi-a kaaha, kanhe waila wehan jee* (تتيءَ ٿڌيءَ ڪاهه، ڪانهي ويل ويهڻ جي)
- *dahyoon dukha disan.* (ڏاهيون ڏک سن)
- *dudi-a ja beena* (پڏيءَ جا پيٽا)

- (xxxv) The Persian verse that Shah Inayat Sufi Shaheed uttered at the time of his martyrdom eventually became an initiator of many books and movements. That verse is as under:

رهانيدي مرا، از شر هتي

جزاک الله في دارين خيرا

rahayandi mara, az shar hite

jazak allah fi daren khairan

So one can make an inference that Shah Latif's period i.e. the era of Kalhora rule was great and important in the literary history of Sindhi language.

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 - 42- Sirajul Haque Memon: Article; see Nanin Zindagi, January 1971, p 23:: the words given in brackets in the topic of kabaro are from the present day language so that the real words are easily understood.
 - 43- Nabi Buksh Khan Baloch, Dr: "Sindhi Boli ain Adab ji Tareekh", IIIrd edition, pp 427
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Chapter Eighth

The Period of Sachal Sarmast and Sami

(Mir [Talpur] Rule 1783 to 1843 AD)

1- It has been mentioned in chapter 7 that the last years of Mughal rule and the initial part of Kalhora period (1700 AD) that started 10 years after Shah Latif's birth, brought new measures and horizons for Sindhi language. Makhdoom Ziauddin, Makhdoom Abul Hassan, Makhdoom Muhammad Hashim Thattvi, Shah Inayat Shaheed, Shah Inat Rizvi, Makhdoom Muhammad Moeen Thattvi and Shah Latif brought about important changes in the prevailing traditions of Sindhi and made it an everlasting language. Shah Latif's influence on Sindh and Sindhi language remained effective in the periods after him, and it is evident on Sachal Sarmast and his contemporaries, not only in Sindh but outside Sindh on the poets and scholars of the Seraiki belt as well.

2- Like the Kalhora period, Sindhi was the medium of education in addition to Persian and Arabic in the Talpur era as well. Arabic and Persian were used for higher education and the curriculum of Sindhi language was assigned as follows:

After the first year in the religious schools when the child started reading and writing, he was first taught recitation of the Holy Quran without its translation. The teaching at that age was gradual. When he reached the age of 9 years, he was taken one step ahead to study his mother-tongue i.e. Sindhi language. And to this end they were taught the following syllabus (1):

(i) **Noor Nama:** This is an easy and short compiled book, which describes the history before mankind was born. This book was composed by Abdul Rehman. It is a collection of the sayings of different messengers of God and the Ahadith of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh).

(ii) **Books and tafseers by Makhdoom Muhammad Hashim Thattvi:** His books such as Faraizul Islam, Vaseeat Namo, Zibah Shikar a.k.a Rahatul Momineen, Biaaz Hashmi, Tafseer Tabarak, Tafseer Um, Zaadul Faqeer, Tehzeebul Islah, Fatehul Kalam and Hayatul Quloob were prescribed for teaching in seminaries/*Madressahs*.

(iii) **Stories in poetry and prose:** Important stories on topics like Saiful-Mulook and Laila Majnoon were also taught. The most important book in this series was Hikayatul Saliheen, which had been translated from Arabic to Sindhi by a scholar named Abdul Hakeem. The subjects in this book were biographies and sayings of famous saints of the Islamic era.

(iv) **"Laadano" (Obituary):** This book is about the passing away of the Holy Prophet (pbuh) and is a translation of Habib Sayar, a book written by Mian Habibullah.

(v) **“Sao Masala (100 Problems):** This small booklet is about how Abdul Haleem, a beggar, had won a bet of answering 100 questions to marry the daughter of a king of Rome.

(vi) **Mairaj Namō:** This book is about the facts and happenings related with the event of MAIRAJ of the Holy Prophet (pbuh).

One can infer that the system of teaching in Sindhi language continued in the times of the Talpur rulers. In this era, this language was used for religious education in schools and seminaries whereas the children of Hindu shopkeepers and traders learnt the use of commercial language by teachers, scholars and educationists who maintained the high standards of the language through their writings and literary work, which was later acquired by great poets like Shah Latif and his contemporary poets and scholars, like Sachal Sarmast, Mian Abdul Raheem Girhoree, Mian Sarfaraz Khan Abbassi, Syed Sabit Ali Shah, Sami, Rohal, Dilpat, Bedal, Makhdoom Abdul Rauf Bhatti, Mir Hassan Ali Khan Hassan, Khalifa Nabi Buksh Qasim and Nawab Wali Muhammad Leghari, etc.

In the period of the Talpur Mirs, Sindhi language also remained the medium of writing for commercial reasons and trade in addition to the day to day businesses. The Khwajas, Memons, Bhatias, Lohanas and other Hindu traders used to write their commercial letters, ledgers, accounting books, diaries, etc. in scripts prevalent in their regions in addition to the Sindhi-Arabic script.

3- (a) The Talpur rule started in 1783 AD. The last years of the Kalhora rule was a difficult time for the people of Sindh. In the beginning of this era, owing to the attacks by Nadir Shah and later the fighting between Mian Ghulam Nabi Kalhora and Mian Abdul Ghani Kalhora and the attacks on Sindh by Madad Khan Pathan, the cities of Larr were destroyed and the martyrdom of Mian Sarfaraz Khan Abbassi and similar events had resulted in a state of tyranny and lawlessness in Sindh.

Eventually, Kalhoras were defeated in the battle of Halani and the Talpurs became the rulers of Sindh. The Talpur rule brought back peace in the lives of the people of Sindh. The poetry of Syed Azimuddin Thattvi, a poet in the courts of Mir Fateh Ali Khan, provides credence to such a claim.

(b) The Talpur rulers inherited a vast literary treasure. The fame of literary acumen, knowledge and services of the scholars of Kalhora period had crossed the frontiers and reached the Arab world, Iran, Afghanistan and the countries of the Middle East. The Late Lutfullah Badvi writes in this regard:

“In the Mirs’ era, while the Sindhi poetry progressed, Persian poetry did not lag behind. Numerous great and famous poets of Persian were born in this era which include Mir Janullah Rizvi, Syed Azeemuddin Thattvi, Mir Raziuddin ‘Fida’, Mir Hyderuddin ‘Booturab Kamil’, Mir Karam Ali Khan ‘Karam’, Mir Naseer Khan ‘Jaffery’, Nawab Wali Muhammad Khan Leghari, Shewak Ram ‘Attarad’, ‘Toofan’ Thattvi, Mirza Mazhar Syed ‘Tabatabai’, Makhdoom Abdul Wahid ‘Sevistani’, Ghulam Ali Thattvi ‘Momin’, Sahib Rai ‘Azad’, Muhammad Rajah ‘Panah’, Syed Sabir Ali

Thattvi, Makhdoom Noor Muhammad 'Noor', Persram Thanwario (Tanwario) Mal 'Beena', Mirza Khusro Baig, Mir Hotik Khan Baloch and Mir Kazim Shah." (2)

Mr. Badvi continues:

"Although the brief period of reign by the Mirs is not full of achievements in the country's welfare and betterment, but one cannot deny the fact that their courts were always full of scholars and poets, where their skill and knowledge always prevailed. The services rendered by them in the fields of literature and education can never be forgotten. The Mirs did not just like the Persian language, they adored it. They always encouraged the progress of Persian."

Referring to Nathan Crowe, Mr. Badvi says:

"The courts of Mirs reverberate with Persian language and schools also teach this very language." (3)

The Mirs loved the art of poetry and because of their literary inclinations their courts had plenty of court poets of an Eastern style. A remarkable and famous poet like Syed Azeemuddin Thattvi used to live in the courtyard of Mir Fateh Ali Khan. He was the paternal uncle of Mir Ali Sher Qane. Mir Karam Ali Khan was also a good poet; he was not only a ruler but was an education-friendly person and his court used to brim with poets and scholars. He was a writer and poet of high stature. (4) His poetic works have been found and his pen-name was Karam. He composed poetry in the genres of *ghazal*, *qaseeda* and *fard*. His poetry contains the descriptions of the symbols of love (*gul-o-bulbul*) and stories about wine and joyful parties. Mir Murad Ali Khan became the ruler after Mir Karam Ali and he too had a great interest in Persian literature and occasionally composed poetry. (5)

4- The last period of Talpur rule was that of Mir Naseer Khan 'Jaffery', who spent his life in exile and house-arrest. The British conquered Sindh on 17th February 1843 in the battle of Miani and the Mir rulers were arrested and sent to Calcutta.

Mir Naseer Khan wrote poetry while in prison and exile. He was a poet of high standard. Dr. Burns, who had come to Hyderabad for the treatment of the Mirs in the times of Mir Murad Ali Khan writes:

"The second son of Mir Murad Ali Khan, Mir Nasir Khan's personality is more attractive among the princes. He is 25 years old. When I was going to Hyderabad, I had already heard about the qualities and scholarly acumen of Mir Nasir Khan. Considering that all the poets of the world enjoy their praise, one day I requested Mir Sahib to give me a copy of his *Diwan*. He accepted my request and gave me a beautiful copy of his *diwan*, which was decorated with gold-work; he also wrote a comment on the title. If this poetry is actually Mir Sahib's creation, it proves his beautiful expression rather than his scholarly acumen." (6)

5- (a) In the Mir era, while the Persian poetry was high and mighty, Sindhi poetry was also at its peak. Late Mr. Lutfullah Badvi calls this era as the golden period of Sindhi poetry. He has written:

“A lot of changes occurred in ancient poetry. The ‘*do tuki*’ *vaae* present in the period of Shah Latif, had changed, and this genre of poetry was given the name of *kafi*.” (7)

But after studying what has been described above, this opinion of Mr. Badvi cannot be accepted that *kafi* started in the period of Talpurs. Discussing the periods of Sama and Soomra rule, the opinion of Makhdoom Talibul Maula has been given as a reference.

Makhdoom Talibul Maula describes:

“*Kafi* is the name of a *raga* derived from a branch of music. The name of this genre was described by Pandit Sarang Dev in his book called Ratnakar as “Harpiamail” about 700-800 years back. The inventor of Sitar (musical instrument based on strings) Ameer Khusro (1253-1325 AD) had invented a few notes by mixing Persian and Hindi *ragas* to beat the royal singer Nanak Gopal.” (8)

In this context, the opinion of Dr. Abdul Jabbar Junejo carries a lot of weight. He says:

“The structure of the *Ginans* by Pir Shams and Sadrud din is like the *kafi*.” (9)

“A few *Ginans* have been published and after their perusal, one can say that Pir Sadrud din was not only a preacher but a very good poet too. His poetry contains language that is sweet and has a high quality of expression. His eloquence and similes show the depth of his thoughts and his poetry is very impressive.

Ginan is a genre of ancient Sindhi poetry having a very interesting form, because *bait* is apparently the most prominent genre of the initial era of Sindhi poetry. The structure of *Ginan* is a couple of steps ahead of *vaae* and is also seen in *kafi*. Some of them are similar to the lines of *bait* and many are like *kafi* with two lines in a verse and also contain repeating rhymes which conforms more to *kafi* rather than *vaae*; albeit at places the meter is not up to the mark. Some lines are musically based on *Chhand* (prosody) while some on *kafi*. When more *Ginans* will become available, it will be possible to study them in more detail.” (10)

(b) Research has shown that the genre of *kafi* was common in the Multan region in the times of Pir Sadrud din (1290-1409 AD). Mr. Badvi did change his views later and wrote in the same book that:

“As far as *kafi* is concerned, the first one that we notice is Madhulal Shah Hussain, who was born in Lahore in the 12-13th Century AD and died around 1399 AD; it is famous that he belonged to the Malamati sect

and used to sing and dance. Madhulal Shah Hussain was famous for his *kafis* in Punjabi poetry.

After Madhulal comes the name of Bulhay Shah, who holds a very high position in Punjabi poetry. He was born in a village near Qusoor around 1680 AD and died in 1750 AD. Most of his poetry consists of *kafis*.” (11)

Mr. Badvi writes further:

“Syed Bulhay Shah is a predecessor of Sachal Sarmast. Rohal Sufi was his great contemporary whose collection of *kafis* has also become available.” (12)

Mr. Badvi continues:

“Having decided the time zone, one can endeavour to say that *kafi* is a genre which has come from Punjab. The spiritual relations between Sindh and Punjab are very old. A large number of disciples of Shaikhul Shiyukh Hazrat Bahauddin Zikria Multani and his lineage reside in Sindh. The followers of the saints of Uch Shareef (Jilani and Bukhari) and Sultan Bahu also lived here in large numbers (and still do); the tomb of Hazrat Mian Mir used to be a place of pilgrimage for people of Sehwan. All these shrines of saints regularly received pilgrims from Sindh; and surely on the basis of these relations *kafi* must have reached Sindh.” (13)

(c) One has to clarify at this juncture that in the literary history of Sindh and Punjab, while *kafi* has been considered as a raga of music, it is also a genre of literature of Sindh and Punjab. Research has established that *kafi* is a genre of Sindhi, Seraiki and Punjabi poetry which has been present in the subcontinent before the arrival of Ameer Khusro (1253-1325 AD). And to support this claim, the writings of Syed Lutf Ali Shah Manzoor Naqvi, Makhdoom Muhammad Zaman Talibul Maula and Mushtaq Jaffery are available. Mr. Talibul Maula has written with reference to the book ‘Sindh main Urdu’ and taking the help of Shaikh Farid Bakhri’s book called ‘Zakheera Alkhawaneen’, he says:

“We have found that in the 11th Century, a famous Urdu poet lived in Sindh. His name was Syed Muhammad Fazil Bakhri, who was the younger brother of Syed Masoom Bakhri, the writer of Tareekh-e-Masoomi; his poetry became quite famous.

It is written in Zakheera Alkhawaneen:

”شعر بر زبان سندی از قسم کافی بکمال می گفت و مقبولیت داشت“ (14)

Makhdoom Talibul Maula’s views can be seen in previous pages. (see ref: 8)

Mr. Talibul Maula further opines that:

“Ameer Khusro invented another raga from Harpiamail and named it as ‘*Rag kafi*’ which means ‘full or complete’.

“The use of ‘*Raag kafi*’ was already established in Sindh and in the 11th Century AD, Shaikh Laad Jiyo migrated from Sindh to settle in

Burhanpur (India). He had expertise in Sindhi music. *kafi* Rag had become quite popular in Sindh, and he used to sing with such a pensive and melodious voice that the listeners used to sway and go in a trance.” (15)

Abdul Majeed Bhatti, the author of ‘Kafiaan Shah Hussain’ has claimed that Shah Hussain was the first sufi poet who wrote *kafi* and based them on ragas. (16) Writing in the chapter on Indian music, Abul Fazal, the author of ‘Aaina e Akbari’ has called *kafi* as a raga from Sindh. He writes:

و آئین در سند گویند کانی نام بود

در و سیان افسون مهر و محبت (17)

(d) Mysticism came to Multan and ancient Sindh from the Middle East, Hirat and Kandhar, the vanguard of which was Laal Shahbaz Qalander. (18) He had a great effect on Sindh and its scholars and saints as has been mentioned earlier in the text. All these saints and scholars were poets too, and therefore, the language used in the poetry shows an influence of mysticism in it. They used words, phrases and quotes usually used in mysticism, thereby adding these words to the vocabulary of Sindhi language.

6- (a) A new era of mysticism started in the period of Mir rule. Sachal Sarmast was a representative poet and saint of this period. Sachal was deeply inspired by the philosophy of Mansoor Halaaj. He (Sachal) defined the principles of *Vehdatul Vujood* (Unity of Existence) through Sindhi language. The poetry of Sachal is full of very fine details of mysticism. Mr. Lutfullah Badvi has written:

“As a scholar who defines mysticism, he has described the facts about negation and positivism (نفي-اثبات) finite and infinite (فنا-بقا), abstract and individual (تجريد-تفريد) *Hama'oost* and *vehdatul vujood*, recitation and thought in a very impressive manner.” (19)

(b) Sachal Sarmast was a big poet of the Talpur era. He expressed his thoughts and views through *kafi*, *doheero*, *bait*, *jhoolan*, *ghazal* and *raikht* and described the various subjects of human psychology and the thoughts of various sections of the society for which he used Sindhi, Seraiki and other languages.

Shah Latif and Sachal Sarmast are the voices coming from the hearts of the people of their own periods. One finds that people who lived in those times were very close to them. The people of Shah Latif's time used to sing his *baits* and *vaees* in their areas and people of Sachal's times sang his poetry in Sindh as well as in Seraiki belt of Punjab, Rajasthan and areas of Balochistan.

(c) Sachal Sarmast also depicted the conditions of the people of his times. His poetry also encompasses the social conditions and classes of his time in his language: for example kings and rulers, rich, poor and destitutes, mirs and pirs, clerics, mullahs, pandits and brahmans, traders and merchants, farmers and laborers, wanderers and *jogis*, blacksmith and goldsmiths, weavers, cobblers, shepherds, strong and weak, Kohistani, Kharai, Larri, riders etc. He has presented these vocations in his poetry as under:

چئو ميان عشقا ڪيئن، تون سوين سيل بنائين ٿو
يا تون آهين ذات ديوانو، جو ڪيڏا ٺاهه ٺاهين ٿو،
ڪاٿئين ملان، قاضي تون، ڪاٿئين سيد سڏائين ٿو،
ڪاٿئين شيخ برهمڻ، ڪاٿئين ٻانگ ٻڌائين ٿو. (الڳ)

*chao miya ashqa kiyan, toon sawen sala banain tho,
ya toon ahin zaat deewano, jo keda thaaha thaheen tho,
kathayeen mulan, qazi toon, kathain syed sadayeen tho,
kathayeen Sheikh Brahman, kathayeen banga budhayeen tho (alkh)*

Second example:

هت ڏسان ڏوٿيون جون، ويني واٽيون،
هت پون پهوارن تي، مٺيون ماٿيون،
ياد اتي جون مون پيون، چوهيون چاٿيون،
توڙي چار ڪنڊان لوئيءَ جون، هت ڦاڪين ڦاٿيون.

*hit disaan dothiyaran joon, weṭhe watryoon,
hit pawan pahnwaran te, miṭhyoon matryoon,
yaad ute joon moon khe payoon, chhohyoon chhatryoon,
tore chaar kundan loyi-a joon, hit phakin phatryoon*

Or this example:

ڪانگل ڏج سنيها، مان ويراجڻ آهيان،
اوهان باجهون آءُ گهڙيري، محلن ۾ مُسجان،
قسمت قيد الماء جي، ايرادي آهيان،
چانور چا چورما، آچن نت نوان
ڏونرا، پُسيون ڏيه جا، ساريون هت رُٿان. (الڳ)

*kangal dij sinehara, maan weragan ahyan
awhan bajhoon aaun ghaneri, mahlan men musjan,
qismat qaid almau je, aeradee ahean,
chanwar chha choorma, aachhan nat nawan,
daunra, pusyoon deha ja, saryoon hit ruan*

(d) He has depicted the milieu of the fishermen's society in these words:

ڪڙهيون جن ڪنڌ تي، سي ٿيا لڳي پال پلا،
دمڙي تن نه دست ۾، هئا ٺهريل ڪين ٺها،
اڄ ميئن جي گهر مال جا، ٿيا ٿر ٿلا،
پر هيڙي اڳڙين ۾ ڪاڇا مِي ڪلا،
ڪينجهر گهمڻ لاڏ ڪيون، ڪيون رَس رلا،
اڳلا جي سڱلا، سستي نانوَ سڃاڻبا.

*kurhyoon jin kandha te, se thya lagi bhaala bhala,
damri tin na dast me, hua thahryal keen thalha,
aj meean je ghara maal ja, thya tham thala,
para heri akhryun men kaja mee kala
keenjhar ghuman laada kayoon, kayoon rasa rala
agla je sagla, saste nanwa sunjanba.*

Sachal Sarmast used thousands of new words of various circumstances, some of which are as under:

dhago (ڏاڳو), *manyō* (مڻيون), *daam* (دام), *dothiyaran* (ڏوٿيڙين), *watryoon* (واتڙيون), *panhwar* (پنهوار), *matriyoon* (ماتڙيون), *chhohyoon* (چوهيون), *chhaatdyoon* (چاٽريون), *looyi* (لوئي), *khinvinyoon* (کنوئيون), *jhangeen* (جهانگين), *thareleen* (ٿاريلين), *dothin* (ڏوٿين), *saneeha* (سانيهه), *marooara* (ماروٽڙا), *kangal* (کانگل), *saneehara* (سنههڙا), *weragan* (ويراڳڻ), *chanwar* (چانور), *choorma* (چورما), *daunra* (ڏؤنرا), *pusyoon* (پُسيون), *jhaka* (جھڪ), *chhapar* (چپر), *goran* (گورَن), *doongar* (ڏونگر), *damri* (دمڙي), *keenjhar* (ڪينجهر), *agla sagla* (اڳلا سڳلا), *munha mera* (منهن ميرا), *munha buchhra* (منهن بچڙا), *suhaag* (سهاڳ), *goondar* (گوندر), *ganeera* (گنيرا), *kurhyoon* (ڪُڙهيون), *kojhyoon* (ڪوجهيون), *chhichhee* (چچي), *chhata* (چٽ), *ranga karyoon* (رنگ ڪاريون), *munhan na mocharyoon* (منهن نه موچاريون), *kharyoon* (ڪاريون), *dhoni* (ڏوٺي), *dhyan* (ڌيان), *adhot* (آڏوت), *gurgum* (گُرگُر), *godarya* (گودڙيا), *garoori* (گروڙي), *ashnan* (آشنان), *ganga* (گنگا), *jamna* (جمنا), *jo gi* (جوڳي), *jataoon* (جتائون), *chimta badhan* (چمتا ٻڌڻ), *kishta* (ڪشتا), *poorab* (پورب), *weragi* (ويراڳي), *bhogi* (پوڳي), *tiyagan* (تياڳڻ), *sami* (سامي), *kafni* (ڪفني), *mashaal* (مشعل), *kundal* (ڪُنڊل), *jogesar* (جوڳيسر) & *wanjhalyoon* (ونجهليون) etc.

In the following example, one can see how he has tried to depict the environment in *Sur Sasui*:

توڙي جھڪ جهڪي ڪئي جهولي،
 ٻي تان ٻولي هڏ نه ٻولي،
 ڦيريون ڏٺي، پرينءَ کي ڦولي،
 چوهون پاڻ چپر کي چولي،
 گورن رند ڏسي سرُ گهولي،
 ڳڙ ڳڙ ڳوڙها ڳاڙيو ڳولي،
 ڏونگر ڏرڙ ڏڪوئي ڏولي،
 قادر شال قريبن ڪولي،
 ڪندو گام تڪر ڪئون تاري.

toṛe jhaka jhaki kayi jholi,
be taan boli had na boli
phairyoon daye, bhareen-a khe phole
chhohoon bhaan chhapar khe chhole,
goran rand disi sur ghole,
gar gar gorha garyo gole
doongar darar dukhoye dole,
qaadir shaal qareeban kole,
kando gaam tukar kanyon tare.

Like Shah Latif, Sachal Sarmast also used many words used in the families of wanderers and *jogis* in his poetry, for example: *dhoori* (ڏوڙي), *dyan* (ڌيان), *adhoot* (اڏوت), *gur-gum* (گُر-گُر), *godarya* (گودڙيا), *garoori* (گروڙي), *ashnan* (اشنان), *ganga jamna* (گنگا جمن), *jogi* (جوڳي), *jataoon* (جٿائون), *chimta badhan* (چمٽا ٻڌڻ), *kishta* (ڪشتا), *poorab* (پورب), *weragi* (ويراڳي), *bhogi* (پوڳي), *bhagi* (پياڳي), *tiyagan* (تياڳڻ), *kafni* (ڪفني), *mashaal* (مشعل), *kundal* (ڪُنڊل), *jogesar* (جوڳيسر) & *wanjhalyoon* (ونجهليون).

(1) ڪُنڊل ڪنن ۾ وجهي، خان چڙهي خاني،

جوڳيسر جاني، راويءَ طرف روي هليو.

kundala kanan men wijhi, khan chhade khani,

jogesar jaani, ravi-a taraf rawi halyo

(2) جوڳي زلفن وارو، سو سامي مون تان ڪين

ڳل ڪئي ڪفني دست پهوڙا، مشعل منجه موچارو

انگ ڀيوت بنائي آيو، بيڪ پئي وڻجارو،

پئي لباس ڪو رانجهو ايندو، چڙهي تخت هزارو،

سبب انهيءَ ڪئون ڪين سڃاتر، ماريو مئيءَ لئه وارو،

”سچر“ سڃاتو ته رانجهو آهي، جڏهن جمال پسائين سارو.

jogi zulfun waro, so saami moon taan keena

gal kai kafni dast pahora, mashaal manjh mocharo

ang bhabhoot banaye aayo, bekha payi wanjaro,

biye libas ko ranjho eendo, chhade takht hazaro,

sabab unhai-a khaun keena sunjatam, maryo mui-a laye waro,

”sacho” sunjato ta ranjho aahe, jadenh jamal pasayeen saro.

7- (a) It is peculiar of Eastern and local poets to use a woman as the lover, and share their thoughts through a feminine voice. From Pir Shams and later Pir Sadruddin to Shah Karim Bulrai, Shah Latif, Shah Inayat Rizvi, Lutfullah Lakho, Sachal Sarmast, Sami, Rohal Faqeer and Talibul Maula they have all presented themselves as a lover in the form of a woman where in addition to praying for the beloved, they beseech, urge and plead as well.

Sachal Sarmast has also taken this path to express his mysticism. He has also expressed through a woman as the desiring one and has used the words, phrases, proverbs, and prayers brimming with humility, modesty, low-profile and extreme humbleness. He has expressed the desire of meeting and unison with the beloved as a woman; sending prayers, requests and pleas. And to express such human feelings, he has used his own language. He has also used the female folk characters like Sasui, Marvi, Noori, Leela, Sohni and Moomal to show his love and affection for the beloved. For example:

1. تون تان صاحب سپرين، هيءَ ڏوهارڻ ڏڏ.

toon taan sahib supreen, hee-a doharan dad

2. صورت وارا سپرين، آء نمائي چاهيان؟
soorata wara supreen, aaun nimaṇi chhahyan?

3. دوست اوهانجڙي آهيان، ميان!
سائينء لڳ سڃاڻين.

تون تان صاحب سپرين، ميان، هيء نار نمائي!
گچيء پائي ڪپڙو، ميان الا، زور ڪرينس زاري.
dost awhanjari aahyan, miyan!

saeen-a lag sunjaṇeen.

toon taan sahib supreen, miyan, hee-a naar nimaṇi!

gichi-a paye kapdo, miyan ala, zor kareens zaari

4. پرين نه ڇڏج ٻئي پار، ساريو تنهنجون ڳالهيون، رُٿان آء ڌار،
اڱڻ آسروند جي، والي ايندين ڪهڙي وار،
آهين جنهن تون آسرو، سا ويچاري نه وسار،
نمائيء جي نجهري، آء گهڙي هڪ گذار.

pirin na chhadij biye pār, saryo tunhjūn gālhyūn, ruān āun zār,

angan aasrond je, wali eenden kahre waar,

ahin jinhen toon asro, sa wechari na wisar

nimaṇi-a je nijahre, aau gharī guzar.

(b) Like Shah Latif, Sachal Faqeer has also presented woman as a symbol in his poetry in Sindhi, Seraiki and other languages to show her qualities and cultural values like, love, sacrifice, consistence, bravery, courage, modesty and humbleness; for example:

هيء نمائي وو، ور وڪاڻي وو!
نال نباهي نيجو.

hee-a nimaṇi wo, war wikaṇi wo!

naal nibahe nejō.

(c) Sachal Sarmast has used numerous new words, phrases, formations, similes, metaphors and other poetical figures and genres in his language. He has used many Persian and Arabic words and phrases in his vocabulary. Like:

آء ادا سالڪ، سهي ڪر، تون طلسمات ڪي

پڇ ڏوئي تا ڪل پويئي، دور ڪر درجات ڪي

سر اهو سارو سڻائج، ڪن نه ڏي ڪرامات ڪي (الخ)

aau ada salik sahi kar, toon tilsimaat khe

bhanj doi taa kala paweyi, door kar darjaat khe

sir uho saaro suṇaij, kana na de karamat khe

Similarly, in his *kafis* he used *karamat*, *sifaat*, *maujoodaat*, *maslehaat*, *taāat*, *aza'laaat*, *asbaat*, *hidayat*, *zalaalat*, *tajreed*, *tafreed* and numerous other words that had not been used by Shah Latif and his other contemporaries.

8- (a) The language used by Sachal Faqeer is of *Utradi* (of *Uttar*/upper Sindh) dialect. Some typical words from his collection are reproduced here as examples:

- khaun* (ڪُون) = *khan* (ڪان) (from)
jade (جاڏي) = *jedan* (جيڏانهن) (where)
dahoon (ڏهون) = *daanh* (ڏانهن) (to)
maun (مون) = *manjhan* (منجهان) (in)
taade (تاڏي) = *tedaanh* (تيڏانهن) (there)
kaade (کاڏي) = *keedan* (ڪيڏانهن) (where?)
raahan (راهان) = *raahon* (راهون) (ways)
khبران (خبران) = *khabroon* (خيرون) (news)

(b) Khanbahadur Memon writes in this regard: (20)

“The language used by Sachal in his poetry is Sindhi used in the northern part of Sindh.” For example:

- (1) اوھان ٻاجھون دلبر سائين، آھيون اُداسي آسي.
awhan bajhaun dilbar saeen, aahyo udasi aasi.
(2) مران يا نابر ناھيان، پنھنجي ڪڍ قطارج ميان.
maran ya naabir nahyan, penhje kadha qatarij miyan
(3) ڪاڻئين ٻڌڙو پير ٿيو، ڪاڻئين ٻولي ٻار.
kathayeen budhro peer thyo, kathayeen boli baar.
(4) اڄ هوتن ريءَ هت هاڻ، ٻيا ڪير لهن مون ساران.
aj hotan ree-a hit haan, biya ker lahan moon saran.
(5) مون کي رات رسيون، ڏيه ڏاڏائون خبران.
moon khe raat rasyun, deha dadanyoon khabran
(6) زور چڏيون زاريون، ٿو تماچي تن کي ڪري.
zora chhadayoon zaryoon, tho tamachi tin khe kare.
(7) سي اڄ ٻڌيون وتن سر تي، چاه منجهان چيو
se aj badhyoon watan sir ate, chaha manjhan chaira
(8) جن لءِ رور نهرير راهان، موليٰ سي محب ملاءِ
jin laye roz nahryam raahan, maula se muhib milaye. (21)

The words like *baajhaoon*, *assee*, *kadh*, *kaathaeen*, *saraan*, *payoon*, *khabraan*, *raahaan* and *budhiyoon* are commonly used in the dialect of the upper Sindh. Similarly, some of the phrases used by Sachal Sarmast are reproduced here as examples:

- aaryoon khaan* (آريون ڪڻ), *saloon dhakan* (سالون ڍڪڻ), *ghera gheran* (گهريو گهريو), *chimta badhan* (چمتا ٻڌڻ), *pootyoon patain* (پوٽيون پٽائڻ), *faal wijhan* (فال وجهڻ), *akha wijhan* (اکا وجهڻ), *sinehara mokilar* (سنيھرا موڪلڻ)

Dr. Abdul Majeed Memon writes:

“Sachal’s poetry clearly shows the northern (Uttar) idiom. Giving examples, he says that adding a suffix *aan* at the end of a melodious phrase makes it in the plural form. In Larri dialect, the suffix *oon* is added,

e.g.:

جن لء روز نهاريں راھان، مولیٰ سي محب ملایا

jin laye roz nahryam raahan, maula se muhib milaye.

(d) Numerous compound words have been used in the language of Sachal e.g. *munh mera* (منهن میرا), *munh buchhra* (منهن بچڑا), *sar pata* (سر پتہ), *ranga karioon* (رنگ کاریون), *munh na mocharyoona* (منهن نه موچاریون), *gur gum* (گر گر) and *munh-ang bhabhut* (منهن-انگ بیوت) etc.

(e) Nearly all the examples of poetical figures (*sanaya badaya*) can be seen in Sachal's poetry. Like:

(1) حاضر ناظر تون، باطن ظاہر تون، تنهنجو ھل ھنگامو ھي

hazir nazir toon, batin zahir toon, tunhinjo hul hangamo he.

(2) تنهنجي حسن ماریا، سوريء سنپاریا، انهيء ڳالھ ڳاریا، هزارین هزار

اھي یار آیا، نیزن جي نوايا، نیئي سر سلايا، تنهن جو آڳھار

tunhije husna marya, soori-a sanbharya, inhai-a galh garya, hazaren hazar

uhe yaar aya, nezan je nawaya, neyi sir sulaya, tunhjo aghaar.

In this regard, Dr. Abdul Karim Sandeelo has said:

“We cannot deny the fact that the strange words and phrases used by a poet in his poetry must have been in accordance with the conditions and customary use of those times. No poet will use concocted words; instead, he will use meaningful words that would be the beauty of his poetry.” (22)

Dr. Atta Muhammad Hami writes:

“An in-depth study of the poetry of Sachal Sarmast reveals that he had command over the language. The way he chooses his words, their structure, format and the vigour and power of his speech vouch for the strength of his poetry. The proverbs, sayings and idioms will be according to the day to day usage.” (23)

These examples prove that in this era Sindhi language had acquired all the standard linguistic qualities.

9- (a) In the Kalhora period, many Seraiki speaking tribes migrated and settled in Sindh. Their language, i.e. Seraiki left a significant influence on the language of the Upper Sindh which gradually affected the standard Sindhi used for education and teaching. Seraiki started being spoken in the Upper Sindh, and its influence on Sachal Sarmast and other poets of Upper Sindh is quite obvious. Dr. Nawaz Ali Shauq believes that:

“In his (Sachal's) Seraiki poetry, one can see the commonly spoken language and idioms abundantly.” (24)

It has been said earlier that in the Talpur and Kalhora periods, Seraiki was also spoken in Sindh, because the language of the rulers was also Seraiki. Therefore, Seraiki had a significant influence on Sindhi language, the evidence of which can be easily seen in the poetry of Sachal Sarmast and other poets of Upper Sindh. Dr. Ayaz Qadri has also

written in this regard that:

“In Sachal’s times, the rulers of the Khairpur State and numerous tribes of Sindh spoke in Seraiki. It was the mother-tongue of the Talpurs, therefore, the people of Khairpur State were influenced by Seraiki. Moreover, Sindh had very old relations with Multan and various singers and saints used to visit Sindh frequently who were liked by the people for their singing. Due to the influence of the Mir rulers, the relations with Multan and the visits by the singers, Seraiki poetry and songs had become very popular in Khairpur and surrounding areas, and it also affected Sachal Faqueer.” (25)

(b) Dr. Memon Abdul Majeed Sindhi also believes that Seraiki language had a great influence on Sachal Sarmast. He writes:

“Sachal Sarmast was aware of Punjabi and Seraiki poetry as well as Sindhi. One can find metaphorical verses based on the romantic stories of Punjab like Heer Ranjha in his Punjabi and Seraiki poetry. The Punjabi poets have composed the story of Heer Ranjha as a serial, whereas, following the tradition of Sindhi poetry, Sachal Sarmast has taken an allegorical and symbolic line. For example, in Seraiki the sound of ‘r’ is changed to ‘l’, Sachal has also done so:

- (1) کٽي گداگر گداڻي والا، کٽي شهنشاه،
kithe gadagar gadai wala, kithe shahnshah
(2) سَندِيَوَ سار سنڀال، يار مون کي آهي، منهنجا ميان!
sandiyawa saara sanbhal, yaar moon khe aahe, munhinja miyaan!
(3) سچو صدقي تن تئون، جند جنهين هت گهولي
sacho sadqe tin taun, jin jinhen hit gholi (26)

Dr. Memon further writes:

“Sachal Sarmast has used Seraiki words abundantly in his poetry; like:

- (1) ٻيو ڄاڻڻ محض گناه، هر ڪنهن صورت آپ الله.
biyo janan mahz gunah, har kenh soorat aap Allah.
(2) حال پاڻي اچي سي ٿيا، جن تان چيٽڪ لايو.
haal bhai ache se thya, jin taan chetak layo.
(3) ڏوڙا طالع مون ٿين، جڏهن سچو نانوَ سڏيندا.
doora talai moon theen, jadenh sacho nanwa sadeenda.

In the above examples, *aap*, *chaitak* and *dorra* are words of Seraiki language.” (27)

10- (a) Researchers and experts believe that “Persian language strengthened its foothold in Sindh in the times of the Arab rule” (28), but Dr. Haru Sadarangani feels that:

“Persian language came to Sindh in the times of Mahmood Ghaznavi (998-1031 AD).” (29)

The Arab scholars believe that signs of Persian language have been found in Sindh in the ancient times; although during the regime of Mahmood Ghaznavi it

progressed phenomenally. The famous Arab scholar Bishari Muqadassi (985 AD) writes:

“Most of the people in Multan are Arabs; and they are able to understand Persian as well.” (30)

The references given by Arab travellers also confirm that a famous physician of Sindh called Pandit Manik in the Abbassi period was a great scholar of Arabic, Sanskrit, Persian and Sindhi. He used to translate Sindhi and Sanskrit books on medicine into Arabic and Persian languages. (31)

This proves that the signs of presence of Persian language in Sindh were found from 200 years before Mahmood Ghaznavi. Moreover, Iran was a neighboring country whose language was Persian which had great relations with Sindh due to trade and commerce between the two states by road and by sea.

(b) In the Soomra period (1010-1351) around 1186 AD, the northern parts of Sindh were (administratively) under Multan and Uch (32), and the government by Multan was also under the influence by Delhi. The language for official communication in Delhi then was Persian. Therefore, one can certainly say that the official communication in the Upper Sindh must have been in Persian. In this regard, Dr. Haru Sadarangani believes that:

“During the Soomra rule in the 13th Century AD, numerous Persian scholars and saints migrated to Sindh, some of whom wrote poetry in Persian language. Some examples of this poetry by Ali Bin Hamid Koofi, a contemporary of Norruddin Koofi and the author of Chachanama are available. This saint had migrated to Sindh in 1216 AD. Similarly, some examples of Persian poetry by Laal Shahbaz Qalandar are also available.” (33)

The coins of the Soomra period have names of Soomra rulers written in Ardhnagric script, but it appears that the official language in the Soomra period was Persian.

(c) Dr. Baloch has written in this regard that:

“200 years before the Sama rule, Persian had started showing its presence, due to the status of the official language of the provincial governors and for commercial use.” (34)

Dr. Baloch continues:

“At the time of gaining power by the Sama rulers, the neighboring states of Sindh, Gujrat and Multan were directly under the control of Delhi and the governors there were carefully watching the political revolution in Sindh i.e the uprising of the Samas and the downfall of Soomra rulers. Ainul Mulk Mahroo, the governor of Multan was watching with suspicion the high-headedness of the Sama chief Jaam Baanbhino and was encouraging the last Soomra ruler Hameer son of Dodo. At the same time he was warning Jaam Baanbhino, his supporters and aides through written communiqués. He also wrote letters to some chiefs and powerful men in Sindh and this communication was in Persian language. This was an ancient type of Persian language used by the governor of the federal government of Delhi and the powerful Sama and other chiefs of Sindh. An

authentic record of such communications is still available.” (35)

A manuscript written in Persian language from the initial years of Sama rule is also available that is very old, which has been copied in the book called “Laar ji Adabi ain Saqafati Tareekh” (A Literary and Cultural History of Larr). (36) This manuscript belongs to initial period of the Sama rule.

Dr. Baloch holds the following opinion regarding this manuscript:

“This manuscript is still available and is the oldest one available from the initial period of Sama rulers, which is written in Persian instead of Arabic. It is clear from this manuscript that from the period of Sama rule onwards, Persian was used for the official communication and records; and that Persian language entered the arena of the state as the official language.” (37)

Syed Hisamuddin Shah Rashdi has written in Makli Nama as:

“The plaque on the tomb of Shaikh Turabi near Gujjo has the name of Allauddin Jam Joono carved on it with the year 872 AH (1467 AD).” (38)

The ruler of the Sama period Jam Nindo (RIP 1508 AD/914 AH) was a great scholar who had promoted education. The other scholars and authors of Persian language in the Sama rule were as under:

- i- Kazi Kadan (1465-1551 AD)
- ii- Shaikh Issa Langoti
- iii- Makhdoom Bilawal (martyred 1523 AD)
- iv- Kazi Shaikh Muhammad Uchi
- v- Maulana Ziauddin Rahoothi
- vi- Muhammad Muslihuddin Larri
- vii- Syed Murad Ali Shah Sheerazi (1407-1487 AD)
- viii- Syed Ali Sheerazi (1486-1522 AD)

Research has shown that in the Arghun and Tarkhan period (1521-1555 AD) Shukur Illahi, Mazindani, Mirak Sabzwari and Hussaini Saadaat migrated from Kandahar, Shiraz and Hirat to settle in Thatta. (39)

Arghun ruler Mirza Shah Hassan (1555 AD/962 AH) was also a poet and used the pen-name of Sipahi. Mirza Jani Baig (1599 AD/1008 AH) was a poet too with the pen-name Halimi. Similarly, Mirza Ghazi Baig (1621 AD/1021 AH) was a poet and his pen-name was Waqari. And amongst the aristocrats Ameer Abul Qasim Beglar (author of Beglar Nama), Mulla Abdul Hakeem ‘Atta’ and others were poets and writers of Persian language.

After that in the Mughal period (1555-1700 AD) and then in the Kalhora period Makhdoom Muhammad Moeen Thattvi, Makhdoom Muhammad Hashim Thattvi, Ghulam Ali ‘Madah’ (1733 AD/1145 AH), Mir Ali Sher Qane (1727-1789 AD/1140-1203 AH) and Mir Muhammad Jalal Thattvi and others were great poets, historians and

writers of Persian language.

Although Persian was the official language in the Kalhora period, the Sindhi language had its reach to the common people in addition to the courts of the rulers. Kalhora rulers promoted art and literature; Prince Mian Sarfaraz Khan Abbassi was himself a very good poet of Sindhi and Persian languages. Examples from a famous *madah* in Sindhi was given in chapter 7; it has been claimed about this *madah* that by the penultimate years of the Kalhora rule, Sindhi had left Persian language behind and it possessed all the qualities and properties to compete with Arabic and Persian languages.

11- (a) In the Kalhora period, Sindhi poetry had absorbed the meters of *uroozi* poetry; the verses of Sachal Sarmast can be presented as evidence for such a claim. The *uroozi* poetry progressed further in the Talpur regime. Most of the poetry of this era is of the *uroozi* type. Among the famous Sindhi poets of this period are Akhund Abdul Rauf Bhatti, Rohal Faqeer, Syed Sabit Ali Shah, Pir Ali Gohar Shah 'Asghar', Mulla Owais, Sahibdino Faqeer Farooqui, Muhammad Arif 'Sanat', Khalifa Gul Muhammad 'Gul', Mir Hassan Ali Khan Hassan, Mir Naseer Khan 'Jaffri', Khalifa Nabi Buksh 'Qasim' and others who had command over poetry.

(b) The influence of *uroozi* poetry is apparent in Sindhi poetry with all its qualities. Sindhi poetry was producing various genres. Thousands of words, phrases, proverbs, idioms and sayings of Arabic and Persian commonly started being used in Sindhi which greatly increased its vocabulary.

(c) Like the *madah*, the genre of *marsia* is also a proof of the modernity of language in the Mir period. Although the *kedaro* (poetry related to martyrdom) of Shah Latif and Mian Ahsan Usmani are from the initial days of this type of poetry, but Syed Sabit Ali Shah is considered as the first remarkable poet of this genre in Sindhi language in the subcontinent. In addition to the *marsia*, Syed Sabit Ali Shah wrote *noha*, *salam* and *munaqba* on the meter of *uroozi* poetry, which can be claimed as proofs of the progress of Sindhi language.

12- Syed Sabit Ali Shah used appropriate and adequate Persian words in his *marsias* composed in Persian meters which changed the façade of Sindhi language. For example:

بزم عالي جو مقرب، خاص محفل جو نديم،
بازياب حضرت مختيار با عزو علا
ان جي لطف و مكرمت جو سرتي سايو ٿيو جڏهن
رزق آسائش فراغت حال حاصل ٿيو عطا
جمل اسباب معيشت قوت اولاد و عيال
دولت سرڪار هر صورت فراوان فيض ٿيا.
bazm e ali jo muqarab e khaas, mehfal jo dost
baazyab e hazrat e mukhtyar ba azo aala
una je lutf o mukarimat jo sir ate sayo thyo jadenh
rizq asaish faraghat e haal hasil hasil thyo ata
jumla asbab e maeeshat quat e aulad o ayaal

In addition to using the *zer-izafat* (possessive diacritical mark), the words of Persian language were considered essential to be used in all the genres of *uroozi* poetry.

(d) In his war poems, Syed Sabit Ali Shah took help of Persian similes and metaphors to express the bravery of his heroes. To express pain and misery, he used imagery already highly established in Sindhi poetry.

Sabit Ali Shah composed some of his *marsiya*s on the meter of *ghazal*, while some on the pattern of *rubaaee*. He used different meters and structure of romantic poetry in his verses with the result that the *uroozi* poetry of Sindhi language was able to compete in every aspect with Persian and Urdu poetry of those times.

(e) In the Mir period, Sachal Sarmast, Syed Sabit Ali Shah and their contemporaries not only used the words, phrases and proverbs of Persian, but also used the *zer-izafat* (possessive diacritical marks), other forms and poetical figures of Persian language thereby making the poetry of his own language more colorful.

13- (a) In addition to Sachal Sarmast and Syed Sabit Ali Shah, there were many other famous poets, in the Mir period who expended the Sindhi language through their sufistic poetry. Some of them were Sadiq Faqeer Soomro, Sami, Murad Faqir of Kandree, Pir Muhammad Ashraf of Kamaro, Dilpat Sufi, Khalifo Nabi Buksh; and among the folk poets there were the likes of Hafeez Tevnoo, Khalifa Haji Abdullah of Karhio Ghanvar and Juman Charan etc. From among these poets, Sadiq Faqeer Soomro (also Sadiq Shah) was one of the finest poets of the Mir period. His collection ‘Sadiq Faqeer jo Risalo’ is also famous. His poetry is full of sufistic thought and wisdom, having concept of oneness of existence.

(b) A great saintly poet of this period and a resident of Shikarpur, Bhai Chaen Rai Lund, became famous with the title of Sami. He died in the initial days of the British rule and lived his entire life through the Mir period. Sami composed poetry in *salok* form with the subject of *vedant* and spiritual quality of sufis influenced by Islamic Sufism; therefore, Sami has also described the oneness of God Almighty. Dr. Abdul Majeed Sindhi thinks that:

“There are many common elements between Islamic values and *vedant*, therefore, some researchers believe that *vedant* has influenced Islamic ideals.” (40)

For expression of his *Vedantic* philosophy, Sami has used Hindi words like *kaam*, *kiroth*, *lobhe*, *moh*, *ahankaar*, *jogesar*, *jagat vidya*, *avidya*, *sansaar*, *ved*, *ishnaan*, *narain*, *verag*, *bhagat*, *satgur*, *anbhaee*, *jote*, *ramta ram*, *kalpat* etc. For example:

سامي چئي ست، جي ونج جڳدش ڪي،
موتي ايندو ڪينڪي، اهڙو هٿ وقت،
جائي جوڻ جڳت ڪي، ڪر پتيءَ جان پست،
پوءِ رڻندين رت، اکين مان عاجز ٿي.

saami chaye sitat, jape wathij jagdesh khe
moti indai kinaki, ahro hath waqt,

*jan̄e joṭh jagat khe, kar pati-a jaan past,
poye ruanden rat, akhyun maan aajiz thi*

ڪاڻا ۽ ماڻا، ڪوڙي سڀ ڪلپت جي،
جڻين ڦوٽو جل ۾، درخت جي ڇاڻا،
جيڪي جڳ آيا، سي سامي رهيا ڪينڪي.
*kaya ain maya, koori sabh kalapt ji
jian photo jal men, darakht jee chhaya
jeke jagu aaya, se sami rahya kinaki.*

Sami used these and such other *saloks* to teach the principles of *vedant*.

(c) (i) Saint Sami paved a new way in Sindhi society and literature by spreading his message of mysticism. He poured the colors of Islamic mysticism into the teaching of *vedant* thereby introduced a new tradition, something that Sindhi literature and people have always been proud of. Sami has mentioned the unfaithfulness of this world as:

مڪ مان رار چئي، سانت نه اچي جيءَ ڪي،
ان پاڻيءَ جي نانءُ سان، بک، اڄ ڪين لهي،
ننگر پهچي ڪونه ڪو، بنا، پنڌ ڪئي،
گرگر رهت رهي، ته سڪي ٿئي سنسار ۾.
*mukha maan raam chayee, saant na achi jee-a khe,
ina paani-a je naan-a saan, bukha, unja kian lahe,
nangar puhchi ko na ko, bina, pandh kaye,
gurgum rahat rahe, ta sukhi thiye sansar men.*

(ii) Sami has also used countless Arabic and Persian words to express his sufistic ideals; for example: *muhabatee, salaah, siddiqui, aib, sawaab, sabr, mard, malah, ajaaib, aql, saalik, rooh, raazi, noormahal, haq, haasil, wehdat* etc. It means that by this period, the Arabic and Persian words were also used in the Hindu society.

For example:

فارسي ۽ هندي، سنت چون ٿا ڳالهه هڪ،
سمجهي ڪو سامي چوي، بيائيءَ بنا ٻنڌي،
چڙهي انهيءَ اڄ تي، وٺي راه رنڊي،
پاڻي گيان گندي، سمهي سڪپت سيج تي.
*farsi ain hindi, santa chawan tha gaalh hik,
samjhe ko saami chawe, biyaae bina bandi,
charhi anbhi-a achha te, waṭhi raha randi,
paye giyan gandi, sumhi sukhat saij te.*

And at another place, he says:

عجائب عقل، سالڪ ڏٺو سڪ مان،
سمجهي روح راضي ٿيو، ڇڏي هنگامو هل،

چڙهي نور محل ۾، ڪيائين حق حاصل،
 وحدت ۾ واصل، پرچي ٿيو پريم سان.
ajaib aqal, salik dino sika man,
samjhi rooh razi thio, chhad hangamo hul,
charhi noor mahal men, kayaeen haq hasil,
wahdat men wasil. parchi thio prem saan.

(iii) Such examples of language also prove that there was a great treasure of words in Sindhi for expression of the points of Sufism and Islamic preaching, and preaching of *vedant*, *bhagtee mat*, Buddhist and Jain religions.

(vi) Sami has also considered this world as finite. He considered wealth as a treacherous thing and called it an illusion. He preached to abstain from the worldly sins to lead a pious life. Lutfullah Badvi writes:

“Such poetry is true poetry with a message and such a poet deserves to be called a thinker. The poetry of Sami stands high due to his ideals and concepts. His language is so eloquent and mature that he uses Arabic and Persian words along with Hindi and Sanskrit words in the same way. Since he composed *Saloks*, he had no whims about the usage of language.” (41)

(v) Sami has written poems in the dialect of Upper Sindh. His *saloks* contain a lot of poetical figures, similes, metaphors and alliterations. He has used a lot of idioms as well; for example:

bnandar bharan (پنڊار پرڻ), *akhin khan pare na thyan* (اکين کان پري نه ٿيڻ),
diyo baran (ڏيوپارڻ), *hath rakhn* (هٿ رکڻ), *biyaae-a kne ban diyan* (بيائيءَ)
sodayee huan (سودائي هڻڻ), *rang rachan* (رنگ رچڻ), *paan*
jalayen (پاڻ جلائڻ) and *per purjhe payen* (پير پُرجهي پائڻ).

The following *saloks* by Sami are presented here as examples where he has used *kanwal*, *unal pakhee*, *vinjni* and *khastooree* etc. as similes:

- (1) رهن منجهه جهان، سدا لپ ڪنول جان.
rahan manjh jahan, sada lep kanwal jaan.
- (2) رهن الپ ڪنول جان، سامي سڃاني.
rahan alep kanwal jaan, sami sajani.
- (3) نپ جان نيارو رهي، بديهي ديھ ۾.
nabh jaan nyaro rahe, bidehi deha men.
- (4) اندر ٻاهر نپ جان، پڳوت هڪ پاسي.
andar bahar nubh jaan, bhagwat hik pase.
- (5) جيئن پکين ۾ هڪڙو، انل آڪاسي.
jiyan pakhin men hikro, anal aakasi.
- (6) جيئن انل پکي، استت رهي آڪاس ۾.
jiyan anal pakhi, asithat rahe aakas men.
- (7) گرمک جي گادي، انل جان آڪاس ۾.
gurmukh ji gaadi, anal jaan aakas men.
- (8) اڻ هوندي ڀولي، وڏو جيءُ پرم ۾.

جيئن ڪستوري ناپ ۾، مرگه باهر ڳولي،
 اوديا پت ڪولي، سامي ڏسي ڪينڪي.
an hoonde bholi, widho jee-u bharam men,
jiyan khastoori naabha men, margh bahar goli,
avidya pata khole, saami disi keenaki.
 (9) جيئن ويڙهيءَ ۾ واڙ، تيئن ساڪي پسي سڀ ۾.
jiyan wijni-a men wau, teenyan saakhi pase sabh men.

14- (a) Khalifo Nabi Buksh ‘Qasim’ is also known as a great poet of the Mir period. He was born in 1776 AD, and spent his entire life in the Mir era and saw the initial 20 years of the British rule before his death in 1863 AD.

Khalifo Sahib has been accepted as a great classical poet of Sindhi language. He was also a matchless poet of Seraiki language. (42) This splendid poet showed his love for Sindh and Sindhi language through his poetry and for the expression of this love, he brought change in the subject of *Sur Kedar*. He sang praise of those martyrs in his own *Kedar*, who were killed in the battle between Talpur rulers and Shah Shuja the Emperor of Afghanistan, which took place in 1834 at “Khariri ground” near Old Sukkur. (43) It was the martyrdom of these soldiers of Sindh that impressed him to write the *Kedar*. He has painted the colors of patriotism and nationalism in his poetry. This *Sur* can be called the foundation of Sindhi nationalist poetry. (44) For example, he describes the bravery of the fighters of the motherland in these lines:

ڪونتر قلعي جا ڪوڏيا، نونڌا نچندا پس،
 ڇڏي تن ترس، پلتيو شاه پناڻ تي.
koondhar qile ja kodiya, noondha nachanda pasu,
chhade tin tars, paltio shah paṭhaṇ te.

He says at another place:

هلو ملهو مانجهيا، ويرين ونو وير،
 جيئن ٿورا ڏينها، پوءِ ڳڻبا پير،
 ٿيندو سد سوير، صبح شهيدن کي.
halo malho manjhya, werin waṭho weru,
jiyaṇ thora dīnhā, poye gaṇba pair,
thindo sadu sawer, subah shaheedan khe.

Similarly, have a look at these verses:

هڻ ڪتاري کات، ويرِي ويرم نه سهي،
 مڇڻ ڪا مصلحت، کانئس وجهي ڪن تي.
haṇ kataari kat, weri weram na sahe,
machhaṇ ka maslihaat, kaainr wijhaie kana te.

Khalifa Sahib has not only appreciated the bravery, courage and prowess of the men of Sindh but like Shah Latif, he has described the emotions of women in similar words. For example:

جي تون پڇي آئين، ته اوڏو مون مَر آڇ

تو ڳڙ ڏيان ٻانهڙي، ڪُرَ کي لايَا ڪج،
مون سُھائي سڄ، ڪوڙيون ڪانڏن ڪوڏيون.

*Je toon bhaṛi ayen, ta odo moon ma achu,
too gal diyan banhari, kura khe laya kuch,
moon suhaye sach, koorayoon kandhan kodyoon.*

These examples prove that till the period of Mirs, Sindhi language was fully enriched with its matchless qualities and contained nationalistic emotions. In this way, the patriotism and nationalism sung by Shah Latif through his verses were furthered by Khalifa Sahib.

15- In the Talpur period, Khalifa Mahmood Nizamani (1846-1766 AD/1180-1263 AH) not only compiled the epic story of Laila Majnoon in Sindhi poetry, but his book in prose called Majma-ul-Fayoozat contains an idiom of Sindhi prose; for example:

ڏڏو ڪجي، ڏيکر ڪجي، هو نہ ڀڄي تہ پاڻ اُٿي ڀڄجي
dado kaje, dekar kaje, ho na bhaje ta paṇa uthi bhajije (45)

16- (a) Perhaps some colleagues might claim that the pronominal suffixes in Sindhi language are due to an influence of Persian but that is certainly not true. Pronominal suffixes are indigenous grammatical qualities of Sindhi language already discussed in detail in books like “Sindhi Boli jo Bun Bunyaad” (The Origin of Sindhi Language), “Sindhi Mualim” and “Sindhi Linguaphone” where it has been proved that these are original and indigenous qualities of Sindhi language. (46)

(b) The use of *zair izafat* (possessive diacritical marks) was considered as a parameter of command on literature in the Mir period, thus, numerous compound words started being commonly used in Sindhi language where this grammatical genre was used. For example:

quwat e aulad (قوتِ اولاد), *quwat e jaan* (قوتِ جان), *bihisht e samar* (بھشتِ ثمر), *doulat e sarkaar* (دولتِ سرڪار), *iqbal e tawajah* (اقبالِ توجہ), *bazm e aali* (بزمِ عالي) and *bazm e sukha* (بزمِ سُخڻ).

(c) Some examples of the influence of Persian on Sindhi language during its political, educational and literary voyage during the periods ranging from the Sama rule to the British rule are given below to see the stages that Sindhi language went through during its progress:

(i) **Verb:** In Sindhi, according to its grammatical principles the suffix *an* (اڻ) or *in* (اڻ) is added at the end of Persian imperative to derive Sindhi infinitive. For example:

Persian infinitive
azmoodan آزمودن

Persian imperative
aazmaa آزما

Derived Sindhi infinitive
aazmain آزمائڻ (try/assess/test)

<i>bakhsheerad</i> بخشیرد	<i>bakhsh</i> بخش	<i>bakhshan</i> بخش (forgive)
<i>farmosdan</i> فرمودن	<i>farma</i> فرما	<i>farmain</i> فرمائے (say/utter)

(ii) **Noun:** Many Sindhi nouns have been formed by adding the suffix 'sh' (ش) at the end of many Persian imperatives; like:

Persian imperative	Sindhi imperative IInd person singular	Sindhi noun
<i>aazmaa</i> آزما	<i>aazmai</i> آزماء	<i>aazmaish</i> آزمائش (test)
<i>farma</i> فرما	<i>farmai</i> فرماء	<i>farmaish</i> فرمائش (demand)
<i>bakhsh</i> بخش	<i>bakhsh</i> بخش	<i>bakhshish</i> بخشش (gift/reward)

(iii) Many participles of Persian started being used in Sindhi in their own form; for example: *gufta*, *deeda*, *daanista*, *aazmooda*, *nishista*, *khorda*, *aamada*, *shuneeda* etc. (with a slight change of adding 'o' at the end replacing 'a').

(iv) Many indigenous words from Arabic and Persian languages were used by Sachal Sarmast, Syed Sabit Ali Shah and their contemporaries in their poetry; for example: *bazm*, *muqrab*, *baazyaab*, *azz-o-alla*, *makramat*, *faraghat* etc.

(d) Poets used such words of Arabic and Persian where 'w' (و) was used in the middle as a connecting letter; like:

lutf-o-makramat, *aulad-o-ayaal*, *naseem-o-sehr*, *roz-o-shab*, *nashist-o-barkhast*, *subh-o-shaam*, *bar-o-behar*, *aamd-o-raft*, *guft-o-shuneed*, *gul-o-bulbul*, *sham-o-sehr*, *mah-o-siaah*, *sufaid-o-siaah* etc.

(e) Similarly, the middle 'ba' (ب) also started being used in words commonly; like:

vaqt-ba-vaqt, *darja-ba-darja*, *saal-ba-saal*, *dar-ba-dar*, *roo-ba-roo*, *qadam-ba-qadam*, *roz-ba-roz*, *dam-ba-dam*, *seena-ba-seena* etc.

19- (a) As has been mentioned earlier, the Kalhora rulers were literary-minded, therefore, in addition to Persian language and literature, Sindhi language also got a chance to progress. Persian was the official language of that era but Sindhi was the commonly spoken language. In the Upper Sindh up to Shikarpur and Bakhar, Persian language was given importance due to the educational, political, social and literary relations with Iran; therefore, it had a positive influence on Sindhi in addition to enrichment of its vocabulary. Further the grammatical and syntactical formations and their structure also had an effect on Sindhi. This effect increased significantly during the period of the Mirs. The prefixes and suffixes used in Persian language for forming words, the diacritical marks, the way to form words to name the towns and cities, idioms, proverbs and sayings entered in Sindhi language, in either their original form or as translations. The Iranian culture and traditions also affected the Sindhi society and culture, its architecture, art, skills and daily life thereby becoming a source of progress of Sindhi language.

(b) Owing to the above mentioned influences of the Persian language, numerous

towns and cities were named on the rules of word formation of Persian language i.e. the names of these villages and towns are a proof of the phonetic structure of Sindhi language. And these names were given long before even the Kalhora period, as has been mentioned in chapter 7. For example:

(i) Names of villages/towns according to Persian scheme:

Hyderabad	Shikarpur	Ali Bander	Tando Adam	Kot Alam	Wasi Malook Shah
Khudabad	Mirpur	Shah Bander	Tando Allahyar	Kot Ghulam Muhammad	Dar Malook Shah
Muradabad	Shahdadpur	Giddu Bander	Tando Agha		Dero Muhabbat
	Shahpur	Sandu Bander	Tando Thoro		
	Miranpur	Lahri Bander	Tando Mir Muhammad	Chhaj Jahan Khan	
	Ranipur	Oranga Bander			

(ii) Names of people:

Ghulam Ali	Ali Ghulam	Maula Bukhsh
Akbar Ali	Ali Akbar	Khuda Bukhsh
Hyder Ali	Ali Hyder	
Sher Ali	Ali Sher	

(iii) Titles:

Madar-e-Millat (mother of the nation), *Sardar Bahadur* (brave chief), *Khan Bahadur*.

(c) Numerous words used in offices and administration entered the Sindhi language, like:

Ranks and Administration	Geographical names
<i>kot waal</i> کوتوال (inspector)	<i>mahaal, mahaal kohistan</i> محال، محال کوہستان
<i>zildar</i> ضلعی دار (district officer)	<i>mahal keti bander</i> محال کیتی بندر
<i>sobedar</i> صوبی دار (provincial officer)	<i>sehwan sarkar</i> سیوہن سرکار
<i>qiledar</i> قلعی دار (fort keeper)	<i>thatta ji sarkar</i> تٹی جی سرکار
<i>havaladar</i> حوالدار (jailor)	<i>bakhar ji sarkar</i> بکر جی سرکار
<i>tapedar</i> تپیدار (revenue officer)	<i>kakral pargano</i> ککرال پرگٹو
<i>sarkar</i> سرکار (governmental)	<i>chachkaan pargano</i> چاکران پرگٹو
<i>mahal kari</i> محال کاری (official)	<i>chandka pargano</i> چاندکا پرگٹو

(d) Similes of Persian language: Due to the continuous influence of Persian, thousands of similes and metaphors started being used in Sindhi; like:

mahlaqa, mahwash, parivash, mahtaab, mahrukh, mahjabeen, dilafroze, mahafroze, noorafroze, noorulhuda, deedavar, sarfaraz and dilnasheen etc.

(e) Persian prefixes and suffixed that entered Sindhi: Numerous prefixes and suffixes of Persian and Arabic languages entered the Sindhi words during the Mir and Kalhora periods; like:

Prefixes and Suffixes	Root	New words
ba-	vafa وفا	bavafa (loyal) باوفا
	izzat عزت	baizzat (respectable) باعزت
be-	vafa وفا	bevafa (unfaithful) بیوفا

		<i>vaqt</i>	وقت	<i>bevaqt</i> (untimely) بیوقت
		<i>haya</i>	حیا	<i>behaya</i> (shameless) بیحیا
		<i>ghairat</i>	غیرت	<i>be'ghairat</i> (rascal) بیغیرت
<i>daan</i>	دان	<i>qalam</i>	قلم	<i>qalamdaan</i> (portfolio) قلمدان
<i>mand</i>	مند	<i>ghairat</i>	غیرت	<i>ghairatmand</i> (honorable) غیرتمند
<i>gaar</i>	گار	<i>parhez</i>	پرهیز	<i>parhezgaar</i> (pious) پرهیزگار
		<i>khidmat</i>	خدمت	<i>khidmatgaar</i> (servant) خدمتگار
		<i>gunah</i>	گناہ	<i>gunahgaar</i> (sinner) گنہگار
<i>na</i>	نا	<i>laiq</i>	لائق	<i>nalaiq</i> (stupid) نالائق
		<i>shanaas</i>	شناس	<i>nashanaas</i> (inept) ناشناس
		<i>daan</i>	دان	<i>nadaan</i> (idiot) نادان
<i>bad</i>	بد	<i>bakht</i>	بخت	<i>badbakht</i> (unlucky) بدبخت
		<i>naseeb</i>	نصیب	<i>badnaseeb</i> (unlucky) بدنصیب
		<i>soorat</i>	صورت	<i>badsoorat</i> (ugly) بدصورت
		<i>qismat</i>	قسمت	<i>badqismat</i> (unfortunate) بدقسمت
<i>aar</i>	آر	<i>guft</i>	گفت	<i>guftaar</i> (speech) گفتار
		<i>raft</i>	رفت	<i>raftaar</i> (speed) رفتار
<i>daar</i>	دار	<i>javab</i>	جواب	<i>javabdaar</i> (accused) جوابدار
		<i>chob</i>	چوب	<i>chobdaar</i> (officer) چوپدار
		<i>maal</i>	مال	<i>maldaar</i> (rich) مالدار
		<i>uhdo</i>	عهدو	<i>uhdedaar</i> (official) عہدیدار
<i>kaar</i>	کار	<i>fan</i>	فن	<i>fankaar</i> (artist) فنکار
		<i>qalam</i>	قلم	<i>qalamkaar</i> (writer) قلمکار
<i>baaz</i>	باز	<i>dagha</i>	دغا	<i>daghabaz</i> (cheat) دغا باز
<i>saar</i>	سار	<i>koh</i>	کوه	<i>kohsaar</i> (mountain) کوهسار
		<i>khaak</i>	خاک	<i>khaaksaar</i> (public servant) خاکسار
<i>gi</i>	گی	<i>sharminda</i>	شرمندو	<i>sharmindagi</i> (shame) شرمندگی
		<i>banda</i>	بنو	<i>bandagi</i> (service/worship) بندگی
		<i>aasooda</i>	آسودو	<i>aasoodgi</i> (rich living) آسودگی

(f) Compound words formed by joining Arabic, Persian and abstract Sindhi words:

Some of the examples of these compound words from the Kalhora and Mir period are given here:

Saindad (سائینداد) (name), *Khudadad* (خدا داد) (name), *Khuda dost* (خدا دوست) (God-friendly), *Sain Bukhsh* (سائین بخش) (gifted by God), *sangtarash* (سنگتراش) (sculptor), *kasheegar* (کاشیگر) (artistic tile maker), *naazboo* (نازبو) (a fragrance), *jildsaaz* (جلدساز) (book binder), *bazu band* (بازوبند) (arm band), *jildband* () (seam of a bound book), *kamarband* () (belt), *kamarkash* () (corset), *kafankash* (جلدبند) (one who prepares shrouds), *gola andaaz* (گولہ انداز) (bomber), *khaaskheli* (خاصخیلی) (special servant), *maah geer* (ماہ گیر) (seaman), *dastgeer* (دستگیر), *but parast* (بت پرست) (idol worshipper), *but kahnu* (بت خانو) (idol house), *but shikan* (بت شکن)

(idol breaker), *ghala farosh* (غلا فروش) (grocer), *palang paro* (پلنگ) (fire worshipper), *Sultanabad* (سلطان آباد) (name of city), *kafgeer* (کفگیر) (spoon), *borchee khanu* (بورچی خانو) (kitchen), *ghusl khanu* (غسل خانو) (bathroom), *baadger* (بادگیر) (vent), *roshandaan* (روشدان) (ventillater/window), *Alamgir* (عالمگیر) (a name), *Adam khor* (آدم خور) (man eater/carnivore), *dil avez* (دل آویز) (lovely), *nazar andaaz* (نظر انداز) (ignore) etc.

(g) Names of people:

Fateh Chand (فتحچند), *Alam Chand* (عالمچند), *Sahib Chand* (صاحب چند), *Mahar Chand* (مهر چند), *Khoob Chand* (خوبچند), *Lal Chand* (لالچند), *Khan Chand* (خانچند), *Gulab Raye* (گلاب راء), *Awatraye* (آوتراء), *Sahib Raye* (صاحب راء), *Hashmat Raye* (حشمتراء), *Dolat Raye* (دولتراء), *Salamat Raye* (سلامت راء), *Qeemat Raye* (قیمت راء), *Fateh Sing* (فتح سنگ), *Sahib Singh* (صاحب سنگ), *Lal Singh* (لال سنگ), *Wilayat Raye* (ولایتراء), *Khush Haal Das* (خوشحال داس), *Dolat Ram* (دولت رام), *Fatehyab Ali* (فتحیاب علی), *Dost Muhammad* (دوست محمد), *Watan Mal* (وطن مل), *Maha Dev* (مہادیو), *Maharaj* (مہاراج), *Gurbakhshani* (گربخشانی), *Wazeerani* (وزیرانی), *Rohal* (روحل), *Allah Dino* (اللہ دینو), *Raam Rakhyo* (رام رکھیو).

(h) Names of vocations and related people:

Funnon lateefa (فنون لطیف) (fine arts), *sangtarash* (سنگتراش) (sculptor), *sangtarashi* (سنگتراشی) (to make sculptures), *Kaashgeer* (کاشگیر) (ceramic pottery maker), *Kasheegeeri* (کاشیگری) (art of ceramics), *kamangar, fan-e-zebaish* (فن زیبائش) (art of make-up), *jildsaaz* (جلد ساز) (book binder), *jildsazi* (جلد سازی) (book binding), *mahigeer* (ماہگیر) (fisherman), *mahigeeri* (ماہگیری) (fishing), *but sazi* (بت سازی) (making idols), *gorekash* (گورکش) (cemetery keeper), *gorekan* (گورکن) (one who buries people), *kafansozi* (کفن سوزی) (shroud-maker), *zar dozi* (زردوزی) (golden embroidery), *banddoq saaz* (بندوق ساز) (arms dealer) etc.

(i) Dr. Abdul Jabbar Junejo, in his book titled “Sindhi Shairi tay Farsi Shairi jo Asar” (The influence of Persian poetry on Sindhi poetry), has given a few chains of words from Persian language used in Sindhi since the period of Kalhoru rulers (47) like:

Persian word	Sindhi pronunciation	Meaning
<i>paalaan</i> پالان	<i>palaan</i> پالان	Movement
<i>shagoon</i> شگون	<i>sugan</i> سگن	Omen
<i>pairahan</i> پیرهن	<i>perhan</i> پیرهن	Shirt/dress
<i>kaan</i> کان	<i>kaan</i> کان	Mine

<i>niaam</i> نيام	<i>miyaṇ</i> مياڻ	Sheath
<i>panja</i> پنجر	<i>chanbo</i> چنبرو	Claw
<i>marham</i> مرهم	<i>malam</i> ملر	Ointment
<i>jooja</i> جوڙو	<i>choozo</i> چوڙو	Chick

(j) Persian idioms in Sindhi:

A companionship for 800 years between Sindhi and Persian caused countless Persian proverbs, sayings and idioms to enter Sindhi language. They are now a part of the vocabulary and language. Some of them are exactly the same as they appear in Persian and are used in Sindhi society while some have become absorbed in their translated form into Sindhi language. For example:

Persian idioms	Use in Sindhi language	Meaning
<i>angush badandaan</i> (انگشت بدندان)	<i>danden aangryun achan</i> (ڏندن آڱريون اچڻ)	surprised
<i>dandaan namoodan</i> (دندان نمودن)	<i>danda dekharan</i> (ڏند ڏيکارڻ)	show anger
<i>dast o paa zadan</i> (دست و پا زدن)	<i>hatha pair hanan</i> (هٿ پير هٽڻ)	trying
<i>dil dadaan</i> (دل دادن)	<i>dil diyan</i> (دل ڏيڻ)	falling in love
<i>chashm do parah shudan</i> (چشمه ڊو پاره شدن)	<i>akhyoon chaar thiyan</i> (اڪيون چار ٿيڻ)	falling in love
<i>kamar bastan</i> (ڪمر بستن)	<i>sandro badhan, kamar kashan, himath karan</i> (سندرو پٽڻ، ڪمر ڪشڻ، همت ڪرڻ)	plan to do something

(k) Some proverbs of Persian started being used in Sindhi society, for example:

awal khuwesh baad darwesh (اول خویش بعد درویش)
aah e ghareeban qahr e khudai (آه غریبان قہر خدائی)
yak tandrusti hazaar naimat (یک تندرستی ہزار نعمت)
yak anaar sou beemar (یک انار سو بیمار)
panj angusht barabar neest (پنج انگشت برابر نیست)
hanooz dili door ast (هنوز دلی دور است)
yak na shud do shud (یک نہ شد دو شد)
juwenda payenda (جوینده پاینده)

(l) Translations of some Persian proverbs were used in the Sindhi society; some of which are as under.

Proverb of Persian language	Sindhi translation
<i>amadan ba iradat, rafian ba ijazat</i> (آمدن به ارادت، رفتن به اجازت)	<i>achan pehnji khushi-a saan, wanyan paraye wasu</i> (اچڻ پنهنجي خوشيءَ سان، وڃڻ پراڻي وس)
<i>aamad baraye akhgar choon mutbaa nishast</i> (آمد برای آخگر چون مطبع نشست)	<i>aayi taande kaan, thee weṭhi borchyani</i> (آئي تاندي کان، ٿي ويئي بورچيائي)
<i>agar raaste, karat aaraste</i> (اگر راستي، کارت آراستي)	<i>sach ta beeṭho nach</i> (سچ تہ بيٺو نهج)
<i>deewar ham gosh darad</i> (ديوار هر گوش دارد)	<i>bhitin khe bi kana aahin</i> (پٽين کي بہ کن آھن)
<i>do bardaar suwem hisaab</i> (دو برادر سويہ حساب)	<i>ba bhaura tiyon lekho</i> (بہ ڀائر تيون ليکو)

dushman dana baa z dost nadaan (دشمن دانا به)
 (از دوست نادان)
 gandum az gandum barwed jo az jo (گندم از)
 (گندم بروید جو از جو)
 khud karda raa ilaaj neest (خود کرده را علاج)
 (نیست)
 khooye bad raa bahana basyaar (خوہ بد را بہانہ بسیار)
 sada az yak dast nami aayad (صدا از یک دست)
 (نمی آید)
 jawenda payenda (جویندہ پائندہ)

nadan dost khan dana dushman chango (نادان)
 (دوست کان دانا دشمن چڱو)
 kaṅka pokhi kaṅka luṇbi, jawa pokhi jawa
 luṇba (ڪڻڪ پوکي ڪڻڪ لڻبي، جو پوکي جو لڻبا)
 hatha je wadhye jo na wej na tabeeb (هٿ جي)
 (وڌي جو نه ويڄ نه طبيب)
 dil khoti uzur ghaṇa (دل ڪوٽي عذر گهاٽا)
 hik hath jee taari na wajandi (هڪ هٿ جي تاري نه)
 (وڃندي)
 jo golindo so lahando (جو ڳوليندو سو لهندو)

Prof. Ayaz Qadri has written that:

“The poets of Sindh seem to be fond of Persian language. They used Persian idioms, proverbs, quotations and sayings in their poetry with fluency to express their feelings; for example:

رامر جڏهن ٿئي گلبنڊ، تنهن جي تڏهن اڃان ڪتب
 تو سان هجان ري من موهن، سينه به سينه لب به لب (سانگي)
 raam jadenh thiye gulband, tenh je tadenh achaan kutub
 to saan hujaan re man mohan, seena ba seena lab ba lab
 ٻن ڪمن مان ته هڪڙو دلبر
 دل دهی یا دل ستانی ڪر (سانگي)
 bin kaman maan ta hikro dilbar
 dil dahi ya dil satani kar

Dr. Qadir has also stated the quotes used in poetry such as:

تنهنجو دل افروز جوپن شهر سارو ٿو ڪري
 سچ چيو ڪنهن آفتاب آهي دليل آفتاب (فقيس) (48)
 tunhinjo dil afroz jobhan shahar saaro tho kare
 sach chayo kenh aftar aahe daleel-e-aftaab

18- It was mentioned above that in the Kalhora period, many tribes who spoke Seraiki language had migrated to Sindh. This resulted in an influence of Seraiki on Sindhi language too, especially its Upper Sindh dialect. The phonetics and grammatical structure of Seraiki affected the grammar and syntax of Sindhi language; a detailed discussion on this has been presented in the book titled “Sindhi Boli jo Abhiaas” (49) with examples. Some of these examples are as under:

(a) Phonetic influence:

- (i) In the Upper Sindh dialect, especially towards Sukkur and Obavro, there are sounds like ‘t’, ‘tr’, ‘d’ and ‘dr’ and among them ‘t’ and ‘d’ are sounds also found in the Kacchi dialect but are pronounced as ‘tar’ and ‘dar’.

It should be kept in mind that the sounds ‘tr’ and ‘ḍr’ in Sindhi language are not used as separate phonetic letters. But since this is a different subject, it needs to be discussed in detail.

(ii) The sounds l and r are usually exchanged and vice versa, also b and w do the same. For example:

Sindhi	Seraiki
<i>ḥaar</i> (kids) ٻار	<i>ḥaal</i> ٻال
<i>vaar</i> (hair) وار	<i>baal</i> ٻال
<i>varo</i> (of) وارو	<i>vala</i> والا
<i>savayr</i> (early) سوير	<i>savayl</i> سويل

(b) Influence on Grammar:

(i) In the Upper Sindhi dialect, plural numbers of feminine nouns follow the Seraiki rule. Which shows long relations of these two languages. For example:

Standard Sindhi	Upper Sindhi	Seraiki
<i>khatoon</i> (charpoys) ڪتون	<i>khataan</i> ڪتان	<i>khataan</i> ڪتان
<i>khaarkoon</i> (dates) ڪارڪون	<i>khaarkaan</i> ڪارڪان	<i>khaarkaan</i> ڪارڪان
<i>janghoon</i> (legs) ڄنگھون	<i>janghaan</i> ڄنگھان	<i>janghaan</i> ڄنگھان

(ii) In Seraiki language suffixes like *vaal* or *vaala* are added to make subject while in Sindhi similar suffix *vaaro* is added; like:

Noun	Suffix	Newly formed Subjective Noun
<i>ḥacho</i> ٻچو	-vaal وال	<i>ḥacharvaal</i> , <i>ḥachrayvaal</i> ٻچڙوال/ٻچڙيوال
<i>kot</i> ڪوٽ	-vaal وال	<i>kotvaal</i> ڪوٽوال
<i>sarandee</i> سرندي	-vaal وال	<i>sarndeevaal/sarandiyaal</i> سرندي وال/سرنديال

(iii) The scheme of phrases and compound nouns:

The people from the Seraiki areas who came to settle in Sindh named their new dwellings and villages according to the grammatical conformations of Seraiki language. Some of the names are given below as examples and they clearly show that these names are not in accordance with the syntax of Sindhi language. For example:

The names of villages in the Seraiki areas	The names of villages in Sindh
<i>Ali Wahan</i> , <i>Adam Wahan</i> , <i>Pitafi Wahan</i> (علي واھڻ, آدم واھڻ, پتافي واھڻ)	<i>Khan Wahan</i> , <i>Hassan Wahan</i> (خان واھڻ, حسن واھڻ)
<i>ṭhul Wazeer</i> , <i>Patan Munaar</i> (ٺل وزير, پتن منار)	<i>ṭhul Meer Rukun</i> , <i>ṭhul Aqil Khan</i> (ٺل مير رڪن, ٺل اڪيل خان)
<i>Nawan Kot</i> (نوان ڪوٽ)	<i>Naon Kot</i> , <i>Belo Patan</i> (نئون ڪوٽ, ٻيلو پتن)
<i>Tandrah Muhammad Pannah</i> (تندرہ محمد پناھ)	<i>Tando Muhammad Khan</i> , <i>Tando Adam</i> , <i>Tando Meer</i> (تندو محمد خان, تندو آدم, تندو مير)
<i>Shorkot</i> , <i>Kot Adoo</i> (شور ڪوٽ, ڪوٽ آڏو)	<i>Kot Mir Rustam</i> , <i>Sultan Kot</i> , <i>Kot Alam</i> (ڪوٽ مير رستم, سلطان ڪوٽ, ڪوٽ عالم)
<i>Kotli Najabat</i> , <i>Kotlah Mughlan</i> (ڪوٽلي نجابت, ڪوٽله مغلان)	<i>Kotri Kabeer</i> , <i>Kotree Mughal</i> , <i>Kotri Allah Rakhio Shah</i> (ڪوٽڙي ڪبير, ڪوٽڙي مغل, ڪوٽڙي اله رکيو شاھ)

(c) Adjectives:

(i) The table of 2 taught in the text books of Sindhi language called 'bikkay jo khorro' is also called *doon jo khorro*. The numbers used in this table are exactly like those of Seraiki language. For example:

<i>aik</i> (ايڪ)	<i>doon</i> (ڏون)	<i>doon/ha</i> (ڏون ٻه)
<i>bi</i> (ٻه)	<i>doon</i> (ڏون)	<i>chaar</i> (چار)
<i>ti</i> (ٽي)	<i>doon</i> (ڏون)	<i>chhaha</i> (چھ)
<i>chaar</i> (چار)	<i>doon</i> (ڏون)	<i>aṭha</i> (اٺ)
<i>panj</i> (پنج)	<i>doon</i> (ڏون)	<i>daha</i> (ڏھ)
<i>chhaha</i> (چھ)	<i>doon</i> (ڏون)	<i>baranh</i> (ٻارھن)
<i>sata</i> (ست)	<i>doon</i> (ڏون)	<i>chodanh</i> (چوڏھن)
<i>aṭha</i> (اٺ)	<i>doon</i> (ڏون)	<i>soranh</i> (سورھن)
<i>nanyen</i> (نانءِ)	<i>doon</i> (ڏون)	<i>ariṛanh</i> (ارڙھن)
<i>dah</i> (ڏھ)	<i>doon</i> (ڏون)	<i>weeha</i> (ويھ)

(d) Names of people:

Seraiki names	Sindhi names
Allah Ditta (الله ڌڻا)	Allah Ditto/Allah Dino (الله ڌڻو)
Allah Rakha/Allah Rakhia (الله رکھا/الله رکھيا)	Allah Rakhio (الله رکيو)

(e) Proverbs and quotes:

A detailed study of Sindhi language reveals that hundreds of sayings and proverbs of Seraiki are used in it. They have now become a part of Sindhi language. (50) Some of them are customarily used in Sindhi in the same form and some are used as translated versions but have gradually taken a permanent place in Sindhi language. For example:

(i) Translated proverbs:

Seraiki proverb	Usage in Sindhi
<i>abahali kuti, indhri gular janeendi he</i> (آباھلي ڪُٽي، اِنڌري گُلر چڻيندي هي)	<i>takri kuti andha gulara jane</i> (تڪڙي ڪُٽي اندھا گُلر چڻي)
<i>bukha kiraara te wahyan pate</i> (بُکا ڪِراڙ تي وَھيان پَٽي)	<i>khutal wanyo, wahyoon janche</i> (کُٽل واليو، وَھيون جانچي)
<i>baṭha o sona jerha kani tarore</i> (بَٺ او سونا جيڙها ڪاٺي تارور)	<i>aho son ee ghoryo, jo kana chhine</i> (اھو سون ئي گھوريو، جو ڪن چڻي)
<i>jitni sawar howe utne pair dighero</i> (جتني سوار ھوئو اُتنو پير ڊگھيرو)	<i>sawar ahir, pair digher</i> (سوار آھر، پير ڊگھير)
<i>jama na muki, nani de muhandri</i> (جَم نہ مُڪي، ناني دِي مُھانڊري)	<i>anja jayi kanhe, chaye: nani-a muhande</i> (اڃا ڄاڻي ڪانهي، چي: نانيءَ جي مھانڊي)
<i>janja parayi ahmaq nache</i> (ڇڄ پراڻي احمق ناچي)	<i>parayen duhlen ahmaq nache</i> (پراڻين ٺھلين احمق ناچي)
<i>dribha sawe da sawa</i> (دريپ ساوي دا ساوا)	<i>dabh saye jo saao</i> (ڊپ ساڻي جو ساڻو)
<i>gahi gaha mareenda thaka</i> (گاھي گاھ ماريوندا ٿڪا)	<i>gahi bukhye jo bukhyo</i> (گاھي بُڪھي جو بُڪيو)
<i>naan wada deh sunjh</i> (نان وڏا ديه سڄ)	<i>nalo wado goṭh sunjo (nan-u wado deh weeran)</i> (نالو وڏو ڳوٺ سڄو (نانءُ وڏو ديه ويران))

naan charhda chor phasi charhe (نان چڙهدا چور)
(قاسي چڙهي)
naan charhya wapare khat khari (نان چڙهيا)
(وڀاري کٽ کاري)

nale charhyo chor, phasi-a charhe (نالي چڙهيو)
(چور، قاسي، چڙهي)
nale charhyo wapari khatyo khaye (نالي چڙهيو)
(وڀاري کٽيو کائي)

(ii) Seraiki proverb used in their original form in Sindhi:

apna maal hai rosoon bhi khasoon bhi (اپڻا مال هي روسون پي کاسون پي)
apna maal hai roisaan bhi khaisaan bhi (اپڻا مال هي رويسان پي کائسان پي)
apne ghot ta nasha thive ee (اپڻي گهوٽ ته نشا ٿيوئي)
be sharmi di seri kanoon, saag sirnah da chokha (بي شرمي دي سيري ڪنون، ساڳ)
(سرنهن دا چوڪا)
bili shair parhaya, phir bili kun shair khawan aya (بلي شير پڙهايا، ڦر بلي ڪون کاوڻ آيا)
parsi ghore charhsi (پارسي گهوڙي چاڙهسي)
aapna arza, doonhan dee chughli (آپڻا عرض، ڏونهان دي چغلي)
teda so meda aur meda so heen heen (تيڏا سو ميڏا اور ميڏا سو هين هين)
dekh mori da toda (ڏيک موري دا توڏا)
dekh yaran di phairi (ڏيک ياران دي ڦيري)
maau teri kin meri (ماءُ تيري ڪن ميري)
marwan maut malookan shikaar (مروان موت ملوڪان شڪار)
uṭhaan meenhan da keeha mela, aoo charan pata, aoo charan bela
(اُٿان مينهان دا ڪيها ميلا او چرن پٽ، او چرن ٻيلا)
anban boor, kala lan laaha (انبان بور، ڪلالان لاهه)
zalan dhawan, mardan khawan (زالان ڏاوڻ، مردان کاوڻ)
sach marchan koor gur per paisa zaal gur (سچ مرجان ڪوڙ ڳوڙ پير پيسان زال ڳوڙ)
sunja aashiq bhetoo di aachar (سُڃا عاشق پيٽو دي آچار)
sheenh na dekhyā dekḥ balara, chor na dekhyā dekḥ sonara (شينهن نه ڏيکيا ڏيک)
(ٻلاڙا، چور نه ڏيکيا ڏيک سونارا)
dil da qisa dil jane, kya jane qazi (دل دا قصا دل جاني، ڪيا جاني قاضي)
kooṛe kitaboṇ wichoṇ, kujh na thiyeseen (ڪوڙي ڪتابون وڇون، ڪجهه نه ٿيسين)
marsan marsan, dabh na charsan (مرسان مرسان، ڊپ نه چرسان)
na tedi sut, na meri kapah (نه تيڏا سٽ نه ميري ڪپاهه)
marwesun marwesun par sindh na desun (مرويسون مرويسون پر سنڌ نه ڏيسون)
har hala, munh kala (هڙهالا، منهن ڪالا)

19- As a result, one can say that in the Talpur period Sindhi language had achieved a very high standard:

- (i) The Talpur rule started in 1783 AD and ended in 1843 AD. Sindhi language made a lot of progress in this period.
- (ii) This era saw a progress in the *vehdatul vujood* (oneness of God) concept

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- of Sufism, and Sachal Sarmast presented the concepts related to Mansoor Halaaj through his poetry.
- (iii) *Kafi* and *bait* progressed a lot in this era. The *kafi* of Sachal Sarmast became famous in Punjab, Balochistan and Rajasthan. The strength and colorfulness of the language increased in *kafi*.
 - (iv) Sindhi language not only saw the beginning of uroozi poetry but the genres of *rubaaee*, *ghazal*, *musadas*, *mathnavi* and *mukhamas* started in this period. *Ghazal* and *rubaaee* flourished immensely. There were many poets of *ghazal* but the important ones among them were Sachal Sarmast, Khalifa Karam Ali Shikarpuri, Mir Naseer Khan and Mir Hassan Ali Khan 'Hassan'. And *marsia*, *musadas*, *rubaaee*, *mathnavi* and *salaam* were also important genres of poetry and Syed Sabit Ali Shah was a remarkable poet of this era.
 - (v) This marked the progress of folk literature. The compilations of epic stories also progressed. In this regard, the stories of Moomal Rano by Hafeez Tevnoo and Laila Majnoon by Khalifa Mahmmod Nizamani carry a significant status in Sindhi as epic stories.
 - (vi) The genres of folk literature like *maulood*, *madah*, *manajat*, *muajza* and *munaqba* progressed a lot in this era. In this context, Fateh Faqeer, Khalifa Karamullah, Pir Muhammad Ashraf and Mulla Sahibdino wrote *mauloods* and in the other genres poets like Sadruddin Charan, Hamal Khan Leghari and Akhund Muhammad Bachal are very important names.
 - (vii) Marsia is also an important genre of this era, which was initiated in Sindhi language. Syed Sabit Ali Shah was a remarkable poet of this genre of poetry.
 - (viii) There are matchless examples of war poetry in this era. Khalifa Nabi Bukhsh 'Qasim' wrote *Kedaro*, Syed Hyder Shah wrote the 'Jangnamo' and the '*marsias*' of Syed Sabit Ali Shah are brilliant examples of patriotism and nationalism in Sindhi language.
 - (ix) Khalifa Nabi Bukhsh 'Qasim' was the first poet of Sindhi language who wrote *Sur Kedaro* as an expression of his nationalist views. His *Kedaro* is rich with praise of the brave men of Sindh and their patriotism.
 - (x) This era shows signs of mysticism in addition to the *vedanti* culture. The *saloks* of Sami are an eternal proof of that trend. In addition to Sami, people like Dilpat and Guru Aasra Daas also preached mysticism.
 - (xi) In addition to the recognized genres like *bait*, *kafi*, *salok* and folk poems, this era saw the progress of other genres like *teeh-akhree*, *jhoolno*, *raikhata* and *gharoli* that are considered very important genres. It was Sachal Sarmast who composed *jhoolno*, *raikhata* and *gharoli*.
 - (xii) The poetry of this era was greatly influenced by Arabic, Persian and Seraiki. These languages not only affected the vocabulary of Sindhi language but had a very significant effect on Sindh phonetics, grammar

and syntax.

- (xiii) This era also shows brilliant examples of sayings and proverbs in Sindhi prose in addition to the words like *kabaro*, *bahagunan ja bol*, *hundiyoona*, *beejak*, *roznamcha*, poetic prose and others, that prove of the progress of Sindhi language.

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Chapter Nine

The Progress of Sindhi Language During the Chaumoorti Period (Of 4 renowned writers)

1- On 17th February 1843, the British defeated the Talpur rulers in the battle of Miani and conquered Sindh, and later on 24th March 1843, they defeated the army of Mir Sher Muhammad in the battle of Dubbo and established their complete control over the entire Sindh.

After understanding and solving the initial administrative problems, in 1845 AD the Board of Education of Bombay took up the matter of formation of an Educational, Agency in Sindh. At the same time, a movement for making Sindhi as the official language was started. This movement eventually raised the question of imparting education in vernacular language. (1) Some of the officers among the British understood and could speak in Sindhi, but most members of their staff were not able to write or read Sindhi. The affairs of the state were run through interpreters, and the official communication was done in Persian language.

The Governor of Bombay Sir George Clerk issued an order in 1848 AD, saying that Sindhi be made the official language. The wording of that order was as under:

“We should introduce the language as the medium of official intercourse. I do not see in what way our revenue and judicial officers (however their offices and courts may be continued) can work effectually through a foreign medium of communication, such as Persian or English. A period of 18 months should, therefore, be allowed to the officers in civil employ to qualify themselves for an examination in Sindhee language. I believe their doing so will be facilitated by publication of the dictionary and grammar which I proposed Lieutenant Stack should be allowed to have printed.

The recommendation of the Commissioner that “early measure, to education, as in other provinces, is no doubt judicious, but it were premature to take any measure for forming educational establishment, before our own European administration have obtained a complete knowledge of the country and before we have trained up persons, fitted to impart knowledge in Vernacular tongue.” (2)

2- In the light of the above order, the Commissioner of Sindh, Sir Bartle Frere, issued an order in 1857, in which the government officials were advised that they should pass an examination of Sindhi language. (3) This order stated that:

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- (a) All the official communication in future shall be undertaken in Sindhi language.
 - (b) All the European and other foreign officers must pass a test of Sindhi language so that they could converse with Sindhi people and understand the written Sindhi communiqués and dispose the matters accordingly.
 - (c) Sindhi schools should be opened.

But since there was no designated script for Sindhi language, it could not be practical for official communication; therefore, under the chairmanship of the Assistant Commissioner Mr. B. Ellis, a committee comprising 8 locals and 2 European members was constituted that could formulate a script for Sindhi language. After a lot of meetings and deliberations, Mr. Ellis found a solution and decided that Arabic-Sindhi script be assigned for Sindhi writing and he dispatched such a report to Sir Bartle Frere, the Commissioner of Sindh. (3)

3- British government approved a 'Language Planning Scheme' for Sindhi language and Educational Policy, according to which:

- (a) A script was designated for Sindhi language.
- (b) An order for teaching in the vernacular language was passed.
- (c) An order for using Sindhi language in government offices was issued.
- (d) Learning Sindhi language was declared as compulsory for government officers.
- (e) It was decided to have books translated into Sindhi language and to this end, rewards were announced for translators.
- (f) An Education Department was established in Sindh, and an order was passed to have books written in Sindhi language for teaching the curriculum in schools.
- (g) A 'translation cell' was established in the Education Department.
- (h) An order was passed for progress of Sindhi language and a special committee was formed for this purpose.
- (i) Publishing houses were established in Sindh.
- (j) Dictionaries and grammars of Sindhi language were produced.
- (k) Sindhi newspapers were started at governmental level.
- (l) The official advertisements, circulars and notices etc. were started to be written in Sindhi language.

One can say that the British rulers gave a lot of attention to the progress and promotion of Sindhi language because of which the language progressed in every field in this era.

ملڪي سن ۱۸۵۷ء

پتڻ نامو

ڪمشنر صاحب بمبار سنڌ جي دربار منجهان سڀني ماڻهن چڱن
من رهندڙن سنڌ جي سندن جي
تہ ڪيترن عرصن ۾ عرصي جي پيڙهي ۾ اها وڏي لاءِ حضور تانه نامو ڪاين
تن منجهان ڪي فارسي ۾ ڪي سنڌي ۾ ٿا لکن اها ڪال نامو چاڙهي
تھن ڪري جنهن ڪهن ڪي عرصي واسطي ٿيڻ نه ٿا ڏيڻ حضور ڪمشنر
صاحب بمبار سنڌ جي دربار منجهان عرض رکي ٿي تہ سنڌي وائي
عربي اگر نه لکي مٿي ڪلي جيڪڏهن ڪي ڪن سبب کان فارسي ۾ لکي
لکن ضرورت ناهي تہ ان فارسي ۾ عرصي سان ترجمو سنڌي ۾ پڻ
ڪري مٿي ڪلي تہ پتڻ ۾ ايتڙي ڊسٽ تان ۹ مهينو اڳ

W. W. F. Fine
Commissioner in Sind.

1857ع ۾ سنڌ جي ڪمشنر سر بارٽل فرير جي جاري ڪيل پتڻ نامي جو عڪس

4- (a) The qualities and peculiarities of Sindhi language recognized by the British officers were narrated by Mr. Richard Burton on page 89 of his book "Sindh and The Races That Inhabit the Valley of Indus". He had written that after realizing the qualities of Sindhi language, the Governor of Bombay had given it an official status in government offices, court matters, educational and teaching institutions and also for literary use and in 1848 had issued a decree to this effect too, which has been mentioned before. (4)

(b) The assigning of a script in the initial days of this period greatly helped Sindhi language. Publishing houses came into being that enabled printing of newspapers and periodicals in Sindhi language; countless books were published that included prose and all the genres of poetry. This entire period can be divided into three parts, which are:

[1] Nandiram and Kauromal Period:

Whatever a writer feels or sees, he pens it down using a language; that is to say that every writer necessarily needs a language. He is a representative of his times and the prevailing circumstances. He is an expositor of the society, social conditions and problems that he depicts through his writings. (5)

(a) This era was of the initial days of the British rule. Along with the local scholars, European officers and the missionary priests of Christian faith also started compiling books of prose and poetry in Sindhi language.

(b) In this context, Dr. Trumpp played a leading role. He published the 'Shah Jo Risalo' (on the expense of Government of India) from Leipzig in Germany and launched it in Sindh in 1866 AD. Additionally, Dr. Trumpp also wrote the Grammar of Sindhi Language which was published in 1876. Similarly, Captain George Stack also wrote a grammar of Sindhi language in which he wrote the story of *Sorath Raidyach* at the end in Devnagric script.

One can infer that this period began with prose writing. The British officials realized the lack of Sindhi literature and therefore got books translated from English, Persian and other languages into Sindhi with special rewards for the translators. It was in this period when Mr. Preedy, the Collector of Karachi, opened up a school. This school remained under the administrative control of a local committee from 1852 to 1856 AD.

(b) (i) In this period, in addition to the efforts of the British rulers, individuals also worked on these lines resulting in publishing of numerous books on prose and poetry. Novel writing and play-writing started in this very period. Books were written on geography and Indian history, psychology, logic, medicine, economics, while dictionaries and grammars were also written. Essays and articles on morality and ethics started being written. Efforts were also made to continue writing religious books.

(ii) In the beginning of the British period, Sindhi prose writers included the names of pioneers like Diwan Nandiram Sehwan, Diwan Udharam Thanwardas Mirchandani, Diwan Pirbhdas, Diwan Navalrai Shohqiram, Diwan Kauromal, Kazi Ghulam Ali, Diwan Choharmal Kundanmal, Syed Miran Muhammad Shah (I), Mian Ghulam Hussain Qureshi, Vadhumal Chandiram, Diwan Kevalram Shahani, Mian Muhammad

Hyderabadi, Akhund Abdul Raheem Wafa, Raibarhadur Aalumul, Mirza Ghulam Raza Baig and Mirza Sadiq Ali Baig.

The names of Diwan Nandiram and Raibahadur stand out among these names. These scholars compiled books on numerous subjects especially history, geography, grammar, arithmetic, algebra and logic. Diwan Nandiram not only wrote textbooks but got fame due to translating a very important book about Sindh's history like *Tareekh-e-Masoomi*.

After the official acceptance of a script for Sindhi language in 1853, some educational stories and books on teaching and general knowledge were translated under the auspices of the education department. The first book of this period translated from English into Sindhi was "*Eesop joon kahanioon*", by Diwan Nandiram in 1844. Similarly, books like "*Bhanbay Zameendar ji Gaalh*", "*Sadhatoore ain Kadhatoore ji Gālh*" and "*Mufedul Sabiaan*" were published in this era, some of which were original books too.

(iii) Diwan Koromal was also one of the leading writers of textbooks in the initial years of this period. He coined new words for use in education and teaching in Sindhi language. (6) Diwan Manohardas Koromal was one of the four wise writers of this era who worked for the progress of Sindhi prose writing. Diwan Koromal has termed them as "The four pillars of Sindhi prose" (7); the other three pillars were Mirza Qaleech Baig, Rishi Dayaram Giddumal and Diwan Permanand Mevaram. Khanbahadur Muhammad Siddique Memon writes in this regard:

"The words presently used for geometry in Sindhi language were invented by Diwan Koromal; like *mustateel*, *mutabadal kundoon* etc. He took those words from Persian books and started their use in Sindhi. When he became a Headmaster in Sukkur, he worked very hard for education of girls and wrote a book called *Pako Pah* which was about educating girls." (8)

According to Khannahadur Memon's book, Diwan Koromal wrote books like *Barana Geet*, *Baranioon Akhanioon* and *Sindhi Gujhaaratoon*. (9) He was the pioneer of Critical Literature. After Dr. Trumpp, it is he who laid the foundation of literary criticism and compilation. (10) He collected the *Saloks* of Sami and published that book with the meanings and explanations of difficult words in them. (11)

(iv) Diwan Koromal has also been accepted as the pioneer of playwriting in Sindhi language. His "*Ratna Vali*" was the first play written in Sindhi language. (12) Khanbahadur Memon writes in this regard:

"Mr. Koromal was the first Sindhi playwright. He translated the play "*Harsh Dev*" in Sindhi. (13) His language, especially in this play, contains difficult words of Sanskrit but generally his language is understandable. He has used very easy diction in "*Kheti Kitab*". He has made use of proverbs and idioms in it too. Like: "*utam kheti, madhiam vapaar ain neech nokri*" (14) (Meaning: Agriculture is supreme, business is okay and

employment is derogatory).”

(v) This era saw a new emphasis on rhyming and lyricism. Akhund Lutfullah Hyderabadabad translated a book “Fasana-e-Ajaab” into Sindhi and named it as “Gul Khandaan”. Khanbahadur Memon has written:

“During the beginning part of British rule, in order to strengthen the Sindhi prose and to consolidate the pronunciation of words, the system of diacritical marks was maintained. The Sindhi of Nandiram and Udharam was of a peculiar style which was improved by Koromal and Mirza Sadiq Ali Baig and a way was paved for the future prose writers. And this was further perfected by the shining personality of Mirza Qalich Baig.” (15)

Khanbahadur Memon continues:

“As the new era of Sindhi literature had started from poetry; this era (the British rule) in turn started from prose.” (16)

(c) (i) In the British rule, while steps for progress of Sindhi language were taken and a script was approved for it by the government, the scholars and grammarians wrote books about the rules and principles of Sindhi grammar. But Memon had a different view about it:

“In the beginning of this new era of Sindhi language and literature, since no books had been written on the grammar and syntax of Sindhi language and there were no grammatical rules and principles in place, therefore the books of prose written in the initial part of this era were devoid of the present principles and rules of Sindhi grammar and syntax.” (17)

(ii) Even though a script had been assigned for writing Sindhi language, various scholars and writers were writing similar words with different spellings. Like:

Words written in original books

vidhae وڌاءُ

kayau ڪيائو

adavat اڏاوٽ

hua, hova هئا/هوا

karayato ڪارائتو/ڪارائتو

qabil قابل/ڪابل

maanghar/mangher مانگهر/منگهر

anjaan اڃاڻ

khaosh خوش/خوش

dhiyaan ڏهيان/دهيان

bhajokar پاڇوگر

vannjoon ونجون

manjioon منجيون

tad/tadenh تڏهن/تڏهن

mo/man مون/مون

Present form

vidhaeen وڌائين

kayaeen ڪيائون

adavatoon اڏاوٽون

hua هئا

karaito ڪارائتو

kabul ڪابل

magar مگر

anjaan اڃا

khush خوش

dhiyaan ڏيان

Bhajokar پاڇوڪو

vannjoon وڃون

manjio مڃيو

tadenh تڏهن

moon مون

Meaning

inserted

did

structures

were

useful

kabul

but

still

happy

attention

runaway

going

accepted

then

me

This problem of Sindhi script is visible in books, magazines and newspapers of the present era as well (18) that needs attention.

(iii) Linguistic experts know that the principles of grammar come into being with the inception of any language and therefore the pronunciation of sounds and thence formed words and sentences is a natural phenomenon. Similarly, the phonetic system, the grammar and syntax and the entire structure of the language starts with its birth. And this is a continuous process therefore it would be incorrect to think that until books on the grammar and syntax of any language are not there, that language would be devoid of any rules and principles. Khanbahadur Memon writes in this regard:

“Since the writers of that (pre-British) era were experts of Persian and since they were used to translating Arabic and Persian books in schools, therefore while writing Sindhi sentences, they maintained the structure and formations of Arabic and Persian writings which was not in accordance with the Sindhi syntax and grammar. Their writings were following the commonly spoken form of language; for example:

(i) چوڪرائيءَ ۾ سڪڻ جو ٿاڻو آهي. اُن کي آرس ۽ پُل ۾ وڃائڻ نه گهرجي؛ هن ڪارڻ ته وِيلو ويل وري هٿ نه ايندو. (ننديرام-باب نامو)

chhokrayi-a men sikhana jo tano ahe. una khe aras aen bhula men vinjaye na ghurje; hina karan ta vailo wayal wari hath na eendo. (nanderam-bab namo)

(ii) جهرڪيون ڇتين ۾ ۽ وڻن ۾ اڪيرا جوڙينديون آهن؛ تن ۾ آنا لاهينديون آهن؛ پوءِ اهي ڦوڙينديون آهن؛ تن مان ٻچا نڪرندا آهن، سي توڙا هوندا (اڏارام-پهريون ڪتاب، سبق اوڻيهون) (19)

Jhirkyun chityun men aen wanan men akhaira jorindyun ahin, tin men ana lahindyun ahin; poye uhe phorindyun ahin; tin man bacha nikranda ahin, se to diha hoonda. (Udharam-firt book, lesson 29)” (19)

5- (a) In the initial period of British rule, where difficult and unusual words of Arabic and Persian were used in poetry, simple and easy words of Sindhi were also common. For example Khanbahadur Memon writes:

“In the books written by Hindu and Muslim authors, one does not find difficult words of Sanskrit or Persian and Arabic; for example:

(i) اگهو ٿجي ته ست ويڇ وٽ ويڃي.

agho thije ta sutat vaija vat vanje.

(ii) جهرڪيءَ چيو ته مورڪ چوڪر، مون کي گهڻو ڪم آهي. مون کي راند ڪرڻ ٿئي اچي. مون کي پنهنجن ٻچن لاءِ چوڳو ڪٽي ويڙو آهي (ديوان پريداس، اڏارام: ٽيون ڪتاب) (20)

jhirki-a chayo ta moorakh chhokar, moon khe ghano kam ahe. moon khe raand karan nathi ujahe. moon khe panhjan bachan laye chogo khani wanjo ahe. (deevan prabhudas, Udharam: Third Book)”

Khanbahadur Memon has given examples of Sindhi used in the translation of *Tareekh-e-Masoomi*; like:

”جڏهن چچ اميرن جي ميلاب سان گاديءَ تي ويٺو، تڏهن دروازا خاني جا اُپتي، ڏاڻ جو سد وجهي، چڱن ۽ مٺن کي ڪوٺي، ڏاڻ ڏيئي، ٻاجهن ۽ ٿوري جي ڦاهي ۽ ٻڌي ڇڏيائين، ۽ مهينو سپاهين جو وڏايائين، ۽ ڍل راجن کان گهٽايائين. ان ڪري کان ڏينهن ۾ وسندي ۽ جهجهي وسڻ ٿي، ۽ راڻيءَ کي پنهنجيءَ ريت سان پرڻيو.“ (21)

“jadenh chach ameeran je mailap san gadi-a te vaiṭho, taḍenh darwaza khane ja upate, ḍaṇa jo sad vijhi, changan aen maṭhan khe koṭhe, ḍaṇa deyi, bajhun aen thore je phahi-a men badhi chaḍyain, aen mahino sipahin jo vadhayaeen, aen dhal rajan khan ghatayaeen. Una kaye khan deenhan men wasandi aen jhajhi vasuan thi, aen raṇi-a khe panhji-a reet san parṇiyo.”

Khanbahadur Memon had quoted another example too from *Tareekh-e-Masoomi*, such as:

”هن ڳالهه جي ٻڌڻ کان خليفن پنهنجي مٿي کي هڪڙيءَ گهڙيءَ توڻي، گيدي ۾ وجهي ارمان ڪيو، ۽ ڏمر جي باهه سندس چاٽيءَ ۾ اُٿان ڪيا.“ (22)

“hina galh je budhan khan khaleefe pahnje mathe khe hikri-a ghari-a toṇe, gaidi men vijhi arman kayo, aen damar ji baha sandes chhati-a men ulaan kaya.”

(b) “Sekhaito Nirvaar” was the first book of Sindhi written in that era, which contained simple rules and guidelines of education and administration. Some examples of the language used in that book have been quoted by Khanbahadur Memon, some of them are as under:

(i) ’ذر ويساه سان چئو ته اوهين ڇا ٿا سيڪاريو ته جنهن جي بدران چوڪرن کي فائدو ۽ موچارائي ٿئي ٿي. هن ڳالهه جا ڪولاندر ٿيو ته چوڪرن کي اهڙيءَ وات سان پاڙهيو ۽ سيڪاريو، جو ان جي ڏاهپ جي سڳورائيءَ ۽ ڪاڄ جي موچارائيءَ جو ڪارڻ ٿئي. هير توهان جو سيڪارڻ چوڪرن جي حق ۾ توڙي ڪٿي وارو ڏسجي ٿو، سو ڪو ته اوهين رڳو هڪڙي ڌارين ٻولي جي سيڪارڻ ۾ گهڻن ڏينهن توڻي پنهنجو ۽ چوڪرن جو ميڄالو سڪڻو ڪريو ٿا، پر مطلب جي وات چوڪر جي هٿ نٿي اچي.“ (23)

“zar waisah san chao ta awhin chha tha saikharyo ta janh je badran chokran khe fayedo aen mocharayi thiye thi. hina galh ja kholandar thiyo ta chokran khe ahri-a wata san parṇio aen saikharyo, jo una ji dahapa ji sagorai-a aen khaja ji mocharai-a jo karan thiye. hair tawhan jo saikharaṇ chokran je haqa men toṇe khatye waro disje tho, so ko ta awhin rugo hikri dharyan ji boli saikharaṇ men ghaṇan deenhan toṇe panhjo aen chokran jo mejalo sakḥṇo karyo tha, par matlaba ji wata choker je hath nathi ache.”

(ii) ”جيڪس اوهين هي وراڻي ڏيندو ته هن ڳالهه کان فارسي ڪتاب پرهائجن ٿا، جو سڪندڙن جو نروار ۽ لکڻ، سنڌي ٻوليءَ ۾ صاف ۽ هير وارو ٿئي. مون مڃيو ته توهان

ڪي چوڪرن جو نروار ۽ لکڻ رڳو صفائي ۽ هير سان گهرجي، پر ڪي اهڙيون ڳالهيون
پڻ سيکارڻ گهرجن، جن جي ڳالهائڻ ۾ اهي پنهنجو نروار ۽ لکڻ صاف ڪن.“ (24)

*“jekas awhin he warani dendao ta hina galh khan farsi kitab parhayajan
tha, jo sikhandaran jo nirvar aen likhan, sindhi boli-a men saaf aen hair
waro thiye. moon manjyo ta tawhan khe chokran jo nirvar aen likhan
rugo safai aen hair san ghurje, para ke ahryoon galhyun pin saikharan
ghurjan, jin je galhayen men uhe panhjo nirvar aen likhan saaf kan.”*

(c) Anyway, by the early times of the British period, where an abundance of Persian and Arabic words, formations, idioms, proverbs, similes and metaphors were used in the poetry related with prosody and rhapsody (*uroozi* and *chhand* poetry), in Sindhi prose instead of using a literary diction, a language was used that was commonly used for speech and conversation.

6- (a) Writing about the efforts taken for Sindhi language and literature in the initial period of British rule, Khanbahadur Memon says:

“The British conquered Sindh in 1843 AD; since then for about 9 years education in Persian continued in Sindh. In 1851 AD, Sir Bartle Frere was appointed as Commissioner of Sindh; and among the changes he brought in Sindh, the improvement of Sindhi language and its literature can surely be termed very important and essential change. As soon as this gent arrived, he established a library in Karachi where English, Persian, Arabic, Urdu and Sindhi books published or translated were collected. This gentleman announced the script for Sindhi in 1852 AD and he ensured that books were written and translated into Sindhi. Some books were written while others were translated from Persian, Arabic and English and the stories and poems that people remembered by heart were transcribed and published.

In those days, the charge of educational officer was vested in the office of the Assistant Commissioner, and so Mr. Ellis and Mr. Goldsmith (both were Assistant Commissioners) were involved with progress of Sindhi literature. The writers and translators were decently rewarded by the state.” (25)

(b) The subjects on which books were written or translated in Sindhi language in the first two decades of British rule were as under: (26)

No	Subject	Title of book	State	Year	Author	Script
1-	Textbook (education)					
i-	ibid	Babnamo بابنامو	Original	1853	Diwan Nandiram	Arabic- Sindhi
ii-	ibid	Pehryoon Kitab پهريون ڪتاب	Ibid	Ibid	Diwan Udhamam	Ibid
iii-	ibid	Bio Kitab ٻيو ڪتاب	Ibid	Ibid	Diwan Pribhdas	Ibid
iv-	ibid	Tion Kitab ٽيون ڪتاب	Ibid	Ibid	Ibid	Ibid
v-	Ibid	Chothoon	Ibid	Ibid	Ibid	Ibid

vi-	Ibid	Kitab, part I چوٿون ڪتاب پاڳو-1	Ibid	Ibid	Ibid	ibid
vii-	Ibid	Chothoon Kitab, part II چوٿون ڪتاب پاڳو-2	Ibid	1874	Diwan Koromal	ibid
2-	Grammar and Syntax	Sindhi Panjoon Kitab (basic text) سنڌي پنجون ڪتاب (ابتدائي درسي ڪتاب)	Ibid	1854	Diwan Udahram	Ibid
i-	Ibid	Sindhi Viakaran سنڌي وياڪرڻ	Ibid	1860	Mian Muhammad Hyderabadi	Ibid
ii-	ibid	Sindhi Sarf-o- nehv سنڌي صرف و نحو	Ibid	1872	Dr. Ernest Trump	English- Sindhi and Devnagric
iii-	ibid	Grammar of Sindhi Language	Ibid	1875	Akhund Fateh Muhammad	Arabic- Sindhi
3-	Break-up of words	Kashif alfayooz ڪشف الفيوض	Ibid	1871	Akhund Abdul Rahim Wafa	Ibid
4-	Dictionary	Javahir Lughat (Persian) جواهر لغات (پارسيءَ مان)	Ibid	1875	Captain Shirt and Mirza Sadiq Ali Baig	Arabic- Sindhi
i-	Ibid	Sindhi-English Dictionary سنڌي-انگريزي ڊڪشنري	Ibid	1868	Akhund Gul Muhammad Gul	Arabic- Sindhi
ii-	ibid	Diwan Gul ديوان گل	Ibid	1875	Syed Muhammad Fazil Shah	Ibid
5-	Poetry	Choond Kafioon چونڊ ڪافيون	Ibid	1871	Akhund Abdul Raheem	Ibid
i-	Ibid	Saiful-Malook سيف الملوك	Ibid	Ibid	Ibid	Ibid
ii-	Ibid	Umer Marui عمر مارئي	Ibid	Ibid	Ibid	Ibid
iii-	Ibid	Sasui Punhoon سمئي پنھون	Ibid	Ibid	Ibid	Ibid
iv-	Ibid	Qiso Mehr قصو مهر منير	Ibid	Ibid	Munshi Udham	Ibid

v-	Ibid	Qiso Vikio Daataar قصو وکيو ڏاتار	Ibid	1870	Akhund Abdul Raheem	Ibid
vi-	ibid	Qiso Diloora قصو دلوراء	ibid	ibid	ibid	Ibid
7-	Poetry					Ibid
i-	Ibid	Choond Kafioon چونڊ ڪافيون	Ibid	1875	Syed Muhammad Fazil Shah	Ibid
ii-	Ibid	Diwan Fazil ديوان فاضل	Ibid	Ibid	Ibid	Ibid
iii-	Ibid	Shah jo Risalo منتخب شاه جو رسالو	Ibid	1873	Kazi Haji Ahmad	Ibid
iv-	Ibid	Diwan Qasim ديوان قاسم	Ibid	1875	Akhund Qasim	Ibid
v-	Ibid	Shah jo Risalo شاه جو رسالو	Compiled	1866	Dr. Ernest Trumpp	Ibid
8-	Stories (prose)					
i-	Ibid	Bhambay zameendar ji gaalh ٻنهي زميندار جي ڳالهه	Ibid	1854	Mian Ghulam Hussain	Ibid
ii-	Ibid	Sadhatoore ain kadatoore ji gaalh سڌاتوري ۽ ڪڌاتوري جي ڳالهه	Ibid	1855	Syed Miran Muhammad Shah	Ibid
iii-	Ibid	Rai dyach jo qiso راءِ ڏياچ جو قصو	Ibid	1861	Munshi Udham	ibid
iv-	Ibid	Ibid	Ibid	1849	Captain George Stack	Devnagric
9-	Novel					
i-	Ibid	Rasilas راسيلاس	Translation	1868	Minshi Udham and Diwan Navalrai	Arabic- Sindhi
10-	Story					
i-	Ibid	Kamseen ain Kamroop ڪامسين ۽ ڪامروپ	Original	1869	Munshi Udham	Ibid
11-	Poetic story					
i-	Ibid	Kua Bili ڪٿا ٻلي	Ibid	1871	Akhund Abdul Raheem	Ibid
12-	Critical literature					

i-	Ibid	Meezanul Shair میزان الشعر	Ibid	1875	Syed Muhammad Fazil Shah	Ibid
13-	Linguistics					
i-	Proverbs	Gul Shakar گل شکر	Ibid	1869	Kevalram Shahani	Ibid
ii-	Ibid	Gul گل	Ibid	Ibid	Ibid	Ibid
14-	History					
i-	Ibid	Tareekh Sindh تاریخ سندھ	Translated from Persian	1854	Diwan Nandiram	Ibid
ii-	Ibid	Dunya ji تاریخ دنیا جی	Translated from Urdu	1855	Munshi Udham	Ibid
iii-	Ibid	Columbus ji تاریخ کولمبس جی	Translated from English	1862	Diwan Koromal	Ibid
iv-	Ibid	Sindh ji تاریخ سندھ	Ibid	1862	Seth Aloomal	Ibid
v-	Ibid	Tareekh تاریخ انگلستان	Ibid	1862	Vadhumal	Ibid
vi-	Ibid	England ji Tareekh (part 1) انگلند جی تاریخ، پاڻو-1	Translation	1868	Diwan Pirbhdas	Ibid
vii-	Ibid	Ibid (part 2) ایضاً، پاڻو-2	Ibid	1868	Ibid	Ibid
viii-	Ibid	Hindustan ji تاریخ ہندستان	Translated from Urdu	1863	Preetam Das	Ibid
ix-	Ibid	Ibid	Ibid	1854	Kazi Ghulam Ali	Ibid
15-	Geography	قرتي نروار (دنیا جی جاگرافي پاڻو-1)				
i-	Ibid	Dharti Nirvaar (world geography part 1)	Translation	1855	Nandiram and Mahadev Shastri	Ibid
ii-	Ibid	V (part 2) ایضاً، پاڻو-2	Ibid	Ibid	Ibid	Ibid
iii-	Ibid	Sansaari Nirvar سنساري نروار	Ibid	1861	Nandiram	Ibid
iv-	Ibid	Jugrafia jadeeda جغرافیه جدیدہ، پاڻو-1	Ibid	1861	Nandiram and Mahadev Shastri	Ibid
v-	Ibid	Bambai Khatay ji Jaagrafi بمبئی کاتي جی	Ibid	1868	Gardinomal	Ibid

16-	Natural Sciences	جاگرافي				Ibid
i-	Ibid	Usool Ilm Tabai اصول علم طبيعي	Ibid	1868	Koromal	Ibid
17-	Mathematics					Ibid
i-	Ibid	Lekhay ji Peerh ليکي جي پيڙھ	Original	1855	Nandiram	Ibid
ii-	Ibid	Paimaishi Hisaab پيمائشي حساب	Translation	1855	Nandiram and Mr. Kandas	Ibid
iii-	Ibid	Lekhay jo Kitab (part 1) ليکي جو 1- ڪتاب، پاڻجو	Ibid	1856	Ibid	Ibid
iv-	Ibid	Dil ja Hisaab دل جا حساب	Ibid	1870	Krishna Shastri	Ibid
v-	Ibid	Jabro Muqabla جبرو مقابلو	Ibid		Nandiram and Mr. Vishvanath Mandalk	Ibid
vi-	Ibid	Lekhay jo Kitab (part 2) ليکي جو 2- ڪتاب، پاڻجو	Ibid	1856	Nandiram and Mr. Kandas	Ibid
vii-	Ibid	Lekhay ji Peerh ليکي جي پيڙھ	Ibid	1871	Preetam Das	Ibid
18-	Astronomy					
i-	Ibid	Akaasi Nirvar آکاسي نروار	Ibid	1856	Syed Miran Muhammad Shah	Ibid
19-	Logic					
i-	Ibid	Maftahul Qalb مفتاح القلب	Ibid	1871	Mirza Ali Raza	Ibid
20-	Arithmetics					
i-	Ibid	Angi hisaab انگي حساب	Ibid	1869	Krishna Shastri	Ibid
21-	Learning languages	Seetla ja Tukla سيتلا جا ٽڪا	Ibid	1868	Koromal	
i-	Ibid	Sekhaito Nirvar سيڪائتو نروار	Translated from Urdu	1859	Diwan Nandiram	Ibid
22-	Drawing					
i-	Ibid	Chit ji Paarə چٽ جي پاڙ	Original	1854	Nandiram and Mr. Kandas	Ibid
23-	Education					
i-	Ibid	Mufeedul Sabiaan مفيد الصبيان	Ibid	1861	Munshi Udham	Ibid
40-41	Female education	Pako pah پڪو پھ	Ibid	1865	Koromal	Ibid

42	Law	Indian Penal Code انڊين پينل ڪوڊ	Ibid	1863	Hasaram	Ibid
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By analyzing the above mentioned list, one can see that from 1853 to 1875 AD i.e. in a short period of 22 years, 66 books on different subjects were published in Sindhi language. These subjects included, in addition to the textbooks and subjects like general knowledge, mathematics, astronomy, drawing, geography, history and teaching languages. The purpose of publishing so many books was progress and promotion of the language so that it could be used in schools, courts and government offices with ease.

(c) (i) The above mentioned list contains the name of book ‘Akaasi Nirvaar’ written in 1856 by Syed Miran Muhammad Shah (I) in Sindhi language on the subject of astronomy. This is the first ever book in Sindhi on this particular subject. The scholars of Sindh were experts of this subject even before the advent of Islam, as has been mentioned in the 3rd chapter. The words and phrases of astronomy were already in use in Sindhi that is evident from the book Kitabul Hind by Al-Beruni, Chachnama, the poetry of Pir Sadruddin and at many places in the Surs of Shah Latif, as has been mentioned before. Khanbahadur Memon writes:

“This is the first book about astronomy in Sindhi language which has contradicted the popular but erroneous thoughts and beliefs of people about the earth, sun, moon, planets, stars, solar and lunar eclipses and has proved them wrong. It explains the galaxy and details about the revolutions of stars, distances and their influence on the galaxy.” (27)

(ii) Mirza Ghulam Raza wrote *Muftahul Qalb* which was the first book in Sindhi in 1871 on Logic. Although one can say on the basis of the information given by the Arab tourist and researcher Al-Beruni that this subject was not new for the people of Sindh; albeit Mirza Ali Raza had written this particular book on Logic keeping in mind the previous books on this subject already written in Arabic, Persian and English languages and he had followed the English style in writing this book. Mr. Mirza has used words of Arabic and Persian for logic and has explained its different topics. For example he has used these words: *kalaam*, *muqadma*, *daleel*, *nateeja*, *logic*, *qiyas*, *mantaq* and *natq*.

(d) Similarly, numerous books on law were translated into Sindhi language. In this context, Dr. Nabi Buksh Khan Baloch writes in the preface, of the translation of the book (published in 1873) of “Indian Contract Act 1872 as:

“Sindh had an active Commissioner in those days, under the control of Bombay province headed by a Governor. This continued from 1851 to 1936 AD. In 1936 Sindh parted its ways from Bombay as a separate province. In both these periods, arrangements were made to translate books in Sindhi so that the common man could understand the rules and regulations in their own language, which would make administration an easier task. To this end a post of Sindhi Translator was especially created.” (28)

(e) On the left side of the book (Indian Contract Act 1872) after the English

preface, a list of rules and regulations is given with Sindhi translation. Dr. Baloch writes:

“This list shows that from 1859 onwards to 1947 and later even after independence up until 1955, at least 734 rules and regulations (total 734: 525 Acts, 92 bills and 117 rules and notifications) were translated into Sindhi in order to fulfill the requirement of the provincial official language. Among these 525 Acts were translated into Sindhi as under:

- In the Bombay government period i.e. 1859 to 1936= 550
- In the Sindh government period i.e. 1937 to 1947= 184
- After Independence i.e. 1948 to 1954= 91 (29)

Therefore, it would be justified to call the initial period of British rule as the period of progress of every genre of Sindhi prose.

7- (a) Diwan Nandiram translated the Hindi books i.e. *Maktab Nama* compiled by Muhammad Ibrahim Mazia and ‘*Phailawat*’ compiled by Ram Saran Das”, under the title of “*Lekhay jo Hisab* with the name of “*Angee Hisaab* in Sindhi.” In these books, Diwan Nandiram used some Sindhi words and terms that were already been used by the merchants of Sindh, and they are still in use in the commercial language in Sindh; although some phrases were also taken from Arabic. Some of these phrases are as under:

anpoor اٺپور, *ubato anpoor* اٺپور اٺتو, *subatar anpoor* سبٽر اٺپور, *mufrid anpoor* مفرد اٺپور, *safa-afanpoor* صفاغف اٺپور, *maltafanpoor* ملٽف اٺپور, *mukhtasir anpoor* مختصر اٺپور, *soorat* صورت, *dahai* ڏهاڻي, *moor* مور, *viyaj* وياج, *ras* راس and *saikro* سيڪرو (30). Among these phrases, *mufrid*, *safa-af*, *maltaf*, *mukhtasir*, *soorat* and *raas* are Arabic in origin that had become customary in use in Sindhi language by the time of the British period. Similarly, some other phrases and words are: *ans* انس, *chhaid* چيد, *ba bhaangay* به ڀاڱي پنڄ *panj* etc.

(b) (i) Under the heading of “*Dharti Nirvaar*”, Diwan Nandiram translated a book in two parts on the subject of geography. In this book, he used words and phrases of Sindhi and Arabic related to geography which are still used in Sindhi language; like *chaal* چال, *gardish* گردش, *phero* ڦيرو, *deenh chaal* ڏينهن چال, *rozani gardish* روزاني گردش, *vareh chaal* ورهيه چال, *saaliani gardish* سالياني گردش, *vekra ghaira* ويڪرا گھيرا, *dighae* ڊگھائي, *ghera* گھيرا, *dighae phaak ghera* ڊگھائي ڦاڪ گھيرا, *dharti ji chhanv* ڌرتي جي چانو, *dharti jo paachho* ڌرتي جو پاڇو etc.

(ii) In the book titled “*Sansaari Nirvaar*”, he included terms for living things, peoples’ food, grains, fruits, animals, trees, plants, the soil surface, various tribes and their habits in Sindhi.

(iii) Diwan Nandiram compiled a book called “*Chit ji Paar*” on the subject of drawing, where he introduced words of Sindhi for this subject for the first ever time. In this regard Khanabahadur Memon writes:

“When this book was completed, there was no book on geometry in Sindhi Language available. Therefore, the words and terms used in geometry books these days like *palkar* پلڪار or *palgar* پلگار will have to be considered as inventions of the author; like *tubiko* ٽبڪو, *umood* عمود,

tikundo ٽڪنڊو , *kund* ڪنڊ , *gooni kund* گوني ڪنڊ , *vekri kund* ويڪري ڪنڊ , *sorhee kund* سوڙهي ڪنڊ , *chaurus* چورس , *mecho* ميجو , *mechan* (measure) ميجڻ and *mastur* مسطر etc.” (31)

(iv) Very similar to this, Munshi Udham compiled a book called “*Pehryoon Kitaab*”, where in, he gave letters of the alphabet like in *Baabnama* in the beginning, and then has given “*Kaka*” i.e. ten sounds each for every letter (3 short sounds of short vowels, 4 long sounds and 3 long sounds without diacritical marks.) After that, he has given the two-lettered words with *Jazm* (diacritical mark for silent letter) and 4 forms of each letter have been explained. (32)

This expert has also given the different forms of Sindhi letters in the script as written separately, in the end.

8- (a) (i) From a linguistic point of view, Khanbahadur Memon considers the Sindhi poetry of the initial years of the British rule, as a new form of poetry. He writes: “This new form of Sindhi poetry is an exact imitation of Iranian poetry.” (33)

(ii) Many poets have used the Iranian type of Persian meter (*Uroozi*) poetry. The poets worth mentioning among them are as under:

Akhund Gul Muhammad ‘Gul’ Halai, Syed Fazil Shah, Akhund Muhammad Qasim Halai, Mir Hassan Ali Khan ‘Hassan’, Mir Abdul Hussain Khan ‘Sangi’, Syed Ghulam Muhammad Shah ‘Gada’, Manthaar Faqeer Rajar, Misri Shah, Syed Murtaza Shah ‘Murtazai’, Faqeer Qadir Buksh ‘Bedil’, Faqeer Muhammad ‘Aajiz’, Allah Buksh ‘Abojho’, Shamsuddin ‘Bulbul’ and Shamsul Ulema Mirza Qalich Beg. Some of these poets completed their works in the form of ‘*Deevaana*’ (collection of poetry). They described various subjects on the Iranian meters in different genres of *uroozi* poetry in Sindhi poetic form. They used the Arabic and Persian words, phrases, similes, metaphors and formations abundantly in their poetry; for example look at these words: *saqi* ساقي , *sharab* شراب , *pyala* پيالا , *gul-o-bulbul* خط و خال , *shama-o-parvana* شمع و پروانه , *sar-o-sanobar* سر و صنوبر , *khat-o-khal* خط و خال , *nargis-o-lala* نرگس و لاله and *zulf-o-sunbul* زلف و سنبُل etc.

These poets wrote *ghazal*, *qaseeda*, *rubae*, *musadas*, *nazm* etc. in addition to *bait* and *kafi*. Like the poets of prosody, these poets also used natural, characterization, imagination and poetical figures thereby enriching their poetry with beautiful language.

(b) Akhund Gul Muhammad ‘Gul’ (1808-1855 AD) was the first Sindhi poet of the British period who completed his book (*divan*) of poetry and got it published from Litho Press in Bombay and presented it to the people of Sindh. Mr. Akhund died 12 years after the British rule started therefore one can say that he was a poet of the Mir period, since he lived almost his entire life i.e. 47 years in the Mir period and it can be claimed with confidence that he must have completed his poetic works in this period.

(c) It has been mentioned earlier that the Persian meter (*Uroozi*) poetry in Sindhi language had started in the Kalhora period. In this context the *mauloods* of Makhdoom Abdul Rauf Bhatti, the *ghazals* of Sachal Sarmast and the *madahs* of Mian Sarfaraz Khan

Abbassi can be quoted as examples, but the first ever poet of Talpur period was Akhund Gul Muhammad Gul.

(d) (i) The trend of using indigenous Sindhi words in Persian meter poetry seems to have been started by Akhund Gul Muhammad Gul. A few words found in Divan-e-Gul are not seen even in Shah Latif's poetry. Akhund Gul Muhammad has given the meanings of such difficult indigenous Sindhi words in Persian, in the margins of his book, but a copy of that book is not available.'

[illegible]

Switching back to mustard oil for street lamps. Note the writing in Sindhi.

1859ع ۾ سنڌي ٻوليءَ جي دفتری لکت جو هڪ نمونو

(ii) Like Shah Latif, Akhund Gul Muhammad has also drawn spiritual and moral lessons from the poetical expression of different vocations and professions of the land. He has also analyzed the characters of various people. He has used some English words

as well in his poetry like pistol, judge etc.

(iii) Mr. Akhund has mentioned the vocations of blacksmiths, carpenters, tailors, weavers, farmers, fishermen, seamen, hunters, dyers and jewelers etc. and while describing their skills, he has used them as a metaphor for deriving spiritual meanings. He has depicted the life-sketches of people. He has drawn lessons from the objects like pearl and the water, cow and its calf, clouds and rain. But despite these qualities, Akhund's poetry does not possess the depth that one finds in the poetry of Shah Latif and Sachal Sarmast. In this regard, Khanbahadur Memon writes:

“The poetic works of Akhund sahib are clear and in easy Sindhi, but neither do they have the sweetness and richness present in the simple Sindhi poetry of Shah Latif nor do they possess the gentleness and attraction present in the works of Akhund Qasim and his other contemporary poets.” (34)

(iii) Late Lutfullah Badvi has written:

“The first poet with a book to his credit was Akhund Gul. Compiling the book according to alphabetical order was something special about Gul. He worked with the difficult Sindhi poetical rhyming (*Radeef*) like *t*, *n*, *j*, *nj*, *chh*, *d*, *dh* (ت، ن، ج، چ، ڊ، ڏ) and *ḍ* (ڙ). He was the first architect of this structure but his poetry lacks the simplicity and directness. In order to keep the poetical figures and alliterations, he has used difficult words. These pure Sindhi words appeared so difficult that even in the edition of the *divan* published with meanings by Muslim Adabi Society does not contain their meanings. This proves that with time, there was addition of so many Arabic and Persian words so much so that even the indigenous Sindhi words had become difficult to understand; and therefore, the Persian meanings for these words were considered essential.” (35)

9- Some experts believe that the meter of Persian (*Uroozi*) poetry works well with Arabic and Persian but that same meter does not suit the Sindhi language. Owing to the rules of the Persian meters of poetry, some sounds of Sindhi words and consonants and vowels have to be omitted. In this regard Mr. Shamsheerul Haidery writes:

“Persian meter (*bahr*) is arranged according to sonant and silent letters in order to match a particular meter.

The last letter of all the elements of the meters (*bahr*), is silent (*saakin*) according to the Persian principles; like *faailaatun* فاعلاتن, *felaatun* فعلاتن, *faoolun* فعولن, *mafoolun* مفعولن, *mustafelun* مستفعّلن etc. Contrary to this, none of the last letters in Sindhi is silent (*saakin*); therefore, if one were to follow these rules the Sindhi poetry written on Persian meters, does not match/follow it completely. Some examples given below show this fault where, the Sindhi pronunciation and idiom has been wronged and the original meaning of these words have also changed. One of the lines of a *ghazal* is as under:

ياد ڪيا دل پنهنجا يار

yaad kaya dil penhja yaar

The break up of this line would be something like this (according to Persian meters):

<i>yaadku</i> يادڪُ	<i>yaadil</i> يادل	<i>penhja</i> پنهنجا	<i>yaar</i> يار
<i>felan</i> فعلن	<i>felan</i> فعلن	<i>felan</i> فعلن	<i>faa</i> فاع

Shamsher continues:

“Masters of *uroozi* poetry like Lekhraj Kishanchand ‘Aziz’ have also not been able to justify poetry on Persian meters.” (36)

In this regard, Khanbahadur Memon has also provided guidance. He writes:

“According to the principles of Persian meter of (*Uroozi*) poetry, in order to comply with the meter (*wazan*) and break up measure (*Taqtee*), it is permissible to always omit the vowels; and in Sindhi language the nasalized sound sometimes seen at the end of a vowel can be omitted, but a consonant can never be omitted for this measure (*Taqtee*).

Mir Hassan Ali has even omitted the consonants: for example:

(1) ڪيو دربر عالم خورشيد ماه

نهان ٿي ويو روءِ خورشيد ماه

kayo dar bar aalam khurshid maah

nihan thi wayo rooe khurshid maah

(2) شڪارپور کان ٻن منزلن تي هو دور

رسي هي عريضي به بزم حضور

shikarpur khan bin manzilun te ho door

rasee hee areezi bi bazm e huzoor

(3) شروع گفتگو، ڪيائون ٿي مير سان

ته انپر چيو راجه راجگان؟

shuru guftugoo, kayaun the meera saan

ta anpar chayo raja rajigaan?

(4) چشمن ٿي ته بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ آيو

وڌئين تن کي پاڪر وڌا ٿي کلي

chayain the ta bismillah ayo bhali

vidhain tin khe bhakur wada the khili

(5) جهاندار فتح علي نامدار

جو هو اعقل عقلاء ان روزگار

jahandar fateh ali namdar

jo ho aiqal aqlae aan rozgaar

The examples of omission of sounds in these verses are as under:

Original word	Uroozi effect	Omitted sound
دربار عالم <i>dar bar aalam</i>	دربارالم <i>dar baralam</i>	(ain)-a-(ع)

shikarpur شڪارپور

shuroo شروع

bismillah بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

aaql aqlae اعقل اعقلا

shikapu شڪارپو

shroo شرو

bismil بسم

aaqlqla اعقلقلا

r-(ر)

(ain)-a-(ع)

h, a, l-(ج, ا, ه)

a-(ع)

Such an omission is neither allowed by the rules of Persian meter (Uroozi) poetry nor linguistics, grammar and syntax.” (37)

[2] Qalich and Sangi Period:

(a) As mentioned earlier, publishing houses had already been established in Sindh for printing of newspapers and magazines. In the period ranging from 1864 to 1910 AD, the movement of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan influenced Sindh just like the other areas of the sub-continent. Under this influence, numerous new newspapers and magazines were started. Sindh Muhammadan Association was established in Sindh under the umbrella of which, in 1875, a weekly newspaper “Muaavan” was initiated from Karachi. In 1881 another newspaper ‘Moeenul Islam’ was started. In 1882 yet another newspaper named ‘Sindh Sudhaar’ was started by the Education department of Sindh government, which contained general news, columns and advertisements etc. Additionally critical articles and views by poets were also published. Therefore it can be said that the language of ‘journalism’ and ‘critical literature’ progressed in the literature of Sindhi language. Critical literature was started in 1866. A Persian newspaper named ‘Mufratul Quloob’ was already in circulation in Sindh. In this regard Khanbahadur Memon writes:

“That period shows extreme activity for initiation and progress of appropriate Sindhi poetry, because the poems of veteran as well as new poets were published without restrictions in “Sindh Sudhaar” newspaper, and the poets criticized each other’s poetry but in a polite and decent way and praised good poetry very much.” (38)

(b) Syed Fazil Shah’s name is proudly taken in the field of literary criticism who had written a book called ‘Meezanul Shair’ on this subject.

(c) The establishment of Sindh Madressah also contributed a lot towards the progress of Sindhi literature, as has been mentioned while describing the services of Maulana Allah Buksh ‘Abojho’. Among the teachers of Sindh Madressah comes the name of Maulana Muhammad Usman Norangzada as well, who was not only a religious cleric but a scholar of medicine and astrology, *Ilm Ramal* and *Ilm Jafer*. He wrote a book called ‘Akseerul Ahmar’ on *Ilm Jafer*. While teaching at the *Madressah* he also authored a religious book (*tafseer*) called ‘Tanveerul Iman’. He published a translation of the Holy Quran and a *tafseer*. Maulana Norangzada wrote other books on religion in Sindhi, some of which were as under:

- (i) **Futoohul Ghaib Sindhi:** This book was actually written by Syedna Abdul Qadir Jilani which was translated by Maulana Norangzada in Sindhi.
- (ii) **Akseer Al-ahmar fi Israrul Jafar:** This is a priceless book by the Maulana with narratives on *Ilm Jafer*, *Naqsh* and *Amliaat*.
- (iii) **Haalat Ghousul Azam:** The subject of this book is about the biography of Syed Abdul Qadir Jilani.

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- (iv) **Bainatul Quran:** He wrote this book in response to an attack on Islam by a Hindu priest.
 - (v) **Khutbaat Sindhi:** The sermons of the Maulana are still commonly read in famous mosques of Sindh. They contain both poetry and prose.
 - (vi) **Tafseer Tanveerul Iman:** During his life, he wrote a *tafseer* (interpretation) of 25 *paras* of the Holy Quran, while the remaining 5 *paras* were completed by his grandson Maulvi Muhammad Norangzada.
 - (vii) **Tuhfatul Islam:** He wrote 5 volumes of Islamic jurisprudence in Sindhi language that were taught in the syllabus of Sindh Madressah.

10- (a) Earlier the establishment of non-governmental organizations has been mentioned. One of such organization was headed by Sadhu Hiranand and others. In 1884, the newspaper 'Sindh Sudhaar' was handed over to this organization. It did a great job in publishing poetry and prose in Sindhi language. It worked hard towards the progress of *uroozi* poetry in Sindhi. In this period, this paper had contributions from renowned poets like Akhund Muhammad Qasim Halai, Syed Muhammad Fazil Shah, Syed Ghulam Muhammad Shah 'Gada', Mir Ali Nawaz Alvi, Mushtaq Mutalvi, Hafiz Hamid Tikhrai, Muhammad Ibrahim Sufi, Halai, Maulvi Allah Buksh Abojho, Shamsuddin 'Bulbul' and other poets and prose-writers like Mian Shamsuddin Bulbul, Mirza Qalich Beg, Diwan Dayaram Gidumal, Sadhu Navalrai, Diwan Bolchand Koromal etc. whose stories and essays were published. (39)

(b) In 1885 Master Harising of Sukkur and in 1886 Messers Pokerdas of Shikarpur started a trend of publishing books. (40) Also, in this period a literary committee called 'Sudhaar Sabha' was also established. Under the auspices of this organization, monthly magazine called 'Saraswati' was started which published articles and essays on social, religious, educational and moral subjects. Later magazines and newspapers like 'Pirbhaat', 'Jot' and 'Al-Haq' were published in 1891, 1896 and 1900 AD respectively, with subjects of Sindhi nationalism, literature and language.

(c) (i) This was a period when fresh wave of Sindhi nationalism started in Sindh, which provided a new vigour to the Sindhi language and literature. People had a renewed interest in reading literature published in Sindhi language. Numerous Hindu and Muslim writers wrote hundreds of books in poetry and prose forms. Hundreds of books originally written in English, Persian, Urdu, Hindi, Gujrati, Marathi and Bengali were translated into Sindhi.

(ii) This was also a period of Sindhi nationalistic poetry. Late Hassan Ali Effendi worked hard for the education of Muslims of Sindh. Late Allah Bukdh Abojho (1901 AD) helped Hassan Ali Effendi in 'Majma Muhammadi' (publication). Sindh Madressah was established in 1885. Sindhi newspaper 'Muavan' had already been started with contributions from Late Allah Buksh Abojho. Honorable Dayaram Jethmal established the D.J Sindh College in Karachi. Late Mr. Abojho used to publish nationalistic poetry in 'Muavan'. He initiated national poetry on the Persian meter (*uroozi*) in his '*Musadas Abojho*'. Late Lutfullah Badvi has written:

“This renowned ‘*Musadas*’ is not a book of ordinary poems but it is an immortal book which contains the realities of the rise and fall of a great nation; a nation that saw great Roman Empire, the Sultanate of Kasra and other powers of the world disappear from the scene one by one.” (41)

(iii) Maulvi Allah Buksh ‘Abojho’ had been brought up in a milieu of national love like Maulana Hali; he was perhaps impressed by the ‘*Musadas*’ of Maulana Hali, which he translated into Sindhi. (42)

Khanbahadur Memon writes about ‘*Musadas Abojho*’ in these words:

“Maulvi Sahib has given a few of his own verses in the beginning of *Musadas Abojho* before translating the initial verses of *Musadas Hali* that contains an interesting narrative of the conditions in Arabia and its surroundings before the advent of Islam. He has done the translation very nicely so that each of the meters of every line of the original Urdu verses seems to merge with the meter of the Sindhi version. Anyone who has not read *Musadas Hali* would never think that this is a translation of an Urdu verse. After completing the part that deals with the effect of Islamic education and awakening on the prevailing illiteracy, he has abandoned *Musadas Hali* and has written on the need for the Muslims of Sindh to get Western education in addition to the Eastern for their development.” (43)

(iv) In *Musadas Abojho* he advises the Muslims and Hindus of Sindh to work together with open hearts. Some examples of the language used by him are as under:

صلح سانت سان، سڀئي گڏ گذاريو،
انهيءَ ڳالهه ۾ جي، سڄي سمجه ڌاريو،
نمي ننگ وطني اوهين جي نهاريو
انهيءَ ڳالهه کي غور سان جي ويچارو،
ته ڪهڙو نه سک ٿي پوي سڀ ڪنهن کي
ٿئي سنڌ ڪشمير وطني بنهن کي“ (44).

Sulah saant saan, sabhai gad guzaryo,
Inhaiya galh men je, sachi samjha dharyo,
Nimi nang watani awhin je niharyo
Inhaiya galh khe ghora saan je wecharyo,
Ta kehro na such thi pawe, sabh kenh khe,
Thiye sindh kashmeer watani binhin khe”

(v) Late Maulana Abojho has done the translation of *Musadas Hali* very eloquently and at places he has given a new touch to the poems by addition of Sindhi phrases and proverbs. He has used simple Sindhi and its similes and metaphors to beautify his translation; for example: *sona khay kass lagan* (سون کي کس لڳڻ)، *khoto sikko hujan* (ڪوٽو سڪو هجڻ)، *son jo mat na huan* (سون جو مٽ نه هئڻ) etc.

While he has used difficult Arabic and Persian words, simple language commonly understood in villages is also used; like:

(1) فقيرن جو ملجا، ضعيفن جو ماوي
يتيمن جو والي، غلامن جو مولوي
پتو خصلتون جن اٿاري تباهي
گدائي نظر ۾ اچي بادشاهي،

*fageeran jo malja, zaeefan jo mawa
yateeman jo wali, ghulaman jo moula,
budho khaslatoon jin uthari tabahi
gadai nazar men ache badshahi*

(2) ليون، لوت لاڻا، کپڙ کپهه سڀئي ها
جو وسلا عرب جا سڀئي اهي ها.

*liyoon, loot laṇa, khabar keeha sabhai haa
jo wisla araba ja sabheyi uhe haa.*

(d) In addition to Maullana Allah Buksh Abojho, the name of Mir Hassan Ali ‘Hassan’ is also important from the angle of poetry of nationalistic ideas. Mr. Mir compiled the ‘Sindh jo Shahnamo’, where he has described the political and social conditions of Sindh from the time of the rule of Mian Sarfaraz Khan Abbassi to Mir Murad Ali Khan Talpur.

(e) (i) The writer who brought new style to the prose writing, include Mirza Qalich Beg, Mian Shamsuddin ‘Bulbul’, Lalchand Amardinomal, Jethmal Persaram, Leelaram Premchand, Melaram Mangtrai Vaswani, Bherumal Mehrchand Advani, Syed Qazi Asadullah Shah ‘Fida’, Hakim Fateh Muhammad Sehwan, Maulana Din Muhammad Wafai, Permanand Mevaram, Principal Bolchand Dayaram and others. All of them have contributed in bringing prose to its present form. The present simple prose writing was first adopted by late Shamsuddin ‘Bulbul’ that became very useful, especially for the print media i.e. the Sindhi journalism.

(ii) In this period, Mirza Qalich Beg, through writing and translating in every genre of prose, enriched the Sindhi language from every aspect. Additionally, in this period, numerous books were written on grammar and syntax, logic, medicine, economics, history, geography, ethics, religion and philosophy along with dictionaries. Therefore, it would be absolutely right to say that:

“The Sindhi used by Nandiram and Udham was of a special type, that was improvised by Diwan Koromal and Mirza Sadiq Ali Beg, thereby paving new ways for prose-writers like Mirza Qalich Beg.” (45)

(f) Many literary and dramatic societies were established in this period, which published a large number of books in Sindhi language thereby serving it well. Similarly, magazines and newspapers were also started by these institutions.

11- (a) In this period, Mirza Qalich Beg was the flag-bearer of the prose writing while Mir Abdul Hussain Sangi was the leader on the poetical side. He was called the ‘king’ of poetry in general, the genre of *ghazal* in particular. Mirza Qalich Beg

introduced new genres in poetry and his efforts have been called as a new trend in Sindhi poetry. Mirza Qalich Beg wrote *rubaees*, *mathnavi*, *musadas*, *nazm* and *geet* in Sindhi. By translating selected poems, sonnets and triolets of the representative and renowned English poets, he introduced these genres in Sindhi language.

Jethmal Persram Gulrajani, Bherumal Mehrchand Advani, Lalchand Amar Dino Mal Jagtiani and Permanand Mevaram etc. were contemporaries of Mirza Qalich Beg, who enriched the Sindhi language by their contributions in every subject and topic.

(b) It has been mentioned above that Mir Abdul Hussain Sangi (1851-1924 AD) was a fantastic poet of this period, especially in the genre of *ghazal*. Among his contemporaries Mir Sangi has been accepted as the best poet of *ghazal*. Some of the contemporaries of Mir Sangi were as under:

Syed Ghulam Muhammad Shah 'Gada' (he was also a teacher of Mir Sangi), Mian Wadal Alvi, Pir Mian Ali Muhammad Shah (Alan Saeen), the successor of the Bhit Shah shrine, Syed Sahibdino Shah Bulrai, Hafiz Hamid Tikhrai, Mirza Qalich Beg, and the other famous poets who lived in the British period were: Faqeer Nanink Yusuf, Qadir Buksh 'Bedil', Muhammad Hassan 'Bekas', Usman Faqeer, Chhuto Solangi, Maulvi Ghulam Muahmmad Khanzai, Shah Naseeruddin Naqshbandi, Jeewat Singh, Khwaja Ghulam Fareed, Hamal Faqeer Leghari, Mohan Faqeer, Manthar Faqeer Rajar, Sadiq Faqeer Soomro, Khush Khair Muhammad, Muhammad Faqeer Khatian and Makhdoom Ameen Muhammad Pakhan Dhani, etc.

Sangi, Gada and their contemporaries used English words in their poetry. They also used pure Sindhi words in addition to Persian and Arabic words.

(c) Whereas *ghazal* and other genres of Persian meter (*uroozi*) poetry in Sindhi language were commonly compiled, poets like Bedil and his like-minded contemporaries like Bekas, poets from Kundri, Syed Shaibdino Shah and Misri Shah advanced the genre of *kafi* even beyond Persian meter (*uroozi*) poetry. Syed Misri Shah Nasarpuri (1828-1916 AD) has been accepted as the best poet of *kafi*. Syed Misri Shah used quite difficult Persian and Arabic words, similes and metaphors in his poetry; for example:

ڪج زلف ڪڙيارا، سي ٿا پائن دامر دوبارا،
 ڏين لامارا لحظي لحظي، بند ڪن بلخ بخارا
 ور وجهيو واسينگ ورن ٿا، ڪيس تليهر ڪارا،
 رهزن ڇڻ رخسارنگيءَ تي، مار مٿا مڻ مارا،
 بيا نيشان پيڪان تينجا، مزگان وجهن ٿامارا،
 چين سان ڪن چوڏس هيٺ، چهر مبارڪ چارا،
 لعلاتي ڪيون لعلون ليزر، صورت شمس ستارا،
 شعلي شان لجايون شمعون، ٿيون خاڪ پٽي پيزارا،
 سوسن سنبل سرو صنوبر، لالا لوءِ هزارا،
 مڙني داغ دوبارا جهليا، ٿيا عريان ابھارا،
 جلوھ مثل جنات عدن، من تحه الانھارا،
 جن جا بخت پرائن مصري، سي نر ڏسن نظارا،
kaj zulf karyara, se tha pain dama dobara,

*diyan lamara lehze lehze, band kan balkh bakhara
wara wijhyo waseenga waran tha, keesa talehar kara,
rehzan jana rukhsar rangi-a te, mar mitya man mara,
biya neeshana pecan tenja, mazgaan wijhan thamara,
chenan san kan chaudas heeno, chashm mubarak chara,
lalai kayoon laloon leezam, soorat shams sitara,
shaule shaan lajayoon shamaun, thiyoon khan pan pezara,
sosan sunbul saro sanobar, lala loye hazara,
mirni daagh dobara jhalya, thya uryan ubahara,
jalwa misl jinat adan, mn tehtal anhara,
jin ja bakhta pirain misri, se nar disan nazara.*

This means that difficult Arabic and Persian words like *zulf*, *kamand*, *daam*, *kais*, *rukhsaar*, *mizgaan*, *pekaan*, *chashm*, *laalai*, *leesam*, *sosan*, *sumbul* and *sanobar* were being commonly used in the poetry of that period.

(d) Misri Shah 'Imam' has described the finer points of mysticism in Sindhi language, like the other Sufi poetry of Sindh. There are numerous examples of imagery in the poetry of Misri Shah. Mr. Badvi has quoted a verse from Misri Shah's *kafi* as an example:

دين ۽ ايمان تقويٰ پيا زلف جي پيچ ۾
دامر ۾ دائي مثل تڪرار ڪارو تر ڏنر
*deen ain eeman taqwa paya zulfa je pecha men
daam men dane misl takrar karo tir ditham*

It means that one can leave the religious edicts for ones' beloved.

The mention of vines and love is abundantly seen in Misri Shah's *kafis*:

شيشي ڪي ڪول ساقِي، شاهي شتاب ڪر
سيراب ساڻ ساغر، عالم حباب ڪر.
*sheeshe khe khol saaqi, shahi shatab kar
sairab saan saghar, aalim habab kar.*

Misri Shah is a poet of love and beauty; he cannot stop talking about the eyes and hair of the beloved and the lover forgets both the worlds while looking at the beloved. (46) Similarly, Bekas and Hamal Faqeer's poetry also depict the subject of love.

(e) Manthar Faqeer Rajar (1865-1938 AD) has been a great poet of the genre of *kafi* in this period. He was a sufi poet and his poetry contains simple, easy and proverbial language with a mastery on imagery. Taj Joyo has written in an article about the language used by Manthar Faqeer as under:

"His poetry is mostly in a language that is simple and common that he or the ordinary people spoke; for example: *eendain*, *veendai*, *chavandain*." (47)

Mr. Taj Joyo has quoted some examples of his simple language from his *kafis* and verses that are reproduced as under:

مارئيءَ ڪي ميان، عمر! عيب مَ لاءِ تون،
سنگهارن جي ست ۾، وڃي ٿر ٿيان،
مارن سان منٿار، چئي، وڃي پَس پيان،

تہ جا کیتان جیان، جي پهنوار کُن پانهنجي.
marui-a khe miyan, umar! aiba ma laye toon,
sangharan je satha me, wanji thari thian,
marun san 'manthar' chaye, wanji pisu piyan
ta jaketan jiyan, je pahnwar kan panhji.

Taj Joyo writes:

“Study of the verses and *kafis* of Manthhar Faqeer clearly shows that he has used beautiful common language. His poetry may not have the art, craft, poetical figures and feel of learned poets, but it has a taste of its own. Faqeer sahib has expressed his inner feelings in a popular way that shows cultural beauty in his Sindhi and Seraiki verses (*doheero*) as well as *kafis*. One of the *kafis* of Manthhar Faqeer from Roop Kalyan is:

فکر کر تون فقیريءَ جي، دلڙڙاڳن ۾ ڇا آهي؟
 نڳيءَ جا ٿله نہ ڇڏين، خدا سان روح نہ ڳڏين،
 اجايا خيال ڇو آڏئين، پنڻ راڳن ۾ ڇا آهي؟
 دنيا جي جي لئ کيئ دستور، سڪڻ وارو نہ توکي سور،
 ٻڌي مٿڪا ٿيو مغرور، تڳن تاڳن ۾ ڇا آهي؟
 ماڻهن مهندان مڪر ڪرئين، خدا جو تون نہ فکر ڪرئين،
 ڪوڙيءَ دل سان ذکر ڪرئين، ٺلهن جاڳن ۾ ڇا آهي؟
 مديءَ کان تو نہ منهن موڙيو، نڪي پنهنجو نفس نهوڙيو،
 ۽ دعوتن تي وڃين ڊوڙيو، چڪڻ ڇاڳن ۾ ڇا آهي؟
 سمجھ منار تون من سين، طلب رب جي ڪجان تن سين،
 نصيحت سڻ هنئين ڪن سين، رڳن راڳن ۾ ڇا آهي؟ (48)

fikr kar toon faqiri-a jo, dalq-dhagan men chha aahe?
thagi-a ja thaaha na chadeen, khuda san rooh na gadeen,
ajaya khayal chho aadayeen, pinan ragan men chha ahe?
dunia je je laye kiyai dastoor, sikan waro na to khe sooru,
badhi manka thiyo maghroor, tagan taagan men chha aahe?
manhun mahandan makara kareen, khuda jo toon na fikr karyeen,
koori-a dil san zikr karyeen, thalhan jagan men chha aahe?
madi-a khan to na munh moryo, naki penhjo nafs nihoryo,
aen dawatin te vanjeen doryo, chakhan chagan men chha ahe?
samjh 'manthar' toon mana seen, talab rab je kujan tin seen,
naseehat sun hinen-kana seen, rugan ragan men chha aahe? ” (48)

By quoting examples of the *kafis* of Manthar Faqeer, Taj Joyo has shown to his use of a common and peoples' language.

(f) The name of Asuram (1824 AD) from Old Hala is also important in the league of Sufi poets. Sufi Asuram's poetry has an abundance of difficult words of *vedanta* and *Sufism*. He has used difficult words of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian; like:

asbaat, dozakh, bihisht, hooroon, zaat, ehsaan, ghousul Azam, aulia, munaver,

tareego, qadri, saadir and *falak* etc.

Similarly, examples from another folk poet Hamal Faqeer can also be quoted.

12- In chapter 8, the influence of Persian on Sindhi language has been discussed and examples have also been quoted. Among these examples were some affixes used in the middle of words; like

(a) *roz-o-shab, subh-o-sham, behr-o-barr, aamad-o-raft, guft-o-shuneed, nashist-o-barkhast* etc.

(b) Words formed by putting *ba* (ب) in the middle: *darja-ba-darja, saal-ba-saal, waqt-ba-waqt, dar-ba-dar, roz-ba-roz, dam-ba-dam*.

(c) In this period, the system of using Persian words dominated poets from “Gul” to Gada, Sangi, Qalich Beg right up to Hyder Buksh Jatoi; for example:

- (1) تیغ ابروئی بُتانِ مه جبین
عاشقنِ جی سر تی آھی دم بدم (گدا)
taigh abrooi butaan e meh jabeen
aashiqan je sira te aahe dam badam (Gada)
- (2) گل و لالہ نسرين و سمن آھ. (گدا)
gul o lalaye nasreen o saman aah. (Gada)
- (3) کاکلِ خُمدار جو سودا، جنونِ عشق
آھ، تنھن لئہ خلقہ زنجیرِ خود چکرِ آھ. (محمود خادم)
kakil e khumdar jo soda, junoon e ishq
aah, tenh laye halqah zanjeer khud chakar men aah
(Mahmood Khadim)

(d) (i) In Persian, in order to make plural from singular noun, the suffix *ha* (ها) or *aan* (آن) are added. In the Kalhora and Mir period, the nouns borrowed in Sindhi from Persian were also changed in this manner; like:

Plural forms with suffix ها (ha)		Plural forms with suffix آن (an)	
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
<i>gul</i> گل	<i>gulha</i> گُلھا	<i>dukhtar</i> دختر	<i>dukhtaran</i> دختران
<i>bacha</i> بچہ	<i>bach-ha</i> بچھا	<i>pisr</i> پسر	<i>pisran</i> پسران
<i>asp</i> اسب	<i>aspha</i> اسپھا	<i>buzurg</i> بزرگ	<i>buzurgan</i> بزرگان
<i>pisr</i> پسر	<i>pisrha</i> پسرھا	<i>danishwar</i> دانشور	<i>danishwaran</i> دانشوران

(ii) Under the influence of Persian, many Sindhi people including men and women started keeping their names according to the Arabic and Persian traditions; like

Names of Women

Mahvash/Mehvash مہوش، مہوش
Mah Mail مہ میل
Mah Roo/Mah Rooi/ Marui مہ رو، مہ روئی، مارئی
Mah Laqa مہ لقا
Maahtab/Mehtab مہتاب/مہتاب
Pari Vash پری وش

Names of Men

Mahtab مہتاب
Aftab آفتاب
Shah Jahan شاہ جہان
Shah Zaman شاہ زمان
Shahrukh شاہ رخ
Ameen امین

آفتاب Aftab

شاه جهان Shah Jahan

شاه بانو/شهربانو Shah Bano/Shehribano

ماه رخ/مه رخ Mah Rukh/Meh Rukh

مه افروز Mah Afroze

دل افروز Dil Afroze

نور افروز Nor Afroze

گل بدن Gul Badan

آشنا/آمنه Aamna

امینا/امینه Ameena

دلربا Dilruba

اکبر Akbar

اصغر Asghar

احمد Ahmad

محمد Muhammad

دین محمد Deen Muhammad

محمد دین Muhammad Deen

دلبر Dilber

دلدار Dildaar

سلطان Sultan

غفران Ghufraan

عرفان Irfan

(iii) Many compound and complex words of Persian that were used in poems and prose as similes and metaphors became names of men and women.

Earlier it was mentioned that there was a strong influence of Persian language during the Talpur period. The poetry of this era usually depicted the Iranian milieu. The trend of Iranian gardens and spring had come into Sindhi poetry. When the poets of Iran used the descriptions about their gardens and springs, the Sindhi poets followed them. Sindhi poetry borrowed the similes of the Iranian trees, *saro*, *sanober* and *shamshad*. In addition, three distinct Iranian signs entered the Sindhi poetry; they were: *shama-o-parvana*, *gul-o-bulbul* and *maikhana*. The story of *gul-o-bulbul* was also taken up in Sindh; for example Sangi says:

گل کي جڏهن چمن ۾، ڏٺو مون ته ياد پئين،
بلبل کي چهچتن ۾، ڏٺو مون ته ياد پئين!

gula khe jadenh chaman men, diṭho moon ta yaad payen,
bulbul khe chehchitan men, diṭho moon ta yaad payen!

Similarly, the trend of *maikhana* (drinking-houses) in Sindhi poetry is also a result of the Iranian influence. And in the milieu of these *maikhanas*, there is a lot of talk about the *saqis* (cup-bearers), the '*pialas*' (cups), the *paimanas* (pag) and the type of vines; for example Khadim writes:

نوجواني، موسم گل، دور مٽي جو پڻ ڏسي،
بزم کان واعظ جهلين ٿو، واھ تنهنجو هي دماغ!

naujawani, mausam e gul, daur mai jo piṇ di se,
bazm khan wa'az jhalin tho, wah tunhijo hee dimagh!

The Persian similes and metaphors also entered the poetry of Sindhi language; like comparing the eyes with *nargis* (a Persian flower), the hair with *sunbul* (another flower) and the lips with the petals of a rose etc.

(e) The Semantic meanings of words:

A study of the semantic meaning of words of Sindhi language borrowed from Persian is very interesting. And this influence of Persian on Sindhi demands our attention. In this regard Dr. Abdul Jabbar Junejo has thrown some light on the original meanings of some Persian words and their acquired meanings in Sindhi language; he has

written:

“Study of some of the words is very interesting. The word ترس (*tars*) has more than one meanings in Sindhi. One of the meanings is ‘to wait’, the other meaning is ‘mercy’; but the Persian adverb *tarseedan* actually means ‘to be scared/afraid’. We use the word *khuda tars* in its original Persian meaning. This word *khuda tars* in Sindhi means merciful. *Khuda tars* must also mean that he fears God and so he would be merciful to people.” (49)

13- Period of national awakening:

(a) It has already been said that Shamsuddin ‘Bulbul’ was also a great poet and prose-writer of the initial years of the British rule. He enriched the Sindhi language with his remarkable contributions. In the beginning, Mr. Bulbul was the editor of the newspaper *Muavan* along with Khanbahadur Hassan Ali Effendi. He also worked for sometime as the editor of a newspaper ‘*Aftab Sindh*’ in Sukkur.

The special quality of Bulbul’s poetry is humour and satire. The way some of the English literate Muslims used to wear trousers and followed other Western fashions, and their ignorance of local and religious practices bothered him, so these were depicted by him in a satirical way. Bulbul was perhaps the first person to make fun of the landlords and tribal chiefs; for example:

مرد ٿيا مڪار، چؤ ڪهڙي چير،
ڪي رنون خوار، چؤ ڪهڙي چير؟
جاڪٽ ۽ پتلون پايو، دوستو،
جي ٿيو سرڪار، چؤ ڪهڙي چير؟
جنهن مٽايو وضع پنهنجيءَ ڪي ادا
سو ٿيو ناڪار، چؤ ڪهڙي چير؟

marda thiya maker, chao kehri chayam,
ke ranoon thyoon khuwar, chao kehri chayam?
jaakit ain patloon payo, dosto
je thyo sarkaar, chao kehri chayam?
jenh matayo wuza 'a penhji-a khe ada,
so thyo nakaar, chao kehri chayam?

The poem by Bulbul called “Karima Natural” is also based on satire, so one can say that he introduced this genre in Sindhi language.

(b) Earlier quoting the example of *Musadas Abojho* by Allah Buksh Abojho reference was given about national awakening. In this context, it is necessary to mention the different movements of the sub-continent.

(i) In 1905, a movement for separation of Bengal started, which had an influence on Sindh in addition to the other areas of the sub-continent. Owing to this movement, a lot of newspapers and magazines were published in Sindh that broadened the horizon of the minds of people. In this period of national awakening, newspapers like “Mata”, “Bahar Ikhlāq” and other numerous newspapers and periodicals were started in Sindhi

language.

(ii) The First World War in 1914 also had a great political, social and literary influence on the country. The “Home Rule Movement” and the resultant publishing of magazines and newspapers had a positive effect on the language. Numerous educational, literary, dramatic and publishing institutions were established that published, in addition to books, newspapers like ‘Hind Waasi’, ‘Al-Kashif’, ‘Risalo’, ‘Al-Hafiz’, ‘Al-Ameen’ and other papers, where people were able to get their poems and articles published.

(iii) In 1920, the Muslim League was established in Sindh. Soon after that, a movement for independence of the sub-continent began against the British rule. Later on, with the excavations in Mohen-jo-Daro, the magnificent civilization of Sindh was discovered that gave them a high ground in the international world. And in 1928, the Muslims demanded a separate state for themselves. These movements had a great effect on the political, social and literary conditions of Sindh and other areas of the sub-continent. All the Hindu newspapers were supportive of the Congress that included Sansaar Samachar, Hindustan, Hindvasi, Qurbani, Sauraj etc. The Muslim League’s views were preached by papers like *Al-Waheed* and other weekly journals.

So by 1920, Sindhi prose and poetry had made remarkable progress. About 50 new books were published by “Naeen Sindh Library” which contained various educational and literary subjects. Similarly, other literary organizations like “Sasto Umdo Saahat Mala” etc. got plays, novels, essays and articles published in Sindhi language.

(iv) After 1922, the circumstances of the world had undergone a lot of changes that influenced Sindh just like the other areas of the sub-continent. Owing to the preparations of the second World War and the Khilafat Movement, the social, cultural and political landscape of the country had changed, resulting in publishing of numerous magazines and newspapers that brought progress to Sindhi language. The details of these newspapers, magazines, plays and the books published by various institutions and organizations can be read from the histories of Sindhi literature.

(v) By this time, organizations like ‘Gur Sangat’, ‘Sunder Sahatia’, ‘Sikh tract’, ‘Muslim Adabi Society’, ‘Ratn’, ‘Kahani’, ‘Bharat jeewan’, ‘Koromal Shatia Mandal’, ‘Asha Sahatia mandal’, Rabindar nath Tagore Literary and Dramatic Society’ had published novels, stories, essays, plays and poetry of various famous writers and poets. These organizations played a major role in the progress of Sindhi language. They had people like Mirza Qalich Beg, Jethmal Persram Gulrajani, Leelaram Vilayrai, Shevaram Lala, Kaka Bherumal Advani, Prof. Naraindas Bhambhani, Kahnchand Daryani, Prof Mangharam Maalkani, Naraindaas Malkani, Melaram Mangtram Vasvani, Maulana Deen Muhammad Wafai, Hakeem Fateh Muhammad Sehwan, Agha Nazar Ali, Muhammad Hashim Mukhlis, Khaliq Morai, Maulvi Noor Muhammad Nizamani, Khanbahadur Muhammad Siddique Memon, Muhammad Siddique Musafir, Chooaharmal Paroomal, Harisundar, Jagat Advani, Dev Subhani, Permanad Mevaram, Ahmad Chagla, Agha Soofi, Prof Lal Sing Ajvani, Asaanand Maamtora, Usman Ali Ansari, Qureshi Fateh

Muhammad Khuhrai, Mirza Nadir Baig, Ali Khan Abro, Manoherdas Koromal, Ram Panjwani and Shaikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi.

These writers and poets wrote hundreds of books and translated countless books in Sindhi. Numerous young writers wrote stories and plays depicting the problems and issues of the Sindhi society. Some of these story-writers were as under:

Syed Hisamuddin Shah Rashdi, Usman Ali Ansari, Muhammad Saleh Bhatti, Shaikh Abdullah Abd, Muhammad Usman Diplai, Muhammad Issa Nizamani, Saqi Sujawali, Nadir Baig Mirza, Lutfullah Badvi, Amarlal Hingorani, Mangharam Malkani, Shevaram Lala, Saindad Solangi, Shaikh Abdul Sattar, Sera Umed Ali and Muhammad Khan Ghabi.

(vi) Hundreds of books of 'plays' were translated and original plays were written as well, many of them were played on stage. This made stage dramas and performing arts popular in Sindh. The names of the books related to drama can be read from books written on the history of Sindhi literature. The most important aspect of all this was that through the staging and writing of plays, the Sindhi social system was projected; resulting in people's interest in reading and watching stage dramas with resultant increase in creative literature in Sindhi.

(vii) In this very period, Jethmal Persram Gulrajani started the first Hindwasi newspaper and later in 1924 he started the magazine called Rooh Rihaan. He published a lot about mysticism and theosophy. Mr. Bherumal not only wrote novels and essays, but he produced Wado Sindhi Viakaran, Sindhi Boli ji Tareekh, Sodhan ji Sahabi, Tanqeedi Kitab and Qadeem Sindhi as well.

Mr. Bherumal was the first expert who criticized the edited version of Shah jo Risalo by Dr. Gurbakshani and differing with Dr. Gurbakshani's view about the meanings of words he wrote critical columns in Sindhu magazine. Dr. Gurbakshani, Dr. Daudpota and Mr. Bherumal laid the foundation of critical literature in Sindhi language.

In this context, by writing books like "Shahano Shah" and "Sachal Soonharo", Diwan Lalchand Amardinomal proved himself to be a good critic. Lalchand Amardinomal laid a new foundation of the poetic prose thereby beautifying the Sindhi language.

Dr. Gurbakshani, Dr. Daudpota and Mr. Bherumal had already laid the foundation of modern research. Dr. Gurbakshani compiled and edited 3 volumes of Shah jo Risalo and interpreted its *Surs*, spiritual points, words and their meanings. Dr. Gurbakshani continued writing critical literature and wrote "Lunwari ja Laal" and "Muqadma-e-Lateefi" and got them published.

(viii) This was the period when the movement of separation of Sindh from Bombay got very active. Al-Waheed and other newspapers played a pivotal role in this movement. Despite dissent by some circles, the Muslims and Hindus of Sindh led the movement with unity. Finally in 1936, Sindh was separated from Bombay to form a new province, which fueled the already burning fire of Sindhi nationalism.

The province of Sindh played a very important role in the formation of Pakistan.

Sindh was the first province in the entire sub-continent whose assembly passed a resolution in favour of Pakistan in 1943.

2- The separation of Sindh from Bombay brought about a revolution in the literature of Sindhi language. Revolutionary changes were seen in Sindhi prose and poetry. New subjects and topics entered the Sindhi literature. New thoughts were generated in the minds of people regarding the problems of Sindh. The poets and writers of Sindh had to openly confront the feudal lords, landlords, estate-owners, Sardars, Pirs, Mirs, traders and big shot businessmen through their writings. In this regard, Pir Syed Hisamuddin Shah Rashdi writes:

“The second phase of Sindhi literature starts from 1936, when Sindh was separated from Bombay. The leadership of Sindh came into the clutches of the land-owners. They had a lot of money, so they used the ministries and assemblies to fulfill their own interests, thereby trying to survive again.” (50)

Mr. Rashdi continues:

“This period significantly affected our literature. The nexus between the landlords and Pirs had not broken yet, and now that the ministries, memberships and the entire province came into their administrative control, it deprived the people of Sindh from evolving and progressing. These circumstances led the poets and writers to start thinking on newer lines.”

Our writers had assumed that the separation from Bombay would solve the problems of Sindh. The class-system would be abolished, the have-nots would fare better and the people of Sindh would live peacefully, and that they could provide healthy trends in continuance of their daily businesses leading to a good and respectable name in the world; but all these expectations were illusions. On the contrary, the chains of slavery and ills of the society made their life even more difficult. According to the need of the hour, people like Hyder Buksh Jatoi, Abdul Karim Gadai, Qadir Buksh ‘Haqeer’, Narain Shyam and Hari ‘Dilgeer’ broke the traditions and poured a new spirit in their poetry to fight against the ruling elites. The entire literature of that period was full of real history.” (51)

3- (a) The Progressive Movement in India started in 1936. In fact, it came to India from Europe and due to the influence of this movement new trends were seen in education and literature. This movement had a great influence on Sindh and it brought about a new awakening in the people of Sindh.

In this period, owing to the influence of this movement, Kishanchand ‘Bevas’ (1885- 1947 AD) appeared in the form a progressive writer and poet. Bevas started new experiments with the Sindhi poetry. He brought new ideas, similes, metaphors, idioms and meters to the poetry of that era. Before the new way paved by Hyder Buksh Jatoi and Kishanchand Bevas, due to the trends of the Persian meter, Sindhi poetry was full of inappropriate and un-natural words of Arabic and Persian and terms related to mysticism, which were in accordance with the Iranian trends.

Having been influenced by this revolutionary movement, Hyder Buksh Jatoi,

Kishanchand Bevas and other poets brought newer trends and modernity to Sindhi poetry. Instead of writing *ghazals*, they started trying *Nazm* and *Musadas*. Abandoning *gul-o-bulbul*, *sari-o-sanober*, *saqi* and *sharab*, they replaced it with the dwellings of the poor, the conditions of the farmers, the life of the labour class and independence of the country and expanded upon the subjects of national awakening and love. One can say that the Sindhi poetry came out of the mansions and courtyards of the rulers and the affluent to the dwellings of the poor. It depicted external affairs in addition to the descriptions of the internal problems.

(b) Similarly, the literature for children also got attention in this period. Mirza Qalich Beg, Muhammad Siddique Musafir and Mr. Bherumal composed poems and verses in Sindhi for school children. As an example, a part of Musafir's poem is reproduced here, that draws attention to the weather conditions of Sindh:

ويساڪ جو مهينو، جنهن ۾ لڪون ۽ جهولا،
جڻ آسمان اڇليا ٿي، گرم گرم گولا.
wesaakha jo mahino, jenh men lukoon ain jhola,
jana aasman uchhliya the, garam garam gola.

(c) The poetry of Hyder Buksh Jatoi and Kishanchand Bevas impressed a lot of young poets. Hari 'Dilgeer', Hoondraj 'Dukhayal', Pirbhu 'Wafa', Narain 'Shyam', Shaikh 'Ayaz' and Shaikh 'Raaz' was the famous new breed of young poets of that era.

(d) It is not so that the Sindhi poets have stopped writing *ghazals* altogether in Sindhi language. The *uroozi* poetry, especially the genre of *ghazal* was continued by poets like Lekhraj 'Aziz', Sukan Ahooja, Abdullah 'Bismil', Haji Mehmood 'Khadim', Dr. Muhammad Ibraheem 'Khalil', Juma Khan 'Ghareeb', Ghulam Ahmad 'Nizami' and others. Even though their poetry contained artistic qualities, it was not able to attract people as compared to the poetry of Hyder Buksh Jatoi and Kishanchand Bevas.

It was musical and lyrical and the subjects had a new treasure of words and ideas. Their diction was sweet to the ears, contained the tenderness and richness that was desirable. These poets had experienced and studied the circumstances and scenarios around them and had depicted the real issues in their poetry. And they had selected their characters from the real people to describe the problems of people.

(e) Dr. Abdul Jabbar Junejo writes about the language used by Bevas as:

"It is a known fact that our ways of life can be delineated better with similes from the familiar national milieu as compared to foreign similes and symbols. Bevas used the word '*gul*' instead of *sosan*, *sunbul*, *yasmeen*, *lala-o-nargis* to explain his concepts; like:

گلن اندر سرهاڻ پرين ٿو،
موتين سان مهراڻ پرين ٿو،
(52) هيرا لال هزارا قدرت وارا"
gulan andar surhaṇ bhareen tho,
motin saan mehraṇ bhareen tho,
heera lala hazara- qudrata wara" (52)

Dr. Abdul Jabbar Junejo continues:

“The language used by Bevas does not have any *maqtal*, *dasht-o-sehra*, *chaman* or *gulistan*, he has a natural milieu of his homeland where the mighty Indus flows so much so that he even like the *khur-khabeeto* (glow-worm); like:

ڇا ڪڙڪيتڙي ڪي آهي ڪنوڻ ڪنڀن ۾،
(53) بجلي بتي ڦري ٿي، گويا سُلن ڦلن ۾
chha khur khubeetre khe aahe khinwin khanbhan men,
bijli bati phire thi, goya sulan phulam men” (53)

Dr. Junejo writes on:

“He has mention of the *heer* (sweet breeze) instead of *baad-e-saba*; like:

جهونڪا اچن سڌير، مٺي هير جا هتي،
(54) ايندي لهي وڃن دڪ دلگير جا هتي
jhonka achan sudher, mīṭhi-a heera ja hite,
eende lahi wanjan dukha dilgeera ja hite” (54)

(f) Professor Popati Heeranandani has criticized the diction and subjects of the ghazal-writing poets. Criticizing the poetry of honorable Lekhraj Aziz, she says:

“The poetry of Aziz is correct on the principles of poetic meters, but from the beginning to the end, the *radeef* (rhyming word) contains the same topic: longing for sitting close to the beloved, talk about the meeting with the beloved, the complaints of inattention by the beloved, the rivalry of the other lovers; it looks as if it is not poetry but mistress of feudal lords. She wears colorful clothes and expensive jewels but her heart is empty; neither can a common man have the courage to look at her to praise her beauty nor can anyone get her to drink from the pond of love to quench her thirst.” (55)

Prof Popati writes on:

“Aziz is a very intelligent and knowledgeable poet but his poetry is detached from the people because only a few Sindhi scholars who are aware of the Persian verse can understand his poetry completely.” (56)

4- (a) The Progressive Movement brought new subjects and measures for Sindhi language and its literature. Mr. Param Abechandani writes about the Progressive Movement in his article as:

“It is now settled that the trend of progressive literature in India started in 1936. Keeping this in mind, we can speculate that Hyder Buksh Jatoti was influenced by the Russian revolution and Marxist views, and that was the reason why he was unable to fulfil requirements of progressive literature in his creations. He could only keep himself confined to the rights of the farmers (although the poem “*Shikva*” is a revolutionary poem) but he could not bring about any literary tradition. He could not create poetry which could become a new branch of literature.” (57)

Mr. Abhechandani further writes:

“His poetry in “Tuhfae Sindh” is definitely progressive, even though by that time the progressive wave had not yet come. Keeping in mind his direction and limits of thoughts, it appears that Jatoi was progressive to the extent of being a revolutionary. Deeply rooted cultural views are quite evident in his poetry. On the other hand, Kishanchand Bevas is in some parts of his poetry progressive in thought and mood. Many of his poems provide evidence of the progressive trend.” (58)

Mr. Abhechandani continues:

Although the progressive trends in India started after 1936, it got roots in Sindhi literature in the period after 1940. In this period, the writings of progressive Urdu writers were translated in Sindhi. These translations provided vigour to the Sindhi progressive literature and the Sindhi progressive writers relied on the technique and format of the translations for projection of the socialistic aspirations. Such an influence is visible in the stories like ‘*raigistani phool*’, ‘*sard aahoon*’, ‘*pireh phutee*’ and ‘*pharak*’. (59)

(b) The subjects of the progressive literature were: problems of the have-nots, problems faced by the farmers and labourers, the fight against the feudal landlords and bureaucracy, public issues like hunger and unemployment, food shortages etc. In addition to other supporters in Sindh, the members of this movements included writers like Gobind Malhi, Gobind Punjabi, Utam, Keerat Babani and Asanand Mamtoora. This movement brought new trends in Sindhi language as has been mentioned earlier.

(c) The progressive movement was quite active in the period from 1940 to 1947, with the result that numerous publishing and literary organizations were established in Sindh who published newspapers and magazines.

(d) This movement gave birth to realism in Sindhi literature. In this regard Mr. Taj Jyo writes that:

“The beginning of story-writing based on realism was initiated by the story “Ado Abdul Rehman” by Amarlal Hingorani and from stories written by Asanand Mamtorai and Mirza Nadir Baig.” (60)

Mr. Taj Jyo continues further:

“The real issue to be seen here is as to where did this “creative turn” come into Sindhi story. In my view this came about through the monthly magazines under the Sindhi Saahat Society by Lalchand Amardinomal in 1914 and the originator of this turn is certainly Lalchand Amardinomal. His magazine was of a milestone in the evolution of Sindhi story-writing, and his story “Hur Mukhi-a Ja” is also a turning point of Sindhi story.” (61)

By this time the Sindhi language had developed such strength in itself that its writers started writing original, contemporary and modern type of stories, novels and essays. In this period, the language had achieved a standard that could allow description of its social system. In all kinds of literary genres like plays, short stories, novels, *ghazals*, poems, *rubaees*, *musadas*, etc. by authors, some of whom were as follows:

Utam, Gobind Malhi, Gobind Punjabi, Keerat Babani, Krishan Khatwani, Anand Golani, Sugan Ahuja, Saindad Solangi, Shaikh Abdul Razzaq Raaz, Abdul Kareem Gadai, Shaikh Ayaz, Ayaz Qadri, Dildar Hussain Shah Moosavi, Teerath Vasanth, Amarlal Hingorani, Asanand Mamtorai, Serai Umed Ali and Shaikh Abdul Sattar etc. And their leaders were Hyder Buksh Jatoti and Kishanchand Bevas.

(e) The problems of the have-nots, common people, labourers, farmers etc. were depicted through poetry and prose and other modern genres. And as a result Sindhi language was able to stand in line with other idioms of the subcontinent due to its qualities. The writers and poets translated numerous foreign literary genres into Sindhi, thereby making it a rich language like other international languages. This was the reason that the youngsters of Sindh became aware of the international trends through reading in Sindhi language and it became enriched with international literary genres.

In the 7 years from 1940 to 1947, subjects of nationalism and national awakening were written in an inspiring mood of Sindhi prose. The journalistic language also progressed a lot.

(f) Before the establishment of Pakistan, international literary organisations like the Progressive Writers movement supported literary activities in Sindh. Among these organizations “Baghi Saahat Manzil”, “Zindagi Publications”, and “Azad Silsilo” carried a special importance. Magazines like Agte Kadam, Nain Dunya and Mehran were published by these organizations where progressive literature was published. They also published quite a few stories which were later compiled in the form of anthologies, among which “Punhal Khaan Poe”, “Daak Bungalow” and “Biloo Dada” were the most popular.

15- Results:

As a result, the progress that the Sindhi language was able to get during this period can be summarized as under:

- (i) In this period the British government took practical and appropriate steps for the progress of Sindhi language. First of all they issued a decree of making Sindhi an official language in place of Persian and introduced it in schools and government offices. They formed a committee to assign a script for Sindhi language which suggested that the Arabic-Sindhi script (*Naskh*) be assigned for Sindhi and this was given the final shape in 1853 and a standard script was approved for Sindhi language.
- (ii) After the approval of a single script for Sindhi language officially, the text books including prose and poetry books were published. In other words, one can say that Sindhi language was awarded an official status that it never had.
- (iii) Publishing houses were established in Sindh that worked for the progress of Sindhi language.
- (iv) In 1853 the first textbook for children called ‘Babnamo’ written by Munshi Udham was officially published, and later on numerous books on education and art were published every year.

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- (v) In 1866, Dr. Ernest Trumpp published the first ever edition of Shah jo Risalo in Sindhi typing from Leipzig (Lipsia) in Germany. That is to say that Shah Latif was introduced to the people by him. Later on in 1875 Diwan Gul, in 1876 Bianul Arifain and in 1878 Diwan Qasim were published.
 - (vi) In this period, the journalistic language in Sindhi prose was used by Mian Shamsuddin Bulbul for the first time.
 - (vii) In this period, the poets criticized each other's works in newspapers starting trend of literary criticism in Sindhi.
 - (viii) Similarly,, in the field of critical literature, the book "Meezanul Shair" written by Syed Fazil Shah was published for the first time in 1883 and "Sami Ja Sulook" was published in this very period with meanings and explanations.
 - (ix) The art of translation in Sindhi language during the British rule was officially encouraged. The British encouraged the official translators and rewarded them with awards resulting in a renewed interest in this field in the poets and the writers.
 - (x) In the initial part of this period, novels, plays, stories and epics written in English, Hindi, Urdu and other languages were translated into the Sindhi language and in this way, Western genres of literature were brought into Sindhi. In this regard, Diwan Udham, Diwan Navalrai, Mirza Qaleej Baig and Diwan Koromal were the leading scholars.
 - (xi) Diwan Udham and Diwan Navalrai translated the novel 'Raseelaas' into Sindhi; it was published in 1870.
 - (xii) In this period, Diwan Koromal published "Ratnavali" as the first play of Sindhi.
 - (xiii) English novels and plays were adapted according to the Sindhi milieu and were published such as "Biloo Khokhar" which was an adaptation of Thomas Hardy's novel "Mayor of Casterbridge" by Thomas Hardy.
 - (xiv) This period saw the publishing of original and contemporary novels. The most important member of the four leading literary figures of this period, Mirza Qalich Beg worked hard for promotion of Sindhi. Mr. Mirza wrote the first ever novel of Sindhi language called Zeenat, as well as other books bringing Sindhi language at par with other languages of the world.
 - (xv) Mirza Qalich Beg and other writers changed the alien environment of the plays of Shakespeare and others to give them a local look. The first play that Mr. Mirza introduced in Sindhi was "Laila Majnoon".
 - (xvi) Like the novels, contemporary plays and essays were written in this period. Mr. Mirza got "Bacon's Essays" translated into Sindhi with the name of "Muqalatul Hikmat".
 - (xvii) The initial years of this period saw the beginning of short-stories and love

stories. Several writers contributed in these genres.

- (xviii) A lot of work on Sindhi Linguistics and Anthropology was done in this period. Numerous dictionaries, books on grammar, Sindhi dialects and history were published. Books on idioms and proverbs were also published.
- (xix) The Progressive Movement had a major influence on Sindhi literature, resulting in publishing of a huge amount of literature relating with national awakening, patriotism and problems and issues faced by Sindh.
- (xx) In this period the scholars, poets and writers of Sindh translated the books of highest standard written by great scholars into Sindhi; they included the books written in English, French, German, Russian, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Hindi, Bengali, Sanskrit, Gujrati, Urdu and Marhatti languages. These included the Holy Quran, Bible, Vedas and Purans in addition to books of every genre. The philosophical thoughts and concepts of scholars and writers of the world like Tolstoy, Rumi, Kalidas, Tagore, Hafiz Sheerazi, Saadi, Shams Tabrez, Khalil Jibran, Umer Khayyam, Rodky, Shakespeare, Dante, Walter Scott, Connandyle, Dickens, Carlyle, Machiavelli and other great men and the novels, plays, essays, poems and stories written by them and other great writers of the world were translated into Sindhi language, thereby enriching it and enabling it to achieve the highest standard.

Similarly, the biographies and life sketches of the Holy prophet (pbuh), Hazrat Essa (Jesus) (as), Hazrat Moosa (Moses) (as), Hazrat Ibraheem (Abraham) (as) and other prophets, the caliphs, Imams, and stories of other great and pious men were published in Sindhi language. The life story of Buddha, Shri Krishan, Shri Ramchander, Guru Nanik, Bhagat Kabeer, Miran Bai, Ibn Khuldoon, Bu Ali Seena, Imam Ghazali, Hippocrates, Plato and other philosophers, physicians, poets, saints and sufis were published in Sindhi.

Therefore, this period can be acknowledged to be unique and exemplary as this era saw a new way paved for education and learning and efforts for its spread. The study of English literature and new sciences brought by the British broadened the horizon of knowledge in Sindh.

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Chapter Ten

The Progress of Sindhi Language in the Pakistani Period

1- It has been mentioned in the 9th chapter that under the influence of the Progressive Movement in 1936 and especially the separation of Sindh from the Bombay Presidency and declaration of its status as a province brought about a new turn in the Sindhi literature. Owing to this movement, the trends of modern literature started to come in Sindhi language. The genres of foreign poetry i.e. the European poetry also started in Sindhi because of this movement. Honorable Hyder Buksh Jatoti and Mr. Kishanchand Bevas were the founders of this movement in Sindh. This influence was seen on the younger poets and writers of that era like Hoondraj Dukhayal, Hari Dilgir, Narain Shyam, Shaikh Abdul Razzaq Raaz, Shaikh Ayaz, Ayaz Qadri, Abdul Kareem Gadai, Serai Umed Ali and others. Poetic forms of blank verse, sonnets; stories, novels and plays were written in accordance with these newer trends. The subjects of Sindhi prose and poetry expanded and along with problems related with Sindh, topics of international importance started being described and depicted in Sindhi literature.

The partition of India occurred on 14th August 1947 and Pakistan came into being as a separate country. Despite a pact between the Congress and the Muslim League, millions of people migrated from both the countries. Hordes of Hindus of Sindh migrated towards India including landlords and traders as well as bureaucrats and lawyers, doctors, teachers and professors. A huge number of Sindhi scholars, writers and poets migrated from Sindh to India. Numerous books have been published in Sindhi in India about the problems faced by these Sindhi Hindus and their struggle for the recognition of Sindhi language.

In India, Sindhi Hindu writers from Sindh, publishing of Sindhi literature became dormant for some time and it was assumed that the Sindhi literature would be in a perilous state. Things worsened so much that 'Mehran'- the magazine published by the government of Sindh was also closed. Most of the publishing houses had ceased to work. There was an acute shortage of Sindhi books; but since Sindhi language had been the medium of instruction through the centuries and had survived for thousands of years, with the grace of God, the literary flow in the drying lake of Sindhi literature revived itself. After sometime the milieu showed a renewed vigour and numerous old writers and poets came back in the field. They tried and started publishing books once again. With the help of the younger generation of poets and writers, the literary activities in Sindh were revived. New institutions were established with the following purposes:

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- (i) To be proud of the Sindhi culture, tradition and civilization and to nurture its various fields.
 - (ii) To analyze the history of Sindh afresh and to inspire people to read and engage in research.
 - (iii) To improve the mental and social level of the Sindhi nation by organizing literacy gatherings, seminars and cultural exhibitions.
 - (iv) Encouraging the poets, writers, and critics through literary meetings.
 - (v) To patronise Sindhi manuscripts, rare publication, new and contemporary books; and getting books of high standard translated into Sindhi and making this literary treasure available to people without any commercial interest.
 - (vi) To establish new libraries for strengthening the Sindhi language and inspiring the writers and the common man to read, write and engage in literary activities.

2- In this regard, the first step was taken up by Khanbahadur Muhammad Siddique Memon. He got the Shah jo Risalo (Bombay edition) re-published by the Sindh Muslim Adabi Society. The owner of Azad Book Depot, Mr. Shaikh Pir Muhammad was also quite active. This Depot had been established in Hyderabad before the partition of India.

Similarly, the merchants who had migrated from India opened up bookshops and took up the task of getting Sindhi books published. In this context, R.H Brothers and Messrs Yousuf and Brothers were quite active in publishing books in Hyderabad. And Mr. Muhammad Usman Diplai and Bashir & Brothers also contributed a lot in this field. Mr. Diplai got a selection of Shah jo Risalo published and in addition to that he also started publishing novels.

Azad Book Depot acquired the manuscript of Shah jo Risalo compiled by Mr. Ghulam Muhammad Sehwani and published it, and R.H Brothers published translations of Mathnavi Maulana Rumi. The closed down press and publishing houses were reopened. New publishing and literary organizations were established in cities of Sindh like Hyderabad, Karachi, Hala, Sukkur and Tando Muhammad Khan, some of which are as under:

Education Book depot at Hyderabad, Modern Sindh Publishing House at Karachi, Abbassi Book Depot at Karachi, Firdaus Publications at Hala, Rafeeq Publications at Hala and Silsila-e-Isha-at at Tando Muhammad Khan etc. These new and the previously existing institutions published books and articles written by numerous poets, writers, critics and researchers. Some of them were: Allama I.I. Kazi, Makhdoom Talibul Maula, Dr. Umer Bin Muhammad Daudpota, Syed Hisamuddin Shah Rashdi, Allama Ghulam Mustafa Qasmi, Alhaj Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah, Dr. Nabi Buksh Khan Baloch, Agha Taj Muhammad, Muhammad Usman Diplai, Prof. Mehboob Ali Channa, Maulana Ghulam Muhammad Grami, Dr. Muhammad Ibrahim Khalil, Makhdoom Muhammad Saleh Bhatti, Atta Hussain Shah Musavi, Muhammad Siddique Musafir, Khanbahadur Muhammad Siddique Memon, Ghulam Muhammad Shehwani, Muhammad Ismail Ursani, Sarwar Ali Sarwar, Maulana Deen Muhammad Adeeb, Usman Ali Ansari,

Hakeem Fateh Muhammad Sehwanī, Allah Bachayō Samō, Kareem Buksh Channa, Muhammad Ibraheem Joyo, Rasheed Ahmad Lashari, Muhammad Buksh Wasif and Maulana Deen Muhammad Wafai etc.

In this period, the philosophical speeches of Allama I.I. Kazi carried a lot of importance in Sindh. He had made a few very good addresses in Sindhi. During an interview, he said:

“It is important to keep Sindhi alive, because the poetry of Shah Latif is in Sindhi. It is very important to keep Shah’s poetry alive. What do we have except the poetry of Shah? It is our greatest treasure. The poetry of Shah Latif has as much importance in Sindhi as the Holy Quran has in Arabic. If we abandon Sindhi language, it means we abandoned Shah Latif, and that would be our greatest misfortune....

I learnt the German language so that I could read and understand Goethe, the greatest poet of German language in his own words; even though all the knowledge found in German is also available in English and many other languages and I did not otherwise need to learn German at all....

The reason to keep Arabic language alive is because the Holy Quran descended in that language. In order to comprehend and understand the importance of Holy Quran, learning Arabic language is essential. An in-depth and comprehensive translation of it cannot be seen in any other language. Kamal Attaturk had the Holy Quran translated in Turkish language, but he was not successful in his endeavour; because the Turkish language lacks that depth and structure present at its height in the Holy Quran. As it is necessary to keep Arabic language alive for the Holy Quran, similarly, keeping Sindhi language alive is essential for the poetic works of Shah Latif.

Sindhi is a musical language which is its greatest quality. English language lacks this quality, therefore apart from a few verses of Shakespeare most of his poetry cannot be sung. While each line of the poetry of Shah Abdul Latif can be sung.

Languages take not a year or two but thousands of years in their formation, and the foundation for a language is sound-music. Grammar is formed later; first it is the language that comes into shape. The beginning of grammar dates back only a couple of centuries. Before that the progress of language was based on the principles of music. Languages were formed in such a way that the speech was interesting and in conformity with the notes of music. English language remained devoid of this quality because thousands of years back, when the ancestors of the present British people migrated from Germany to live in England, they deformed the language and did not allow it to grow on the lines of German language.” (1)

Allama Dr. Daudpota was supportive of easy and simple Sindhi and he used to preach that too. Mr. Usman Ali Ansari used a novel and interesting method for his writings, the examples of which can be seen in his book called "Panj". In this period, Dr. Nabi Buksh Khan Baloch presented a huge amount of his research on Sindhi language, literature, culture and Shah Latif, Sindhi dictionaries and folk literature were compiled. Through his research articles and essays, Dr. Baloch opened a new chapter of research on Sindhi literature and language. By writing a matchless introduction on folk poetry in the book "Belain ja Bol", he started a new trend of special and modern writing format.

Makhdoom Talibul Maula enriched the critical literature by writing a book on the subject of *kāfi*. In this book, he has done a very important artistic and literary analysis of the genre of *kāfi*. This is a remarkable book. Mr. Makhdoom also wrote books on religious literature, biographies of writers and mysticism as well "Yaad Raftgaan", Islami Tasavuf and "Imam Ghazali ja Khutoot" are among the best of his books.

Mr. Agha Taj Muhammad wrote very nice articles teaching moral values in plain household language. Mr. Allah Bachayo Samo and Muhammad Ismail Ursani wrote "Sair Kohistan" and "Sair Raigistan" respectively in which they threw light on the literary and cultural importance of Kohistan and Thar regions. Both these gentlemen used purely indigenous Sindhi words, phrases, proverbs and idioms in these books and have drawn attention to the importance of the linguistic qualities of Sindhi language.

Similarly, Dr. Ahmad Ali Kazi and Mr. Muhammad Hussain Turk wrote books on 'Physiology' and 'Economics' respectively where they took a new step of introducing English words used in these fields with Sindhi terminology.

In this period, Muhammad Usman Diplai was also involved in writing a lot. He wrote numerous historical and social stories and novels in Sindhi language. On the one hand he used his pen against fanatic religious people, clerics and Pirs and on the other he also wrote on Sindhi nationalism, because of which he was arrested too. He got a lot of information about Hur Movement while he was in jail, on the basis of which he wrote a voluminous novel "Sanghar" on the Hur Movement, that became very popular and brought fame to him.

The modern critical literature also progressed in this period. The critics of this era included people like Shamsul-Ulma Dr. Umer Bin Muhammad Daudpota, Syed Hisamuddin Shah Rashdi, Dr. Nabi Buksh Khan Baloch, Ghulam Muhammad Sehwani, Khanbahadur Muhammad Siddique Memon, Maulana Ghulam Muhammad Grami, Dr. Muhammad Ibraheem Khalil, Lutfullah Badvi, Abdul Haleem Josh and others.

A lot of efforts can be seen in this period for the progress of modern Sindhi story-writing. In that period, most of the writers of this genre were from the younger generation. Some of the names are: Jamal Abro, Shaikh Ayaz, Ayaz Qadri, Amar Jalil, Ghulam Rabani Agro, Sirajul Haque Memon, Abdul Ghafoor Ansari, Rasool Buksh Palijo, Dr. Najam Abbassi, Shamsheerul Hyderi, Basheer Moriani, A.Q Shaikh, Hafiz Shah Hussaini, Raz Bulrai, Agha Saleem, Rasheed Bhatti, Ali Ahmad Brohi, Shaikh Hafeez, Maqbool Ahmad Siddiqui, Ibn Ilyas Soomro, Murad Ali Akhtar, Khwaja Saleem,

Tariq Ashraf, Syed Hyder Shah, Naseem Ahmad Kharal, Nasir Morai, Hameed Sindhi, Ali Baba, Iqbal Jatoi, Abdul Qadir Junejo, Mushtaq Shoro, Shokat Shoro and among the women writers Surrayya Yasmeen, Zeenat Abdullah Channa, Sumera Zareen, Rasheeda Hijab, Mahtab Mehboob and Noorul Huda Shah were prominent names.

3- Quaide Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and thousands of political and social workers worked hard for the creation of Pakistan. They faced several difficulties while spending time in jails. After the establishment of Pakistan, Sindhi people and their language had to face even more problems. Sindhi writers were branded as anti-Pakistan. Bans were placed on speeches and writings of Sindhi scholars, writers and poets. All these issues have been discussed in chapter 11.

A year after the creation of Pakistan, i.e. after the death of Muhammad Ali Jinnah on 11th September 1948, political unrest and attempts to gain power started all over Pakistan. A saintly gentleman like Khwaja Nazmuddin became a victim of Ghulam Muhammad, a bureaucrat with intentions to grab power. And among all this, the martyrdom of Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan resulted in severe difficulties of administrative affairs; with the result that the ordinary peoples' lives became miserable. The province of Sindh was the direct target of these political gimmicks.

Soon after the birth of Pakistan, educational and economic problems surrounded Sindh. The Sindhi medium schools were closed down and the official status of Sindhi language in government, semi-government and local bodies was withdrawn. Lands surrounding the newly constructed Kotri Barrage were allotted to non-Sindhi bureaucrats. The doors to employment were closed for Sindhis, owing to which renowned politicians like Mr. G.M. Syed, Kazi Muhammad Akbar, Abdul Hameed Jatoi, Mir Ali Ahmad Khan Talpur and Mir Rasool Buksh Khan Talpur raised their voice against the political games set up by the civil bureaucracy. A reflection of the problems was presented in the literature created in modern Sindhi writings, which is worth reading.

The short stories written in the first decade after partition are a priceless treasure of Sindhi language. A study of these stories clearly shows the glimpses from the Sindhi milieu and daily life. And it provides an insight in the natural, political, social, historic, national and economic mindset of the Sindhi people.

Numerous stories, plays, novels and the novelettes and some translations were published in this period, the detail of which can be studied from the history of Sindhi literature and research articles.

4- In addition to story-writing and poetry, this period is also marked by the initiation of modern research in Sindhi language in the form of creative articles and essays, and edited versions of high standard books. Sindh University awarded its first PhD in the subject of Sindhi language and literature, a fact to be proud about. These research articles and books caused Sindhi language to stand in line with the standard languages of the sub-continent. Among the famous researchers the names of Allama Dr. Umer Bin Muhammad Daudpota, Molai Sheedai, Lutfullah Badvi, Syed Hisamuddin Shah Rashdi, Dr. Nabi Buksh Khan Baloch, Khanbahadur Muhammad Siddique Memon

and Muhammad Siddique Musafir can be taken with pride. In addition to his research articles, Syed Hisamuddin Shah Rashdi edited and compiled (in Sindhi) valuable books like 'Tuhfatul Ikram, Maklinama, Tareekh Tahiri, Tarkhan-nama, Maqalatul Shuara and Takmala Maqalatul Shuara with comments and explanations in the margins. These books were and are still considered landmark books of a very high standard in the field of literary research.

Dr. Nabi Buksh Khan Baloch compiled *Belayan ja Bol*, *Jame Sindhi Lughat* (5 volumes), the *Risalo of Mian Shah Inat*, the *Risalo of Khalifo Nabi Buksh*, poetry of Hamal Fageer and 40 books of folk literature series. Allama Dr. Daudpota presented superb research in Sindhi language with the name of *Kalam Girhoree*. In this very period, Allah Bachayo Samo wrote *Sair Kohistan* and Mr. Muhammad Ismail Ursani produced *Sair Raigistaan* thereby providing a basis of regional cultural research. Professor Lutfullah Badvi's *Tazkira Lateefi* is a priceless book of this period. Prof Badvi and Khanbahadur Muhammad Siddique Memon paved the way forward for the new generation in the field of literary history of Sindh. Their books are considered as reamarkable books of Sindhi language.

It has been mentioned earlier that after partition, slowly and gradually many educational and literary organizations were established, of which some were run by government, some others were semi-government and yet others were run by private concerns. All these institutions did very good work for the prose and poetry of Sindhi language. Some of these institutions are as under:

- 1- Sindhi Adabi Board, Jamshoro
- 2- Institute of Sindhology, Jamshoro
- 3- Shah Waliullah Academy, Hyderabad
- 4- Shah Latif Bhit Shah Cultural Center, Bhit Shah, Hyderabad
- 5- Publishing Department of Pakistan Government
- 6- Publishing Department of Sindh Government
- 7- Sindhi Adabi Sangat, Sindh.
- 8- Idara Awaz Adab, Hyderabad
- 9- Idara Adab Nau, Hyderabad
- 10- Sindhi Drama Publication, Hyderabad
- 11- Idara Insaniyat, Hyderabad
- 12- Islamia Darul Ishaat, Hyderabad
- 13- Zindagi Publications, Hyderabad
- 14- Anjuman Imamia, Hyderabad
- 15- Zeb Adabi Markaz, Hyderabad
- 16- Sindh Textbook Board, Jamshoro
- 17- Anjuman Ilm-o-Adab, Hala
- 18- Idara Sindhi Adab, Tando Muhammad Khan
- 19- Silsila Ishaat, Tando Muhammad Khan
- 20- Jilani Publications, Badin

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- 21- Mehran Publications, Larkana
 - 22- Jamiatul Shuarae Sindh, Larkana
 - 23- Sindhi Sudhaar Society, Larkana
 - 24- Habib Publications, Sukkur
 - 25- Sindhi Adabi Sangat, Karachi
 - 26- Sindhi Adabi Society, Karachi
 - 27- Sindhi Adab Ghar, Karachi etc

In addition to publishing educational, literary, historical and grammar books, these organizations did a lot of commendable work for the progress and uplift of Sindhi language. The Al-Mustafa Sindhi Typewriter and a book on Sindhi Shorthand prepared by the Institute of Sindhology were among the important achievements of this organization.

The Institute of Sindhology initiated a series of *kachehri* (public meeting) hosted by Faqeer Kunbhar related with Sindhi folk literature and music. The Sound archives and films department of Sindhology contains a lot of material of recordings of these meetings and interviews of artists of Sindh which comprise of films and audio/video cassettes and gramophone records.

5- In the British period, around 1940 the Progressive Movement had a significant effect on Sindhi language and its literature that resulted in depiction of subjects like social realism in Sindhi language. Several issues of Hindu and Muslim society were depicted in the stories, novels and plays of this period.

As mentioned earlier, a collection of poetry of Kishanchand Bevas was published in this very period with the name of *Shireen Shair*, where he avoided the Iranian idiom and mood in Sindhi literature and instead presented the Sindhi atmosphere, idioms and realistic imagery. Similarly, other poets of that era like Abdul Kareem Gadai, Shaikh Ayaz, Shaikh Raaz, Narian Shyam and Hari Dilgeer also depicted their social surroundings in their poetry, using indigenous similes and metaphors. (2)

Some of them brought new trends and genres like blank verse, free verse and changed version of *ghazal* and *geet*, and were quite successful.

It has been mentioned before that in the initial part of the British period, Persian poetry was quite common in Sindh. The poets of Sindh had inherited this trait from the times of Mirs and Kalhora rulers. In the British period, the Sindhi poets also compiled their collections (*divan* and *kuliaat*) in Persian and Sindhi languages. The study of these collections shows that in their poetry it seemed as if the nightingale was just around the flowers, the moth burnt itself flying around the candle; the lovers were always longing for their meetings with their beloveds; their livers and kidneys were being roasted like kebabs; wine glasses were full to their brims and the drinking-houses were replete with people who indulged in drinking; the serving boys served the wines; the spears of love left the pretty eyes of the beloved piercing their lovers' hearts; their long hair entangled the hearts of the lovers; the lovers were intoxicated just by the glimpse of their beloveds; the beloveds' hearts were made of stone that were unaffected by anything; the lovers

were fainting on their beloveds' doorsteps and that the fire of love had ignited the whole world raising its temperature!

All such lines were the mainstay of the *ghazals* of that time, but the fact is that such poetry might have perhaps impressed the rich but a common man did not relate to it and did not understand, because such happenings were unknown to the common man's life. They were rather distant and foreign for them. The scenes in the poetry did not belong to Sindh. They were un-natural to the people of Sindh. Mr. Makhdoom Talibul Maula writes about this kind of poetry as:

“This type of Persianised poetry is foreign consisting a lot of artificial things, and at numerous places it is just the imitation having no life of its own.

This type of poetry usually contains the symbols of *gul-o-bulbul*, *saghar-o-surahee*, *gulgasht-o-lalazar* and *shahidbazi*. All of them are foreign and alien; these are Iranian images; the very concepts and the subjects appear borrowed. It is indeed the case that the rulers of our country had brought them for their own satisfaction, therefore they had to go with them. Our indigenous poetry has got nothing to do with these things.

We have our own environments, our own culture and traditions. Our ways to love are different, and so are our imaginations, aspirations, similes, scenes, mighty mountains, sand dunes, deserts, trees (like *kando*, *liyar*, *khobar*, *kirir*, *babbur*), rivers and canals etc.

We have the woman as the lover and the man as beloved. In Iranian poetry, it is fair to un-necessarily blame the beloved; accuse him of being cruel, brutal, vicious and unfaithful. The Iranian poetry has the concept of *raqueeb* (the rival) which is disgusting and dirty beyond imagination here. It is so base that even a single example is too much to bear. Our poetry consists of prayers, wailings and good wishes only.” (3)

6- The initiation and progress of modern Sindhi poetry occurred in the British period, as has been mentioned in chapter 9. The poetry of this period analyzed the psychological conditions of the people of Sindh. And the vast vocabulary of Sindhi language helped in expressing these thoughts. The Sindhi poetry had acquired the simplicity, tenderness, softness, sweetness and gentle mood over the years. That is why the language appears so sweet and lovely. Dr. Tanveer Abbassi believes:

“The mood and the dialect of our modern poetry is simple and easy, soft and attractive. Therefore one can say that our poets have become aware of our national temperament. The taste of their poetry is the special taste of our nation. Their manner of conversation is beautiful; instead of calling their beloved as *mah-laqa*, *dilruba*, *mahjabeen* and *mahvash*, they address them with words like *saeen*, *sohna*, *mithra*, *makhee* etc.; for example:

- (i) منهنجا پرين او بانورا، او سانورا! (اياز)
muhinja pireen o banvara, o sanvara (ayaz)
- (ii) آءِ پي ڪٿي، سائين (هري دلگير)
au bhi khañi, saeen (hari dilgeer)
- (iii) او پدمڻي، هيري ڪٿي!
o padmañi, heere kañee! (4)

Dr. Tanveer Abbassi writes on:

“As I have written above, the traditional Sindhi poetry was very much under the influence of Persian. Therefore its mood was also Iranian (the traditional ceremonies where wines were served by young males, people came to drink, glasses after glasses of wines were asked for, and the *raqueeb roosiah* (the evil rival) was also in attendance etc. The trees of *saro* and the flowers of *nargis* were so often mentioned, as if every house of ours had *nargis* and *saro* in their premises. And this means that our earlier poets did not write poetry based on their experiences, thoughts and effects, but mostly after reading Persian poetry, which was clear evidence of their lack of experience, creative acumen and lack of understanding their surroundings, and it was an argument of absence of creative acumen.” (5)

7- Most poets had the expression in the Persian style until the promulgation of the One Unit. So much so that poets like Tanveer Abbassi had also used the Persian style. In this regard, Prof Sehar Imdad writes:

“In the 1950s, the poetry of Tanveer Abbassi consisted mainly of *ghazals*. *Ghazal* was considered the representative genre of that era. In that (traditional) period, one finds the similes, metaphors, formations and subjects in the language of the poetry of Tanveer Abbassi prevalent, almost essential for *ghazal* writing. Compound words with poetical figures like *Saghar-o-meena*, *saqi-o-maikada*, *dast-e-junoon*, *azm-o-amal*, *aalam-o-fard*, *chaak-e-daaman*, *chaak-e-giraibaan*, *charaagh neelgoon*, *gardish Kuhn*, *mai gulgoon*, *deeda khwaabaan*, *deeda shoq*, *jurat sajda*, *dil-o-nazar*, *bazme rafeeqan*, *khoon-e-aashiq*, *tabish-e-anvaar*, *zulf-e-yaar*, *zabt-e-musalsil*, *ronaq-e-mehel*, *daaman-e-sahil*, *zoq-e-safar*, *sar-e-manzil*, *chashm-e-tarr*, *soz-e-pinhaan*, *jahan-e-dil*, *zoq-e-justuju*, *dasht-e-paimaee*, *vada-e-farda*, *fikr-e-rozgar*, *gham-e-dunya*, *bazm-e-sukhan*, *tarz-e-sitam*, *tarz-e-fughan*, *dard-e-dil*, *dard-e-deevar*, *hayat-e-javedan*, *bar-e-asian* and *paiker-e-musht* would be frequently used in that sort of poetry; for example:

هي اشڪهائي مسلسل، هي داغ هائي جگر
 گذشتہ دور جا آھن هي، يادگار اڃا (6)
hee ashq haye musalal, hee daagh haye jigar
guzishta daur ja ahin hee, yadgar anja (6)

In this verse, Mr. Tanveer has not only used words and formations of Persian but has also used Persian plurals like *daghaha*, *ashkaha* also. The reason for that being that in those times these formations were used with pride as they were considered proof of a poet's greatness. Similarly, another verse by Tanveer; also shows abundant usage of Arabic and Persian words; for example:

ملائڪ خود ٿيا حيران، انهيءَ جي جرڙ جرات تي،
ڪٿي سو ٻار عصيان پيڪرِ مشتِ غبار آيو.
malaik khud thiya hairan, unhai-a je jurme jurat te,
khañi sau bar asiyan paikare musthe ghubar ayo.

This means that the poetry of Tanveer Abbassi contains all the essential elements of the traditional poetry of that era. It shows the use of *zair izafat*, *hamza izafat*, *vaov ataf* in addition to preformed *radeef* and *qaafia* too. For example:

مدد اي دستِ جنون آهي تنگِ وحشت هيءُ
جو آهي رهجي وئي دامن ۾ هڪڙي تارِ اڃا.
madad aye daste junoon ahe nange wehshat hee-a
jo ahe rehji wayi daman men hikri taara anja.

Second example:

روان نه آهي اڃا شعر تنهنجو اي تنوير،
چڱو اٿئي ته ڪر استاد ڪارگر جي تلاش
rawan na ahe anja shaer tunhjo aye Tanveer,
chango athayi ta kar ustad kargar ji talash.

These were the conditions before partition, even though just before and after partition poets like Hyder Buksh Jatoi and Hoondraj Dukhayal were also there, but the literary and educational scene was dominated by these poets, who had termed the classical poetry as wild poetry. For them, Persian-influence was the first and last parameter of poetry.” (7)

Prof Sehar Imdad has called such poetry as not creative poetry but imitation. (8)

She writes:

“Even Tanveer was aware of this when he was writing that kind of traditional/imitative poetry. A desire of creating a new concept and standard was thriving inside Tanveer, and even then he wanted to write the “new verse”; for example:

وري بزمِ سخن ۾ ڪو نئون معيار پيدا ڪر،
نوان افڪار پيدا ڪر، نوان اشعار پيدا ڪر“ (9)
wari bazme sukhan men ko naon mayar paida kar,
nawan ufkaar paida kar, nawan ashaar paida kar (9)

Sehar Imdad has referred to Tanveer's own words of conceding to this imitative style:

“In every aspect of literature, experimentation is a constant occurrence, and where this is not the case, literature has become a puddle of stale water (possibly some might still get some fragrance from that stagnant water). If an experiment is just for the sake of experiment, it stops

where it started from. If the experiment has a wider depth, and where there is a matching of form and content, such a creation becomes a beautiful example, from which other branches spring up too.” (10)

When Tanveer shifts his paradigm from imitative to a creative one, then according to Sehar Imdad, his pen shows a renewed strength. After achieving that objective, his language shows a drastic change in his demeanor, mood, structure and format, and he transforms a traditional genre like *ghazal* to a local Sindhi form. Tanveer could achieve this state, due to his language. Along with the language, a revolution was seen in his subjects as well. His language was freeing itself from the influence of Arabic and Persian. Instead of using Persian similes and metaphors, he started using pure Sindhi words, similes and metaphors; like:

ننهن جو مينهن ڪو وساءِ پرين،
باه دل جي اچي وساءِ پرين،
ساه ڪي منهنجي ڪو سڀائي،
گيت اهڙو اچي ٻڌاءِ پرين (11).
nainhan jo meenhun ko wasaye preen,
baha dil ji achi wisaye preen,
saha khe munhje ko sebaye
geet ahro achi budhaye preen. (11)

Prof Sehar Imdad continues while writing:

“Now Tanveer’s diction is poured with sweetness and it becomes rich. Each of his line brims with the ‘fragrance of the land’ and he starts using pure Sindhi words like *neenh jo meenh, rihanioon, chandokioon, chukee, pireen, mithra, surk, geet, chand, chakore, gulran, muhkhrhin, lehroon, hanj, ubh, surt, aas, pyaas, heerar, heer, pirbhaat, bhaunr, gillan, lanv, saah* and *vesaah*.” (12)

We can say that in the period of Progressive movement, Tanveer and other poets and prose-writers realized the problems of Sindh and its people and the importance of pure Sindhi language and nationalism; which resulted in a revolution that gave a new colour to Sindhi language and its literature.

Dr. Abdul Jabbar Junejo has also opined about the poetry of Tanveer Abbassi and all other modern poets. He writes:

“Modern poets have an abundance of local similes. They have flowers and plants, trees, folk songs, new words, new trends and a new colour that are related with the land, not foreign.” (13)

Dr. Tanveer Abbassi has also described the qualities of modern poetry. He believes that the present poets have abandoned the support of ‘traditional love’ and imitation of their reading thereby sharpening their power of insight and deepening their thought process. Their poetry sprouts the fragrance of the flowers of mustard, the bonfires that shine in the darkness of nights, where the birds spread their feathers on the skies, and the waves of the mighty Indus inspire poets’ thoughts and souls, who present their personal and individual experiences, thoughts and feelings through their own language.” (14)

This universe is very wide and extensive and it has an infinite and unfathomable beauty. The writers draw the attention of their readers towards things that are well-known both to the writer and the reader. Therefore while on the one hand the expression of the poet is complete and comprehensive, the reader on the other hand can comprehend the verses completely and derives intense pleasure from it. (15)

In his article ‘Modern Sindhi Poetry’ (*Jadeed Sindhi Shairi*), Dr. Tanveer Abbassi has mentioned the qualities of music and lyricism. He writes:

“The poets of the previous periods did have music (lyricism) but their mood was not local, it was Persian. Every language has its own phonetic effects, accent and an indigenous lyricism. The real lyricism in our Sindhi has been expressed only by our classical and modern poets. They are the ones who have shown the beauty of our language.

(1) رات انديري، هير ٿڌيري، اُپ تي تارا چايا،
هائ پرين ياد آيا!

raat andheri, heer thadheri, ubha te tara chhaya,
haye preen yaad aya!

(2) اڙي چنڊ، اڙي چنڊ، پرين تو ته ڏٺو ناھ،
سندس روپ، سندس رنگ، ائين آھ، جيئن تون (اياز)

Are chanda, are chanda, preen to ta diho naah,
Sandas roop, sandas rang, iyen aah, jiyen toon (Ayaz)

(3) کُرن کونجون، لاهن مونجهون، ستا ائن سودائي (16)

kurkan koonjun, lahin moonjhun, suta uthan saudayi (16)

This style of poetical figures (*sanat murasa*) was started in Sindhi poetry by Mian Sarfaraz Khan Abbassi in the Kalohora period.

8- A special quality of Sindhi language is re-duplication of words i.e. use of dual words in both prose and poetry. It can be seen in the works of Pir Sadruddin, a saintly poet of the Soomra and Sama period as well. After that one can find this quality in the works of Kazi Kadan and Shah Karim. In this context, Shah Latif has really done wonders.

The modern poets have also used this re-duplication of words in their poetry to beautify it. By using this quality, one can not only strengthen their expressive power but it also provides numerous examples of grammatical qualities of the language. For an example have a look at this:

سر تي نوڙيون سومريون، جهڙا ڏين نه جهل،
جھومڪ جھومڪ پاپڙيون، جهر جهر ڳل،
جرڪي پيا جهاجه ڀر، کائي انگ اٿل،
چاچا پيارا پل، وارياسي جي وات ڀر.

sira te nivaryoon soomryun, jhuba diyan na jhal,
jhoomaka jhoomak papryoon, jhar jhar gila,
jarki paya jhajha men, khayi anga uthal,
chha chha pyara pala, waryasi ji wata men.

In this verse the use of dual words like *jhoomak jhoomak*, *chha chha* and *jhar jhar* not only increases the beauty of the language but a study of the meaning and grammar of these words provides new subjects for analysis of the language. Similarly, see his following verse:

جهومر جهومر جهومڪيون، پرپر ڪنگڻ ڪن،
 نوڙي نٽ نموريون، مٿان مرڪ لڏن،
 پهتا چپ چپن، سون سمايو سون ۾.
jhoomar jhoomar jhoomkyun, bar bar kangana kan,
nore natha nimuryoon, mathan murka ludan,
pohta chapa chapan, son samayo sona men.

This quality can also be observed in the poetry of Tanveer Abbassi:

سنت سانت ۾، پانت جون،
 ڳالهيون ٿينديون، گهڻيون گهڻيون،
 ننڍڙيون ننڍڙيون، پياريون پياريون،
 جڻ ته مينهن جون ڪڻيون ڪڻيون.
sant sant men, bhant joon,
galhyun thindyoon, ghanyoon ghanyoon,
nandhyoon nandhyoon, pyaryoon pyaryoon,
jana ta meenha joon kanyoon kanyoon.

The use of dual words by Tanveer is a matchless example of the beauty of the language.

The poetry of Narian Shyam has also been enriched with this quality; for example:

پيڙا پيڙا جيون، جيون جيون پيڙا،
 اوسيڙا گڏجائون، گڏجائون اوسيڙا.
peera peera jeevan, jeevan jeevan peera,
oseera gadjanyun, gadjanyoon oseeera.

The poetry of Imdad Hussaini also shows the use of this quality in abundance.

If we study the genres of prose like short-story, novel, plays and research articles by writers such as Jamal Abro, Dr. Ayaz Qadri, Amar Jalil, Siraj, Rasool Buksh Palijo, Ghulam Rabbani Agro, Abdul Qadir Junejo, Khairunnissa Jafri, Shokat Shoro, Rasheed Bhatti, Naseem Kharal, Mahtab Mahboob, Noorul Huda Shah and other, one finds that the Sindhi prose published during the period of One Unit has depicted each and every aspect of Sindhi society, and on each of these subjects, a separate book can be written.

After Independence, Sindh and Sindhi language had to face innumerable problems. All these issues have been described in the chapter 11 titled “The Movement for Sindhi Language, after Independence”. In fact these issues poured new vigour in the poets and writers of Sindhi language, with the result that Sindhi language made a lot of progress that was also mentioned in this chapter, and will further be dealt with in chapter 11 and 12.

By this period, Sindhi language had achieved the status of an international

language. Material was written on every subject and topic. Owing to the vastness and richness of the language, the writers and poets used it as a tool for expression of their ideas and craft. As a result, the international issues of the world were described in Sindhi language through books, newspapers, magazines and columns; the details of which have been described in chapter 12.

Conclusions:

After this entire narrative, one can see the results of the efforts for progress and promotion of Sindhi language in this period:

(1) The progress in Sindhi literature after the establishment of Pakistan was a milestone in the history of Sindhi language and its literature despite adverse conditions faced by it. The point to emphasize is that the work done for progress of Sindhi language is not confined over a short period, it actually has been due to the vigorous passion spread on a long time. This was due to a natural reaction, resilience and love for the language. The reasons for this love and vigour will be found in the extensive history of Sindhi language and its literature. During this long period, Sindhi language and its script, its literary heritage and knowledge sources had to face adverse conditions that no other neighbouring language had ever faced. (17)

(2) Sindhi is an immortal language. Among other branches of its literature, the literary progress in journalism is astonishing. Even before the formation of Pakistan, numerous newspapers and magazines were published in Sindhi language. Up to the period of dissolution of One Unit (1970) numerous newspapers, magazines, fortnightly papers and newsletters of various organizations were printed regularly, therefore, every year thousands of books on various subjects and issues were available in the market.

(3) Highly effective research on history of Sindh was started. Many editions of history books in Persian and Arabic were not only reprinted in those languages, but their translations in Sindhi were also published. In addition, new manuscripts on history of separate eras were published as well.

(4) A lot of work has been carried out on Sindhi linguistics, phonetics, grammar and dictionaries. Along with these books. Jame Sindhi Lughat, Tehqeeq Lughat Sindhi, Lughat Sindhi Mukhafafat, and Lughat Sachal and numerous books on Sindhi idioms and proverbs were published. Similarly, the bilingual dictionaries like Sindhi-Urdu and Urdu-Sindhi dictionary, Sindhi-Arabic and Arabic-Sindhi dictionaries were also published.

(5) Quite a lot of work has been done on the history of Sindhi literature, history of Sindhi prose, Sindhi novel, plays, short-stories and history of Sindhi folk literature, in addition to critical literature that one can be proud of.

(6) The genres of Sindhi poetry and prose have been extensively researched and great work on critical analysis has been done.

(7) A lot has been written from a critical and research point of view on the renowned Sindhi poets and prose-writers

(8) Priceless work of research has been done on every genre of Sindhi folk

literature. Now even the people of the urban areas know a lot about the genres of folk literature like *hunr*, *dhith*, *pirole*, *gujhaarat*, *dahas* and *seengar*.

(9) Authentic material has been published on classical and modern poetry in addition to the poetry of Persian meter.

(10) The international trends and tendencies have significantly affected the literature of Sindhi language. In this regard, countless articles, manuscripts and books by critics and experts of Sindhi language have been published. Examples from individual writings of these authors have been taken to show the effects of these trends on Sindhi language.

(11) Like the males, female writers of Sindhi language have also done a commendable work in Sindhi prose and poetry including research based articles and criticism. Their stories, plays, novels, essays and articles and poetic genres are of a very high standard.

(12) From the formation of Pakistan to 1970 (from the 1954 i.e. when the One Unit was imposed to 1970) and thereafter in 1971 and during the elections held by Yahya Khan, the language used for all the genres of Sindhi literature testifies to the future glory of this language. The literary genres up to this period can be matched, with the literary genres of English, French, German, Russian and Eastern European states and other developed European languages and even with Japanese, Thai, Hindi, Marathi, Chinese, Persian, Arabic, African and Turkish languages.

Therefore, one can keep high hopes for a formidable and shining future of Sindhi language.

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Chapter Eleven

Struggle for Sindhi Language after Partition

1- Establishment of One Unit and Sindhi Language:

In October 1954 the four provinces of West Pakistan were combined to form One Unit. Although the decision to establish One Unit was based on ill intentions against Sindhis, Pakhtoons, Balochis and Bengalis, yet it helped in uniting the well-wishers of Sindhi language in Sindh. This decision brought change and fresh vigour which proved to be a turning point in the history of Sindhi literature. This revolution produced several new short story writers, realistic authors, poets and prose writers. The literature produced in this era (after One Unit) expresses and propagates unconditional love with one's people, society, motherland and language, that is Sindh and Sindhi. The Sindhi culture as well as the historical and romantic characters of Sindh- Marvi, Sassui, Suhni, Nuri, Leelan and Moomal emerged with a new look, in different style and diction of Sindhi language. The classical literary genres like *Kafi*, *Vae*, *Bait*, *Geet*, *Doha*, *Dohira* reappeared in a different kind of poetry. The youth started liking poetry of modern poets like Ayaz, Ustad Bukhari, Tanvir, Shamsheer, Imdad, Niaz Humayuni, Sarvech Sijavali, Muhammad Khan Majidi, Maulvi Ahmed Malah, Ibrahim Munshi instead of film songs and lyrics. This can be considered as the era of '*Sindhia*' or 'Awakening of Sindh'. In this period, the Sindhi language had become a rich, vast and standard language after passing through all these stages. It had acquired a lot despite opposition and difficulties. In spite of that it was facing problems in its use everywhere. Sindhi language had achieved a lot in the form of highly imaginative, creative poets and expert prose writers who wrote beautiful impressive prose. They include Allama Ghulam Mustafa Qasmi, Syed Hisamuddin Rashdi, Dr. Nabi Baksh Baloch, Muhammad Ibrahim Joyo, Jamal Abro, Ghulam Rabbani Agro, Amar Jalil, Nasim Kharal, Rasool Baksh Paliyo, Prof. Mehboob Ali Channa, Maulana Ghulam Muhammad Grami, Siraj, Ayaz Qadri and many other names.

After the establishment of One Unit, the so-called first constitution of our beloved Pakistan was such that Maulana Ghulam Muhammad Grami wrote this in the editorial of quarterly Mehran:

"During the last three months, our sacred country has been given the good name of "Islamic Republic of Pakistan". In the introduction and definition of this Islamic Republic of Pakistan and its constitution, although there is no mention of Sindh and Sindhi language, yet they are still very much present, where they were before. Only blind can deny the existence of the Sun.

We are thankful to the gods of this country of God, for acknowledging our right, otherwise in this selfish busy era, nobody has the time to acknowledge peoples' rights!! The baby-grass gets crushed under the feet,

and a plant with shallow roots can also be pulled easily, but the one with its roots strongly embedded in the land can never be crushed or pulled so easily, and it survives all sorts of odds. It will re-emerge and grow despite being crushed a thousand times. I am reminded of a saying at this irony, which I would like to share with my friends. During the British rule, in *Kachehri* (local sitting) of a local wiseman, somebody commented that the *goras* (white men) had plundered and deprived Sindh of all its resources, the wiseman replied to this, “*Goras* are donkeys and we are like grass, which only the cattle graze- our roots are embedded in the abyss of earth. So we will be present for ever and will always bloom and continue to grow!”

Civilizations and languages are also like that. If their roots are not strong, they will be snatched from the very ground even with a lighter blow of wind and with just a pull of hand; but if their foundations are strongly embedded and their edifice is stable and powerful, then no power on this earth can succeed in such an effort except for damaging his own self. Sindhi language and Civilization are not just a few days old, but they are our pride and an important part of the great world heritage of civilizations and languages. If the eastern and western bosses of Pakistan are least bothered about them, then it is the result of their narrow vision and bias- the existence of Sindh and Sindhi language is not dependent on their favourable eyes.” (1)

2- Karachi University and Sindhi Language:

Targeting of Sindhi language began one year after the establishment of One Unit. In 1956 Karachi University issued orders to deprive Sindhi language of its due right of being a ‘medium of examinations’, replacing it with Urdu only. On this decision the Sindhi students presented to the Syndicate a well prepared memorandum having logical arguments. Such a resolution was also passed by more than 3000 Sindhi students of colleges in Karachi such as S. M College, D. J College, Islamia College, NED Engineering College, Government Commerce College, Dow Medical College and S. M Law College, in a General body meeting on 4th September 1956. In this gathering, apart from other things, it was demanded that the Sindhi language should be retained as the medium of examinations as before. In their demand, they had stated that:

“It has been said that the Sindhi language is not capable of being a medium for writing answers in the examinations of the University. The question arises as to who will decide this ability or inability of Sindhi language? No such objection was raised during the time when Sindh University existed in Karachi. That (Sindh) University still has trust in the abilities of our language. Even Karachi University has been keeping that status of Sindhi language as the medium of examinations from the beginning till today (1956).

Anyhow, we the Sindhi students, who are directly concerned in this matter, have no doubt in the capability of Sindhi language for expressing our thoughts in the examinations. It is very much possible that our non-Sindhi examiners consider our language difficult and inappropriate for university examinations. In this regard, they might be right, because anyone who does not know how to read or write a language, may be right in that way.

We can not hold ourselves from protesting on the fact that the Constitution of Pakistan doesn't even mention the name of our language. A popular movement is already in progress against this tyranny and for getting the appropriate status and recognition of Sindhi language as one of the official languages of West Pakistan, and millions of signatures have been obtained on such a document. (2) All the Municipalities, Local Councils, schools, colleges and other public institutions and all the newspapers have supported this demand; and we are proud that we, the students of Karachi, are staunch supporters of this peoples' movement. On the other hand, if the Constitution of Pakistan has not given official status to the Sindhi language, that doesn't justify the action of some individual or government funded public institutions like Karachi University, to deliberately suppress and suffocate it to death.

In the city of Karachi, the closure of Sindhi primary schools has already forced the Sindhi parents to admit them in Urdu medium schools. The Secondary Board has also made Urdu compulsory subject in the Syllabus for the students of schools falling in their jurisdiction, whereas Sindhi was not made compulsory even for Sindhi students." (3)

On this step of Karachi University the famous scholar and educationist of the sub-continent, Dr. Nabi Baksh Baloch wrote in the quarterly Mehran in its issue of 1956:

"However there is another aspect of this sentiment and demand of the Sindhis, which is the reaction against some of the short-sighted institutions and authorities, especially it is the result of the discriminatory attitude of some of the biased authorities of Karachi region, against Sindhi language. It is a fact that before the creation of Pakistan, Sindhi was the language of schools, colleges, courts and official record in the Karachi region. From the time when Karachi region was given under the administration of the Central government, Urdu has been promoted there. It was natural to promote Urdu for the Urdu speaking population by their leaders but they started rooting out Sindhi, the examples of that are as under:

(i) A deliberate delay in appointing Sindhi teachers in the Sindhi medium schools resulted in imposing Urdu teachers.

(ii) Opening of Sindhi schools in the near vicinity of Karachi was delayed.

(iii) No training college was provided for Sindhi teachers whereas arrangement for training of not only Urdu teachers but even Gujrati teachers was made.

(iv) Difficulties were created in the study of Sindhi and writing answers in Sindhi in courses of Matric and college levels.

(v) The short-sighted institutions and bureaucrats of Karachi, by taking these actions have annoyed Sindhis against Urdu, even the Central government has disappointed us. The most erroneous policy in this regard was publicised by the Railway department of the Central government. The 'Pakistan Railway System' on coming into being, replaced the names of railway stations written in Sindhi script, with Urdu. This step of railway authorities was a deadly blow to the internal unity of the country which created unwanted heart burn and psychological reaction in Sindhis against the central policy and Urdu language." (4)

The writers, authors, poets and conscientious people of Sindh strongly opposed these decisions of Karachi University and the newspapers and magazines of Sindh published editorials against them.

3- The October 1953 Martial Law and the era of Ayub's Rule:

In October 1958, Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan took control of the country through Martial law, and for the first time he established a military government over the Pakistani people. This period was actually the period of bureaucracy. The Martial law's first target was the Sindhi language. Under the orders of the Deputy Martial Law administrator (General Tikka Khan) of Hyderabad, the Sindhi language paper, compulsory for non-Sindhi speaking students of Sindh University was to be abolished at once. Protesting on this order, the then Vice Chancellor of Sindh University had resigned from his post. According to the Education Commission of Ayub Khan, teaching of Sindhi was abolished even for those students whose mother tongue was Sindhi. This resulted in wide-spread protests throughout Sindh and everywhere there was a cry against the decision and for the protection of Sindhi language, a "Sindhi Language Society" was formed. The biased bureaucrats of the government started exploitation in Sindh. All these tyrannies, atrocities and pressures were depicted as the subjects of Sindhi literature. Mr. Shamsheerul Hyderi had bravely spoken against this exploitation and said:

سدا ظلم ڪي مات چوندا رهياسين
سر عام هر بات چوندا رهياسين،
اوهين ڪيتروئي دٻايو، دٿاريو،
اسين رات ڪي رات چوندا رهياسين.
sada zulm khe maat chawanda rahyaseen
sare aam har baat chawanda rahyaseen
awheen ketroyi dabayo, dhutaryo,
aseen raat khe raat chawanda rahyaseen

(We always called tyranny as your defeat
And loudly expressed everthing
You suppressed and hated us

(But) we continued calling night as night (called spade a spade)

In the beginning, in order to calm down the people, General Ayub Khan formed committees and commissions to know about these issues and problems. For the problems of education, an "Education Commission" was formed under the presidentship of the then Secretary of Education Mr. Muhammad Sharif. The committee was assigned the task of preparing a report on the educational problems of Pakistan and present that to the President along with its recommendations for improvement and development of education. This Commission was known as 'Sharif Commission'. This committee prepared and presented a report. An intellectual has commented on this report in the following words:

"In 1959 the National Commission on Education prepared its famous report, in which, without mincing any words it was clearly said that the Sindhi language should gradually be weakened and failed in such a way that it shrinks to merely primary class five, as medium of instruction till the time when even the spoken language will be replaced by Urdu; and according to the Commission's report, in this way ultimately Urdu will be popular language of this region." (5)

The intellectuals, writers, poets, scholars and experts of education opposed the illogical and damaging recommendations of Ayub's Education Commission. The people of Sindh rejected and opposed the decision of the government, in that period of Ayub's Martial Law. It was not easy in that period to oppose government decision in such an obvious manner, but the sons of Sindh were ready to face all odds. The Sindhi Adabi Sangat and its Secretary General at that time Mr. Shamsheerul Hyderi courageously gathered writers in Hyderabad, The Sindhi daily as well as weekly newspapers like Mehran, Ibrat, Nawae Sindh and daily Hilale Pakistan published the demands, press statements and letters of the people of Sindh. The weekly newspapers and magazines also supported the demands of the people of Sindh. All the newspapers wrote editorials in favour of these demands. Some of the arguments were (6):

(i) Sindhi language is an ancient historical language, and no other language of the Indo-Pak subcontinent is that old. Some scholars have claimed that even Sanskrit had come into being after Sindhi.

(ii) Sindhi is a scholarly and rich language, which has its own lexicon with approximately two million words, along with a large number of idioms and proverbs.

(iii) This language has its own script which is known as Arabic-Sindhi script. It is historically the oldest script of the whole Islamic world which has been adopted from Arabic script. As compared to this, there is a big difference in the scripts of Persian, Urdu, Pashto and Balochi. For the

Persian language *Nastaliq* Script is in use from where Urdu has borrowed its script. So like the Arabic script, the most protected scholarly script, is that of Sindhi language, in which thousands of books have been published. It must be remembered that in the cultural and academic history of the subcontinent, the Sindhi-Arabic script is the first to have been used in place of Devanagari, with pure religious and national influences and it is in vogue from the last one and a half century.

(iv) Sindhi language has its own grammar, which is perennial and scientific in every sense, and is complete and perfect like the grammars of Sanskrit and Arabic.

(v) Sindhi language has, along with its great historical status, a linguistic structure, order of lexicons, and a historical treasure of grammatical rules. Several books have been published in Sindhi, Hindi, Sanskrit, Persian, English and German languages about the disciplines of Philology and Linguistics, in which academic research undertaken by scholars on the history, literature and diction of Sindhi has been mentioned.

(vi) Sindhi has remained a medium of instruction for centuries. Although its literary and poetic treasure was found from the period of Soomra rulers, yet during the Kalhora rule, scholars and academicians of Thatta used Sindhi as the medium for education. Whereas during the Talpur Mir's rule, although the official language was Persian, yet the medium of instruction remained Sindhi. Even during the British period for the education system of the whole province, books were written in Sindhi language which was the medium of instruction. Any action to deprive such a historical and educational language of its due status and right, can not be justified through any cultural or academic arrangement.

(vii) Sindhi has had the privilege of being the mother tongue of the people of Sindh, throughout the centuries; and the academic experts believe that education given through mother tongue is the most useful for people. (7)

4- The Establishment of Sindhi Language Society:

(a) As the result of recommendations of the report of National Education Commission of Ayub Khan's Martial law to deprive the great rich Sindhi language from the status of medium of education, the famous intellectuals, scholars, writers, poets of Hyderabad had established a "Sindhi Language Society" for the preservation and publication of Sindhi language along with the promotion of education in Sindhi, in the same year (1959). The intellectuals and writers of all schools of thought had joined hands in this Society. This Society initially discussed the matter of 'recommendation of the Education Commission regarding Sindhi language as 'mother tongue' and 'medium of instruction', and decided to apprise the government of their opinions, advices and

suggestions about the impact of these recommendations. In this regard, the Sindhi Language Society in its first gathering (8) passed a resolution which was supported by the entire Sindh province and each village sent such resolutions to the daily newspapers for publication. The editors of newspapers of Sindhi such as 'Mehran' (Karachi), 'Nawae Sindh' (Karachi), 'Ibrat' (Hyderabad), 'Hilale Paksitan' (Hyderabad) wrote very important argumentative editorials. Moreover, weekly newspapers like 'Alhilal' (Tando Allahyar), 'Dandhoru' (Khairpur Mirs), 'Mujahid' (Jacobabad), 'Insan' (Hyderabad), 'Tanzim Jamali' (Hyderabad), 'My Fling' (Hyderabad), 'Al-Hyder' (Thatta), 'Sindhi ji Pukar' (Hyderabad), 'Azad' (Karachi), 'Khadim Watan' (Mirpurkhas), 'Panjtani' (Hyderabad), 'Hamdard' (Mirpur Khas) and 'Mazloom' (Nawabshah) also wrote strongly worded editorials:

"Sindhi language Society's resolution (9), which the literary and academic circles and people of Sindh had supported is reproduced here:

"This gathering of scholars, writers and respectable citizens of Hyderabad, expresses its concern on the recommendations of the National Education Commission, wherein on page 290 it has been suggested that in the province of West Pakistan, especially in the border areas and Sindh, Urdu has been made compulsory subject from class three; and it has also been declared as the only medium of education in the Hyderabad and Khairpur divisions. After deliberations on this principle of the Education Commission, this gathering feels that by changing the medium of education i.e. Sindhi language, prevalent from 1962, to Urdu, the doors to any development and promotion of Sindhi literature, language and culture will be closed for ever, and the existence of educational institutions of this region will be in danger of extinction, which will badly affect the population of 50 million Sindhi speakers and their further generations.

This gathering believes that if the regional languages, literature and educational institutions of Pakistan are to be kept alive, then they should be provided enough chance to grow and develop freely. Healthy education and training of a generation on psychological, linguistic and educational lines will be possible only if the medium of teaching and learning is through one's own 'Mother Tongue'.

This gathering strongly appeals to the government of Pakistan that the Sindhi language is an ancient, developed, rich, historical, scholarly and literary language of Pakistan, which has the privilege of being mother tongue of an important part of Pakistan, and that it has remained medium of instruction from the last one and a half century in all the educational institutions of Sindh; it has also been a source of economical, social, intellectual and conceptual progress of one of the major areas of Pakistan; therefore any attempt to ignore its present status will be tantamount to depriving a majority of Pakistani citizens from the source of their mental

and intellectual growth. This will directly affect the individual as well as collective progress in the fields of education, literature and culture. Therefore it is necessary to continue holding the status of Sindhi language as the medium of education in all the middle, secondary high schools and colleges of Sindh.” (10)

Sindhi Language Society prepared a memorandum as well, (11) which was presented to General Muhammad Ayub Khan through the then Central Minister (late) Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. In this regard a delegation of the said society met with the central Minister of Education Mr. Habibur Rehman, in his saloon on the railway station. Following were the members of this delegation (12):

- (i) (Late) Makhdoom Amir Ahmed, Principal Oriental College and President of the Sindhi Language Society.
- (ii) (Late) Muhammad Memon, Advocate Hyderabad.
- (iii) (Late) Syed Sardar Ali Shah, ‘Zakir’, Editor daily Mehran.
- (iv) (Late) Maulana Ghulam Muhammad Grami, Editor quarterly Mehran, Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad.
- (v) Mr. Hafeez Qureshi, Advocate, Hyderabad.
- (vi) Khwaja Ghulam Ali Allana, (at that time he was lecturer in the Department of Sindhi, Sindh University) (Secretary of the Society).

This delegation apprised the Education Minister about the qualities of Sindhi language and the problems it was facing and he was impressed.

At that time all the newspapers, magazines, literary organizations, national assembly members, political workers of Sindh had gathered against the action taken by the government about Sindhi language. This movement became strong in 1962. Sindhi Language Society and Sindhi Adabi Sangat actively participated in this movement and both the organizations moved the campaign of taking signatures from the people of Sindh. The aim of this movement was to present these signatures on a scroll to the President Muhammad Ayub Khan to prove that each and every section of the Sindhi people, belonging to various ideologies and thoughts was ready to sacrifice for the survival and existence of Sindhi language. Sindhi Adabi Sangat on 23rd September 1962, passed strong and forceful resolution in one of its conventions. (13) The words of these resolutions were:

(1) Sindhi Adabi Sangat expresses its strong condemnation of the government’s National Education Commission, which with all its drawbacks have deprived the Sindhi speaking people from their basic rights by limiting and ignoring the use of Sindhi language as a medium of education. In the modern age this report is against the basic human rights accepted all over the world and is also totally contrary to the decision of the UNICEF.

(2) The recommendations of the Commission will completely ruin the educational activities of the millions of Sindhi speaking people, resulting in their total backwardness in all the fields of life.

(3) The people of every walk of life in this region, newspapers and other sources have already protested, after rejecting this report. Repeating that protest once again we demand that at this juncture when the government has agreed to revise this report, it is necessary for the development and progress of the country, that the government should adopt the principle of imparting education through mother tongue.

(4) Therefore we demand that a Commission be established in which educational experts from all the regional languages should be included as representatives, so that a better and exemplary educational system may be devised. (14)

(b) At last the government of Pakistan gave in on the voice of the people and on 13 October 1962 the Central government, through an Ordinance (15), accepted to make Sindhi language medium of education upto the intermediate classes.

After that an "Action Committee" comprising the citizens of Hyderabad and the various literary and publishing organizations, teachers of Sindh University and local colleges was formed. This Committee decided to celebrate a "Sindhi Language Day" on 9th November 1962. On the fixed day functions, gatherings and processions were organised throughout Sindh. The newspapers wrote editorials on Sindhi Language Day'. In this way Sindhi language was eulogised in villages and towns. Resolutions were passed in every part of Sindh. Some of them are:

(i) The meeting of the Sindhi speaking writers, poets, educational experts, intellectuals, students and honourable citizens appreciate the decision of the government of Pakistan, in which the previous status of Sindhi language has been restored in the educational institutions of this region. Considering that a wise step, they express their satisfaction and pleasure. This meeting expects that the government will use all possible resources for the promotion of Sindhi language.

(ii) Sindhi Language has remained the official language of this region from centuries and has been used in all the public and private institutions and courts. From the last few years certain potential risks have been observed which seem to damage the system of usage of Sindhi language, for example the government notifications and forms etc. are not issued in Sindhi now.

This meeting forcefully demands that this situation should be stopped immediately and Sindhi language be recognised as an official language of Pakistan.

(iii) Sindhi language is a common source of understanding among the people of Sindh and all the public servants, businessmen and others need to learn this language. Keeping this fact in mind, the Sindh government

had deemed it necessary for the “new Sindhi” students to know Sindhi language and the government servants had to compulsorily pass the examination of Sindhi.

General Muhammad Ayub Khan consolidated his position in 1962 and used the bureaucrats as his source of exploitation. The bureaucrats of the northern part of the country were transferred to the southern part, i.e. Sindh, and the bureaucrats of Sindh were sent to the northern part. The result was that from a peon to the highest bureaucrat, all persons were brought to Karachi including Sindh from this northern part. Moreover by not recruiting citizens of Sindh in government jobs, a new problem of unemployment had also aroused.

In addition to that, the doors of Liaquat Medical College were closed for the students of Sindh. In the technical colleges, admissions in the name of country-wide merit on One Unit basis was introduced which resulted in keeping the students of Sindh behind those of Punjab.

According to the decision of the then Principal Colonial Najib, the admission in the Liaquat Medical College was to be given on the basis of so-called merit to the students from all over Pakistan, resulting in closure of doors to the students of Sindh. This problem created fresh vigour in the calm atmosphere of Sindh, and the students became ready for fighting for their rights.

In 1964 pamphlets were distributed against the Sindhi teachers and students and posters were issued for banishing Sindhi language forever as the medium of answering in the examinations held by Sindhi University and Board of Secondary Education, Hyderabad. In this way the dead issue of language was once again revived. As a response posters were published in favour of making mother tongue, a medium of instruction, moreover memoranda were distributed about the loss Sindh had to bear due to One Unit. In this period, the government officers openly expressed their hatred for Sindhi language due to provincial bias. All the name plates, notice boards and other modes of information in Sindhi were deleted and erased by the Hyderabad Municipality from the Board of Secondary Education, Hyderabad, Directorate of Education Hyderabad and other important offices. Although Urdu was accepted as the National language to replace English, but in Sindh, contrary to this, efforts were made to bring Urdu in place of Sindhi and finish Sindhi language altogether.

(c) In 1967, great differences were created between the then Commissioner of Hyderabad, Masroor Hassan Khan and the Vice Chancellor Sindhi University (late) Prof. Hassan Ali Abdul Rehman because the Commissioner was interfering in the administrative affairs of the University. His behaviour resulted in defiance and resistance from the Vice Chancellor which caused his dismissal and Prof. Hassan Ali Abdul Rehman was sent away from the University to Thatta and then to Karachi. The interference by the Commissioner in the University affairs invigorated the movement in Sindh. The incidence of violence against the students of Sindhi University, on the orders of the Commissioner Masroor Hassan, is still fresh in the minds of people, the reports published in the newspapers of that time are worth reading.

In 1966 the One Unit regime cleverly and cunningly took steps for banishing Sindhi language forever. Three Comprehensive high schools were established at that time, in which Urdu was made the only medium of instruction. In these schools, for even those students whose mother tongue was Sindhi, Urdu medium was made compulsory. This was a great and open challenge for the Sindhi language. In this regard an intellectual had to write:

“Now the question arises as to under which law or educational principle has the government of West Pakistan taken the decision to exclude Sindhi medium from these marvelous schools? How is that decision proper and judicious? And what is the idea behind this. Since the children of Sindhi speaking people of this region have been studying through Sindhi medium in the past, then what right the West Pakistan government has exercised, to abolish this medium on the orders of a single bureaucrat and replace it with another; and that too, by openly violating the policy decision of the Pakistan government, made only three years back. Those boys and girls who have studied through the medium of their mother tongue Sindhi in the 6th and 7th classes, how will they academically benefit from studying through Urdu medium in 8th and 9th classes? Will studying through Urdu medium in their further studies and admissions not be a hitch for them as compared to those who have originally studied through Urdu medium? Or is that the very aim and reason of this order; so that the Sindhi medium students may not be able to take admissions in these good schools? Is that not equal to favouring the Urdu speaking minority; and bias against the Sindhi speaking majority?” (16)

The same intellectual further writes:

“The most unfortunate thing is that not only extreme but stupid discriminatory things are being said and done. In these Comprehensive schools, the Urdu medium of education for Sindhi speaking children, will ruin their future.”

(d) Such a biased and extreme attitude is followed by those circles who pride their power and prestige. They want to make Urdu the only official and court language. Even an enlightened and wise person like the West Pakistan High Court judge, Mr. Justice Anwarul Haque, has shown such a pathetic attitude. According to the information from A.P.P. on 15-3-1967, on the occasion of a symposium held by the Urdu department of Majlis Tameer o Taraqi, Lahore, Justice Anwarul Haque had said:

“Now there is no need of discussing about the medium of education. In West Pakistan the medium of education should be Urdu whereas in East Pakistan it should be Bengali.” (17)

This speech of Justice Anwarul Haque totally rejects the declaration of the former governor of West Pakistan, Mr. Akhtar Hussain, which he had made in Lahore on 22nd February 1959 in the Urdu Conference. Mr. Akhtar Hussain had said:

“The government cannot ignore the importance and merit of regional languages, together with the promotion of official languages of the country. The demand of justice is that appropriate importance and due rights should be given to the languages of all regions.” (18)

Mr. Akhtar Hussain further said that:

“Certainly, there is no doubt that Urdu has the quality to absorb words from other languages, but the purpose of making Urdu, the national language is not to replace the regional languages; there is no question of rivalry among Urdu and the other regional languages. Every regional language has its own regional boundaries and these languages represent culture and life in every aspect and national language can never replace them which are spoken in separate regions of the country.” (19)

Mr. Akhtar Hussain further said:

“Only that language can become national language, which can be used, as medium of education and also in the courts”.

Impressed by Mr. Akhtar Hussain’s speech, the editor of quarterly Mehran wrote:

“According to the view point of Mr. Akhtar Hussain we are right in saying that as compared to regional languages of Pakistan: Punjabi, Pashto and Balochi, Sindhi language has achieved a very high position. Sindhi has its own regional boundaries. It has remained medium of instruction and language of courts and offices for more than 3 quarters of a century.” (20)

It is assumed from the statement of Justice Anwarul Haque that the former governor, after looking at the enthusiasm of the speakers of regional (Pakistani) languages, especially the lovers of Sindhi language; had tried to deceive them.

(e) At the time (1967) when Justice Anwarul Haque was throwing out the regional languages, by his statement, an Urdu speaking academic expert and intellectual of Sindh Prof. Muhammad Nasir Khan was worried about the expected clash of Sindhi and Urdu. He wrote in his article:

“These days there are discussions going on for Sindhi and Urdu and their conflict is also being talked about. Anyways it is definitely a problem and any attempt to hide, ignore or avoid it, will not solve the problem. Covering a burning coal in the ash may even pose a danger therefore it is necessary to extinguish it- that is to say that the problem should be resolved.

One resolution of the problem is discourse, but that should not make it complex but should be based on rational arguments, in which historical, economic, social and political conditions should also be considered; and it should have sincerity and love for each other.

The other way is that of a conflict in which the proponents of Urdu and Sindhi will fight, which will result in damaging the two languages.”
Professor Sahib further states that:

“Is it not sad that the Sindhis are ready to study English but not Urdu, and similarly, the Urdu speaking are ready to study English but cannot tolerate Sindhi?

Now the question arises as to what the nature of the problem is, and how to tackle it. At this juncture the issue is, which language should be the educational, official and commercial language, whether Urdu or Sindhi? Or it can be asked: what is the relationship of a nation with the language of a nationality? After the One Unit, due to economic and political reasons this issue has become dominant and this is the time when we should seriously solve it on wise and rational levels.

The first reason is that the Sindhis apprehend that if Urdu as a national language becomes the educational, business and official language, they will be left behind in the economic race with the Urdu speaking people, particularly in the jobs, that is the reason why the working middle class is in the forefront for this issue of Sindhi language.

The other reason is that those nationalities which are already backward, express their anxiety through different methods. In Sindh this anxiety has taken the shape of the language issue. The upper and middle class think that their region has been pushed backward due to this language issue.

The third reason is the attitude of Urdu speaking people. Many among them want that the regional languages should be forcefully suppressed. They sometimes make fun of Sindhi and other languages and they boast about their own superiority.

We should accept some facts regarding resolution of this language issue. Every person loves his own mother tongue. If we want others to respect our mother tongue then we should also respect theirs.

For the development and strength of a nationality it is necessary to accept the individual positions and each nationality should be given the authority to do their own decisions. In this way the Sindhi, Baloch and other nationalities will stop thinking and feeling that some other nationality is trying to overshadow or damage them. Apart from that, by remaining in the limits of their own nationalities they will get the full chance to promote Sindhi, Balochi, Pashto and Punjabi languages. And when they will need to communicate with each other for work or business in their boundaries, they will have to use the medium of the national language Urdu. In this way Sindhi will be the official, commercial and to some extent educational language in Sindh. And thus the apprehension of the people of Sindh that they will lag behind in economic race, or their language will suffer loss, will automatically go away.

After giving this authority to the nationalities, first of all it should be made compulsory that the teachers of primary and secondary classes should acquire higher qualification within three years in the other language, along with their own language. After that only those teachers should be employed who pass the examination for such a qualification. These teachers should be asked to teach mother tongue in the primary classes and the other language should also be made compulsory. In the secondary classes education should be given in the language of the nationality, and the medium of expression should be optional. If the children want, they can reply in Urdu, Sindhi or Punjabi. At this stage Sindhi for Urdu speakers and Urdu for Sindhi speakers should be taught as a compulsory subject so that the students finishing the secondary classes should have ability in both the languages.”

The ideas of Prof. Nasir Sahib may be appropriate to whatever extent, but the then Vice Chancellor of Karachi University, Dr. Istiaque Hussain Qureshi, after abolishing Sindhi as medium of examinations, had opened departments for German, French and Chinese languages.

So like the years 1958-1959, the years of 1966 and 1967 were testing times for the Sindhi language. The Sindhi students started organising gatherings of “*Sindhi Shaam*” (evenings) and days of Sindhi heroes and leaders in their colleges, cities and villages. In these meetings and gatherings, social and political leaders and workers, and student leaders delivered forceful speeches for acceptance of Sindhi as a national language, and disbanding of One Unit.

5- (a) In this period Shaikh Ayaz appeared as the favourite poet of youth and national poet of Sindh. The enemies of the freedom from One Unit started calling all such poets and writers as atheists, *kafirs*, enemies of Pakistan, agents of India, red and communist writers. In fact these poets had tried to awaken the simple people with their poems, songs and stories. They gave their message of ‘*Sindhiaat*’ (nationalism) not only to the Sindhi common people but to the bureaucrats, landlords, feudals, chieftains, mirs, pirs and students. Among these writers and poets, the names of Muhammad Ibrahim Joyo, Rasool Baksh Palijo, G. M. Grami, Niaz Humayuni, Ghulam Rabbani Agro, Shamsheerul Hyderi, Tanveer Abbassi, Amar Jalil, Hamid Sindhi, Imdad Hussaini, Mahtab Mehboob, Siraj Memon, Tariq Ashraf, Abdul Qadir Junejo, Noorul Huda Shah, Taj Baloch, Rashid Bhatti, Fatah Malik, Ghalib Latif, Muhammad Khan Majidi, Ustad Bukhari, Sarvech Sijawali, Ibrahim Munshi, Nasir Maroi, Abdul Hakim Arshad, can be particularly mentioned. These poets and writers gave a new turn to the literature due to the impact of the circumstances and apprised the Sindhi people about the social and political situation through literature. For this whole situation language was the main source.

In this regard, Niaz Humayuni declared in one of his poems that they were ready to sacrifice their lives for the freedom of Sindh from the chains of One Unit in these words:

آزادي اعلان اسان جو، سوري پل سينگار ڪري
مرويسون پر سنڌ نه ڏيسون، هوشوءَ جان للڪار ڪري

جيئي سنڌ، جيئي شل

جيئي سنڌ، جيئي شل

هن ڌرتيءَ جا دودا جاڳيا، جاڳيو دريا خان،

هن ڌرتيءَ جي مٽي لهندي، مُرڪي پنهنجو مان وري،

جيئي سنڌ، جيئي شال،

جيئي سنڌ، جيئي شال!

*azadi ailan asan jon, soori bhal seengar kare
marwesun par sindh na desun, hoshu-a jaan lalkar kare*

jiye sindh, jiye shala

jiye sindh, jiye shala

hina dharti-a ja doda jagya, jagyo daryah khan,

hina dharti-a ji miti lahandi, murki panhjo maan wari,

jiye sindh, jiye shala

jiye sindh, jiye shala

Shaikh Ayaz excited and inspired the youth and said:

سهندو ڪير ميار اور يار!

سنڌڙيءَ تي سر ڪير نه ڏيندو؟

جهول جهلي جنهن وقت پٽائيءَ

ڪرندا ڪنڌ هزار، او يار!

سنڌڙيءَ تي سر ڪير نه ڏيندو!

نيٺ وڏيندڙ وڃي ويندا،

ڪنهندي نيٺ ڪٿار، او يار!

سنڌڙيءَ تي سر ڪير نه ڏيندو!

نيٺ ته ڏهندي ڪيسين رهندي،

دوڪي جي ديور، او يار!

سنڌڙيءَ تي سر ڪير نه ڏيندو!

گهڙا کڻي گهڙنديون سو سُهڻيون،

مرندا سو ميهار، او يار!

سنڌڙيءَ تي سر ڪير نه ڏيندو!

سِرَ جي سَڪَن هڻي ڏس چارڻ!

بيجل ٿي بيهار، او يار!

سنڌڙيءَ تي سر ڪير نه ڏيندو!

sahando ker mayar o yaar!

sindhri-a te sir ker na deendo?

jhol jhali jenh waqt bhitai-a

kiranda kandha hazar, o yaar!

sindhri-a te sir kern a deendo?

*naith waḍheendar waḍhji weenda
kanbandi naith kataar, o yaar!
sindhri-a te sir kern a deendo?
naith ta dahandi, kaiseen rahandi,
dhokhe jee deewar, o yaar!
sindhri-a te sir kern a deendo?
ghara khani ghirandyun sawa suhnyoon,
maranda sawa mehar, o yaar!
sindhri-a te sir kern a deendo?
sira ji sayen hani dis charan!
beejal thi behaar, o yaar!
sindhri-a te sir kern a deendo?*

(b) The year 1966 brought a new message for Sindh. The poetry of Ayaz, Tanvir, Shamsheer, Niaz, Imdad, Ustad and others reached every house, which brought a new awakening in the youth of Sindh. At the same time Jam Saqi, Yousuf Leghari, Nawab Yousuf Talpur and other student leaders proved themselves. Mujib Pirzada and Masood Noorani celebrated college week in Engineering College Sindh University (Now Mehran University). This week was being celebrated by the students union. One of the components of this week was 'Sindhi Shaam' (evening). This evening, infact brought the message of awakening/renaissance in Sindh. This evening was like a lightening factor which caused such a fire, which is recorded in the newspapers and magazines of that time. The college principal at that time (late) Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan Afghani was a vigorous friend of Sindh. That evening of 25th January 1967 was celebrated in a tent inside the college, and the organizers, Masood Noorani and Mujib Pirzada, had invited this writer also. I reproduce here, what I had spoken on that occasion:

“Living nations celebrate days of their heroes; living nations hold anniversaries of valiant, brave and extra ordinary personalities and take pride in their marvelous past. Such days and anniversaries inspire courage and velour in their young generation.

Youngsters! Today's evening has proven that the youth of our nation are proud of their heroes.

Friends! Our youth is changing with time. All of you are aware and conscious. It is evident from your excitement and emotions that you have realised the much needed facts after their observation and experience.

Young friends! May be that feeling will become a reality in future.

This period has pushed us out of the bonds of despair, heart break and hindrances and has led us to the enlightened arena of hope and optimism. We have progressed more in the current period as compared to the past. Our lions have identified the deceit of their captors. We have torn all the bonds of slavery. Our soldiers are in the field who will not be easily defeated...but remember the final destination is still quite far away.

Friends! Today there is a call echoing everywhere; coming from all directions is a sound, a cry- what does it signify? What is that cry? Each one of you understands that; you have heard the actual voice of this call this evening, today. The calls and pledges of the heroes are giving a message to everyone among you.

That is the reason why you do not seem frustrated; it is because you know that the youth of today have realized about their responsibilities and have awakened; because you are convinced that the leader of the nation is capable of handling the situation. Today's (heroine) Baghul is calling:

يڳو آءَ نه چئان، ماريو ته وسهان
کانڌ منهن ۾ ڏکڙا، آءَ سيڪيندي سونهان،
ته پڻ لڄ مران، جي هونس پڻ ۾.

bhago aapun na chuan, maryo ta wasahan
kandh munhan men dhakṛa, aapun sekindi sunhan,
ta piṇ laja maran, je hoons puṭh men.

Once again Dodo, Darya Khan, Hoshoo and Sher e Sindh (Lion of Sindh) Mir Sher Muhammad have reappeared in the shape of today's young men, to man their front, ready to sacrifice their lives for the honour of Sindh. They are challenging that they would not retreat without giving or taking lives. Every Sindhi is convinced that they will not betray and sell their motherland for any awards and rewards, titles and money, because patriotism is our faith; because love of motherland is our religion.

Young men! We were given the first lesson in the cradle by our mothers not to be traitors of our land, she had with her milk poured into us the advices to embrace our national heroes; Sufi Shah Inayat sacrificed his life but did not submit, Makhdoom Bilawal was crushed in the crusher but did not disclose the national secrets to the enemy, Doolah Darya Khan pardoned the sins of Jam Feroz on his mother's request but never allowed the aliens to enter as conquerors. By celebrating the memory of such heroes, you have fulfilled your duty. May God give strength to your young generation to follow the footsteps of these heroes and set examples, may the Creator of the cosmos create many Dodas, Hoshooos and Darya Khans from amongst you and may He help you in enhancing your sentiments and sense of dedication to serve and work for the survival of Sindh and Sindhi language." (21)

The demands for declaring Sindhi as a national language and disbanding of One Unit were increasing everyday that year. Several incidents occurred in the month of February. The Commissioner (Masroor Hassan Khan) and the Deputy Commissioner directly interfered in the issues of the students and problems of the University. The then Vice Chancellor Prof. Hassan Ali Abdul Rehman had objected to the interference by the Commissioner. On the instigation of the bureaucracy, student leader Yousuf Leghari was

attacked and injured with rods and daggers in the old campus at 11 O'clock in the morning. On the other side, the Sindhi students protested against the Principal of Liaquat Medical College and demanded for his removal from the college. All these problems accumulated, which strengthened the movement for making Sindhi Language a medium of education.

On the next day the news of sending the Vice Chancellor of Sindh University on forced leave had spread like wild fire early in the morning. Not only that but he was asked to hand over the charge to the Registrar (Muhammad Hussain Turk) and leave Hyderabad immediately. Prof. Hassan Ali was not ready to leave Hyderabad in that way. Therefore, at around 4 O'clock in the afternoon the Vice Chancellor was forced by the Commissioner to leave the campus and he was escorted with the police to lead him to 'Bolhari' from Thatta Road (super highway was not constructed at that time). The students of Sindh University in general, and those of entire Sindh in particular were infuriated on these actions by the Commissioner. Among them were Jam Saqi, Yousuf Leghari, Nawab Yousuf Talpur, Nawaz Ali Bhutto and Lala Quadir in the lead. They demanded that Prof. Hassan Ali Abdul Rehman should be called back and re-instated.

6- Jiye Sindh Movement:

(a) Ultimately on 4th March 1967 the notorious incident occurred which encouraged the students of Sindh, those of Sindh University in particular. On that fateful day, on the Jamshoro road (where now Rajputana hospital stands), outside the municipal limits of Hyderabad, Sindh University buses coming from Jamshoro were stopped by using force, where the two sides of the road were surrounded by water. The students were forced to come out from the buses by hitting with the butts of guns and canes. All the persons sitting in those buses were arrested. Among them were some teachers as well as some foreign students. About 400 students were put in the Hyderabad central jail and SPR was deployed in the University.

The reaction this incident produced was positive, as those students and their parents, who feared jails, were emboldened and their fear disappeared and they were ready to sacrifice and bear the hardships of the jail. At this time the writers, poets, sughars and authors composed poems and wrote songs and, articles to encourage and praise the role of students. Some poets wrote poetry to highlight the characters of their heroes showing the literary quality of characterisation. The short story writers depicted these student leaders in their short stories. Stories like "*Wadhio Hujin ta Wehu*" were written in reaction to this action. The poetry based on this incident by Shaikh Ayaz, Niaz Humayuni, Tanvir Abbassi, Abdul Karim Gadai, Imdad Hussaini, Sarvech Sijawali and Mohammad Khan Majidi etc. represents this period. For example Shaikh Ayaz said:

ڪاٽيءَ هيٺان ڪنڌ، پوءِ به نعرا نينهن جا

سنڌڙيءَ جو سوڳنڌ، مرنداسين پر مرڪندي

kaati-a heṭhan kandh, poye bi nara neenhan ja
sindhri-a jo saugandh, marandaseen para murkande

هن پومِيءَ جو وير، مات نه ڪاٿي موت کان
 سدا سهاڳڻ سنڌڙي، ڪريو نه تنهنجو ڪير
 توڙي نيٺن نير، ته به ڳوڙها ڳاڙها رت سان.
hina bhoomi-a jo wīr, maat na khaye ta mot khan
sada suhagaṇ sindhṛi, kharyo na tunhinjo kheer
toṛe neṇan neeru, ta bi ɡoṛha ɡaṛha rata saan

تون چئو نه لڄان، تون چئو نه ڪڇان، پر تو کان هڪڙي ڳالهه پڇان،
 تون ڪنهن ڪنهن کي خاموش ڪندين، اعلان هزارين مان نه رڳو!
tun chao na luchhan tūn chao na kuchhan, para to khan hikṛi ɡaalh puchhan,
tūn kenh kenh khe khāmosh kanden, ailān hazāren maan na ruɡo!

The elderly poet Abdul Karim Gadai said in his famous poem “*Sindhri ja Seengar Anjan bhi Saagya re*”.

جيڪو وائي شاھ جي ڳاٽي، ٻولي جيگل جي ورجائي
 تنهن تي پهريدار اڃا پي ساڳيا ڙي
jeko wayi shah ji ɡaye, ʔoli jeejal ji warjaye
tenh te pehredaar anja bhi sagya re!

(b) The incident of 4th March 1967 had shaken the entire Sindh. The newspapers filled their columns and magazines published special editions. In the editorial of ‘Rooh Rehan’, Mr. Hamid Sindhi wrote this:

“Our alma mater Sindh University is once again passing through a revolutionary period. Its walls are ready for writing history. The students have pledged to resolve confusion. The issue which they have taken now, should have been taken 11 years before. The voice of these students is the voice of whole Sindh and they are moving fast to their destination, for which every son of the soil is waiting and shaking the chains in his feet. The stick which is being raised to suppress Sindhi language, is in fact the crushing rod of the crusher which is being moved towards our educational institutions.” (22)

The Editor (Hamid Sindhi) further writes in his editorial:

“It is the right of every free citizen to raise his voice and to care for his rights and those of his future generations. The present heroes have spoken the truth and demanded their rights but their truth was not considered as truth. The whole month of March was very difficult, yet nobody spoke to them. Our so-called leaders, who were given the mandate and were sent to the Assembly with great responsibility on their shoulders, are sitting idle as always, like cowards.” (23)

The editor of Rooh Rehan wrote under the caption “Our Language”, that:

“Who can deny the importance of mother language? But here violating all the principles of education, Urdu has deliberately been dragged and brought in to the educational institutions. From the present circumstances it appears that Sindhi and mother languages of the other regions will be thrown out of the education system and institutions altogether.

Recently a scheme of Comprehensive schools has been started and some schools have been opened in Sindh, where Urdu is made the medium of education.

These schools are built for those students who can not afford education on their own. Sindhi public is very weak financially and in these schools only such students come, and will be coming in future, who must have had their initial primary education in their mother tongue Sindhi. This is an atrocious step not only for them but for all Sindhi speaking people to switch the medium of instruction. Does anyone have this realization?

The recent wise statement of the President regarding importance of mother languages looks as if this would be the solution of all the educational, political, provincial biases etc. The President after understanding the cultural relations has stressed that by making Urdu as medium of instruction, there is apprehension that biases of all sorts would be created.

The problems faced by our people, and distances created among us are due to the reason of abolishing regional languages and imposing only one language, which belongs to one community only. It is not possible for the citizens of this region to mentally accept it as per the principles of education.” (24)

Along with Rooh Rehan, monthly ‘Badal’ and other magazines and newspapers like, Daily Ibrat, Mehran, Nawae Sindh, Khadim Watan, and Hilale *Pakistan*, public and literary organisations also clearly mentioned this issue in their manifestoes.

(c) In 1968, Nawab Yousuf Talpur was elected the President of Students’ Union of Sindh University. This young man was enthusiastic as well as clever. He invited Muhammad Ali Hoti, the then Minister of Education, to inaugurate the function of the students’ union of the University. Mr. Talpur in his welcome address on this occasion requested Mr. Hoti to introduce Sindhi medium along with Urdu medium in the Comprehensive schools of Sindh. In the response Mr. Hoti promised to do so in his speech but this promise was not fulfilled during the rule of General Ayub Khan.

(d) (i) In the same year the students of Sindh came out against the Ayub government. Jam Saqi, Nawab Yousuf Talpur, Yousuf Leghari, Masood Noorani, Kamil Rajpar, Maher Hussain Shah, Mir Thebo, Lala Qadir, Hussain Shah Bukhari and several other Sindhi student leaders were sent to jail. At the same time publishing of Sindhi magazines Suhni, Rehbar, Sarang and Paras were banned and Rooh Rehan was given notice to submit some guarantee. Sindhi newspapers were refused government advertisements. Similarly, Sach Digest, Je Kak Kakoria Kapri, Jadid Siasat ja Nava Ratan

and several other books and magazines were also banned. Publication of poetry and short stories was stopped. The government's magazine Naeen Zindagi was also kept under strict observation.

(ii) But now the young men of Sindh were not afraid of anyone. After being released from jail, Jam Saqi gave a notice to the railway authorities that if the names of stations were not written in Sindhi script then on 24th November 1968 the member students of National Students Federation will erase all the boards written in Urdu and replace them with Sindhi all over Sindh. The railway authorities assumed this was just a threat, but Jam Saqi and his companions and other students wrote all the names of stations in Sindhi everywhere in Sindh. Anyhow, the morale of students of Sindh was high. Organizations were established in every village and city who passed resolutions that:

- (i) Recognize Sindhi Language as National Language.
- (ii) Sindhi should be made medium of education on every level.
- (iii) Disband One Unit.

(e) The Syndicate of Sindh University decided to allow all students of Ph.D in subjects of Arts to write their theses in Sindhi and Urdu along with English as well. Despite all these hindrances and official opposition, the Sindhi writers and poets proved their boldness and power. Looking at the new trends in the Sindhi literature created by the young and the old and experienced writers, Mr. Ali Muhammad Rashdi was very impressed and his opinion in this regard would be relevant to quote here:

“The writing and compilation work was started with fervour and force, and whatever has been written till today is astonishing. In my opinion the amount of academic and literary work done in Sindhi language surpasses work in any other regional language in the independent Pakistan. The Sindhi writers have done marvelous work. They know how to impress others! May God save them from envious eyes, and may He bless them as they have done a great service to the country. At the time when Mr. Hanif Siddiqui or Dr. Daudpota (late) or myself were roaming around or looking for, and finding books from every source and place, we never knew that there will be born a generation who will discover the heritage left by our forefathers and will preserve it. In our early years people were fond of dramatic songs:

روئڱي چپڙو ڪائڱي ميري بلني
royegi chapair khayegi meri bulni

Or those who were annoyed with female artists of drama would sing:

ديا رنج ڀر رنج ٻٽون نه مڃه
ميرے مولا بالو مارينے مڃه
diya ranj pe ranj buton ne mujhe
mere maula balo lo madeene mujhe

Who would know that the same people would turn to dry history books like Chachnama, Tarikh-e-Masoomi, Tarikh-e-Tahiri, Tuhfatul Karam, Beglar Nama and Makli Nama etc; or would search and find priceless pearls and immortal personalities and sing their songs in their beautiful language. And remember, in this period I can see such poets whose poetry will match with the poetry of our classical poets. Maybe my guess proves wrong or I am not very much aware of the Sindhi poetry, Sindhi literature or language but whatever understanding and intellect has been bestowed on me, using that I want to give this good news to the Sindhis that we can see poets rising to the stature of Latif, Sachal, Bedil, Khair Muhammad and Misri Shah in future, who will be read with more enthusiasm even after their death. I have put the condition of 'after death' because it is our tradition and peculiarity that we torture our own people when they are alive and adore them after their death by constructing their mausoleums, singing their poetry, crying in their memory with *yaktaras* (musical instrument) in our hands. This is not the occasion, otherwise I would have given you several such examples; moreover I have named some of the poets but since it is also the tradition not to tolerate each other- a beggar doesn't tolerate another beggar, similarly, one poet doesn't tolerate another poet, so if I take names, there will be a big storm in this land.

Anyway, the fact is that I am very happy to see the development of Sindhi prose, poetry and history. I would have cut the tongues of those who say that the Sindhi language is dying. How can an immortal language, which has survived even after facing adversities for thousands of years, be finished? I am fully confident that until the Sindhi mothers singing lullabies in Sindhi language are not finished by death, nobody can even slightly harm this language. I can not see any enemy of Sindhi and such a danger is not there!

But by saying this I do not mean to say that there is no need to promote the compiling and publishing work. In my opinion, the new world and new times are challenging, the practical fields are expanding day by day, nothing could be achieved without hard work." (25)

(f) (i) A "Music Lovers Club" was established in Hyderabad under the supervision of Muhammad Ibrahim Joyo. The focal persons of this club were Mr. Inayatullah and Nasurullah Abbassi. (26) This club used to record national songs and poetry in musical form sung in the meetings in front of the youth. In the *Jashn-e-Rooh Rehan* functions tableaux were also presented by this club.

(ii) The other factor which supported the 'Jiye Sindh' and 'Survival of Sindhi language' movements was production of Sindhi films one after the other. Before that 'Umer Marui, Perdesi, Sassui Punhoon, Parai Zamin and other films had already been produced, but in this period of awakening, several Sindhi financiers were inspired to make

Sindhi films. In this regard in 1968, '*Shahroo Feroz*' was made. The success of this film encouraged many non-Sindhi producers and commercial film makers to enter this field. Thus films like '*Chandoki*', '*Noori Jam Tamachi*', '*Tunhinjoon Galhiyoon Sajan*', '*Rang Mahal*', '*Ghoonghat lahe Kunwar*', '*Malhar*', '*Maroo*', '*Mehran ja Moti*' and '*Raag ain Aag*' (*Sorath*) were announced. This proves that the Sindhi language was a popular language of the masses. Many non-Sindhi singers sang Sindhi songs for Sindhi films, among them Madam Noor Jehan, Roona Laila, Muhammad Rafi and Mehdi Hassan's names were prominent.

7- The Martial Law of Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan:

A new Martial law was imposed on 25th March 1969, by Gen. Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan. Gen. Ayub Khan had handed over the power to him, who took over the reins of the government as the new Martial law Administrator.

This government, along with other policies, presented the new education policy on 4th July 1969 to the people of Pakistan. The other new thing done by this government was that it invited the opinion and recommendations from this proposed education policy makers within a period of one month.

In this education policy there were good suggestions and recommendations for the students and teachers, but it was silent on the issue of regional languages. It was assumed that along with the other regions of West Pakistan, in Sindh also, the government wanted to impose Urdu language as medium of education from the Primary levels, in place of Sindhi. Air Marshal (Retd.) Noor Khan announced this education policy on 4th April 1969. On 5th July 1969, the editor of the daily Mehran (Hyderabad) wrote a very strong editorial with the caption of: 'Problem of Medium of Education', which was in support of Sindhi language and against the policy of the government of Pakistan.

In this editorial he wrote:

"The member of Presidential Organising Council and Deputy Martial Law Administrator, Air Marshal Noor Khan has presented the recommendations for the new education policy of Pakistan, for which it has been claimed that the opinions of the people of Pakistan will be solicited. The issue of education is very important, therefore it would be wise to call for the public opinion about this proposed programme for the solution of this problem.

Taking advantage of such a concession we would like to bring forth the issue of 'Medium of Education', with our suggestions and recommendations. In our opinion the suggestion (for Urdu) is defective which will adversely affect the legitimate interests of different regions of Pakistan.

(This Policy) suggests that in East Pakistan the medium of education, at all the stages, would be Bengali, whereas in West Pakistan it would be Urdu. The other suggestion is that in the schools of West Pakistan, Bengali should be taught from class VI to X, and in the East Pakistan Urdu should be taught in the same way.

Apart from this, another suggestion has been put forward that in the system of government only Bengali and Urdu will be introduced, so that by the year 1974, Bengali will be used in East Pakistan and Urdu will be the language of West Pakistan. And in the center both these languages will be fully adopted by 1975.

As far as the question of usage of Urdu and Bengali are concerned, this needs a separate discussion, which will not be ignored, but the issue of medium of education needs to be discussed now.

Before starting any deliberations, we want to clarify that we, the people of Sindh, respect the two national languages, yet when the issue of medium of education is concerned, we would not be able to accept such a subordinate position of our language.

When the question of medium of education is raised the question of economics automatically comes to the front. Educational progress of the individuals, depends on the facility of the medium of education and their participation in the administration. Due to such a viewpoint the different regions, particularly Sindh region, would not agree with the proposition of making Urdu and Bengali the only medium for education.

As far as the Sindh region is concerned, the proposition of making Urdu language the only medium of education is erroneous in every way and it will be damaging for the development of the people of this region.

Firstly the system of primary education of Sindh is Sindhi not Urdu. In the new policy such a consideration has not been put forward to change it to Urdu, neither is it possible to do so, because in that case the very existence of Sindhi language will be finished, which no one can even dare to do. And as for the question of giving Urdu the status of medium of education, it is practically impossible, because, how can the Sindhi speaking children of ages between 6-10 be expected to understand the explanations in a language which they do not know a word of. For learning Urdu, Sindhi can be used as the medium of instruction but for Sindhi learning Urdu can never be the medium.

In the same way, in the higher classes it will be very difficult for the Sindhi speaking children to acquire high standard education, as the Urdu speaking children would do. In such a situation for them the Urdu medium education will result in their lagging behind in educational qualification and despite their talent they will be losers at all stages of education. And after that, since the criteria for getting appropriate competitive positions is the marks obtained in these examinations, they will be left behind in every field of life. In such a situation their future will be dark.

Moreover, the principle of education favours instruction in mother tongue. All the academic experts, even the education sector of UNICEF

believes in this principle, then what is the logic behind excluding Sindhi language from the status of medium of instruction in the Sindh region? The present government must be aware that during Ayub Khan's period when the recommendations of education policy were exposed and Urdu language was declared the only medium of instruction in all the regions of West Pakistan, all the people of Pakistan, the whole press, educational experts, teachers, students and their parents had jointly demanded that in the Sindh region, Sindhi language should be made medium of instruction at least till the Higher Secondary stage. The government of the time had to accept that demand, but now even the existence of Sindhi language seems at stake. How will the people accept such a decision?

Therefore we advise the government that it should accept Sindhi as the medium of education upto the degree level. This demand is made for the Sindhi speaking children, which is rational and carries weight.

The policy of the new government is to provide social justice. The proposition about medium of education in the new policy is against the above mentioned policy. Therefore we request the government not to commit the mistake of making Urdu the medium of instruction in Sindh region. Such a mistake will give rise to new complexities and will be the reason for enhancing annoyance which has already been created due to the establishment of One Unit, which the present government is sincerely trying to remove. As for the issue of making Urdu a compulsory subject is concerned, we the people of Sindh welcome that. In fact it is the correct way of making Urdu a popular language in the various regions of West Pakistan. By making it a medium of instruction in Sindh region, this goal may not be achieved. That is one of the reasons why we demand for Sindhi instead of Urdu as a medium of education. We expect that the government will see the above statement without any bias and we can say with certainty that by adopting this method the government will be able to rationally accept the demand of the people of Sindh." (27)

Having been influenced by such circumstances, the president of Azad Student's Organisation, Mr. Lala Qadir issued a statement in which he had demanded that, "Sindhi Language should be accepted as the medium of education to the highest levels and it should also be accepted as the official language of administration as well as judiciary in Sindh." After that the teachers, intellectuals, writers, literary organizations, Union Councils, district and Divisional Councils passed resolutions for supporting this demand."

In this regard Sindh National Students Federation, Sindh Student Organisation, Sindhi Adabi Society, Sindhi Adabi Sangat, Karachi University, Idara e Naunihal Adab, Jamat-e- Ahl-e-Hadith, Baloch Students Organisation, Sindh United Front, Idara-e-Gulzar Adab, Sindh Students Cultural Organisation and Jiye Sindh Naujawan Mahaz also demanded that:

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- (i) Sindhi should be made medium of education.
 - (ii) Sindhi should be recognised as National language.
 - (iii) Sindhi should be accepted as Official language.

From every direction memoranda and recommendations related to the education policy were sent in which lawyers, academicians, intellectuals were included. Sindhi newspapers wrote editorials, among them the editorial of daily Hilal-e-Pakistan dated 28th August 1969 is reproduced here:

“In the recommendations and popular demands of declaring Sindhi as the educational, official and judicial language, one more resolution has been added, which was passed by the Sanghar District Council, in their yesterday’s meeting.

Before that the academicians, writers, journalists, teachers/professors of schools, colleges and the university and the basic democratic circles as well as farmers, labourers, businessmen, even government servants from all over Sindh had sent similar recommendations to the Central Education Commission. Whereas millions of Sindhis residing in Karachi and all over Sindh are united, who wish that since in the past Sindhi has held a very important position in the educational system of Sindh, therefore respecting their feelings and emotions, the former system of imparting education in mother tongue should be re-introduced. After that they would get the assurance that the government decision was based on justice and fairness.

The people of Sindh are not against the decision that Urdu should replace English language. They only want to continue with the system already prevalent in this region because they feel comfortable with such an educational facility. And it is an unforgettable fact that for them in the educational matters. English is as alien, as are Urdu and Bengali languages, therefore by making Urdu and Bengali as medium of education in this region the Sindhis will face difficulties in learning. They are aware that they will face adverse consequences as the result of not studying through the mother tongue. Therefore the decisions of international academics should not be ignored, who consider mother tongue as the best medium for acquiring education, so this should never be changed. At the same time keeping in mind the circumstances of this region, Sindhi language should continue to be used in the normal working in offices and courts.” (28)

In this regard the Jiye Sindh Naujawan Mahaz sent a memorandum to the government’s Education Department on 12th August 1969 with signatures of 25000 people including writers, scholars, students, teachers, lawyers, politicians and common citizens of Sindh. In this memorandum they wrote:

“We have thoroughly studied the propositions, of the new education policy, which the Pakistan’s government has recently published for knowing the public opinion. In these propositions those which are related

to the languages are the ones for which we would like to express our opinion and it is our duty to state that they are not acceptable to us and we totally reject them. We regretfully state that the amount of attention which the issue of languages should have been given in the proposed suggestions was not given to them, as being an important, difficult and complex problem of the national life and its interests. Considering the problem of medium of instruction and official language as simple and ordinary, a very superficial and trivial solution has been offered, and the suggestions presented in this regard seem to have been prepared according to the conceited and biased opinion, closing the eyes to the ground realities.”

In this memorandum it is further said:

“Those who have prepared these proposals of the new policy have tried to fulfill their own vested interests by changing and reversing the accepted international principles of education. The principle, universally accepted according to the psychological and academic values, is that the learner- minor or major, should be taught in his or her mother tongue. The policy makers have changed the actual concept of the principle and in these words:

“The best medium to teach a learner, whether minor or major, is through the national language’. By presenting this false and reversed principle (when the imposed national language is different from the peoples’ mother language) they have tried to infer fabricated results apparently in logical and attractive style. These have been used quite tactfully to favour their suggestion of making the self proclaimed national language Urdu, the medium of education at every level in West Pakistan immediately, and the official language by 1974.

In this memorandum it was demanded through recommendation that:

- (i) At every level of education the medium of learning should be the accepted mother tongue of the people.
- (ii) In West Pakistan for the non-Urdu speaking children, Urdu should be included as a compulsory subject in the syllabus from class four, and for the Urdu speaking children any one language from the peoples’ mother tongues should be taught as a compulsory subject.
- (iii) All the Pakistan’s mother tongues of the people of Pakistan and Bengali should be declared national languages and they should be used as official languages of commerce, within their own regions. (29)

8- Let us go to the Jail Youngmen! Movement:

President General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan had announced in July 1969 that voter lists will be prepared for holding general elections in the country soon. In this

regard he announced the appointment of Justice Abdul Sattar as the Chief Election Commissioner. Later on the Chief Election Commissioner announced that the final draft of the voters' list would be printed by 15th June 1970. He also declared the plan of preparing these voter lists, in which he revealed that in the West Pakistan the voters' lists will only be prepared in Urdu and in East Pakistan only in Bengali.

One day after this announcement the honour loving youth and people of Sindh gathered and issued their statements. Newspapers also started writing in this regard. The daily Hilale Pakistan also joined this movement along with other papers. The vigilant editor of this newspaper wrote the following editorial on 2nd Sept 1969:

“Before this the voter lists of this region were also printed in Sindhi, but after imposition of Martial law the voter lists are being prepared in Urdu, therefore the people of rural areas will be having difficulty as the pronunciation of Sindhi names will become strange and laughable. Such examples are in hundreds:

Sindhi has remained official, academic and court language of this region. It is a rich language, which no one can deny, despite that, what is the expediency behind deliberately ignoring Sindhi and preparing the lists only in Urdu? At least a man of average knowledge can not understand.” (30)

On the same day on 2nd Sept 1979, Sindh National Students Federation demanded in one of its meetings that the voter lists should be prepared in Sindhi in Sindh. This demand of a students organisation started a new movement in Sindh. After that on 8th September, two leaders of Jiye Sindh Naujawan Mahaz, Mir Ali Nawaz Talpur and Anwar Mehmood Nizamani, repeated the same demand jointly at Sanghar. Similarly, on 9th September the National Awami Party's general body meeting as well as the Secretary of Hari Committee of Dhoro Naro, Comrade Mir Muhammad Talpur also demanded the same. So gradually from every nook and corner of Sindh this demand started getting support. Students' organisations District Councils and Union Committees also put forward forceful demands.

The conscious students, social workers, writers and poets presented their arguments in favour of this demand, one of which was that “the names of some people, villages and Dehs were such that it was impossible to write them correctly in Urdu script, therefore the entries of such names will be incorrect. Mr. Abduliah Channa, retired Deputy Commissioner, wrote a very argumentative article on this problem, in which he gave a long list of Sindhi names. (31) Some of them are given here:

Name	Review
<i>Manjaḥ</i> (منجھ)	name of village
<i>Dungar</i> (ڏنگر)	name of village/caste
<i>Bahdami</i> (بهڊمي)	name of deh/tapo/village
<i>Janjimal</i> (ڄاڄي مل)	name of a person
<i>Manganhar</i> (مڱڻهار)	name of a caste
<i>Doongrio</i> (ڏونگريو)	name of a person

<i>Khatan</i> (ڪٽڻ)	name of a person
<i>Dakhan</i> (ڊڪڻ)	name of a caste/occupation
<i>Oad</i> (اوڌ)	name of a caste
<i>Makhan</i> (مڪڻ)	name of a person
<i>Jam</i> (ڄام)	name of a person
<i>Jamul</i> (ڄامل)	name of a person (female)

Similarly, *dhingano* (ڌڻڱاڻو), *dhanjani* (ڌڻڄاڻي), *angaro* (اڱارو), *garro* (گهڙو), *motan* (موٽڻ), *dhani* (ڌڻي), *dino* (ڏنو) and *jagan* (ڄاڳڻ) will be written incorrectly in Urdu. In favour of this demand, voice was raised from every city and every village. These writers, scholars, poets, politicians, lawyers and intellectuals issued statements, but the Election Commissioner gave the excuse that:

“On the one hand elections will be delayed if the lists were to be printed in Sindhi and on the other hand the expenses will increase, that is why the voter lists in West Pakistan will only be printed in Urdu and in East Pakistan only in Bengali.”

Despite persuasions for two months, the Chief Election Commissioner did not budge from his position therefore the president of ‘Sindh Azad Students Organisation’ Mr. Lala Qadir warned the government that if the decision to print the voter lists in Sindhi was not taken, he would sit for a hunger strike unto death. He gave one week’s time to the government. On this threat of Lala Qadir, in order to mislead Sindhis the Election Commissioner of West Pakistan, Mr. Wahab gave a deceiving statement on 5th November 1969 at Nawabshah that “the voter lists would also be prepared in Sindhi. The Urdu forms are being filled in Sindhi.”

The conscious and aware students knew that the Assistant Election Commissioner’s statement was a deception, so they accelerated their movement. On 6th December 1969, the student leader Lala Qadir issued this statement:

“Today my attention was drawn towards the statement of the Assistant Election Commissioner Mr. Wahab that the Sindhi people have been allowed to fill the forms in Sindhi, and the lists will be printed in Sindhi. As far as his statement is concerned I do not consider it a complete announcement, therefore I will keep up my pledge about hunger strike. Tomorrow from 7th November 1969, after the Juma prayers, I will start my hunger strike till death, in the old campus of Sindh University and my other companions will join me one by one after the gap of every three days.” (32)

For some people this announcement of Lala Qadir was just an emotional and temporary statement. The spies of the concerned officers and the secret agencies did not give much importance to this announcement. They thought that Lala Qadir will run away in a few days time, but the assumption of the secret agency proved wrong this time like always. They did not know that the hunger strike will turn into a movement. They did not think that the students from all over Sindh will join the strike and from every nook and

corner they will hear the call "Let us go to the Jail-Ho Jamalo."

Ultimately the day arrived when Lala Qadir started his hunger strike. On 7th November 1969, after the Juma prayers Lala Qadir fulfilled his promise for a great sacrifice for the survival of our mother language. A big procession of students was taken out, which passed through the different roads and then returned to the old campus of Sindh University, where the strike began. His companions knew that Lala Qadir was a graceful, principled, brave young man, whose deeds did not betray his words. He had taken such a courageous step for the cause of protecting Sindhi language. The hunger strike was started with the slogans of "*Jiye Sindh*" and "*Sada Jiye Sindh*". Thousands of students had gathered in the old campus and everywhere the sound of their slogans was resounding. This time the Sindhi youth had shown consistency, more resolve and maturity. They were organised, because the young men had matured during their stay in jail in 1967 and they shouted "*Marvesoon Marvesoon Par Sindh Na Desoon*" (We will die but will not give up Sindh). They were ready to face the consequences. This time also it was the question of survival of Sindhi language and the honour of Sindh. The students took out a big, peaceful procession, which was received well by Lala Qadir on reaching the site. In the evening the popular Vice Chancellor of Sindh University and students' favourite academic expert Alhaj Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah came there. He tried to convince Lala Qadir to finish his hunger strike. At the same time the Deputy Commissioner of Hyderabad Mr. Abdul Karim Lodhi also came. Lala asked him face to face "Sir, were you informed after a week? In fact you don't have any idea about the determination of the students of Sindh. You are perhaps new here?" The Deputy Commissioner asked Lala to delay it for one week but Lala replied, "The time is gone, Sir, you can try but I'll continue with my hunger strike; how can I disappoint my mother?" The D.C. came again but Lala said, "Until the voters lists are not printed in Sindhi, I will stand by my word."

Lala Qadir was alone on the first day. The next day students refused to sit in their examinations and tearing the answer books came out of the examination halls. The students and politicians issued statements. At the same time the conscientious people of Sindh refused to fill the voter forms in Urdu. After two days, two more students joined the hunger strike. They were Pir Baksh Panhwar of Government College Dadu and Shabbir Ahmed Siyal of Tando Jam Agriculture College. At the same time, the time taken by the authorities was to be finished on 10th Nov 1969, therefore the steering Committee of the students had to take important decisions. The activities in the University enhanced. The workers of secret departments were very active. The Divisional Commissioner personally tried to reach a compromise but meanwhile the misleading and false statements of Urdu newspapers of Karachi, the conspiracy against the Sindhi teachers of the University and other such news further infuriated the students.

The Students' hunger strike continued-rather it was strengthened. Ultimately on 11th Nov. 1969 a new "Sindh Youth High Command" was formed by the students, which

threatened the government that if the decision to prepare voters' lists was not taken, the Sindhi students would expand the movement, meanwhile the delegation of doctors, lawyers, social and political leaders and workers and intellectuals visited Lala Qadir and his companions to encourage and console them.

Looking at the cold behaviour of the Election Commissioner and feeling the anxiety among the masses, the students' High Command decided to practically enter the field, as if they had decided to wage a war, without any arms. On its demand Hunger strike calls were reported from all over Sindh. In Larkana, Nawabshah, Tando Jam, Jacobabad and Khairpur, symbolic hunger strikes started.

From 16th Nov 1969, the elderly and old servant of Sindh and lover of Sindhi language, Mr. Qazi Faiz Muhammad joined Lala Qadir and his companions in the hunger strike. On the second day Mr. Ghulam Muhammad Laghari also joined. Now the strike moved from students to political leaders. The hunger strikers moved outside the limits of the University campus as political leaders had joined hands with the students. Six more students also joined them, outside the old campus opposite SSP's office.

At this stage Saeen G.M. Syed advised the students to postpone their strike for 10 days, so that he could hold talks with the authorities, along with a delegation, and convince them to concede to their demand, and in case the talks failed he would also join them in the struggle. Though the students loved and respected Mr. Syed, but they continued with their struggle.

On 15th Nov 1969 Lala Qadir completed 8 days of his unarmed fight and strike. He looked as fresh as ever, his determination was even stronger. Lala and Panhwar sent a message through the daily Hilal e Pakistan's issue of 16th Nov 1969 in these words:

"We will continue this hunger strike till either the success of our goals or death."

In the press statement they addressed and thanked their friends and well wishers, saying:

"Some of our friends are advising us to break the fast unto death, but we assure them that without getting our rightful demand fulfilled, we will not retreat."

Both these courageous student leaders appealed to the students, Sindhi masses, leaders and the press to support their legitimate demand.

From the second day i.e. 17th Nov 1969, more students started their hunger strikes in Hyderabad, Jacobabad, Khairpur, Ranipur, Nawabshah, and Badin and other cities and their number reached 25. The students formed Inqlabi (Revolution) Council and planned gatherings and processions. They also decided that on 21st Nov 1969 a general meeting would be called in which students from all over Sindh would participate.

Now the situation had further deteriorated. On 17th Nov, the Deputy Commissioner of Hyderabad called a meeting with the student leaders, political leaders and citizens. He was furious, more than ever in the autocratic period of Ayub. When he entered the hall, his face was red. He talked in English and his speech was full of arrogance, oppression and fury. It appeared from his style, as if he had little idea of the

situation in Hyderabad and other cities. He threatened in a loud voice:

“Violation of Martial Law regulations will not be tolerated”.

He said that the limit had been crossed. The administration had been watching the events of Hyderabad and the district with patience. The administration expected that:

“There would be no risk to the law and order situation. There was silence from the last ten days, efforts of some people are commendable in this regard but some persons’ activities are condemnable. From now on no one will be allowed to violate the Martial law regulations. I am sure that responsible leaders will honestly try, so that no untoward incident would occur.” (33)

Finishing his speech he went out from the hall in the same angry mood.

Looking at such behaviour of the Deputy Commissioner, it was assumed that the students on hunger strike would be arrested. Every one was waiting for such a time.

On the 18th Nov 1969, the spot where the hunger striking students had been sitting was empty. It came to be known, later, that the police had taken action at midnight. The students on hunger strike were awakened, arrested and sent to jail.

The lovers of Sindhi language were not discouraged due to these arrests of Lala Qadir, Qazi Faiz Muhammad and Panwhar, but the city was calm. This arrest was the victory of the first attempt and the calm was infact the preparation of the second attempt. Next day on the 18 Nov 48 students of Tando Jam Agriculture College started hunger strike. This was the beginning of the second attack. These students were arrested in the evening. The autocrat was happy now. He assumed that the threat was over and he had succeeded. He thought that the issue was settled with oppression but he was wrong. The scene on the afternoon of 18th Nov in front of his residence gate, must not have been forgotten by him during his life time. He must have understood the intensity of sentiments of Sindhis and resilience of this nation whose elders had let themselves be crushed in crushers but had not betrayed their land. He must have known by then that this was the nation in which brave girls like Baghul were born, whose reputation of courage had frightened the powers in Delhi: that the leaders of this nation had sacrificed their lives but did not hand over the protected ladies. This is the nation of Dodo Soomro, who fought violently and sacrificed his whole family but did not bow his head and did not accept the defeat to handover his motherland Sindh. This is the land that follows the traditions of martyrdom of Shah Inayat Shaheed, Doolah Darya Khan Shaheed, Makhdoom Bilawal Shaheed. This nation has grown under the shadow of Latif, Sachal and Sami, for whose sons Shah Latif has said:

سٺا ڀانءَ مَر سڀ وڻاءَ واسينگن جا
جين جي جهڙپ، هاڻي هنڌان نه چري
sanha bhanen ma sapa wiya wasingan ja
jinin je jharap hathi handhan na chure

The married women of this land say:

ڀڳو آءُ نه چٿان، ماريو ته وسهان
کانڌ منهن ڀر ڏکڙا، سيڪيندي سونهان

ته پڻ لڄ مران جي هونس پڻ ۾
bhago aaun na chuan, maryo ta wasahan,
kandha munhan men dhakra, sekinde soonhan
ta piṇ laja maran je hoons puṭh men

If the Autocrat had known the history of Sindhis, he would have thought twice before engaging with them. He did not have any idea about the strength of the slogan of Hoshoo: “*Marvesoon Marvesoon Par Sindh Na Desoon*”, he had not heard about the martyrdom of Shah Inayat Shaheed. Perhaps he was not told about the act of “Masroor” and the attack of 4th March 1967; how would he know that this is a vital nation, who knows how to survive and can teach how to live. How would he know that from the Aryans to the Afghans, many usurpers looters, plunderers, autocrats had come who could not stand before Sindhis. The autocrat did not know that this nation cannot be kept a slave, this nation has always liked independence in all sorts of circumstances, who has given much more to the world than what it had taken.

The event on the afternoon of 18th Nov will be remembered, not only by Sindh, but by the history of all the living nations of the world, when a young daughter of Sindh, Ms. Akhtar Baloch, ignoring all the traditions of society, breaking the bonds of *pardah*, protesting on the arrests of the lovers of Sindh, announced and came to sit for a hunger strike unto death, just opposite the gate of the autocrat. Akhtar Baloch is that daughter of Sindh who had fulfilled her promise, which she had made in a fiery speech on the gathering called on the “day of atrocities” on 16th Oct. 1969. She had said in her speech that:

“Sindhi nation is great and brave. Awaken them and see what happens.

Till now we have only seen the weak members of the upper classes. We have not seen the real, brave, courageous, sacrificing Sindh. Let us find out that real Sindh, let us awaken her and bring her in the field to fight and root out the tyranny of One Unit. For this struggle and the sentiment of sacrifice of the Sindhi students, we the Sindhi girl students are also proud.

We may be weak, backward, bound in our homes. Our environment is not conducive, but these hindrances will not stop us, and if in future you would face any difficulties, then Inshallah you will not be alone.” (34)

Ms. Akhtar Baloch fulfilled her promise. After Lala Qadir and his companions were sent to jail, Akhtar Baloch led this movement. She had started her hunger strike, after presenting herself for arrest in front of the gate of the D.C. The history of Sindh repeated itself. Sindh gave birth to another Marui. Marui of Sindh had not remained silent on the atrocities committed against her fellow countryman although she was offered luxuries of expensive dresses, jewellery, perfumes etc. but in the poet Latif’s words she said:

ايء نه مارن ريت جيئن سيڻ مٽائين سون تي.
ee-a na maran reet, jiyan saiṇ matain sona te

(This is not our tradition to accept gold in place of our own people).

Within a short span of time the news of Akhtar Baloch’s hunger strike reached

first to Hyderabad city and then to the nearby villages and cities and later to the entire Sindh. Thousands of brave sons and daughters of the soil reached the site opposite the D.C's bungalow, for encouraging her. There were huge crowds present and this was a unique example in not only the history of Sindh but the history of the subcontinent. The officers of education department tried to scare her from jail and discourage her by saying that since she was a young female, and there were all sorts of prisoners in the jail, she should abstain from this act. But Akhtar was adamant and it was not easy to scare her. She was not ready to listen to any nonsense from the deceivers. She was saying with strong emotions and courage:

“Why doesn't the Deputy Commissioner come and talk to me face to face? Why is he sending other people to scare and frighten me? Why doesn't he send me to jail?”

At 10 O'clock in the night a contingent of 500 armed policemen surrounded the bungalow of the D.C. Firstly they sent away the people gathered near the hunger strikers. It looked from the number and actions of the policemen as if they were there to arrest Rahim Hingoro, Miro Nizamani or Muhib Sheedi (all dacoits) who were hiding in the DC's bungalow. Akhtar Baloch was arrested. The Marui of Sindh was once again in chains. She wore the chains to free her people from chains for ever. The sacrifice of Akhtar Baloch forced the government to accept the status of Sindhi language. The matchless sacrifice of Akhtar Baloch was remembered by several poets. Some of the poems are given here:

جس چوان تنهن جيگل ڪي، جنهن سڀ ملهايا سين
ڪنهن جي آهي پيڻ الا!
ڪارا ڪوٽ ڪري سڀ پوندا، ڏونگر ٿيندا مين
ڪنهن جي آهي پيڻ الا!
ههڙو پاءُ هجي ها منهنجو، ههڙي هجي ها پيڻ الا،
ڪنهن جي آهي پيڻ الا!
جنهن جي پل پل آس اندر ۾، جنهن لاءِ اڃا پيڻ الا،
ڪنهن جي آهي پيڻ الا!

jas chawan tenh jeejal khe, jenh sabh malhaya sain ala
kenh ji aahe bhain ala!
kara kota kiri sabh pawanda, doongar thinda mein ala,
kenh ji aahe bhain ala!
hehro bhau huje ha munhjo, hehri huje ha bhain ala,
kenh ji aahe bhain ala!
jenh je pal pal aasa andar men, jenh laye aunjaya nain ala,
kenh ji aahe bhain ala!

A teacher of Thatta city Mr. Muhsin Abbassi praised Akhtar Baloch in his free verse in these words.

سلام توکي،
زمين سنڌ جي عظيم نينگر!
بلوچ اختر، ار پيڻ اختر!

صدين کانپوءِ،
 وري به مارئيءَ جو روپ ڌاري،
 عمر جي آڏو تو سڀنيو تائيو!
 تنهنجي جوان عزم، همت جي آڏو،
 آهن جهڪيل ڪنڌ،
 مگر ڇا چئجي هي سرد مهري، مسڪين سنڌ جي، ڪيترائي.....! احتراماً!
 زمين سنڌ جا وڏيرا ليڊر،
 نه ننگ تنهنجو رکيو ڪنهن هڪڙي،
 زمين سنڌ جا اديب شاعر
 سلام ڪن ٿا او پيڻ توکي!
 ڏين ٿا ”مارئي“ خطاب توکي،
 مگر ادي! هن پاءُ ”محسن“ جي هڙ ۾ ناهي،
 عقيدتن جي گلن جي ورکا سوا ٻيو ڪي،
 سلام توکي! سلام توکي!
 salam to khe
 zameen e sindh jee azeem neengar!
 baloch akhtar, o bhain akhtar!
 sadin khanpoye,
 wari bi maarui-a jo roop dhare,
 umar je aado to seeno tanyo!
 tunhje ina azam, himata je aado,
 ahin jhukiyal kandha,
 ketrayi...ahtraman!
 magar chha chajje hi sard muhri, miskeen sindh ji,
 zameen e sindh ja wadera leader,
 na nang tunhijo rakhyo kenh hikre,
 zameen e sindh ja adeeb shayer
 salam kan tha o bhain to khe!
 diyan tha ”maarui” khitab to khe)
 magar adi! hina bhau ”muhsin” ji hara men nahe,
 aqeedatin je gulan je warkha sawaye biyo ki,
 salam to khe! Salam to khe!

The experienced poet like Ahsan ul Hashmi wrote: (35)

سلام اي سنڌ جا شهباز شاگرد، سلام اي سنڌ جا جانباز شاگرد؛
 سلام اي ملڪ جا ممتاز شاگرد، اوهان تي قوم کي سؤ ناز شاگرد؛
 اوهان کي دلگهريو دلدار چئجي، اوهان کي ساه جو سينگار چئجي،
 اوهان کي ڪهڙي منهن سان ٻار چئجي، اوهان کي عزم جو سردار چئجي،
 اوهان تان ٿي وڃي صدقي سياست اوهان تان گهورجن فهر و فراست
 اوهان بخشي بهار آهي چمن کي، اوهان کان ٿي عطا وقعت وطن کي

اوهان عزت ڏني ڌارو رسن کي، اوهان قابو ڪيو رنج و محن کي
 سبق ورتو اسير-ڪربلا کان
 جناب حضرت زين العباد کان
 سلام اي منهنجي نياڻي، اختر سنڌ، سلام اي جان پاڪ اي دختر سنڌ،
 ڪيو تو اڄ فراز آهي سر سنڌ، چوان تو کي ٿو بيشڪ رهبر سنڌ،
 اما تون سنڌ جي دلبنڊ آهين،
 امان تون چٽڪ سو فرزند آهين.
 سموري سنڌ تو تي آهي نازان، تون آهين جلوه قنديل ايمان
 هي بند ۽ ڪوٽ سڀ توکان درخشان، سلامي ٿيا درو ديوار زندان
 شجاعت آهي طاقت کي نوازيو،
 تو ڊاڻو ون يونٽ جو نيٺ پايو،
 ڏسو اي دوستو ٻارن جون رمزون، زمين سنڌ جي تارن جون رمزون،
 هنن ننڍڙن نگهدارن جون رمزون، محبت عشق دل وارن جون رمزون،
 هي بيوس بادشاهن تي چڙهي ويا،
 ڪبو تر ڏس عقابن تي چڙهي ويا.

salam aye sindh ja shahbaz shagird, salam aye sindh ja janbaz shagird;
salam aye mulka ja mumtaz shagird, awhan te qom khe sau naaz shagird;
awhan khe dil ghuryo dildar chajje, awhan khe saaha jo seengar chajje,
awhan khe kehre munhan saan haar chajje, awhan khe azma jo sardar chajje,
awhan tan ghorjan faham o rast
awhan tan thi wanje sadqe siyasat
awhan bakhsi bahar ahe chaman khe, awhan khan thi ata wuqat watan khe
awhan izat dini dar o rasan khe, awhan qaboo kayo ranj o mahan khe
sabaq warto aseer e karbala khan
janab hazart zain ul aba khan
salam aye munhji niyani, akhtar-e-sindh, salam aye jaan pak aye dukhtar-e-sindh,
kayo to ajfaraz aahe sar-e-sindh, chawan tokhe tho beshak rahbar-e-sindh,
aman toon sindh ji dilband aheen,
amaan toon janaka so farzand aheen.
samoori sindh to te ahe nazaan, toon aheen jalwa qandeel e eeman
hee band ayin kota sabh tokhan darakhshan, salami thya dar o deewar zindan
shujaat aahe taqat khe nawazyo,
to daaṭho one unit jo naiṭh paayo.
diso aye dosto baran joon ramzoon, zameen e sindh je taran joon ramzoon,
hinan nandharan nigahdaran joon ramzoon, muhabbat ishq dil waran joon ramzoon,
hee bewas badshahan te charhi waya,
kabootar dis aqaban te charhi waya.

So ultimately the mission of Lala Qadir was completed by Akhtar Baloch. The government had to give in and an announcement was made that the Voters' lists would be

published in Sindhi.

In this way from 1965 to 1970 several writings and speeches of Sindhi authors poets were banished. Several magazines and books were confiscated. This was the period when many Sindhi writers, scholars, students, teachers and politicians were put behind bars.

In such an era, from elderly writers and poets like Hyder Baksh Jatoti to Abdul Karim Gadai, Muhammad Ibrahim Joyo to the young people like Sheikh Ayaz, Qamar Shahbaz, Amar Jalil, Taj Baloch, Muneer Sindhi, Hamid Sindhi, Niaz Humayooni, Shamsheer ul Hyderi, Tanvir Abbassi, Ghulam Muhammad Grami, Imdad Hussain, Rashid Bhatti, Jamal Rind, Sarvech Sijawali, Muhammad Khan Majidi, Mahtab Mehboob, Rashid Morai, Ali Baba and other rising writers and poets, all depicted the events happening in those days, in their stories and poetry.

All these writers and poets wrote about the problems of students, farmers and labourers and other working classes of Sindh and showed their concern for the education and language of their people. In this regard Sarvech Sijawali's poetry may be quoted as an example:

سور سهندي سور چرندي، ٿيا گنر گذرن پيا،
سانگين جا سدائين ٿي! سانوڻ سيارا سنڌ ۾!
مفلسي، منڙن کي ماريو، منهن کڻڻ جهڙا نه ٿيا،
لوڪ کان لڪندا گهمڻ، لالڻ لڄارا سنڌ ۾!
پورهيو پورهيت جو کائي پيٽ پيٽوڙين پريا،
پاپ جا هر پهر تي پسجن پسارا سنڌ ۾!

*soora sahadde soora charande, thya guzara guzran paya
saangin ja sadayin re! sanwan siyara sindh men!
muflisi-a muthran khe maryo, munh khaṇaṇ jehra na thya,
loka khan likande ghuman, lalan lajara sindh men!
porhio porhiat jo khayi pet petorin bharya,
papa ja har pahr te pasjan pasara sindh men!*

So we can conclude that from the establishment of One Unit to 1970, although Sindh, Sindhi literature and language had to face very difficult times, the matter of the fact is that during this entire period a marvelous revolution had come in the Sindhi Literature. This revolution had brought a big change in the Sindhi life. This change had transformed the entire thought process and concepts of the Sindhi writers, intellectuals and scholars. The sapling of nationalistic thought and “*Sindhia*” grew tall and became a fruitful tree; the fruit of that tree is being tasted by us all today.

References

- 1- Quarterly Mehran, Editorial, 1954, Sindhi Adabi Board.
- 2- Scroll of Signatures handed over to the Sindhology-It was there till 1995.
- 3- Quarterly Mehran Vol. 2, 1956, Sindhi Adabi Board.
- 4- Ibid
- 5- Salim Ahmed, Problem of languages in Pakistan (Pamphlet) Hyderabad May 1967-p.1. Since there was no Sindhi representative, in this commission, therefore the Urdu speaking people, who considered themselves superior in social, political and linguistical areas, so they tried to impose Urdu by every possible means.
- 6- See quarterly Mehran 1959
- 7- Quarterly Mehran 1959
- 8- This gathering was held on the upper story of Sindh Oriental College building, under the presidentship of Makhdoom Amir Ahmed (late)
- 9- The first honorary Secretary of this society was (late) Maqbool Ahmed Bhatti initially, but due to Mr. Bhatti's resignation I (Khwaja Ghulam Ali Allana) assumed the charge of the same.
- 10- Quarterly Mehran, 1959, P: 363
- 11- This memorandum was written by Prof. Ali Nawaz Jatoti, which was checked and revised by other academics and lawyers to make it worthy of presenting to the President of Pakistan.
- 12- Quarterly Mehran 1959.
- 13- General Meeting of Sindhi Adabi Sangat in Hyderabad on 23rd September. 1962- Quarterly Mehran, Vol-2, No. 2, 1962.
- 14- Quarterly Mehran Vol.2, No.2, 1962, initial pages.
- 15- Salim Ahmed, Problem of Languages in West Pakistan booklet, Hyderabad, May 1967, P.5. This booklet was published in English language with the title of "A Sindhi Nationalist-A Sindhi Publicit. It Sindhi translation was printed with the name of Salim Ahmed on it.
- 16- Salim Ahmed, page:7
- 17- Quarterly Mehran 1967.
- 18- Ibid
- 19- Ibid
- 20- Ibid
- 21- See daily Khadim-e-Watan, 27th Jan 1967, P:3
- 22- Monthly Rooh Rehan, April 1967, Editor, Hamid Sindhi.
- 23- Ibid
- 24- Ibid
- 25- Daily Hilal e Pakistan 2nd Sept 1969 P:3
- 26- Inayatullah Abassi, Principal of Royal Colelge of Commerce.
- 27- Daily Hilal e Pakistan 17th Nov. 1969
- 28- Daily Hilal e Pakistan 18th Nov 1969
- 29- Syed and Bhutto (book) Ms. Akhtar Baloch's speech (last part) Hyderabad 1969, Daily Hilal e Pakistan 29th Nov. 1969.

Chapter Twelve

Current Status of Sindhi Language

1- In this chapter, we have discussed about the development and growth of Sindhi language during the period starting from the abolition of One Unit (1971) to the establishment of Sindhi Language Authority.

This subject has been divided in separate topics so that the readers may not only understand each point and problem related to Sindhi language, but may also send their advices to the workers working for its development.

(a) It has been mentioned in the 10th chapter, as to how the resolution for One Unit was passed, by pressurizing the members of the Sindh Assembly; and in the 11th chapter, we have described the atrocities committed against the Sindhi language. In fact, on this subject not one but several books can be written.

(b) In the 11th chapter it has also been described that the One Unit was opposed by the whole country, but in this regard, the people of Sindh, as compared to the other provinces, had risen with more fervour and agitation, for which there were many reasons. It is the marvelous spirit of the people of Sindh that they succeeded in getting back the provincial status of Sindh, by struggling against the One Unit for 16 years, whereas previously it had taken 90 years (1847-1936) of continuous struggle by all sections of the population to get freedom of Sindh from the Bombay Presidency. General Agha Yahya Khan deserves credit, who, responding to the demands of the people of Pakistan, had declared the abolition of One Unit, thus restoring the previous status of the provinces. With this announcement, for the first time, he had declared Balochistan as one of the province of Pakistan. General Yahya, along with this announcement, had also announced the holding of elections for Provincial as well as National Assemblies in Pakistan. Elections were held in 1971, but every intelligent individual knows the outcome of these elections, which needs no mention here.

In East Pakistan, Shaikh Mujibur Rehman's Awami League and in West Pakistan, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party had won with great majority. The President of the country was unable to call a joint session of the National Assembly members of the two components of the country; and ultimately Shaikh Mujibur Rehman declared freedom of Bangladesh and its establishment as a separate country. After the sacrifice of millions of peoples' lives due to the Indian attack, the Pakistan army surrendered in the East Pakistan and on 21st Dec 1971, the eastern wing of Pakistan appeared as a separate sovereign country named as Bangladesh on the world map.

2- The rest of the country comprising four provinces remained as Pakistan. Because Pakistan People's Party had been elected from all the four provinces of the western part, therefore the then Martial Law Administrator, General Agha Muhammad

Yahya Khan handed over the reins of power (1971) to Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, who took over as The Civil Martial Law Administrator and President of Pakistan.

(a) Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, after taking over the reins of the country, addressed the nation on radio and television and told the people of Pakistan not to despair on the defeat of the country, and encouraged them by announcing his own programme and thus with the support of common people, especially labourers, farmers and students, Mr. Bhutto announced agricultural, educational and business reforms and explained the points of his programme in detail, which impressed the whole country. Apart from country-wide programmes, Mr. Bhutto explained in his address the programmes on local, district and provincial levels also.

(b) After Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto came into power, the people of Sindh demanded from the new government, to rectify the atrocities committed against Sindh, Sindhi nation, Sindhi literature and language during One Unit and Ayub Khan's Martial Law period and also demanded to compensate them by restoring the previous position and status of Sindhi language as an educational, academic, official language. The people of Sindh demanded that:

- (i) Sindhi should be made medium of education in Sindh.
- (ii) Prohibition on Sindhi books should be ended.
- (iii) Sindhi should again be used as the official and government's language and it should be made a national language of Pakistan.
- (iv) Railway tickets should be issued in Sindhi in Sindh.
- (v) Names of different railway stations should be written in Sindhi.
- (vi) People of Sindh should be given their due right in recruitment in government jobs.
- (vii) The barrage lands should be given to Sindhi farmers.

Respecting the demands of the people of Sindh, the Sindh People's Party presented a bill in the Sindh Assembly in 1972, for restoring the official and academic status of Sindhi, which was approved in the session of 17th July 1972. On the 15th July Mr. Z. A. Bhutto addressed the National Assembly and said:

“.....Sindhi is an ancient language, and when the British had conquered Sindh, Sir Charles Napier had said that the language should not be touched and affected; and when Sindh was annexed to Bombay, even then Sindhi was taught in the Bombay University, which was the official language till the time when it was prohibited through verbal orders of the Martial law regime.

The Sindhi language bill approved by the Sindh Assembly will have to be brought in practice because I don't want the people of Sindh to bear hatred against Pakistan. Urdu faces no challenge because it is spoken in the entire subcontinent but Sindhi was put into danger in the past, that is why the sentiments of the people of Sindh had become severe. I don't want to usurp the rights of the people of Sindh, neither do I want to ruin their language and culture....” (1)

(c) The Sindh Assembly approved this bill on the 7th July 1972 and the Notification for its approval was issued by the Secretary of Sindh Assembly, Mr. Jamluddin Abro. The copy of that bill is presented here which says:

Registered No. S-463

EXTRAORDINARY



The Sindh Government Gazette

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY

KARACHI, MONDAY, JULY 17, 1972

PART IV
PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY OF SIND
NOTIFICATION

Karachi, dated 17th July, 1972.

No. PAS/Legis-B-13/72— The Sindh (Teaching, Promotion And Use of Sindhi Language) bill, 1972, having been passed by the Provincial Assembly of Sindh on the 17th July, 1972 and assented to by the Governor of Sindh on 16th July, 1972 is hereby published as an Act of the Provincial Legislature of Sindh: —

**THE SIND (TEACHING, PROMOTION AND USE OF
SINDHI LANGUAGE) AMENDMENT) ACT, 1972.**

SINDH ACT NO. 2 OF 1972.

**(First published, after having received the assent of the Governor of
Sindh in the Gazette of Sindh (Extra-Ordinary), dated 17th July, 1972).**

AN

ACT

*to prescribe measures for the teaching, promotion and use of Sindhi
language.*

**WHEREAS Article 267 of the Interim Constitution of the Preamble
Islamic Republic of Pakistan provides that without prejudice to the status
of the national languages, Provincial Legislature may by law prescribe
measures for the teaching, promotion and use of a Provincial language in
addition to a national language;**

AND WHEREAS the Sindhi language is used in the offices and

departments of Government;

AND WHEREAS the Sindhi language was compulsory subject of study in educational institutions but this was discontinued by verbal orders of Martial Law Authorities;

AND WHEREAS it is the natural aspiration and desire of the Province of Sind to promote the teaching and use of the Sindhi language;

It is hereby enacted as follows:—

Short title 1. (1) This Act may be called the Sindh (Teaching, Promotion and Use of
commencement Sindhi Language) Act, 1972.
and extent.

(2) It shall come into force at once and shall extend to the Province of Sindh.

Definition. 2. In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires, the following expressions shall have the meaning hereby respectively assigned to them, that is to say –

(a) “Assembly” means the Provincial Assembly of Sindh;

(b) “Government” means Government of Sindh;

(c) “Department of Government” means any department of Government and shall include, an autonomous body, a local council or local authority;

(d) “Institution” means school, College, University or any other educational institution.

Provincial 3. Sindhi shall be sued as the Provincial Language of the Province of
Language Sindh.

Teaching of 4. (1) Sindhi and Urdu shall be compulsory subjects for study in classes
Sindhi IV to XII in all institutions in which such classes are held.

(2) The introduction of Sindhi as compulsory subject shall commence at the lowest level namely class IV and by stages to be prescribed, be introduced in higher classes upto class XII.

Promotion of 5. Government may constitute and set up Academies and Boards for
Sindhi. cultural advancement and promotion of Sindhi language.

Use of Sindhi. 6. Subject to the provisions of the Constitution, Government may make arrangements for progressive use of Sindhi language in offices and departments of Government including Courts and Assembly.

By Order of the Speaker,
Provincial Assembly of Sindh,
JAMALUDDIN ABRO,
Secretary,
Provincial Assembly of Sindh (2)



The Sind Government Gazette

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY

KARACHI, MONDAY, JULY 17, 1972

Separate paging is given to this Part in order that it may be filed as a separate compilation

PART IV

PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY OF SIND NOTIFICATION

Karachi, dated 17th July, 1972.

No. PAS/Legis-B-13/72.—The Sind (Teaching, Promotion And Use of Sindhi Language) Bill, 1972, having been passed by the Provincial Assembly of Sind on the 7th July, 1972 and assented to by the Governor of Sind on 16th July, 1972 is hereby published as an Act of the Provincial Legislature of Sind:—

THE SIND (TEACHING, PROMOTION AND USE OF
SINDHI LANGUAGE) ACT, 1972.

SIND ACT NO. 2 OF 1972.

(First published, after having received the assent of the Governor of Sind in the Gazette of Sind (Extra-Ordinary), dated 17th July, 1972.

AN

ACT

*to prescribe measures for the teaching, promotion and use
of Sindhi language.*

WHEREAS Article 267 of the Interim Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan provides that without prejudice to the status of the national languages, Provincial Legislature may by law prescribe measures for the teaching, promotion and use of a Provincial language in addition to a national language; Preamble

AND WHEREAS the Sindhi language is used in the offices and departments of Government;

AND WHEREAS the Sindhi language was compulsory subject of study in educational institutions but this was discontinued by verbal orders of Martial Law Authorities;

AND WHEREAS it is the natural aspiration and desire of the Province of Sind to promote the teaching and use of the Sindhi language;

It is hereby enacted as follows:—

Short title,
commence-
ment and
extent.

1. (1) This Act may be called the Sind (Teaching, Promotion and Use of Sindhi Language) Act, 1972.

(2) It shall come into force at once and shall extend to the Province of Sind.

Definition.

2. In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires, the following expressions shall have the meaning hereby respectively assigned to them, that is to say—

(a) "Assembly" means the Provincial Assembly of Sind;

(b) "Government" means Government of Sind;

(c) "Department of Government" means any department of Government and shall include, an autonomous body, a local council or local authority;

(d) "Institution" means School, College, University or any other educational institution.

Provincial
Language

3. Sindhi shall be used as the Provincial Language of the Province of Sind.

Teaching
of Sindhi

4. (1) Sindhi and Urdu shall be compulsory subjects for study in classes IV to XII in all institutions in which such classes are held.

(2) The introduction of Sindhi as compulsory subject shall commence at the lowest level namely class IV and by stages to be prescribed, be introduced in higher classes upto class XII.

Promotion
of Sindhi.

5. Government may constitute and set up ^{an Authority,} Academies and/or Boards for cultural advancement and promotion of the Sindhi language.

Use of
Sindhi.

6. Subject to the provisions of the Constitution, Government may make arrangements for progressive use of Sindhi language in offices and departments of Government including Courts and Assembly.

7. (1) Government may make rules for carrying out the purposes of this Act. ^{Power to make rules.}

(2) In particular and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing power, such rules may provide for—

- (a) the introduction of the Sindhi language as compulsory subject for study by stages;
- (b) the constitution and setting up of ^{an Authority,} Academies and/or Boards and their powers and functions;
- (c) the progressive use of the Sindhi language in ^{inter} alia, the offices and departments of Government, Assembly, Courts and institutions, etc.

By Order of the Speaker,
Provincial Assembly of Sind,

JAMALUDDIN ABRO,
Secretary,
Provincial Assembly of Sind.

3-(a) Soon after the issuance of this notification, some of the inexperienced and unwise bureaucrats and politicians took hasty decisions and implemented them, in such a way that those people who had tolerated atrocities and had given sacrifices during the era of One Unit and Martial law, were highly disappointed.

(b) Agitation and protests started in Sindh against the said bill, and Urdu speaking people started apposing it everywhere. It will not be fair to blame any one group for agitation and riots. At the time of partition the migrating population had initially accepted the Sindhi language and Sindhi culture with enthusiasm. Their children had started learning Sindhi language and several inter-marriages had taken place in both the communities, resulting brotherly atmosphere in entire Sindh, including Hyderabad and Karachi, where most of the people coming from India had settled. However in the city of Karachi, where there were people speaking different languages, the Sindhis preferred to speak in Urdu with the immigrants. However, Memons coming from the Gujrat and Kathiawar province of India and Rangars, Mevatis and Qaimkhanis of Rajasthan conversed in Sindhi all over Sindh. In fact, the 'Memoni' language is a dialect of Sindhi language and Memon community had migrated from Sindh to Gujrat and Kathiawar and settled there in Samma period, therefore the Memon community did not consider itself alien in Sindh, saying that they had returned to their previous homeland.

So in 1972, after the approval of Sindhi language bill, some of our bureaucrats and politicians took some decisions in haste and due to the misunderstandings created during One Unit and Martial law periods, riots started in Sindh. In my opinion if the Provincial Government had been careful and hadn't taken decisions in haste on these laws, and if patience and reason had prevailed, there would not have been such a reaction and it would have been possible to convince the Urdu speaking community by taking them in confidence. Then nobody would have doubted the intentions of the rulers.

(c) After the approval of this bill, the Urdu-speaking community suspected that their language (Urdu) would be finished and there would be no existence of Urdu in Sindh. They thought that Urdu was being abolished as was done with Sindhi language by extremist politicians during the One Unit period and Urdu would not remain an academic language. This sort of mistrust resulted in violent protests and processions in Karachi, Hyderabad, Sukker, Mirpurkhas, Nawabshah and other cities by the Urdu Speaking community-so much so that in the Urdu daily 'Jang' a poem of Rais Amrohi was published on the full page with prominence-the first stanza appeared in bold type:

“اردو کا جنازہ ہے ذرہ دھوم سے نکلے“

(It is the coffin of Urdu, let it be taken out with pomp)

Raes Amrohi's slogan ignited fire in Sindh and language riots started in the cities like Karachi, Hyderabad, Mirpurkhas and Sukker. Hatred among Sindhi and Urdu speakers took the shape of such language riots; and no reparation of that has occurred till today.

These riots invited the attention of the then President Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (Shaheed). The Pakistan People's Party which he had formed included, from the very

beginning, most of the male and female leaders of the progressive movement. They had joined People's Party under his leadership but on the issues of Sindh, particularly that of Sindhi language, they supported the immigrants who considered themselves 'conquerors of Sindh' or 'Builders of Pakistan' and the Sindhis as their subjects and illiterate people. The language riots of Sindh escalated and the pressures on Mr. Bhutto increased so much that even a courageous person like Mr. Mumtaz Ali Bhutto was puzzled, who was given the title of *Dahesar* (A brave person with 10 heads) by the people for getting the language bill passed from the Sindh Assembly. Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto directed Mr. Mumtaz Ali Bhutto to temporarily postpone implementation of the Sindhi language bill passed by the Sindh Assembly and Mr. Mumtaz Ali Bhutto had to comply to the orders.

(c) After that a committee was formed comprising the Sindhi and Urdu-speaking leaders. From amongst the Sindhi politicians and writers Mr. G. M. Syed, Shaikh Ayaz and Qazi Faiz Muhammed were invited to Islamabad. Mr. G.M. Syed refused to go on the pretext that no individual or unelected person or committee had the right to amend the decision of an elected Assembly and he refused to go to Islamabad as a member of the committee and pledged to record his protest before history. On the other hand, Mr. Qazi Faiz Muhammad and Shaikh Ayaz attended the meeting on the invitation of Mr. Bhutto. This committee constituted by Mr. Bhutto was given the authority to consider the demands of Sindhi and Urdu speakers and give their recommendations. The recommendations of the committee presented to Mr. Z.A. Bhutto were:

- (i) Declare Sindh as a bi-lingual province.
- (ii) Both the languages will be taught from the primary classes as Mother Tongue and from middle school to class XII as Non Mother Tongue, as compulsory subjects to students of both the communities.
- (iii) A Scheme of studies should be prepared for both the languages.
- (iv) Jobs in government institutions and admission in professional institutions should be given according to the ratio of municipal and rural population.
- (v) Government jobs should also be given according to the quotas fixed.
- (vi) Result of competitive examinations (P.C.S and C.S.S) should also be declared according to the quota fixed.
- (vii) The condition of passing of Sindhi language examination for non-Sindhi bureaucrats should be postponed for 12 years.

In this way a bill passed by the Sindh Assembly was bulldozed by the undemocratic orders of the Federal Government and it was the first interference in the democratic process in Pakistan. With the signatures of the then Governor of Sindh Mir Rasool Bux Talpur, an ordinance was issued on the intervention of the Federal Government, which was issued from Karachi on 22nd July 1972. It is evident from this ordinance that the law passed by the Sindh Assembly was set aside on the instance of the Federal Government. A copy of the said ordinance is presented here:



The Sindh Government Gazette

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY

KARACHI, SATURDAY, JULY 22, 1972

PART I
PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY OF SIND
LAW DEPARTMENT
NOTIFICATION

Karachi, the 22nd July, 1972

No. S. Legis. 1 (11)/72— The following Ordinance by the Governor of Sindh is hereby published for general information: —

**THE SINDH (TEACHING, PROMOTION AND USE OF SINDHI
LANGUAGE) ACT, (APPLICATION) ORDINANCE, 1972.
SINDH ORDINANCE NO. XI OF 1972.**

**AN
ORDINANCE**

*to make certain provision in relation to the application of the Sindh
(Teaching, Promotion and Use of Sindhi Language) Act, 1972.*

WHEREAS clause (2) of Article 267 of the Interim Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan provides that without prejudice to the status of the National languages, a Provincial Legislature may by law prescribe measures for the teaching, promotion and use of a Provincial Language in addition to a national language;

AND WHEREAS Urdu is national language and is spoken by a substantial section of the people;

AND WHEREAS it is considered expedient for the purposes of clarification and removal of doubts to make certain provisions in relation to the application of the Sindh (Teaching, Promotion and use of Sindhi Language) Act, 1972 (Act II of 1972), hereafter referred to as the Act;

AND WHEREAS the Provincial Assembly of Sindh is not in session and Governor of Sindh is satisfied that conditions exist which render it

necessary for him to take immediate action;
NOW, THEREFORE, in exercise of the powers conferred on him by clause (1) of Article 135 of the Interim Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, the Governor of Sindh is pleased to make and promulgate the following Ordinance, namely: —

Short title,
extent and
commencement.

11. (1) This Ordinance shall be called the Sindh (Teaching, Promotion and Use of Sindhi Language) Act, (Application) Ordinance, 1972.

No.
discrimination
on linguistic
basis..

(2) It extends to the whole of the Province of Sindh
(3) It shall come into force at once.

2. Notwithstanding the provisions of the Act, for a period of twelve years from the commencement of this Ordinance: —
(a) no person, otherwise qualified for appointment or promotion to any civil service, or a civil post in connection with the affairs, of the Province of Sindh shall be discriminated against only on the ground of want of knowledge of Sindhi or Urdu Languages;
(b) no person who, immediately before the commencement of this Ordinance was serving in the civil service, or a civil post in connection with the affairs of the Province of Sindh, shall be removed from service only on the ground of want of knowledge of Sindhi or Urdu Language.
(c) “Department of Government” means any department of Government and shall include, an autonomous body, a local council or local authority;
(d) “Institution” means school, College, University or any other educational institution.

Application of
the Act to
eliminate
discrimination
against urdu.

3. Application of the Act shall be in a manner that shall not prejudice the use of Urdu.

Karachi:
Dated the 16th July, 1972

MIR RASUL BAKHSH KHAN TALPUR
Governor of Sindh.
B.G.N. KAZI
Secretary to Government of Sindh
Law Department (3)

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PART I

GOVERNMENT OF SINDH

LAW DEPARTMENT

NOTIFICATION

Karachi, the 22nd July, 1972.

No. S. Legis. I(11)/72.-The following Ordinance by the Governor of Sind is hereby published for general information:—

THE SIND (TEACHING, PROMOTION AND USE OF SINDHI LANGUAGE) ACT, (APPLICATION) ORDINANCE, 1972.

SIND ORDINANCE No. XI OF 1972.

AN
ORDINANCE

*to make certain provision in relation to the application of the
Sind (Teaching, Promotion and Use of Sindhi Language)
Act, 1972.*

WHEREAS clause (2) of Article 267 of the Interim Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan provides that without prejudice to the status of the National languages, a Provincial Legislature may by law prescribe measures for the teaching, promotion and use of a Provincial Language in addition to a national language; Preamble

2

AND WHEREAS Urdu is a national language and is spoken by a substantial section of the people;

AND WHEREAS it is considered expedient for the purposes of clarification and removal of doubts to make certain provisions in relation to the application of the Sind Teaching, Promotion and Use of Sindhi Language) Act, 1972 (Act II of 1972), hereinafter referred to as the Act;

AND WHEREAS the Provincial Assembly of Sind is in session and the Governor of Sind is satisfied that conditions exist which render it necessary for him to take immediate action;

NOW, THEREFORE, in exercise of the powers conferred on him by clause (1) of Article 135 of the Interim Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, the Governor of Sind is pleased to make and promulgate the following Ordinance, namely:—

Short title,
extent and
commence-
ment.

1. (1) This Ordinance shall be called the Sind Teaching, Promotion and Use of Sindhi Language) Act, (Application) Ordinance, 1972.

(2) It extends to the whole of the Province of Sind.

(3) It shall come into force at once.

No discrimi-
nation on
linguistic
basis.

2. Notwithstanding the provisions of the Act, for a period of twelve years from the commencement of this Ordinance:—

(a) no person, otherwise qualified for appointment or promotion in any civil service, or a civil post in connection with the affairs of the Province of Sind, shall be discriminated against only on the ground of want of knowledge of Sindhi or Urdu Language;

(b) no person who, immediately before the commencement of this Ordinance, was serving in the civil service, or a civil post in connection with the affairs of the Province of Sind, shall be removed from service only on the ground of want of knowledge of Sindhi or Urdu Language.

Application
of the Act to
eliminate dis-
crimination
against
Urdu.

Application of the Act shall be in a manner that shall not prejudice the use of Urdu.

Karachi:
Dated the 16th July, 1972.

MIR HASIL BAKHSH KHAN T.
Governor of Sind.

B. G. N. KAZI,
Secretary to Government of S
Law Department.

Printed at the Sind Government Press, Karachi.

(1967) 22-7-72—111

4- (a) The people of Sindh expressed anger and anxiety on the decision of Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (*Shaheed*). Here it is pertinent to say that the decision of teaching Sindhi and Urdu as Non Mother Tongue (which was to be implemented from 1984) is still only on paper and has not been implemented yet. .

In 1973, it was considered a big success on Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's part that within the two years of his government he was able to prepare the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan. It was for the first time in the history of Pakistan that the position and status of "National Language" and 'Provincial languages' was clarified. In the 1973 Constitution Urdu was declared the National Language whereas the Provincial languages were described as Under:

Whereas Article 251 (3) of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973 lays down that:

"Without prejudice to the status of the National Language a Provincial Assembly may by law prescribe measures for the teaching, promotion and use of provincial language in addition to the national language."

In the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan and Education policies announced by the Federal Government from time to time, apart from the progress and development of the National language (Urdu) and Provincial languages, a policy has been made, according to which the provinces can use the languages as medium of education, but inspite of that in Sindh, especially in Karachi and Hyderabad and other cities, in the private schools and the so-called English medium schools, there is no arrangement for teaching Sindhi as a compulsory subject, as Mother Tongue as well as Non Mother Tongue, on the contrary all the Sindhi medium schools working at the time of partition were closed during the One Unit era and were never revived or restored; neither was any attention paid to the teaching of Sindhi as a Non Mother Tongue and after the language riots hatred for Sindhi language had increased.

(b) All the private schools were nationalized in March 1972, but again from the period of General Ziaul Haque, when permission was granted to open private schools there were several English medium schools opened in streets and in small towns, from that time onwards learning of Sindhi has almost been discontinued. Although the Sindh Government had issued orders for studying English, Urdu and Sindhi as compulsory subjects but the heads of all the schools and colleges did not care much about these orders.

In this regard, in my opinion, the Sindhi parents are also at fault, who know that these schools do not teach Sindhi as a compulsory subject, yet they have remained unconcerned towards teaching of Sindhi; and feel proud of their children for studying in English or Urdu medium schools. They themselves speak Urdu with Sindhi accent with their children at their homes. Due to this behaviour of Sindhi parents, their children have developed a negative attitude towards learning Sindhi language. What will these children become in future, only time will tell.

When these children would be unaware of the poetry of Shah Latif and Sachal Sarmast, people will laugh at them.

According to the policy of the Federal Government, Urdu and Sindhi languages are to be taught from class III in Sindh, but a survey of majority of the schools in Karachi (except for 2 or 3) has revealed that Sindhi is neither taught as Mother Tongue nor Non Mother Tongue. Due to such attitude of Sindhi parents and the apathy of Sindh government's Education department we can only say this:

"There is no one who could even carry the coffin of Sindhi language in Karachi."

Similar is the case with Hyderabad, Mirpurkhas, Nawabshah, Sukker and other big and small cities and towns where private and so-called English medium schools do not care to implement this Sindh government policy and most of such schools teach Urdu but no one is bothered about Sindhi language.

(c) Sindhi language had remained the official and academic language of government offices, courts and educational institutions of Sindh from 1849 to 1954, but after the imposition of One Unit, when officers from outside Sindh were transferred and posted in all the departments of Sindh government, they did not care much about the government orders. According to these orders, any official or officer transferred to Sindh was supposed to learn Sindhi language; and every bureaucrat had to pass an examination of Sindhi language held by Sindh Public Service Commission. In the declaration of 28th March 1981 of Sindh Public Service Commission it is said that:

"Those government civil officials who serve in Sindh in grade 5 or above and whose mother tongue is not Urdu and others whose mother tongue is not Sindhi, will have to pass examination of Urdu and Sindhi respectively. This examination will be held twice in a year. In this declaration it is also said that, those officers who do not pass this examination within the given time, their annual increment will be delayed till they pass the same, which will be released from the date on which they pass the examination"

But the S & G (Services and General) Department has never felt the need for taking any action in this regard, and due to this the Sindhi Public Service Commission reported in its report of 1997, on Page 108 that:

"Sindh Public Service Commission holds biannual examination of civil servants of grade 16 and above at Karachi, Hyderabad and Sukker centers according to 'Sindh Civil Servants Language Examination rules 1981 and syllabus prescribed.'"

The details are given in Appendix-VII on page 39 of the report, in which it is mentioned that: "No Candidate appeared in the examination of Sindhi language".

(d) After the constitution of 1973 came in force, Sindhi language should have been introduced and enforced as the Provincial Official Language in all the government, semi-government, local bodies offices, courts, educational institutions, revenue and police department offices. Urdu was to be introduced and enforced as National Language in place of English, but the government did not honour the law and policy and those biased officers who had been transferred here, the Chairmen and Municipal Mayors of Committees and Corporations did not hesitate to finish the official status of English and Sindhi and issued orders to use Urdu as official language in place of English and

removed Sindhi even from its original status-such people played the role in creating hatred among the two communities of Sindh and igniting the language riots.

Karachi is the capital of Sindh but here the Karachi Municipal Corporation, which once used English and Sindhi as official languages, kicked out these languages with one stroke of the biased pen and enforced Urdu as the only official language against the decision of Sindh government. Similar adventure was witnessed in case of Hyderabad and Sukker Municipal Corporations. The government of Sindh remained helpless and silent spectator of such injustices but the people of Sindh have also remained silent after seeing all this – What is the reason for this apathy – only the nationalists of Sindh can tell us.

It has already been mentioned that for the development and promotion of Sindhi language, the Sindh assembly had approved a Language Bill which was declared through a Notification issued by the Secretary of the Assembly on 17th July 1972. According to that the Sindh government could establish academies and boards, which would make schemes and prepare recommendations to send to the government from time to time.

Although this law was passed but due to the language riots Sindh government had become helpless, and despite people's demands it remained silent and the lawfully passed bill was taken back.

(e) In 1977 the elections were held for National as well as Provincial Assemblies and the opposition parties refused to accept the results of these elections, and a country-wide agitation was started by them. A 9-party alliance was formed against the government, with most of the large and small parties in it. Due to their influence on the public, the government agreed to sit on the same table with the alliance for talks. Two meetings were held between these parties and when they were about to reach an agreement and consensus, the Chief of the armed forces general Ziaul Haque declared Martial Law on 5th July 1977 and brought an end to the government of Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and arrested most of the political leaders including Mr. Bhutto. It is a separate topic as to how and why, during General Zia's period, an intelligent leader like Mr. Z.A. Bhutto was hanged. General Ziaul Haque's Martial law remained till 1985, when after elections Mr. Muhammad Khan Junejo was nominated Prime Minister by President Ziaul Haque.

Mr. Junejo, after the oath taking ceremony as the Prime Minister at the National Assembly had said:

“From now on democracy and Martial Law will not go together.”

During the era of Zia's Martial law, the atrocities committed against the people of Sindh are not a secret. It is said that General Ziaul Haque had his role in the making of M.Q.M. They had tried to eliminate Sindhis from their existence and create hatred among the population of Sindh, so that no peace could ever return to Sindh. But in this valley of the Indus from the time of Aryans, no invader had succeeded in such an endeavour. In the era of Ziaul Haque, the situation was such that the Sindhi population in Karachi had almost disappeared, so much so that the Sindhi families subjected to atrocities need to be discussed in a separate chapter.

In Zia's Martial law days, Sindhis did not have any respite from his tyranny; on top of that, in 1983 when the Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD) was

started, the political leaders who had agreed to this movement betrayed the political leaders of Sindh.

All these happenings were the subject of Sindhi literature during General Zia's days, which the poets and prose writers depicted in their poetry and prose genres. Among the poets were Shaikh Ayaz, Ustad Bukhari, Niaz Humayuni, Tanvir Abbassi, Shasherul Haydri, Imdad Hussaini, Ibrahim Munshi, Muhammad Khan Majidi, Ahmed Khan Madhosh, Taj Baloch, Qamar Shahbaz, Rashid Morai, Sarkash Sindhi, Zulfiqar Rashdi, Abdul Hakim Arshad, Sarvech Sijawali, and other representative poets of this period, whereas the prose writers included Muhammad Ibrahim Joyo, Rasool Baksh Paliyo, Siraj, Amar Jalil, Agha Salim, Murad Ali Mirza, Ghulam Rabbani Agro, Hamid Sindhi, Jamal Rind, Ghulam Nabi Mughal, Abdul Qadir Junejo, Noorul Huda Shah, Nasim Ahmed Kharl, Rashid Bhatti, Mahtab Mehboob, Khairunisa Jaferi, Shaukat Shoro, Ali Baba, Tanvir Junejo, Sumera Zareen and other representative short story writers, novelists dramatists and essayists of Sindhi language, who presented these problems in their writings.

On 17th August 1988 General Zia along with 35 others was killed in an air crash near Bahawalpur. After this accident, according to the Constitution of Pakistan, the President of Senate Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan took the reins of the country. In the same year, he ordered elections for National and Provincial assemblies in which Pakistan People's Party returned as the majority party and Ms. Benazir Bhutto took oath as the Prime Minister of Pakistan. Benazir Bhutto was the first Muslim woman Prime Minister of the Muslim world. Syed Qaim Ali Shah became the Chief Minister of Sindh.

5- (a) The people of Sindh demanded from this new government, among other things, the establishment of Sindhi language Authority for the development and promotion of Sindhi language. But the people's expectations were not met. People were disappointed, at that point Mr. Syed Qaim Ali Shah, responded to the demand of the people and issued orders for establishment of Sindhi Language Board instead of Sindhi Language Authority. According to this order, Mr. Sirajul Haque Memon was appointed the Chairman of the Board. Mr. Siraj did not accept the chairmanship on the pretext that the Sindh government by establishing Sindhi Language Board, instead of an Authority, had ridiculed the Sindhi language. In this way the demand of the people of Sindh was put to the cold storage.

(b) Some people of Sindh might not agree with me but I claim that the credit of establishing the Sindhi Language Authority goes to a person who had thousands of his fans and a similar number of people hated him. This personality was that of Jam Sadiq Ali, who got the bill passed for the establishment of SLA from the Sindhi Assembly on 19th Nov, 1990, when he was the Chief Minister of Sindh.

In the very beginning, the Act of 1972 passed for the promotion and progress of Sindhi language was amended through an Ordinance by the then Governor of Sindh Honourable Mahmood. A. Haroon on 22nd October, 1990, in which the section (1) of Article 128 was amended and it said that:

(1) This ordinance will be called Sindh (Teaching Promotion and Use of Sindhi language (Amendment) Act 1990.

(2) It shall come into force at once.

(3) In the Sindh (Teaching, Promotion and Use of Sindhi Language) Act 1972 in section 7 in sub-section (2) in clause (b) for the words "Academies and Boards", the words and comma "an Authority, Academies or Boards" shall be substituted." (4)

EXTRAORDINARY

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KARACHI, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1990.

PART IV

PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY OF SINDH NOTIFICATION

Karachi, the 23rd December, 1990

No. PAS/Legis-B-4/90.—The Sindh Buildings Control (Second Amendment) Bill, 1990 having been passed by the Provincial Assembly of Sindh on 20th November, 1990 and assented to by the Governor of Sindh on 4th December, 1990 is hereby published as an Act of the Legislature of Sindh.

THE SINDH BUILDINGS CONTROL (SECOND AMENDMENT) ACT, 1990

SINDH ACT No. VII OF 1990

(First published after having received the assent of the Governor of Sindh in the Gazette of Sindh (Extra-Ordinary) dated 23rd December, 1990).

AN

ACT

further to amend the Sindh Buildings Control Ordinance, 1979

WHEREAS it is expedient further to amend the Sindh Buildings Control Ordinance, 1979, in the manner hereinafter appearing:

It is hereby enacted as follows:—

1. (1) This Act may be called the Sindh Buildings Control (Second Amendment) Act, 1990.

Short title and commencement.

(2) It shall come into force on and from the 27th August, 1990.

2. In the Sindh Buildings Control Ordinance, 1979, in section 6, after sub-section (4), the following new sub-sections and Explanation shall be added:—

Amendment of section 6 of Sindh Ordinance V of 1979.

"(5) At any time after a ne objection certificate has been issued under sub-section (1) but before the completion of building Government may, if it is satisfied that the construction of any type of building or buildings in any area is not in the public interest or is otherwise in-expedient, notwithstanding anything contained in this Ordinance, rules or regulations made thereunder and without notice suspend or cancel the certificate.

Explanation.—The expression "completion of building" used in the sub-section means the completion of building in all respects according to the approved plan and in respect whereof occupancy certificate has been issued.

(6) Where any order is passed under sub-section (5), the matter shall be re-processed by the Authority in accordance with such direction as may be given by Government".

3. The Sindh Buildings Control (Second Amendment) Ordinance, 1990 is hereby repealed.

Repeal of Sindh Ordinance V of 1990.

BY ORDER OF THE SPEAKER,
PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY OF SINDH

ZAKIR HUSSAIN K. MIRZA
Secretary,
Provincial Assembly of Sindh.

KARACHI PRINTED AT THE SINDH GOVERNMENT PRESS
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The Sindh (Teaching, Promotion and Use of Sindhi Language Amendment) ordinance 1990 is hereby repealed.

(c) After this ordinance, Sindhi language bill was presented in the Sindh Assembly which was passed on 19th November 1990 session and this bill became an Act on 4th December 1990 after the assent of the Governor, which was notified with the signature of the then Secretary of Sindh Assembly Mr. Zakir Hussain K. Mirza. (5)

6- Establishment of Sindhi Language Authority:

“The Act for the Establishment of Sindhi Language Authority”

(a) Whereas Article 251 (3) of the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973 lays down that:

“Without prejudice to the status of the National Language, a Provincial Assembly may by law prescribe measures for the teaching, promotion and use of a provincial language in addition to the national language.”

Therefore keeping in view the article of the Constitution the Provincial Assembly passed the desired “Sindh Act 1972 (Teaching, Promotion and use of Sindhi language) and “Sindh (Amendment) Act 1990 (Teaching Promotion and use of Sindhi language).

“The Sindh government according to its Notification No: S.O.(G)/C&TD/17-131/90, Karachi dated 1st September 1990 appointed the world renowned educational expert, great teacher and scholar of Sindh Dr. Nabi Baksh Baloch as its first (founder) Chairman, who took charge and started working as the Chairman of the Authority on 12th January 1991. Soon after that the Sindh government declared the Purpose of the establishment of the Authority as under:

- (1) Teaching of Sindhi
- (2) Promotion and Development of Sindhi
- (3) Use of Sindhi in Offices

In the first phase of this Authority, a practical programme of three years till 1993 was prepared and it was implemented as under:

- (i) Workshops, Seminars were held for the correct use of Sindhi language in text books, advertisements, newspapers, radio and television etc.
- (ii) A series of meetings and correspondence was initiated with the Board of Revenue and Chief Secretary Sindh. In this regard Chief Minister had also issued directives but the government did not take any practical steps.
- (iii) The basic and primary phase of imparting education through the medium of Sindhi and teaching Sindhi in our primary schools.

(d) It is obvious that after the imposition of One Unit and due to the purposeless priorities of the education system, not only the use of Sindhi as medium of instruction in the private schools was abolished, but even practice of teaching of Sindhi as mother tongue had also ended.

There are evidences of this Sindhi –bashing in private schools, especially in English medium schools in the entire Sindh province.

7- (i) From 1998 in order to ponder over these issues and for study of the Authority’s Objectives, Questionnaires were distributed for filling them in the entire

province of Sindh. On the sample of answers to these questionnaires, a sort of case study was conducted in which experts would analyse the answers and prepare a report on their basis. In July 1998, the activities of the Authority were reviewed and some short-term and long-term programmes for 1998-99 and 1999 to 2000 were designed, and proposals for their implementation in future were prepared. These programmes and the steps taken in this regard have been given in Chapter 13 with the title of "Future of Sindhi Language."

(2) Present Status of Sindhi Language

(a) In my personal opinion, the right time for the development and promotion of Sindhi language and literature was the era after the imposition of One Unit (1954). In this respect the various genres of prose and poetry of the present era, the subject matter and the treatment of poets and prose writers is quite different from that of 1954.

The poets and prose writers extensively wrote on new topics and subjects in Sindhi. They used beautiful, simple but meaningful words and phrases in the literary genres to bring to them fineness, beauty, emotions and lyricism and the writers developed nationalistic sentiments.

They replaced old Persian similes and metaphors like 'mah laqa', 'mah jabeen', 'mah afroz', and 'mahtab' with beautiful and attractive words like 'saeen', 'suhna', 'mithra', 'banwra', 'dholia' and 'dhol', etc. Like great classical poets such as Pir Sadaruddin, Shah Karim, Qazi Kadan, Makhdoom Nooh Sarwar, Miyoona Shah Inat, Shah Latif and Sachal Sarmast, the modern poets used local language, local atmosphere and colour in their similes, metaphors and allegories, therefore Sindhi language became more intimate, lovely and musical, for evidence we can here give examples from the poetry of Lakho Lutfullah and Shah Latif's beautiful language:

انگوريون ۽ ڪيتڪيون، ڦوليون ڦڳڻ مانهن،
ري لالڻ 'لاکو' چئي، سي آءُ ڪريان کانهن،
جي سڄڻ هوئي بانهن، ته ڦل پسيو ڦولي
هنيون.

*angooryun ain ketakyoon, pholyoon phagan maanh,
re lalan 'lakho' chaye, se aaun karyan kanhan,
je sajan hoye banhan, ta phal pasyo phole hinyo*

انگوريون ۽ ڪيتڪيون، ڦليون ڦڳڻ هيل،
ري لالڻ 'لاکو' چئي، سي آءُ پائڻيان سيلهن،
جي سڄڻ هوئي مون بيلهن، ته ڦل پسيو ڦولي
هنيون.

*angooryun ain ketakyoon, phalyon phagan hel,
re lalan 'lakho' chaye, se aaun bhanyan selah,
je sajan hoye moon bailha, ta phal pasyo phole hanyon*

In this regard examples from Shah Latif are presented here:

ڍوليا ڍيل م مون، ڪانڌ ڪميڻي آهيان
سڪ تنهنجيءَ سپرين، پيري وڌيس پون،
مون ور تون ئي تون، تو وڙ وڙ هون ڪيتريون.

*dholya dhela ma moon, kandha kamiṇi ahyan
sika tunhji-a supreen, bhere vidhyas bhoon,
moon war toon ee toon, to wara wahoon ketryoon*
سر لوهيڙا ڳيا، ڪسر نسريا،
آن ڪيئن وسريا، ڏوليا ڏينهن اچڻ جا.
*sir lohira gabhya, kusar nisrya,
aan kiyan visrya, dholya deenhan achana ja*

(b) The poets of present era could not remain aloof from these qualities of classical poets. They also depicted the local atmosphere and local scenery and expressed the psychological moods and instincts of Sindhi people. They have used local words to represent local scenes.

(i) ڦٽڻ لڳي آميندي مٺڙا، نمن جهليو آ پور
ڪيسين رهندين دورا!
*phutan lagi aa mendi miṭhṛa, nimun jhalyo aa boor,
kesin rahanden door!*

(ii) او سانوري،
او بانوري،
ڪر خبر، ڇو ٿي روئين،
ڇو ٿي روئين، ڇا جي ڪري؟
*o sanwri,
o banwri,
kar khabar, chho thi royin,
chho thi royin, cha je kare?*

(iii) منهنجا پرين او بانورا، او سانورا
munhinja prin o banwra, o sanwra
(iv) ڪيتري نه گذري وئي راتڙي گهڻي سائين
آءُ پي ڪٿي سائين!
*ketri na guzri wai rataṛi ghaṇi sayen
aau bhi khaṇi sayen*

(c) Similarly, two examples from the poetry of Tanvir Abbassi and (late) Narain Shyam are presented, here:

(i) او مٺڙا، ماڪيءَ جهڙا، ايڏو دور نه گهار،
آءُ گهڙي، تنوير جي پر ۾، ڪر ڪي ڳالهيون چار
*o miṭhṛa, makhi-a jehṛa, edo door na ghaar,
aau ghaṛi, tanveer je bhara men, kar ke galhyoon chaar* (Tanveer)

(ii) ساجن تو ٿي سينگارو آ، سڀن جو سنسار،
تنهنجي دم سان ٿي ٿي پوندو، ڇڻ بر هڪ بازار
*sajan to ee seengaryo aa, sapnan jo sansaar,
tunhje dama saan ee thi pawando, chin bar hik bazaar* (Narayan Shyam)

(d) Not only in respect of subjects and topics the modern literature of Sindhi

language is rich but the art and techniques of literary genres in the present era have achieved a superior status. Sindhi language can be compared to other developed languages for its literary qualities and beautiful diction.

The style, realistic expression, imagery of the scenic atmosphere, depiction of nature, characterization, beautiful diction, use of poetic figures and such other qualities were achieved by the Sindhi language of One Unit era, to compete with the languages of Pakistan and the other countries of the world, which raised the status and stature of Sindhi language. In this regard, Syed Hisamuddin Shah Rashdi writes:

“If one has to research and investigate about the philosophy, education and intellect of Sindh, this can not be done from the collections of poetry by *ghazal* poets but can be checked and found from the treasure, diamonds and pearls present in the *Kafis*, *dohiras* and other typical Sindhi forms of poetry.

The poets and writers of Sindhi have always struggled against the social atrocities and class cruelties of an era, in every period of time. The literature of this period is an eye witness and presents realistic history of the same. It has a purpose and the modern poets of Sindh have made it, not only realistic but have enriched the language also.” (6)

(e) After the imposition of One Unit the writers and poets endeavoured a lot to describe the problems of Sindh in their short stories, novels and dramas. Through history we can preserve the collective impression of an era of a nation, whereas the stories, novels and dramas can throw light on its details. The characters of that period, their psyche, trends, confusions, their behaviour, problems-all can be described with details. Fiction can magnify the history like a magnifying lens.” (7)

Dr. Tanvir Abbassi, while writing on the short stories, especially “Rana je Rajput” of Hamid Sindhi, has described the social milieu, characters, their inclinations, confusions-while doing so, he has commented on his diction and use of idioms and proverbs in it. In this way Dr. Tanvir Abbassi has written about other short story writers also, in these words:

“But I think that short stories of Jamal Abro, Ayaz Qadri, Amar Jalil, Rashid Bhatti and Naseem Ahmed Kharal, written during the period of One Unit are representative of Sindhi literature and Sindhi language in their depicting of the Sindhi society, Sindhi milieu and presentation of Sindhi language, which can not be written here in detail due to constraints of space.” (8)

(f) The great poet of Pakistani period (late) Shaikh Ayaz presented new experiments in Sindhi language, he coined new words and terms, idioms and proverbs, and composed a lot of *baits* and *nazms* (poetry), examples of which have been given in the coming pages. Apart from Ayaz, in this period, among his contemporary poets and prose writers, Ustad Bukhari has also left an impression. While analysing the language of the poetry of Shaikh Ayaz, the great researcher of his times, Dr. Abdul Karim Sandeelo writes:

“In order to analyse the vocabulary and diction of Shaikh Ayaz, leaving aside all other criteria, we fix only two criteria for two forms of folk literature, such as ‘*Seengar*’ and ‘*Dohas*’, which show the heights of his work. Shaikh Ayaz clearly used many words of *Seengar* and *Dohas* in his poetry, which proves that he has command over such lexicon, The great quality of his poetry is that he has used localised form of Hindi, Sanskrit, Prakrit and Rajasthani words and idioms, which makes these words shine in his poetry.

Shaikh Ayaz has not deliberately used these words but his vocabulary is so vast that when he sits to compose his poetry, all these words come running to his pen; but he commands these words and uses each of them in its proper place one after the other in such a way that they light up the flight of his imagination, meaning of his poetry and delicacy of his thought, and thus this poetry becomes like a necklace of precious pearls, which adorns the beautiful neck of the swan, that the Sindhi language is for him.

If we see the collection of his poetry, it contains fine Hindi vocabulary, from which it becomes evident that he has thoroughly studied Hindi poetry and most of the Hindi books. This vocabulary is the actual beauty of his poetry.” (9)

Shaikh Ayaz’s following *baits* (couplets) are witness to the importance, beauty and immortality of Sindhi language:

ميان! تون ته آجا نٿو، سنڌيءَ ۾ سوچين،
پنهنجو پاڻ ڪرين، روز پيو تون ترجمو!
miyan! toon ta anjan natho, sindhi-a men sochin,
penhjo pana karin, roz piyo toon tarjmo!

جيڪو سنڌيءَ ۾، سر ٻيءَ ٻوليءَ ۾ ڪٿي!
اردوءَ، هنڊيءَ ۾، تون آهين جڻ اوڀرو
jeko sindhi-a men, so bi-a boli-a men kithe!
urdu-a, hindi-a men, toon aahin jana opro

جيڪا ٻولي ٿيڻ سان، تنهنجي پيٽ پئي!
سا تو ڪيئن ڪئي، اڄڪلهه آهي اوڀري!
jeka boli thanj saan, tunhji pet payi!
sa to kiyen kayi, ajkalha aopri!

پنهنجي ٻوليءَ ۾ ميان! جڏهين چوندين ’ماءُ‘،
توڪي اهڙو ساءُ، ڏيندي ٻي ٻولي ڪٿي؟
penhji boli miyan! jadhin chawanden ‘maau’,
tokhe ahro saau, deendi bi boli kithe?

ڪو جو چوي ايئن، ”تنهنجي ماءُ مري وئي“
 ۽ توکي ڳوڙها اچن، اهو ٻُڌڻ سڀڻ،
 ٻولي تنهنجي ٿيڻ، آهي امڙ وانگيان!
ko jo chawe iyan, "tunhji mau mari wayi"
ain tokhe gorha achan, iho budhana siyan,
boli tunhji tiyan, aahe amar wangiyan!

مون ڪُنڀا پهراڻيا، ٻهڳڻ ٻوليءَ کي،
 ائين پيو ڪيرُ چوي، ڏوهيڙا هن ڏيهه جا! (10)
moon khunhiba pehraiya, bahaganu boli-a khe,
ian biyo keru chawe, dohira hina deha ja!

ٻوليءَ جو پڻ وَڻ، پوڙهو ٿيندو ڪينڪي،
 اڄ به منهنجو من، ساڻو سانوڻ جهنگ جيان! (11)
boli jobhan wanu, porho thindo kinaki,
aju bi munhinjo manu, saao sanwanu jhanga jian!

(g) Shaikh Ayaz, Ustad Bukhari and their contemporaries have an abundance of words, rhythm and music and this style of theirs has created not only attraction in Sindhi poetry, but flow of thoughts and expression also. Dr. Abdul Jabbar Junejo writes about this quality of Shaikh Ayaz:

“The flow of Ayaz’s art in his poem “Geet Unjayal Maran Ja” is not less than the flow of a river; for example:

مان توکي گيت ڏيان اي ڌرتي،
 تون مون تي زنجير وجهين
 هي گيت گلابي موتين جا،
 هي گيت شرابي جهڙو ڦڙ جا
 هي سانوڻ جا، من پانوڻ جا،
 هي اڱر اڱر، اوڻ جا،
 هي گيت اڃايل مورن جا،
 ريتيءَ تي ڪنڻ ڪنڻ ڪنورن جا،
 هي گيت سنهري سنڌوءَ جا (12)
maan to khe geet diyan ae dharti,
toon mon te zanjeer vijhin
hee geet gulabi motiyun ja,
hee geeta sharabi jhur phur ja
hee sanwana ja, man bhawana ja,
he agam agam, aawana ja
hee geet unjayal moran ja,
reti-a te kanth kathoran ja,
he geeta sunhehri sundhu-a ja

(h) The quality of rhythm and music in the poetry of modern poets has been acquired due to the influence of Shah Latif. The same style can be observed in the couplets of Sanwan Faqir, Shaikh Ayaz and his contemporaries: Narain Shyam, Ustad Bukhari, Sarvech Sijwali, Ibrahim Munshi, Muhammad Khan Majidi, Shamsherul Hyderi, Tanvir Abbassi, Niaz Humayuni and Imdad Hussaini. This style of expression has highlighted the inherent quality of rhythm and music in the Sindhi language. The same style has been used by Makhdoom Talibul Maula.

(i) The writers and poets through their poetry and prose expressed the sorrows of the people of their era. They composed aesthetic poetry also, described the beauty of their beloved as well but the important point is that their beloved was not any beautiful fairy-like damsel, but their beloved was the "homeland Sindh". They loved Sindh, their adoration was for Sindhi language and the people of Sindh.

(j) In this present age, the writers and scholars have coined new words in the fields of their subjects and topics. Experts of different disciplines, such as Botany, Zoology, Economics, Sociology, Agriculture, Anthropology, Linguistics, Astrology, Education, History, Literature, Folk Literature, Musicology and other modern sciences and subjects have created Sindhi versions of technical terms and words which have taken the shape of Modern Sindhi language. On the basis of these qualities and peculiarities, we can say that as the past of Sindhi was glorious, the present is developing and the future seems bright and promising. In this regard, we may again present here the opinion of Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi which is based on the proof of his experiences:

"In our times in Sindh, the editing, compiling and publishing work started in Sindhi with such a force and speed that the amount of work done till today is astonishing. I think that as far as the amount of literary and scholarly work done in Sindhi is concerned no other local language has been able to do in Pakistan.

Everybody can not have the same qualities! The Sindhi men of letters have done miracles; may God save them from envy and give them courage; they have done a great service to this country. When Mian Muhammad Hanif Siddiqui or Dr. Daudpoto or myself used to roam in the markets looking for, buying or borrowing books, at that time we had no idea that from amongst us will be produced a generation, that will search and find our ancestral heritage and treasure and will boldly preserve it.

In our early days most of the people were fond of dramas and songs. Nobody knew that the same people will turn to the dry books like Chachnama, Histories like Masoomi and Tahiri, Tuhfatulkiram, Beglamnama and Maklinama etc. or they will discover their immortal priceless pearls in the persons of their poets and will speak their language. Since we are mentioning poets here, I must tell you that in this present age I see such poets whose poetry will one day stand equal to the poetry of the classical poets." (13)

(k) During the initial years of the British rule, the British officers, grammarians, experts and scholars had made schemes for Sindhi language, and had started to prepare for using it as a medium of education, as the official language of offices and courts. They had developed and enriched it through translation of all knowledge, literature, and other disciplines and subjects; had initiated research on different topics and subjects. In the same way, after partition the scholars, writers and researchers of America, Europe and states of former Soviet Union started the study of Sindhi language according to the criteria of Linguistics in the light of modern research methods. In the School of Oriental and African Studies of London University, Essex and Cambridge Universities of Britain, Sorbonne University of France, Finland University in Helsinki, Harvard, Pennsylvania, Texas, Austin, Chicago Universities of USA, Pune, Jawahir Lal Nehru and Delhi Universities of India, there are modern experts and scholars of Linguistics who are working and conducting research on Sindhi Linguistics.

Similarly, the world renowned scholar of Bonn University (Germany) and later on of Harvard University (USA), Dr. Annemarie Schimmel, not only has expertise in the subjects of Sindhi language, literature, Shah Latif, but has written a lot of essays and articles on the growth of Sufistic thought and poetry and Tasawuf (Mysticism) in Sindh.

In the similar way, Dr. Turbiani of Italy, Dr. Raya Egorova and Professor Gronkowski of the 'Institute of Oriental Studies' of Moscow are considered experts on Sindhi language, literature and culture.

In Canada also some Christian missionaries working in Sindh are found busy in the process of learning Sindhi. They have published books on 'Functional Sindhi' as well. These things and facts prove that in the present era Sindhi language has acquired its due position in several countries of the world for its scholarly, literary and linguistic importance.

For the sake of promotion of the creative literature and research, the interest of foreign experts and writers dates back, even from an earlier period of the British rule in Sindh. In the British period along with English officers, Christian missionaries of German, Dutch, French, Portuguese origin also had done a lot of work on Sindhi language. The English and German grammarians have done commendable work on Shah jo Risalo, Dictionaries and Grammar of Sindhi. From among the Sindhi prose forms the short stories, dramas and many poetic genres have been translated into English, Russian, German, French, Chinese and Arabic. Dr. Sorley, Dr. Lambrick, Captain George Stack, Captain Shirt, R.F. Burton, Eastwick and Leach, Dr. Annemarie Schimmel, Dr. Tarbiani, Ginovsky, Dr. Raya Egorova and other experts have translated Sindhi literature in Western and Eastern languages.

(l) The present literature of Sindhi presents the picture of social and common life of Sindh, rather it is a sort of a history of social life of Sindh and it presents the day to day problems of the people.

Therefore, there are the subjects of their land and the country, stories of their elders and brave and wisemen, their thoughts and wisdom; their hopes and wishes; their

inspirations and feelings and their endeavours and deeds. Our experts have presented the ideas of writers and poets of communist or socialist ideology or the concepts of Czechoslovakia, former Soviet Union; states of Middle East or other for Sindhi readers. But they are also keen to present the pearls of wisdom to their land. They hold Kacchehries (traditional sittings) to see how these poets and bards present their environment in the different genres; how they paint the scenes of their land. Discourse and dialogue with them would prove that Sindh is not devoid of intellect, these wisemen are not empty minded— They are like deep bay with precious pearls and intelligent people.

In Sindhi language there is a lot of writing material containing knowledge about Sindh and Pakistan, religious literature, folk literature, folk lore and poetry based on Persian metres, *Chhand Vidya*, traditional music, it also has the capacity for the study of Shah Latif, Sachal Sarmast and Mirza Qalich Beg. Hundreds of essays and articles have been published. In the same way due to the critical analysis of Sindhi literature, new trends and modern great vocabulary and rich lexicon have been introduced.

The modern reader is enthusiastic in reading his favourite narratives and facts, memories and thoughts of people of his society and environment, and also tries to understand them. That is the reason why the people of all walks of life in Sindh want to read literature published in Sindhi language.

It is a matter of pride and joy that Sindhi language has become the language of education and learning, of literature, journalism, radio, T.V. film, video, type writer, computer and other electronic media in the present times. Therefore there is a lot of potential in Sindhi for oratory and writing, business and trade correspondence, communication and publication and for academic purposes.

(m) (i) Soon after partition, a radio station was established in Karachi which started broadcasting programmes in Sindhi language. During the One Unit era, another radio station came into being in Hyderabad which started broadcasting poetry of Shah Latif and *kafis*, *ghazals*, *geet*, *nazm* and folk songs. This resulted in taking the Sindhi music and raag as well as various forms of folk literature to the small villages, tea and pan stalls, bus stops and restaurants through small transistor radio sets along with the renderings at the premises, *otaqs*, *otaras* and sitting rooms of leader of village communities, ironsmiths, farmers in the fields and villages, which became the favourite pastime of the people.

(ii) Radio Pakistan caused rebirth of Sindhi drama. This medium provided actors chance to act in the T.V. dramas and films. Several films were produced in Sindhi language. Several stage dramas of pre-partition days were repeated in this period.

Radio Pakistan created many actors and actresses, especially women also joined the theater and film world and when the T.V. station of Karachi was established, Sindhi language entered the fields of performing arts as well as electronic media.

Weekly dramas, folk lore programmes, folk dances, *kacchehries*, literary sessions, general knowledge competition and also programmes for children and farmers were telecasted, which put a new life in the language.

(iii) So we can conclude that in this period the Sindhi language has traveled from print media to the electronic media, where it is holding a strong position. It has also proved its powerful existence in the theatre, radio and television. dramas, which are the important forms of this media age. In the field of radio and television dramas, writers and producers like Manzoor Naqvi, Murad Ali Mirza, Mumtaz Mirza, Agha Salim, Amar Jalil, Ghulam Hyder Siddiqui and Ali Baba have contributed a lot through new experiments. Manzoor Naqvi produced dramas based on love stories, detective stories, folk tales, plots of historical and semi-historical events, which inspired people a lot; Agha Salim wrote dramas like "Dodo Chanesar", "Doolh Darya Khan", "Gul Chhino Gimar jo" which infused nationalistic feelings. Ali Baba's drama "Runj ja Rahi" was an unforgettable radio drama which created interest in the history of Sindh and inspired love for the homeland. Ali Baba, Imdad Hussaini and Amar Jalil's radio dramas are a big treasure for Sindhi language.

Now the scope of these radio and T.V. dramas and other programmes have enhanced a lot in which historical, detective plots and long stories are produced more over subjects of social issues, scientific research, science fiction, folk tales, mythology, people's suspicions, beliefs are also presented in these dramas.

(iv) There are quite a few writers who have been acknowledged as the accomplished writers of stage, radio and T.V. dramas and show business. Some of these renowned persons are:

Manzoor Naqvi, Murad Ali Mirza, Ali Baba, Abdul Karim Baloch, Shamsherul Hyderi, Agha Salim, Abdul Haque Abro, Abdul Qadir Junejo, Noorul Huda Shah, Amar Jalil, Qamar Shahbaz, Imdad Hussaini, Shaukat Kehar, Shaukat Shoro, Agha Rafiq, Zaib Sindhi, Tariq Alam Abro, Ayaz Alam Abro, Hafiz Kumbhar and others, who have achieved high place in this field. These media produced many Sindhi dramatists who competed for writing Urdu dramas and achieved success, among them are Mumtaz Mirza who wrote on national issues, Abdul Qadir Junejo, Ms. Noorul Huda Shah, Amar Jalil and Agha Rafiq wrote on social issues, whereas Ali Baba, Hafiz Khumbhar depicted the culture of Sindh, which were very successful. In the same way Shaukat Shoro and Ali Baba took the issue of class difference and Shamsherul Hyderi selected historical dramas. All of them had become very popular in the entire Pakistan

(n) The Sindhi literature could not remain aloof from the international ideologies which had influenced the history of literature. The modern poets and writers of Sindh also represented the international social values of peace, supporting human rights, unity among humanity, democracy and social justice. These modern Sindhi poets, re-sung the old genres of classical poetry after bringing about changes according to the need of the time. They wrote on the classical metres of *kafi*, *vai*, *bait*, *doha*, *sor̥tha* giving them a new colour, new style and beauty. They created new forms by mixing the old classical forms of *kafi*, *doha* and *bait* with the Persian forms and metres. They changed the Persian classical diction and milieu of *ghazal* to pure Sindhi style, colour and form. In this regard Mr. Abdul Razaque Raz writes:

“In today’s *ghazal* several new and local formations have been introduced, therefore, the use of ‘*zer-e-izafat*’ (conjunctive mark) and ‘*noon ghuna*’ (silent n sound) has decreased, for example in the past formation of ‘*bahre-e-bekaran*’ was in use, but now it has been replaced by ‘*mato mahraṇ*’ (for deep sea) which has local flavour and feels intimate. There are similar words which have local colour and symbols, for example لڙڪ (lurka-tear), مرڪ (murka-smile), ڪاڪ (kaaka-a place), مومل (moomal), ٿر (thar), ڪاريهر (karihar-cobra), ماڪ (maaka-dew) etc.” (14)

The modern poets picked the characters of the classical poets, such as Moomal, Sassui, Suhni and painted them with fresh colours and used their historical and semi-historical stories for allegorical representations. They have experimented on new topics, values and poetical measurements and painted beautiful images in such a way that the scenes and characters depicted by them look like real life portraits.” (15)

The poets of present age have created countless intrinsic qualities in their poetry. The use of reduplication of words is common in Sindhi, as mentioned earlier. The use of these words in poetry needs thorough knowledge of the language as well as poetic style and diction. The classical poets like Shah Latif have perfectly made use of that quality. The modern poets also show this inherent quality and poets like Shaikh Ayaz, Tanvir Abbassi, Ustad Bukhari, Imdad Hussaini, Pir Ghulam Mujadad of Matiari and others have shown this quality in their poetry. For example we had given a sample of Shaikh Ayaz’s poetry. Here we have chosen to give examples from the poetry of Imdad Hussaini:

اسين پيٽ بڪيا، اڳهاڙا اڳهاڙا
 اروڪا اروڪا، اُٻالا، اُٻالا
 وساريل وساريل، ڌڪاريل ڌڪاريل
 نماڻا، نماڻا، نرالا نرالا
 اڪيلا اڪيلا،
 توائي توائي
 سدا چاڪ دامن، سدا نئيڻ آلا.
aseen peta bukhyā, ughara ughara
arokha arokha, aḇala aḇala
wisaryal wisaryal, dhikaryal dhikaryal
nimaṇa, nimaṇa, nirala nirala
akela akela,
tawai tawai
sada chaak daman, sada naiṇa aala.

(o) Apart from these qualities, the Sindhi orthography, spellings or arrangements of letters, punctuation marks and all the qualities of the art of printing have been acquired by Sindhi language. Therefore, like English, a system of spelling and arrangement of

letters are present in it and it can claim that the orthography of Sindhi is the most developed among the languages of Pakistan including Urdu.

(i) For writing an essay or research article, rules of writing margins and footnotes are fixed according to the modern criteria.

(ii) Researchers of Sindh know the art of modern research.

(iii) The writers and scholars of Sindh can use proper punctuation marks in their essays and articles.

(iv) Sindhi prose writers know how and where to use a new para for a fresh idea and where to end it.

(v) In any speech, or in a drama, monologues and dialogues, the writer has to use commas, semi-colon, full stop, inverted commas, colon or dash from which the artist or the actor knows where to stop, where to pause, where to raise or lower the voice.

A writer writes his short story, sketch and drama in such a style that it becomes clear how to speak a sentence, whether it is to be spoken as an order or as an expression of regret, astonishment, a question or as a negative sentence, etc.

After the invention of type writer and computer and formation and creation of Sindhi fonts and Sindhi softwares, Sindhi language has completed most of the phases and stages of its development. Due to these facilities, Sindhi language is more than equal to Urdu in Pakistan in the fields of learning and education, art of publication, stage of communication and advertisement.

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Chapter 13

Future of Sindhi language and some suggestions about it

1- (a) Sindhi language has always been a developing language because the writers, scholars poets and researchers have been conducting thorough study of their society and its environment. They are of the opinion that like all the other languages, Sindhi language has also been influenced by the changes occurring in the society and environment during different periods. The writers and poets have unconsciously depicted them in their writings, but there is dire need of systematic and proper research on this topic.

(b) As the past of Sindhi language has always remained bright, the future of this language also looks promising. The analytical study of writings and achievements of the past generations from eminent scholars, knowledgeable writers, poets and prose writers and conscientious politicians like Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (*shaheed*), Saeen G.M.Sayed, Allama I.I Qazi, Mirza Qalich Beg, Mr. Bherumal, Dr. Gurbuxani, Dr. Ghulam Ali Allana Dr. Daudpota, Hakim Fateh Muhammad, Dr. H.T Sorely, Dr. Annemarie Schimmel, Allama Ghulam Mustafa Qasmi, Sayed Ghulam Mustafa Shah, Dr. Nabi Bakhsh Baloch, Muhammad Ibrahim Joyo, Shaikh Ayaz, Ustad Bukhari, Rasool Baksh Palejo, Nasim Kharl, Rasheed Bhatti, Dr. Abdul Karim Sandeelo, Sirajul Haque Memon, Agha Salim, Prof. Dr. Ayaz Qadri, Dr. Tanveer Abbassi, Dr. Najam Abbasi, Amar Jalil, Shamsherul Haidri, Niaz Humanyuni, Imdad Hussaini, Dr. Memon Abdul Majid Sindhi, Dr. Abdul Jabbar Junejo, Abdul Qadir Junjeo, Dr. Qazi Khadim, Muhammad Moosa Bhutto, Hameed Sindhi, Dr. Fahmida Hussain, Syeda Noorul Huda Shah, Zafar Hassan Shah, Mehtab Mehboob, Waliram Walabh, Shoukat Hussain Shoro, Khairunisa Jaferi, Aijaz Qureshi, Tanveer Junejo, Dr.Noor Afroz Khuwaja, and Prof. Sahar Imdad etc. show that the future of Sindhi language is very bright. In this connection, the former President and later on the Prime Minister of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who was a political thinker and internationally acclaimed politician, had addressed the National Assembly of Pakistan where he had highlighted the Indus Valley Civilization and the language prevalent therein. He had said _:

“The people of this region had their own language and a script, whatever it was called - Sindhi or Seraiki- that is not the question, but the question is that they were civilized 5000 years ago- you may not call them Sindhi, but they had a script of their own and the language belonged to the Indus Civilization. This was one of those rich and most cultural civilizations that human kind has ever known.”

(c) (i) For the survival and protection of Sindhi language, another great thinker Allama I.I. Qazi once said:

“One of the effective ways of the survival of Sindhi language is to inculcate power of thinking in the Sindhis, so that whenever they would transfer and introduce a new idea and a new meaning in Sindhi, the question of survival and life of the language will automatically be solved.”

(ii) In another interview in the daily Ibrat, Allama Sahib opined that:

“It is necessary to preserve Sindhi language because the poetry of Hazrat Shah Latif is in Sindhi and it is very necessary to preserve the poetry of Shah Latif; what else do we have except the poetry of Shah Latif? That is our biggest treasure. Shah’s poetry occupies that same status in Sindhi, which the Holy Quran occupies in the Arabic language. If we ignore Sindhi, it means that we have ignored, abandoned Shah Latif and that will be a great misfortune for us.

It is necessary to let the Arabic language survive only because the Holy Quran was sent in that language. it is not possible to understand and grasp the essence of the Holy Quran from any translation however deep and concise and complete. Kamal Pasha Atta Turk had attempted to get the translation of the Holy Quran in Turkish language but was unsuccessful because Turkish language lacks that depth and stature which is at its peak in the Holy Quran. Therefore as it is important to preserve and protect Arabic language for the Quran, so is the case with Shah Latif’s poetry for which the Sindhi language needs to be preserved and protected.”

(iii) Pir Hisamuddain Shah Rashdi had also presented some suggestions for the future of Sindhi language. He had said that:

“Apart from fiction, drama and poetry there are other subjects also that the young generation should focus on, as no nation can survive on poetry, fiction and drama only, History of Sindh is such a subject which has not been given due importance. By focusing on the history of Sindh, their writings will be enriched and will have new look and beauty. New subjects and fresh topics will get them appreciated by the locals as well as foreigners.”

(iv) Pir Hisamuddin further writes in this regard;

“In this age of competition and struggle, only such a nation will be able to survive, which tries to match with the developed nations. Only those people and nation will earn respect and proper status in this dangerous and strange world, who move on and keep the pace and speed of the times.

(d) In fact, the points and issues towards which our elders had called our attention and had cautioned us, regarding technical and electronic development of our language, should be focused on urgently. Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto pointed towards the marvelous

glorious past and bright future of Indus Civilization and motivated us to always be proud of the civilization and its language and the other two leaders: Allama I.I. Qazi and Pir Hisamuddin Shah Rashdi have rightly said that:

“On the basis of fiction, poetry and drama only, the Sindhi nation and Sindhi language will not be able to match the developed nations and their developed languages.”

2- Need to focus on the teaching of Sindhi language from the Primary level:

In order to help the Sindhi language to become successful in the future and also to make it a developed language, it is necessary that there should be appropriate arrangement for teaching Sindhi from Primary to Secondary school levels and it should be ensured that the private schools, English medium schools and Missionary, as well as community schools teach Sindhi as a Mother Tongue and Non Mother Tongue subject. It is the national duty of Sindhi people and parents to check and ensure whether the Sindhi language is taught in the schools or not. Mr. Shoukat Hussain Shoro has written in one of his columns in the daily newspaper Ibrat on 9th July 1999 with the title of “Future of Sindhi language”, in which he says;

“Whenever our scholars and intellectuals preside some literary gathering or occupy the stage as chief guests they talk about strange, unrealistic and false things in their speeches, particularly such emotional talk is common. After hearing that people stop worrying about the Sindhi language being in danger.

Often we hear that, Sindhi language can not have any risk until Sindh is there, or that language will remain forever in which Shah Latif has composed his poetry. These are very good and encouraging things, and we like to believe them, but alas the reality is otherwise, we can not see neither do we realize that the Sindhi language is shrinking and being restricted day by day.”

Mr. Shoro writes further that;

“Some risks are from outside and some others are internal. We will talk about external risks later but we are to be blamed for the internal risk which Sindhi language is facing. On academic level we are the ones who have academically destroyed Sindhi language. There is no doubt that after the partition, Sindhi as an academic language has totally been driven out from the big cities like Hyderabad and Karachi. In the city of Karachi, which is the capital of Sindh there is no Sindhi medium primary school, and for the large population of Hyderabad, only two such Sindhi primary schools are there. In the Sindhi dominated area of Qasimabad, maximum number of children from Sindhi speaking families study in Beacon House Public School and Saint Bonaventure School. They are English medium and people feel happy if they just get admission in the primary class, on payment of large amount of money.

Those young men who have acquired B. A., B. Sc or M. A. degrees after

cheating or through the new facility of doing off-campus B. Ed courses, will neither be able to do business on a push cart, nor will they be able to plough in the fields- They will consider themselves lucky if they just get the job of a primary teacher.

On the other hand the issue of going to a village school for teaching is also serious. They hardly go two or three times in a month. Previously we had heard of absentee students but now the number of absentee teachers has increased from that of the students; what will be the condition of language teaching, can be every body's guess. For how long will the language remain academic and a literary language in such an environment!

Presently when there are several newspapers, magazines and books being published, on the one hand it is a thing to be happy about but on the other hand it is a matter of concern as to how many readers will read these newspapers, magazines and books after sometime if such conditions of Sindhi education prevail. This is worsening day by day and after half a century there would be no reader found for reading them. Sindhi people will be there but they will not be Sindhi readers, as is the case in India these days. In India the condition of Sindhi language is such that with the demise of the older generation, the academic and literary status of Sindhi is also going down. In the present times there are Sindhi writers but there are no readers. The children of Sindhis are just holding the title of Sindhis but they speak Hindi and English."

3- Progress of Scientific Literature in Sindhi language:

(a) (i) It is a fact that there is very little material on Scientific disciplines in Sindhi. Another fact is that the Sindhi language will not progress on only fiction, or sentimental poetry, on the basis of that it will not be counted in the developed languages and nations. There is dire need to write on scientific and technical subjects in Sindhi and that is the greatest challenge facing the survival and preservation of the language in future.

(ii) For the task of development of Sindhi language in future, it is very necessary to make it the language of the electronic media and develop it for presenting scientific and technical subjects. In this regard material on subjects of Engineering, Electronics, Computer, Chemistry, Linguistics, Medical Science, Geology, Zoology, Anthropology, Physics, Botany, Law and other disciplines should be regularly published and brought out in Sindhi. It is the duty of the teachers of colleges and universities of Sindh to impress upon their colleagues to write on technical and scientific subjects along with raising demands for increase in their salaries and remuneration.

(iii) Some time back (late) Dr. Mumtaz Ali Qazi, the eminent Professor of the Institute of Chemistry of Sindh University, had established "Sindh Science Society" which did quite valuable and laudable work. This institution used to issue monthly

“Science Magazine” as well as quite a few original and translated books on different science subjects. This institute had also published a dictionary based on technical and scientific words, which was compiled by Dr. Mumtaz Ali Qazi himself but now from quite some time this society has become inactive.

(iv) In 1991, The Sindh Government, in the light of the bill passed by the Sindh Assembly, had established “Sindhi Language Authority” for the purpose of teaching and promotion of Sindhi language and its use in the government and non government offices. One of the objectives of this Authority is also production of books on scientific and technical subjects. From the time of its establishment, this Authority has taken some important steps. A biannual journal Sindhi Boli is published by this institution. In its 2nd issue of 4th volume-April, May and June 1994, a call was published for Production and Promotion of scientific books in Sindhi and writers of scientific literature were invited for writing such books. This can be read in the same journal on page 43.

(v) From 1998 a separate section was established for this purpose and the Authority chalked out different short term and long term programmes to achieve these objectives in future, in which, the reference material for Encyclopaedia Sindhiana, scientific literature, children literature, dictionaries, workshops, symposia, seminars and literary classes, *kachehries* and annual Shah Latif national conference were included. In order to develop scientific literature, a Scientific Advisory Committee was formed, which has been advising the Institute Science section for fulfilling the demands of producing scientific literature and then helping them in getting it written and published.

(b) To make Sindhi a Language of Electronic media:

(i) Sindh University, Sindhi Adabi Board and Institute of Sindhology had been able to get the “Almustafa Sindhi Type Writer” developed for the composing of Sindhi language material. The Sindhology had arranged for training for type-writing and short hand skills by publishing such books-this was the first step towards the direction of electronic media, which was taken by the public sector institutions. Sindhi Adabi Board, with the help of Khambhata Company, got manufactured computer machines. Similarly, relaying radio and TV programmes in Sindhi was a step forward in the same direction. The exhibition of Sindhi films in the cinemas of Sindh and India was also a leap in the fields of show business and performing arts

(ii) But for the efforts and services in making technical advancement in the field of Sindhi computing, Mr. Badar Hibani and Mr. Majid Bhurgri have made themselves immortal and deserve a lot of applause and appreciation. Mr. Bhurgri prepared Sindhi fonts in the keyboard of Arabic system with the assistance of Macintosh Computer company. He brought out first ever Sindhi PC in the market and invited attention of Sindhi people towards the use of Sindhi language on computer. Although Sindhi Adabi Board had got manufactured machines for composing from Khambhata Company, but the system was different and expensive, so commercially the people of Sindh were attracted to the P.C of Macintosh Company.

(iii) After Majid Bhurgri and Badar Hisbani, several other young men worked on

Sindhi fonts. Syed Ayaz Shah prepared Sindhi keyboard and new fonts compatible to the IBM computers. Some of them tried to bring the Sindhi newspapers on electronic media and now all the Sindhi newspapers use computers and many are now using internet for online issues.

In the print technology, private publishing concerns like Sindhica Academy have carried out successful experiments and have trained several young men in this field who are fulfilling the demands of newspapers.

Apart from Majid Bhurgri, Badar Hisbani and Ayaz Shah there are many young people who, after computer related trainings, have prepared their own Sindhi fonts whose names have been given in the Sindhi Language Authority's annual report of 2001.

Despite all these efforts, any standard keyboard or standard code plate could not be prepared for Sindhi computing needs, therefore there was no ability of making softwares for any programme in Sindhi language.

(iv) Every conscious person knows that this is an age of electronic media. In the present age there are special people and private institutions, and some newspapers, who have played an important role for bringing Sindhi language on the electronic media. From among the public institutions, it is only Sindhi language Authority which has, not only initiated, but achieved success in this field. This Authority involved majority of those young persons, who had individually endeavoured on their own. Among them Majid Bhurgri, Syed Ayaz Shah, Syed Danyal Shah, Ayaz Jaffery, and Sarang Ram's names may be taken with thanks. The Authority with their help has approved "Latifi Publisher" as the standard font from among all the fonts being used for Sindhi.

(v) In order to work on the 'Sindhi System' and programmes for electronic media, the Authority's Computer Lab was developed and renamed as "Sindhi Informatics Section". This section started the work on the recommendation of the Advisory Committee after meeting with the federal institution NADRA. On the advice of NADRA they prepared Standard Sindhi Keyboard layout, Sindhi Code Plate according to the sequence of joining the Sindhi letters (Collation Order) and Frequency of letters – and then the whole package was sent to Islamabad for making the Sindhi software by the NADRA. It was also sent to the Chief Secretary of Sindh through the Secretary of Culture department, so that after approving the keyboard layout, Code Plate and Collation Order may be officially approved and a notification in this regard be issued. After the preparation of this package it has become easy to make any software for Sindhi language.

(vi) The Authority, with the cooperation of Mr. Majid bhurgri, was able to bring Sindhi on the Internet. After the success of Mr. Bhurgri, we are now able to communicate to anybody, anywhere through emails in Arabic-Sindhi script.

(vii) The Informatics section had chalked out the following programmes regarding the electronic media:

(a) On the basis of Unicode of Microsoft Company, transport of emails in Sindhi language without any hindrance was possible.

(b) To contact and assist different software companies for preparing computer

Windows.

(c) To provide all the facilities for Sindhi, which are available for English language keyboard, for example editor, dictionary, sorting order, language converter/or translator etc.

(d) Web designing in text-form in Sindhi.

(viii) For web designing in Sindhi, the Authority with the help of ICN and Government Technical College, Wahdat Colony, had organized a workshop. On the occasion of its inauguration the Vice Chancellor Mehran University, Dr. Abdul Rehman Memon had said the following with reference to the Sindhi Language:

“The marketability of Sindhi Language is decreasing and we should think about that. Sindhis living in India, Britain, America, Far East and other countries have abandoned Sindhi, and even the Sindhi people living in Sindh have lost interest in teaching Sindhi to their children.”

Some points were taken up by Mr. Shoukat Shoro in one of his columns some time back, which have been mentioned in the previous pages.

The things said by Dr. Memon and his apprehensions about the future of Sindhi language are a big challenge for all the universities and government and semi-government institutions of Sindh. Mr. Memon has tried to awaken us. He has said a timely thing that in this age, the marketability of Sindhi language depends on its development in the field of electronic media. Sindhi language Authority should make programmes with the cooperation of all the government and non government institutes, universities and individuals working in the field of I.T. for increasing the marketability of Sindhi language. Following steps should be taken in this direction:

(1) First of all Sindhi should be made a computer language, for this reason universities will have to chalk out programmes for the development of Sindhi language, along with teaching computer system and I.T. in the class rooms.

(2) After making Sindhi, a language of the internet, CDs of various programmes should be made for which institutions will have to work together. We do not have any dearth of experts in this field. Sindhi youth is talented but not a single institution has come forward to encourage them.

(3) Various programmes should be prepared for teaching Sindhi through internet. There are such countries of the world where the Sindhi speaking people want to learn Sindhi, not through the Arabic-Sindhi script but through Roman script. Arrangement should be made to teach them through standard Roman transliteration, but the emphasis should always be on Arabic-Sindhi script, because there is a big treasure of millions of books in Arabic-Sindhi script.

(4) All the facilities may be provided in Sindhi so that Sindhi Editor, Sindhi Dictionary, Language Converter/Translator and Language Sorter become available to the users. In such programmes cooperation from the government's Ministry of Information

and Technology and the I.T. Departments of the universities of Sindh is very necessary.

(5) It is a matter of pleasure that from the last two years many affluent people have entered the field of satellite channels and in this regard KTN, Sindh TV and Kashish TV are doing their best.

(6) Sindhi people living in Britain, Europe and USA, who have established institutions, should help in increasing the marketability of Sindhi language and introduce Sindhi Language, Culture and Indus-Valley Civilization through the electronic media on priority basis, instead of becoming the subordinate political wings of political agencies of India or Pakistan.

(7) Sindhi language Authority should continue the project of “Data Base of Sindh” because no other institution has taken any initiative in this regard.

(8) The Sindhi population of India should also come forward for securing the future of Sindhi language as the Sindhi community living in India is also worried about the future of Sindhi language. In this connection the Indian magazine “Sipoon” in its July-August 2000 issue has published Lakhmi Khalani’s opinion. He writes:

“With a glance on the Sindhi literature of the last 50 years, five great deeds automatically come to the mind. Before partition only one such outstanding great deed can be counted, that is Dr. Gurbaxani’s compilation of Shah’s poetry in three volumes and writing its scholarly preface “Muqadama-e-Latifi”. After partition five similar creative efforts can be found, such as, Prof. Mangharam Malkani’s “History of Sindhi Prose”, Prof. Kalyan Advani’s compilation of Shah jo Risalo, Dr. Prem Parkash’s “Hundred years of Growth of Sindhi Drama”, Hiro Thakur’s discovery of “New Poetry of Qazi Kadan” and Jhamoon Chhugani’s careful compilation of “Mahamati Prannathi’s Sindhi Wani”. These great deeds of the last five decades have become memorable Sindhi documents for generations of Sindhis, for which the Sindhi community will always remain indebted to them.” (8)

Mr. Khalani further writes:

“In the last year of the 20th century, today, the future of Sindhi language and literature looks obscure. It is disappearing from homes, Sindhi Schools are being closed one after the other, sale of Sindhi literature equals to ‘nil’, hundreds of Sindhi books are being distributed free of cost but there is no reader for them. Due to non availability of readers, many good writers have stopped writing, except only a few older individuals who get their books published from their pockets to satisfy their wish to write and then they distribute those to people, like charity. In this environment of despair, the words of Narain Shyam provide some solace:

رات پنيان پريات، اي دل ماندي ٿين مٿان

raat puṭhyan parbhaat, aye dil maandi thin matan

Dawn comes after night, do not despair, O my heart!

The heart gets some solace when we see that even if the sun is setting on the Sindhi language and literature, there are some '*diyas*' (lamps) trying to light the darkness with their flickering light. The representation of the new generation of writers today include, Shrikant Sadaf, Kheman Moolani, Mahesh Nainwani, Rishmi Ramani, Vimi Sadarnagani and Paroo Chawla, who are writing to strengthen the fading light of Sindhi literature.

When a new sun rises and the common Sindhi individual would want to preserve his Sindhi identity, when he would start loving his language, culture and literature and bring back his lost pride; such a time will come which will bring a renaissance, a sort of reawakening. This is what our poet believes in." (9)

Lakhani Khalani is optimistic for the future of Sindhi language in India and he writes:

"Introduction of computers in Sindhi publishing during the last 50 years, has brought about a revolution in that field. Before that, printing of books and magazines on Treadle machine was becoming difficult day by day, because young compositors were not available. It seemed that with the end of Gotam Shikarpuri, Sindhi publishing would also cease to exist, but today when we see hundreds of young Sindhi girls learning Sindhi for composing Sindhi books and magazines on computers, the future of Sindhi script has brightened up. Is it not a miracle for our Sindhi literature? (10)

(c) Be careful about corruption of language in future:

(i) There is a big danger that the language might get spoiled and corrupt in future, for which mostly the newspapers, radio, television and some publishers may be held responsible, who are unaware of the correct spelling and grammar of the language. Sindhi language has acquired a lot from the languages of invaders and conquerors of the land in the ancient times, and in the same way it has also lent quite a lot of words to them. That is the reason why there are thousands of words from Prakrit languages, Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Greek, Portuguese, Turkish and English found in its vocabulary. From amongst these words there are several such words which have been absorbed in this language in such a way that nobody can identify them as foreign words. Similarly, thousands of words of Sindhi may be found in the language of the many neighbouring former states like Marwar, Mervar, Adhipur, Jaisalmer, Bikanir, Jodhapur, Gujrat, Kachh, Kathiawar, Qalat, Bahawalpur, Balochistan and Las Bella, and also in the languages of the states of Gulf and Iran. In the languages of these states, they have been absorbed or mixed in such a way that nobody can even suspect that they do not belong to these languages.

There is no harm if languages borrow words from each other, and it is the quality of a civilized language because the developed and rich languages have always been borrowing words, and such a process is not considered corruption but increase in their lexicon.

The process of corrupting a language is the one where the speakers of a language

and its writers and poets either start pronouncing their own phonetic sounds in wrong manner, or they try to alter the phonetic system, or mishandle the vocabulary or syntactical structure of the language and misuse the phonetic and phonemic rules according to their own wish and will, without any knowledge of these linguistic rules. They might commit mistakes in the formation of singular and plural forms or due to lack of knowledge of rules of syntax, they might make mistakes in changing subject or object in declensions of cases like Oblique or Transformational. They may also not know that from the adjective *achho* (اچو), the abstract noun is formed by adding *an* (ان) suffix, similar is the case with adjective *karo* (ڪارو) which adds same suffix and *kārān* (ڪاراڻ) is formed, and other abstract nouns like *karāṭh* or *karāṭh* (ڪاراڻ-ڪارڻ) are made but from *pīlo* (پيلو) we can not form an abstract noun as *pīlaṭh* (پيلاڻ). We can give several such examples of Sindhi grammar in this connection.

(ii) About the issue of corruption of language internationally, well known scholar Allama I.I. Qazi had complained in one of his articles that the newspapers are spoiling Sindhi language by imitating Urdu:

“These days the newspapers write:

(آءُ ڪنديارو مان پيو اچان) *āūn Kandiyāro mān pio achān*.

(آءُ مورو مان پيو اچان) *āūn Moro mān pio achān*

The names of the cities are *Kandiario* and *Moro* but in these sentences (the oblique case) *Kandiare* and *Moray* should be used.”

Allama Sahib further wrote:

“Sindhi is basically a lyrical language, it has its own grammar and nature, we should respect that, otherwise the face of the language will be distorted.

Writing *Juneja* (جوڻيج) instead of *Juneje* (جوڻيجي), *Bhutta* (پٽ) instead of *Bhutte* (پٽي) and *zaria* (فريع) instead of *zariye* (فريعي) is wrong. (12)

(iii) According to the grammatical rule and structure, every country is supposed to use a Standard dialect in academic books, government offices, decisions of courts, publishing and communication institutions such as newspapers, radio and television- and the same (rule) applies to the Sindhi language, but nobody is giving any attention to this rule and law in Sindh. Here newspapers, radio stations and television writers, news readers, anchors and participants as well as ladies and gentlemen writing academic books use their respective dialects spoken in their regions, which results in corruption rather than improvement in the language, for example on radio and television some people pronounce *ḡhabroon* (خبرون) as *khabroon* (ڪبرون), *ḡhat* (خط) as *khat* (ڪت), *ḡhulam* (غلام) as *gulam* (گلام) and *ḡhaur* (غور) as *gor* (گور). Many other such examples may be cited here which are the reason of corrupting the language on the electronic media. Therefore despite attempts to get attention of the proprietors, editors of newspapers and producers and directors of radio and T.V. no one has responded by writing or speaking the Standard Sindhi; in Sindhi newspapers, magazines or radio and T.V.

The workers and desk writers of the newspapers use the dialect prevalent in their

own region and have not bothered to use the Standard dialect. All such workers have written news, columns, letters, editorials and articles in their dialects and sub-dialects, therefore the trend of using Standard Sindhi from all sources of communication has almost been abandoned.

(iv) Regarding corrupting of Sindhi language the elderly scholar of Sindhi literary world and a journalist Mr. Ali Ahmed Brohi has written in one of his articles:

“Due to shortage of time and rush, our young journalists’ only consideration is to fill the space with news so they depend on quick translations from urdu, least caring about the pure Sindhi words. Due to the lack of knowledge of simple Sindhi words they use difficult urdu words, that is the reason why you find words like: *mutāsārīn*, *mahsūrīn*, *muntashir*, *mazāhmat*, *tasalut*, *masbat*, *muatil*, *mudākhilat* (متاثرين، محصورين، منتشر، مزاحمت، تسلط، مثبت، معطل، مداخلت) in Sindhi newspapers striking our minds mercilessly.

These individuals have also started to coin their own artificial words and terms, which are not found in any dictionary or in oral use. In this regard recently we have come across a word *saṭyal* (ستيل) in the newspapers. It can be used in *barsaat saṭyal* (برسات ستيل) or *hod saṭyal* (هڊو ستيل) (rain afflicted or flood afflicted). This is a very heavy word which could only be invented in Martial law days when poor people’s back were “afflicted” with lashes to tear their skins. The simple common word is “*satāyal*” (ستاييل) (affected) which is being used from centuries.” (14)

Mr. Brohi further writes:

“In the present corrupting of words, the wrong use of gender is most common and is on the top, particularly, when some foreign words are used in a sentences, for example see the word ‘operation’ which is an English word, the meaning being medical “surgery” or some “action”. It is used as feminine word in Sindhi but nowadays it is used as a masculine word such as *apreshen theendo* or *kayo weendo* (آپريشن ٿيندو يا ڪيو ويندو). Operation is always used in this way “آپريشن ٿيندي آهي يا ڪئي ويندي آهي” (*operation theendi ahe* or *kaee weendi ahe*). In the similar way all those English words which have “tion” at the end are used as feminine words such as translation, dictation, cooperation or separation etc. These rules were already fixed by our good teachers.” (15)

(v) Regarding this corrupting of language, one of our young engineer Ahsan Ahmed Ursani has expressed his views in a critical article published in the magazine “Chining’s” issue of June 2000. In his opinion Sindhi language faces a big challenge from this corruption, for which newspapers, radio and T.V. are more responsible. On page 12 of the same magazine engineer Ahsan Ahmed Ursani writes,

“I am giving a few examples of this corruption, on which, intellectuals

of Sindh have shown concern, who in the view of Mr. Bughio are not wise:

(a) Due to the influence of Urdu some feminine words are written or spoken as masculine (16)

- آواز اچي ٿي (*āwāz ache thī*)
- منهنجو دل نٿو چوي (*muhiṇjo dil natho chawe*)
- اچ موسر سُنو آهي (*aj mosam suṭho āhe*)
- هيءَ ڪتاب پنهنجي آهي (*hīa kitāb pahinjī āhe*)
- مون کي اطلاع نہ ملي (*mukhe itilā na milī*)

(b) Due to the influence of Urdu, wrong use of postposition while writing or speaking for example:

- ’مان‘ بدران ’ير‘ (*sān instead of khān*), ’کان‘ بدران ’سان‘ (*men instead of mān*) and ’تان‘ بدران ’سان‘ (*sān instead of tān and sān*)
- آءِ بن ڏينهن سان بيمار آهيان (*āūn bin ḍīnhan sāl bīmār āhyān*)
- مون هن سان تنهنجو پڇيو (*mūn huna sāl tuhiṇjo puchhyo*)
- مون کي هن سان نفرت آهي (*mūn khe huna sāl nafrat āhe*)
- ستن یر پنج حصا خراب نڪتا (*satan men paṇja hiā kharāb niktā*)
- ان کان اهو ٿو ظاهر ٿئي ته (*ina khān iho tho zahir thye ta*)

(c) Under the influence of Urdu ordinal numbers are written and spoken as cardinal numbers:

- ٻه رپئي یر ورتو (*ba rupae men wartum*)
- ٻه ڏينهن تائين ڪم هليو (*ba ḍīnhan tāīn kam halyo*)

(d) Writing and speaking aspirated sounds as un-aspirated and vice versa, for example:

- سينگار کي سينگار (*sīngār as singhār*)
- سرنڱ کي سرنڱه (*suringa as surngha*)
- ميندي کي ميندي (*mendī as mendhī*)

(e) Pronouncing and writing some words with ‘r’ as ‘l’, for example:

- ڪرائيءَ کي ڪلائي (*karāī as kalāī*)
- مير کي ميل (*mair as mail*)
- ٽارڻ کي ٽالڻ (*taraṇ as talan*)

(f) using long vowel instead of short vowel in some words:

- ’خرچ‘ کي ’خرچو‘ (*kharch’ as ‘kharcho’*)
- ’سون جو‘ کي ’سوني جو‘ (*sona jo’ as ‘sone jo’*)

So due to the influence of Urdu a lot of corruption is taking place. Such words and sentences will highly corrupt the vocabulary and grammar in future.” (17)

(vi) I have discussed this ‘corruption of Sindhi language’ due to the influence of Urdu, in separate articles for example in the Preface of Ganga Ram Samrat’s book “Asan

Khe Matan Wisario” (Do no forget us) a dictionary of obsolete words, I had pleaded that (18)
 “Under the influence of Urdu our children speak certain sentences in this way:

Corrupt Form	Standard Dialect
<i>ajmausam suṭho āhe</i> (اڄ موسر سنو آهي)	<i>ajmausam suṭhī āhe</i> (اڄ موسر سني آهي)
<i>mūn khe kitābūn khapan</i> (مون کي ڪتابون ڪپن)	<i>mūn khe kitāba khapan</i> (مون کي ڪتاب ڪپن)
<i>mūn khān gad hal</i> (مون کان گڏ هل)	<i>mūn sān gad hal</i> (مون سان گڏ هل)
<i>tawhān khān kam atham</i> (توهان کان ڪم اٿر)	<i>tawhān sān kam atham</i> (توهان سان ڪم اٿر)
<i>munhinjo dil khush kayaīn</i> (منهنجو دل خوش ڪيائين)	<i>munhinjī dil khush kayaīn</i> (منهنجي دل خوش ڪيائين)
<i>ḍaḍhi suṭhī nazm parhyaāīn</i> (ڏاڍي سني نظر پڙهيائين)	<i>ḍaḍho suṭhī nazm parhyaāīn</i> (ڏاڍو سنو نظر پڙهيائين)
<i>tawhān sān kitab wartam</i> (توهان سان ڪتابون ورتن)	<i>tawhān khān kitab wartam</i> (توهان کان ڪتاب ورتن)
<i>mūn ghazal parhī</i> (مون غزل پڙهي)	<i>mūn ghazal parhyo</i> (مون غزل پڙهيو)

(viii) In the inner page of daily Ibrat of 12th December 1999, a column of a popular Urdu columnist, Ms. Zahida Hina was published with the title “Koor ain Sach ji Jang” (The Battle of Truth and Lie). The translation of the above mentioned Urdu column was an example of ridicule and mocking at the nature and grammar of Sindhi language where in the formation of sentences, ignorance of feminine and masculine gender was so evident.

The translator of the said column seemed apprentice and inexperienced. In the Urdu grammar Present Tense and Present Habitual Tense have similar structure, whereas in the grammar of Sindhi language the position of words is different in both types of tenses, for example:

wāndo ahe (ويندو آهي) and *wanje tho* (ويجي ٿو)

The first is the example of Present Habitual Tense whereas the other is simple Present Tense according to the declension of the verb.

Ms. Zahida Hina has used only one tense which is Present Habitual but the translator has switched over from one to the other tense, making this translation a strange thing.

Moreover the translator has not taken care of the proper use of the Feminine and Masculine genders as well as Singular and Plural numbers. The translator has used the grammatical rules of Urdu language which have hurt the feelings of the lovers of Sindhi language.

The translator has not differentiated in the use of pronouns ‘huna’ (هُن) and una (اُن), resulting in the strange and alien shape of language. Some examples are being quoted here:

1. اهو ئي محمد باقر آهي، جنهن اتر هند ۾ اردو جو پهريون اخبار، ’دهلي اردو اخبار‘ جي نالي سان پڌرو ڪيو هو.

uho ee Muhammad Baqir ahe, jenh utar hind men urdu jo pehryon akhbar, ‘dehli akhbar’ je nale saan padhro kayo ho.

- (In Sindhi *akhbar* (newspaper) is feminine, here it is masculine with masculine verb)
2. هن جي آب حيات، 'سُخندان فارس' ۽ 'دربار اکبري' آهي ڪتابون آهن، جن جو ڪو به ثاني ناهي.
- hina ji 'abe hayat', 'sukhandane faris' ayen 'darbare akbari' uhe kitaboon ahin, jin jo ko bi sani nahe.*
- (In Sindhi *kitāb* (book) is masculine but here it is feminine plural)
3. هن جي مضمونن جو مجموعو 'نيرنگ خيال' خواب ۽ خيال جون ڪهڙيون بهارون ڏيکاري ٿو.
- hina je mazmoonan jo majmuo 'nerang khaya' khwab ayen khayal joon kahryoon baharoon dekhare tho.*
- (In Sindhi *bahār* (spring) is masculine but here it is feminine plural)
4. ان کي پڙهي ائين محسوس ٿئي ٿو، جيئن هن ڪنهن تائيم مشين ۾ ويهي، اسان جي زماني جو سفر ڪيو هو ۽ مستقبل ۾ جيڪو ڪجهه ڏسي ويو هو، ان کي بغير ڪٽ ڪٽ جي لکي ويو هو.
- una khe parhi iyen mahsoos thiye tho, jiyen huna kenh time machine men vehi, asan je zamane jo safar kayo ho aen mustaqbil men jeko kujh disi wayo ho, una khe baghair kata kuta je likhi wayo ho.*
- (kata kuta is not a Sindhi term)
5. آهي هن جا حامي ٿي، ٻين جا اخلاق خراب ڪراين ٿا.
- uhe hina ja hami thee, biyan ja ikhlaaqa kharab karayin tha.*
- (karayan is wrong)
6. حضرت انسان کي حقيقت ۽ واقفيت کان ڪجهه به غرض ناهي.
- hazrat insane khe haqiqat ayen waqfiyat khan kujh bi gharz nahe.*
- (Using *khan* instead of *saan*)
7. جنهن شيءِ کي دل نٿو چاهي، ان کي ڄاڻڻ به نٿا چاهين. جيڪا ڳالهه پسند نٿي اچي، ان جو ڪو به نٿا ٻڌن.
- jenh shai khe dil natho chahe, una khe janan bi natha chahin. jeka galh pasand nathi ache, una jo ko bi natha budhan.*
- (In Sindhi *dil* (heart) is feminine, here it is masculine)
8. کيس حڪم ڏئي ٿو ته وڃ ۽ آدم جي اولاد ۾ سچ کي ڦهلجي.
- khes hokum diye tho ta vanj aen adama ji aulad men sach khe phaihlai*
- (In Sindhi *aulad* (child/offspring) is masculine, here it is feminine)
9. سچ جو ڦهلجڻ جيئن ته ڪوڙ جي موت هئي.
- sach jo phaihaljan jiyen ta ko koorā ji maut hui.*
- (In Sindhi *maut* death is masculine, here it is feminine)
10. مطلب ته پنهنجي ۾ زور جي جنگ ٿي ۽ جڏهن ڪوڙ جي ديو کي اها معلوم ٿيو.
- matlab ta binhi men zora ji jang thi ayen jadenh koorā je deva khe uha maloom thiyo.*
11. جيڪڏهن سچ جي ضرورت ناهي ته اسان کي ڇا پيو آهي ته اسان زبردستي انهن ۾ سچ کي ڦهلايون.

jekadenh sach ji zarurat nahe ta asan khe chha payo ahe ta asan zabardasti unhan men sachha khe phaihlayoon.

(The construction of sentence deviates from Sindhi to Urdu)

These and several such other examples, are due to the influence of Urdu and Seraiki languages on the phonetics, morphology and syntax which have been interfering in the nature and grammar of Sindhi language. The experts and teachers of Sindhi language should keep an eye on such corruption, and if we fail to do so, then in the next 20-25 years the structure of the grammar of Sindhi language will totally change.

4- Attempts to development and promotion of Children Literature:

For the development of Children Literature in Sindhi, although attempts have been made by certain government and private institutions and at places they are still going on in the private section, but the patronage of literature for children has been abandoned by the government institutions due to their financial problems.

However, Sindhi Language Authority, from its establishment in 1991, has been endeavouring a lot. In order to make these endeavours regular, a section for Children Literature was established in 1999, and with the help of an Advisory Committee creating and translating literature needed for children and its publication was planned. According to this project for science fiction, informative material, recreational and instructive material and initial learning material was to be prepared and published. If the Authority will continue to prepare such literature, then one can hope that the standard informative literature thus published will cater to the needs of children.

5- The official status of Sindhi language and its use in the offices:

Records bear witness that the British rulers, immediately after conquering Sindh in 1843, accepted and issued directives to the government offices and courts to use Sindhi. Similarly, till 1954, when all the provinces and states were bound in One Unit, Sindhi was used as the Official language of correspondence in government, semi-government, local bodies' offices and courts and at the same time it was the medium of education from primary schools to the universities.

The British had also issued a directive/notification that those officials who came from outside Sindh should pass an examination of Sindhi language. This notification was in force from the British period till the year (1954) of promulgating law for One Unit, when the practice was stopped. Again in 1993 at the time of foundation laying ceremony of Sindhi Language Authority, the then Chief Minister of Sindh announced, and later on through a directive issued from the Chief Minister house ordered, that hence forth "in all the government and semi-government offices Sindhi should be used as the provincial language in official correspondence, according to the Constitution of "Islamic Republic of Pakistan", but until now, the Chief Secretary or the Board of Revenue have not issued any notification in this regard. However, in the offices of Local Bodies department, trend

of corresponding in Sindhi has continued, whereas no other government office or court has started to write in Sindhi or keep their records in Sindhi. Strangely the Municipal Corporations, especially those of Karachi, Hyderabad and Sukker have refused to accept applications in Sindhi language. It is pertinent to say that the Sindh government should issue fresh orders to the government, semi government offices, local bodies and courts to have their correspondence in Sindhi and also keep their record and conduct the meetings in Sindhi so that Sindhi language can get its due right provided by the Constitution.

These and such other requests will be helpful for the survival and preservation of Sindhi language in future but we should remember that the Sindhi language and Sindhi nation are immortal, they have survived attacks and invasions from alin foreign nations from the times of Indus Valley civilization, and they will continue to live for ever, for which a Sindhi scholar has written in the Rigveda, praising the country and the mighty river Sindhu in these words:

Unstoppable, unreturnable Sindhu (Indus)	اَجَہل، اَنَموت سنڌو، <i>ajhal, anmot, sindhu</i>
Powerful strong Sindhu	پَل واري سگھاري سنڌو، <i>bala vari saghari sindhu</i>
From countries and fields	ڏيهن ۽ ميدانن مان، <i>dehan aen maidanan man</i>
Comes with a lot of water	آپار پاڻي، جا ٿهلاءَ کڻي <i>apar pani-a ja phehla-a khaṇi</i>
And flows with rage and might	جڙڪندي، ڪوڪاٽ ڪندي، وهندي رهي ٿي، <i>jarkandi, kaṛkaṭi kandi, wahandi rahe thi</i>
Like a beautiful white horse	جهڙي ابلق گهوڙي، سونهاري ۽ سويپاوان، <i>jehri ablaq ghore, soonhari aen saubhyawan</i>
Sindh is rich in horses	سنڌو پلن گهوڙن ۾ شاهوڪار آهي، <i>sindhu bhalan ghoran men shahogar ahe</i>
And also in beautiful dresses	۽ آهي شاهوڪار، ويسن وڳن ۾، <i>aen ahe shahokar, waisan wagan men,</i>
Rich in gold found	سهڻي گهوڙيل سون ۾ شاهوڪار، <i>suhni gharyal sona men shahokar</i>
Owncountable wealth	اُن مٿي مايا جي مالڪ، <i>an mayi maya ji malik,</i>
Grass is pleasing to eyes and delicious	هتان جا گاهه نيڻ ٿار ۽ لذت وارا، <i>hitan ja gaaha nain thaar aen lazat wara</i>
Its wool is enviable	اُن اهڙي جو ويٺو ڏس، <i>una ahri jo waiṭho dis,</i>
And the sweet beverages can not be described	شربت جو ميناڄ نه پڇ، <i>sharbata jo meeṭhajna puchh.</i>

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Culture is the creation of human society; its study is based on analysis of anthropological experiences and a summary of all social sciences. But in contrast to this, language is connected with the existence of mankind. On these grounds, one can say that language is an inseparable element of human existence and this will continue in future as well.

Language has always promoted culture and society, and a study of these two in fact is a study of the language of a country. One must study the origin and progress of Sindhi language on these parameters as it is a great collection of social themes, a treasure of folk wisdom; literature, lexicon and thoughtful expressions. This language has not been invented by some scholars but has taken origin with the people of this sacred land and it has very deep roots in the Sindhi society.

- Dr. Allana



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