

# Papers on Sindhi Language & Linguistics

Compiled & Written by:

Prof. Dr. G. A. Allana



Saeed mangi



**INSTITUTE OF SINDHIOLOGY**  
UNIVERSITY OF SINDH, JAMSHORO.

# *Papers on Sindhi Language & Linguistics*

**Compiled & Written  
by**

**Prof: Dr. G. A. Allana**

**Edited by**

**Prof. Dr. Allah Rakhio Butt**



**Institute of Sindhology**  
**University Of Sindh, Jamshoro**  
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## FOREWORD

The present book "papers on Sindhi language and linguistics" is the collection of 50 research articles contributed by the scholars of high repute both contemporary and earlier. Dr. G.A. Allana has made laudable efforts in collecting, collating and putting together invaluable material covering historical/archival as well as current information for the use of research scholars.

In this way one finds a vast sea of knowledge on language, literature, history, culture, education, linguistics, grammar, lexicography and even alphabet between two covers in this treatise. The research scholars working on many aspects of Sindh now would not bother to scan through a number of sources for the material.

It is no less service to bring at one place Aitken, Burton, Grierson, Lambrick, Parker, Sorley, Stack, Trumpp, Turner, Baloch, Thadhani and many other luminaries including Allana himself in one volume. This collection encompasses both 19th and 20th centuries, by the contributors who are literary and social historians, having made a special mark as the celebrated writers of the Victorian era as well as modern times.

As the book is based on authoritative sources of two centuries, three general impressions emerge from its reading as a whole;

- (a) The extensive collection of archival material, obviously a subject of vital importance.
- (b) A selection of a wide range of valuable writings of the most outstanding contemporary writers both native and orientalists.
- (c) A handy aid to scholars interested in finding out material on Sindh: its language, literature and culture.

I congratulate the Institute of Sindhology for its timely efforts in publishing this book. I know there are many others of this type in pipe line and I would call upon the Director Incharge, Institute of Sindhology to bring them in the market as early as possible.

**DR. NAZIR A. MUGHAL**  
*Vice-Chancellor/Director*  
INSTITUTE OF SINDHOLOGY

## **PREFACE**

Sindhi is a living and thriving language. It is not only very old language but it is also very rich in literature. Its writers have contributed extensively in every field and form of literature. It has, therefore, never lagged behind any developed language of the sub-continent in the field of literature.

Sindhi, being one of the oldest and the richest languages, has influenced all other languages of the adjoining regions of the sub-continent, and in return, it has also been influenced not only by the languages of the sub-continent, but also by many foreign languages like Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Portuguese and English. It has been enriched by all these languages in the course of its contacts with the people speaking these languages, and thus it has developed its vocabulary which can meet all the requirement of modern times.

The literary richness of Sindhi languages, its variety and depth has met the needs and demands of modern living advancement. It possesses tremendous research and scientific lore. There are abundant possibilities for its more maturity and use. Sindhi books are not only for the literate and for the people of cities and towns, but Sindhi literature of every variety reaches plenty of hands and is read in the remote corners of Sindh.

Every scholar or man of letters is aware about the name of Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit and his verses. He was, as a matter of fact, a real inspirer. He had inspired the poets, the scholars and the intellectuals, not only during his days, but he has equally inspired the scholars, the intellectual and the men of letters of all the times after him. Shah has been a source of guidance for all his readers and disciples and they all found in him equal light, inspiration and stay.

Shah Latif gave a new life to the Sindhi language and literature. It has attracted many research scholars from the country and abroad. A research scholar finds enough material for himself to undertake research on any aspect of Sind's history, culture, literature, and language etc. There is not only steadiness and growing depth of thought in research in Sindhi language but also advancing and realistic renderings. "The field of Sindhi literature is more vast than that of many other Indo-Pakistani languages", says Dr. Schimmel.

After the first World War came different political and social activities and movements which affected Sindh and its social life. As a result Sindhi prose and poetry, written under these influences truly reflect national and international trends on social and political fronts. The said activities initiated and inspired many literary societies, that a vast number of literary magazines and newspapers were brought out under these influences. The standard of writing, including composition and style improved tremendously. During this period scholars, poets, intellectuals, thinkers and men of letters contributed enormously towards many aspects of Sindh's history, culture and literature.

The New education system and teaching of English language brought many changes not only in social life in Sindh, but it also affected the Sindhi language and literature. This resulted in new ideas, forms and style of literature. This can be judged from one single instance of Mirza Qaleech Beg who alone wrote more than 300 books, almost in all the fields and forms of Sindhi literature. Similarly many other writers contributed in every form of Sindhi literature and thus thousands of books were turned out in all the forms of Sindhi literature.

The research in Sindhi language was introduced much before the British conquest of Sindh. But the research, according to modern methodology and techniques, was introduced first, after the second World War, by the scholars namely Dr. Gurbuxani and Dr. U. M. Daudpota who undertook their research in U. K. leading to Ph.D. degrees.

They collated and compiled the Shah-Jo-Risalo and Shah Karima-Jo-Kalam respectively. Their research works

inspired many other writers and researchers. In consequence there emerged a new approach to literature, literary criticism and new style of writings, which extensively inspired new writers and researchers.

Shortly after Mirza Qaleech Beg, other writers emerged on the scene for the promotion of Sindhi language and literature through a wide variety of news papers and magazines.

This process continued with full vigour and zeal that at present we witness many writers who have enriched the Sindhi literature in every field. They have taken care of all the literary forms such as novel, drama, short stories, poetry and have also contributed towards research activities in every aspect of Sindhi literature. The scientific approach towards conducting research in Sindhi language has resulted establishment of research organizations such as the Sindhi Adabi Board, the Institute of Sindiology, the Sindhi Language Authority and Culture Department. They are practically involved conducting research almost in every field, particularly in history, geography, anthropology, language, literature and so on. Publication of bi-annual "Sindhi Adab", quarterly "Mehran" and monthly "Nain Zindagi", "Suhni" and "Ruha Rehan" particularly, have made solid contributions and have played significant role for the development of Sindhi literature in general and for the modern research in particular.

The contributions of Universities of Sindh, Karachi, Shah Latif University at Khairpur are second to none who have also contributed much towards the development and encouragement of modern research techniques and methodology in Sindhi literature by registering research students and providing facilities to them for undertaking their research projects leading to M. A., M. / Phil and Ph. D. degrees in Sindhi literature, language and in other disciplines.

The papers on Sindhi Language and Linguistics, written in every field of Sindhi language and linguistics and included in this work clearly reveal that a good amount of work was done by the scholars who came from various parts of Europe and Asia much before the partition of India.

I have a feeling that the narrations of Chinese, Iranian, Greeks and Arab scholars and travellers, should, also, have been

included in this work. The material left by the scholars like Jahiz, al Maqdisi, Al-beruni and others need to be collected and compiled separately in a book form.

It is also very important to collect and compile the research papers, published in Sindhi, Urdu and other languages of Indo-Pakistan. The Sindhi Adabi Board had asked me to collect the papers, published in the quarterly Mehran and compile them in a book form but the decision of the Board was not honoured after the change of the Chairman (Makhdoom Muhammad Zaman Talibul Maula) and the Board of Governors. The time is opportune now that the Sindhi Language Authority, Government of Sindh, Shah Abdul Latif Cultural Society, collect from all the magazines and Journals the articles on Sindhi language and publish them in a book form.

However, whatever efforts have been put in collecting the papers written in English language from various sources, and then compiled in the form of the present work and presented to the students and scholars of Sindhi language and linguistics, is labour of love for Sindhi language.

This book contains 47 papers contributed by the Orientalists and natives. The first paper of this collection was published in the year 1834 A.D. They are aimed at providing source material of high repute to those who are interested to undertake research projects in the field of Sindhi language & linguistics. Although I started collecting these papers when I was a student at the Department of General Linguistics and Phonetics (1961-1963 A.D) in the SOAS, University of London. Most of the articles, were collected after I returned to Sindh University (July 1963), and was appointed as Assistant Director, Institute of Sindhology. This material was preserved in the research library of the Institute under the title "The rare material for reference only". The Advisory Board of the Institute of Sindhology had decided to get the said material published under separate headings/titles. I remained associated with Sindhology until 1983 and was then appointed as Vice-Chancellor, Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad. Even then I continued collecting the articles on Sindhi language and in

this way a considerable number of more valuable articles were added to the collection.

I honestly believe that I am not alone to be credited for this work. There are a number of persons to be credited for such a work. I am highly grateful to Mr. Ghulam Muhammad Bhatti who was Office Assistant in the Institute of Sindhology at that time. Mr. Bhatti, being a very good and efficient typist, was assigned to do the typing work of the articles, selected from various journals & magazines. There was neither any electric typewriter in the Institute of Sindhology library nor Sindhology had any photostat machine at that time. Mr. Bhatti did all the typing work.

I also express my gratefulness to Dr. Allah Rakhio Butt, the then Additional Director, Institute of Sindhology, who undertook the job of editing the manuscript. Dr. Butt accomplished his job very efficiently. I am also grateful to Mr. Wali Ram Valab, Deputy Director, Institute of Sindhology, who was in charge of Publication Cell (Making MSS Press worthy section), got the press copy of the book prepared. Mr. Wali Ram Valab was actually the backbone of this cell & responsible for press worthy copy.

I am highly grateful to M/s Ansar Ali Umarani, publication Assistant and Allah Bachayo Bhutto, Manager Sindh University Press for their keen interest in making all the arrangements in connection with composing and printing of this book.

I would be incurious and impolite if I do not express my gratitude to Mr. Shaikh Tarique Ashraf who accomplished composition of the book in the Computer Section of Sindh University Press. He is actually the key person for composing, printing and get up of this book.

Finally I am highly grateful to Dr. Nazir Ahmed Mughal, Vice- Chancellor, Sindh University / Director Institute of Sindhology, Professor Nizamuddin Halepota, and Mr. Hussain Shaikh Liason Officer of the Institute of Sindhology, for their kindness and generosity for according their approval for publication of the work which was handed over to press in 1995 when I was the Director of the Institute of Sindhology. I know without their co-operation and support this work would have never been published.

I will be failing in my duty if I do not express a word of appreciation and tribute to the authors of the material included in this book. I am highly grateful to all of them.

This is the labour of love for Sindhi language . I hope the students and Scholars of Sindhi language and linguistics in particular, and those of general linguistics and phonetics in general will benefit themselves from all the papers and articles collected from different sources and compiled in this work.

Hyderabad  
June 13, 1997.

Dr. G. A. Allana



# **IMPORTANCE OF LANGUAGE TOWARDS DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURE AND LITERATURE**

**Dr. G. A. Allana**

Pakistan is divided, politically into four major provinces, Punjab, Sindh, N.W.F.P & Balochistan, but physically, Pakistan can be divided into three regions: (i) The Northern Region, (ii) The Central Region (Indus Valley) and (iii) The Eastern Desert Strip. The natural phenomenon, therefore, has affected the daily life of different regions of Pakistan, and the daily life has influenced the culture of people, their way of living, their customs and traditions, their dwellings and huts, and their business and occupation. All these aspects of daily life throw the light on socio-cultural and socio-economic conditions of the people of Pakistan.

Pakistan has been the abode of people belonging to different social and ethnic groups, each group can be termed in sociological term as nationality. They speak different languages, follow different customs and traditions, and have their own culture. The cultural blendings of all these areas and regions have throughout the period of their records.

Pakistan is a federation, comprising of all the above mentioned provinces. Each of these provinces, their regions and sub-regions possess the peculiarities of their own culture, and the culture of every province and its region is the result of its geographical position, social, economic and political setup.

Fortified by the impassable mountains in the north, it lies open in the West and North-West, with Khyber and Bolan as its main gate ways. The fertility of its soil, is perhaps the reason why forces from outside made endless incursions into its boundaries. The mountain passes welcomed the invaders-ethnic, military and just plunderers. Each one has, thus altered the pattern of entire existing culture.

Sindh, a province of Pakistan, is essentially the Indus Delta Country, had derived its name from its life-stream, the

river, known to the people by the name of "Sindhu" from time immemorial. In view of Mr. Pithawala, one of the greatest geographers of Pakistan:

" Of the provinces of Pakistan, Sindh is the best and oldest from the point of view of cultural progress".

The Indus Valley Civilization represented by, in the finding at Mehrgarh, Amri, Kot Diji, Mohen-jo-Daro and Harapa is a treasure not only for the archeologists but even for the scholars who are interested in History, Culture, Linguistics and Anthropology. The life and culture once flourished in its scores of these ancient towns.

Following the civilization of Mohen-jo-Daro (2300 BC - 1750 BC), there is a proof of Aryan settlement in this valley. The early history of Sindh points out the contacts of Sindh with Iran at the time of Darius-1 (519 BC - 486 BC) when Sindh was annexed to Persian (Achaemenian) Empire. Thus during these days, the Iranian culture left its influence on Sindh.

Nearly two centuries later, i.e in 326 BC. Alexander, the Great, invaded Indian soil and captured the territory of Sindh also. Entering from the North, he passed through the territories of Aror, invaded the fertile region, touched the ancient settlement on the site of Sehwan on the Indus, and passed through the delataic town of Patala, and proceeded South-ward to the coastal haven of Barbarikan, from where he left for Babylon by land route leading through Gedrosia.

After Alexander's death, Sindh came under the dominion of Chandraghupta Maurya (325 BC), and he then was succeeded by Ashoka. During his reign, Sindh was influenced by Budhism. Even today, the relics of the influence of Budhism are found in Sindh. Then came Indo-Greeks and Parthians (3rd-2nd Century BC) and the Scythians and Kushans (100'BC-300 AD). The Scythians made Sindh as their permanent abode, and even now a large number of people of Scythian origin live in Sindh, though now they are converted to Islam. Excavation at Bhambore have brought to light the Scythian material confirming their hold on the coast line of Sindh.

Then came Kushans. Under Kushan Emperor, Kanishka (78 AD to 100 AD), the influence of Budhism increased in Sindh.

The most prominent successor of Kanishka were Huvishka and Vasudeva. The latter ruled as late as ninety eight years after Kanishka's accession.

From the 3rd to 7th century AD. Sindh remained under the political supremacy of Sassanid Persia. The founder of the Sassanian Dynasty of Persia was Ardashir Babagan, who ruled from 226 AD to 241 AD. There is some evidence that the Abhiras living to the East of the lower valley of the Indus during this period, acknowledged the sway of the Sassanians. When Shapur II besieged Amida on Tigris in 360 AD, he had the aid of Indian-elephants and of Kushan troops. According to Persian traditions, Sindh was actually ceded by its Indian overlord to Bahram V, better known as Bahram Gur, who ruled Persia from 420 AD to 440 AD.

Sindh came to be ruled by the Rai Dynasty in 550 AD when Naushirwan was ruling upto right bank of the Indus. The rulers of Rai-Dynasty drove Iranians from the territory of Sindh and expanded their dominion upto Kerman, the city of Eastern Iran. The rulers of Rai-Dynasty were the followers of Buddhism. They ruled over Sindh for 94 years; i.e. from 550 AD upto 644 AD.

Chach Brahman captured the throne of Sindh after the death of Rai Sahasi II, in 644 AD, and thus Sindh fell under the Brahman rule, which came to an end by the Arab conquest in 712 AD, and the foundation stone of Muslim rule and Muslim culture was laid in the Sub-Continent for the first time.

From the perusal of long history of Sindh and the influence of various cultures on local Sindh culture, Sindh played a very important role in the history of culture and civilization in the Sub-Continent. Thus cultural sequence and its continuity in the Sub-Continent has remained continued.

Every nation is known by its culture. For instance the French, the English, the Japanese and Chinese are identified by their particular cultures, same is the case with Pakistanis, when they are in a foreign country. Pakistanis also desire to be identified by their culture when they are outside Pakistan. But the question is what is Pakistani culture, which is to be reckoned outside Pakistan? Is there any culture which is reckoned as Pakistani culture? What are our National (Pakistani) Cultural

Characteristics? Are our habits common in all the provinces? Are our mode of living alike in all the regions? Do we follow the same customs and traditions in the whole country? Do we speak the same language every where? Do we use same and common colours, motifs, designs in Sindh, Punjab, Baluchistan & NWFP? The reply is no. Then what is Pakistani culture? Men vary from one another in their temperament, their likes and dislikes, and their vision. A Pathan may not be in habits and in vision like a Punjabi or a Sindhi, and similarly a Punjabi may not resemble a Sindhi or a Balochi.

Thus there is a variety of cultures, in different provinces and regions of Pakistan. The people of all these provinces are different in their languages; in their modes of living, in their tastes, as a consequence of their geographical environment. Even the forces of Federation have not been successful to keep them near to each other so that the variety of culture might have looked like a bouquet with multifarious colours. Dr. Jameel Jalibi is of the view:

I wanted to describe Pakistani culture. I could describe separately the habits, customs, arts and crafts, way of thinking and acting, and the cultural environment of the people of different regions of Pakistan, and we put on these the collective label of Pakistani culture. But I am sure that this would not satisfy you any more that it would satisfy me. When I wish to know what Pakistani culture is, it means that I wish to know the common script that informs all the people living within the geographical boundaries of Pakistan, Punjabis, Sindhis, Pathans and Baluchis alike, and on account of which there is not merely a similarity among their ways of thinking and acting but complete identity irrespective of region. .

Let us now look at Pakistani society from the stand-point and decide, whether there exists on the national plan a culture which we can proudly describe as national culture of Pakistan. We do have regional cultures, but we do not have a national culture that unites these regional cultures in a deep spiritual bond. At national level there is no such a thing as the Pakistani culture".

The regional cultures can play a very important role in national culture. The national culture can have some features in common with all the regional cultures, so that on the national level, the cultural spirit of the various regions could form a bouquet in which flowers of different colours come together to present a multi-coloured unity. This unity of regional cultures can be named "national culture".

Sindi culture has played a very significant role in forming the national culture. In the views of Dr. N.A. Baloch:

"Pakistani culture is a unity of regional cultures and sub-cultures. Its five main linguistic areas constitute the five typical cultural regions, which are: the Sindh region, the Punjab region, the Baluchistan region, the Frontier region and the Northern region (extending North-wards of the Punjab and the Frontier region covering the Indus Kohistan, the Swat Kohistan and the old Jardislan, including Chitral, Hunza, Gilgit and Baltistan). Sindhi, Punjabi, Balochi, Pashto and Dardic groups of Kohistan, Khowar, Kafir and Shina are, respectively, the main languages of these regions".

Dr. Baloch recognises the following four factors as functions of traditional cultures of Pakistan. They are:

- (i) natural environment or geographical conditions,
- (ii) history,
- (iii) ethnology, and
- (iv) Islam, the people's faith.

He believes: "Under the influence of these basic factors people have developed varying patterns of living, constituting external forms (such as food, dress and shelter), social custom and behaviour, and psychological and spiritual attitudes which manifest through choices, beliefs and ideals".

Sindh is a region of diverse cultural influences. Throughout the centuries as these influences arrived in Sindh, they were incorporated into rich traditions, which can be defined as "Sindhi Culture". Thus people and culture of Sindh can be thought of a distinct entity in which almost every aspect eludes simple definition.

Sindhi culture can easily be termed one of the richest in the world, and it can truly lay claim to being one of the oldest cultural tradition known to man. Regarding the richness of Sindhi culture Dr. Louis Flam writes:

One only has to visit Sindh to be made aware of the diversity and beauty of her people and the language, literature, arts and crafts, music and social custom. Historically, the rudiments of Sindhi culture can be found in the civilization represented by the ancient site of Mohenjo-daro.

A vast field of Sindhi culture plays a<sup>1</sup> very important role not in Pakistan but in the whole world. The study of various ethnic groups, their daily life and dwellings, their food and recipes, their traditional arts and crafts are very important aspects of folk life and culture of people of Sindh.

The work of folk artisans reflect the every day life of the people and their customs, ideas and beliefs. A study of designs, patterns, motifs and their history throws the light on many obscure historical events, including the development of a number of civilizations and people that existed in the Indus Valley. Such a study throws the light of cultural influence of the immigrants on the indigenous traditions and intermingling of the two arts.

The importance of Sindhi culture can be compared with the ideas of one of the most famous Hungarian poets of the early twentieth century, Mr. Gyula Juhasz. who said:

Let us take care of the people who sing, the people who create myths, the women who draw pictures and the men who carve wood and bone and do not become extinct, for their extinction would mean the end of mankind. Let us preserve, collect and disseminate their work; let us learn from them; let their art which is as permanent as nature and continuous as history become a part of our own living soul.

To study the culture of any nation or nationality one should conduct the study of its language because language also plays a very important role in expression and dissemination of culture. Language is a very important symbol and organ for any culture. It (language) affects literature, and its literature affects the life of a nation. Language is primary vehicle of communication, thoughts and feelings.

Like a language, literature is also very important for nation building. Literature plays a very significant role in a nation's society. It is the expression of our daily life and culture. Men of letters develop their language. They record and collect literary gleanings, relate them to current myths and legends, translate treasures of traditional literatures and synthesize the various cultural streams by writing the folklore.

It is literature which reflects the contours of cultural nationalism. It is only by acquainting ourselves with the literature

through which we know so much about the cultures of the past ages.

The men of letters modernise the language and keep it alive by constant borrowing from other living tongues. They point out the deep relationship between literature and its historical inspiration. They relate poetry to patriotism and prose to national pride. They give new ideas, thoughts and inspiration to their readers through their writings.

The case of Sindhi languages can be studied in the perspective drawn above. Sindhi is a very rich language. Its literature has a very magnificent past & bright future. Its contemporary literature depicts the vivid picture of Sindhi society & culture. The writers of Sindhi language not only translated literature from other languages but they have contributed much towards creative and original literature also. They have done a great service not only to Sindhi literature but also to Sindhi language. They have created many new words and phrases to express the depth and delicacy of their thought. One can find variety of material & forms in their prose and poetry. The poets have preached for national awakening, nationalism, national freedom and internationalism. Sindhi, Sindhi culture, Sindhi language, Sindhi people and their problems are the main features of their theme. They have of course, been influenced by western literature. This was actually the era of modernism. This era gave birth to new renaissance. This was actually the era of modernism. This era gave birth to new renaissance. This new renaissance, radical in context, was manifestation and aspiration of people confronting social problems, particularly the problems of middle and oppressed classes were rationally discussed. Even the love poetry of romance.

The writers of Sindhi language have created new forms and have minted new words and phrases during every period of Sindhi literature. One can quote examples and instances right from the period when Pir Sadruddin (1290 AD - 1409 AD), one of our classical earliest saint poet, used to live. We can mention the names of Kazi Kadan, Shah Karim, Makhdoom Nooh, Shah Lutufullah Qadri, Shah Sharif Badai, Sufi Shah Inayat, Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit and Khawaja Mohammad Zaman of Lunari and Sachal Sarmast.

During every period of the history of Sindhi literature, many socio-political and economic movements were influenced. The partition of Bengal in 1905, and the Home Rule Movement in 1916 gave birth to many Sindhi magazines, newspapers and periodicals. Dr. Schimmel is of the view:

"After the partition of Bengal in 1905, the Sindhi too, began to take more enthusiastically part in cultural activities on a large scale. Muslims and Hindus both did their best to elevate Sindhi cultural life among the many authors who flourished from 1905 to the beginning of the World War II, only a few can be singled out".

After the World War II, many socio-political and economic movements, such as Khilafat movement, Anne-Bessant movement etc. brought to light many scholars, writers and intellectuals. Most of them were original and creative writers. Mirza Qaleech Beg, Shamsuddin 'Bulbul', Naraindas Bhambani, Shri Dayaram Gidumal, Kauromal and others were the pioneers of the new school of diction and style. They switched over to the new, modern and natural style in Sindhi prose. Their style made Sindhi prose very popular.

The main factor which had influenced Sindhi prose, before and after the independence, was a wide-spread demand for social reforms of every kind, not slow and orderly reforms, which were in progress, but immediate and intemperate reforms, which breed a spirit of rebellion and violent change and despair. The writers of post-independence period have mostly critical attitude towards moral, wealthy persons, zamidars, feudal lords, religious leader, mullahs, civil and military bureaucrats.

During the period of last fifty years, there has been very considerable change in beliefs and behaviours. There has been a wide change in political and social life. Beliefs, rituals, superstitions and old customs, traditions and ceremonies have tended to loose their grip upon the mind of men or have been replaced by the new ideas and ideology.

Progressive literature has been dominant particularly on youth in the recent past. The new technology, specialisation, conquest of space and nuclear weapons have totally changed the attitude of people towards life.



Thus many literary societies and men of letters before and after independence have rendered tremendous services to Sindhi language, literature & culture. They have initiated and infused spirit in many young and immature youngsters to write prose and poetry.

Folklore has also played a very important role in our oral history and culture. One of the greatest expert in French folklore Mr. C.P. Saintyves, has beautifully written in his book "Mannuel du folkore", published in 1933. He has said:

Folklore is a study of traditions, and for this reason its first task is to collect and classify the facts that make up traditions, after this it must explain their nature and traditional essence. Folk tradition cannot be compared to buried treasure. It is a flow of all kind of richness, and inventions enjoyed by the stars, performs the miracle of perpetual motion.

Folk art is a major aspect of our cultural heritage and bears all the characteristics of an authentic form. Its components have various origins, expressing the ethnic and geographical identities of various communities of Sindh. Numerous immigrations and local development throughout the history have led to wealth of form, the sheer variety of which is rare in the world of folk arts.

Historically and archaeologically the roots of Sindhi art go back a very long way. Although heavily influenced by Iranians, Greeks, Arabs, Turks, Moghals and certain aspects of Western culture, the tradition of arts has continued unbroken.

Archaeological research of the 19th and early 20th centuries showed the roots of Sindhi village life, religion, agricultural practices and a number of traditional arts and crafts which can be traced back to the Indus valley civilization of the third millennium B.C.

Sindh has been the cradle of arts, crafts and culture since the time immemorial. The people of Indus valley were not only great town-planners, builders, engineers, architects and massons, but they were also expert potters, goldsmiths, jewellers, artists, artisans, musicians and lapidaries. The political, cultural and historical destiny of Sindh was shaped by its geographical location at the cross roads between Rajasthan, Punjab and Baluchistan. Over the centuries, this land has been

the home of various people. the breeding-ground of major civilization and the meeting point of numerous migrations. A rich and varied cultural heritage has thus been handed down.

Thus the study of Sindhi culture and literature underlines its important role in the development of national culture and literature of Pakistan. Sindhi culture claims to be a bunch of flowers which has formed a colourful bouquet of Pakistani culture.

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## LANGUAGE OF SINDH

John W. Parker, West Strand. M. Dccc.Xxxiv

The Language of Sindh is a written language, and has a character peculiar to itself. It is written from left to right, and has other signs of its Indian origin. The character is easily and expeditiously formed, and the letters run much into each other. To a cursory observer the Sindhi approaches nearer to the Malabar character than any other I have seen; but on breaking up the letters and examining them they have no resemblance. In the province there are two distinct languages. The first and original is the Sindhi, the other the *Bellûchi*, which can scarcely be called a written tongue, although it is commonly met with in the Arabic character. The Sindhi, as I have said, is a written tongue, and seems to me, from the little acquaintance I have with it, to be a branch of the Sanskrit stock, which has supplied India with languages. That it is of Sanskrit origin, I advance on the opinion of scholars of the country; and on the same authority I may state, that the Sindh has fewer modern innovations and a greater number of Sanskrit words than the Gujarati, which is a pure Hindu dialect. There is some affinity between the two at least the radicals of words are alike, though the entire words have no resemblance. There is undoubtedly, however, a great portion of Panjabi in the Sindhi; and, in fact, it is by many considered as only a dialect of that language.

The Sindhi is the language used by the Hindu inhabitants, and, indeed, by the mass of the population of Sindh proper, those of the southern desert, and, with a little variation, by the *Jhàrèejàs* of Cutch. It is worthy of remark, that *Jhàrejàs*, *Bhàttiàs*, *Lòwànnàs*, and other Sindhi tribes now inhabiting Cutch, have brought with them their language which they still continue to speak in that country; and Gujarati, which is spoken by the *Chàrans*, and shepherds, who, if not the aborigines, are certainly

many centuries prior to the others, as inhabitants of Cutch, has maintained its superiority, and continues to be the only written tongue in the province.

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Reproduced from "The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland, Vol: I", London, 1834, p. 248.

### III

## A GLANCE AT SINDH BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF SIR CHARLES NAPIER

### An Ex-Political

An elaborate report of all the villages in Upper Sindh, with the names of the owners, and amount of revenue collected—a Price Current of every article sold in the Shikarpore Market—and a vocabulary of the Sindhi language, comprising four or five thousand words, every one of which was discussed by several *Munshis*, were part of my own works of supererogation. In preparing the Vocabulary, I, of course, had to learn the character, which has this peculiarity, that only initial vowels (with a very few exceptions,) are written: consequently, there is the greatest difficulty in decyphering writings, for only the consonants appear, and you must insert the vowels as you think will best suit the sense.<sup>(1)</sup> Thus, the word *Piri*,<sup>(2)</sup> "beloved," is written exactly like *pare*,<sup>(3)</sup> "beyond", for only the *p* and the *r* are represented. The consequence of such an elliptical mode of writing is, that even the natives make egregious blunders in extracting the pith of the queer little epistles with which their correspondents favour them. A merchant, for instance, is said to have received a letter from a friend in Rājputānā, whither his son had gone. Not being very quick at making out handwriting, he asked an acquaintance to help him, who interpreted it in such a manner as to make it an announcement of his son's death. The poor father threw dust on his head, howled piteously, and collected a crowd about him, "Alas!" he cried, he was my only son!" One of the by *Pshaw*, said he after looking at it, "There is nothing about death here—your son has taken a wife—he is happily married." Now, said the father, I am worse off than ever, for I know not whether to laugh or cry.

They tell, too of a man who paid one of these scribes, a non scribendo, to write a letter for him. When it reached its destination, no one could make out a word of it, except

the name of the person who sent it. In process of time it was returned, and he who sent it, took it in a rage to the penman, and told him it was returned as unreadable. "Like enough", quoth the other, "I cannot read it myself: you paid me to write, not to read". This savours, no doubt, of Joe Miller; if any one thinks so, let him believe that which might fairly be reckoned as one of Joe's offspring, in lands where people do sometimes write intelligibly, is an undoubted child of truth in Shikarpore.

## SINDHI

R. F. Burton

The Sindhee dialect is a language perfectly distinct from any spoken in India. It is used, with many varieties,<sup>(1)</sup> from the northern boundary of Kattywar as far north as Bhawalpoor, and extends from the hills to the west, to the Desert which separates Sindh from the eastern portion of the Indian peninsula. These limits will agree with the Moslem accounts of the extent of empire belonging to the Râe of Hindoo rulers of Sindh. Its grammatical structure is heterogeneous, the noun and its branches belonging to the Sanscrit, whereas the verb and adverb are formed, apparently, upon the Persian model. The dialect abounds in Arabic words, which, contrary to the usual rule in India and Central Asia, constitute the common, not the learned names of things, as *Jabal*, a hill; *Basar*, an onion (in Arabic, *Basal*); *Abbo*, a father; *Thum*, garlic (from the Arabic *Fum*); *Shay*, a thing; *Kull*, all; &c. Pure as well as corrupted Sanscrit words, perfectly unintelligible to unlearned natives of the Indian peninsula, are perpetually occurring in Sindh, as *Saeen*, sir; *Kukkur*, a cock; *Jas*, victory; *Apar*, endless; &c.

The only literature contained in it may be briefly described as religious and poetical, the former being translations of Arabic works on divinity, moral tales, &c., the latter being the popular traditions of the country, cast into rude and unartificial verse. In almost all cases the books have been composed by Sindhee Musulmans (as opposed to Beloochees, &c), and are written in the Arabic character, called the *Naskhi*. These works are, generally speaking, difficult, and barely intelligible to the Hindoo *Moonshees*, *Mehtas*, and *Kardars* of Sindh, and probably this may be the reason why they have hitherto been so little heard of by Europeans. The Hindoos, as will afterwards be explained, have a totally different alphabet, and their own works written in it. To conclude this part of the subject, the only branch of learning valued or cultivated by the Sindhee is Arabic. It is not often that he attempts Persian, and the extraordinary difficulty he finds in mastering the most simple arithmetical operation has always rendered him useless as a writer or accountant.

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Notes Relating to the Population of Sindh. Bombay, 1847.

## INTRODUCTION OF SINDHI AS OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

**James C. Melvill, Scinde**

*A Report of Sir George Clerk (Governor of Bombay, 1848), on the Administration of Scinde), East India House, 1854*

We should introduce the language of the country (namely Sindhee) as the medium of official intercourse. I do not see in what way our revenue and judicail 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 monts should, therefore, be allowed to the officers in civil employ to qualify themselves for an examination in the Sindhee language. I believe their doing so will be facilitated by the the publication of the dictionary and grammar which I propped Lieutenant Stack should be allowed to have printed.

The recommendation of the Commissioner, that "early measure to education, as in our other provinces", is no doubt judicious; but it were premature to take any measure for forming educational establishments, before our own European administrations have obtained a complete knowledge of the language of the country, and before we have trained up persons, fitted to impart knowledge in the vernacular tongue.

*1850-Frere was appinted Commissioner-in-Sindh*



## SINDHI

R. F. Burton

The origin of the Sindhi dialect appears to be lost in the obscurity of antiquity; but there are ample reasons for believing it is as old (14) as any of the vulgar tongues of modern India. It belongs to the Indian class of languages, and is directly derived from the Sanskrit; Yet it is a perfectly distinct dialect, and not, as has been asserted, a mere corruption of Hindostani (15). It is spoken with many varieties from the northern boundary of Katiwar as far as Bahawalpur, and extends from the Brahui Mountains to the desert which separates Sindh from the old western frontier of our Indian Empire; and these limits will agree with the Moslem accounts of the extent of empire belonging to the Rais or Hindoo rulers of Sindh. The classical or literary language is that of Lar, or Southern Sindh; the other principal dialects are:-

1st. The *Siraiki*, or language of Siro, Upper Sindh; admitting a mixture of Jataki and Belochi words.

2nd. The *Kachi*, spoken in Cutch, the made to approach the Guzerattee.

3rd. The *Thareli* or Jesalmeri, and language of the people about Oomerkot, the Tharr, and Jesalmere; also used by the Shikaris, Dedhs, and other outcast tribes of Sindh. It borrows largely from the Marwari, and has its own written character (16) and religious composition.

4th. The Takkarana Ji boli, or dialect of the hill people to the west of Sindh, corrupted by a mixture of Brahui and Belochi terms, as well as possessing many names of things and idioms unintelligible to the people of the plains. -

It may be observed, that a good knowledge of Sindhi introduces us to a variety of cognate languages, as the Panjabi, Jataki, Pushtu, Belochi, Brahui, and others spoken in the countries west of the Indus. In a vocabulary composed by a native, I observed that out of four hundred nouns, two hundred Pushtu and one hundred and fifty Belochi words were exactly or very

nearly similar to the Sindhi. This may be accounted for in two ways; first, that these languages are all derived from some ancient and now unknown tongue, which was supplanted by or blended with Sanskrit; or that, secondly, they are all varieties of the rude and obsolete form of Sanscrit, which gave birth to the dialects of Central Asia, and extended its course westward as far as the Pelasgi carried it. The latter supposition enables us to account for the fact; that in Sindhi as well as in cognate dialects of India, the most common words, and those in homely use, as *Put*, a son; *Dhi*, a daughter; *Gae*, a cow and *Ghoro*, a horse are of Sanscrit derivation. But had the latter language been grafted upon an aboriginal stock, the vulgar names of things, and words denoting primary ideas, would, of course, have remained in the more ancient dialect.

The peculiarities of the Sindhi language. are, the proportion of Sanscrit and Arabic words which it admits, and the heterogeneous structure of the grammar. Pure as well as corrupted Sanscrit vocables for the most part unintelligible to unlearned natives of the western portion of the Indian Peninsula, perpetually occur. Of this class may be instanced,-

<i>achan</i> , to come (S. root Acha)	<i>Jas</i> , victory (s. Yas. fame.)
<i>akas</i> , the sky	<i>Joe</i> , a wife (S. Jaya).
<i>achho</i> , white (S. Achha.)	<i>kukkur</i> , a cock
<i>akhan</i> , to speak (S. Akhya)	<i>sabbar</i> , strong (fr. Sa with and bal, force).
<i>apar</i> , endless	<i>sain</i> , Sir (S. Swami)
<i>datar</i> , the Deity.	

The Arabic, contrary to the usual rule in the Indian languages is sometimes used in Sindhi for the common, not the learned names of things. The following is a short specimen of this peculiarity:-

<i>abbo</i> , a father	<i>kull</i> , all
<i>basar</i> , an onion	<i>khutab</i> , a school (in India and Persian, "Maktab" is generally used
<i>Jars</i> , a saint	<i>makham</i> , strong, firm
<i>Jabal</i> , a hill	<i>musaf</i> , the Koran
<i>kadaho</i> , a cup	<i>mamur</i> , cultivated
<i>kasor</i> , a pot (Ar. Ka'as)	<i>mayyit</i> , a corpse

khas good  
khimo, a tent  
mukamn, burial ground

tam, food  
thum, garlic (Ar. Fum)  
tohar, circumcision. (Ar  
Purity).

parch, a mat (Ar. Farsh).  
kokabi, a saucer.  
sat, an hour  
shayy, a thing.

This peculiar use of Arabic vocables may be accounted for by the fact, that during the Age of Ignorance, or the time that elapsed between the rise of Christianity and Islam, there was emigration on an extensive scale from Arabia to Sindh. In this point, the traditions of the proving agree with those of Persia, Khurdistan, and Afghanistan, all asserting that they were either overrun or conquered by the wandering descendants of the Wild Man. Historians relate, that during the first stages of Mohammedanism, the armies that overran Balkh and Bokhara, there found Arabic inscriptions in obsolete characters, commemorative of former inroads; and it is reasonable to suppose that long before the mighty torrent of barbarians whom the early caliphs poured forth over the then civilized world, local causes, such as war, famine, or the ambition of a leader, may have occasioned similar eruptions. This, too, we may account for a circumstance which some English scholars have turned into an argument against the authenticity of the Parsee scriptures, - that they contain many Arabic vocables. Ancient as well as modern Persian resembles the Pushtu and Sindhi in - this peculiarity that many of the words remarkably resemble in sound and spelling. Semitic roots of similar signification.

The Sindhi grammar is much more complicated than those of the modern dialects of Western India. The alphabet, to begin with, contains five sounds unknown to the cognate tongues, viz:-

B, a peculiar labial, formed by forcible pressing the lips together.<sup>(1)</sup>

G, resembles our g, but it is articulated deep in the throat.<sup>(2)</sup>

---

(1) Bilabial implosive [ɓ].

(2) It is a palatal implosive.

J, a mixture of dental and palatal sounds, some what resembling the rapid articulation of *d* and *y*. "dya".

Dr. a compound cerebral and liquid, of the same formation as *Dr*.

In addition to which, the cerebral *R*, as in Jataki, is *inayal* as well as medial and final.

The anomalous structure of the grammar is remarkable.. The terminations of nouns, substantive and adjective; the formation of cases by means of insignificant affixes; the pronoun and pronominal adjectives; and in the verb, the inflexion of infinitive and the forms of the future tense and the past conjunctive participle, all belong to the Indian tongues. The points in which it resembles the Persian, are the affixed pronouns of the three persons, and the verb which form the second person of the imperative forms an aorist, which is converted into a present by the addition of unmeaning particles. In the following particulars Sindhi is superior to both:-

1. The nouns substantive and adjective, together with the roots and infinitives of verbs, all end either in a long or a short vowel (17). The form cases by changing the vowel in the oblique state of the word; whereas in Hindostani and the dialects of Western India, the final consonant of a noun continues quiescent throughout the declension (18). For instance:-

#### In Sindhi

##### *Singular*

##### *Plural*

Nom, Mursu, a husnand

Mursa, Husbands

Gen, Mursajo, of a husband

Mursani jo, of husbands

#### In Hindostani

##### *Singular*

##### *Plural*

Nom, Mard, a husband

Mard, husband

Gen, Mard Ka, of a husband

Mardon ka, of husbands

---

(1) Voiced velar implosive [ ]

(2).

2. Many of the pronouns in Sindhi change their terminations to form cases, numbers, and the distinction between the masculine and feminine gender. So in the relative pronoun Jo, "he who"-Singular.

Nom, Jo, in the feminine Ja  
Gen, Jenh jo, of both genders.

### Plural.

Non, Je                                 }  
Gen; Jinani jo.                       } of both genders.

3. The insignificant particles affixed to the aorist, and forming a present tense, are not always the same, as in Persian, but vary with number and gender. The verb, moreover, is much more artful than in Hindoostani. From the root of the active a passive form is procured by adding janu; e.g. Mari, beat thou; Marjanu, to be beaten; and this new verb has many of the tenses formed as regularly as that from which it is derived. The system of analogical causal verbs is more complete and complicated than that of the Urdu.

The Sindhi is superior to most of the dialect of Western India in various minor points of refinement and cultivation: as for instance, in the authorized change of terminations in poetical words, the reduplication of final or penultimate letters to assist the rhyme, and many similar sings of elaboration.

The Sindhi language again, is remarkable for a copiousness and variety of words, which not unfrequently degenerates into a useless luxuriance, and a mere plureality of synonymes. There is not a single article of any kind in the province for which the vernacular dialect unlike the barbarous Sindho-Persian, has not a name. In the case of words denoting external objects, and those most familiar to the people, as, for instance, the camel, there are often a dozen different names, some synonymous, others distinct in their several shades of meaning. Abstract words are borrowed from the more cultivated tongues, Arabic, Sanscrit, and Persian, almost ad libitum, and the result is a very extensive, vocabulary\* (\*In Appendix No. 1, will be found a specimen of Sindhi copiousness).

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Taken from Sindh and the Races that inhabit the Valley of the Indus - 1851.

## CHARACTERS OF SINDH

R. F. Burton

The characters in which the Sindhi tongue is written are very numerous. Besides the Moslem varieties of the Semitic alphabet, there are no less than eight different alphabets used principally by the Hindoos,<sup>1)</sup> viz:-

1. The *Khudawadi*, or Wanika-akhar
2. The *Thatai* of which there are two varieties, viz: 1st. The *Lohana* and 2nd. the *Bhatia* hand
3. The Sarai, used in Upper Sindh
4. That used by the *Khawajah* tribe
5. The *Meman* handwriting
6. The *Ochki* form of Panjabi
7. The *Landi* form of Panjabi
8. The *Gurumukhi* or Panjabi

The average number of letters is forty, ten being vowels, and thirty consonants.

The origin of these characters may fairly be traced through the *Landi* (43) and *Gurumukhi*, to the Devanagri character. As the immigration of Hindoos into Sindh has always been from the north, it is most probable that these alphabets were brought down from the Punjabi in the form used by Nanak Shah. This was gradually altered into running hand; and underwent almost as many changes as there are castes or tribes (44). The Learned Mr. James Princep was completely at fault when he supposed that Marwari had been corrupted into Sindhi, or that the latter is a mixture of Guzerattee, Tamul and Malayalim.

But however numerous these alphabets may be, they are all, in their present state, equally useless. This arises from one cause, the want of sufficient number of vowel signs. (45) The consequence is, that the trader is scarcely able to read his own accounts, unless assisted by a tenacious memory.

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<sup>1)</sup> Specimen of these alphabets can be seen in: Ghulam Ali Allana, *Sindhi* (1994), p.

The selection of a character which will be practically useful is necessary, if we would establish schools; the choice, however, is not without its difficulties. Four systems have been advocated, viz.:-

1. Devangari; 2. Khudawadi; 3. Gurumukhi; 4. Naskhi.

The Devanagari is certainly the most scholar-like and analougous system, and therefore, perhaps, the best for dictionaries, grammars, and other works, intended solely for the purpose of teaching the language to Europeans. At the same time, it has many imperfections. No less than twenty letters (46) would require diacritical marks to render them intelligible. Moreover, this character, however well adapted for books, is tedious and cumbersome for official papers. (47) Finally it would not easily be learned by the people, and is at present utterly unknown to them. The last objection appears to be the strongest of all, for surely no undertaking could be more troublesome or useless than an attempt to supplant a well-known alphabet by one unknown to the people.

The adoption of the Khudawadi (48) character has been advocated on account of its being already extensively used by the people. It is, however, confined to a particular though influential, caste of Hindoos, and even amongst them is only known to the traders, and generally neglected by the Moonshees and Amils. The main object of it is that, in its present state, it is all but illegible. And to dress it up in Guzerattee, "vowel points"(49). as has been proposed, in fact to remodel it, might be an easy work, but at the same time it would be an improvement very unlikely to be generally adopted by the Sindhis. The Gurumukhi is an admirably simple form of Devanagari, and perfectly fitted for Panjabi, imperfectly for Sindhi. The disadvantages attendant on its introduction would be the same as belong to its Sanskrit progenitor, viz: it is very little known to the people. would require extensive alterations, and though useful for books, would be slow and clumsy to write.

The Naskhi form of the Arabic alphabet appears to be the most favoured by circumstances in Sindh. The intrinsic merit of the character must be acknowledged, when we reflect that it has spread from Arabia, its origin, to Algires and the Ganges, to Bokhara and Ceylon. For centuries it has been tried, and found capable of adaptation to a multitude of dialects; by a

few simple additions and modifications, it has been trained to denote the cerebrals of India, and liquid tones of the Persian and Malay tongues, as well as the gutturals of Arabia. It may be termed, par-excellence, the alphabet of Asia; nor is it likely to be supplanted by any innovating Romanizeed systems, or to decline as civilization progresses. In elegance of appearance, and brevity without obscurity, it yields to no other written character, and it is no small proof of its superiority to many, that it offers a symbol for every sound existing in the languages for which it was invented.

But, as might be expected, the further it deviates from Arabic the more imperfect it becomes. At present it has been rudely and carelessly adapted to the language of Sindh, and by the confusion of points and the multitude of different sounds expressed by one letter appears difficult and discouraging. Still its intrinsic value remains, and we may safely hope that as education advances, much will be done for it. As a case in point, we can instance the many little changes and improvements which have been lately introduced by the natives of India into their system of writing the Nastalik hand.

My reasons for advocating the adoption of the Naskhi character are as follows:-

1st. The all the literature of country has been for ages written in this hand.

2nd. All educated Moslems are able to read it and most of them can write it.

3rd. Although the Hindoo Amils throughout Sindh are at present unable to read it, their knowledge of the Nastalik or Persian and would render the difficulty of learning it nugatory. It must be recollected that religious bigotry formerly forbade any infidel to open a book written in the same character as the Koran (50).

4th. It converts itself with great facility into a running hand sufficiently rapid for all practical purposes. The epistolary correspondence of the Arabs is a sufficient proof of this.

Such are the reasons for preferring the Naskhi character. On the other hand, it may be argued that the Nastalik has the one great advantage of being known to every writer in the



province, that it has been successfully adapted to Hindostani and Panjabi (51), and therefore might be made equally useful in Sindhi. The chief objection to it is that however practicable for Parwanahs, Arzis, Hukms, and other official papers, it partakes too much of the character of stenography to suit the language we are considering. The dialect of Sindh is so complicated in sound, construction and number of vocables, that, as is proved by the practice of the people a more complete alphabet is required for it. Any Sindhi scholar may observe that the best educated native will find considerable difficulty in reading out the vernacular hemistichs and tetrastichs written in Nastalik, which are frequently introduced by authors into religious or metaphysical works composed in Persian. Whether habit and education would or would not do away with a considerable portion of this difficulty, is a consideration which I leave to the profound practical linguist.

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Taken from Sindh and races that inhabit the Valley of Indus. 1851.

## SINDH AND THE RACES

R. F. Burton

The people of Sindh were at one time celebrated for their skill in caligraphy; at present, however, they have only three hands:-

1st. Naskhi, generall called "Arabi Akhara", (Arabic letters).

2nd. Nastalik or "Chitta Akhara" (the plain handwriting).

3rd. Shikastah. or "Bhagal Akhara" (the broken of running hand).

I have seen some excellent specimens of the Naskhi, and, generally speaking this character is well written in Sindh. The Shikastah is detestable bad. The Cufic alphabet is quite forgotten, although the walls of tombs and mosques prove that at one time it must have been common. All the ornamental character, as the Shulsi, Rayhan and others, are unknown. The Talpur Ameers were great patrons of calligraphists, and used occasionally to send to Persia for a well known Penman.

## MUSLEM EDUCATION

*at schools and colleges, under the native rulers and our Government- the study of medicine, surgery & ca. Hindoo education - How to instruct the people - The Naskhi alphabet advocated(1)*

R. F. Burton

After the first year at school, when the boy begins to read and write by himself, he is made to pursue the Koran, without, however, understanding it. The rate of his progress is slow, and he probably is nine years old before he proceeds to the next step- the systematic study of his mother tongue, the Sindhi. The course is as follows:-

1st. The Nur-Namo (نورنامو) a short and easy religious treatise upon the history of things in general, *before* the creation of man. The work was composed by one Abdel Rahman, and appears to be borrowed from different Ahadis, or traditional sayings of the Prophet. A mass of greater absurdities could not be put into the hands of youth. It gravely states (8) that the total number of hairs on Mohammad's person were 104, 472; of which three were white:-

2nd. The works of Makhdum Hashem (9), beginning with the Tafsir.

3rd. Tales in verse and prose, such as the adventures of Saiful, Laili-Majano, &ca. The most popular works are the Hikayat-el-Salihin, ( ) a translation from the Arabic by a Sindhi Mulla, Abdel Hakim; the subjects are the lives, adventures and remarkable sayings of the most celebrated saints, male and female, of the golden age of Islam. Teh Ladano ( ) is an account of the Prophet's death, borrowed from the Habib-el-Siyar. by Miyan Abdullah. The Miraj-Namo ( ) is an account of Mohammad's (peace be upon him) night excursion to heaven; as a satire upon miracles

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(1) See his chapter VI

and things supernatural it would be inimitable. The Sau-Masala or Hundred Problems is a short work by one Ismail. showing how Abd-el-Halim, a Fakir, married the daughter of the Sultan of Rum. after answering the hundred queries with which the accomplished lady used to perplex her numerous lovers (11).

The youth finds an immense number of such works as these to supply him with ideas. and to strengthen his imagination; he usually studies their profitable pages for two or three years.

About the age, of twelve or thirteen. the scholar is introduced to the regular study of Persian.

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Taken from Sindh and the races that inhabit the Valley of the Indus. 1851.

# A DICTIONARY SINDHI-AND ENGLISH

Captain George Stack

## Preface

In publishing the present work a few words of explanation are necessary, as the author was not spared to complete it and carry it through the press.

This dictionary was intended by the late Captain Stack as a companion volume to the English and Sindhi dictionary published by him in 1849; and he had collected the greater part of the materials for the work, when ill health compelled him in that year to leave this country for England. It may indeed be said that this dictionary was in a great measure the cause of Captain Stack's illness; for while he had onerous duties to perform in his office of Deputy Collector at Hyderabad, the extra labour which he imposed on himself in the preparation of the dictionaries so seriously impaired his health that he was obliged to seek a change.

The design thus temporarily laid aside was not abandoned, and on Captain Stack's return to India, one of his chief inducements to prefer an appointment in Sindh to a higher paid post in a better climate, was his desire to complete the work now published.

The Government of Bombay having authorized the publication Captain Stack immediately on his return to Sindh in the commencement of 1853 proceeded to revise the materials he had previously collected, to add to them, and to prepare his work for the press.

At the date of his untimely death (December 1853) 160 pages had passed through the press, and the rest of the work was in different stages of forwardness. From the letter to the end, the sheets for printing had only to be written out and corrected, while the materials for the last nine letters of the Alphabet had yet to be revised, preparatory to their transcription by the copyist for the press.

It is not to be wondered at if many errors be found in a work which has not had the benefit of the author's revision and especially in a dictionary- a description of book which from its nature requires more careful scrutiny than perhaps any other. The unfavourable circumstances under which the present dictionary has been completed will, it is hoped, be accepted in excuse for all such errors, especially for those of omission.

It is hardly necessary for me to state that the whole plan of the dictionary, the labour of collecting materials and in fact any merit which may be accorded to the work are due wholly to the late Captain Stack, and that I have no claim whatever to aught but indulgence for the errors which I may have negligently allowed creep in revising the work for the press.

It is right however to mention that nearly all the names of trees and Botanical words were supplied by the late Dr. Stocks, whose extensive acquaintance with the Botany of Sindh rendered his aid peculiarly valuable. I have the less hesitation in recording this, as I am sure Captain Stack would readily have acknowledged the obligation, had he been spared to ocomplete his work.

The reasons which induced Captain Stack to print in the Devanagri character he has slightly touched on in his Preface to the English and Sindhi Dictionary. Lest his views be misunderstood I may mention that he frequently assured me, that he adopted the character merely as one generally known to those officers who might be supposed to be the persons most likely to use these books and not with any view to its permanent adoption by Sindhis. Had I myself been required to decide the point, I do not think I should have adopted the same character, but it was obviously better to act and do something which might be useful to a large class of students, than to talk and wait for the termination of an apparently interminable controversy to settle a Sindhi character for universal adoption.

Whatever may be the defects of the present work, I believe that Captain Stack's labours will be thankfully acknowledged by any students of Sindhi previously acquainted with the Devangari character, and this includes most of the Civil and Military officers who are likely to learn Sindhi. I may further, confidently assert that future authors of Sindhi dictionaries, will in no degree be indebted to Captain Stack for their materials,

and whether such obligations be acknowledged or not, it is hoped that a generous public will not fail to appreciate the labours of the first Sindhi Lexicographer.

It may be right to mention that in the composition of the dictionary Captain Stack was assisted at first by Pundit Brahm Suchdanund, and subsequently by Pundit Jeshta Brahm or Jetaram both of Hyderabad.

December 21st, 1854.

**B.H. Ellis,**  
*Civil Service*

## THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE SINDHI TO THE SANSKRIT AND PRAKRIT

E. Trumpp

The Sindhi is a pure Sanskritical language, more free from foreign elements than any other of the North Indian vernaculars. The old Prakrit grammarians may have had their good reason, to designate the Apabhramsa dialect, from which the modern Sindhi is immediately derived, as the lowest of all the Prakrit dialects; but if we compare now the Sindhi with its sister-tongues, we must assign to it, in a grammatical point of view, the first place among them. It is much more closely related to the old Prakrit, than the Marathi, Hindi, Punjabi and Bangali of our days, and it has preserved an exuberance of grammatical forms, for which all its sisters may well envy it. For, while all the modern vernaculars of India<sup>(1)</sup> are already in a state of complete decomposition, the old venerable mother-tongue being hardly recognisable in her degenerated daughters, the Sindhi has, on the contrary, preserved most important fragments of it and erected for itself a grammatical structure, which surpasses in beauty of execution and internal harmony by far the loose and levelling construction of its sisters.

The Sindhi has remained steady in the first stage of decomposition after the old Prakrit, whereas all the other cognate dialects have sunk some degrees deeper; we shall see in the course of our introductory remarks, that the rules, which the

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(1) In speaking of the modern vernaculars of India we exclude throughout the Dravidian idioms of the South, which belong to quite a different stock of languages.

Dr. Trump seems to be doubtful about his own view points. In the same book on page II of the introduction he writes:

"We shall on the other hand be able to trace out a certain residum of vocables, which we must allot to an old aboriginal language, of which neither name nor extent is now known to us, but which, in all probability, was of the 'Tatar Stock' of languages and spread throughout the length breadth of India before the irruption of the Arian race, as all the other vernaculars contain a similar non-Arian residum of words, which have been already designated as provincial by the old Prakrit grammarians.



Prakrit grammarian *Krama-dishavara* has laid down in reference to the Apabhramsha, are still recognisable in the present Sindhi, which by no means can be stated of the other dialects. The Sindhi has thus become an independent language, which, though sharing a common origin with its sister-tongues, is very materially differing from them.

The Sindhi, which is spoken within the boundaries of Sindh proper, is divided into three dialects, which grammatically differ very little from each other, but offer considerable discrepancies in point of pronunciation. The dialect of lower Sindh, comprising the Indus-Delta and the sea-coast, is called لاري *lari*, form لارو *laru*<sup>(1)</sup>, by which lower Sindh is designated. The dialect, which is spoken north of Haiderabad, is called سرائي *Siraiki*,<sup>(2)</sup> from سړو *siro*, by which Upper Sindh is designated; the dialect in vogue in the Thar, or desert of Sindh, is called *thareli*, from دڙي *tharu*, the desert.

The dialect of Lar, though employed in most Sindhi compositions, is not the purest; the vowels are frequently contracted and the consonants too much softened down by assimilation. The northern or Siraiki dialect has remained for more original and has preserved the purity of pronunciation with more tenaciousness, than the southern one. With reference to this superiority of the northern dialect to the southern, the Sindhis like to quote the proverb:

Lara jo parhyo sire jo dhago.

The learned man of Lar is an ox in Upper Sindh.

The dialect of the Thar is vigorous but uncouth and already intermingled with the Marvati; it is spoken by the Shikaris, Dhedhs (دڙي carrier) and other out-cast tribes.<sup>(1)</sup> As

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(1) is not a proper noun, but an appellation, signifying: "sloping ground", the same is the case with *siro*, which signifies the upper country.

From Siraiki, Dr. Trump means Sareli ( ) or Utradi ( ) it means the dialect which is spoken in the northern Sindh\* 'Siraiki is the dialect of Lahnda, and is spoken by the immigrants from Lahnda-speaking areas is Sindhi. (Editor).

No dialect can be claimed to the pure. Cultural influence can be pursued on each and every dialect.

far as I know, there are no literary compositions extant in this dialect.<sup>(2)</sup>

The object of these introductory remarks is to show the relative position, which the Sindhi holds to the Sanskrit and Prakrit; and in order to elucidate this subject, we shall lay down the rules and principles, by which the present Sindhi vowel and consonantal system has been derived from the Sanskrit by the medium of the Prakrit. Thus, we hope, a solid basis also will be gained for intercomparing the Sindhi with its other sister-tongues. By this process alone, which will enable us, to assign to the Arian stock, what has been taken from it, though much altered now in shape and outward appearance by dint of contraction and assimilation, we shall on the other hand be able to trace out a certain residuum of vocables, which we must allot to an old aboriginal language, of which neither name nor extent is now known to us, but which, in all probability, was of the Tatar stock of languages and spread throughout the length and breadth of India before the irruption of the Arian race, as all the other vernaculars contain a similar non-Arian residuum of words, which have been already designated as "provincial" by the old Prakrit grammarians.

The following investigation is destined for such as may be competent, by their previous studies, to penetrate more deeply into the real nature of the modern idioms of India, and for them, I trust, these outlines may prove useful and at the same time incentive, to follow up more deeply the intricate path, which I have pointed out.

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(1) This statement is not true. This dialect is even spoken by Rajput tribes and Muslims of that area. Dr. Trumpp might have been misinformed.

(2) Thari Dialect is very rich in ballads and folk-lore. The books recently published by Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad bear witness to it.

\* Taken from the Introduction of the Grammar of the Sindhi Language, London, Trubner and Co., 1872.

## SINDHI & PRAKRIT

Sir H. Evans James

Mr. Ellis was the Commissioner's Revenue Assistant, a very clever and foresighted gentleman, gifted with a memory the most admirable. To him Sindh is indebted for its first regularly-written characters, the Arabic-Sindhi. Before his time, the Hindus of Sindh, the trading classes alone, had an alphabet of their own<sup>1</sup>; but this was so imperfect and various and exclusive in point of use that it was deemed (p. 165) necessary to introduce writing characters which should serve a general purpose and meet the wants of the majority. To Mr. Ellis is due the honour of having fixed upon and moulded the present Arabic-Sindhi alphabet now so widely used throughout the province. It may be mentioned here for the information of all admirers of Mr. Ellis, that his interest in the cause of education in Sindh did not cease with his labours in the province. He was ever ready to avail himself of every opportunity to do good to the land, where he had so successfully worked with Sir Bartle Frere, and so late as 1869, when the question of introducing the Hindu-Sindhi (the so-called Baniya) characters in the schools in Sindh and mooted, was the consequent necessity of improving and modifying them suggested, he took the most lively interest in

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Memons and Khojas also had their own alphabet.

Footnote is written by Sir H. Evans M. James Commissioner-in-Sindh, 1891-1892, who was editor to memoirs

1 It is a curious fact that Sindhi, though a distinct and separate tongue, founded on Sanskrit, much resembling the languages spoken in the neighbouring provinces of Cutch and Marwar, had, until the annexation by the British, no written alphabet. The Hindus of Sindh, that is to say the mercantile classes, used, it is true, a very barbarous character, often not uniform even in the same town, and undecipherable by other Hindus, resembling the characters - used universally over India by Hindu money-lenders and tradesmen for writing bills of exchange and keeping their accounts, but there was no literature in those characters, of which there were no less than seventeen varieties. Amongst the Mahommedans, who constituted the bulk of the population, only the most cultured could write, and they invariably used Persian for their communications, and all people of education and standing were expected to converse and correspond in that tongue.

the matter.(1)

The Sindhi language is much permeated with Persian and Arabic words, and therefore for the benefit of the people at large, especially Mahommedans, a Sindhi alphabet, based upon Arabic and Persian, in Arabic characters, was invented by Sir Barrow Ellis, under Sir Bartle Frere, which is now in universal use in Government offices and private correspondence. Later, a further reform was introduced, as narrated above, of creating for the benefit of Hindus, only, a Hindu-Sindhi alphabet that should be legible amongst the entire mercantile community, based on Devanagiri, or Sanskrit. In the year 1872-3, therefore, type was founded for Hindu-Sindhi, in which school books were printed, and a certain number of schools were founded in which only Bunya-Sindhi, as it was called, was taught. But the general result has not been completely satisfactory. The Arabic-Sindhi is the character now universally taught and employed, and Hindu-Sindhi, or, as it is often called, Bunya-Sindhi, has almost been dropped. In a few towns like Shikarpur, with a strong Hindu element, patriotic Hindus still maintain Bunya-Sindhi schools, and in order that small Mahommedan cultivators should be able to read, if they so please, their accounts in the village bankers books, the reading of the Bunya-Sindhi alphabet and numerals is compulsory in all local board schools. But since 1910 no books in that alphabet have been printed, and excepting for accounts, Arabic-Sindhi seems likely to hold the field-EDITOR.

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Taken from Memoirs of Seth Naomul Hotchand C.S.I. of Karachi, William Pollard & Co., North Street, 1915.

## VRACADA AND SINDHI

G. A. Grierson

C.I.E. I.C.S.

The Vracada Apabhramsa form of Prakrit was spoken in Sindh(1). We know very little about it, except that amongst its peculiarities were: (1) the optional change of initial *ta* and *da* to *ta* and *da* respectively; (2) the change of *sa* and *sa* to *sa*; and (3) the prefixing of *y* to *c* and *j*.

With respect to (1) compare the frequent change of initial *t*, to *tt* in Sindhi, as in *ttamo* = Sanskrit *tamrakah* 'copper', and of initial *d* to *dd*, as in *ddandu* = Sanskrit *dandah*.

With respect to (2) compare Sindhi *visu* world = Skr. *visaya*, and *sihu* = Skr. *simha*. This change is very common in Sindhi.

With respect to (3) I can find no corresponding form in Sindhi, unless we can quote the special Sindhi sounds which are usually represented in transliteration by *gg* ( گ ), *jj* ( ج ), *dd* ( د ) and *bb* ( ب ). These are, as the transliteration shows, originally double letters. The Vracada *yj* may be the origin of the Sindhi *jj* ( ج ), and the other Sindhi letters may be the result of similar combinations not mentioned by the Prakrit grammarians, or not preserved in the MSS, which have come down to us. I know, however, of nothing in Sindhi which corresponds to the Vracada *yc*. There is another possible explanation which I shall note a little lower down.

The intimate connection which exists between the modern languages of the north-west of India (including Sindhi) and those of the east (from Bihar to Assam) is well known. The Vracada optional change of dental consonants to cerebrals really means that there was no sharp distinction in pronunciation between these two classes of sounds. Most probable both were pronounced as semi-cerebrals, as in English. This is the case at the present day in Eastern India. The dental letter *r* is

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1. See Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, p. 29.

continually confounded with the cerebral d, and in Assam there is practically no distinction between dentals and cerebrals. All are semi-cerebrals. In Assam this is almost certainly due to the influence of Indo-Chinese languages. Can we assume that the same was the case with varacada?

The Varacada change of s and s to s is, as is well known, also typical of the Magadhi Prakrit of Eastern India. just as at the present day it is typical of Sindhi and Bengali.

In Magadhi Prakrit every *ja* takes a sound which most native grammarians denote by *ya*, and one or two by *yja*. As Hoernle has long ago pointed out, it was really an obscure sound, intermediate between *ya* and *ja*, and doing duty for both. This obscure sound has survived in words like *majh*, a buffalo-cow, in the Lahnda of the Western Panjab, which is closely connected with Sindhi. The pronunciation of *majh* is described by Beames as "something very odd. It might be represented by *mejh*, a very palatal y aspirated; perhaps in German by *moch*, or rather, if it may be so expressed, with a medial sound corresponding to the tenuis *ch*". Hoernle compares the sound to that given to *g* in the word *lebendig* in the Rhenish Provinces.

In Magadhi, as in Vracada, one native grammarian says that *ca* becomes *yca*, so that, here again, the correspondence between east and west is clear. What sound was intended to be represented by *yca* is not very evident, though we can gain some idea as to what was meant from the above remarks about *ya* and *yja*. Under any circumstances, a consideration of those remarks will suggest an alternative explanation of the Vracada sounds.

Possibly both explanations are correct, and the sound which Prakrit grammarians represented by *yja* has developed in Magadhi and Lahnda into a semi-consonantal *ya*, and in Sindhi into *jja*. Camberley.

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Oct. 10, 1901.

\* Taken from the JRAS, 22 Albemarle Street, London, 1902.

## EDUCATION IN SINDH?

### SINDHI ALPHABET

Aitken, E. H.

Prior to the coming of the British the condition of education in Sindh was very similar to what it was at one time in England. The gentry generally were of the same mind as the Doughlas

"Thanks to St. Bothan, son of mine,  
Save Gawain, ne'er could pen a line".

But some of the Mirs, like Beauclerc, were scholars and even poets. And if they did not much patronise learning, they patronised the Sayads, who were depositories of learning. *Tatta* and *Rohri*, where the Sayads enjoyed liberal allowances from the state, might be called the universities of Sindh. In other places it was not an uncommon thing for a rich man to employ an *Akhund*, or tutor, for his children and allow the children of poorer neighbours to share the benefit. Pious scholars there were too who taught the "humanities" (not Latin and Greek, but Persian and Arabic) for the love of God and such fees as the children could bring on Fridays. Their incomes were supplemented by gifts on the *Id* and when a child had mastered the first ten lessons of the primer to collect a "benefit" for the master. Persian was the language of literature and business, and not only Muslmans, but Hindus who hoped for government service, acquired it by these agencies. Besides these there were hundreds of *Maulvis* sitting on the platform of the village mosque, or under tree, and teaching little boys and girls to read the *Koran* without understanding and receiving in return an allowance of grain at harvest time, with other humble perquisites. In 1853 the number of small schools of these kinds in the Karachi, Hyderabad and Shikarpur Collectorates was reported to be over 600 and many must have escaped registration. There was, however, a need which they could not meet. Sindhi was the

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(1) Mr Burton states: "He probably is nine years old before he proceeds to the next step-the systematic study of the mother tongue, the Sindhi."

language of common life among all, from the Mir to the Muhana, and though it was not considered a fit vehicle for learning,(1) or polite correspondence, the Hindu traders kept their accounts and carried on all their business in it, using a Hindu character based on the Devanagari, of which there were several varieties. Having no vowel marks, it was extremely difficult to decipher except the reader knew what the writer was likely to mean, which no doubt made it more suitable for their purpose. There were a few Hindu schools for instruction in this, but for the most part the sons of men of business appear to have acquired their commercial education at home or from neighbours. Such was the condition of learning under the Talpurs. The British Government confiscated the endowments, or stopped the allowances of the Tatta Sayads, and British influence dried up to a great extent the spontaneous springs which had nourished the indigenous educational agencies. At the same time it created a new want; schools in which the English language could be learned became urgently necessary. Earnest executive officers, working under many difficulties, were the first to see the need and made efforts to meet it. Captain Rathborne, Collector of Hyderabad, moved in the matters as early as 1845, asking the Government of India to sanction an outlay of Rs. 3,000 a year. But questions were asked and difficulties were raised, a competent master could not be found, and finally, after three years' correspondence, the subject was dropped. Captain Preedy, Collector of Karachi, went to work in a different way and was more successful. He founded the Karachi Free School, apparently at his own expense, and in 1846 entrusted it to a local committee on the express condition that all instruction, as far as the subject permitted, should be given through the medium of Christian religious publications and that these should include the whole Bible. In 1853 this school was handed over, on the same condition, to the Church Mission Society, and it continues to this day, its principal hall being the original school house built by Captain Preedy in the compound of his own Kutcherry. At Shikarpur also an English school was started and kept up by the liberality of Captain Goldsmid.

At last the Bombay Board of Education took up the question of organising an educational agency in Sindh, and about the same time there was a movement in favour of making Sindhi the official language of the Province, which involved the question of vernacular education. Few of the English officials



could speak Sindhi and none of their Munshis could write it. The administration was carried on through interpreters and records were kept in mongrel Persian. In 1851 Mr. (afterwards Sir Bartle) Frere issued a circular requiring all officers in civil employ to pass an examination in colloquial Sindhi; but the language could not be used for official correspondence until it had an alphabet. Captain (afterwards Sir Richard) Burton strongly advocated the adoption of the Arabic alphabet, with such addition of dots and signs as might be necessary to indicate sounds, cerebral, guttural and pectoral, in which Sindhi is peculiar. Captain Stack, his only equal in knowledge of the language and author of a dictionary of it in the Devanagri character, contended for the adoption of one or other of the Hindu-Sindhi alphabets already in use among traders, with similar modifications. The contention raged for some time and until the question was set at rest vernacular education could not even begin. Mr. Frere was of opinion that Hindus would not learn the one alphabet, nor Muslmans condescend to use the other. In 1853, however, the Court of Directors of the East India Company decided that the Arabic should have a trial. and at the same time sanctioned an annual expenditure of Rs. 10,000 for educational purposes. Then Mr. Frere acted promptly. Mr. (afterwards Sir Barrow) Ellis, with the assistance of some native scholars, devised an alphabet extending the 29 Arabic letters to 52,(1) which was printed and issued in July 1853, after which the preparation of school-books by translation from Persian, Urdu, Marathi and Gujarati, went on apace. In December, 1854, Mr. Ellis was able to report that 10 books on Arithmetic, History, Geography &c., were ready. An English school was opened at Karachi in October next year, with 68 pupils (mostly not natives of Sindh), school buildings were sanctioned at Hyderabad and Shikarpur, and smaller buildings for vernacular schools at 132 other towns.

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(1) This statement is not correct. The committee made some alterations in the alphabet devised by Makhdoom Abul Hassan.

## LANGUAGE

Aitken, E. H.

The natives of Province whether Hindu or Musalman, speak the Sindhi language, which has been thus described by Sir R. Burton, one of the greatest authorities on the subject in his time. "The Sindhi dialect is a language perfectly distinct from any spoken in India. It is spoken, with many varieties, from the northern boundary of Kattywar as far north as Bahawalpur and extends from the hills to the west to the Desert which separates Sindh from the eastern portion of the Indian peninsula. These limits will agree with the Moslem accounts of the extent of empire belonging to the Race or Hindoo rulers of Sindh. Its grammatical structure is heterogenous, the noun and its branches belonging to the Sanskrit, whereas the verb and adverb are formed, apparently, upon the Persian model. The dialect abounds in Arabic words, which, contrary to the usual rule in India and Central Asia, constitute the common, not the learned, names of things, as *Jabal*, a hill; *Basar*, an onion (in Arabic *Basal*); *Abbo*, a father; *Thum*, garlic (from the Arabic *Fum*); *Shay*, a thing; *Kull*, all, etc. Pure as well as corrupted Sanskrit words perfectly unintelligible to unlearned natives of the Indian peninsula, are perpetually occurring in Sindh, as *Saeer*<sup>(1)</sup> sir; *Kukkur*, a cock; *Jas*, victory; *Apar*, endless; etc. Dr. Ernest Trumpp, a great authority, describes Sindhi as "a pure Sanskritical language, more free from foreign elements than any other of the North Indian Vernaculars", and "much more closely related to the old Prakrit than the Marathi, Hindi, Panjabi or Bengali of our days". There are of course local dialects and vulgarisms. Hyderabad is the model and the language spoken in the Vicholo, or middle country, of which it is the social centre, is "pure Sindhi". From Tatta southwards the dialect of the Lar, or low country, prevails, of which the most noticeable peculiarity is the dropping of the letter H, even in the aspirated consonants. There are also many peculiar words in use, imported from Cutch and Thar. The three northern Talukas of the Hyderabad District are called Utar and their dialect *Utradi*. It

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(1) may be saeen ساين

resembles Shikarpuri: *hitre*(1) and *Kithre*(2) begin to take the place of *hite* and *Kithe*. In Shikarpur, besides such differences in pronunciation, there are a good many words in common use which betray the influence of Hindustani, such as *dhobi* instead of *khati* for a washerman and *bhang* instead of *shikari* for a sweeper. In this region there is also a distinct dialect in use, known as *Jatki*, or *Siraiki* (i.e., the language of the north country), which is common to it and part of the Punjab and is regarded by Sindhis as a dialect of Panjabi. Panjabis, on the other hand, are said to consider it a dialect of Sindhi. It is spoken chiefly by the *Jats* and some of the Baluch tribes (Rind, Laghari, etc) and by the Abbassis. There is another more or less distinct dialect called Thareli, spoken by the nomads and wild people of the Thar desert. It appears to be compounded of Sindhi, Marwari and other ingredients.(3) The tongue of Ubauro, which has become proverbial for corruptness, is perhaps only an extreme form of this. Many Baluchis use among themselves the Balochki, language, which has been described as Persian disguised under a corrupt and unaccountable system of pronunciation, but is really a distinct language belonging to the Iranian branch of the Aryan group; while the *Brahuis* very generally use their own *Brahuiki*, a tongue apparently of the Dravidian stock which has given rise to much speculation. But all resident Baluchis and Brahuis understand and can speak Sindhi. Afghans, Marathas and Gujerathis speak their own languages among themselves and the last are so important in Karachi that notices and signboards are often written in Gujerati. Hindustani is generally understood in large towns and English is coming into general use among the educated even for their private correspondence. The Arabic-Sindhi alphabet is universally employed now in writing and printing Sindhi, except by Banias, who still cling to the *Nagri* stenography known as *Bania*, or *Hinud-Sindhi*, for all purposes of business. A few old-fashioned Hindus and Musalmans keep up the practice of corresponding in Persian.

In the Census of 1901, of the total population of 3,210,910 persons, 2,734,356 gave Sindhi as their native language, 102,897 Balochki, 90,200 Gujerati, 30,976 Panjabi, 24,774 Hindi, 11,366 Marathi and 152,479 "Rajasthani". The last is practically equivalent to Marwari and Gujerati includes Kachi, so that 242,679

• speak the languages of the countries east and south of Sindh. Of these 93,000 are found in Thar and Parkar, 62,000 in the Hyderabad District, mainly in those talukas west of Umarkot and the chief routes through the desert, while more than 30,000 are in Karachi town. Of the 102,897 classed under Balochki in the Imperial Census Tables, more than 45,000 gave Brahuiki as their language. Of these 19,000 were in the Karachi District and the rest in Larkana, Sukkur and the Upper Sindh Frontier. The speakers of Hindi and Panjabi were chiefly in a few towns, such as Karachi, Sukkur, Shikarpur, Jacobabad and Kashmore, and the Marathas were almost to a man in Karachi.

## LANGUAGE

P. J. Mead and G. Laird Macgregor

### 201. Language in Sindh

The language of Sindh have caused some difficulty in the linguistic Survey and a detailed examination of them will be useful. The number of speaking Sindhi shows a rise of 4 percent, against an increase in the population of 10 per cent. But Siraiki has now been shown under Panjabi whereas last time\* it unduly weighted the figures of Sinhdi. The decrease in Rajasthani is due to the return to their homes in Rajputana of the famine immigrants of 1901. Brahui were shown last time under 'Others'. These are the main differences in the figures. Let us now consider the languages themselves.

Sindh has three main languages - Sindhi, Siraiki, and Balochi. Kachi may be disregarded here; it is largely a language of temporary immigrants and it belongs to an other part of the Bombay Presidency. Brahui also is almost entirely a language of cold weather immigrants.

The proportion of the people who speak Siraiki and Balochi is probably far greater than the census figures show, since it is the besetting sin of enumerators to enter the language which a man speaks to them instead of that which he speaks to his family.

Sindhi is a Western Sanskritic language occupying just that place between Western Panjabi and Gujarati which might be expected from its geographical position. A further instance of the effect of position on language is the way in which Sindhi approximates to the Persian group not merely in borrowed words, but in the essential parts of the language. At the same time words borrowed from Persian have found a most congenial soil in Sindh; as Sir Richard Burton remarked it is often the common people who use the Persian word while the corresponding Sindhi

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\* By toe phrase "last time" he means in the census report of 1901.

word is used only by the learned. There is probably no other part of India where Persian sounds such as 'kh' (کھ) and 'gh' (گھ) are so correctly pronounced by uneducated Muhammadans.

Except in the neighbourhood of Cutch and in the Desert (which is not included in what the Sindhis call Sindh) the language is remarkably homogenous. Philologists say that it is literature and education that prevent variation in a language. Sindh has little education and recently had not literature;\* yet a man from Kashmir can talk to a man from Shahbandar more easily than a Scotchman can to a Hampshireman.

## 202 Varieties of Sindhi

Of the Sindhi spoken in Sindh proper, which excludes the Kohistan and the Desert, there are three divisions, Upper, Middle, and Lower Sindhi. The points of difference are really very few, and are only striking because they occur in very common words and letters.

Lower Sindhi is the language of Hyderabad and its Amils, but it has not become the standard language of the educated classes. On that side it has the desert portion of the Rohri taluka of Sukkur similar phenomenon is to be seen in the Kohistan where the Lasi dialect, the home of which is in Karachi and Bela extends along the western mountains to the northern border of Upper Sindh. In this case also the dialect goes with the tribe; the Chhutto and *Gaincho* tribes speak Lasi, but the Baloch mountaineers\* if they speak Sindhi at all, speak the local dialect.

The Kohistan is not 'Sindh' but Lasi is certainly Sindhi, and although it is easily distinguishable it is also easily understood by plainsmen.

The Sindhi of the Hindus differs from that of Musalmans some-what as Hindi from Urdu. The ordinary Hindu in other words the Vania uses fewer Persian and Arabic words and pronounces them much worse. His shibboleth is the letter 'z' which he pronounces as 'j'. The more clerical Hindus speak in practically the same way as the educated Muhammadans of their neighbourhood. It is noticeable, however, that the educated Hindus of the north avoid some of the broader words

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\* This is incorrect statement.

of Upper Sindhi, and their language is much the same as the Middle Sindhi of Sehwan and Naushahro Feroz.

This is about the only sign of assimilation of dialects by education. If there ever is a standard Sindhi it will probably be that of Middle Sindhi. If the Hyderabadis could pronounce the double letters 'tr' and 'dr' the rest would be easy.

*Khatianki* is a strange instance of a Sindhi dialect imported into Sindh from outside. It is the language of the *Khatian* or *Khatras* and Pathans who live in the mountains of Balochistan among the Balochis and Pathans. How they got there is not known. But those that are in Sindh now came with other mountain clansmen to join the army of the Kalhora princes.

### 203. Siraiki

Siraiki is Western Panjabi and nothing else. It is entirely distinct from Sindhi. It is not even an outside dialect of Western Panjabi but is the identical language spoken in Dera Ghazi Khan and Bahawalpur. Its proper name is *Jatki*. Siraiki is merely the Sindhi name of it, meaning the language of the *Sirais* or 'men from up river'. It is the language of all camel men (commonly called Jats) in Upper and Middle Sindh of the Talpur royal family, the Legharis and other Baloch immigrants from Dera Ismail Khan, and of a large number of zamindars and peasants throughout Upper Sindh, especially in the north-west. It extends into Balochistan as far as Sibi.

Its vocabulary was always very like that of Sindhi and tends to become more like it in districts remote from the Panjab. But its characteristics prepositions and genitive (*da*), its terminations in 'a' instead of 'o' and its entirely different verbal declensions would keep it a separate language even if it borrowed the whole of its nouns.

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Taken from Census of India, Volume VII Bombay, Part I, Report, printed & published at Government Central Press, Bombay, 1912.

## INDO-ARYAN VERNACULARS

Sir G.A. Grierson

16. We can now consider the three Pahari languages. The word "Pahari" means "of or belonging to the mountain", and is used as a convenient name for the three groups of Indo-Aryan vernacular languages spoken in the lower ranges of the Himalaya from Nepal in the east to Bhadravah in the west. Going from east to west, these three groups are Eastern Pahari, Central Pahari, and Western Pahari.

17. Eastern Pahari is commonly called "Nepali" or Naipali" by Europeans, but this name is hardly suitable, as it is not the principal language of Nepal. In that State the principal languages are Tibeto-Burman, the most important being Newari, the name of which is also derived from the word "Nepal". Other names for Eastern Pahari are "Parbatiya" or "the Hill language", and "Khas Kura" or "the language of the Khas tribe". We shall shortly see that the last name is not in appropriate. Eastern Pahari being spoken in a mountainous country has no doubt many dialects. Into one of these, Palpa, spoken in Western Nepal, the Serampore missionaries made a version of the New Testament, and as Nepal is independent territory to which Europeans have little access, that is our one source of information concerning it. The standard dialect is that of the valley of Kathmando, and in this there is a small printed literature, all modern. The dialect of Eastern Nepal has of late years been adopted by the missionaries of Darjiling as the standard for a grammar and for their translation of the Bible. Eastern Pahari is written and printed in the Nagari character.

18. Central Pahari is the name of the language of the British Districts of Kumaun and Garhwal and of the State of Garhwal. It has two main dialects, Kumauni and Garhwali. A few books have of late years been written in Kumauni and one or two in Garhwali. So far as I have seen, both these dialects are written in the Nagari character.

19. Western Pahari is the name of the large number



of connected dialects spoken in the hill country of which Simla, the summer headquarters of the Government of India, is the political centre. These dialects have no standard form, and beyond a few folk-epics, no literature. The area over which they are spoken extends from the Jaunsar-Bawar tract of the United Provinces, and thence, in the Province of the Panjab, over the State of Sirmaur, the Simla Hills, Kulu, and the States of Mandi and Cama, upto, in the west, the Bhadrawah Jagir of Kasmir. It has numerous dialects, all differing considerably amongst themselves, but nevertheless possessing many common features. We may take as typical, Jaunsari, of Jaunsar-Bawar; Kiuthali, the dialect spoken in the hills round Simla; Kului, of Kulu; and Cameali, of Camba. Western Pahari is written in the Takkari or Takari alphabet, already referred to as the alphabet used for the Dogri dialect of Panjabi. It has most of the disadvantages of Landa, being very imperfectly supplied with signs for the vowels. Medial short vowels are usually altogether omitted, and medial long vowels are represented by the characters which are also used for initial vowels whether long or short. In the case of Cameali, the character has been supplied with the missing signs, and books have been printed in it that are as legible and correct as anything in Nagari.

20. It has long been recognized that all the Pahari languages are at the present day closely allied to Rajasthani, and we have seen above that Central Pahari (to which we may here add Eastern Pahari) more nearly agrees with the eastern dialects of that language, especially with Mewati and Jaipuri, while Western Pahari agrees rather with Western Rajasthani. We have also seen that the areas of Central Pahari and Western Pahari together coincide with the ancient Sapadalaksa. I shall now state what I believe to be the origin of these languages. The bulk of the agricultural population of the modern Sapadalaksa consists, in the west, of Kanets, and in the east, of members of the Khas tribe. The Kanets are divided into two clans, one called Khasiya, which claims to be of pure, and the other called Rao (Raja or Rajput), which admits that it is of impure birth. The chiefs of the country all claim to be of Rajput descent. We thus see that the whole of modern Sapadalaksa is either peopled with, or contains, many people who call themselves Khas or Khasiya. That these represent the Khasas, Khasas, or Khasiras of the Mahabharata cannot

be doubted. Like the Pisacas, they were said to be descended from Kasyapa, the founder of Kasmir. They are frequently mentioned in the Rajtuarangini, and in the Mahabharata they are often referred to as a people of the north-west, and even as closely connected with the Kasmiras and Pisacas (vii, 399). They were Aryans, but had fallen outside the Aryan pale of purity (viii, 2055 ff.). The Harivamsa (784, 6440), the Puranas, Law books, etc., all agree in placing them in the north-west. Stein (I.C.) shows that in Kalhana's time their seat was, roughly, the valleys lying immediately to the south and west of the Pir Pantsal range, between the middle course of the Vitasta on the west and Kastavata (the modern Kishtwar) on the east. That they eventually spread eastwards over the whole of Sapadalaksa is shown by their existence there at the present day. They must have conquered and absorbed the previous inhabitants, who were probably non-Aryan Mundas. In later years (about the sixteenth century A.D.) they advanced into Nepal, and there, mixing with the Tibeto-Burmans and Mundas whom they found there, became the Khas or ruling tribe of that country.

21. We have seen that these Khasas are, in Sanskrit literature, frequently associated with the Pisacas. They must have spoken a language akin to the modern Pisaca languages, for traces of the latter are readily found over the whole Sapadalaksa tract, diminishing in strength as we go eastwards. The Gurjaras, modern Gujars, seem to have first appeared in India about the fifth or sixth century A.D. D.R. Bhandarkar has shown (I.C.) that they occupied Sapadalaksa. There they amalgamated with the Khasa population that they found in situ. In Western Sapadalaksa they became the Rao sept of the Kanets, but were not admitted to equality of caste with the older Khasiya Kanets. In East Sapadalaksa they became altogether merged in the great mass of the Khas population. These Gurjaras were those who took to cultivation, or who adhered to their pastoral pursuits. The fighting men, as we have seen, became Rajputs. From Sapadalaksa, Gurjaras migrated to Mewat, and thence settled over Eastern Rajputana. In later years, under the pressure of Musalman rule, many Rajputs remigrated to Sapadalaksa, and again settled there. In fact, there was continual intercourse between Sapadalaksa and Rajputana. Finally, as we have seen, Nepal was conquered by people of the Khas tribe, who of course included many of these Gurjara-Rajputs. In this way the close connexion between the three Pahari languages and Rajasthani

is fully explained.

22. Finally, as shown by V. Smith, certain of the Gurjaras who had settled in Eastern Rajputana again migrated towards the north-west, and invaded the Panjab from the south-east. They left a line of colonists extending from Mewat, up both sides of the Jamna valley, and thence, following the foot of the Himalaya, right up to the Indus. Where they have settled in the plains they have abandoned their own languages, and speak that of the surrounding population, but as we enter the lower hills we invariably come upon a dialect locally known as Gujrai. In each case this can be described as the language of the people nearest the local Gujras, but badly spoken, as if by foreigners. The further we go into these sparsely populated hills, the more independent do we find this Gujar dialect, and the less it is influenced by its surroundings. At length, when we get into the wild hill-country of Swat and Kasmir, we find the nomad Gujars (here called Gujurs) still pursuing their original pastoral avocations and still speaking the descendant of the language that their ancestors brought with them from Mewat. But this shows traces of its long journey. It contains odd phrases and idioms of the Hindostani of the Jamna valley, which were picked up *en route* and carried to the distant hills of Dardistan. We thus see that there are two classes of Gujar languages in the sub-Himalaya. There is first the mixed languages of the Gurjaras who conquered the Khasas of Sapadalaksa, some of whom migrated later to Mewat; *and there is also the Gujuri of Swat and the Kasmir hills, which is the language carried by some of these last back to the Himalaya.*

24. We now come to the Outer languages. Besides differences in matters of detail we may here draw attention to one characteristic in which they all agree in showing a marked contrast to the language of the Midland. This is, that while Hindi has a grammar that is essentially analytic, the Outer languages are passing from that stage and are now again becoming synthetic like their Sanskritic ancestors. It is true that in most of them the declension of nouns is still analytic, but in all, the conjugation of the verb, owing to the use of Pronominal suffixes, is strongly synthetic. As regards the Intermediate language, we may say that the western ones (Panjabi, Rajasthani, Gujarati, and Pahari) agree in this respect with the Midland, while Eastern Hindi agrees with the Outer

languages.

The Outer languages fall, as shown in the list in § 3, into three groups. The first, or north-western group, consists of Lahnda and Sindhi. *The character of both these languages is complicated by the fact that they are strongly influenced by the Modern Pisaca languages lying immediately to their north.*

25. Lahnda is the language of the Western Panjab. As explained under the head of Panjabi, there is no distinct boundary line between it and Lahnda, which, more even than elsewhere in India, insensibly merge into each other, 74°E, being taken as the conventional boundary-line. The influence of Modern Pisaca languages on Lahnda will be understood when we consider that the country in which it is spoken includes the ancient land of Kekaya, and that while the Prakrit grammarians give extremely contradictory lists of the localities in which Pisaci Parakrit was spoken, they all are united in agreeing about one, and only one, locality-Kekaya. Lahnda is known by several other names, such as Western Panjabi, Jatki, Ucci, and Hindki. The word "Lahnda" itself means "(sun)-setting", and hence "the west". As applied to a language it is merely a conventional abbreviation of the Panjabi Lahnde-di boli, or "the language of the west", spoken from the point of view of the Eastern Panjab. "Western Panjabi" has the disadvantage of suggesting that Lahnda is a dialect of Panjabi, whereas it is nothing of the sort. 'Jatki' means the language of the Jatt tribe, which is numerous in the central part of the Lahnda tract; but Lahnda is spoken by millions of people who are not Jatts, and millions of Jatts of the Eastern Panjab do not speak Lahnda. "Ucci", the language of the town of Ucc (Uch or Ooch of the maps), is really another name for the Multani dialect of Lahnda. "Hindki", the language of the Hindus (i.e. non-Pathans), is the name given to Lahnda in the west of the Lahnda tract, in which Musalman Pasto-speaking Pathans also dwell.

Lahnda has four dialects: a central, spoken in the country south of the Salt Range, and considered as the standard; a southern or Multani, spoken in the country round Multan; a north-eastern or Pothwari, spoken in the eastern and western Salt Range and to the north as far as the borders of Kasmir; and a north-western or Dhanni, spoken in the central Salt Range and northwards up to the northern extremity of the District of

Hazara, where it meets Shina. Both Shina and Kamsiri are Modern Pisaca languages.

Beyond ballad and other folk-songs, Lahnda has no literature. Its proper written character is the landa or "clipped" character mentioned in connexion with Panjabi, but, owing to its illegibility, this is being superseded by the Persian, or, amongst Europeans, by the Roman character.

26. Sindhi is the language of Sindh, the country on each side of the River Indus, commencing about lat. 29°N. and stretching thence down to the sea. In the north it merges into Lahnda, to which it is closely related. *Sindh included the ancient Vracada country, and Prakrit grammarians recorded the existence of both a Vracada Apabhramsa and a Vracada Paisaci.*<sup>2</sup> Sindhi has five recognized dialects, *Vicoli, Siraiki, Lari, Thareli, and Kacchi*. The first is spoken in Central Sindh. It is the standard dialect, and that employed in literature. Siraiki is merely a form of Vicoli and is no real dialect. The only difference consists in its pronunciation being more clearly articulated and in slight variations of vocabulary. In Sindhi the word "Siro" means the "head" of anything and "Siraiki" hence comes to mean "up-stream", or "northern" from the point of view of the Lar or Lower Sindh. Siraiki is considered by Sindhis to be the purest form of the language, or, as a local proverb says, "a learned man of the Lar<sup>u</sup> is an ox in the Siro". In this connexion it must be remembered that, as a name of a locality "the Siro" or "up-stream country" is a relative term, and that its meaning varies according to the locality of the speaker. The lower down the Indus a man lives, the larger the extent of the Siro, and, from the point of view of an inhabitant of the Lar<sup>u</sup>, the term practically includes also the Vicolo, or Central Sindh. Lari is the languages of the Lar<sup>u</sup> already mentioned, and is considered to be rude and uncouth, but it retains many old forms, and displays one important feature of the Modern Pisaca languages the disaspiration of sonant consonants- which no longer exists in Vicoli. Thareli and Kacchi are both mixed dialects. The former is spoken in the Thar<sup>u</sup>, or desert, of Sindh, which forms the political boundary between that province and the Marwar country. It is a transition form of speech representing Sindhi shading off into Rajasthani Marwari. Kacchi, on the other hand, is a mixture of Sindhi

and Gujarati, spoken in Kacch. Sindhi has received very little literary cultivation, and few books have been written in it. Its proper alphabet is Landa, which, as usual, varies from place to place, and is hardly legible. The Gurmukhi and Nagari characters are also employed, but the Persain alphabet, with several additional letters for sounds peculiar to the language, is the one in general use.

## SINDHI

The word 'Sindhi' is an adjective, and means 'of or belonging to the province of Sindh'.(1)

It is hence used to designate the language of that country. The name of the language indicates with fair accuracy the locality in which it is spoken; but, as we shall see, it extends beyond the borders of Sindh in every direction,---on the north into *Baluchistan* and the *Panjab*, on the east into *Rajputana*, on the south into Cutch, and on the west into *Las*.

The Province of Sindh(2) comprises three well-defined tracts; the Kohistan, or hilly country, which lies as a solid block between Karachi and Sehwan, and is there continued north as a narrow fringe along the skirts of the *Kirthar* range; Sindh proper, the central alluvial plain, watered by the Indus; and the *Registan*, or *Thar* (properly 'Thar', a band of so-called desert on the eastern border. Sindh proper is divided by tradition into three parts, viz: the *Lar* (properly 'Lar') or Lower Sindh, extending from the sea-coast up to near Hyderabad; the *Vicholo*, or Central Sindh, extending further northwards from Lar up to about midway between Sehwan and Larkana; and the *Siro*, or Upper Sindh, north of the *Vicholo*. It is important to bear this division in mind, as reference will again be made to it when we come to speak of the dialects. Sindhi is spoken all over Sindh proper, and from North Sindh has overflowed, --- to the north-west into Baluchistan, to the north and north-east into the Panjab and the State of Bahawalpur.

On the west, it is bounded by the mountain range separating Sindh from Baluchistan. This has not been crossed by Sindhi except in the southern part of the Kohistan in Karachi. Here the general language is Balochi, but Sindhi is also spoken and has overflowed into the territory of the Jam of Las Bela. On the south, Sindhi has crossed the Ran of Cutch, and is spoken by a large number of people in Cutch, alongside of

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1. The official spelling is 'Sind', but, throughout this volume, I use the fuller spelling 'Sindh'.
  2. See Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. xxii, p. 389.

other languages belonging to the mainland. Thence it has further overflowed on to the mainland of Gujarat and the peninsula of Kathiawar. In Cutch, as might be expected, the speakers of Sindhi (in the Kachchhi dialect) are most numerous in the north-west of the peninsula. On the east, Sindhi has overflowed into the Thar, and thence into the neighbouring parts of the Marwar and Jaisalmer States of Rajputana.

On the west, Sindhi is bounded by Balochi, an Eranian language with which it has but a distant affinity, and by which it is little influenced. On the north, it is bounded by Lahnda, with which it is closely connected. Lahnda is spoken not only to the north of Sindhi, but also by more than 100,000 immigrants scattered all over Sindh, side by side with Sindhi. Although closely connected with Lahnda, Sindhi, except in the extreme north, is little influenced by it, and such influence is almost entirely in the matter of vocabulary. On the other hand, the neighbouring Sindhi is much influenced by it, and such influence is almost entirely in the matter of vocabulary. On the other hand, the neighbouring Sindhi has much influenced not only the Lahnda spoken in Sindh, but also the Lahnda of the South-Western Panjab spoken near the Sindhi frontier (vide post, pp. 357ff. and p. 333).

On the east, Sindhi is bounded by the *Marwari* dialect of Rajasthani. In the Thar and in Marwar there are speakers of Sindhi and speakers of Marwari living intermingled side by side. Hence, as might be expected, there are several forms of speech that are mixtures of Sindhi and Marwari in varying proportions. Sindhi and Marwari belong to different groups of Indo-Aryan vernaculars, and therefore do not merge into each other through intermediate dialects. The mixed dialects here referred to are, rather, what may be called mechanical mixtures, words and forms being borrowed by one or other of the neighbouring dialects as ready made vocables of foreign origin, much as, though to a larger extent, French words are borrowed by English at the present day, or as the French have borrowed our institution of five o'clock tea, and have concocted a new French verb 'five-o'clocker'.

On the south and south-east, Sindhi is bounded by various dialects of Gujrati. A reference to Vol. IX, Pt. ii, p. 327, will show that Gujarati, although member of the central Group of



the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars, has at its base an old, lost language of the Outer Circle of those vernaculars, of which Sindhi is also a member. This lost language was therefore akin to Sindhi, and when in the south and south-east we come across Sindhi in contact with Gujarati, we find free intermingling of the two languages, and the formation of what is a real distinct dialect of Sindhi, not a mere mixture with Gujarati in the various forms of Kachchhi. It must not be supposed that there is not also here mechanical intermixture. There is a great deal of it, and, as Gujarati is freely spoken all over Cutch by people whose numbers and influence vary from place to place, the proportion of Gujarati in Kachchhi thus depends largely on locality.

In the Introduction to the Lahnda section of volume VIII (post, pp. 234ff.) it will be explained that Lahnda and Sindhi form together the North-Western Group of the Outer Circle of Indo-Aryan vernaculars, and also that they possess many characteristics that connect them with the Dardic languages of the North-West Frontier, and especially with Kashmiri. I do not here anticipate the consideration of this general fact, and confine myself now to those points that especially concern Sindhi.

In the modern Dardic languages little or no distinction is made between cerebral and dental letters. In the *Thali* dialect of *t* and *d* very often become *t* and *d* respectively. Examples are Hindi *taba*, but Sindhi *tamo*, or even *tramo*, copper; Hindi *dena*, but Sindhi, *ddiari*, to give. It may here be noted that the ancient Prakrit Grammarians stated that the same change occurred in the Vrachada Apabhramsa Prakrit from which Sindhi is derived. Again, in the Lari dialect a cerebral *r* is very frequently changed to a dental *r*.

Attention will be drawn to the fact that while most Indo-Aryan vernaculars drop a *t* between two vowels, this is frequently not the case in Lahnda and Panjabi,—as in L. and P. *sita*, sewn, but Hindi *sia*; L. and P. *pita*, drunk, but Hindi *pia*. In Sindhi, there is the same tendency to retain this *t*. Thus, Sindhi *pito*, drunk, but Hindi *pia*; Sindhi *chhuto*, touched, but Hindi *chhua*; Sanskrit *jñatakah*, known, Sindhi *jjato*; Sanskrit *saṃjñatakah* recognized, Sindhi *sunato*; Sindhi *Kito* or *kio*, done, but Hindi *kia*; Sindhi *suto*, asleep, but Hindi *soa*, and others.

In the Dardic languages *r* between two vowels is often elided. Thus, in Pashai we may have either *karam* or *kam*, for 'I do', and in Bashgali *dao* corresponding to the Sanskrit *daru*, wood. In standard Sindhi no instances of this have been noted, but in the Kachchhi dialect we have instances such as *chayan-la* for *charan-la* for *charan-la*, in order to graze; *kayn laga* for *karan lage*, they began to make, and others. In connexion with the elision of *r*, it may be noted that *tr* and *dr* of the standard dialect are pronounced *t* and *d* respectively in the Lari dialect. Thus, the standard *putru*, a son, becomes *putʳ* in Lari, and *mandrʳ*, an incantation, becomes *mandʳ*.

It is to be remembered that non-literary dialects often retain peculiarities that have disappeared in the high literary standard. We have seen this in the case of the medial *r*, and another instance will be found in the treatment of the aspirated sonant consonants *gh*, *jh*, *dh*, and *bh*. In the Dardic languages these letters do not occur, but are always disaspirated, being represented by the corresponding unaspirated sonants, viz: by *g*, *j*, *d*, and *b*, respectively. The same disaspiration is not unfrequent in Lahnda. In Literary Sindhi it is rare, the only instance quoted by Trumpp in his grammar being the word *mad*, 'liquor', as compared with the Sanskrit *maduh*-. But in the southern dialects it is very common indeed. (A long list of Lari examples may be found on p. 170 of the Vol. VIII Part-I).

Attention is drawn on pp. 237ff. (Vol. VI Part-I) to the manner in which double consonants derived from Prakrit are treated in the Indo-Aryan vernaculars. It was pointed out that in most of these languages one of the double consonants was dropped, and the preceding vowel was lengthened in compensation. Thus, the Sanskrit *bhaktah*, 'cooked rice', became *bhattu* in Apabhramsa Prakrit, and thence *bhat* (one *t* being dropped, and the preceding vowel being lengthened) in most modern languages.

In Panjabi, however, and also in Lahnda, which in this case imitates Panjabi, this is not the case. Here the double consonants persist, and there is therefore no necessity for compensatory lengthening, so that we get, for these two languages, *bhatt*. But the case is different in the Dardic languages and in Sindhi. In them one of the double consonants is, indeed, dropped, but there is no compensatory lengthening. Thus,

Kashmiri has bat<sup>a</sup> and Sindhi has bhat<sup>u</sup>. This is a very important point, for, as I have shown elsewhere, it goes back to very ancient times,- even to the date of the inscriptions of the Emperor Asoka (B.C.250)<sup>(1)</sup>. It most clearly shows the connexion between Sindhi and the Dardic languages.

But in Sindhi this rule is not universal. It does not apply to the sonant consonants g,j,d,d, and b. In these, the doubling of Prakrit is retained (dd in such cases being always cerebralized to dd). Nay more,- so fond is Sindhi of these doubled sonants, that it frequently doubles them even when there was no Prakrit justification for doing so. As examples, we may quote the following:-

Apabhramsa

Sindhi

aggahu

aggo, in front

ajju

ajj<sup>u</sup>, today

chhaddai

chhadde, he releases.

saddu

sadd<sup>u</sup>, a sound

ubbalei

ubbare, he boils

In all the above examples the presence of the Sindhi double consonant is justified by the Prakrit form, but in the following instances the Sindhi double consonant is not original:-

Prakrit gotthu becomes Sindh ggoth, a village.

Panjabi jatt

jjat<sup>u</sup>, a Jatt

Prakrit darai

\*ddare, he fears

Hindi dena

ddian<sup>u</sup>, to give

Sanskrit bashpa-

bbapha, steam.

It will be observed that in all the above examples it is the initial letter that is doubled, and this, in fact, is the general rule.

In one respect, Sindhi does not agree with the Dardic languages or with Lahnda. This is in regard to opensthesis. In

1. See J.R.A.S., 1913, p. 143.

\* It may be aggu (اڱو)

x Chadde tho (چڌي ٿو) means he releases Chadde (چڌي) means he may release ubbare (اوباري) means he may boil.

Kashmiri openthesis is common (see p. 250f. Vol. VIII, Part-I). For example, the word *badu*, great, is pronounced *badu*, but in Sindhi the *a* is unchanged, and we have *waddo*; similarly the Sindhi *karanu*, to do, is represented in Lahnda by *Karun* and in Kashmiri by *karun*, in both of which the second *a* has become under the influence of the original following<sup>u</sup>, which has been dropped in the modern languages. In Sindhi, in this respect, the language is in an older state than that of Lahnda or Kashmiri, and the change of vowels has not yet taken place.

It is not necessary to show here how the plurals of the Sindhi personal pronouns are based on the same originals as those of the corresponding words in Lahnda and the Dardic languages (that has been shown under the head of Lahnda of p. 236 of Vol. VIII, Part-I). Similarly, as will also be there shown, the use of pronominal suffixes is extremely common in the Dardic languages as well as in Lahnda and Sindhi, as in the Kashmiri *moru-m*, Lahnda *mareu-m*, Sindhi *maryu-m<sup>e</sup>*, struck by me, i.e. I struck.

As regards the conjugation of verbs, attention may be drawn to a few points. The termination of the infinitive in Sindhi closely agrees with the corresponding form in Kashmiri. As shown above, and also post, p. 250 (of the Vol. VIII, Part-I), the Kashmiri *Karun*, to do, represents an original *Karanu*, and in Sindhi we actually have *karanu*. Again, as in *mara-n*, striking, and in North-Eastern Lahnda in *na*, as in *mar-na*, striking. In standard Sindhi the present participle ends in *-ndo*, but, again in the dialects, we come across sporadic instances of a present participle in *no*. Thus, we shall see in the grammatical part of this introduction that the Sindhi, future is formed by adding pronominal suffixes to the present participle and in the Kachchhi dialect we have *marine*, thou shalt strike, as compared with the standard *marinde*.

In the formation of the passive voice, the Dardic language Shina makes it by adding *ij* to the root. Thus, *shid-emus*, I am striking, but *shid-uj-emus*, I am being struck. Similarly in Sindhi, the passive is formed by adding *ij* (with a short *i*) as in *mar-e tho*, he strikes; *mar-ij-e tho*, he is being struck.

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\* *ddare* means he may fear.

Sindhi has one important peculiarity, which it shares with only one or two other Indian languages, viz. that every word must end in a vowel. When that vowel is short, it is very lightly pronounced, so as to be hardly audible to a European (see p. 22, Vol. VIII, Part-I), and in this respect Sindhi agrees with Kashmiri.

We have the express statement of the Prakrit grammarian Markandeya (xviii,1) that the Apabhramsa Prakrit spoken in Sindh was called origin of Sindhi.

'Varchada': It is from this that Sindhi is derived. Markandeya gives a few particulars regarding this Apabhramsa. He says (xviii, 5) that, at the beginning of a word *t* and *d* may optionally become *t* and *d* respectively. We have already seen that this is the case in Sindhi. In Vrachada (xviii, 3) all sibilants were pronounced as *s* (or, as transliterated in Sindhi, *sh* شى),. So, e.g., in Sindhi the Sanskrit *vishaya*- ( ) becomes *vis*\*, ( *vishu*), 'the world, and the Sanskrit *simhara*, lion, becomes *shi* ( شينهن). The other points mentioned by Markandeya are either matters of detail, or, in the present state of our knowledge, unintelligible.

### Dialects:

According to the usual computation, Sindhi has four dialects, viz. the standard (or *Vicholi*), *Siraiki*, *Thareli*, and *Lari*.

The specimens received for this Survey, however, show that, a dialect of Sindhi, *Siraiki* has no real existence, and that, on the other hand, two other dialects, *Lasi* and *Kachchhi*, have to be added to the list.

### Vicholi and Siraiki:

We have already seen (p. 5) that Sindh proper is divided into three parts: viz. the *Lar*\*, or Lower Sindh; the *Vicholo*, or Central Sindh and the *Siro*, or Upper Sindh. The standard, or *Vicholi*, dialect of Sindhi is that spoken in the *Vicholo*, which may be taken to mean roughly the country round Hyderabad. This is the dialect described in the following grammatical sketch of Sindhi, and is that employed in literature and by educated people all over Sindh.

The word '*Siro*' means 'Upper' and, with reference to Upper Sindh, means 'Upstream'. It, however, really means any country up the stream of the Indus, and thus includes the Lahnda-speaking portion of the Western Panjab so far as it falls within the purview of the speakers of Sindhi. From '*Siro*' is derived '*Siraiki*', which thus means, 'the language of the 'upstream country'. It is evident that this can have two meanings. Either it may mean 'the Sindhi spoken in Upper Sindh', or it may mean 'the Lahnda spoken higher up the Indus than Sindh', and, as a matter of fact, it is used in Sindh in both these senses. In order to prevent confusion, I shall henceforth call the former '*Siraiki Sindhi*', and the latter '*Siraiki-Lahnda*'. There are numerous immigrants from Lahnda-speaking tracts in Sindh, so that the province has a considerable population whose language is Siraiki-Lahnda (Their form of speech has been dealt with at length on pp. 35ff. of Vol. VIII, Part-I, under the head of Lahnda).

As for Siraiki Sindhi, an examination of the sepecimens shows that it differs from the standard Sindhi of the Vicholi only in having a more clearly articulated pronunciation, and a slightly different vocabulary. This does not entitle it to be classed as a separate dialect, and I hence class Siraiki Sindhi as a form of Vicholi. *The number of speakers of standard Sindhi in Sindh and the neighbourhood, as reported for this Survey, on the basis of the Census of 1891, is as follows:*

Name of District	Number of Speakers
Vicholi:-	
Karachi .....	370,780
Hyderabad .....	791,000
Thar and Parkar .....	166,556
Cutch .....	1,350
Kathiawar .....	46,000
	Carried over 1,375,686
Siraiki Sindhi:-	
Shikarpur2 .....	824,000
Khairpur (State) .....	119,000

1. Since these statistics were collected, the Dist: of Shikarpur has been divided into two Districts of Larkana and Sukkur. It is impossible to divide the figures so as to correspond to the new state of affairs, and hence the old District name has been retained.

Upper Sindh Frontier .....	100,000
Bahawalpur (State) .....	21,416
Baluchistan.....	48,510
Total Rs. 2,488,612	

Thareli is the name of the form of Sindhi spoken in the Tharu or Registan, i.e. the desert on the eastern border of Sindh, separating it from the Marwar Sate of Rajputana. A variant of the name is Tharechi. In Marwar this desert is called the 'Dhat, and the dialect is called 'Dhatiki', Under whatever name it is called, it is a mixture of Sindhi and Marwari, and varies from place to place according to the predominance of one or other language. It is sopken by 204,749 people, but, the language being a mixed one, these figures have already been included in Vol. IX, Pt. ii, p. 122, under the head of Marwari. They cannot therefore be in this case, credited to Sindhi. In the table below, these figures are therefore entered between brackets, and are not included in the total for Sindhi.

### Lasi

To the south-west of the Vicholo, and separated from the District of Karachi by the hill country or Kohistan lies the territory of the Jam of Las Bela. In the Kohistan the principal language is Balochi, but about 200 speakers of Sindhi are also reported. In Las, Sindhi, Brahui and Balochi are spoken by various tribes. The number of speakers of Sindhi are put down at 42,413. This form of Sindhi, spoken in the Kohistan and in Las, is called Lasi. It does not seriously differ from Vicholi, but has some signs of the influence of the Lari spoken in Karachi, and also has a few peculiarities of its own. The number of speakers of Lasi is:-

Karachi .....	200
Las Bela.....	42,413
Total. <u>42,613</u>	

### Lari

To the south of the Vicholo is the Lar<sup>u</sup>, or Lower Sindh. The word 'Lar<sup>u</sup>', means 'sloping (ground)', just as 'Siro', means

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1. According to Censu report of 1961, the number of Sindhi speaking people in Kohistan.

'upper', and 'Vicholo, 'central. It is applied to that part of Sindhi which occupies the delta of the Indus. Lari, the dialect of Laru, is quite distinct from Vicholi. Natives look upon it as rude and uncouth, and it is not used for literature. We have seen, however, that it is not without interest to the philologist, as it retains certain prominent Dardic peculiarities that have been lost by Vicholi. It is reported to be spoken by 40,000 people, all of whom belong to the Karachi District.

## Kachchi

South of Sindh lies the peninsula of Cutch. Here we have a meeting place of several forms of speech, Sindhi, Marwari, and at least three dialects of Gujarati. The distribution of languages follows caste rather than locality, but Sindhi is stronger in the north-west. This dialect of Sindhi is called Kachhhi, and it is spoken not only in Cutch, but also in the neighbouring peninsula of Kathiawar. Here, in Cutch and Kathiawar, the number of speakers is estimated at 437,714. The people of Cutch are enterprising merchants, and, in addition to the above, no less than 53,500 speakers of the dialect were found in Bombay and the neighbourhood. The total number of speakers in the Bombay Presidency is therefore estimated at:-

Cutch and Kathiawar .....	437,714
Bombay and neighbourhood .....	53,500
Total	491,214

Under the head of Kachchhi are included the figures for two minor sub-dialects, Kayasthi and Bhatia, which are dealt with in detail in the proper place.

## Total Number of Speakers

The above exhausts the number of people returned for the purposes of this Survey as speaking Sindhi in the Panjab, Baluchistan, Rajputana, Sindh and elsewhere in the Bombay Presidency. Arranged according to dialects the figures are as follows, and may be taken as representing the number of speakers of Sindhi in its proper home:-

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1. Already recorded under Rajasthani (Marwari).

\* According to census report of 1961, the number of speakers is as under:



<i>Dialect</i>	<i>Number of Sepakers</i>
Vicholi (Standard) and Siraiki	
Sindhi .....	2,488,612
Thareli .....	(204,749) <sup>(1)</sup>
Lasi .....	42,614
Lari .....	40,000
Kachchii .....	491,214
Total 3,062,439	

If we add to this the 204,749 speakers of Thareli already counted elsewhere under Marwari, our total is increased to 3,267,188.

The above figures, like all the figures of this Survey, are derived from estimates based on the figures of the Census of 1891. No detailed figures for dialects are given in any later census reports, which deal only with the gross figures for languages, and, except, in rare cases, taken no cognisance of dialects. It is hence impossible, to use the figures of either the Census of 1901 or that of 1911 for our present purposes. The dialect figures here given were furnished by local officers, and were all estimates founded on local knowledge controlled by the figures of the Census of 1891, which were the only ones then available. We may, however, compare the above total with the corresponding totals for Sindhi, including all dialects, as follows:-

<i>Province or State</i>	<i>Speakers of Sindhi</i>
Baluchistan.....	6,346
Bombay.....	2,897,267
Baluchistan States .....	63,628
Baroda State .....	16,089
Bombay States .....	599,287
Panjab States .....	22,169
Rajputana Agency .....	85,118
Total 3,662,904	

In the above, the figures for the Rajputana Agency are a little too large, as they include the figures for states other than those immediately bordering on Sindh. The error cannot

be more than a few hundreds.

There remain the figures for Sindhi spoken in places where it cannot be called a vernacular. Here we can take the 1911 figures, as no attempt can be made to distinguish the different dialects. They are as follows:-

<i>Province of State</i>	<i>Speakers of Sindhi</i>
Bengal .....	235
Bihar & Orissa .....	282
Central Provinces and Behar .....	1,583
Madras.....	495
Panjab .....	1,997
United Provinces .....	362
Central India Agency .....	462
Hyderabad State.....	307
Madras States.....	730
Mysore State .....	209
Other Provinces.....	369

Total 7,031

Here the Panjab, figures are probably too large, as some of speakers must have come from the Sindh border, where Sindhi can be called a vernacular. It is impossible to separate these from the others.

Taking therefore the Survey figures for the number of people speaking Sindhi at home, and the 1911 census figures for the number of those speaking it abroad, we get the following total for all the speakers of Sindhi in India:-

Speakers at home.....	3,062,439
Speakers abroad.....	7,031
Total	<u>3,069,470</u>

If we take the 1911 census figures for both, we get:-

Speakers at home.....	3,662,904
Speakers abroad.....	7,031
Total	<u>3,669,935</u>

The difference between these two totals is 600,465, and if we allow for the increase of population between 1891 and 1911, and for the unavoidable uncertainty experienced in enumerating the speakers of border languages, such as Thareli and Siraiki Lahnda, they agree remarkably well. The growth of the population of the province of Sindh in these twenty years was 638,335.

## THE NORTH-WESTERN GROUP

Sir Grierson

The North-Western Group of Indo-Aryan Vernaculars comprises two languages - Sindhi and Lahnda.

### Where spoken:

As its name implies, the languages of this group are spoken in the extreme North-West of India, -- in the Pajab, west of about the 74th degree of east longitude, and, south of the Panjab, in Sindh and Cutch.

It is bounded on the west, in the Panjab, by Afghanistan, and in Sindh, by Baluchistan; but, in the latter country, Sindhi has overstepped the political frontier into Kachchhi, Gandava and boundaries of Baluchistan.

### Linguistic Boundaries:

In Afghanistan and in Baluchistan the languages are Eranian, and are quite distinct from both Lahnda and Sindhi. On the north, the North-Western languages are bounded by the Dardic(1) languages of the North-West Frontier, of which Kashmiri is the most important. These are closely connected with the languages now under consideration. On the east, Lahnda is bounded by Panjabi, and Sindhi by Rajastani. On the south, Lahnda has Sindhi, and Sindhi has Gujarati.

The position of Lahnda in regard to Panjabi is altogether peculiar. It may here be briefly stated that the whole Panjab is the meeting ground of two entirely distinct languages, viz. the Dardic parent of Lahnda which expanded from the Indus Valley eastwards, and the old Midland language, the parent of the modern Western Hindi, which expanded from the Jamna Valley westwards.

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1. These are the languages which elsewhere in this Survey are called 'Plisacha' languages. For the reason for the change of name, see p. 1 of Part II of Vol. VIII, Part-I.

In the Panjab they overlapped. In the Eastern Panjab, the wave of old Lahnda had nearly exhausted itself, and old Western Hindi had the mastery, the resulting language being Panjabi. In the Western Panjab, the old Western Hindi wave had nearly exhausted itself, and old Western Hindi had the mastery, the resulting language being Panjabi. In the Western Panjab, the old Western Hindi wave had nearly exhausted itself, and old Lahnda had the mastery, the resulting language being modern Lahnda. The latter language is therefore in the main of Dardic origin, but bears traces of the old Western Hindi. Such traces are much more numerous, and of much greater importance in Panjabi; Lahnda may be described as a Dardic Language infected by Western Hindi, while Panjabi is a form of Western Hindi infected by Dardic.

Sindhi, on the contrary, shows a much more clear relationship to the Dardic languages, being protected from invasion from the east by the desert of Western Rajputana. While modern Lahnda, from its origin, merges imperceptible into Panjabi, Sindhi does not merge into Rajasthani, but remains quite distinct from it. Such border dialects as exist are mere mechanical mixtures, not stages in a gradual linguistic change.

On the south, the case of Sindhi and Gujarati is nearly the same; but is a certain amount of real change from one language to another in the border dialect of Kachchhi owing to the fact that Gujarathi, although now, like Rajasthani, a member of the Central Group of Indo-Aryan Vernaculars, has at its base remnants of some north-western languages.

### **Position as regards other Indian Languages:**

The North-Western Group is a member of the Outer Circle of Indo-Aryan vernaculars. The other members of this Outer Circle are the southern language Marathi, and the eastern group of languages Oriya, Bengali, Bihari, and Assamese. The mutual connexion of all these languages, and their relationship to the Central and Mediate languages, Rajasthani, Pahari, Western Hindi, and Eastern Hindi, will be discussed in the Introductory Volume of this Survey.

1. Although the general opinion of scholars is quite different, I am personally inclined to believe that Pali, the language of the southern Buddhist scriptures, is a literary form of the ancient language spoken at Takshasilā. This accounts for the striking points of resemblance between it and Paisachi Prakrit.

Of the latter, the only forms of speech that can show any close relationship to the languages of the North-Western Group, are the three Pahari languages. These, as explained under the proper head (Vol. IX, Pt. iv, p. 14, etc.), have, like Sindhi, a basis connected with the Dardic languages.

## Ancient History

The country in which the North-Western languages are spoken is described in the Mahabharata as rude and barbarous, and as almost outside the pale of Aryan civilization (see Vol. IX, Pt. iv, p. 4). The Lahnda area at that time included the two kingdoms of Gandhara (i.e. the country round the modern Peshawar) and Kekaya (lower down the Indus, on its left bank), while the Sindhi area was inhabited by the Sindhus and Sauviras. In spite of the evil character given to the inhabitants of the country in the Mahabharata, it is certain that the capital of Gandhara, Takshasila, was, as long ago as six centuries before Christ, the site of the greatest university in India.<sup>(1)</sup> Its ruins still exist in the Rawalpindi District. It was at Salatura, close to this university, that the greatest of Sanskrit Grammarians, was born in the 5th or 4th century A.D. In those early times the land of Kekaya also was famous for its learning. We are told in the Chhandogya Upanishad (v.xi) how five great theologians came to a Brahman with hard questions, which he could not answer for them. So he sent them to Asvapati, the Kshatriya king of Kekaya, who, like a second Solomon, solved all their difficulties.

Two persons famous in Indian legend came from the Lahnda area. From Gandhara came Gandhar, the wife of

1. See also Rawlinson's note in translation of Herodotus, III, 98.

\* See the next page

2. Other examples from the North-West of India, but not necessarily connection with Alexander, are:-

Sanskrit      Greek

Amitraghata 'Αμιτροχάτης (change of /gh/to/kh/

Kashyapapura      Κάσ[ι]δ upos (retention of medial

Kubha      κωφήν (change of /bh/to/p/ph)

Sindhu      Σινδός or (Latin) Sindhus.

(change

of /dh/to/th/).

Subhagasena      Σωθαγσένος (change of bh to ph).

Cf. The Μαρτιάροφ of Ctesias, the name of a fabulous man-eating animal of North-Western India, corresponding to some word like the Persian mard-Khor.

Dhritarashtra, and mother of Duryodhana and his 99 brothers, the Kuru protagonists in the great war of the Mahabharata. From Kekaya, came Kaikeyi, the wife of Dasaratha and step-mother of Rama-chandra. It was through her intrigues that Rama-chandra was sent into banishment as recorded in the other great Indian epic, the Ramayana.

The Western Panjab has always been peculiarly exposed to conquerors from the north and from the west. It was through it that the Aryans entered India. The next recorded invasion was that of Darius I of Persia (B.C. 521-485) shortly after the time of the Buddha. 'According to Herodotus he conquered it and divided it between two satrapies, one of which included Gandhara (Herodotus iii, 91), while the Indians,' i.e. the inhabitants of the Indus Valley, formed by themselves the 20th satrapy (ii, 94)<sup>(1)</sup>. Beyond this, the authority of Darius did not extend (iii, 101). Herodotus adds (ii, 94) that these 'Indians are more numerous than any other nation with which I am acquainted, and paid a tribute exceeding, that of any other people, to wit, 360 talents of gold dust'. Darius had such complete authority over this part of India, or rather over what was to him and to Herodotus 'India', that he sent a fleet under Skylax down the Indus to the sea, whence they sailed homewards towards the West (iv, 44). The huge army that his successor Xerxes led (b.c. 480) against Greece contained men from Gandhara and from the Western Panjab. The latter, according to Herodotus (vii, 65, 66), were cotton dressed, and carried bows of cane and arrows also of cane, with iron tips.

The invasion of Alexander the Great (B.C. 327-325) was also interesting; that has hitherto escaped notice is that many of the Indian names recorded by the Greek historians of this invasion, who necessarily gave them as pronounced by the people of the Western Panjab, show that the local form of speech at that time must have been some form of Paisachi Prakrit, a language which, according to the present writer, was the main origin of the modern languages of the Western Panjab and Sindh, and also of the Dardic languages of the North-West Frontier.

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3. These dates are taken from Mr. Vincent Smith's 'Early History of India, pp. 224 and 240.

Such were IIEVkdaiTIs corresponding to the Indian Pukhalavati, Σavdpakottos for Chandragupta, in the first a medial/t/ is preserved, in the second/bh/has become/ph/, and in the third a medial /g/ has become /k/ exactly as is required by the rules of Paisachi Prakrit.<sup>(2)</sup>

In B.C. 305 Seleucus Nicator invaded India, and after crossing the Indus made a treaty of peace with the Chandragupta already mentioned..

In the second century B.C. two Greek dynasties from Bactria founded Kingdoms in the Western Panjab. One, that founded by Euthydemus, ended about B.C. 156, and the other, that of Eucratides, about B.C. 20(3). After them at various times, other nationalities, Scythians, Parthians, Kushanas, and Huns, invaded India through the north-west, and finally, through the same portal, or through Sindh, came the many Musalman invasions of India, such as those of Mahmud of Ghazni or those of the Mughuls.

We have thus seen that from the earliest times the area in which the North-Western Group of Indo-Aryan vernaculars is spoken has been frequently subjected to foreign influence, and it is extraordinary how little the speech of the people has been affected by it, except that, under Musalman domination, the vocabulary has become largely mixed with Persian -(including Arabic) words.

In the true Dravidic languages a few Greek words have survived to the present day, such as the Kashmiri *dyar* (plural), coined money, a corruption of the Greek *θηρία*, or the Khovar, *drokhum*, silver, a corruption of the Greek *δραχμή*, but I have not met any such instances either in Lahnda or in Sindhi. Even the name 'Sindhu' of the Indus has remained unchanged, then we meet with nothing like the old Persian 'Hindu', the form that is the progenitor of the Greek, 'Ivδo's and of our India'.

Little is known about the linguistic ancestry of these languages. The immediate predecessor of Sindhi was an apabhramsa Prakrit, named Vrachada, regarding which the Indian grammarian Markandeya has given us a few particulars. He moreover mentions a Vrachada Paisachi spoken in the same locality, and lays stress on the fact that the *kekaya*

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1. See J.R.A.S. 1904, p. 725.



paisachi is the principal form of that prakrit. We have no information regarding the particular form of Apabhramsa spoken in the Lahnda tract, corresponding to the ancient Gandhara and Kekaya, except that the people who spoke it were fond of saying a word twice over in order to indicate repetition or continuance (savipsa Kaikeyi) but in Gandhara there are two famous rock-inscriptions of the Indian Emperor Asoka (circa B.C. 250) at Shahbaz-garhi and at Mansehra which are couched in what was then the official language of the country. This was a dialectic form of Pali, distinguished by possessing several phonetic peculiarities that are still observable in the Dardic language and in Lahnda and Sindhi.(1)

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# THE SINDHI RECURSIVES OR VOICED STOPS PRECEDED BY GLOTTAL CLOSURE

Professor R.L. Turner

Of the Primitive Indian stops it is true to say, as Dr. J.Bloch<sup>(1)</sup> says of their descendants in Marathi, that in most of the modern Indo-Aryan languages they have in principle remained unchanged. This is certainly true of initial stops; and although single intervocalic stops have with the exception of the cerebrals disappeared, new intervocalic stops, double or single, have been introduced as the result of assimilation among consonant groups.

But in one language, Sindhi, there has occurred a singular development of the Primitive Indian unaspirated voiced stops- *g j (d) d b*. Whereas the other Indo-Aryan languages have ordinary voiced stops corresponding to Middle Indian *g- gg- , j- -jj-, d- -dd-, d- -dd, b- -bb*, Sindhi presents voiced stops accompanied by what appears to be a closing of the glotties. These are written in the Nagari, and in the Persian alphabet,<sup>(2)</sup> which will be here transliterated *g j d b*<sup>(3)</sup>. It should be remarked that while *g d d b* are the ordinary Indian sounds, *j* and *j* are a strongly palatalized *d'*.

The importance of the distinction between these two series can be seen from the numbers of pairs of words, distinguished only by having the simple voiced stop in the one hand, and the voiced stop with glottal closure on the other.

Some examples are given below:-

<i>gac<sup>u</sup></i>	mortar	<i>gac<sup>u</sup></i>	much
<i>garan<sup>u</sup></i>	to stick in mud	<i>garan<sup>u</sup></i>	to melt
<i>gam<sup>u</sup></i>	grief	<i>gam<sup>u</sup></i>	a small grain

1. La formation de la langue marathe, S 81.

2. For other ways of written these sounds see Trumpp, Grammar of the Sindhi Language, and L.S.I.viii, 1.

3. Transliterated by rump *g j d b*.

gar <sup>u</sup>	mange	gar <sup>u</sup>	pulp of vegetable
garo	mangy	garo	heavy
gahan <sup>u</sup>	to rub	gahan <sup>u</sup>	to labour
garan <sup>u</sup>	to cause to stick	gran <sup>u</sup>	to melt
giran <sup>u</sup>	to tread out grain	gahan	straws
giran	to snarl	giran <sup>u</sup>	to devour
gur <sup>u</sup>	preceptor	gur <sup>u</sup>	roe of fish
galo	voice	galo	neck of a garment
gah <sup>u</sup>	obstinacy	gah <sup>u</sup>	jewel
garo	mud plaster	garo	half-ground grain
gah <sup>u</sup>	grass	gah <sup>u</sup>	bait
guraro	mouthful of water	guraro	piece of cane between threads of warp
gor <sup>a</sup>	a fish	gor <sup>a</sup>	search
jau	barley	j--j	-----
jat <sup>i</sup>	where	jaun	lac
jar <sup>u</sup>	water	jat <sup>i</sup>	soft downy hair
jam <sup>u</sup>	guava	jar <sup>u</sup>	leach
jaro	recess in wall	jam <sup>u</sup>	prince
jar <sup>a</sup>	line of demarcation	jaor	cobweb
	between fields	jar <sup>a</sup>	root
jam <sup>u</sup>	Yama	jam <sup>u</sup>	birth
jao	of barley	jao	son
jar <sup>u</sup>	paramour	jar <sup>u</sup>	net
jero	liver	jeor	fire
ditho	bold	d--d,	-----
		ditho	seen
		b--d	-----
bakh <sup>u</sup>	sacrifice of a goat	bakh <sup>u</sup>	embrace

1. LSI. viii, i. p. 185.

Kachhi dialect of Sindhis also contains imlosives.

2. LSI. viii, i. p. 145.

3. LSI. viii, i. p. 335.

4. Op. cit. under the letters

bahar <sup>u</sup>	sea	bahar <sup>u</sup>	outside
babo	father	babo	father's brother
baru	load	bar <sup>u</sup>	child
balo	upper room	balo	bracelet
bilo	remedy	bilo	tom-cat
baro	a kind of goat	baro	fever
bakiri	seller of fruit	bakiri f.	of. goats
bari	reserved	bari	small window
baro	burden of sin	baro	piece of land embanked for flooding
bir <sup>u</sup>	wearied	bir <sup>u</sup>	hole
bi	also	bi (f)	second
bihan <sup>u</sup>	to stand up	bihan <sup>u</sup>	seed
buri (f)	bad	buri	husk of jawari
guban <sup>u</sup>	to allow to become	gubanu	to scatter food about
buki	ivory arm-rings	buki	handful to grain
bel <sup>a</sup>	pattern on cloth	bel <sup>a</sup>	second plough- ing.

These sounds appear to belong to all the dialects of Sindhi except Kacchi<sup>(1)</sup> on the south and Thareli on the east. In the first specimen of the latter given by Sir George Grierson<sup>(2)</sup> (District Thar and Parkar on the western edge of this dialect) these sounds appear sporadically, in the remaining two specimens (State Jaisalmer further to the east) they do not appear at all. To the north is Lahnda, of which only one dialect seems to have them, the Hindki of Dera Ghazi Khan<sup>(3)</sup> on the extreme western boundary of Lahnda. On the west Sindhi and Hindki are bounded by the Iranian Balochi and the Dravidian Brahui. Neither seems to possess voiced stops accompanied by glottal closure.

The existence of these peculiar sounds was noticed by Stack in his Sindhi-English Dictionary published in 1855, where he says that *g* "has..... a strange sound, formed by placing

1. Vol. xv, p. 702 ff.

2. pp. 13, 15, 16, 19.

3. LSI. viii, i. p. 22.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, Vol. II, Pt. IV, p. 837.

the tongue against the palate, keeping the mouth open and sounding from the throat", that *j* "has a peculiar sound only to be acquired by practice"; that *d* "is a harsh d..... sounded..... form palate and throat combined"; and lastly that *b* "has a peculiar sound".<sup>(1)</sup> In writing Stack does not distinguish *d* from *d*.

Trumpp was the next to describe these sounds, first in an article in the *Seitschrift der morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*<sup>(2)</sup> in 1861, and later, less satisfactorily, in his *Grammar of the Sindhi Language*<sup>(3)</sup> published in 1872. In the former *t* he says: "*g* is a peculiar hard *g*, this is difficult to describe; the speaker shuts his mouth and presses up a muffled sound (*drückt einen dumpfen Laut herauf*); then opens his mouth and lets out the sound *g*. This proceduer is very like the *cry* (*mächern*) of a goat or the bleat of a sheep. Etymologically it is in most cases a *gg*.....*j* is originally a double *jj*, as is shown by etymology; but now it is treated as a single sound and pronounced as *dy*.....*d* is a very hard cerebral *d*, and is produced in the same way as *g*, by shutting the mouth, pressing out a muffled sound and then letting out *d*. Etymologically it is a double *d*..... *b* etymologically= *bb*; it is pronounced in the same way as *g* and *d*.... These four sounds, which originally were double, are now, however, considered as more or less individual, independent sounds.

They are found in many words in which a double consonant cannot be shown etymologically; but the hardness of their pronunciation is to be explained for the most part from their close surroundings".

Sir George Grierson writes these sounds as *gg*, *jj*, *dd* *bb*, and he says of them:<sup>(3)</sup> "They are pronounced with a certain stress, prolonging and somewhat strenghtening the contact of the closed organ, and are, in fact, sounded as double letters are pronounced in other parts of India, but occur even at the beginning of a word". He follows Trumpp in explaining their origin, but adds that "*d* itself is often doubled, but then becomes *dd* as in *ddian*<sup>u</sup> to give".

Finally Dr. Grahame Bailey in a note<sup>(4)</sup> speaks of them as "imlosives" in which the breath is drawn in instead of being

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1. Capt. C.J. Morris of the 2/3rd Q.A.O. Gurkha Rifles.

2. Bulletin de la Societe de Linguistique de Paris, No. 72, P. 204.

expelled. According to him the larynx is lowered and the glottis closed. This action sucks the air back, but no appreciable amount enters the lungs. This description agrees generally with my own observation. To me the course of events seems to be this. Immediately after the occlusion by lips or tongue and palate has been formed; the glottis also is closed. The larynx is lowered, and there is considerable general muscular tension. The glottis is not opened until the lips or tongue occlusion has been formed; the glottis also is closed. The larynx is lowered, and there is considerable general muscular tension. The glottis is not opened until the lip or tongue occlusion has been broken, so that some air is sucked back to behind the point of occlusion. Then the glottis is opened to permit the formation of voice. It is possible that the glottis is again closed before the following vowel is pronounced.

These sounds do not seem to have been described in any treatise on phonetics. But, according to one of my informants<sup>3</sup>, an *m* accompanied by glottal closure and distinguished from ordinary *mk*, exists in Magarkura, one of the Mongolian languages of Nepal. Prince Troubetzkoy<sup>(1)</sup> refers to consonants in the Caucasian languages accompanied by complete closure of the glottis. These he calls 'recursives'; he indicates them by a dot above or below the letter. They are (P. 305) apparently only surds: *q* (ultra-velar), *k*, *t*, *c*, *c* (*c=ts*), *s*, *>*- (a lateral surd spirant).

Whatever may be the origin of these recursive sounds in Sindhi, it is certain that they are not now simple doubled voiced stops. My Sindhi friends immediately detected the difference between my more or less correct pronunciation of *b*, for example, as *b* accompanied by a closure of the glottis, and my pronunciation of it as *bb*.

It is now necessary to discuss the origin of these sounds; and first consider to what sounds in Sanskrit and Prakrit they correspond. Neither Trumpp nor Sir George Grierson have fully explained their correspondence when they occur initially. But a detailed examination of the words in which they occur shows that initially *g j d b* correspond to initial *g-*, *j-* (*dy-*), *b-* (*dv-*) in Sanskrit, and intervocalically to consonant groups in Sanskrit that in Prakrit became *-gg-*, *jjj*, *-dd-*, (*-dd-*), *-bb-* (*-vv-*), while the simple voiced stops in Sindhi, *g j d b*, are the result of

special conditions and in most cases (where not occurring in loan-words from other languages) are descendants of Primitive Indian sounds other than g j d b.

The simple voiced dental d, except in the group nd, is only found in loan-words. That is to say, except for certain specific exceptions, Sindhi has shifted Primitive Indian g j d b to g j d b.

below will be shown in detail the origin of the two series of unaspirated voiced stops in Sindhi.

## G

= Skt. g-: gau lost (*gatá-*), *gāu* f. cow *gao* bovine *gawar<sup>u</sup>* m. cowherd (*go-gava-gopala-*), *ganan<sup>u</sup>* to count (*ganayati*), *gan<sup>i</sup>* f. Hump of a bullock *gan<sup>u</sup>* m. handle of a tool *gano* m. stalk of jawari (*ganda-*), *gab<sup>u</sup>* m. foetus *gabhin<sup>i</sup>* f. pregnant *gabhuru* m. youth (*garbha-garbhumi garbharupa-*), *gambhir<sup>u</sup>* sedate (*gambhira-*), *gaman<sup>u</sup>* to move slowly (*gamyate*), *garan<sup>u</sup>* to melt (*galati*), *garo* heavy (Pa. *garu-*, cf. Skt. *guru- gariyains-*), *galu* m. cheek (*galla-*), *gahano* m. jewels (*gahana*), *gain<sup>u</sup>* to sing (*gapayati*), *garho* red (*gadha-*), *gijh<sup>a</sup>* f. vulture (cf. *grdhya* and *grdhra-*), *ginhanu* to buy (*grhnati*), *giran<sup>u</sup>* to devour (*girati gilati*), *gui* f. anus (*gutha-*), *gujh<sup>u</sup>* m. secret (*guhya-*), *gur<sup>u</sup>* m. molasses (*guda-*), *gun<sup>u</sup>* m. kindness (*guna-*), *gundhar<sup>u</sup>* to plait the hair (*gumphayati + granthayati*), *gun<sup>i</sup>* f. sackloth (*gona-*), *gurho* dense (*gudha-*) *geh<sup>u</sup>* m. wheat (*godhuma-*), *gotru* m. family (*gotra*), *goth<sup>u</sup>* m. village (*gostha-*), *goh<sup>a</sup>* f. iguana (*godha*), *gaut<sup>u</sup>* m. cow's urine (*gomutra-*).

(P. 306) = Skt. gr-: *gandhu* m. joint *gandh<sup>i</sup>* f. knot *gandhir<sup>u</sup>* knotty (*grantha- granthi- granthila-*) etc., *gihan<sup>u</sup>* to swallow (*grasati* with i after *giran<sup>u</sup>* *girati*), *gah<sup>u</sup>* m. bait (*grasa-*), *githo* swallowed (cf. *grasta-*), *gah<sup>u</sup>* m. pledge (*graha-*), *gahilo* headstrong (< \**grathillaka-*, cf. *grathila-*).

=Skt. - gr-: *ag* m. front *ago* m. id. *age* in front *agiro* superior, etc. (*agra-*), *jagan<sup>u</sup>* to awake (Pa. *jaggati*, cf. Skt. *jagarti*), *pagah<sup>u</sup>* m. rope to moor boat to bank (*pragraha-*).

=Skt. -gn- *bhago* broken (*bhagna-*), *mag<sup>u</sup>* filled with pride (*magna-*), *lago* attached (*langa-*).

=Skt., -gy-: jagu fit *jugainu* be suitable (*yogya*-), *bhag<sup>u</sup>* m. fate (*bhagya*-), *suhag<sup>u</sup>* m. husband (*saubhagya*-), *nibhag<sup>u</sup>*, ill-luck (*nirbhagya*-), *lagan<sup>u</sup>* to begin (*lagyati*).

=Skt., -dg-: *ugan<sup>u</sup>* to spring up (*udgata*-), *ugaran<sup>u</sup>* to chew the cud (*udgara*-).

=Skt. -rg- *mag<sup>u</sup>* m. path (*marga*-), *wag<sup>u</sup>* m. herd of cattle (*varga*-), *mehag<sup>u</sup>* m. herd of buffalo (*mahisavarga*-).

=Skt. -lg-: *phagun<sup>u</sup>* m. name of a month (*phalgun*-), *wag<sup>a</sup>* f. bridle (*valga*: the length of the a is unexplained).

In a number of words without a Sanskrit etymology g corresponds to g in other modern Indo-Aryan languages: e.g. *garh<sup>u</sup>* m. fort (cf. H. *garhi*), *gali* f. lane (cf. H. *gali*), *gari* f. abuse (cf. H. *gali*), etc.

## J

=Skt. j- : *jangh<sup>a</sup>* f. leg (*jámgha*), *jan<sup>a</sup>* f. bridegroom's procession (*jánya*), *jar<sup>a</sup>* f. root (*jata*), *janan<sup>u</sup>* to bear, *jao* m. son *jano* m. person *jam<sup>u</sup>* m. birth (*jánatu jata- jáman*-), *jamu* m. Eugenia jambolana (*jambuka*-) *jatro* m. son-in-law (*jamatr*-), *janan<sup>u</sup>* to know (*janati*), *Jar<sup>u</sup>* m. net *jaro* m. cobweb *jari* f. net (*jala- jalaka- jalika*), *jibh<sup>a</sup>* f. tongue (*jihva*).

=Skt. jy- : *jeth<sup>u</sup>* m. husband's elder brother (*jyestha*-). jy: *bhajan<sup>u</sup>* to be broken (*bhajyáte*), *bhijan<sup>u</sup>* to be wet (< \**abhiyajyate*, cf. *abhyajyate*), *rajan* to satiate (*rajyate*).

=Skt. jv- : *jar<sup>a</sup>* f. fever (*jvara*-).

*jv-* : *pajiran<sup>u</sup>* to flare *pajaranu* to light *wijuran<sup>u</sup>* to become bright (*prajcaleatu prajvalayati vijvalati*).

=Skt. -jj- : *sajan<sup>u</sup>* m. friend (*sajjana*-), *bhujan<sup>u</sup>* to parch (*bhrijjati*), *la<sup>a</sup>* f. rope (*rájju*-), *la<sup>a</sup>* f. shame *lajan<sup>u</sup>* to be ashamed (*lajja lajjate*).

=Skt. -jjy- : *bhujan<sup>u</sup>* to parched (*bhrijjyate*).

=Skt. -dy- : *a<sup>u</sup>* to-day (*adyá*), *kha<sup>u</sup>* m. food (*khadya*-), *khajan<sup>u</sup>* (p.307) to be eaten (*khadyate*), *chajo* m. shed (*chadya*-).



), *chijan*<sup>u</sup> to be broken (*chidyate*), *wi*<sup>u</sup> f. lightning (*vidyút-*), *upajan*<sup>u</sup> to be produced *upa*<sup>u</sup> m. produce (*utpadyate utpadya-*), *nipajan*<sup>u</sup> to be nourished (*nispadyate*), *sapajan*<sup>u</sup> to be found (*sampadyate*: *sap-* instead of *samb-* is not explained), *wajo* m. mursal instrument (*vadya-*), *wija* f. knowledge, *we*<sup>u</sup> m. doctor (*vidya vaidya-*).

=Skt. -*rj-* : *kha*<sup>j</sup> f. itch (lex. *kharju-* does this represent \* *kharhu-*?).

## D

The existence of Middle Indian -*dd-* is shown by the equation Sindhi *d*= nepali *r*: MI. -*d-* >S. *r*, N. *r*.

=MI. *d-* -*dd-*: *dum*<sup>u</sup> a *Dom* (*domba-*); *gadu* m. mug (*gadduka-*, cf. N. *garuwa*), *ladu* m. a sweetmeat (*laddu-*), *wado* large (> \* *vadda-*, cf. N. *baro*), *had*<sup>u</sup> m. bone (*hadda-*, cf. N. *har*), *gado* m. cart (< \**gadda-*, cf. L.*gadi*, p. *gaddi*, H. *gan*).

But the most frequent source of *dx* is Middle Indian *d-dd-*. I have shown elsewhere that these are regularly represented by a cerebral in Sindhi.

=Skt. *d-* : *duka*<sup>u</sup> m. famine (*duskala-*), *dakhin*<sup>u</sup> m. the south *dakhino* southern (*dáksina- daksina-*), *dadhr*<sup>u</sup> m. itch (*dadru-*) *dahi* f. curds (*dadhi-*), *dand*<sup>u</sup> m. tooth (*danta-*), *dam*<sup>u</sup> trained *dand*<sup>u</sup> m. ox (*damya- dantā*), *dah*<sup>a</sup> ten (*dā'sa*), *dahan*<sup>u</sup> to excite *dajhan*<sup>u</sup> to be afflicted *dadho* excited (*dāhati dahyāte dagdha'-*) *dian*<sup>u</sup> to give *dijan*<sup>u</sup> to be given (*dayate divate*), *dawan*<sup>u</sup> *dan*<sup>u</sup> m. shackles for the forefeet (*dāman-daman*), *daho* wise (lex. *dasa-*), *din*<sup>u</sup> m. festival day (*dāna-*) *dihan* in day (*divasa*), *deu* m. demon (*deva*), *deh*<sup>u</sup> m. country (*desa-*) *der*<sup>u</sup> m. wife's brother (*decara- dev'r-*), *dikh*<sup>a</sup> f. initiation ceremony (*diksa*), *dio* m. lamp (*dipa-*), *doran*<sup>u</sup> to wander (*dolayate*), *doh*<sup>u</sup> m. fault (*dosa-*), *dukh*<sup>u</sup> m- pain (*duhkha-*), *dahan*<sup>u</sup> to milk *dadh*<sup>u</sup> m. curds *dodhi* m. milkman *doho* m. milker (*duhati dugdh'r-dógha-*), *dohitro* m. daughter's son (*dauhitra-*), *dur* at a distance (*durē*), *dadho* hard (*dardhya-*), *daran*<sup>u</sup> to fear (*dāratī*), *daran*<sup>u</sup> to split *dar*<sup>u</sup> m.. fissure *dar*<sup>j</sup> f. den, burrow (*darayati dara-dan*), *doro* m. string of a kite (*doraka-*), *du* two (*duvau*), *duno* double (Pkt.

*duuna-*, cf. Skt *dviguná-*).

=Skt. *-dd-*: *kadar<sup>j</sup>* f. hoe *kodaryo* m. worker with a hoe (*kuddala-kauddala-*), *udain<sup>u</sup>* to cause to fly (*uddapayati*, cf. *diyati*).

=Skt. *-bd-*: *sad<sup>u</sup>* m. call *sadan<sup>u</sup>* to call *sado* m. calling (*'sábda-*).

=Skt. *-rd-*: *padan<sup>u</sup>* to break wind *pad<sup>u</sup>* m. breaking wind (*pardate parda-*), *gadah<sup>u</sup>* m. donkey (*gardabha-*), *codaha* fourteen (p. 308) (*caturda'sa*), *kudan<sup>u</sup>* to leap (*kurdati*), *ladan<sup>u</sup>* to load (*lardayati*), *chadan<sup>u</sup>* to abandon (*chardayati*), *deda<sup>u</sup>* m. frog (*darduxra-*), *kod<sup>u</sup>* m. cowry (*kaparda-*), *nida<sup>u</sup>* tealess (*\*nirdara-*).

## B

=Skt. *b-* : *badho* bound *bajhan<sup>u</sup>* to b bound *bandhan<sup>u</sup>* to be bind *bandh<sup>u</sup>* m. dike (*baddhá- badhyáte bandhati bandha-*), *bakary* m. goat (*barkara-*), *bahar<sup>u</sup>* m. outside *bahar<sup>j</sup>* adv. outside *bahar<sup>j</sup>* abroad (cf. *bahís bahiká-*), *bajha* except (*bahya-*), *bahu* much (*bahú-*), *bilo* e m. cat (H. *billa*, cf. Skt. *bidala-*), *bi<sup>u</sup>* m. hole, burrow (*bíla-*), *bihan<sup>u</sup>* m. seed (*bija-*), *budan<sup>u</sup>* to sink (< *\*bydyati*, cf. *dhatup. budati* and N. *burnu*), *budho* understood *budhi* f. sense *bujhan<sup>u</sup>* to understand *bujhan<sup>u</sup>* to be heard (*buddhá- buddhi- búdhyate budhyáte*), *bubdhan<sup>u</sup>* to hear (< *\*bundhati*, cf. *búdhyate*, pres. part. *budhana- dhatup. bund-* to perceive, Gk. Tur *Oávorai*), *buho* m. husk of jawari and *bajhari* (*busa-*), *-bolanu* to speak (*bollaka*, cf. G. *bolvu* id.)

=Skt. *br-* : *bambhan<sup>u</sup>* m. *Brahman* (*brahmana-*).

*-br-*: *kubo* hunch-backed (< *\*kubraka-*, cf. *kubjá- kubhrá-*

=Skt. *-rb-* : *kabiro* spotted (*karbura-*), *babur<sup>u</sup>* m. Acacie arabica (*barbyra- babbula- varvura-*), *dubiro* thin (*durbala-*).

=Skt. *dv-* : *ba* two *bijo* second *bí-* (*dva dvitiya- dvi-*), *bawina* twenty-two (*dvavimsati*), *bari* f. little window (*dvara-*).

=Skt. *-dv-* : *ubatan<sup>u</sup>* m. perfumed flour to rub the body with (*udvartana-*), *ubaran<sup>u</sup>* to save (*\*udvarayati*, - cf. *varayati*

to ward off).

From these examples it will be seen that Middle Indian voiced stops, single when initial or double when intervocalic, became recursives or voiced stops accompanied by glottal closure in Sindhi, namely *g i d b*. Nevertheless, the voiced stops without glottal closure, namely *g j d b*, are still found in Sindhi.

It is necessary to consider their origin.

Sindhi like *Singhalese* Now spelled *synhalese* and *Kasmiri*, distinguishes Skt. *j* and *y*. The former, as we have seen, became *j*, the latter became *j*.

Skt.	Sgh	K.	S.
j	d	z	j
y	y	y	j

Skt. *y*:- *jo* m. *Ja* f. who (*yáh yá*), *jo* because (*yáta*), *janyo* m. sacred cord (*yajnopavita*-), *jadho jahan<sup>u</sup>* *jahit* f. *jabhan<sup>u</sup>* *jah<sup>u</sup>* m. coitus (\**yadbdha- yábhati yabhana- yabhyate yabha-*), *jandr<sup>u</sup>* m. handmill *jandro* m. lock (*yantra*-), *jaii* m. barely *jao* of barley (*yava- yavaká*-), *jan<sup>l</sup>* f. ligusticum *ajowan* (*yavani*), *jatr<sup>a</sup>* f. furrow (*yatra*), *juto* employed (*yuktá*-), *juhar<sup>u</sup>* m. yoke of a plough (\**yugadhara*-, (P.309) cf. *yugamdhara*-), *jotro* m. cprd (*yoktra*-), *jog<sup>u</sup>* proper (*yógya*-), *judh<sup>l</sup>* f. strife *jodho* m. warrior (\**yuddhi- yoddhr*-), *johan<sup>u</sup>* to injure (*yopayati*), *jua ju* f. louse (*yuka*), *jui* f. den or lay of a wild animal (\**yuti*-, cf. *gav- yuti*-).

It may be noted that all the languages which distinguish *j*- from *y*- also distinguish *b*- from *v*-. The converse, however, is not true, as for example, in the case of Gujarati and Marathi, which distinguish *b*- from *v*-, but not *j*- from *y*-.

Before Pl. i, *j*- appears as *j*, not as *j*: *jiro* m. cummin-seed (*jiraka*-), *jiu* m. living m. living being (*jiva*-), *jiaro* alive (*jivalá*-), *jian<sup>u</sup>* to live (*jivati*).

Although in general there is agreement in development between a single initial and a double intervocalic consonant,

there is a difference in the case of *y*.

Whereas *y-* became *j-*, the group *-yy-* *-ry-* became *j*.

These groups appear in pali and Magadhi Prakrit as *yy*, and in Singhalese as *y* (if the etymology *aya* individual <*arya-* Pa. *ayya-* is correct). I have discovered no instance of the development of *-yy-* in Kasmiri.

In Prakrit and the other modern languages its treatment coincides, as in Sindhi, with *-jj-*.

*ry. ka<sup>u</sup>* m. ceremony, work (*karyá-*) has another form *ka<sup>u</sup>* which, although neither Stack nor Shirt draw any distinction of meaning between the two, may be a loan (cf. H. *Kaj*) or may have been affected by the verb *kajan<sup>u</sup>* to be done; *pujan<sup>u</sup>* to be filled (*puryate*), *si<sup>u</sup>* m. sun (*súrya-*).

Corresponding to Sanskrit passives in *-iya-* (e. g. *niyate diyate*), pali had forms with *-iya-* or *-iyya-* (e. g. *niyati* or *niyyati*, *diyati* or *diyyati*)<sup>1</sup>. The former may possibly represent the eastern dialect element in pali, the latter the western, since in Prakrit, where this suffix has been largely extended and is regularly added to preset stems to form the passive (e. g. *pucchiadi pucchijjai*: *pucchadi*), there seems to have been a somewhat similar division.

*Maharastri* and *Ardhamagadhi* had *-ijja-* (e. g. *-dijjai*); *Sauraseni* and *magadhi* had *-ia-* (e. g. *-diadi*)<sup>2</sup>. The modern distribution is for *-ijja-*, Sindhi, Rajasthani, Marathi; for *-ia-*, Lahnda, the Himalayan group (e.g. Kului, Kumaoni, Nepali), Gujarati, Panjabi, Hindi (e. g. Standard the continuity of the *-ijja-* area).

After the analogy of forms in *-iya-* *-iyya-* roots ending in *u* formed their passives in pali in *-uya-* or *-uyya*<sup>3</sup>.

These appear in Sindhi (P.310) with *j. sujan<sup>u</sup>* to be heard (*sruyate* Pa. *suyyati*), *sujan<sup>u</sup>* to be swollen (*suyate*), *ujan<sup>u</sup>* to be woven (*uyate*).

To Pali *-iya-* *-iyya-*, however, Sindhi corresponds with *-ij-*, not *\*-iJ-*. This is due to the effect of the preceding *T*: cf.

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1. La langue marathe, p. 319.

2. JRAS. 1921, p. 535.

*ji-* > *jī-*. And since *ji-* became *jī-* (e. g. *jibh<sup>a</sup>* < *jibhca*) and *ijj* > *ij* (e. g. *chijan<sup>u</sup>* < *chidyate*), the immediate forerunner of *ij* must have been *-ijja-* *iyya-* rather than *-iyya-* (cf. Pa. *iyya-*, Pkt. *-ijja-*), just as \* *kattham* (Skt. *kasthā-* but pa. *kattha-*) was the forerunner of *kath<sup>u</sup>* m., wood, as opposed to *hath<sup>u</sup>* hand (Skt. *hasta-*, Pa. *hattha-*). This reasoning is supported by the similar development of *drijan<sup>u</sup>* to be afraid (*diryate*).

*-iya-*: *wikijan<sup>u</sup>* to be sold (*vikriyate*), *dijan<sup>u</sup>* to be given (*diyate*), *nijan<sup>u</sup>* to be carried away (*niyate*), *Khujan<sup>u</sup>* to be boiled away (*ksiyate*); with contraction of a preceding *i*, *trijo* third (*titiya-*), *bijo* second (*dvitiya-*). This difference of treatment between Skt. *-iya-* > *-ij-* and Skt. *-idya-* > *-ij-* shows that the derivation of *khijan<sup>u</sup>* to be angry, H. *khijna*, M. *khijne*, G. *khijvu* id., N. *khujaunu* to irritate, from Skt. *khidyate* to be depressed (as proposed by M. Bloch<sup>1</sup> and myself<sup>2</sup>) is untenable, and that these words must be referred to Skt. *ksiyate* to be infured, Pakhiyati Gbeangany. In the same way, since passives in Sindhi like *dijan<sup>u</sup>* must be referred to *diyate*, it is reasonable to refer similar passives, e.g. those in *-ujja-* in Prakrit, *-ij-* in Marathi, to the same form and not, as does M. Bloch,<sup>1</sup> to an analogical extension of *-ijja-* < *-idya-*, seen in -Pkt. *chijjai* < *chidyate*, which became Sindhi *chijan<sup>u</sup>*.

*Kujan<sup>u</sup>* to be done (cf. Skt. *kriyate*, but Pkt. *kujjani*, H. *kijna*) was formed after the analogy of passives like *diyat* e... > *dijan<sup>u</sup>*; *kajan<sup>u</sup>*, to be done, owes its vowel to *karan<sup>u</sup>* to do (*karoti*).

It has already been shown that *MI. je-* became *S. jē-* (e.g. *jeth<sup>u</sup>* < *jyesthah*); and it is probable that the regular treatment of *eyya* < *-eya-* was similar, namely that it became *S. -ej-* (cf. the treatment *-dy-* < *-j-*: *wej<sup>u</sup>* < *vaidyah*). Thus : im. drinking, *pej<sup>a</sup>* *pekji*, f. rice-water, *pej<sup>u</sup>* *pejo* m. water ing land after sowing (*peya-* *peya*, Pa. *peyya-*).

But in three words *-eyya-* is apparently represented by *-ej-*: *bhanejo* m. sister's son (*bhagineyaka-*, Pa. *bhagineyya-*)

1. La langue marathe, p. 115.

is perhaps influenced by the parallel form *bhanijo* (\**bhaginiya*); *matrejo*, belonging, to a stepmother, although apparently from \**matreya*- (p. 311) *matteyya*- is considered by both Stack and Shirt in their dictionaries to be *matre* + the possessive affix *jo*, and may so have been divided by popular etymology; *sej<sup>a</sup>* f. couch (*sayya*, Pkt. *sejja*) is perhaps a loan-word (cf. H. *sej* f. id. and the hybrid S. *sejban<sup>u</sup>* m. cord for tying down bedding to the legs of the bed = H. *sejband*).

The development then of *y*- on the one hand and *-yy*- on the other is not parallel, although in all the other languages it is parallel: *j*- and *-j*-, Sgh. *y*- and *-y*-. A similar inconsistency is seen in the history of the group *rv*.

Skt. *v*- became S. *w*-: *wag<sup>u</sup>* m. herd (*varga*-), *waran<sup>u</sup>* to prevent (*varayati*), *wiso* thunderstruck (*vismaya*-), *wutho* rained (*vrsta*-), *wethan<sup>u</sup>* m. pack-cloth (*vestana*-). etc. But *-rv*- became *-be*-: *caban<sup>u</sup>* to chew (*carvati*). With this treatment may be compared the difference between Pa. *v*- and *-bb*- (e.g. *vijja*... (*viday*, bt *sabba* > *sarva*)). although the other modern languages have parallel treatment of both: e.g. G.<sup>M</sup>, Sgh. *v*- and *-v*-, H.N.B. *b*- and *-b*-.

*Sabh<sup>u</sup>* "all" may represent \**sab* + *hu* (cf. H. *Sabhi* < *sab* + *hi*). In *cowih<sup>a</sup>* twenty-four (*caturvimsat*- *caturvim*- *sati*-) and *niwao* calm (*niravata*-) the peculiar treatment of the group *-rv*- is due to the fact that the *r* is the last sound of a prefix. Such a group was liable to a different treatment from that of a group in the middle of a word: for example, normally PI. *-sk*- *-sc*- *-ts*- *dv*- became MI. *-kkh*- *-cch*- *-cch*- *-bb*-, but where the first consonant of the group belonged to a prefix the treatment was different, namely *-kk*- *-cc*- *-ss*- *-vv*-.

The treatment of the group *vy* differs from that of *rv*. Initially *vy*- became *w*: *wagh<sup>u</sup>* m. tiger (*vyaghra*-), *wakkhan<sup>a</sup>* of. praise (*vyakhyana*-), *waghar<sup>u</sup>* m. seasoning with spices (cf. *vyagharayati*). But between vowels *-vy*- became *b* without glottal closure: *siban<sup>u</sup>* to sew (*sivyati*), *katab<sup>u</sup>* m. business (*i*-), present participles passive in *-ibo* (*itavya*-). This points to an interval between the development of *rv* < *vv*- > *bb* and the same

1. Senart. The Inscriptions of Piyadasi, p. 114.

2. Geiger, Pali, p. 66.

development of *vy*. This is borne out by the inscriptions of Asoka, in which Skt. *rv* usually appears as *v* while *vy* remains unchanged'. In Pali, too, whereas *-rv-* always appears as *-bb-*, *vy* sometimes remains unchanged.<sup>2</sup>

*J* then is regularly the product of Skt. *y-* and of Skt. *j* under certain conditions, and *b* is the product of Skt. *-vy-*. On the other hand, all the simple voiced stops- *g j d b-* can result from the disaspiration of the corresponding aspirated voiced stops- *gh jh* (p. 312) *dh bh*. A voiced aspirate when followed by an aspirate or by *h* in the same word lost its aspiration and became the corresponding simple voiced stop without glottal closure. It makes no difference whether *h* represents a Sanskrit intervocalic sibilant or has been inserted simply to avoid hiatus

*g*: *gha<sup>u</sup>* m. fodder *gahi* m. grasscutter (*ghasa-*: contrast *gah<sup>u</sup>* m. bait < *grasa-*), *g ahan<sup>u</sup>* to rub (*\*ghrsati*, cf. *gharsati* H. *ghasna*), after which also *gasan<sup>u</sup>* to be rubbed for *\*ghasan<sup>u</sup>* (*ghrsyate* or *gharsyate*); *gatho* rubbed (*ghrsta-*); *gih<sup>u</sup>* m. ghee. < *\*ghihu* (*ghrta-*), *sangahan<sup>u</sup>* to kill < *\*sangahan<sup>u</sup>* (*samghatayati* *samghata-*).

*d*: *ditho* bold < *\*dhitho* (*dhirsta-*); *drahan<sup>u</sup>* to fall *drahan<sup>u</sup>* to cause to fall < *\*dhrahan* (*\*dhras-*, cf. H. *dhisalna* to tumble into).

*b*: *bathi* f. quiver (*bhastra*), *bahan<sup>u</sup>* to brak (*bhasati*), *bakkay<sup>u</sup>* to shine (cf. *bhasati*), *bikh<sup>a</sup>* f. alms (*bhiksa*), *bath<sup>u</sup>* m. pot for parching grain (*bhrastra-*) *bukh<sup>a</sup>* f. hunger < *\*bhukha*, cf. H. *bhukh* (*bubhuksa*), *bih<sup>u</sup>* m. roots of a lotus for eating > *\*bhih<sup>u</sup>* (Pa. *bhisa-*, Skt. *bisa-*), *buh<sup>u</sup>* m. chaff of wheat < *\*bhuh<sup>u</sup>* rests on *\*bhusa-* (Pa. *bhusa-*, H. *bhusa*) beside *buho* m. *buhi* f. chaff of jawari (Skt. *busa-*).

A surd stop preceded by a nasal becomes the corresponding voiced stop, which remains without glottal closure. Thus *nk nc nt nt mp* become *ng nj nd mb*. The original voiced stops preceded by a nasal are completely assimilated to the preceding nasal. Thus *ng nj and nd mb* become *n n n* (< *n n*) *n m*.

*nk*: *ang<sup>u</sup>* m. figure (*anka-*), *angure<sup>u</sup>* m. sprout (*ankura-*), *kang<sup>u</sup>* m. crane (*kanka-*), *kangan<sup>u</sup>* m. bracelet (*kankana-*), *sang<sup>a</sup>* f. fear *sangan<sup>u</sup>* to fear (*sanka sankate*).

*nc.* *kanjuro* m. bodice (*kancula-*), *panjx<sup>a</sup>* five (*panca*), *majo* m. low bedstead (*manca-*), *kunji* f. key (*kuncika*).

*nt.* *kando* m. thorn *kando* thorny (*kanta-* *kantaka-*), *ghand<sup>u</sup>* m. bell (*ghanta-*), *wandan<sup>u</sup>* to divide (*vantayati*).

*nt:* *andi* f. edge of cloth (*anta-*), *andar<sup>u</sup>* m. inside (*antara-*), *khand<sup>u</sup>* f. patience (*kxsanti-*), *tandu* f. thread (*tantu-*), *dand<sup>u</sup>* m. tooth (*danta-*), *dand<sup>u</sup>* m. ox (*danta-*) *sandain<sup>u</sup>* to vex (*santapayati*).

*mp:* *kamban<sup>u</sup>* to tremble (*kampate*), *cambo* m. *Michelia champaka* (*campaka-*), *limban<sup>u</sup>* to plaster (*limpati*) *sambat<sup>u</sup>* f. preparation (*sampatt-*), *trumban<sup>u</sup>* to pierce (*Dhatup. trumpati*).

In the group stop + r the r is assimilated, except when the stop is a dental. In that group the dental becomes as cerebral and the r (p. 313) (except in South Sindhi) remains. Even when the resultant cerebral is voiced, there is not glottal closure.

*dr.* *drakh<sup>a</sup>* f. a small grape (*draksa*) *drau* m. fear (*drava-*), *droh<sup>u</sup>* m. deceit *drohi* wily *drohan<sup>u</sup>* to deceive (*droha-* *drohin-drohayati*), *droran<sup>u</sup>* *drokan<sup>u</sup>* to run (cf. *dravati drati*), *adroko* damp (*ardra-*); *nindr<sup>a</sup>* f. sleep (*nidra*), *mundr<sup>a</sup>*, f. seal *mundri* f. signet *mundran<sup>u</sup>* to seal (*mudra mudrika mudrayati*).

*ntr.* *andro* m. entrails (*antra-*), *nendro* m. inviter (*nimantraka-*), im. spell (*mantra-*), *jandr<sup>u</sup>* m. handmill (*yantra-*).

*ndr.* *cand<sup>u</sup>* m. moon *cand<sup>u</sup>* lunar (*candra-* *candra-*), *candro* perverse (*\*candraka-*, cf. *canda-*), *indir* f. penis (*indriya-*).

Thus where the voiced stop is preceded by a nasal or followed by r there is no glottal closure.

What has been said does not explain all the voiced without glottal closure to be found in Sindhi. There are a number of such where we should expect to find recursives.

Many of m. crane (*baka-*) beside *bawo* m. a waterfoxwl (-g- < -k-: *tatsama*), *baur<sup>u</sup>* m. *Acacia farnesiana* (*bakula-* *bakula-vakula-*), *hund<sup>a</sup>* f. drop (*bindu-vindu-* [-und- < -und-: cf. H. *bud*



f.), *bada<sup>u</sup>* m. cloud (*vardala-*) [b- < v-, -l- < -l-: cf. H. *badal*], *bacan<sup>u</sup>* to be left (Pkt. *vaccai*) [b- < v-: cf.-H. *bacna*]; *bar<sup>u</sup>* m. load (Persian *bar*), etc.

If the loan were early enough, *b* became *b*: *budho* old (cf. Pa. *buddha-* beside *vaddha-* *vuddha-*, H. *buddha* *burha*: Skt. *vrddha-*).

I have found no instance of *d* for *d*.

Except after *n*, *d* does not occur in Sindhi proper. All words containing *d* in any other position are loans. In any cases the *d-* of a long- word has been changed to *d-*: e.g. *dan<sup>u</sup>*, *dust<sup>u</sup>*, *des<sup>u</sup>*.

*j*: in *jada<sup>u</sup>* m. stupid fellow (*jda-*), after which also *jaru* stupid, and *jagan<sup>u</sup>* to be awake *ojago* m. sleeplessness (Pa. *jaggati*, Skt. *jagarti*, there may be dissimilation of the glottal closure before the following recursive.

In *jai* f. jasmine (lex. *jati*), *ujar<sup>u</sup>* waste (*\*ujata-*: *jata*) it is not certain that we have to do with original *j-*, though the existence of Pa. *jati*, Sgh, *da*, and Pa. *Jati* points to it. if *j-* is original, these two words must be loans in Sindhi (cf. H. *jai* *ujra*). *Jar<sup>u</sup>* m. water (*jala-*) is perhaps a tatsama.

There are numerous instance of *j* in words, many of which are obvious loans: *janoi* f. breast- strap (*yajnopavita-*) beside *janyo*, *jalan<sup>u</sup>* (p.314) to burn (*jaivalati*) and *kaja<sup>u</sup>* m. collyrium (*kajjala-*) [-s- < -s-: cf. H. *jalna* *kajjal*], *jas<sup>u</sup>* m. fame (*yasas-*) [-s- cf. H. *jas*], *juthod* defiled (*justa-*) [*u* , *u*: cf. H. *jutha* *jhutha*] Tatsamas: *janani* f. mother, *janma* m. birth, *japan<sup>u</sup>* to mutter prayers, etc. Loaned from Persian and Arabic: *jaban<sup>a</sup>* f. tongue, *jaha<sup>u</sup>* m. posion, *jaro* a little etc.

The most numerous exceptions are those words in which *MI. g-* appear as *g*, not *g*.

*Gadah<sup>u</sup>* m. donkey (*gardabha-*), *gadu* mug (*gadduka-*), *gado* cart (*\*gadda-*), are explained by dissimilation. The following pairs, though without etymologies, are instructive: *garan<sup>u</sup>* to drip, but *gada<sup>u</sup>* to meet; *gari* f. "lump", but *gadi* f. bunch; *garo* m. hail, but *dado* m. bundle. There is no instance of initial *g-* followed

by another recursive in the next syllable.

In *gugur<sup>u</sup>* m. bdellium (*gulgulu-*), *gajan<sup>u</sup>* to thunder (*garjati*), *gajar<sup>u</sup>* m. an edible root (lex. *garjara-*) there appears to have been a simultaneous dissimilation. It is at least noteworthy that the sequences represented by the types *gag* *gaj* do not occur in any words.

A number of words are obvious loans: *gajo* m. hemp (*ganja.* would become in Sindhi \**gano*: cf. H. *gaja*), *gand<sup>f</sup>* f. anus (*ganda-*), *gendo* m. rhinoceros (*gandaka-*) [-nd- remains: cf. H. *gar gainda*], *gangati* f. Ganges earth (*ganga-mrthika*) [ng remains], *golo* round (*gola-*) [l < -d- or -f-: cf. H. *gola*], *ag<sup>f</sup>* f. fire (*agni-*) [a < -a: cf. H. *ag* f]. tatsamas: *ga<sup>f</sup>*, f. salvation, *git<sup>u</sup>* m. song. *gupt<sup>u</sup>* hidden, etc. Loans through Persian: *garm<sup>u</sup>* hot, *gando* stinking, *gujar<sup>u</sup>* m. livelihood, etc.

There remain, however, a number of words, which show *g* for *MI. g-gg-* and yet shown no other distinctive non-Sindhi sound-change.

*gau* f. *gai* f. cow (*go-*) beside *gau gawar<sup>u</sup>* *gao gaut<sup>u</sup>*; *gawain* to lose, waste (*gamayati*) beside *gau* lost *garo* m. neck (*gala-*) beside *garo* m. id. *gar<sup>f</sup> lagan<sup>u</sup>* to embrace [galo m. throat is an obvious loan: cf. H. *gala*]; *guh<sup>u</sup>* m. excrement (*guth*) beside *gui* f. anus, *goro* fair-complexioned (*gaura-*) beside *gorain<sup>u</sup>* to become white.

In all the above instances there is a related form in Sindhi with *g*. The following seem isolated: *gusai* M. ascetic (*gosvamin-*: it is not certain whether *u* here is the regular treatment of *o*), *gar<sup>f</sup>* f. abuse (*galr*: cf. *gali*), *gau* m. village (*grama-*: cf. H. *gau*: Sindhi has another word, *goth<sup>u</sup>*).

All these we may legitimately assume to be loan-words either from without or within the Sindhi area. But we have had cases of apparent dissimilation of *g-* and *j-* before recursives, whereas (. 315) *b* and *d* remain in a similar position; e.g. *babur<sup>u</sup>* *baburo budan<sup>u</sup> dedar<sup>u</sup>*, etc. Further, the sequence *jag* is tolerated, while *gag* and *gaj* are not. The reason is that the further back in the mouth the stop is made, the greater is the difficulty of accompanying it with a glottal stop. This is a fact which a learner of Sindhi *j*, and *j* less stable than *d* and *b*.

The following comparative dates for the change of the simple voiced stops to recursives can be established. The glottal closure was introduced.-

A After-

- (1) -rv- > -bb-; for this > S.b.
- (2) -yy- -ry- > -jj-; for these > S..
- (3) ud-v- > ubb- (through uvv-); for this > S.b. Probable after.
- (4) dv- > b-; for this > S.b.-  
-dy- > -jj-; for this S. > j.

B. Before-

- (1) -vy- > -bb-; for this > S.b.
- (2) v- > j-; for this > S.b.

(3) The dissimilation of voiced aspirates before anotheaspirate or h; for in this position *gh jh dh bh* > S. *g j d b*.

In the inscriptions of Asoka dv- remains, -rv- and -ry- are represented only by v and y (= vv and yy).

Initial y- became j- after the first century A.D.<sup>1</sup> But it must not be forgotten that y- is still preserved in Signhalese and Kasmiri. But it will probable not be far wrong to place the development of the glottal stop between the time of Asoka (but probably much later; since in Luders' Bruchstucke<sup>2</sup> -yy- from -ry- was still preserved) and the first century A.D. The narrowest limits are between the changes of -yy- to -jj- on the one hand and y- to j- on the other.

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1. Bloch, p. 19

2. p. 60.

## CEREBRALIZATION IN SINDHI

By. R. L. Tumer

One of the striking differences between the phonetic system of Indo-Aryan and its parent Indo-European is the existence in the former of the cerebral series of sounds as well as the dental. These appear among the stops, the nasals, the sibilants, and later among the liquids also. Thus opposed to Indo-European *t th d dh, n, z, l r* we find in the various Indo-Aryan languages the two series.

*t th d dh, n, S \*z, l r*

*t th d dh, n, S \*z, l r rh.*

of these, *\*z \*z* belong to the prehistoric and *r, rh* to the modern period.

To solve the problem of the origin of this second series is important not only for the history of Indian languages, but for linguistic science in general.

It has been assumed by many that the existence of cerebrals in Indo-Aryan is due to the influence of the Dravidian sub-stratum upon whom the invading Aryans imposed their language. This view receives a qualified support from M. Meillet<sup>1</sup>; and is enunciated in the Cambridge History of India<sup>2</sup> with a certainty unwarranted by the present state of our knowledge. (P. 556)

On the other hand, M. Grammont<sup>3</sup> attributes the origin of the cerebrals to a general tendency in Indo-Aryan to relax the pronunciation in favour of articulation in the neighbourhood of the palatal arch, a general tendency which, according to M. Grammont, is responsible for other sound-changes also in Indo-Aryan.

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1. Introduction a l'etude comparative des langues indo-europeennes, p. 12.

2. P. 49.

JARAS, OCTOBER 1924.

3. *Memoires de la Societe de Linguistique de Paris*, vol. xix, pp. 254, 267, 277.

Two classes of cerebralization must be distinguished; firstly that common to all the Indo-Aryan languages, and secondly that which is dialectical, being found in some but not in all.

#### A. COMMON INDO-ARYAN CEREBRALIZATION:

The change of *s z* to *sh-* sounds (*S Z*) after the sonants *i u r* and the consonant *k* goes back probably to a dialectical variation within Indo-European itself<sup>1</sup>, and certainly to the period of Indo-Iranian (Aryan) community.

In Sanskrit, between vowels, these sounds appearing as *s (r)* were distinguished from the descendants of the Indo-European palatal stops, *s' j h*, but before stops both developed in the same way, namely as *s \*z*. An Indo-European dental immediately following these sounds became in Sanskrit a corresponding cerebral, viz. *t th d* or *dh*. With this assimilation may be compared the different articulatory positions of the final *t* in English *bat* and *bashed*. Of the groups thus formed *st sth* remained in Sanskrit, while *\*zd \*zdh* become *d dh* with lengthening of a preceding short vowel other than *r*.

Further *n*, if preceded in the same word (or word group) by *s* or *r*, whether immediately or at a distance, provided no sound involving articulation with the tongue-tip intervened, became *n*.

Lastly, *s \*z*, preceding stops other than dentals, preceding *s* and probably finally<sup>2</sup> became *t d*.

In common Indo-Aryan then there were no cerebral stops, (p.557) except such as developed from *s \*z* or from dentals in contact with these sounds. Notably there were no initial or intervocalic cerebral stops with the exception of intervocalic *-d- -dh- < \*zd \*zdh* (Rgvedic *-l- -lh-*).

The primitive Indian cerebrals thus originated have remained cerebrals in all the modern languages but Gypsy with the following exceptions: *S* has coincided in development with *s* except in the north-west group (e. g. Kashmiri and Gypsy), where it has become *s'* together with original *s'*; has become *n* in the middle and eastern groups (Hindi, Nepali, Bihari, Bengali, Assamese); *rn* through *nn* has everywhere become *nn n* except

1. Meillet, Introduction, p.73.

2. Cf. Wackeenagel, Altindische Grammatik, i, 33, 149, 150.

in Singhalese, where it remains as *n*, and in that as yet undefined dialect which produced forms of the type *kana'*- beside *karna'*-; *l* became *l* in the dialect, also as yet undefined, which produced forms of the type *nala'*-, beside *nada'*- *nala'*-, and this *l* remained when the word was borrowed by the middle and eastern group.

## B. DIALECTICAL CEREBRALIZATION:

Once established in India, it was inevitable that the language of the Aryan invaders, sensibly one, should diverge into numerous dialects. But there is scarcely any language area in history more favourable for the mixing of dialects than India. And from the Rigveda onwards we have no linguistic monument in India in which there is not ample evidence of borrowing, in vocabulary or grammatical forms, kindred Indo-Aryan dialects.

This is obvious in the subsequent history of the common Indo-Aryan dentals. In a few words in Vedic, and in an ever increasing number of words in - Middle Indian (Classical Sankrit, Pali, and Prakrit) and in Modern Indian, original dentals appear represented by cerebrals. But the change is not uniform. It may appear in some words and not in others, in some languages and not in others, in some dentals (e. g. *d*-) and not in others (e. g. *t*-). These clearly point to the dialectal character of the phenomena of cerebralization. (p. 538). It was the result not of a single change, but of different changes, which formed a number of different isoglosses.

A word which happened to be borrowed from a cerebralizing dialect by a neighbour at an early period would naturally tend to have a wider extension than one borrowed at a later period. Such would more particularly be the case if that neighbour had developed or was about to develop a literary language destined to affect very deeply all the dialects of the group. Thus Vedic *k'atukah* and *danda'h* may be loan-words from a cerebralizing dialect<sup>1</sup>. The cerebral which appears in Vedic appears also in all modern languages in which they are represented: Sgh. *kulu dada*, Gy. *ran* (*n* < -*nd*-), K. *dona*, S. *Karo dano*, N. *karuwa* (-*r* < -*r*-) *Daro*, P. *danna*, G. *kadu dado*, M. *kadu dad*, H. *karua dara*, B. *dara*, O. *kadua*. Vedic *da's'ati* become pa. *dasati*, and throughout the modern languages has the cerebral, while Vedic *da's'a*, which became Pa. *dasa*, appears in most of

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1. Wackernagel, i. pp. 169, 171.

the modern languages with a dental (e. g. M. *das*) but in Sindhi with a cerebral, *dah<sup>a</sup>*.

Vedic and Sanskrit words containing cerebrals in place of dentals are discussed fully by Wackernagel<sup>1</sup> without the attempt to define the dialectical areas of cerebralization, but definition, if attainable, is most necessary.

M. Bloch<sup>2</sup> has summed up what is known of the repetition of the phenomena in Middle and Modern Indian. Briefly, cerebralization of dentals in the presence of *r* is an eastern rather than a western phenomenon. Marathi follows the western dialects and retains dentals. My own observation<sup>3</sup> led me to rank Gujarati in this respect with Marathi. But there are still wanting detailed studies of other languages.

Sindhi, although not an eastern dialect, has already been noticed<sup>4</sup> as a language in which cerebrals appear where other languages have dentals; but as yet no definition has been (p.559) given of the conditions under which they appear. It is the object of this paper to examine which primitive Indian dentals have become cerebrals in Sindhi, and under what conditions.

The Sindhi cerebrals are all pronounced with tongue-tip turned back and striking behind the teeth-ridge. The separate sounds are these-

*t*, a surd stop, which may be followed immediately by *r*,

Often not shown in writing: *tr*. In southern Sindhi this group has become *t*.

*th*, an aspirated surd stop.

*d*, a voiced stop, which may be followed immediately by *r*.

*dr*. In Southern Sindhi this group has become *d*.

*d*, a voiced stop, the explosion of which is immediately preceded by an occlusion of the glottis.

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1. Wackernagel, i. pp. 167, ff.

2. La formation de la langue marathe, pp. 117-ff.

3. JARS. 1921, p. 512.

4. Cf. Bloch, p. 126.

It bears the same relation to *d* as *g j b* to *g j b*.

*dh*, an aspirated voiced stop, which may be followed immediately .

by *r*. *dhr*. In Southern Sindhi this group has become *dh*.

*r*, a voiced flap.

*rh*, an aspirated voiced flap.

*n*, a voiced nasal accompanied by some escape of breath through the mouth.

A note is required to elucidate the relationship between *d dr d dh* and *r rh*. *D* represents older *dh* which has lost its aspiration through dissimilation: e.g. *ditho* bold < \**dhitho*: Skt. *dhṛta*-, cf. N. *dhito* id. The origin of *g* and *b* and partly of *j*- (which also represents Skt. *y*-) is similar. *Dr* represents Skt. *dr* or *tr* in the group *ntr*: e.g. *drakṣ*<sup>u</sup> f. small grape: skt. *drakṣa mandu*<sup>u</sup> m. spell: Skt. *mantra*-. *D* represents older *d*- or *-dd*-: e.g. kodi f. small shell: Pkt. *kavaddia* Skt. *kapardika*. *Dh* represents older *dh*- or *-ddh*-: e.g. *dedh*<sup>u</sup> one and a half: Pkt. *divaddha*- Skt. *dvyardha*- *R* represents older *-d*-: e.g. koro m. bosom: Skt. *Kroda*-: *rh* represents older *-dh*-: e.g. *parhan*<sup>u</sup> to read: Pkt. *padhai* Skt. *pathati*. (p. 560) The difference of development between Pkt. *-dd*- *-ddh*- and *-d*- *-dh*- is seen elsewhere. Nepali distinguishes them as *r* and *r*. There appears to be a similar distinction in Kasmiri and in the Lakhimpuri and *Chattisgarhi* dialects of Hindi. There may be here an explanation of the various confusions in Hindi between *d* and *r*, and undoubtedly for those between *r* and *r*, as in the two Hindi dialects already quoted.

The evolution of the primitive Indian dentals may be considered under six heads. The dental is -----

- (1) preceded at a distance by *r*:
- (2) preceded immediately by *r*:
- (3) preceded immediately by *r*:
- (4) followed immediately by *r*:
- (5) (a) single and intervocalic,  
(b) double and intervocalic,  
(c) initial:



(6) n and l, initial and intervocalic.

1. A single Pl, intervocalic dental disappeared in Sindhi, whereas a similar cerebral remained as *r* or *rh*.

Such a dental, although preceded at a distance by *r*, seems to have remained a dental and therefore eventually to have disappeared. Examples unfortunately are not numerous, and, on the other hand, there are words in which a cerebral represents a Pl. dental. These are probably loan-words, and may perhaps be referred to the eastern cerebralizing dialects, which appear to represent the dentals of the first three cases shown above by cerebrals.

The dental remains: *pai* f. Agreement (*pratiti*-) *bhau* m. brother (*bhratr*-) *suo* heard (*s'ruta*'-); *gahilo* heedless (? *grathila*-) *pehryo* first (H. *pahila*, cf. *prathama*'-); *trihai* f. trebleness (*tr'idha*); *maryo* sruck (*marita*-) *ruar*<sup>u</sup> m. weeping (*rodana*-).

The dental becomes a cerebral: *paresi* m. neighbour (*prativasa*-) is a loan-word: for in Sindhi -s- > -h-. Moreover, the word appears with a cerebral in all Modl. languages (e.g. M. *padosi* id.) and so appeared in Pa. *pativasati*. *Parado* (p. 561) m. cry, echo (*pratisabda*-) is not certain. *Parhan*<sup>u</sup> to read (*pratha'yati*) i a common Indian loan-word: cf. Skt. Pa. *pathati* M. *Padhne*, etc. Words belonging to the root *granth*- were early borrowed in their cerebralized forms (Pa. *ganthi*-beside *gantha*- *gantheti*) and are so found in Sindhi and in most the Modl. languages: *gandh*<sup>u</sup> m. joint *gandhi* f. knot *gandhanu* to tie *gandhiru* knotty (*grantha*-*granthi*-*granthayati* - *granthila*-). The persence of *g* indicates that these are not modern loans. With this class of early common Indian loan-words should be included the descendants of those Sanskrit (i. e. Middle Indian) words, in which a cerebral derived form a dental is the sole reminder of a vanished *r* or *r*. But of these the Indo-European etymologies<sup>1</sup> are often by no means certain: e. g. *pin*<sup>u</sup> m. lump (*pinda*-) *kano* m. reed (*kando*-) *muno* m. pot (*kunda*-) *manan*<sup>u</sup> to shampoo (*manda*-) *muno* blunt (*munda*-); *kundh*<sup>u</sup> m. blockhead (*kuntha*-), etc.

2. In the group *r* + dental also the Sindhi develoment seems to be the retention of the dental, and, if single, its subsequent disappearance.

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1. Wackernagel, i. ss. 146-7.

The dental remains: *muo* dead (*mrta'*-) *kio* done (*krta'*-) *gih<sup>u</sup>* m. ghee (*ghrta'*-) *hio* m. heart (*hr'daya*-); *udhan<sup>u</sup>* to increase (*vrddha*) *ridho* pleased (*rddha'*-); cf. also *wijhan<sup>u</sup>* to thrive (\**vivdhyati* cf. *vivardhate*) *rihan<sup>u</sup>* to be pleased (*rdhyati*). *katy* f. pl. Pleiades (*kr'ttikah*) is doubtful, having a < r which is the Marathi treatment (cf. M. *katya* id.)<sup>1</sup>, and is probably a loan. Similarly *nacan<sup>u</sup>* to dance (*nr'tyati*, cf. B. *nar*- to move < \**natati*).

The dental becomes a cerebral. *Miti* f. earth (*m'ttika*) is found only in Marathi with a dental (*mati* f. cf. Pa *mattika*), elsewhere always with a cerebral e.g. H. *mitti* N. *mato*, etc. (cf. Pkt. *mattia*): *budho* old (*vrddha'*-) is a common Indian loan-word (cf. Pa. *vaddha*- *vuddha*- *buddha*- beside *vaddha*-, H *burha*, etc.): moreover, Pl. v-> S. w-; *sambhuro* (P. 562) recollected (*sambhrta*-) beside *sambhuno* and *sambhīryo* appears on account of its *u* to be a form extended with -*ta*-Pkt. -*da*-, viz \**sambhua da*-; *porho* very old (with -*rh*- not -*dh*-) is from *praudha*- not *prvrddha*-.

3. In the group r + dental there is divergence: *rh rth rdh* remain dental, *rd* becomes cerebral. In all the *r* is assimilated. This will be shown later to agree with the difference of development between initial *t*- *th*- *dh*- and initial *d*-.

*rt*: *dhuto* m. pimp (*dhurta'*) *bhatar<sup>u</sup>* m. husband (*bhartr'*-, cf. Skt. *bhattaraka*-) *katab<sup>u</sup>* m. business (*ka'rtavya*-) *watan<sup>u</sup>* to wander (*va'rtate*), *kat<sup>u</sup>* m. a cut *katar<sup>i</sup>* f. spears (*kartati*), *katan<sup>u</sup>* to spin (*kartana*-).

Despite *watan<sup>u</sup>* a group of words belonging to the root of *va'rtate* have a cerebral in Sindhi as in other Modl. languages. These are ancient loan-words. Pali had both *vattati* and *vattati* with some differentiation of meaning<sup>2</sup>; similarly *pavttati* to roll on, to go on, to proceed *pavattati* to revolve. So in Sindhi with the sense of "revolving, twisting" *watān<sup>u</sup>* to twist, to plait (cf. H. *batna*) *watino* m. spindle (*vartana*-) *wat<sup>i</sup>* f. wick *diati* f. lamp wick (*varti-dipavarti*-) *wat<sup>u</sup>* m. twist (*varta*-) *atar<sup>u</sup>* to melt (*avartana*-) *wati* near (*vartin*-); *wat<sup>a</sup>* f. path (*vartman*-) is a later loan, since it has a not a (cf. G. *vat* N. *bato*, etc).

Beside *kat<sup>u</sup>*, etc., Sindhi has the verb *katan<sup>u</sup>* to cut (*kartati*). The two words *kartati* to cut and \**kartati* to spin (cf. *krntati*)

1. Bloch, p. 48.

2. Cf. Childers, Pali Dictionary, sub voce.

kartayati). were probably early differentiated by counter-borrowing from cerebralizing and non-cerebralizing dialects, *katt-* being reserved for cutting and *katt-* for spinning in all the Modl. languages except Singhalese with *katinu* "to spin", which, however, may represent *kant-* (cf. Skt. *krntati* Pa. *kantati*); but in any case Singhalese has replaced *katt-* "to cut" by *kapinu* to cut (*kalpayati*).

Mati f. large earthen vessel (*marttika-*) should be compared with *miti* (*mrttika*) mentioned above; *ato* (< \**artaka-*, cf. (P563) Persian *ard* meal Av. *asa-* ground: Skt. lex. *atta-*) is a common Indian loan-word.

*rth:* *sathu* m. caravan *sathi* m. comrade (*sartha-sarthika-*) *cotho* fourth (*caturthá-*) *tithu* m. place of residence (*trtha-*).

*rdh:* *adh*<sup>u</sup> m. half *adh-* in composition (*ardhá-*) *adho* half. (*ardha-*), *wadan*<sup>u</sup> to grow (*várdhate*) *wadh*<sup>i</sup> too much (*varghita-*) *wadhinif.* increase (*vardhana-*), etc; *nidhanko* poor (*nirdhana-*) *nidhar*<sup>u</sup> helpless (\**nirdhara-*).

The words containing *ardha-* and used to express fractions have a cerebral in common with all other Modl. languages: *adh*<sup>ai</sup> two and a half (*ardhatrtiya-*) is plainly a loan-word, for the Sindhi treatment of *-iya-* is *-ij-*, e.g. passives on *-ijan*<sup>u</sup> > *-iya-bijo* second (*dvitiya-*) *trijo* third (*trtiya-*), whereas in the eastern group it is *-ia-*. Secondly the Sindhi treatment of *r* is *i, u* not *a*, which is perhaps eastern (it is regular in Singhalese): *ardhatrtiyah* > \**addhaaio* > *adh*<sup>ai</sup>-. On three counts therefore *adh*<sup>ai</sup> is to be considered a loan from an eastern dialect. With it go *sadh*<sup>u</sup> plus a half (*sardha*-Pkt. *saddha-*) *dedh*<sup>u</sup> one and a half (Pkt. *divaddha-*, cf. Skt. *duyardha-*).

Words belonging to the root *vardh-* "to cut" are distinguished from those belonging to the root *vardh-* "to increase" by surviving only in the borrowed form with a cerebral: *wadhan*<sup>u</sup> to cut *wadhini* f. cutting *wadhu* m. cut (*vardhayati vardhana- vardha-*). Other languages, however, which, like Hindi, have the cerebralized form for *vardh-* to increase (e.g. H. *barhna*) have lost the root *vardh-* to cut except in the noun *barhai* m. carpenter (*vardhaki-*) which cannot be confused with any form connected with *barhna* to increase.

*Mundh*<sup>u</sup> m. beginning, top, front part, adj. chief (*murdhán-*) has only metaphorical meanings and is therefore suspect of being borrowed.

*rd*: this group in Sindhi became *dd* and then *d*: *padan*<sup>u</sup> to break wind *pad*<sup>u</sup> m. breaking wind (*pardate* *parda*-) *gadah*<sup>u</sup> m. donkey (*gardabhá*-) *codaha* fourteen (*ca'turda'sa*) *kudan*<sup>u</sup> to leap (*kurdati*) *ladan*<sup>u</sup> to load (*lardayati*) *chadan*<sup>u</sup> to abandon (P. 564) (*chardayati*) *deda*<sup>u</sup> m. frog (*dardura*-); *nida*<sup>u</sup> fearless (*\*nirdara*-); *kod*<sup>u</sup> m. cowry (*kaparda*-).

*Baledo* m. herd of cattles (*balivarda*-) *badal*<sup>u</sup>. cloud (*vardala*-) are shown also by the presence of *-l-* for regular *-r-* and in the latter of *b-* for regular *w-* to be loan- words.

4. On the contrary, when followed by *r*, *t* as well as *d* and probably *dh* are cerebralized. In the northern and central dialects *r* remains, in the southern in the southern it is lost<sup>1</sup>. There is no example of the group *thr*, but *str* appears as the dental *th*. Since afternasals all surds are voiced, *ntr* > *ndr*-.

*tr*: *trahan*<sup>u</sup> to fear *trah*<sup>u</sup> m. trembling *trahan*<sup>u</sup> to frighten (*trāsati trasa- trasayati*) *tri-* *tre* three *trijc* third etc. (*tri- tráyah triiya*-) *trutan*<sup>u</sup> to be broken *troran*<sup>u</sup> to break (*trutyati trotayati*) *truijan*<sup>u</sup> to miscarry (of cattle) *trumbijan*<sup>u</sup> id. (*Dhatup. tropati trumpati* to hurt); *triman*<sup>u</sup> to ooze *trehan*<sup>u</sup> to damp; H. *tita wet tem* f. wetness Sgh. *tem* wetting, despite *Dhatup. timyati* lex. *temana*- probably go back to *\*trimyati* *\*tremayati*.

*Khatr*<sup>u</sup> m. passage made by burglars *khatro* m. channel of a torrent (*khatra*-) *got*<sup>u</sup> m. parentage (*gotrá*-) *citr*<sup>u</sup> m. picture *citro* m. panther (*citrá*-) *cetr*<sup>u</sup> m. spring crop (*caitra*-) *chat*<sup>u</sup> m. umbrella (*chattra*-) *jatro* m. son-in-law (*jamatr*-) *jatr*<sup>a</sup> f. furrow (*yatra*) *dohitro* m. daughter's son (*dauhitra*) *nakhatr*<sup>u</sup> m. constellation (*náksatra*-) *netr*<sup>u</sup> m. reed, cane (*nadá*- + *vetra*-) *patriro* thin (*páttra*-) *patr*<sup>i</sup> f. large dish (*patra*-) *putr*<sup>u</sup> m. son *potro* m. son's *niputro* childless *derotr*<sup>u</sup> husband's brother's son (*putrá*- *paútra*- *nisputra*- *devaraputra*-) *matrej* belonging to one's stepmother (*\*matreya*- cf. *bhratreya* -and Pa. *matieya*-) *mitr*<sup>u</sup> m. friend (*mitrá*-) *mutr*<sup>u</sup> m. urine *gautr*<sup>u</sup> m. cow's urine *mutran*<sup>u</sup> to urinate (*mutra*- *gomutra*- *mutrayti*) *wahitr*<sup>u</sup> m. riding or draught animal (*vahitra*-) *sutr*<sup>u</sup> m. thread *sotro* of cotton (*sutra*- *sautra*-) *jotro* m. cord (*yoktra*-).

When the preceding syllable contains *r*, the group remains dental and the second *r* is assimilated: *war*<sup>a</sup> f. leather thong (P. 565) (*varatra*) *ra*<sup>i</sup> f. night *ratuno* nocturnal (*ratr*) *norato* m. *arati* f. (= *navaratra*- *aratrika*-)

1. Linguistic Survey of India, vol. viii, pt.i, p. 23.

*ntr.* andro m. entrails (*antrá-*) *khanandro* m. kitchen, (? \**khadanantra-*) *nendro* m. inviter (cf. *nimant raka-*) *mandr<sup>u</sup>* m. spell (*mántra-*) *jandr<sup>u</sup>* m. handmill *jandr<sup>i</sup>* f. lathe (*yantra-*)

*dr.* *drakh<sup>a</sup>* f. small grape (*draksa*) *dra<sup>u</sup>* m. fear (*drava-*) *droh<sup>u</sup>* m. deceit *drohi* wily *drohan<sup>u</sup>* to deceive (*droha-drohin-drohayati*) *droran<sup>u</sup>* *drokan<sup>u</sup>* *drokar<sup>u</sup>* to run (cf. *drávati drati*) *adroko* damp (*ardra-*); *nindr<sup>a</sup>* f. sleep (*nidrá*) *mundr<sup>a</sup>* f. seal *mundri* f. signet-ring *mundran<sup>u</sup>* to seal (*mudra mudrika mudrayati*).

In *badro* m. (= *bhadrapada-*) the loss of aspiration and the shortening of the first vowel is not explained.

The derivation of *kodiri* f. a species of *jawari* from *kodrava* is doubtful. *Dauran<sup>u</sup>* to run (beside *droran<sup>u</sup>*) and *damm<sup>u</sup>* m. price (*dramma-*) are obviously loans (cf. H. *dauma* and *dām*).

*ndr.* *indri* f. penis (*indriyá-*) *candr<sup>u</sup>* m. moon *candr<sup>i</sup>* lunar (*candrá- candra-*) *candro* perverse (\**candraka-*, cf. *canda-*).

The last syllable of *nanatr<sup>u</sup>* m. husband's sister's son (*nanandra-*) has been altered after words containing *putrá-*: e.g. *derotr<sup>u</sup>*. *Čamdi* f. silver (*candrika*) is shown by its *a* to be a loan (cf. H. *cadri*).

It has already been indicated that Pl. *-hd->* S. *-n<sup>-1</sup>* (e.g. *kano* reed: *Kanda-*). Thus *ano* m. egg *anif.* fish's roe *anir<sup>u</sup>* having swollen testicles *anuro* m. "testicle" point to an earlier *anda-* not \**andra-*. But despite the doubt thrown on the etymology *anda*=OSl. *jedro* seed, testicle Russ. *jadró* seed pl. *jo'dra* testicles by Berneker<sup>2</sup> and Wackernagel<sup>3</sup>, there seems no valid reason to urge against it. Both the Vedic and the Slavonic words can be referred to an IE.

\* *endró-n.*

In Slavonic the first element of a long diphthong standing before a consonant is shortened<sup>4</sup>, and the resultant *en-* becomes (P.566) *je*<sup>5</sup>. Compare also OSl. *jetro* "liver" with Skt. *antra-*. Thus in both words form, accent, gender, and meaning

1. Cf. also Bloch, *Journal Asiatique*, 1912, i, p. 335.

2. *Slavisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 456.

3. i. p. 171.

4. Mikola, *Urslavische Grammatik*, p. 59.

5. *ib.*, p. 72.

agree. It is necessary, therefore, to assume Pl. \**andrá-* from which in a cerebralizing dialect came *andá-* to appear as a loan- word in the RV. and in Sindhi.

The history of RV. *dandá-* is instructive in this respect. Words connected with it entered Sindhi at perhaps three different periods. *Dandr<sup>u</sup>* m. "horn of the ibex" points to Pl. \**dandra-* (cf. Gk. *Sevspov*) and is the real Sindhi word; *dano* m. weal *danan<sup>u</sup>* to flog are early borrowing of the common Indian loan-words *dandá-* *dandayati* (cf. *andá-* above); *dando* m. "pestle, club" is either Southern Sindhi for \**dandro*, or is a later borrowing from another language (cf. H. *danda*).

*dhr.* there is no certain example of this group, but *dhrai<sup>u</sup>* "to satisfy, to glut" beside H. *dhapna* id points to a Pl. \**dhrap-dhrap-* \**dhrapy-*, while *dhrai<sup>u</sup>* "to be procured" is possibly to be referred to *dhrajati* to move; *wadh<sup>i</sup>* f. strap (*vardhri*) is perhaps southern dialect for \**wadh<sup>i</sup>*. The aspirate of *dadhr<sup>u</sup>* f. ringworm (*dadru-*) is found in other languages: perhaps it represents \**dadhru-*. Cf. G. *dadhar* beside *dadar* *dad* P. *dadhur* beside *dadd*.

There is no example of the group *thr*, and but one of *str*. *bathi* f. quiver (*bhrástra*). With this may be compared the treatment of the group *str* which also loses its *r*. *bath<sup>u</sup>* m. large pot in which grain is parched (*bhrástra-*).

5. The dentals considered up to this point have all been grouped with *r*: the fate of dentals uninfluenced by *r* has now to be considered.

(a) The Primitive Indian intervocalic single dentals disappeared, the surds first becoming voiced; only of the aspirates there remained a trace in their aspiration. A few instances suffice to illustrate this general rule.

*piu* m. father (*pit<sup>r</sup>-r-*) *mai<sup>u</sup>* nom. Pl. f. mothers (*matárah*) *jao* m. son (*jatá-*) *pai* m. husband (*pát<sup>i</sup>-*) *with<sup>i</sup>* f. space (*vítast<sup>i</sup>-*)

(P.567) *naif*. mountain torrent (*nad<sup>i</sup>*) *ar<sup>u</sup>* m. shame (*adara-*) *māu* m. arrogance (*mada-*) *Khain<sup>u</sup>* to eat (*Khádati*) *upain<sup>u</sup>* to produce (*utpadayati*).

*Kahar<sup>u</sup>* to say (*kathayati*) *guhu* m. ordure (*gutha-*) *mahi* f. buttermilk (*mathitá-*).

dahi f. curds (dádhi-) wahu f. son's wife (vadhu-) goha f. iguana (godha) ohu m. udder (audhasa-) sahanu to prepare (sadhayati).

There are a few words in Sindhi in which primitive Indian dental in this position are represented by cerebrals. These words are common to most of the other Modern Indo-Aryan languages, and are found with cerebrals in Pali and Prakrit. They may either be early loan-words from a dialect in which dentals in this position regularly became cerebrals (but at present we have no knowledge of such a dialect) or be the result of a number of different accidents<sup>1</sup>. It is noteworthy that Sindhi, with other languages of the North-West-Lahnda and Kasmiri - has in one word preserved the dental; *pawan*<sup>u</sup> to fall pio fallen *pain*<sup>u</sup> to pour in (*pátati patitá- patáyati*) Multani *pe-* to lie *pa-* to put, K. *pyon*<sup>u</sup> to fall: Pkt. *padai* M. *padne* Gy, *per-*, etc. But in compounds the cerebralized form appears beside the uncerebralized: *upiran*<sup>u</sup> to grow up (*utpatati*) beside *upain*<sup>u</sup> to bale out (*utpatayati*), *niuran*<sup>u</sup> to stoop beside *niwan*<sup>u</sup> to stoop *niwain*<sup>u</sup> to cause to bow down (*nipatai nipatayati*). *Ari* f. wild duck (*ati*-an aquatic bird, cf. *ati*-Turdus ginginianus) everywhere has a cerebral: M. *adi* etc. So too *karhan*<sup>u</sup> to boil *karho* m. cauldron *karhan*<sup>u</sup> to cause to boil (*kvathate kvatha- kvathayati*) M.

*kadhne*, etc: Pali has *kathito* distinguished by its cerebral form *kathito* spoken.

(b) M. Bloch<sup>2</sup> has drawn attention to the parallelism in development between single stops when initial and corresponding doubled stops when intervocalic.

With regard to the phenomena of cerebralization the treatment is identical in (P.568) Sindhi. Initial Middle Indian *t- th- dh-* and intervocalic *-tt- -tth- -ddh-* remain dentals, initial *ṭ-* and intervocalic *-dd-* become cerebrals. With this may be compared the fate of the same consonants when preceded by *r*.

*t- -tt-*: *tand*<sup>u</sup> f. wire (*tántu-*) *tato* hot (*tapta-*) *tano* m. warp (*tana-*) *tir*<sup>u</sup> m. sesamum (*tilá-*) *tusan*<sup>u</sup> to be pleased (*tusyañi*) *tuh*<sup>u</sup> m. husk (*túsa-*), etc.

1. Cf. Wackemagel, i, s 133, note, and s 148; Bloch, p. 125.

2. p. 96.

sambat<sup>i</sup> f. readiness (*sampatti-*) wit<sup>u</sup> m. power (*vittá-*) pit<sup>u</sup> m. bile (*pitta*); bhat<sup>u</sup> m. water gruel (*bhaktá-*) wtan<sup>u</sup> to say (*uktá-*) suti f. a parti cular sea-shell (*sukti-*); pato reached (*prapta-*) tati f. heat (*tapti-*) sat<sup>a</sup> seven (*sapta*), etc.

th- -tth- than<sup>u</sup> m. teat thanu f. human milk (*stana-* *stanya-*) thadhi f. coldness (*stabdhi-*) thambhanu ro support (*sambhate*) thuho m. hump of a camel (*stupa-*); thulho fat (*\*sthulya-*, cf. *sthule*; Nep thlo) tharu m. desert (*sthála-*) thano'm. place (*sthana-*) thuni f. stake (*sthuna*) thianu to occur (*sthitá-*).

Wath<sup>u</sup> f. thing (*vastu-*) matho m. head (*mastaka-*) athar<sup>u</sup> m. pack-saddle (*astara-*); whani f. morning (*uthana-*) wathan<sup>u</sup> m. cattle-pen (*upasthana-*); mathar<sup>u</sup> to churn (*mathnati*):

dh- -ddh- : dhan<sup>u</sup> m. grain (*dhanya-*) dhuro m. side stick of a lathe (*dhúra-*) dhunar<sup>u</sup> to shake (*dhunoti*) dhawan<sup>u</sup> to blow with bellows (*dhámati*) dhair<sup>u</sup> to suck (*dhapáyate*), etc.

badho bound (*baddha-*) budho heard (*buddhá-*) purdho understood (*\*paribuddha-*, cf. *paribodha-*) rudho engaged in (*ruddhá-*) sudh<sup>i</sup> f. knowledge (*suddhi-*); dadho burnt (*dagdhá-*) dodhi m. milkman (*dogdh´r-*) mudh<sup>u</sup> foolish (*mughá-*); ladho taken (*labdhá-*) jadho coitu fructus (*\*yábdna-*, cf. *yabhati*) thadh<sup>i</sup> f. coldness (*stabdhi-*).

Similarly the groups -nt- -nth- -ndh- remain dental.

nt: andi f. edge of cloth (*ánta-*) andar<sup>u</sup> m. inside (*ántara-*) khand<sup>i</sup> f. patience (*ksanti-*) tand<sup>u</sup> f. wire (*tántu-*) dand<sup>u</sup> m. tooth (*dánta-*) dand<sup>u</sup> m. ox (*dantá-*) randi f. sport (*\*ranti-*: *rámate* formed after *ksámate ksanti-*, etc) sandair<sup>u</sup> to vex (*samtapayati*) Sindhi f. parting in the hair (*simánta-*: the aspiration is unexplained).

(P. 569) nth: pand<sup>u</sup> m. distance (*pánthan-*) pandhi m. traveller (*pantha-*) mandhiaro m. churning staff (*mántha*).

ndh: andho blind (*andhá-*) kand<sup>u</sup> m. back of neck (*skandha´-*) Sindh<sup>u</sup> m. Indus (*Sindhú-*) bundhan<sup>u</sup> to understand (*\*bundhati*, cf. pres. part. mid, *budhaná-* Gk. *πυνοα´vomai*: *búdhate*)

bandh<sup>u</sup> m. dike (*bandha´-*), etc:

When a dental was followed by vowel + *r* + consonant or consonant + *r*, then through a process of anticipation, an *r* was



also pronounced immediately after the dental. It was not a case of metathesis, since the original group containing *r* behaved like any other group containing *r*: thus presumably *dirgha*´- *tamrá* > \* *drigha*- \* *tramra*- not \* *drigha*- \* *trama* which would have become \* *driho* \* *trao*. The dental followed by this secondary *r* behaved as in the Primitive Indian group dental + *r*, that is to say, it become a cerebral. The groups *tr dr* became *tri dri*.

*tri*<sup>h</sup> f. thirst (*trsa*) *trirka*<sup>u</sup> to split (\**trdati*, cf. *trnátti trdilá*-) *tipa*<sup>u</sup> to leap (*t`rpyati*) presumably belongs to the southern dialect in which *tr* > *t*; *dri*<sup>h</sup> firm (*drdhá*-).

*tra*<sup>u</sup> f. spindle (*traku*-) *trapa*<sup>u</sup> to leap (*tarpayate*); *drab*<sup>h</sup> m. the grass *poa cynosuroides* *drabho* m. a collection of such grass (*darbha*´- *darbha*-) *drigho* tall (*dirghá*-) *drija*<sup>u</sup> to be afraid *drino* afraid (*diryáte dirná*´-).

*tramo* m. copper (*tamra*´-).

In the case of *d*-there are more exceptions, the majority of which are probably to be ascribed to the southern dialect, though some are susceptible of special, but perhaps unnecessary, explanations: all forms of the root *drs*´- *dars*´-, confused perhaps with *dis*´-, *disa*<sup>u</sup> to expect (*drsýate*) *ditho* seen (*drstá*´-) *dasar*<sup>u</sup> to show (*darsáyati*); *dadh*<sup>h</sup> f. severity *dadho* hard (*dardhya*-), in which *r* is followed by two consonants; *dubiro* thin (*durbala*-) *duhag*<sup>u</sup> m. lessening of husband's love for his wife (*durbhagya*-, with *-h-* for *-\*bh-* due to influence of *suhag*<sup>u</sup> m. husband's love < *saubhagya*-); these may have been influenced by forms descended from *dus*, e.g. *duka*<sup>u</sup> m. famine (*duskala*-); in *dadh*<sup>u</sup> (*dadru*-) (P. 570) *deda*<sup>u</sup> (*dardura*-) other irregularities appear- aspiration in the former, e for *a* in the latter.

The only example of the group *dhr* is *ditho* < \**dhitho* (*dhirstá*-). In any case we have no certain example of the treatment of *dhr*.

An initial dental when followed by *th* beginning the next syllable seems to be liable to assimilation: thus *tutho* pleased (*tusta*-) beside *tutho*/id. influenced by *tusan*<sup>u</sup> to be pleased (*tusyati*), *ditho* < \**dhitho* (*dhirstá*-).

The number of words in Sindhi in which *t-* *-tt-* *th-* *-tth-* *dh-* *-ddh-* appear as cerebrals is small. There are, it is true, a

considerable number of words containing *t th d dh* in agreement with other modern Indo-Aryan languages, but for the most part they are at present unprovided with Indo-European or Aryan etymologies, and we have no right to suppose that these cerebrals were developed from dentals. In a few cases M. Bloch has already made some comparisons with Dravidian words.

Where cerebrals, however, in these positions in Sindhi do represent Primitive Indian dentals, it is possible that they are either the result of special circumstances, or are borrowed from some dialect where such dentals regularly became cerebrals (cf. the case of *-t-* in e.g. *niuran*<sup>u</sup> beside *niwan*<sup>u</sup> discussed above, and what will be said later about the cerebralization of all dentals in certain North Gujarati dialects).

*Tanan*<sup>u</sup> to pull tight (*tanayati*) has a different meaning from the regular *tanan*<sup>u</sup> to drag; the etymology of *tindrus*<sup>u</sup> m. a kind of small gourd (lex. *tindi'sa*- name of a plant) is uncertain, and in any case the word has *-s-* instead of regular *-h-*.

The root *stha-* early had forms with the cerebral *\*stha-*, due perhaps to the influence of forms beginning *anu api pari prati*, and to the present tense *tisthati*. Thus in Sindhi we have *than*<sup>u</sup> m. "stall" beside *thano* m. place (*sthana-*, but Pa. *thana-*) and *thau* m. place (*sthaman-*; but N. *thau*); *uthan*<sup>u</sup> to be produced (*utthita-*, but Pa. *utthati* Pkt. *utthedi*) (P.571) beside *uthan*<sup>u</sup> to rise *uthani* f. morning *utharan*<sup>u</sup> to raise (where all the other modern languages have a cerebral); *pathan*<sup>u</sup> to send (*prasthapayati*, but Pa. *patthapeti* H. *pathanna*, etc); in *kawi*<sup>u</sup> m. *Feronia Elephantum* (*kapittha-* Pa. *kapittha-* and *kavittha-*, M. *kawath*, etc). the loss of aspiration and the long vowel are irregular.

In *tratho* frightened (*trasta-*) *th* is probably due to the analogy of other past participles like *tutho* (*tusta-*) *ditho* (*drsta-*). *Arhar*<sup>u</sup> m. "hot season" seems to be a metathesis for *\*aradhu* with irregular treatment of *-dh-* < *\*adaddha-* < *\*adagdha-* (cf. *adahyeta* and *adahana-*; S. *dadho* "burnt" but Pa. *daddha-*). With this may be compared the treatment of *-bdh-* in H. *tharha* (*stabdhá-*) beside S. *thadhī* Pa. *thaddha-*.

Where as *t th dh*, initial or doubled, remained dental, *d-* and *-dd-* became cerebral, namely *d*. With this is to be compared the treatment of *rt rth rdh* on the one hand and *rd* on the other.

*d-*: *dukar*<sup>u</sup> m. famine (*duskala-*) *dakhin*<sup>u</sup> m. the south *dakhino* southern (*dáksina-* *daksina*) *dadhr*<sup>u</sup> f. itch (*dadru-*) *dahif*. curds (*dádhi-*) *dand*<sup>u</sup> m. tooth (*danta-*) *dam*<sup>u</sup> trained *dand*<sup>u</sup> m. (*damya-dantá-*) *dah*<sup>a</sup> ten (*dásá*) *dahan*<sup>u</sup> to excite *dajhan*<sup>u</sup> to be afflicted *dadho* excited *dáhati* da *hyáte* *dagdhá-*) *dian*<sup>u</sup> to give *dijan*<sup>u</sup> to be given (*dáyate* *diyáte'*) *dawan*<sup>u</sup> *dan*<sup>u</sup> m. shackles for the foreset (*daman-damani*) *daho* wise (lex. *dasá-*) *din*<sup>u</sup> m. festival day (*dína-*) *dih*<sup>u</sup> m. day (*divasa-*) *deu* m. demon (*deva'-*) *deh*<sup>u</sup> m. county (*des'a-*) *der*<sup>u</sup> m. wife's brother (*devara-devr'-*) *dikh*<sup>a</sup> f. ceremony of initiation (*diksa*) *dio* m. lamp (*dipa-*) *doran*<sup>u</sup> to wander (*dolayate*) *doth*<sup>u</sup> m. fault (*dosa-*) *dukh*<sup>u</sup> m. pain (*dukkha-*) *duhan*<sup>u</sup> to milk *dudh*<sup>u</sup> m. curds *dodhi* m. milkman *doho* m. milker (*duháti* *dugdha'-* *dogdhi'-r-* *dogha-*) *dohitro* m. daughter's son (*dauhitra-*) *du*<sup>i</sup> adv at a distance (*dure*) *dadho* hard (*dardhya-*) *daran*<sup>u</sup> to fear (*da'ráti*) *daran*<sup>u</sup> to be split *daran*<sup>u</sup> to split *dar*<sup>u</sup> m. fissure *dar*<sup>i</sup> f. den, burrow (*dalati darayati dara-* *dan*) *doro* m. string of a kite (*doraka-*) *du* two (*duvaú*) *duno* double (Pkt. *duuna-* *dviguná-*) *-dd-*: *kodar*<sup>i</sup> f. hoe *kadaryo* m. worker with a hoe (*kuddala-* (P. 572) *kauddala-*) *udair*<sup>u</sup> to cause to fly (*uddapayati. diyati*); *sad* m. call *sadan*<sup>u</sup> to call *sado* m. calling (*sábdá-*).

Thus no initial *d-* or medial *-d-*, except in the group *nd*, remains in Sindhi proper.

And although *d-* has been re-introduced in numerous words, there is no opposition between a *d-* and a *\*d* like that between *g j* *d b* and *g j d b*. Initial *dh-* when followed by another aspirate might conceivably have become *d-*, just as *g d b* came from *gh- dh- bh-* under similar circumstances, e.g. *gah*<sup>u</sup> *ditho* *buh*<sup>u</sup> < *\*ghahu* (cf. H. *ghas*) *\*dhito* (cf. N. *dhito*) *\*bhuh*<sup>u</sup> (cf. H. *bhusa*) (*ghasu-* *dhrstá busa-*). But the only example is *ditho* where *dh-* was first assimilated to *dh-* by the following *th*.

Sindhi proper knowing nothing but *d* (*d*) has changed the initial *d-* of a large number of loan-words, chiefly tatsamas, to *d* (just as knowing nothing but *tr-* it has changed the initial *tr* of many tatsamas to *tr*): e.g. *da*<sup>u</sup> m. leaf *dan*<sup>u</sup> m. gift *dust*<sup>u</sup> bad *des*<sup>u</sup> m. country *dasai* (H. *dasai*) *desi* native (H. *desi*), etc:

Words beginning with *d-* are for the most part obviously loans: e.g. *des*<sup>u</sup> m. country *dos*<sup>u</sup> m. fault *da*<sup>u</sup> m. host (tatsamas), *dauran*<sup>u</sup> to run *dam*<sup>u</sup> price *duo* two in cards *dulah*<sup>u</sup> m. generous

person (cf. H. *daurna dam dua dulaha*), *dard*<sup>u</sup> f. pain *dast*<sup>u</sup> m. hand (Persian *derd dest*).

In the following examples *nd* appears to remain dental: *nindar*<sup>u</sup> to slander (*níndati*) *mandowiked* (*manda-*) *mandar*<sup>u</sup> m. temple (*mandira-*) *hindoro* m. cradle (*hindola-*) *sindhur*<sup>u</sup> m. red lead (*sindura-*) *kundir*<sup>u</sup> f. oblibanum (*kunduruka-*). But none of these examples is very convincing. Moreover while *nk nc mp* became *ng nj mb* just as *nt* became *nd*, *ng nj mb* became *n n m*. It might therefore be expected that *nd* should have become *n*.

*nk: ang*<sup>u</sup> m. figure (*anká-*) *angur*<sup>u</sup> m. sprout (*ankura-*) *kang*<sup>u</sup> m. crane (*kanká-*) *kangar*<sup>u</sup> m. bracelet (*kankana-*) *sang*<sup>a</sup> f. fear *sagar*<sup>u</sup> to fear (‘*sanka*’ ‘*sánkate*).

*nc: kanjuro* m. bodice (*kancula-*) *munjan*<sup>u</sup> to send (*muncáti*) *pan*<sup>a</sup> five (*panca*) *manjo* m. low bedstead (*manca-*) *kunji* f. key (*kuncika*).

(P.573) *mp: kamban*<sup>u</sup> to tremble (*kampate*) *cambo* m. *Michelia Champaka* (*Campaka-*) *limbar*<sup>u</sup> to plaster (*limpáti*) *samb*<sup>t</sup> f. preparation (*sampatti-*) *trambar*<sup>u</sup> to pierce (*Dhatup. trumpati*).

*ng: ar*<sup>u</sup> m. body (*anga-*) *anur*<sup>u</sup> m. finger (*angula-*) *ana*<sup>u</sup> m. live coal (*ángara-*) *lin*<sup>u</sup> m. limb (*linga-*) *sin*<sup>u</sup> m. horn (‘*s’ringa-*).

*nj: pinan*<sup>u</sup> to card cotton (*pinja*) *piniro* m. cage (*piniaara-*) *bhanan*<sup>u</sup> to break (*bhanjayati*) *manar*<sup>u</sup> m. a kind of ear-ring (*manjara-*) *manuth*<sup>u</sup> f. madder (*manjistha*) *mun*<sup>u</sup> m. moonj grass (*munja-*).

*mb: kamari* f. blanket (*kambalá-*) *kurm*<sup>u</sup> m. family (*kutumba-*) *cumar*<sup>u</sup> to kiss (*cumbati*) *jan*<sup>u</sup> f. *Eugenia jambolana* (*jambu*) *nim*<sup>u</sup> m. *Melia Azidarach* (*nimba-*) *samujhan*<sup>u</sup> to understand (*sambudhyati*: M. Bloch<sup>1</sup> wrongly, I think, derives this from *samadhyayati*) *lamar*<sup>u</sup> to hover (*lambate*).

Similarly Skt- *nt* appears in Sindhi as *nd*, and Skt. *nd* presumably through \**nn* as *n*.

It might, therefore, be expected that the course of events would have run thus: *nd* > \**nd* > \**nn* > *n*. And this is

1. P. 414.

apparently the case in *ninuna* f. husband's sister (*nánandr-*) and may be considered the regular Sindhi treatment.

6. The sounds *n* and *l* may be considered together, for their development appears to be completely parallel within the different dialect groups. In the result, too, there is the same relationship between *n-* *l-* and *-nn-* *-ll-* on the one hand and *-n-* *l-* on the other as between e.g. *l-* *-ll-* and *-l-*.

In Sindhi, as in all other languages of this group, *n-* *-nn-* appear as *n*, *-n-* as *n*. If the evidence of the literary Prakrits and the grammarians is to be trusted every *n* became *n*. after which as appears in the Jain Prakrit MSS., *n-* and *-nn-* again became *n-* *-nn-*<sup>1</sup>. Moreover, it is certainly true that *-nn-*, *-m-* became *n* (e.g. *kan*<sup>u</sup> m. ear < *kárnaḥ*) and that *-nd-* probably through the stage *\*nn* also became *n* (e.g. *kano* m. reed < *kanada-*).

But the Sindhi treatment of *-ny-* *-jn-*, which became *nn* in (P.574) Prakrit, agrees with the Pali development of *nn*, that this group becomes *n*. This contradicts the opinion of M. Bloch,<sup>2</sup> who sees only a modern development in Sindhi *n*.

*ny ny. pun* m. virtue (*punya-*), *run*<sup>a</sup> f. desert (*áranya-*) (beside *rin*<sup>u</sup> m. desert (*árana-*), *jan*<sup>a</sup> f. marriage procession *jani* m. member of a marriage procession (*jánya - janya-*), *dhan*<sup>u</sup> m. grain (*dhaneya-*), *sun*<sup>u</sup> desolate (*sunya-*), *than*<sup>u</sup> f. human milk (*stanya-*) beside *than*<sup>u</sup> m. teat (*stána-*) *manan*<sup>u</sup> to agree to (*manyate*) beside *man*<sup>u</sup> m. conceit (*mana-*).

*jn: winan*<sup>u</sup> m. charm for discovering a thief (*vijñnana-*) *anano* m. sign (*\*upajnana-*, cf. *upajanite* Pa. *upannate-*).

*rani* f. queen (*rajni*) may be a loan from the unidentified dialect in which *-nn-* > *-n-*: with it may be compared M. *rani* f. id., and M. *ani* "and" G. *an* "other", in which, despite M. Bloch's suggestion of a Pl. stem *\*ana-*,<sup>3</sup> I still incline to see Skt. *anya-*. On the other hand, *rani* possibly rests on a form *\*rajani*, containing the svarabhakti vowel,<sup>4</sup> and so parallel to Vedic forms like *viriya-* beside *virya-* or to classical forms of *-an-* stems after a heavy

1. Cf. Bloch, p. 137.

2. P. 136.

3. P. 293.

4. Cf. Macdonell, Vedic Grammar, P. 14.

syllable like *brahmana*, and corresponding therefore to Indo-European forms with *n* beside *n*.<sup>1</sup> An<sup>a</sup> f. subjection (*ajna*) is reminiscent of Pa. *ana* f. order beside *anna*. f. knowledge, and of Pkt. *anavedi*. In *janyo* m. sacred thread (*yajnopavita* -) *n* has been dissimilated to *n* by the preceding palatal *j*-, which in Sindhi is a strongly palatalized *d'*- sound. *Winati* f. request (*vijnapti*- Pa *vinnatti*-) is perhaps a loan (cf. M.G. *vinati* f.): Shirt gives this word as *winati* of which the first *i* does not show the regular Sindhi treatment.

The languages which distinguish *n*- *nn*- and *l-l* from *-n*- and *-l*- are the Himalayan dialects as far as and including Kumaoni. Lahnda, Sindhi, Panjabi, Rajasthani, Gujarati, (P.575) Marathi, Oriya. M. Bloch includes some at least of the North- West Himalayan (Dard) languages, e.g. Basgali, with those that change *-n*- to *-n*-, and excludes Oriya. The Oriya treatment of *-n*- is *-n*- equally with that of *-l*- as *-l*-. Of the North-West Himalayan languages Kas'miri and Gypsy (if it belongs to this group) have developed *-n*- as *n* not as *n*. But others of the group, though preserving *-n*- as *n*, agree with Singhalese, and, as will be shown later to be more to the point here, with Pasto, in showing *n* for *rn*. The only example<sup>2</sup> of apparent cerebralization of *-n*- seem to be Pasai gan great Basgali parmn child (of very doubtful etymology) Kalasa ser Pasai suring dog (? 'sván-) Wai-Ala ver- Basgali war to see (? Av. vaenami) Kalasa guro singing (gana-). None of these etymologies are very certain. And in any case Basgali *r* also apparently corresponds to *-r*- e.g. *dyur* for (*dura* -) bar out (*dvara*- or *bahis*-) and perhaps *mr*- to die (*mar*-). On the other hand, the examples of *n* < *-n*- *-n*- seem certain: Basgali *manci* Wai- Ala *manas* Gawar-Bati *manus* (manusa-), Gawar-Bati *sunu* dog ('scán-), Kalasa *ŕona* Garwi *gian* Maiya *ŕo* great (ghana-), Wai-Ala *tanu* Pasai *fanik* Garwi *tani* Khowar *tan* Maiya *ta* self (atman-), Maiya *sun* Basgali and Kalasa *san* to hear ('srnoti).

In Sindhi *-l* appears as *r*, *l* and *-ll* (-\**dlt*) as *l*, and *-ly* as *lh*.

A few examples of each of these changes will suffice.

*n*:- *nar*<sup>u</sup> m. reed (*nadá*- *nalá*-) *nor*<sup>u</sup> m. mongoose (*nakulá*-) *nao* new (*nava* -) *niroyo* in good health (*nirogin*-) *nawan*<sup>u</sup> to bow (*námati*), etc.

1. Cf. Meillet, Introduction, p. 95. Old Irish again "queen" \*reg,ni presents an exact parallel.

2. These are all taken from Grierson: The Pisaca Languages.

-nn-: *chano* m. shed (*channá-*) *chino* cut (*chinná-*) *upario* produced (*utpanna-*); *un<sup>a</sup>* f. wool *ono* woolen (*urna aurna-*) *puno* filled (*pumá-*) *par<sup>u</sup>* m. leaf (*pamá-*) *kar<sup>u</sup>* m. ear (*kárna-*), etc.

*l-*: *laho* m. profit (*labha-*) *lair<sup>u</sup>* to apply (*lagayati*) *lawar<sup>u</sup>* to chatter (*lapati*) *lik<sup>tā</sup>* f. nit (*liksa*) *lunar<sup>u</sup>* to reap (*lunati*), etc.

(P. 576) *-l-*: *ga<sup>u</sup>* m. cheek (*galla-*) *kha<sup>u</sup>* f. skin, bark (lex. *khalla-*) *phu<sup>u</sup>* m. flower (*phulla-*) *walaho* m. husband (*vallabha-*).

*-\*dl-*: *alo* moist (<\**ardhla-*: *aradna'-*) *bhalo* good (lex. *bhalla-* <\**bhadlā-*: *bhadra'-*).

*-ly-*: *kalt<sup>ā</sup>* yesterday (*kalyam*) *mul<sup>t</sup>* m. price (*mulya-*)

*-n-*: *wan<sup>u</sup>* m. tree (*vána-*) *jano* m. person (*jána-*) *suno* swollen (‘*ṣuna-*’) *anan<sup>u</sup>* m. courtyard (*angana-*) *dhunar<sup>u</sup>* to shake (*dhunoti*), etc.

*-l-*: *galo* m. throat (*gala-*) *bi<sup>u</sup>* m. hole, burrow (*bila-*) *ti<sup>u</sup>* m. sesamum (*tila-*) *pipi<sup>u</sup>* m. *Ficus religiosa* (*pippala-*) *muri* f. radish (*mula-*), etc.

*muran<sup>u</sup>* to meet with (cf. N. *meryaunu*) goes back probably to \**mida-* \**medya-*, while Skt. *milati* (cf. G. *milvu* H. *milna*, etc.) is to be referred to the dialect in which *-d-> -l-> -l-*: cf. *nada-* *nala-* *nala-*, *argada-* *argala-*, etc.

Words containing *-=Pl. -l-* are loan words and often exhibit other signs of being such: e.g. *kajalu* m. cullurium (*kajjala-*) has *j* not *j*; *pata<sup>l</sup>* f. leaf-plate (*patrala-*) has *t* not *tr* (cf. *patiro*); *palas<sup>u</sup>* m. *Butea frondosa* (*palasá-*) has *-s-* not *-h-*; *mul<sup>u</sup>* m. origin, principle (*mula-*) has only a metaphorical sense (cf. *muri*); *sawat<sup>u</sup>* swarthy (‘*syamala-*’) is used only as an epithet of *Kṛṣṇa* (cf. the word of general use *sawiro*).

To sum up, the dental stops *-t-* *-th-* *-d-* *-dh-* (including those preceded by *r* or by *r+* vowel), *t-* *-tt-* *th-* *-tth-* *dh-* *-ddh-* (including *rt* *rth* *rdh* and probably *thr*) remained dental while *tr* and probably *dhr*, *d-* *-dcl-* including *dr* and *rd*) became cerebrals.

We appear to be in the presence of at least two distinct processes. In the first *tr dr (dhr)* became *tr dr (dhr)*, although when not followed by *r* these sounds, except *d*, resisted cerebralization. In the second *d* in all positions (except when

single and intervocalic, where presumably it disappeared before the onset of cerebralization of *d*) became *d*- in this process in included the cerebralization of the group *rd*.

The difference of treatment between *rt rdh* on the one hand (P. 577) and *tr dhr* on the other is marked. It is due to a difference in the nature of the *r* in the two positions: in the first it is implosive, in the second explosive. It is the explosive *r* which influences a preceding dental. It is to be further remarked that while the implosive *r* is completely assimilated (*rt rth rdh > tt tth ddh > tth dh*), the explosive *r* remains in Northern and Central Sindhi (*tr dhr > tr dhr*).

In the groups *rd* and *dr* the difference of the *r* does not necessarily come into question, although the existence of the difference is shown by the survival of the explosive *r* (*dr > dr* while *rd > d*). Here cerebralization of both groups would be sufficiently explained by the fact that *d*- *-dd*- were always cerebralized: actually, however, the change *dr > dr* is probably to be grouped with change *tr dhr > tr dhr*. The contrast to be remarked is that between the treatment of *d*- *-dd*- on the one hand and *t*- *-tt*- *th*- *-tth*- *dh*- *-ddh*- on the other. Here the critical difference between the two groups appears to be the degree of energy used in pronunciation. The fortis *t th* are more resistant than the lenis *d*. Again, the aspiration immediately following the occlusion in *dh* gives it greater strength than the unaspirated *d*; so also, although the fortis *t* in the group *tr* is cerebralized, the aspirated fortis *th* resists even when followed by *r*.

The difference of treatment between *n*- *-nn*- *l*- *-ll*- on the one hand and *-n*- *-l*- on the other is similar, though not identical. The single intervocalic consonant is in a weaker position than the same consonant when initial or intervocalic and double. For example, *k*- *-kk*- *> k*, while *-k*- disappeared; *t*- *-tt*- *> r*, while *-t*- *> r*; *m*- *-mm*- *> m* while *-m*- *> w*.

Thus the general conditions of cerebralization in Sindhi appear to have been (1) absence of resistance in the dental- *d*- *-dd*-, *-n*- *-l*- were cerebralized;

(2) in the case of resisting dental, contact with an explosive *r*- *tr dhr > tr dhr*: *th* even in this position resisted cerebralization.



It is now necessary to consider the date or dates with (P.578) reference to other sound-changes, at which this cerebralization occurred in Sindhi.

The change of *d- -dd-* to *d- -dd-* occurred after (1) the assimilation of *d* by a following *y* or  $\sqrt{}$  for *dy dv* > *j b* whereas *dy dv* would have become  $\underline{dd}$  >  $\underline{d}$ :-

*dy: khaj<sup>u</sup>* m. food (*khadya-*) *aj<sup>u</sup>* to-day (*adya*) *wij<sup>u</sup>* f. lightning (*vidyút-*) *wej<sup>u</sup>* m. doctor (*vaidya-*) *upajar<sup>u</sup>* to be produced (*utpadyate*).

*d√: ba* two *bijo* twice *bi-* (*dvā dvītiya- dvī-*), *bari* f. window (*dvāra-*) *ubara<sup>u</sup>* to save (*\*udvārayati*, cf. *varāyati* to restrain).

(2) the disappearance of interocalic *-t- -d-*; since, if before these sounds would have become *\*d > r*.

The group *dy* had become *ji* or *yy* (written *j y*) by the time of *A'soka*, when *dv* still remained unchanged. But the loss of intervocalic- *-d-* was much later. It appears to have been generally maintained in Middle Indian till the first century A.D.<sup>1</sup> Therefore the cerebralization of *d- -dd-* must have occurred after that date. If then Pa. *dasati dahati deti* are previous to that date, they are not words borrowed from the ancestor of Sindhi, but should perhaps be classed with *patati*, etc, whose origin is still doubtful. A *terminus ad quem* is furnished by Markandeya's statement that in Vracada Apabyramsa, which he says came from Sindh, *d* for *d* was optional.<sup>2</sup> Markandeya appears to have lived in the seventeenth century.<sup>3</sup> Further, a word like *kod<sup>u</sup>* (*kaparda-*), in which cerebralization was perhaps early and is certainly general, may be a loan from an eastern dialect.

The change of *tr dhr dr* is not subject to this control and may have been much earlier. Hence Sanskrit *dandā- cānda-* may be loan- words from this dialect.

We are thus led to the conclusion that the cerebralization characteristic of Sindhi, namely that of *tr dr dhr* and *d- -dd-*, (P. 579) has nothing to do with that ascribed to the eastern dialects, namely that of *r + vowel + dental* *r + dental*, *r + dental*.

1. Bloch, p. 18.

2. Pischel, Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen, p. 29.

3. Ib., p. 40.

The change of *tr dhr* to *tr dhr* appears to be confined to Sindhi. It is found neither in the neighbouring languages of Lahnda, Marwari, and Kacchi, nor in any other Modern Indo-Aryan language, although some, e.g. the Multani dialect of Lahnda, Kasmiri, and Gypsy, retain the explosive *r* after a dental without cerebralizing the dental.

The cerebralization of *d-* *-dd-* appears in the south in Kacchi<sup>1</sup>; in the north in the southern and western and- dialects of Lahnda, viz Bhawalpuri, Multani, Hindki, and Thali<sup>2</sup>; but not in the north-eastern dialects of Lahnda, nor on the east in Marwari.

In North Gujarat, however, are dialects- Surti, Pattani, Kharwa- in which cerebrals and dentals are said to be confused.<sup>3</sup> This is possibly to be interpreted in the sense that all dentals have become cerebrals. Spellings such as *dat* tooth (*dánta-*) are probably phonetic, while spellings like *moto* fat (cf. H. *mota*) *roti* bread (cf. H. *roti*) are mistaken attempts to spell correctly, but, the distinction in pronunciation between cerebral and dental being lost, the writer does not know when to write either. In any case, not only *d-* *-dd-*, *tr- dhr* have been affected, but all dentals- *-t th dhas* well as *d*.

The change of *-n- l-* to *nl (r)* is older and extends as already indicated over the North-West languages (but not the Dardic group including Kasmiri and Gypsy) up to and including Kumaoni, Lahnda, Panjabi, Rajasthani, Gujarati, Marathi, Oriya.

At least three different isoglosses for the cerebralization of Sindhi can therefore be distinguished:-

(1) *tr, dr, dhr, ntr, ndr* > *tr, dr, dhr, ndr*.

(2) *-n-, -l-* > *n, r (<\*)*.

(3) *d-, -dd-* > *d-, -d- (<dd)*.

(P.580) On the other hand, the cerebralization of the dental in the groups *r + vowel + dental*, *r + dental*, *r + dental* is at least as old as that by which *ndr* became *ndr*, or loan- words showing both these changes are found in the Rgveda. But it appears to be confined to the eastern languages, To this group

1. Cf. LSI. viii, 1, p. 185.

2. Cf. lists of words given passim in LSI. viii, 1, Lahnda section.

3. LSI. ix, 2 pp. 382, 423, 437.

we may provisionally assign Singhalese, Oriya, and Bengali. But in these languages detailed investigation of this point is still wanting.

But the phenomenon of cerebralization is not confined to the Indian branch of the Aryan family. An Iranian language that neighbours Indo-Aryan at the present day possesses cerebrals. *Pasto* has two cerebral sounds native to it, namely *r* and *n*. The former appears as the product of a dental preceded by Aryan *r* or *r*, the latter as the product of *n* preceded by *r*.<sup>1</sup>

*rt*: *mar* he died (Av. *mdrda*-Skt. *mrtá*-) *vur* he brought (Av. *barata*-Skt. *bhrtá*-) *kar* he did (Av. *kdrda*. Skt. *krtá*-); *zaral* to cry out (cf. Skt. *járate*) *daral* to split (Av. *ddrda*-, cf. Skt. *dirná*-) *nvaraz* snipe (Pehl. *vartak* Skt. *vártika*).

*rd*: *zra* heart (Av. *zdrddaya*-Skt. *hrdaya*-) *prang* panther (Skt. *p'rdaku*-).

*rt*: *avari* he changes (Av. *vardtata* Skt. *avártate*) *sor* cold (Av. *sardta*-).

*ora* flour (<\**arda*-, cf. Av. *asa*-Pers. *ard*, S. *ato*).

*rn*: *pana* leaf (Av. *pardna*- Skt. *parná*-) *kon* deaf (Av. *kardna*-Ved. *karná*- "having the ears stopped", perhaps here too Skt. *kaná*- "one-eyed", which Joh. Schmidt<sup>2</sup> has compared with OSlav. *krunu* "having the ears cut off" and *kruno-nosu* having the nose cut off).

The *Pasto* cerebralization of *r* or *r*+ dental is remarkably like that of the eastern group of Indo-Aryan languages. The treatment of *rn* recalls also the treatment of the same group in India in a number of common Indian loan-words, the earliest of which appear in the *Rgveda*, e.g. *kana*- (Karná-)<sup>3</sup>. he (P. 581) change of *nirni*- to *nini* seems to have been characteristic of *Ardha-Magadhi*.<sup>4</sup>

To the north and east of the *Pasto* area are other languages- the North-West Himalayan group, named *Dardic* or *Pisaca* by Sir George Grierson- at least some of which certainly

1. Cf. *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, i, 2, pp. 207-8.

2. Cf. *Wackemagel*, i, p. 192.

3. For lists see *Wackemagel*, i, pp. 193-4.

4. See the map in Grierson, the *Pisaca Languages*.

belong to the Indian rather than the Iranian branch of the Aryan languages. Belonging to the most westerly group of these- the Kafir- is Pasai, and to the east of Pasai Gawar- Bati, Kalasa, and Maiya.<sup>4</sup> These all appear to be Indian in character; in them Prim. Ar. *zh* appears as *h*, not as *z* or *d*: e.g. Pasai and Kalasa *has* (t) Maiya *ha* band (Av. *zasta*- Opers. *dasta*- Skt. *hásta*-) Pasai *hara* Gawar -Bati *hera* heart (Av. *zaradaya*- Pehl. *dīl* Skt. *hṛdaya*-); Prim. Ar. *jh*- appears as *h*- not as *j*-, e.g. Pasai *hanik* to beat (Av. *jan*-Skt. *hánfi*); IE. *k*, appears as *s* not *s*, e.g. Pasai *sur*Gawar-Bati *sautā* head (Av. *sarah*- Skt. *siras*-) Kalasa and Maiya *sis* head (Skt. *sirsan*-) Gawar-Bati, Kalasa, and Maiya *das* ten (Av. *daha* Skt. *dáśa*).

Here, too, if our scanty sources of information are to be trusted, we meet with the same type of cerebralization as in Pasto, which is so surprisingly like that of the eastern group of Indo-Aryan languages.

*r*+ vowel+ dental: Pasai *pora* in front (Skt. *pravát*- sloping path *pravat*- forward, cf. Pers. *firod* beneath <\*prauta).<sup>1</sup>

*rd*: Pasai *hara* Gawar-Bati *hera* heart (Skt. *hṛdaya*-).

Further east in Maiya we find the same treatment of *rn* as appears in Pasto, and probably also in Pasai and Kalasa: Maiya *kan* Pasai *kar* Kalasa *kuro* ear (*kárna*-). Contrast with this Maiya *sun*- Kalasa *san*- to hear (*śrnoti*).

If it were permitted to theorize without a very sure foundation of fact, one would be tempted to reconstruct the history (P. 582) of the chief waves of cerebralization thus. The first- that of the groups *r* + vowel +dental. and *r*+ dental, or at least *r* + dental- was effected while the Aryan invaders were still at the gates of India. This change affected not only the Indo-Aryans, but also their Iranian neighbours, linguistic ancestors of the Pasto speakers. Contrast with this Maiya *sun*- Kalasa *san*- to hear (*śrnoti*).

As the Indo-Aryans moved on into India, a portion were left in the mountains to the north, linguistic ancestors of the speakers of Pasai, Gawar- Bati, Kalasa, and Maiya. The dialects of these early invaders would be the first to be exposed to the rapid change dependent partly on a new environment. Hence words

1. Grierson, Pisaca Languages, P. 64; Horn, Neupersische Etymologie, P. 183.

borrowed from them by succeeding tribes, among whom we will suppose to have been the authors of the Rgveda hymns, would have reached a more advanced phonetic development. Such a theory might account for the appearance of forms like *káta-* (<\**kṛta-*) *dandá-* (<\**dandra-*) side by side with *krṭá-* *candrá-*, forms proper to the phonetic development of the Rgveda dialect.

We know too that in the midst of the eastern dialect group was later situated a great centre of civilization, Pataliputra, To this fact perhaps is due the early and wide extension of certain forms showing cerebralization and properly peculiar to the eastern group. The speakers of this cerebralizing group spread eastwards till they reach the sea, and as representatives of their dialects we find Bengali and Oriya to-day. Further, if we admit that Singhalese was brought to Ceylon from the east coast of India, there is no difficulty in accounting for the cerebralization of that language.

The next great wave of cerebralization was that which turned *-n-* and *-l-* into *n* and *l*. The beginnings of this are probably to be placed about the second century B. C.<sup>1</sup> It has affected a large number of contiguous languages. As they lie at present they are the Himalayan languages from Kumaoni in the east to Bhadrawahi in the north-west, (P. 583) Punjab, Lahnda, Sindhi, Rajasthani, Gujarati, Marathi, Oriya.

The third movement, the cerebralization of *d-* *-dd-*, has affected only Kacchi, Sindhi, and the southern and western dialects of Lahnda. As we have seen, it was probably posterior to the first century A.D.

Whether or not the cerebralization of the eastern group had its beginning in the mountains of the north-west, at least to-day cerebrals, developed from dentals, are found in Pasto and in some of the Dardic languages. And in the mountains south of Afghanistan a Dravidian language, Brahui, is still spoken.

All that we have learnt of cerebralization in Sindhi may be held to confirm M. Grammont's theory of a general tendency observable in Indo-Aryan towards an articulation about the palatal arch. The sounds best able to resist that tendency would be those pronounced with the most energy, namely the surd stops

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1. Cf. Bloch, P. 137.

and the aspirates. And in Sindhi we found that *t th dh* remained dental, while *d* was cerebralized.

That this tendency should result in a series of sounds identical with those existing in the language of the earlier inhabitants of the country is perhaps, as M. Meillet suggests, something more than coincidence. And although some of the changes here considered (*d* - *-dd* -> *d*) were produced many centuries after the arrival of the first Aryans in India, other cerebrals had appeared in the language at a much earlier date.

The change *st (h) zd (h)* to *st (h) d (h)* was common Indo-Aryan, while we have indications in the Rgveda of the cerebralization of the group *ndr* and of the cerebralizations characteristic of the eastern group. But it is not enough to speak of Dravidian influence without at the same time exhibiting a reason within the language itself for the change. If the *r*-early Dravidians distinguished a dental series from a cerebral series, then, supposing there were no predisposing cause for change in Aryan, we have no right to say that the Dravidians who learnt Aryan would have reproduced the (P.584) dentals of that language as cerebrals. Thus we cannot ascribe simply to Dravidian influence the cerebrals of such words as Pa. *dasati dahati deti patati*. And with regard to the regular cerebralization, in the east of the groups *r + vowel + dental*, *r + dental*, and *r + dental*, in Sindhi of the groups *tr dr dhr* and *d - -dd -*, the most that we can say is that Dravidian speech-habits may have affected the final direction of a tendency already existing in the language namely that towards a pronunciation about the palatal arch particularly under the assimilation influence of a neighbouring *r*.

December, 1923.

## INTERVOCALIC CONSONANTS IN THE NORTH-WEST

By. G. A. Grierson

In vol: viii, pt. i. pp. 6 and 235 of the Linguistic Survey of India I pointed out that, in the Sindhi, Lahnda, and Dardic languages, an original Sanskrit intervocalic *t* is sometimes preserved in past participles, instead of being elided, as in most Indo-Aryan forms of speech. The following is a list of these verbs in Sindhi (LSI. viii, i, 52):-

(a) Verbs ending in a long vowel or in *i*:

<u>Root</u>	<u>Past Participle</u>
la-, apply	lato or layo
pa-, get	pato
pi-, drink	pito
pu-, string (beads)	puto
al-, deny.	alto
jhal-, seize	jhalto <sup>(1)</sup> or jhalio
sal-, divulge.	salto <sup>(2)</sup> or salio

(b) Verbs which drop a final consonant before *to*:

bhuc-, be digested	bhuto
mac-, fatten	mato
pahuc-, arrive	pahuto
parc-, be reconciled	parto or parco <sup>(3)</sup>
(P.223) pic-, be repaid	pito

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1. Jhalto is not common.

2. Salto is not common

3. Most common pareyo

rac-, be immersed	rato
virç-, be wearied	virto
jumb-, be deeply engaged	juto or jumbio
limb-, plaster	lito or limbio
chup-, be touched; chuh-, touch	chuṭo
gap-, stick (in mud)	gato
khap-, be weary	khato or khupio
khup-, be fixed	khuto or khupio
tap-, be warm	tato
ukar-, engrave	ukato or ukario.
jan-, know	jato
samujh-, understand	samuto <sup>(1)</sup> or samujho.
sunan-, recognize	sunato
vehej-, bathe	veheto

(c) Roots otherwise irregular:

kar-, do	kito <sup>(2)</sup> , kio, or kayo
puj-, be finished	pujito <sup>(3)</sup> or puno
sumah-, go to sleep	suto or sumhio
wath-, take	wathilo, warto, wato, or wardo <sup>(4)</sup>

Similar ahnda verbs are:-

dha-, bathe	dhata
jan-, know	jata
jo-, yoke	juta
kar-, do	kita
khalo-, stand	khalota
naha-, bathe.	nahata or nata
nikal-, come out.	nikhta
pi-, drink	pita

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1. It is not common. kito is a noun.



si-, sew	sita
sinan-, recognize	sinata or seata
vana-, be lost	vanata

(P. 224) For Dardic, a few examples will suffice:-

<u>Root</u>	<u>Past Participle</u>
Wai. vin-, beat	vin-as-ta
Khovar. pre-, give, beat	pre-as-ta
gan, take	gan-is-ta
Gawarbatl. thla-, give, beat	thlita
Kashmiri, di-, give	dit <sup>u</sup>
he-, take	het <sup>u</sup>
hots-, decay	hot <sup>u</sup>
k <sup>a</sup> ts-, be moist	kat <sup>u</sup>
khas-, rise	khat <sup>u</sup>
las-, live long	lust <sup>u</sup>
mots-, remain over and above	mot <sup>u</sup>

Dr. Tedesco (JAOS. xli, 387) and Professor Turner (IA. liii, 114) do not agree that the *t* in such words as the above is an instance of preservation of the original *t* of the Sanskrit past-participle. They maintain that it is a simplification of a Prakrit *tt*, i.e. that, for example, *suto* is derived from a Prakrit *\*suttao*, formed from a Sanskrit *\*suptakah*, and that *chuto* is derived from a Prakrit *\*chuttao*, formed from a Sanskrit *\*chuptakah*, and so on. the forms in some of the other cases being the result of false analogy. Conclusions arrived at by such undoubted authorities must be taken seriously. I have therefore reconsidered the whole question in the light of their remarks, and I now consider that while, say, *suto* must be referred to a Sanskrit *\*suptakah*, and similarly, *chuto* to *\*chuptakah*, and so in cognate cases, there was never an intermediate form with a geminate *tt*; but that the progress of development was some thing like Skr. *\*suptakah* > Pr. *\*sutao*, > Sindhi *suto*. In other words, that in most of the above cases, in these languages, a single intervocalic Prakrit *t*, when derived from a Sanskrit conjunct, has been preserved.

Another objection has been raised to suggestion by (P.225) Dr. Tedesco, namely that this intervocalic *t* appears only in a small number of past participles; whereas in most past participles, the original intervocalic *t* has been elided. Thus, the past participle of the Sindhi √ *chad-* is *chadio*, not \**chadito*. Even in the list of Sindhi verbs given above we have *layo* (i.e. \**laio*) beside *lato*; *jhalio* beside *jhalto*; <sup>(1)</sup>*salio* and *salto*; <sup>(2)</sup>*jumbio* and *juto*; *limbio* and *lito*; *khapio* and *khato*; *khupio* and *khuto*, *kio* and *kito*; <sup>(3)</sup>*suto* and *sumhio*. But, to mind, this list shows that in the latest stage of phonetic development there has been a tendency (as in other modern Indo-Aryan languages) to drop the intervocalic *t*, and that this tendency has not yet exercised its full effect in Sindhi- in other words that Sindhi has lagged behind in the race of development- so that in some words the original intervocalic *t* has, so far, been preserved. I shall refer to this again later on. Here I will only add that it is well known that in all modern Indo-Aryan languages there are many ways of forming the past participle. Most of these have been fully discussed by Dr. Tedesco in the admirable article already referred to, and I need not here describe them. Suffice it to say that some verbs form their past participles in one way, and others in another; and if in some cases a conservative instinct tends to the preservation of an intervocalic *t*, it need not surprise us<sup>4</sup>.

(P.226) Let me now give reasons for this conclusion. In the Prakrit of the Indian grammarians, and in the literary Prakrit texts known to us, there are numerous cases of words containing

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1. 2. and 3,

4. Preservation of an intervocalic *t* is more common in the North-West than is indicated in my *Pisaca Languages*, S 125. For instance, there is Sindhi *rut*, a season (\**rtuki-ruṭ*), as shown by the termination, not being a *Tatsama*); Ksh. *Kit*<sup>u</sup>, for (*krtakah*), *sut*<sup>i</sup>, with (*sahite*). In the pre- Moslem Ksh. of the *Mahartha-prakasa* it is frequently met with. To quite a few words selected at random, there are *nigghatu* (*nirghatah*), *ugghatah*, *uditu* (*uditah*), and *patitu* (*patitam*). The termination, *u*, of all these shows that the words are *tadbhavas*, not *tatsamas*. To such may be added the numerous cases in which intervocalic *d* has (as in *Paisaci Pr.*) become *t*, such as Ksh. *hapat-*, a bear (*svapada-*), *bad<sup>a</sup> rapet-*, N. of a month (*bhadrapada-*); Bashgali *atamsh-*, bite (a-dams-); or but the reverse process, Bsh. *radar*, night (*ratri-*). In the last two cases we have (1) an instance of conservation, and (2) of the natural, but retarded, phonetic development, to which I have alluded above. There are also several cases of the Eranian change of intervocalic *t* for *d* to *l*, to which I need not do more than allude. In all these cases, besides many others, an intervocalic *t* has been preserved in one shape or another.

a geminate consonant. Let us take as our example the word *bhakta-*, boiled rice, Prakrit *bhatta-*. The different modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars are generally stated to treat this geminate *tt* (or other geminate consonant) in one of three different ways:-

(1) In Panjabi the *tt* remains unchanged, and we have *bhatt*. This rule is considered to be universal for Panjabi.

(2) In most other language, the geminate is simplified, the preceding vowel being lengthened in compensation; so that *bhatta-* becomes *bhat*. This is, I believe, universal in Gujarati, and nearly universal in the literary languages east and south of the Panjab. In peasant's speech, however, the Panjabi custom is here often retained as an option.<sup>1</sup> Thus, in the mouth of a peasant of the Ganges Valley we hear both *makhan* and *makkhan* (Skt. *mraksano-*, Pr. *Makkhana-*) for "butter", and *chota* or *chotta* for "small".

(3) It is generally said that Sindhi and the Dardic languages, and (when not influenced by the neighbouring Panjabi) Lahnda, simplify the Prakrit geminate consonant, but avoid lengthening the preceding vowel in compensation. Thus Pr. *bhatta-* becomes. S. *bhat*" (not \**bhat*"), and Ksh. *bata*.

The first two results we may accept as established; but, while I admit that I have myself hitherto accepted the third, I now consider that it is an incorrect statement of the case.

I now think that it is certain that in the third case no geminate consonant of any kind has been simplified, for the reason that in the Prakrit of the North-West no such geminate consonants existed.

First, as to the possibility of any single intervocalic consonant (omitting, for the sake of simplicity, consideration of (P.227) exceptional cases, such as those of *t* or *d*) remaining unelided in any form of Prakrit. The general rule is, of course, that they are elided, but the Prakrit Grammarians, by the use of the word *prayah* (Vr. ii. 2; Hc. i, 177; Mk. ii, 2). make the special reservation that, even in Maharastrī, the rule is not universal. In 'Sanraseni intervocalic *t* becomes *d* and is not elided. Paisaci Prakrit, which is based on Sauraseni, elided no intervocalic

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1. As peasant's speech is rarely recorded in writing, it is easy to give proof of this for all languages. But ample evidence for Bihari will be found in the index to Bihar Peasant Life.

consonants at all, and was therefore in the Pali stage of development in this respect (Hc. iv, 324; i; 177, 187; so also to be inferred from other writers, though not directly stated by them). The principal form of Paisaci was that spoken in Kekaya, or the North-West Panjab (Mk. xix., i; RT. III, xv, 2), and a more Sanskritized form of this was the Vracada dialect spoken in Sindh (RT. III, xv, 12; cf. Mk. xviii, 1; RT. III, iv. 1). We thus learn that in the North-West Panjab and in Sindh there were, at least, some people who did not, Prakrit times, elided intervocalic consonants.

This, of course, does not mean that all Paisaci peculiarities have continued in this locality to the present time. It means only that, at least in some North-West dialects, phonetic development, as compared with that of other Prakrits, was delayed. No doubt, in the course of time, the phonetic developments which we find in other parts of India went on also there, though more slowly, while, as elsewhere, there were survivals. In this way, we get, in Sindhi not only the survival *kito*, but also the more modern "regular" *kio*. According to Stack (S. Gr., P. 93), such "regular" alternative forms are mostly confined to Lower Sindh, close to the Rajasthani and Gujarati borders.<sup>1</sup>

The above explanation accounts for the preservation of the *t* in such words as *kito* (*kṛtakak*), where the single intervocalic *t* was found in Sanskrit, but it does not fully account for the single intervocalic *t* in words like *suto*, *chuto*, in which the (P. 228) Prakrit of the grammarians has a geminate *tt*, that is to say, it does not account for the Sindhi past participles given in list b on pp. 222-3. Here we must assume that, in the North-West Prakrit, which was ignored by the grammarians, and of which we have very few literary remains, the consonants were not doubled as elsewhere; i. e. that the North-West Prakrit form of \**Suptakah* was *sutao*, not *suttao*, and of \**chuptakah* was *chutao*, not *chuttao*.

In laying down the rule for doubling these consonants, the grammarians, if I may use the expression, took two bites at the Prakrit cherry. They first (Vr. iii, i; Hc. ii, 77, Mk. iii, i) laid down a rule that when certain letters form the first member of a Sanskrit conjunct, they were elided. In this way \**suptakah* became *sutdo*, and \**chuptakah* became *chutao*, that is their first bite. They then went on to deal with other matters, and after some time took their

1. So, for Panjabi, the "irregular" forms are the older, while the "regular", where they exist, are of more usual occurrence. Tisdall's P. Gr. P. 19.

second bite by stating (Vr. iii, 50; Hc. ii, 89; Mk. iii, 69) that when any member of an intervocalic conjunct is elided the remaining membr must be doubled, so that *sutao* becomes *suttao*, and *chutao* becomes *chuttao*.

My contention is that the Prakrit of the North-West took the first bite, but abstained from taking the second, and my grounds for it are as follows:-

It is well known that in the Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra Aśoka inscriptions of the North-West all consonants, which elsewhere are written as geminates, are written as single consonants.<sup>1</sup> It has hitherto been customary to attribute this to defects of the alphabet, and, in European editions of the inscriptions, sometimes to "restore" the geminate letters. But there is no reason for assuming that the Kharosthi alphabet was deficient in this respect, for it was quite able to reproduce, and did reproduce, other conjuncts without any difficulty.<sup>2</sup> I maintain, therefore, that when the scribes wrote (P.229) single, instead of geminate, intervocalic consonants, these inscriptions of the North-West correctly represented the the Prakrit of that part of India.

If this modern intervocalic *t* were derived from a Prakrit *tt* it must necessarily be represented by *tt* in similar or corresponding words in Panjabi. I know of only two past participles in that language which have this geminate *tt*. They are *ditta* or *dio*, given, and *sutta* or *soia*, slept. Of these, *ditta* is entirely exceptional, and has no parallel in Sindhi, which has *dino*. It is fully dealt with by Dr. Tedesco in the article dealt with, and need not detain us. *Sutta* does, at first sight, appear to go against my argument; but it is quite what we should expect in Panjabi- a language, of course, mainly derived from Sauraseni, which has *sutto*, as against Sindhi *suto*.

As I have explained in the Panjaibi volume of the Linguistic Survey (VIII, i, 614), that language, although in its present form mainly based on 'Sauraseni, is strongly infected by

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1. I have frequently drawn attention to this. See for instance JRAS. 1913, p. 142, with Mr. Pargiter's rejoinder in the same for 1914, p. 126.

2. It is unnecessary to give proofs of facts that are well known. It is sufficient to mention as a few Shb. consonants the present of Lahnda. This accnts fr the following noted by me in a cursory survey, gr, tr, pr, br, and sp.

an old North-Western language, the parent of Lahnda. This accounts for the following past participles containing a single:-

*dhata*, washed (L. *dhata*).

*jata* or *jaia*, known (S. *jato*).

*khalota*, erect (so L.)

*kita* or *karia*, done (S. *kito*, *kio*).

*lita*, *lia*, or *lahia*, taken.

*nahata* or *nahaia*, bathed (so L.)

*pachata* or *pachaia*, recognized.

*pahuta*, arrived (s. *pahuto*).

*parota* or *paroia*, strung (of beads) (S. *puto*).

*pita*, drunk (S. *pito*).

*pucata* or *pucaia*, conveyed (L. *pucaia*).

*siata*, recognized (S. *sunato*).

*sita*, sewn (L. *sita*).

Now, the intervocalic *t* in the above words cannot possibly represent a Prakrit geminate *tt*, for if such a Prakrit *tt* had existed, it would, as we have seen (p.226), have been (p. 230) preserved unchanged in Panjabi, and, in that case, we should have had, instead of the above, *dhotta*, *jatta*, *khalotta*, *kitta*, *litta*, and so on. Moreover, the long vowel, which generally precedes the single *t* in these words, cannot be due to compensatory lengthening, as such compensation does not occur in Panjabi. We are thus driven to the conclusion that these Panjabi words are derived from Prakrit forms which had in each word a single *t*, and not a geminate *tt*.

Another reason for this view is found in the parallel case of other geminate consonants in Sindhi. We have seen that before any Sindhi consonant, which corresponds to a geminate consonant in the Prakrits of other parts of India, an original preceding short vowel is not lengthened. We have *bhat<sup>u</sup>*, not *bhat<sup>u</sup>*. But, if the original Sanskrit vowel was long, that vowel would have had to be shortened in grammarians,' Prakrit before the geminate consonant (Hc. i, 84; Mk, iv, 2). Thus Skr. *vyaghra*-,

a tiger, would necessarily become *vaggha-* would have been an impossible form. If the form *vaggha-* had been in use in the Prakrit of the North-West, it would, as shown above, have become, in Sindhi, *\*vagh<sup>u</sup>*, with simplification of the geminate, and no compensatory lengthening. But this is not the case. The Sindhi word is *vagh<sup>u</sup>*. Similarly, Skr. *baspa-*, steam, becomes S. *bapth<sup>a</sup>*; Skr. *ratri-*, night, becomes S. *rat<sup>e</sup>*; Skr. *yatra*, a pilgrimage, becomes *jatra*; Skr. *gostha-*, becomes S. *goth<sup>u</sup>*, and so many others. In all these, the original long vowel of the Sanskrit has been preserved, and the words cannot have passed through an intermediate stage represented by *\*vaggha-*, *\*bappha-*, *\*ratti-*, *\*jatta*, or *\*gottha-*. The Prakrit forms must have been *vagha-*, *bapha-*, *rati-*, *jatra-*, and *gotha-*. The upholders of the geminate theory will in such cases be driven to uphold it by suggesting imaginary Prakrit forms such as *\*vaggha-*, *\*bappha-*, *\*ratti-*, *jatra-*, and *\*gottha-*, which go dead against the rules of the very Prakrit on which they depend. On the other hand, my suggestion of a North-West Prakrit without these geminate consonants is supported by the (p.231) only literature we possess in that dialect- the Asoka inscriptions of *Shahbazgarhi* and *Mansehra*.

To sum up, I believe that I have shown in the above that (1) in the Prakrit of the North-West single intervocalic consonants were necessarily elided (i.e. that they continued in the Pali stage longer than the other Prakrits), and (2) that when a conjunct consonant was simplified in Prakrit, it was in the North-West, represented by a single and not by a geminate consonant.

In the above, I have not touched upon the peculiar Sindhi recursive sounds, *g*, *j*, *d*, and *b*, although they are in some respects germane to the subject. They have already been most effectively dealt with by Professor Turner.<sup>1</sup> Their existence may possibly affect some of my preceding remarks, so far as regards consonants, but does not touch the question of the intervocalic *t*, which is the main subject of my discussion.

## INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES: OUTER SUB-BRANCH

Sir Grierson

This group may be looked upon as consisting of the Indo-Aryan languages of, roughly speaking, the Indus Valley from Peshawar to the sea, i.e. the Western Panjab and Sindh. From Peshawar it has also spread to the north-east over the district of Hazara and the country to its east. To its north and north-east it is in contact with Dardic languages. On the west it has the Eranian Pashto, and on the south it meets the Arabian Sea. Only on the east it is in contact with other Indo-Aryan languages, and these are, in order from north to south, Panjabi, the Marwari dialect of Rajasthani, and Gujarati, all three belonging to the Inner Sub-branch. Dardic languages were once spoken over the whole of this tract, and have left their traces on both Lahnda and Sindhi, but, notwithstanding this infection of Dardic speech, both are clearly Outer languages, and present points of relationship with the Outer languages, of Eastern India, which are wanting in Panjabi and Rajasthani <sup>(1)</sup>.

The country which corresponded to the Western Panjab of the present day was described in the Mahabharata as rude and barbarous and almost outside the pale of Indo-Aryan civilization. It and the present Sindh included three kingdoms, --- the most northern being Gandhara, with Kekaya lower down the Indus, and still lower the country of the Sindhus and Sauviras. In spite of this evil character, -- a character no doubt based on religious animosity, for the Western Panjab was from very early times an important centre of Buddhist teaching, - it is certain that Takshasila, the capital of Gandhara, was so long ago as six centuries before Christ, the home of the greatest university of India. It was at Salatura, close to this university, that Panini, the most illustrious of Sanskrit grammarians, was born in the fifth or fourth century B. C. In those early days, the land of Kekaya also

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1. For a full discussion on this point, see Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, Vol.I. Part iii, pp. 78 ff.



was famous for its learning. We are told in the Chhandogya Upanishad (V.xi) how five great theologians came to a Brahman with hard questions, which he could not answer for them. He sent them on to A'svapati, the Kshatriya king of Kekaya, who, like a second Solomon, solved all their difficulties.

The Western Panjab has always been exposed to conquerors from the north and from the west. According to the usually accepted account it was through it that the Aryans entered India. The next recorded invasion was that of Darius I of Persia (521-185 B.C.) shortly after the time of the Buddha. According to Herodotus he conquered it and divided it between two satrapies, one of which included Gandhara (Herodotus iii, 91) while the 'Indians,' i.e. the inhabitants of Indus Valley, formed by themselves the 20th Satrapy (iii, 94) <sup>(1)</sup>. Beyond this the authority of Darius did not extend (iii, 101). Herodotus adds (iii, 94) that these 'Indians are more numerous than any other nation with which we are acquainted, and paid a tribute exceeding that for any other people, to wit, 360 talents of gold dust.' Darius had such complete authority over this part of India, or rather over what was to him and to Herodotus 'India,' that he sent a fleet down the Indus to the sea, whence they sailed homewards towards the west. The huge army that his successor Xerxes led (480 B.C.) against Greece contained men from Gandhara and from the Western Panjab. The latter, according to Herodotus (vii, 65,66), wore cotton dresses, and carried bows made of cane, and arrows also of cane with iron tips. The mention of cane arrows reminds us of the fact that arrow made of bamboo (to which Herodotus probably refers) were novelties to the Aryans who invaded India, and that they had to borrow the Austro-Asiatic name for them (see p.132, vol I part I).

The invasion of Alexander the Great (327-325 B. C.) was confined to the Western Panjab and Sindh. In 305 B. C. Seleucus Nicator invaded India, and after crossing the Indus made a treaty of peace with the famous Chandragupta. In the second century B.C. two Greek dynasties from Bactria founded by Euthydemus, ended about 156 B.C., and the other, that of Eucratides, about 20. B.C. After them, at various times, other nationalities, Scythians, Parthians, Kushanas, and Huns, invaded India through the north-west, and finally, through the same

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1. See also Rawlinson's note to his translation of Herodotus iii, 98.

portal, or through Sindh, came the many Musalman invasions of India, such as that of Mahmud of Ghazni or those of the Mughuls.

The whole Panab is the meeting ground of two entirely distinct - Indo-Aran languages, — viz., the old Outer language strongly influenced by Dardic, if not actually Dardic, which epanded from the Indus Valley eastwards, and the old Midland language, the parent of modern Western Hindi, which expanded from the Jamna Valley westwards. In the Panjab they overlapped. In the Eastern Panjab, the wave of Dardic with old Lahnda had nearly exhausted itself, and the old Western Hindi had the mastery, the resulting language being the modern Panjabi. In the Western Panjab, the old Western Hindi wave had nearly exhausted itself, and the old Lahnda had the mastery, the resulting language being the modern Lahnda. The latter language is therefore in the main an Outer language, strongly influenced by Dardic, but beraring traces of the old Western Hindi. Such traces are much more numerous, and of much greater importance, in Panjabi. Lahnda may almost be described as a Dardic language infected by Western Hindi, while Panjabi is a form of Western Hindi infected by Dardic . This linguistic condition leads us to the conclusion that a mixed language, mainly Outer, but partly Dardic, once extended over the whole Panjab, and that the inhabitants of the Midland, through pressure of population or for some other reason, gradually took possession of the Panjab, and partly imposed their own language on the inhabitants. In no other way can the nature of the mixed language of the Eastern Pānjab be explained. One result of this mixture is that it is quite impossible to mark any definite boundary-line between Panjabi and Lahnda, and if, for convenience sake, we take the degree of 74k° East longitude as an approximate conventional frontier, it is to be clearly understood that much that is very like Lahnda will be found to its east, and much that is very like Panjabi to its west.

Sindhi, on the contrary, has much more nearly retained its original character of a language mainly Outer, but partly Dardic. To its east it has Rajasthani, not Panjabi, but it is protected from invasion from the east by the physical obstacle of the desert of Western Rajputana.

While modern Lahnda merges imperceptibly into Panjabi, Sindhi, does not merge into Rajasthani, but remains

quite distinct from it. Such border dialects as exist are mere mechanical mixtures, not stages in gradual linguistic change.

Although from very early times the area in which the North-Western Group of Indo-Aryan languages is spoken has been frequently subjected to foreign influence, it is extraordinary how little this mixed Dardic-cum-Outer form of speech has been influenced by it, except that under Musalman domination, the vocabulary has become largely infused with Persian (including Arabic) words. In the true Dardic languages a few Greek words have survived to the present day, but I have not met any such either in Lahnda or Sindhi.

Little is known about the linguistic ancestry of these languages. The immediate predecessor of Sindhi was an Apabhramsa Prakrit named Vrachada, regarding which the Indian grammarian Markandeya gives us a few particulars. He moreover mentions a Vrachada Paisachi apparently spoken in the same locality, and lays stress on the fact that the Kekaya Paisachi is the principal form of that Prakrit. We have seen (p.109) that Paisachi was the language of the ancestors of the modern Dards, so that the fact of the existence of a Dardic influence on the languages of the North-Western Group is borne out by this evidence that Paisachi was once spoken in this same tract. We have no evidence as to the particular form of Apabhramsa spoken in the Lahnda area, except that Markandeya tells us that people who employed literary Apabhramsa in that locality, - the ancient Gandhara and Kekaya, - were fond of using a word twice over in order to indicate repetition or continuance. But in Gandhara there were two famous rock inscriptions of the Indian Emperor Asoka (circa 250 B.C.) at Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra which were couched in what was then the official language of the country. This was a dialectic form of Pali, distinguished by possessing many phonetic peculiarities that are still observable in the Dardic languages and in Lahnda and Sindhi<sup>1</sup>.

Sindhi is the language of Sindh, the country on each side of the River Indus, beginning about latitude 29°N. and stretching thence down to the sea. In the north it merges into Lahnda, to which it is closely related, and which, in the Sirai Hindki dialect, is also spoken all over Sindh by scattered communities from the Western Panjab. It is spoken by three and

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1. See J.R.A.S., 1904, p. 725.

a quarter millions of people or a little more than the population of Denmark. Sindhi has six recognized dialects, Vicholi, Siraiki, Lasi, Lari, Thareli, and Kachchhi.

### Sindhi

	Survey
Vicholi	1,375,686
Siraiki	1,112,926
Thareli	204,749
Lasi	42,613
Lari	40,000
Kachchhi	491,214
Unspecified	7,031
<hr/>	
Total	3,274,219

The first is spoken in Central Sindh. It is the standard dialect and that employed in literature. Siraiki is merely a variety of Vicholi and is no real dialect. The only difference consists in its pronunciation being more clearly articulated and in slight variations in its vocabulary, and it is -frequently confused with the allied Siraiki Hindki - spoken in the same country. In Sindhi, the word siro means the 'head' of anything, and Siraiki, hence comes to mean 'up-stream' or 'northern', from the point of view of the Lar<sup>u</sup>, or lower Sindh. Siraiki is considered by Sindhis to be the purest form of the language, or, as the proverb says, 'a learned man of the Lar<sup>u</sup> is an ox in the Siro.' It must be remembered that, as the name of a locality, 'the Siro' or 'the up-stream country' is a relative term, and that its meaning varies with the locality of the speaker. The lower down the Indus a man lives, the larger the extent of the Siro, and from the point of an inhabitant of the Lar<sup>u</sup>, the term practically includes the Vicholi, or Central Sindh.

**Lasi:** Lasi is the form of Sindhi spoken in the State of Las Bela. It is a transition dialect

**Lari** between Vicholi and Lari. The later is the language of the Lar<sup>u</sup> already mentioned, and is considered to be rude and uncouth, but it retains many old forms, and displays one important feature of the Dardic languages-- the disaspiration of sonant consonants-- which no longer exists in Vicholi. Thareli and Kachchhi are both mixed dialects. The former is spoken by the hunting and outcast tribes of the Thar<sup>u</sup>, or desert, of Sindh, which forms the political boundary between that province and the Marwar country. It is a transition form of speech representing Sindh shading off into Rajasthani, through a mechanical mixture of the two languages. Kachchhi, on the other hand, is a mixture of Sindhi and Gujarati, spoken in Cutch.

### History of Sindhi.

Owing to its isolated position, Sindhi has preserved many phonetic and grammatical peculiarities which have disappeared elsewhere, and is a typical example of the Outer-language. In ancient times Sindh included the old Vrachada country, and to the present day the language retains special features which were recorded hundreds of years ago as characteristic of the old Vrachada Apabhramsa from which it is descended. As already stated, the Hindu grammarians also recorded a Paisachi dialect as spoken in the Vrachada country. The Pisachas, therefore, were once found in the country which is now Sindh, alongside of the people who then spoke Vrachada Apabhramsa, and whose descendants now speak Sindhi. One typical peculiarity of Paisachi and of Dardic, its modern representative, is that the letter *t* when it comes between two vowels is not elided, as occurs in all Indo-Aryan languages, but is kept without change. In other Indian Prakrits such a *t* first became *d*, and then disappeared altogether. The same phenomenon is today observable, though to a less extent in Lahnda and Sindhi and even occasionally in Panjabi. Panjabi, as becomes its mixed origin, usually has both forms, that with the *t* and that without. But Lahnda and Sindhi in such cases prefer to keep the *t* intact. Thus, the word for 'sew<sup>u</sup>*t*' is *sita* in Lahnda\_ (Sindhi uses another form), but *sita* of *sia* in Panjabi, 'done' is in Lahnda *kita* Sindhi *kito*, but Panjabi and *pito* in Sindhi. In pure inner language, (P. 140)

such as Hindi, the *t* would be dropped in all these cases, and we should have *sia*, *kia*, and *pia*, or some such words.<sup>1</sup>

In the Dardic languages, the formation of the past participle of a verb calls for no special attention except in one case. In the Maiya dialect of Kohistani it ends in the letter *l*. Thus the verb *kut*, strike, has *kut-ag-il* for its last participle. The ***l*-suffix of the past participle** we also find occasional instances of this in Shina; but we do not find anything like this in the Inner sub-branch of the Indo-Aryan languages or in Lahnda, though the form reappears in Sindhi. Here the past participle generally ends in *yo*, as in *maryo*, 'struck, from the verb *maran*<sup>u</sup>, to strike. But, when it is desired to emphasize the adjectival force of this participle, the final *o* is changed to *ʹ* so that we get such forms as *mar-ya-ʹ* 'meaning one who is in the condition of having been struck.' Gujarati is an Inner language, but, as we shall see, it has been superimposed on another language of the Outer sub-branch, of which traces can still be observed. One of these traces is the existence of this very *l*-participle, which is used in much the same way as in Sindhi, as in *maryo* or *mare-l* struck. Further south, in

1. It must not be supposed that I suggest that either Lahnda or Sindhi is derived from any Paṭṭhachī (i.e. Dardic dialect). From the fact that both an Apabhramśa and a Paṭṭhachī were spoken in Vrachada, we are entitled to maintain that the Paṭṭhachīs were not the same tribe as those who spoke the local Apbhramśa. They were therefore foreigners, and so, by parity of reasoning, were those of Kekaya. Assuming that the home of the Pīśachas was somewhere in the country at the foot of the Pamirs, the natural course for their emigration would have been through the Swat Valley, down the Indus to the Kekaya and Vrachada country. This would be in times when the original inhabitants, whom they found in situ, were in so early a stage of linguistic development that they still retained the *t* in words like *pīta* and so forth. The influence of the cognate language of the alien Pīśachas would account for the speakers of Sindhi and Lahnda not dropping the *t*, when, in the natural course of development, this had occurred farther east. Such influence would have more effect in the direction of conservation than in the direction of innovation, and hence we find few traces of other Paṭṭhachī peculiarities (such as the change of *d* to *t*) which were strange to the original dialect. I freely admit that much of this is pure theory, but I do not see my way to admitting the correctness of any explanation, other than the influence of some non-Indo-Aryan form of speech, for the retention of *t* in these languages. Paṭṭhachī supplies all the requirements of such a tongue, both in its locality and in its phonetic laws. (Since this was written, Dr. P. Tedesco has given a different explanation of the presence of this *t*, in J.A.O.S. XLIII, p. 385ff. See also the present writer in J.R.A.S., 1925, pp. 222ff.)

Marathi, still an Outer language, we find this I-participle established as the only form of the past participle, as in *mar-ila*, struck. So also we find this participle in all the remaining Outer language, as in the Oriya; Bengali *marila*; Bihari *maral*; and assamese *marila*. This participle, therefore, is not only current over the whole of East-Aryan India, but reaches, through an unbroken chain of dialects, all imperceptibly shading off into each other, across India to the Arabian Sea, and thence nothwards through Gujarati and Sindhi, but leaping across Lahnda, into the Dardic country of the Indus Kohistan. This is illustrative of the intimate relationship which exists among all these Outer forms of speech, and, although Assamese differs widely from Marathi, and a speaker of one would be entirely unintelleigible to the other, a man could almost walk for twenty-eight hundred miles, from Dibrugarh to Bombay and thence to Dardistan, without being able to point to a single where he had passed from one language to another. Yet he would have passed through eight distinct tongues of the Indian Continent, Assamese, Bengali, Oriya, Marathi, Sindhi, Lahnda, and Kohistani, and through many dialects.

To the south-east, Sindhi merges into Gujarati, through  
**(Kachchhi).** its Kachchhi dialect. Gujarati will be dealt  
 with later on amongst the inner  
**(Gujarati).** languages. As we now have it Gujarati is  
 a member of the Inner Sub-branch,  
 although, like Panjabi, it occupies territory once held by some  
 member of the Outer Sub-branch.

## THE ETHNOLOGY, LANGUAGE, LITERATURE & RELIGIONS OF INDIA

In Sanskrit geography India is divided into the Madhyadesa, or 'Midland', and the rest. The Midland is constantly referred to as the true pure home of the Indo-Aryan people, the rest being, from the point of view of Sanskrit writers, more or less barbarous. The Midland extended from the Himalayas in the north to the Vindhya Hills on the south, and from Sahrind (vulgo Sirhind) in the Eastern Punjab on the west to the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna on the east. It thus consisted of the Gangetic Doab, and of the country immediately to its north and south. The population of this tract had expanded from its original seat near the Upper Doab and the sacred river, the Saraswati. The particular Indo-Aryan dialect of these people developed into the modern language of the Midland. *It also received literary culture from the most Ancient times, and became fixed, in the form of Sanskrit (literally the 'purified' language), by the labours of grammarians, which may be said to have culminated in the work of Panini about the year 300 B.C. Sanskrit thus represents a polished form of an archaic tongue, which by Panini's time was no longer a vernacular,*<sup>1</sup> but which, owing to political reasons and to the fact that it was the vehicle of literature, became a second language understood and used by the educated in addition to their mother tongue, and has so continued with a fluctuating popularity down to the present day. *We may take the language of the Rig-veda as representing the archaic dialect of the Upper Doab, of which Sanskrit became the polished form.* It was a vernacular, and, besides receiving this literary cultivation, underwent the fate of all vernaculars.

Just as the spoken dialects of Italy existed side by side with Latin, and, while the evolution of Latin was arrested by its

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1. In the opinion of the present writer, some scholars consider that Sanskrit was a vernacular of certain classes in Panini's time and for long afterwards. See J.R.A.S. for 1904, PP. 435 sq.; 457 sq.



writers, ultimately developed into the modern Romance languages, so the ancient Vedic form of speech developed first into that stage of language known as Prakrit, and then into one or more modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars. It is thus a mistake to say that any modern Indian language is derived from Sanskrit. The most that can be said is that it and Sanskrit have a common origin.

So far the language of the 'Midland', round it, on three sides west, south, and east lay a country inhabited, even in Vedic times, by other Indo-Aryan tribes. *This tract included the modern Punjab, Sind, Gujarat, Rajputana and the country to its east, Oudh, and Bihar. Rajputana belongs geographically to the Midland, but it was a late conquest, and for our present purposes may be considered as belonging to the Outer Band. Over this band were scattered different tribes, each with its own dialect; but it is important to note that a comparison of the modern vernaculars shows that these outer dialects were all more closely related to each other than any of them was to the language of the Midland.* In fact, at an early period of the linguistic history of India there must have been two sets of Indo-Aryan dialects forming the Outer Band. From this has been argued, and the contention is entirely borne out by the results of ethnoligical inquiries, that the inhabitants of the Midland represent the latest stage of Indo-Aryan immigration. The earliest arrivals spoke one dialect, and the new-comers another. According to Dr. Hoernle, who first suggested the theory the latest invaders probably entered the Punjab like a wedge, into the heart of the country already occupied by the first immigrants, forcing the latter outwards in three directions, to the east, to the south and to the west.

*We have seen that the word 'Sanskrit' means 'purified'. The opposite to this it is the word 'Prakrit', or 'natural', unartificial. Prakrit thus connotes the vernacular dialects of India as distinguished from the principal literary form of speech. The earliest Prakrit of which we have any cognizance is the Midland vernacular current during the Vedic period. We have no record of the contemporary Prakrits of the Outer Band. We may call these vernaculars (including the tongue of the Midland) the Primary Prakrits of India. These Primary Prakrits were in a linguistic stage closely corresponding to that of atin as we know it. They were synthetic languages, with fairly complicated grammars, and with no objection to harsh combinations of consonants. In the course of centuries they decayed into what are called Secondary*

*Prakrits*. Here we find the languages still synthetic, but diphthongs and harsh combinations are eachewed, *till in the latest developments we find a condition of almost absolute fluidity, each language becoming an emasculated collection of vowels hanging for support on an occasional consonant*. This weakness brought its own nemesis and from, say, 1000 A.D. we find in existence the series of modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars, or, *as they may be called Tertiary Prakrits*. Here we find the hiatus of contiguous vowels abolished by the creation of new diphthongs, declensional and conjugational terminations consisting merely of vowels worn away, and new languages appearing, no longer synthetic, and again reverting to combinations of consonants under new forms, which had existed three thousand years ago, but which two thousand years of attrition had caused to disappear.

Returning to the Secondary Prakrits, they existed from, at least, *the time of the Buddha (550 B.C.) down to about 1000 A.D.* During these fifteen hundred years they passed through several stages. The earliest was that now known as Pali. Two hundred and fifty years before Christ, we find the edicts of Asoka written in a form of this language, *and it then had at least two dialects, an eastern and a western*. In this particular stage of Pali one of the Secondary Prakrits was crystallized by the influence of Buddhism, which employed it for its sacred books. *As vernaculars, the Secondary Prakrits continued the course of their development and in a still more decayed form reached the stage of what, in various dialects, is known as the Prakrit par excellence*. When we talk of Prakrits, we usually mean this later stage of the Secondary Prakrits, when they had developed beyond the stage of Pali, and before they had reached the analytic stage of the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars.

At this stage, so far as materials are available, we notice the same grouping of the Prakrit dialects as exists among the vernaculars of the present day. *We have no definite information what was the language of the Punjab; but as for the rest of India, there was a Prakrit of the Midland, the so-called Sauraseni, called after the Sanskrit name, Surasena, of the country round Mathura (Muttra)*. It was close to the great kingdom of Kanauj, the centre of Indo-Aryan power at this time. To its south and east was a band of dialects agreeing in many points among themselves, and also in common points of difference when compared with Sauraseni.

These were, in the east, in the country now called Bihar, Magadhi; in Oudh and Baghelkhand, Ardhamagdhi; and, south of Ardhamagdhi and Sauraseni, Maharashtri with its headquarters in Berar. *Ardhamagdhi, as might be expected, was partly a mixed language, showing signs of the influence of Sauraseni, but, in all its essential points, its relationship with Magadhi is undoubted.* Maharashtri was closely connected with Ardhamagadhi, which formed the connecting link between it and Magadhi, but in its rather isolated position it struck out on somewhat independent lines. It is important to remember that it (under the name of Saurashtri) was once the language of Gujarat, before that country was overwhelmed by the invasion from the Midland.

(PP.362) Turning to the Outer Band, an un-named Apabhram'sa was the parent of Lahnda and Kashmiri, the latter, as has been said, having as its base saw Pisacha language akin to Shina, under which the modern language lies as a second laye. *Sindhi is derived from a Varchada Apabhram'sa spoken in the country of the lower Indus.*

### **Desi Words**

(PP. 363) Other languages have contributed their quotas to the Indo-Aryan vernaculars. Many words have been borrowed from Dravidian Languages, generally in a contemptuous sense. Thus the common word *pilla*, 'a cub's is really a Dravidian word meaning 'son'.

(P. 372) Sinhdi is the language of Sind and neighbourhood. It is closely connected with Lahnda and, owing to its isolated position, it preserves many phonetic and flaxional peculiarities which have disappeared elsewhere. There was, in former days, a Pisach a colony in Sind, and traces of their language are still to be found in Sindhi, which is, in other respects, a typical speech of the Outer Band of languages.

## SINDHI

D. Jones

[ðe sindhi: laŋgwidz kenteinz 39 kcnseantl saundz (if wi: Kaunt ði aspereitid plousivz ez siŋgl saundz): p ph b bh b t th d dh t th d dh d c ch j jh j k kh g gh g m n ŋ ŋ l r ʃ f v s z ʃ x h.

t, d e dentl. t, t, d er a alvioule, ðe peint ev kɔntakt bing ebaut ðe seim ez fer iŋglis t, d. k iz nct iksploudid in ðe gru:p kt. b, d, j en g er implousiv; ðeer igzists c:lsou en implousic f witf dvz nct eke:r in ðis tekst. c, f lai bitwi:n tʃ, dʒ end t, d; ðei e ekvmpenid bai slait lip-raundiŋ. r iz stronli rould. r iz fe ju:zuel indjen retrofleks flap. ŋ=r.

ru, lu dinout r, l prenaunst wið e simelteinjəs u. s=sθ, ʃ = ʃs. v iz ði c:dnri leibjoudent friketiv (nct ðe frikʃenlis v ev vðer indjen laŋgwidziz).

ðe felouiŋ vauelz eke:, i: i e ε(:) a: a o u: u. Moust, if nct c:l, ev ði:z ken bi neizelaizd.

ʃc:t a haz valju:z veeriŋ bitwi:n c end e; in fainl peziʃn it iz mc: e-laik, end mei bi slaitli leŋθend. ʃc:t e lou veraieti; in fainl peziʃn it iz veri simile in kwcliti tu e, bet iz ditiŋktli ʃc:te ðen e. ʃc:t u dzenreli rizemblz ði iŋgliʃ ʃc:t u, bet en edva:nst veraieti iz ju:zd in svm sitjueiʃnz (fer instens in ðe fe:st silebl ev ʃuru:). e end o e lɔŋ.

lɔŋ vauelz e svmtaiz les lɔŋ in fainl peziʃn ðen elswēe, bet ðei ki:p ðee distiŋkt kwcliti. ðe ainl saund in dini: iz nct mvtʃlɔge ðen ðat in fahi bet ðe kwclitiz e kwait distiŋkt. ʃclte ðen e. ʃc:t u dzenrali rizemblz ði iŋgliʃ ʃc:t y, bet en edva:nst veraieti iz ji:zd in svm sitjueiʃnz (fer instens in ðe fe:st silebl ev ʃuru:). e end o e lɔŋ.

vauelz e pa:ʃeli c: kempli:tli neizelaizd wen pri:si:did bai neizl kcnsnents. ʃis aksidentl neizelaizejŋ mest bi distiŋgwiʃt frem isenʃl neizelaizeiʃn. ounli ðe vauelz wið isenʃl neizelaizeiʃn e

markt wið~ in ðis tekst. ðvs ði ā in hinā haz isenʃl neizelaizeifn, bet ði o in kvrtio haz aksidentl neizelaizeifn.

ðe diferns bitwi:n lcŋ (dvbl) en ʃx:t kcnsnents iz eparentli nct signifkent. mi:djel plousiv end neizl kcnsnents (vðe ðen ŋ) e prenaunst ra:ðe lcŋ wen prisi:did bai ʃx:t vauelz fer instens ðe t ev utara, ðe f ev sifa, ðe p ev kapre, ðe k ev hiky, ðe n ev hina. ðe leŋθ ev ε iz eparentli signifkent; ði ε ev fε:slo mvst bi lce, end ðat ev koʃeʃ mvst bi ʃc:t.]

utata fe hava: ε: sifa pā:ŋa me takra:r pe kajo ta asā: iβnhi: mā: ker da:dho, fadahe hiku musa:firu garam kapre me verhjalu pe a:ʃo. βinhi: pa:ŋa me fε:slo kajo ta fāhi asā: mā: pahirl: hinā musa:flra fo kapro lah(i)ra:jo so da:dho lekhbo. utara fe hava: zora sā: lagaŋu ʃuru: kajo, ʔε: a:xar utara fe hava koʃeʃ chade dinʔi:. poi vari: garam sifu nikto ʔε: musa:fira hikadam kapro la:tho. utara fe hava: kho kabu:l karŋo pio ta sifu zora va:ro a:he.

ðe folouin iz ðe seim tekst in c:dnri raitin:-

# SINDHI<sup>1</sup>

Anthony Xavier Soares

Sindhi is the language of the valley of the lower Indus from Multan to the sea; on the east it merges into the Rajputana dialects of Hindi, and on the west into the Beluch dialects. It is spoken by about three million people<sup>(2)</sup> made up of Hindus and Mussulmans. It is generally written in Arabic characters, with many modifications to represent the cerebrals and aspirates of an Aryan language.<sup>(3)</sup> Its principal dialects are: Sirai<sup>(4)</sup> Vicholi, Lari, Uchi,<sup>(5)</sup> and Kachi.

The vocabulary of Sindhi like that of Hinduistani, with the exception of its own original stock, is made up of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian words. The influence of Pushtu, its Iranic neighbour is especially notable.<sup>(6)</sup> All the words terminate in vowels as they do in Italian; all those ending in an /-u/ and /o/ being masculine. It has no neuter gender. The portuguese influence on it is, it appears, almost wholly mediate and very limited if we are to judge from the dictionaries of the language hitherto published.

SINDHI	PORTUGUESE	SINDHI	PORTUGUESE
Acháru ..	Achar	?limo ..	Limo
Ambaru ..	Ambar	Meza, mesu ..	Mesa
Ananásu ..	Ananás	Nilámu, nilámu ..	Leilao
? Bápha ..	Bafo	Pagháru ..	Pagar

1. According to Pakistan Census Report of 1961 number of Sindhi speaker in Pakistan.

2. See Georg Stack, A Dictionary English and Sindhi.

3. As Sindhi has more sounds than those which are provided for by Devanagiri characters, whenever it employs this alphabet. It uses diacritical marks with the ordinary letters in order to distinguish these sounds.

4. Sira mean "of the North".

5. Uch dialect is not of Sindhi language. It is related to Bahawalpuri, i. e. Siraiiki.

6. It must have been "Dardic", and not "Pushtu".

Barmá	..	Verruma	?Paso	..	Página
? Bas	..	Basta	?Phalano <sup>(1)</sup>	..	Fulano
Bateló	..	Batel	Phalitu	..	Falto
Bunji	..	Bucha	? Phatako	..	Foguete
? Buti	..	Botelha	Phi'ta	..	Fita
Chá, cháhi	..	Chá	Pi'pa	..	Pipa
? Chhápa, chhapo	..	Chapa	Pistola	..	Pistola
Istri'	..	Estirar	Rasi'd <sup>(2)</sup>	..	Recibo
Jhirmiri	..	Janela	Riyálu <sup>(3)</sup>	..	Rial
Jua khelnu	..	Jogar	Sabuni	..	Sabao
Kadela, gadela	..	Cadeira	Tamáku	..	Tabaco
? Karabinu	..	Carabina	? Tí'ru	..	Tiro
Kháju, kházo	..	Caju	? Tuphanu <sup>(4)</sup>	..	Tufao
			Turungu	..	Tronco

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1. It is also pronounced *Falano* in standard dialect. It is no doubt Arabic borrowed word.

2. *rasid*

3. *riyalu* is Iranian coin, it can, therefore, be called Persian borrowed word.

4. *tuphanu* is pronounced *tufanu* in standard dialect. It is an Arabic borrowed word.

Taken from Influence of Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1936.

## THE SINDHI IMPLOSIVES<sup>1</sup>

T.Grahama Bailey

Implosive differ from plosives in being uttered with an intake of breath. It may be taken into the lungs or stopped in the larynx. Theoretically plosive-implosive is also possible, in which air is expelled from the lungs and simultaneously inhaled, the current in both cases going no further than the larynx. A final decision can only be made in a phonetic laboratory,<sup>(2)</sup> but without such aid it is possible to give an approximately correct account of these sounds.

The Sindhi implosives are four in number, all unaspirated sonants, a bilabial, a guttural,<sup>(3)</sup> a retroflex tongue-tip palatal, and palatalized blade-front-dento-alveolar. Three of them correspond to the North Indian sound usually written *b*, *g*, and *d*. The fourth is supposed to correspond to *j*, but is actually a palatalized *d*. The ordinary *d*-implosive is not found. All four may be initial, medial, or final.<sup>(4)</sup> Many other sounds may be enunciated in this way, but Sindhi has only four. One must first learn to control one's larynx and to raise or lower it at will. It is not difficult to make a difference of an inch between the high and the low position of the larynx, and with practice this could be increased. The best rule for producing them is perhaps this: try to make an ordinary *b, g, d*, or palatalized *d*, but at the same time close the glottis and lower the larynx. This will necessitate an intake of breath, and prevent air from going beyond the larynx.

I feel convinced that the amount of air that reaches the lungs is negligible. A simple experiment goes to prove this. If one

1. 'Implosive' has sometimes been used in a slightly different sense, e.g. by Professor Jones in English Phonetics.

2. An implosive is a voiced glottal suction stop. In producing it there is naturally, an outer closure in the supraglottal area. At the same time the glottis is loosely closed (Grr Voice). The larynx is rapidly depressed. A small quantity of air is pressed through the glottis from below, into the supraglottal cavities backwards.

3. In modern term it can be called Velar implosive.

4. Not very commonly articulated.



holds one's breath and repeats the implosive b as often as one can without taking a fresh breath (it is easy to do so about 250 times), one will find that at the end one can make a full inhalation. If at each of these 250 repetitions an appreciable amount of air had been taken in, a final inhalation would have been impossible.

This quantity of air is sufficient to enable the voiced cords to vibrate (producing "voice") but is sufficient to raise the air pressure in the expanding supraglottal cavities to the atmospheric level, so that when the outer closure is released there is an implosive.

## ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE SINDHI LANGUAGE

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Sindhi is a north Indian Vernacular, belonging to the Sanskrit family of the Indo-European stock of languages, and is directly derived from Vrachada Apabhramsha, ancient dialect of Sind.

Before we proceed to dwell on the development of the language in all aspects it is necessary to go into its origin and history. Like all other Indian Vernaculars now spoken in northern India, *Sindhi grew up about 1000 A. D. from its Prakrit parent*. What this Prakrit was, can not now be ascertained though we have definite knowledge of the Apabhramsha form of that dialect which was called Vrachada. Sindhi along with its neighbour the Lahnda (language of the West i. e. Western Punjabi or Multani) were both derived from this same unknown Prakrit of the North-west but from different *Apabhramsha (corrupted)* forms of that language.

To properly understand its connection with Prakrit and its predecessors we must briefly pass in review the stages through which the ancient Aryan language of India called *Sanskrit (literally purified)* in contrast with Prakrit (natural or common) has passed. It is now no longer a matter of dispute that Sanskrit is an elder sister and not the mother of Indo-European languages as it was at one time erroneously supposed by early western scholars.<sup>(2)</sup>

There are two groups of this stock of languages, one called the '*Centem*' group, having a predilection for certain original guttural sounds such as K (C), g, kh gh, so called from the word signifying 'hundred' beginning with the letter C (k) and the other '*Satem*' group, which converts the above sound into

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1. According to modern research it is proved that Sanskrit is not the mother of Sindhi and Lahnda languages but that Sindhi, and Lahnda have common origin and which had its roots in the Indus Valley civilization.

Sibilants, called from the same word beginning with the letter S. To the former belong almost all the European languages of Aryan stock such as (1) Greek, (2) Italic including Latin, (3) Celtic, (4) Teutonic including German, English and the Dutch and to the latter belong (1) the Aryan or Indo-Iranian languages of Asia comprised in two branches of that stock called the Iranian and the Indic (2) The Armenian, (3) Lithuanian, Lettish and Slavonic and (4) Albanian. The Iranian branch consists of Zend, Pahlavi, Old Persian and their modern representatives while the Indic branch consists of Sanskrit, Prakrit and their modern representatives, the present Vernaculars of Northern India.

The home of the parent Aryan (Indo-European) speech used for long, on the authority of Max-Muller and earlier writers, supported from Biblical record and greater originality of Sanskrit, to be known as Central Asia round about the Oxus, but some very distinguished European scholars Latham, Halloy, Benfey, Ludwig Geiger have propounded the theory of its European origin supported by some very strong arguments based on facts of geology and physical geography but in the present state of linguistic scholarship and ethnic knowledge this question cannot be said to have been finally determined and will probably for ever remain as such.

This much is however now certain that *Sanskrit in its Vedic form* was spoken about 3000 B. C.\* in the north-west of India in the regions anciently known as *Gandhara (now North-West Frontier Province)*, Punjab and Sindh, though on the question of the age of Veda, opinions have been hitherto divided Max-Muller and some other European scholars not going beyond 1500 or 2000 B. C. But with the recent discovery of Mohan-Jo-Daro finds in Sindh including seals with pictorial script which are said to be at least as old as 5000 B. C. We shall have to revise our notions about the antiquity of the Indian civilization, and about the hitherto-known foreign origin of the Indian alphabet. Whether this civilization had an indigenous basis or a Sumerian one, whether it is Aryan or non-Aryan, a question which is still undetermined, is of no consequence so far as our present argument is concerned. Rigveda itself speaks of some very civilized non-Aryan races such as Yadu and Turvasu which were the allies in the confederacy of ten kings of both non-Aryan and Aryan tribes ranged against king Sudas of the Tritsus in a Civil war

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\* See Introduction.

of the Aryan tribes of that age, and these Yadus and Turvasus were settled to the south of Sapta Sindhu in ancient Sindh, and Utch province. If, as is very probable, these races are the same identical ones which inhabited the valley of Sindh about the time of Mohan-Jo-Daro civilization, the age of the Rigveda which mentions them cannot be behind 3000 B. C.

Dr. Grierson of the Linguistic Survey of India fame is not inclined to consider Sanskrit as the parent of the modern North Indian Vernaculars. He has propounded the theory of the three stages of the Prakrit language namely the Primary, the Secondary and the Tertiary among which last are comprised the modern vernaculars on north India. According to him Sanskrit is a literary speech stereotyped by Panini and other Indian Grammarians about 300 B. C. (rather too low a chronology and inaccurate) and has itself grown from an earlier Prakrit form the nearest approach to which is the Vedic Sanskrit which is only one out of the many ancient spoken dialects on North-west India which he terms Primary Prakrits. These Primary became themselves in course of time fixed as literary speeches the language of the common people passing on to the next stage which he calls the stage of the Secondary Prakrits, the Prakrits of the Budhistic canon, Jain philosophy, the Rock inscriptions and the Sanskrit dramas from which again the modern vernaculars are derived by similar course of development and descent.

The first Indian Grammarian of Prakrit *Vararuchi* who wrote the Prakrit Prakasha about the beginning of the Christian era. He notices four Prakrits then prevalent namely *Maharashtri*, *Magadhi*, *Sauraseni* and *Paishachi*. *Maharashtri* according to him was the most important, being the language of lyric poetry and prevalent in Maharashtra. *Maghadi* came next and was spoken in Maghada (Behar), *Sauraseni* in the tract about Muttra and *Paishachi* among the hills. *Hemachandra*, the medieval Indian grammarian who wrote in 1150 A. D. a comprehensive Sanskrit and Prakrit grammar, called *Sidha Hemachandra* and a large treatise illustrating his rules of Prakrit grammar in its last eight cantos called *Kumarapalacharita*, notices six Prakrits viz. *Arsha* which he identifies with *Mahrashtri* in which he includes the Jain *Ardha-Magadhi*; *Maghadi*, *Sauraseni*, *Paishachi*, *Chulika* *Paishachi* and *Apabhraishya*. Here again *Hemachandra* has mistaken the *Apabhraishya*, for the unknown Prakrit of the north-west probably because the common speech had decayed

to a larger extent in the mouths of the people of the north-west and was earlier known as Apabhramsha than in other parts of India. It may be here significant to note that none of these grammarians mentions *Pali* by name, of which more hereafter.

There is however no authentic evidence whatever from any literary records that there were in existence contemporaneously with Vedic Sanskrit any other languages called Primary Prakrits having distinctive features marking out one from the other. No doubt there would be dialects of the same Vedic speech just as we have four dialects of our own modern Sindhi viz, the Lari, the Sireli, the Thareli and the Kutchi, but as we would not now call any of these dialects as different languages, the dialects of Vedic Sanskrit can no more lay any claim to distinctive speeches. Modern *scholars notably Dr Keith* are veering round to the view held for long by Beames and medieval Indian Grammarians, that Vedic Sanskrit is the original parent of all the north Indian Vernaculars such as Hindi, Punjabi, Rajasthani, Gujrati, Marathi, Bengali, Oriya and Sindhi etc. which are derived there from through intermediate descent in successive order from middle Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhramsha. It was not however expected that there would be no change in the speech in the course of time. In the mouths of common people the words would begin to undergo modifications and the old cumbrous Synthetic inflections would also wear away leaving no doubt trace behind. In this stage considering the vast area in which the parent language came in course of time to be spoken and having regard to contact with different *desyaja* (aboriginal) speeches in different parts of the country, different Prakrits, what Dr. Grierson calls Secondary Prakrits grew up about 800 B. C. with a common basis as regards vocabulary, and grammatical structure. These Prakrits were Pali, Sauraseni, Maharashtrai, Magadhi, Ardha-Magadhi, Paishachi and an unknown Prakrit of the north west. The next Prakrit grammarian was Chanda who wrote the Prakrit Lakshana about 600 A. D. He has noticed four Prakrits namely Arsha (the main Prakrit), Magadhi and Apabhramsha, with slight variations among them chiefly in the phonology, Magadhi and Paishachi using *t* for *r* and *sh* for *s*, Apabhramsha preserving the *r* in a conjunct consonant. Chanda's Apabhramsha was probably the unknown Prakrit of the north-west, the parent of Sindhi and Arsha was either the Maharashtrai or the Ardhamagadhi of the other grammarians.

Now coming to a brief description of the various Prakrits of the secondary types, Sauraseni, being the language of the Midland or Aryavarta had the largest field for its growth and was spoken first about the Gangetic Plain but gradually extended its branches through Rajputana to Gujrat and was parent of Western Hindi including Hindustani, Gujrati and Rajasthani. The other Prakrits were according to Dr. Greirson termed Prakrits of the outer band driven to East and West by the above midland speech as a wedge between them, evidently referring to fresh Aryan tribes driving the earlier immigrants both to East and West in their immigrations to India. This theory of the outer bands is again based upon the hypothesis of the different primary Prakrits but if this hypothesis as stated above is unproven, the outer band theory is also problematical. As already said the variations in the Secondary Prakrits can be easily accounted for by Provincial differences, and any way what is called the outer band of the west gave rise to Sindhi, Lahnda (Western Punjabi) and Marathi, and the eastern band developed into Bengali, Oriya and Assamese. That the outer band theory stands on slender basis may be shown from two instances: While Sindhi and Marathi have nearly the same forms for present third person of the root *as*, to be viz. *ahe*, *ahin* (Sindhi) and *ahe*, *aheta* (Marathi), the Bengali which is also an outer language has *cche* in place of the same root which agrees with *cche* of Gujrati a Sauraseni (midland) speech. Again while all the modern idioms except Bengali form past tenses of transitive verbs in passive voice Bengali forms them in the active voice though with the past participle e.g. '*maritam*', I killed\_\_ Sindhi *marium*, 'killed by me'.

Sindhi and Western Punjabi belong to the unknown Prakrit of North-West, Marathi is derived from Mahrashtri, while Bihari, Bengali, Oriya and Assamese grew out of Magadhi and Ardha-Magadhi gave rise to Eastern Hindi, the language of Oudh.

As regards Paishachi, the Western scholars are now divided in their opinion as to whether it was an Indo-Aryan Vernacular at all. This language was spoken in the hill tracts of Chitral, Kohistan, Kashmir and what is now known as Dadistan and has still its modern representative in those parts. Dr Greirson holds that though descended from the Aryan, it belongs to a

group independent of either Iranian or Sanskrit is the basis of the modern Kashmiri and has largely influenced the Sindhi and the Lahnda in their adopting both noumenal and verbal forms with pronominal suffixes imbedded in them, which are unknown to the other north-Indian Vernaculars. The claim of the Paishachi languages to an independent group is, however, contrary to the traditional view of the Indian Grammarians. May it not be that our Sindhi which possesses these forms in copiousness, forms from the simplest to highly synthetic ones but which are used at the present day consciously or unconsciously by common folk freely for brevity, carries us to a past when this idiom was a peculiarity of the ancient Aryan but not discernible in the Sanskrit, though retained in the Iraian. As instances I may mention 'putum' ( ) for 'munhi jo put' ( ) my son, and 'chadium' ( ) for 'mu chadio' ( ), (left by me), and 'mariomas' ( ) for 'mun hunakhe mario' ( ) (I killed him). Sindhi therefore, forms a connecting link between Iranian and the Sanskrit.

It was long supposed that original language of the Budhistic Canon was Magadhi which came to be known as Pali (signifying row, line, canon) in the hands of Budhistic scholars. This is however not true. Pali though it has the same substratum, as the language of the rock inscriptions of Budhistic Emperor Asoka is a distinctive speech though Prinseps the first explorer of the Rock Inscriptions of Asoka was led by some similarities discernible in the Ceylon Chronicle Mahavamsa in Pali translated by Turriour, to think that these inscriptions were written in a language which was no other than Pali.

General E. Cunningham in the Corpus Inscriptionem Indicarum has noticed three varieties in the speech of the inscription which he also terms Pali, according to their distribution in different parts of the country namely Prakrit of the north-west or Punjabi, Ujjaini or language of the midland, and Magadhi, the speech of the east. What he calls Punjabi is the Apabhraṃśa of Chanda and is that unknown Prakrit the mother of the Sindhi and the Lahnda.

*Both Prinseps and Cunningham have fallen into an error repeated by Dr. Greirson into calling this language of the inscription as Pali which name came into prominence only after the Budhistic canon was called as such by Budhistic Scholars,*

notably of Ceylon. The error was promoted also by the fact that what was known as Magadhi in the time of Hemachandra was the Magadhi of Sanskrit dramas which was further removed from either Pali or the language of the inscription than other Prakrits, when naturally we should expect the dialect of Magadha, the seat of Asokan Empire, as the dialect at the basis thereof.

What then was the language of the Inscriptions and the basis of Pali. *Otto Franke with whom Dr. Grierson agrees thinks that the dialect prevalent in Ujjain, Capital of Avants (Malwa) was the dialect of the Inscriptions and formed the basis of Pali.* That the Rock Inscriptions at least in that part of the country or the neighbourhood should be in that dialect can be easily grasped on account of proximity of locality. But it would be a curious phenomenon to ascribe Pali to that dialect. The fact however is that at the time Budha preached his doctrine, the Magadha Empire had not yet come into prominence. The most important kingdom then was the kingdom of Koshala (Oudh) and the Budhistic canon was preached first in Koshala and written in the dialect of Koshala. When Koshala was absorbed by Magadha Empire in the hands of Chandragupta Maurya, the official language was the more virile Koshali with local variations from Magadhi. Now the Koshala dialect was nearer to Sauraseni than Magadhi and naturally when Avanti was absorbed into the Magadha Empire and Asoka himself became its Viceroy, Koshali would readily fit into Avanti, already a Sauraseni dialect and largely influenced it. That accounts for the Similarities which Prinsep observed, in the language of the Inscriptions, with Pali.

Koshali the native dialect of Budha and the most prominent one in his life time was therefore the basis of Pali, which is now recognised representative and came to be known as Pali after his death.

But it is claimed for Pali by some scholars, notably Grierson, that *it is contemporaneous to the Sanskrit of the Brahmins and the Upanishads* and is prior to classical Sanskrit of Panini and is not descended from it like other Prakrits. Such a claim however is untenable and Franke at least admits that Pali is directly derived from Vedic Sanskrit. Its grammatical forms and vocabulary being in a mutilated state like other Prakrits though to a lesser extent it cannot take rank alongside Sanskrit as a younger or an elder sister, notwithstanding the fact that it retains



certain archaic forms which are discernible only in the Vedic and have disappeared from the Classical Sanskrit. *Much the same thing has happened to our Sindhi in retaining certain archaic forms, for instance, forms in the Passive Voice of both transitive and intransitive verbs e. g. Kije tho, (Sans. Kriyate) 'is done' Vaneje tho (Sans. gamyate) 'is gone', which are discernible in Sanskrit but have disappeared from the other modern cognate idioms. Can it therefore be said that Sindhi is prior to these idioms. Pali therefore is a language in a transitional stage from Sanskrit to Prakrit.* It was for long, the language of the Koshala Empire until it was stereotyped as the language of the Budhisitic canon and literary vehicle of the Buddhist Scholars. That neither Koshali nor Pali are referred to by name by Indian Grammarians is easily intelligible from the fact that by the time they wrote of Prakrit, Koshali had merged into Asokan, Maghadi and Pali was only a name known to Budhists and common with them as the name of their canon. Pali has been much cultivated in Budhistic countries and possesses a decent literature. The chief literature which grew up in India is the three Pitakas (baskets) viz Vinaya (rules of order) Suttas (Doctrine) and abhidhamma (psychological system, at the basis of the doctrine).

A question arises as to whether these Secondary Prakrits were ever spoken languages. This doubt has arisen from the fact that in Sanskrit dramas different Prakrits are assigned to different characters of inferior rank and class in the same drama with the same scene of action, the higher classes always speaking in Sanskrit. This polyglot medley of speech is considered to be too artificial. When however it is remembered that these speeches though spoken by different speakers as their own mother tongues were understood by all the people as they had a common basis, the doubt would be of no consequence. As the best instance of the Prakrit of the dramas, we might refer to the Sanskrit drama *Mricchakatika*. In any case we have no ground whatever to consider the language of the Rock inscriptions of Asoka which was also a Secondary Prakrit as artificial as the inscriptions having been addressed to the common people could not but have been composed in a speech spoken, and understood by them, and as already stated there were three varieties in the language of the inscriptions due to differences of locality, though the substratum of all was Koshali or Asoka Magadhi.

But just as the parent primary speech became stereotyped as Sanskrit in the hands of literary men and grammarians, so these Prakrits also as already stated in the case of Asokan Magadhi or Pali, became literary speeches in course of time while the language of the common people became what is now known as *Apabhramsha* (*broken away or decayed*). These Apabhramshas, were as many as the Prakrits themselves though we have three of them mentioned as literary ones viz. Vrachada, Nagara and Upanagara but details exist only as regards one of them viz. the Nagar apabhramsha the immediate parent of Gujarati but the others were closely related, Vrachada being the oldest.

Hence Chandra and Markendaya have fully treated it in their grammars.

The Apabhramshas like the Prakrits also pursued the same course and became in course of time literary speeches from which the common speech deviated further and further and in this stage which was reached about 1000 A. D. the Apabhramshas passed into the modern Vernaculars. Sauryasena giving rise to Western Hindi and Punjabi, Ardha-Magadha to Eastern Hindi, Avanta to Rajasthani and Paheri languages, Maharashtra to Marathi, Magadha to Bihari, Oriya, Bengali and Assamese, Gaurjara and Nagar to Gujarati dialects and *Vrachada* originating *Sindhi*, the subject of our discourse.

We have thus three stages in the development of the Prakrit language, the Secondary Prakrit of Grierson, viz (1) the Pali stage when the language was transitional from Sanskrit to Prakrit (2) the stage of Prakrit par excellence when the language had freed itself from the crumbrous grammatical forms of Sanskrit, simplified the tenses and mutilated the vocabulary and (3) the Apbhramsha stage which carried this process of mutilation and simplification much further so that the language was fully prepared to pass into the analytic stage which the modern vernaculars of North India have assumed.

## THE ALPHABET

The Rev. C. W. Haskel

1. The Sindhi language is a composite language formed by the confluence of three main streams of thought- Sanskritic, Persian and Arabic. It is related to neighbouring languages of Urdu, Punjabi and Jatki, in the north; and Gujerati, and to a much lesser extent, Marathi, in the south; and Hindi and Bengali in the east.

It is, however, a purer Sanskritic language and, in some respects, more free from foreign elements than some of its sister tongues. Sindhi is derived mainly from Sanskrit through the Prakrit.

Sindh however, lies in close proximity Persia and Arabia, and for centuries Sindhis have carried on an extensive trade with these lands, so it is not a matter of great surprise that the rich languages of Persian and Arabic have contributed greatly to the enrichment of Sindhi. Another great contributing factor was the conquest of Sindh by the Arabs early in the ninth century; while the acceptance of Islam by the vast majority of the Sindhi people naturally led to a wider acquaintance with Arabic and a more extensive use of words derived from Arabic, the religious language of Islam.

Since the British conquest of Sindh in 1843, quite a large number of English words have enriched the Sindhi language, particularly technical terms connected with railways, medicine, mechanical and electrical engineering, and so on.

The process of enriching the language from Persian and Arabic shows no signs of ceasing and it is quite probable that it will continue at a steady rate for long years to come. A few English words will continue to find a home in Sindhi, but they will probably be chiefly technical terms, though such a word as "time"

seems likely to usurp the place of the Arabic word which long years ago ousted the previous Sanskrit word.

2. Like Persian and Arabic, Sindhi is written from right to left and Sindhi books commence at what would be the last page in an English (p.2) book. The Sindhi character is based on the Arabic character, though it contains many letters not found in either Arabic or Persian.

## SINDHI AND SANSKRIT.

N. N. Batheja M. A. M. O. L.

E. Trumpp in the very beginning of his Sindhi grammar writes "The Sindhi is a pure Sanskritical language, more free from foreign elements than any other of the North Indian Vernaculars." He means to say that Hindi, Punjabi, Marwari, Bengali, Oriya, Brajabhasha and even Gujarati and Marathi languages are not so purely Sanskritical as Sindhi. G. A. Grierson also in his "Linguistic Survey of India" is of the same opinion when he says "Sindhi has preserved many phonetic and grammatical peculiarities (of Sanskrit) which have disappeared elsewhere and is a typical example of the outer languages". I shall quote here a few examples to show how vocabulary of Sindhi is directly derived from Sanskrit. The Sanskrit conjunct consonant tra ( त्र ) is invariably changed to ta ( ت ) in Sindhi e. g.

etc. etc.

dya ( द्या ) of Sanskrit is generally changed to jja ( ج )  
e. g.

etc.

sta ( स्त ) is often changed to tha ( تھ ) e.g.

etc.

dhya ( ध्या ) is changed to jha ( ज्ञा ) e.g.

etc.

sta ( स्ता ) is constantly changed to tha ( ثا ) e.g.

etc.,..

Ksa ( क्सा ) is frequently changed to kha ( کھ ) e.g.

etc.

ya ( या ) is mostly changed to ja ( جا ) e.g.

so on and so forth.

In this way more than 80% of the pure Sindhi words are direct derivatives of Sanskrit words with only slight changes. Similarly Sindhi grammar also is wholly Sanskrit. By a Sanskrit scholar some poem of Shah Sahib with very unnoticeable variations are transformed into (Vrachada) Prakrit, of which Sindhi is direct descendent e. g.

"Sabhi tuhinjo Sumira! Vethyu ginhan naua" is rendered into

"Savva tujjham Sumara, Vitha, ganhanti nao"

"ati ukanthi ahiya" is transformed into"

"adi ukkanthita ahmi" and similarly:-

"Manu akhyu tanu titi, jiti janama jedyu" is equal to

"Manas aksini tanu tatra yatra janma yaddadyah".

Inspite of so much nearness of Sindhi to Sanskrit, the latter has remained as one of the foreign languages to a Sindhi student. This apathy to Sanskrit even among the Sindhi Hindus is possibly due to certain false notions. The result of this apathy has been that the Hindus in Sindh are separated from the rest of Hindu of India "To non-Sindhi" as prof. Mankind puts it a Sindhi Hindu hardly looks a Hindu". This may be remedied. Sir Richard Temple once remarked "the education of a Hindu gentleman can never be said to be complete without a thorough mastery of Sanskrit language and literature." Mahatma Gandhi also in emphatic words in his Experiment with Truth lays down, "Every Hindu boy and girl should possess sound Sanskrit learning."

## A NOTE ON THE SINDHI ALPHABET

Zaarin Qulam

Read before the Sind Historical Society on 24th May, 1943.

It is by no means universally known that Sindh owes its alphabet and its whole written language to its British Administrators. When Sir Charles Napier conquered Sindh, although the country had a well-defined language of its own, that language had no written script which had general recognition, and public business was carried on by Hindu scribes who wrote a mongrel Persian in the Persian character. The so-called "Abul Hassan-ji-Sindhi," which was being taught by Mullahs in the Mosques at the time of the British conquest, was no more than a attempt to write colloquial Sindhi in ordinary Arabic script, and the same may be said of Wathen's "Grammar of Sindhi" in Arabic script, which was written in 1836 for the use of political officers at the Court of Amirs of Sindh. The Hindu traders, too, had adopted for the purposes of their accounts a form of the Devanagiri script.

2. When Sir Bartle Frere took charge of the Province eight years after the conquest, he found only two British Officers who could speak Sindhi, and none of their clerks who could write it. Orders were at once issued requiring civil officers to pass a test in the colloquial language, but before any use could be made of Sindhi in Official correspondence, it was necessary to devise an alphabet in which it could be written. The only two officers whose knowledge of the language gave them any right to an opinion on this subject were Capt. (afterwards Sir Richard) Burton and Capt. Stack. Unfortunately, these two officers held very divergent views, Burton advocating an adoption of the Arabic alphabet, and Stack wishing to adopt a modification of the Hindu script already in use, for their limited interests among the traders of the province. Even in those days, the racial aspect of the question caused Frere to hesitate: he feared that the Hindus would refuse to learn the one, while the Moslems would scorn to use the other. In 1853, however his hesitations were resolved by the



Court of Directors of the East India Company, who decided in favour of an Arabic script. Mr. (afterwards Sir Barrow) Ellis, who was then Collector of Hyderabad, was given the task of devising an alphabet, and the present Sindhi alphabet is the result. With the adventitious aid of a liberal supply of dots, both above and below, the twenty-nine letters of the Arabic alphabet were expanded into the Sindhi alphabet of fifty-two letters, all of which were considered necessary if due recognition was to be given to the fine shades of guttural and dental articulation in which colloquial Sindhi excelled.

3. The script made rapid headway, and with its aid Sindhi was made the official language of the Province, and Persian disappeared from the records. Its supremacy would have been even more rapidly established but what can now be seen to have been an ill-advised attempt to establish side by side with the Sindhi alphabet, a new Hindu script for the use of Hindus. The moving spirit in this mistaken movement was Mr. Narayan Jaganath Wadia, a Deccani Brahmin gentleman whom the Bombay Government appointed to be Deputy Educational Inspector in Sindh.

4. It should here be explained that there was until 1872, and again from 1876 to 1887, no full-time Educational Inspector in Sindh. The duties of this post were imposed, as an additional charge, on some European Officer who was suspected, sometimes, as the event showed, quite wrongly of having a particular flair for the subject. The result was that Mr. Wadia, who remained in Sindh for a quarter of a century, was able, owing to the pre-occupation of his nominal superiors with their other duties, to exercise a good deal more influence over educational policy than his position warranted. He was able to persist in his experiments with the Hindu rural alphabets, which he standardized and improved by the addition of vowel-marks, and in 1868 the Government of Bombay were persuaded to order the introduction of the new Sindhi Script into the schools. Further, favoured treatment for the new alphabet was soon secured: special schools were opened for teaching it, and teachers under training were compelled to learn it and teach it in the existing Arabic-Sindhi schools. Side by side with this movement, there was also going on the concentration of schools in Municipal areas, in spite of the fact that they were paid for by a voluntary

self-imposed cess on the land revenue: the result was that while the number of Moslem boys under instruction was doubled during the decade between 1860 and 1870, the number of Hindu boys increased five-fold.

5. In spite, however, of the determined advocacy of Mr. Mehta and the diversion of funds from the local cess, the popularisation of the Hindu-Sindhi script proved a hopeless task, and in 1881 Mr. Dayaram Gidumal, himself a Sindhi Amil and as an Assistant Collector in Sindh then at the beginning of his brilliant career, definitely recommended its abolition. He pointed out that even the mercantile classes disowned the new script, and the little banya school boys only learned it in order to forget it as soon as they left school, when they went back to their old vowel-less shorthand. Then, as now, what the Hindu shopkeeper wanted for his accounts was a set of esoteric symbols which only he could interpret, and he had little interest in a form of writing that everyone could understand. Mr. Dayaram Gidumal's views endorsed by the Commissioner, Mr. Giles, official support was withdrawn, and the script soon died a natural death when it ceased to be pushed by the Government agency.

6. The main result of this unfortunate experiment was the legacy of resentment with which the more discerning Moslems realised how easily a foreign Government could be misled by sectarian propaganda masquerading in the garb of educational enthusiasm. The attempt to replace Arabic-Sindhi is now a forlorn hope, but from time to time there are still found people in Sindh, to whom any sign of the predominance of the Moslem Culture is anathema and who are willing to lead this forlorn hope. Some ten years ago a new attack was made on the current Sindhi script, in which it was alleged there were at least nine superfluous letters which ought to be eliminated. This was followed up by the assertion that the original pure Sindhi had been "defaced" by the introduction of words of Arabic or Persian origin: it therefore behoved the educational reformer who wished to bring Sindhi to its "original form" to abolish all the words of Arabic or Persian origin which had enriched the language, to alter such terminations and inflexions as had the same hateful origin and to remove the superfluous nine letters.

7. Since even to day there are sectarian visionaries who dream this same dream, it is permissible to point out a serious obstacle to its realisation. It would be necessary to find some one who could understand this new beautiful language, and who would be prepared to devote all his energies to teaching it to the people of Sindh.

## **SOME SYNTACTICAL AND PHILOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SINDHI LANGUAGE**

H. T. Sorley

In a previous lecture I spoke of historical influences on the vocabulary of Sindhi. In the course of that lecture, I remarked that the Sindhi Language belongs to the great family that embraces all the main languages spoken in Europe today and inclusive of Persian, Pushto and Baluchi, which belong to the Iranian Group of the Indo-Aryan Languages. I pointed out also that the Sindhi Language is one of the Indo-Aryan Languages coming from a Sanskrit base through a Prakrit of the outer band. This Prakrit has produced Lahnda, western Punjabi, Sindhi, Siraiki, Kutchi, Thari and Lasi. In this address I am concerned primarily with questions of philology, grammar and syntax. Before, however, I touch in detail on those matters, I wish to illustrate the manner in which Sindhi in its essential roots is connected with European Languages. It is possible to take the Sindhi Language and trace in the Sindhi words thousands of their corelatives in many European Languages. This is a study which has not yet been taken seriously by any one. I recommend it as a very suitable object for the Sindh University to investigate once the University has set up the essential preliminary, namely, a proper school for the teaching of comparative philology.

Comparative philology today entails an expert knowledge of Sanskrit and the main European Languages in some form or other, both in the Teutonic and in the Romance branches. The real difficulty found in dealing with the Sindhi Language is that for proper understanding it requires a skilled knowledge of both Sanskrit and Arabic, with Persian. It is very easy to find scholars in Sanskrit and in Arabic (or Persian). It is, however, extremely difficult to find scholars who are at home in these two languages together. Until such a competent scholar is produced, I fear that a scientific study of Sindhi will not go beyond a mere hope.

Sindhi is a perfect fusion of diverse language elements exactly after the manner of English. The Sindhi cultivator uses every-day words drawn from three distinct language sources without being aware of the fact. It is the same process as is seen in the speech of the Covent Garden Costermonger who knows no comparative philology but uses habitual words drawn from half a dozen languages. The Costermonger uses "amuck" and "compound" from Malay, "Jamboree" and "corroboree" from the Australian aboriginals- "Skipper" from Dutch, "snock" from Icelandic, "Voodoo" from Central African races and "Jazz" from the American Negroes. "tomahawk" and "tobacco" called "baccy" from the American Indian, "horde" from the Turk "Bolshic" from the Russian, "Vanoose" from Spanish, "garrage", which he rhymes with "carriage" and "hanger", which he pronounces like a "coat hanger" from under French' in addition to long rich vocabulary which he has got from Angle-Saxon, Latin and Herman French to form one compact language. So does Sindhi with Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit and Prakrit roots from various parts of India. The thing has grown into a natural fusion over more than, 1,5000 years of development.

Arabic and Sanskrit are the two great elements in the Sindhi language. The Persian element is by comparison of very minor importance. The importance of Arabic is due to the fact that not only has it greatly added to the vocabulary and the mode of thought of the people, but it has also profoundly, in one respect, effected to structure of the language, namely, in the development of the system of pronominal suffixes. On a general review, one can say that in Sindhi anything that is good Arabic is good Sindhi also. In the words used ordinarily today, Arabic is found to be much employed for describing many objects in common use and many of the most commonly used every day words are Arabic. It is also the language descriptive of social arrangements and the terms of Society. Most of the common words used to describe psychology, states and qualities of mind are also Arabic in origin. There are many adverbial expressions in common use in Sindhi which are identical with adverbial expressions in Arabic. The system of names and vocalisation of words is profoundly influenced by Arabic. The Vocalisation is pure Arabic. The short vowels are formed in exactly the same way and Sindhi has maintained the vowel system, in respect of all the final short vowels, which has disappeared from other languages

in India affected by contact to some extent with Arabic. For example, Urdu has dropped a large part of the Arabic System of final vowels. In Sindhi, this system is still in complete and in unaltered form. Every Sindhi word ends in either a vowel or a nasal sound. Such Scientific terms as a Sindhi knows, are almost entirely Arabic in origin. These particular scientific subjects, where these terms, many of them highly technical, are found in arithmetic, grammar, music, medicine, botany, zoology, navigation, some parts of education, some branches of commerce, philosophy, religious, some aspects of administration and the Army. The names of the stars, planets and the signs of the zodiac are all pure Arabic. The influence of Persian is very much less. Persian became of some importance in the language only through administration and particularly since the days of the Moghals when Persian was the language of the Court. In those days, when Viceroys and similar high officials were sent from Delhi, Persian was used for transacting the official business of the court and in this way a considerable number of Persian words have become fixed in the language. The Persian words relate mostly to the language of the court and of nobles, to articles of luxury and refinement, to abstract terms of various kinds, to the words of mysticism and Sufi philosophy, which has been highly developed in Sindh, and to the general terms of administration. Practically all the main technical words in the land revenue system are of Persian origin.

English has left very little mark on Sindhi. This is rather remarkable, considering the extraordinary developments which have taken place in Sindh since 1843, but number of English words, which have become part of the ordinary vocabulary, is very small and they relate mostly to comparatively unimportant things not affecting in any way the ordinary intimate life of the people. Amongst English words which have gone into Sindhi are "Station", "Hospital", "Screw", "School", "Sponge", "Office", "Engine", "Engineer" and like.

In order to emphasise the essentially Aryan character of the Sindhi language and its relations with the main Aryan languages of Europe, I have selected at random a number of Aryan radices and traced their form in several of the languages of the Aryan group. The Sindhi word for "two" is "*ba*" and "second" is "*bio*" this is philologically the same as the Sanskrit root "*do*" which appears in the form "*due*" in both Greek and Latin.

exhibits the same change in this radix between b and d as Sindhi does as for example in the word "bellum", war, as compared with "du-ellum"-two persons fighting together. The radix goes into English in the form of "two". Let me take another of the numerals. The Sindhi word for three is "te" which appears in many forms in the Sanskritic languages, like "*tin*", "*tre*", "*tran*". This is the Greek "*tin*" and the Latin "*tar*", which is philologically the same as the English "three". One common Aryan root is "*da*" which means to shine. This is the root which is found in the Latin "*duces*" meaning god and appears as "*Ju*"-*peter* in the word Jupiter, namely the "father god". This syllable found in "*duces*" or "*Ju*", in Jupiter, appears in the Greek word of "God" "*theos*". The original meaning of the root "*da*" is found in the English word "day", which means the time when day is shining. Now this root "*da*" appears in the Sanskritic languages in a bewildering variety of words. It is found in the Sindhi word for day "*dihu*", which is the same as "*din*". It is found in the sense of "God" in the words "*di-wali*", which is the festival of lights and "*diwo*" which means a lamp and "*devari*" which means a shrine, and occurs in "*Debal*", that is to say, "*dewal*", the ancient town of Sindh, which was captured by Mohammad bin Qasim in 711 A.D. I shall take still another example. The root "*par*" or "*por*" has gone through all the Aryan languages in extraordinary profusion of forms. The root idea is "forward" or "advance" or "in front". This appears in the Latin word "*Porro*", which means "forward" or "in front". It is the same root that is found "*poreuomai*", to go forward, in Greek. The [p] sound appears in the Teutonic languages as an [f] sound. This produces in English such varieties as "forth", "for", "fare", "ferry". Now let us look at Sindhi. Sindhi has the same root almost unchanged. The ordinary Sindhi word for "far" is "*pare*". To go across a river is "*Par wanyan*". A "neighbour" is "*Paṛosi*", some one "just away from you". A "foreigner" is "*Pardesi*", "out of the country". The "other side of the river" is "par-bharo" and an "echo" is "*paṛ-au*" that is to say, the sound "that goes further on". The most ancient inhabited settlement in the country is at Mohan-jo-Daro. What is this word "*daro*"? "*Daro*" means a "mound" or a "heap" and it is connected with the Aryan radix "*dar*", which means "to place" or "to put." It is found in the common Sindhi word "*daro*" or "*dari*" which means a "heap" and the same root occurs in "*dig*" and "*deg*". The word occurs in Latin in the verb, found now only in compounds, "*der*", "to place", seen in "*red-dere*", "to give back", "*ab-dero*", "to hide", which

has given the word "*abdomen*", and "*con-dero*", to found". The Roman way of dating time was by means of the letters A.U.C., which stand for "*ab urbe condita*", that is, "from the city when founded", from the date of the foundation of Rome. So when the Roman used this expression "*ab urbe condita*", the "*dita*" part was philologically the same as the "*dar*" found in *Mohan-jo-daro*". In the Teutonic Languages, the [d] sound become [t] and is thought to be allied to the root found in English words like "take". I shall give one other example of the relationship between Sindhi and the European languages, and take the common Sindhi word for a "village" as the example. The ordinary Sindhi word for a village is "goth". Now this is from a root which means "to gather" or "collect" or to "fill" or "to heap up." A "village" a "Goth", is a place that is filled up with people, a gathering of people. Now this is the root found in "gothri" which means a "bag", a thing collected together and it appears in the Latin word "grex", which means a flock, a gathering of cattle, and in the Latin name for a mound or heap "ag-ger" which again is a collecting together, and of course the English word "gather" is the exact philological co-relative. I could take hundreds of Sindhi words in this fashion and follow them through the languages of Europe, but the few examples that I have given, will, I think, dispel, any doubt in the mind that Sindhi is not an Aryan language.

Before leaving this subject, however, I will give two spectacular examples of the interrelation of these Aryan languages. There is a Sindhi expression "*abad hujie*", which means, "may you prosper", and as a greeting of goodwill. Now "abad" is from the root of "ab", which means 'water' and "*abad*" which means "prosperity", but in reality denotes the making fruitful of any thing by the giving of water to dry land, so that it can produce crops and be *fruitful*. The "ab" (or water) is the same word as "*aqua*" in Latin, which we actually find in the English word "water". It is the same as the French word "*eau*" and this is found in another form in the French "*ewer*"<sup>(1)</sup>, which means a "water-jug" which appears in English in the form "*evier*". In Sindhi there is as bewildering variety of words from the same root, the commonest of which is of course "*wasan*", which means "to rain", the showering of water. This appears in the common Sindhi word "*was*" which means a village, where again water and prosperity are connected together as in "*abadi*". "*Waskaro*" means a "shower of rain". The syllable "*was*" can be compared with the

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1. *wer* is also common Sindhi word for earthen water pot, not dilo.



German "*wasser*" meaning "water". Strangely enough, the "word" "whisky" and the word "water" are philologically the same. The "*whi*" of "whisky" is the "*usq*" of the word "*usqubagh*", which is the Celtic (Gaelic) word meaning "the water of life", and this word "*usq*" is exactly the same word as the "*osk*" and the "*usk*", which occurs in the names of many rivers in Britian. So the Sindhi word "*was*" and "*wasī*" are connected, through the Aryan radix, with the Gaelic "*usq*" and is 'from the same root as "*ab*" and "*uqua*" and "water". I will conclude with the example of my own name, which will probably amuse you. The name "*sorley*" is Norwegian or Scandinavian in origin and is a contraction of "*Somorlod*", which is still today a proper name of boys in some parts of the Highlands of Scotland. Now this word "*somorlod*" is derived from "*sommor*" which means "the sumer", that is to say, the time when the "sun" shines, and the word "*laeda*", which means a "robber" or "looter". This of course has reference to habits of the Scandinavian pirates sometimes called '*vikings*', who used to harry the coasts of Britian about fifteen hundred years ago. Now this word "*sommor*" comes from the root "*sa* or *sha*", which means "to shine", and this root is found in the Sanskrit word for "sun" in the form "*surya*", which means the shining thing and is probably in this particular instance connected with the Semitic root "*Shams*" which also means "the Sun" or "the Shining thing." This "*sa*" root may indeed be common to both the Aryan and the Semitic group of languages. In any case, the "*sa*" root appears in Sindhi in the forms "*siju*", the common Sindhi word for the "sun". Now the other word "*Laota*", is connected with the root which means "to lift" or "to take away" or "remove". This is of course found in the English word "Lift; and it appears in the Sindhi word "*lutan*" which means "to loot", or to "rob" or to "despoil". So philologically there is an exact correspondence between the name "Sorley" and the corresponding words in the Sindhi language. Therefore it would not be philologically wrong to transliterate "Sorley" into its Sindhi co-relative "*Sija jo Lutidaru*" or "*lutero*".

I have said in a previous lecture that languages are identified by those parts of them which are most firmly fixed. In most languages the verb is one language feature which is most resistant to change. Now the verb in Sindhi is formed on the complete Aryan present, past and future tenses. It has not got the Arabic system, where there is no future tense in the real sense of the word. For in Arabic an action is regarded only from two points

of view, either complete or incomplete. In the Aryan languages, however, this is not the system and there is a clearly developed future tense, specially used for indicating things that have not yet happened.

I have no time to do more in this address than to indicate one or two features of the verb and I shall make my illustration of the past tense. The past tense in Sindhi follows exactly the Sanskrit model. It has always been a puzzle to me why in Sanskrit and in language derived from Sanskrit the past tense was evolved in the particular way in which it prevails. But in complete contrast with the present tense and the future tense, where the subject remains in the nominative case and the active verb agrees in gender and number with the subject, the system of the past tense takes another form of structure entirely. There the agent does not appear in the nominative case, but in the instrumental and the action of the example of Latin, which has both forms, but where the nominative case for the subject of a verb in the past tense prevailed as the predominant form of expression of the past tense, and the instrumental case, though used, was used only in particular way. For example, on the present tense "Balbus builds a house" or "*Balbus domum aedificat*," and in the future tense "Balbus will build a house" is "*Balbus domum aedificabit*". Now in Latin the past tense is formed on a similar model; "Balbus built a house" is "*Balbus domum aedificavit*," which is quite regular. But in Latin the instrumental form was also possible and was used. So the sentence "Balbus built a house" was capable of expression in the form in which the past tense is expressed in the Sanskrit languages, namely, "*A Balbo domus aedificata fuit*", or putting it in the neutral form, "*A Balbo domo aedificatum fuit*," or literally "to the house by Balbus there was building". Now this is the manner in which the past tense is formed in Sindhi. The other form is "*A Balbo domus aedificata fuit*". But it is not quite clear to me whether both these two forms of the past tense in the instrumental are in use. I think they are, but I have not been able to verify this and I find that Sindhis themselves are vague in the precise point which I shall illustrate. "He built a house". This is either "*huna gharu thahio*" or "*huna ghara thahia*". Now if "*ghar*" has a pesh "*gharu*", it is the first form of the two given in Latin, and if it has a 'zabar' it is the second form of the two given in Latin. So if the form is "*ghara*" with a zabar, this means that it is the dative

case exactly like "domo" in Latin and the expression is "*huna* (by him) *ghara* (to the house) *thahio* (there was building)". On the other hand, if it is "*gharu*" with a pesh, the corresponding form is *huna* (by him) *gharu* (the house) *thahio* (was built), the pure passive form with the subject agreeing with the verb, I am not aware that this problem of the past tense has ever been scientifically examined. But it is one of many grammatical puzzles which are very well illustrated in the Sindhi language. In the time at my disposal today, I cannot hope to cover all the ground which I meant to do and must reserve more of my observations for another address. When, however, I was speaking on historical influences on the vocabulary of Sindhi, I mentioned as characteristic of the genius of the language the extraordinary development of auxiliary and enclitic verbs. I mentioned also the power of the language in its wealth of proverbs. I propose in the rest of this lecture to say something on these two subjects.

A very interesting case is the expression "*Chayo manan*" or "*Karan*", which means "to obey". This word "*Chayo*", which is the same as the third person singular of the past tense of "*Chawan*", "to say" which corresponds to the Hindustani "*Kehna*", is used in this expression as the passing the meaning being "having been said so" to obey "is following the thing that has been said" or "doing thing that has been said". This use of the gerund is further exemplified in the adjectival phrase meaning obedient "*Chaiwan*" where the word "*Chai*" is the inflected form of "*Chayo*", so that "the obedient person" is the one "who does by the thing that has been said." The gerund is very well developed in Sindhi and hundreds of examples could be given to show the manner in which it is used to express great niceties of meaning and to form one of the methods by which a possible sense is conveyed by means of an active form of the verb. Sindhi has developed the use of certain auxiliary and enclitic verbs to an extraordinary degree. It is in this respect as highly developed as modern French. It is instructive to see the use of these enclitic verbs with a common word like "*Dil*" meaning "heart" or "Mind". "*Dil Kadhan*" means to "yearn" or "long for", "*Dil Wathan*" to "honour" as of pleasing child. "*Dil Hanan*" means to "hesitate". "*Dil jhalan*" means to "take heart" or "be patient", "*Dil Lagain*" means to "apply mind", to set one's heart on a thing, to be attentive. Take another common word "*Dam*" meaning "breath" or "air", "which we find in the word "*Adam*" and "*Admi*" meaning

the "creature endowed with breath", that is "the living thing" "*Dam Bharan*" is literally to "fill a breath". It means to "have a *whiff* of a thing". In the passive form "*Dam Bharjan*" means "to be puffed up with pride" or to be "short of breath", like a runner who has exhausted himself in a race. "*Dam Jhalan*" means "to be brave" or "self possessed" "*Dam Diyan*", to "give the breath", has a variety of meanings, It mean "to die", "wheedle" has in getting better of a person by means of flattery or chicanery, to "deceive" and to "leave food in a pot to *simmer*". "*Dam Wathan*", " to take breath", literally means to "rest one self". "*Dam Hanan*" literally to "force" or make use of the breath means to "bast". The idiomatic nature of the Sindhi language is bound up with the use of common nouns with these anclitic or helping verbs.

They can be learnt only by practice and by speaking the language. The study of them would afford a facsinating line of enquiry for persons interested in examining the way in which language is used to express fine gradations of meaning.

Another most attractive feature of the Sindhi language is its richness in proverbial expressions, often of considerable honour. For example, "in what sort of garden are you radish? "meaning, you are a person of no consequence," you are a poor creature not worth worrying about." The expression "*Tako Dei Tando Kanain*" literally means to "give half an anna for bringing a live coal" or on ember. This expression is idiomatically used for describing a person who is both extravagant and indolent or one who becomes unnecessarily vain or conceited. "*Pah ji badhan pahinji chhoran*," literally "tying things one self and lossening things one self," means, to do anything exactly according to one's own fancy and not to listen to the advice of other people." In the experssion "*Chandia Masi -huan*" there is a reference to the enmities of the two Baluch tribes of the "*Chandias*" and the "*Magsis*". The expression means to "be at daggers drawn with a person" and the phrase itself is a kind of side- light upon Sindhi history. A homely expression is "*dal mekuchh kala ahe*" there is something bad in the "*dal*" which is the Sindhi equivalent of "there is a screw loose somewhere" or "there is something rotten in the state of Denmark". It is spoken of a case where a man is dissatisfied with a explanation, but does not understand its real nature and remains suspicious. The importance of agriculture in the life of Sindh has produced a great number of proverbial expressions connected with it. one such expression is "*na rabi*

*na kharif huan*", that is to say, "to have neither the spring crop nor the autumn crop", which means "to have no concern with the matter", "that one does not care." The English proverb; "This great world is a trouble" has its almost exact counter- part in Sindhi, "*Sansar maha Jar*" life is a big net full of worries and troubles or suspicious day, "to see one's star in the *ascendant*". There is a reference to some of the popular superstition of folk-lore in the phrase "*Kag udain*", which means "setting the crow in flight". The meaning of this is to look for signs of luck from the manner in which crow fly in the sky. And the secondary meaning is "tolong for a thing". There are very many superstitions in Sindh about birds and particularly whether they are seen first on the right or the left hand side. It is regarded as very bad luck if the blue roller "*chenn*" is seen for the first time on the left hand side of the observer. When this happens, the average Sindhi peasant will be sure that bad luck is going to come to him that day. The Sindhi expression "*Kanda Pokhan*", which means literally to "sow or cultivate thorns", means to "do evil" or to do harm to people by causing trouble and annoyance. A very homely expression in common use is "*kosi thaddi sahan*" literally to "feel or to suffer the hot and the cold". This means "to experience the ups and downs of life " and "to be accustomed to hardships". The Sindhi language is full of proverbial expressions of this simple nature within the experience of every one. When a camel sits down it bends its knee in a peculiar fashion. For this there is a Sindhi Idiom "*Khado Khoran*". "*Khoran*" is the ordinary word meaning to "fix or hammar down" so as to make secure, and "*Khado*" means a "chin", the jutting- out portion of the jaw. So this Sindhi expression is a vivid representation of the angular fashion in which camel sits down upon the ground. It does it in three very angular movements.

The camel plays a very large part in the economy of Sindh and there are many words which refer to the camel in all stages of its growth. The camle is of course regarded metaphorically as the stupid and obstinate creature against which wisdom can be little headway. In this sense, the camel has gone into the Sufi philosophy, which is well uderstood in many parts of the country, as the symbol for the obstinate and wayward human heart, which is unwilling to take a serious attempt to reach the truth. There is the Arab proverb that the sulkinness and supercilious expression of the camel is due to the fact that it is

the only creature which knows the hundredth name of God. Two other homely proverbs are "*Laddu Virhain*", which means to "divide or distribute Laddus", that is the sweet-meat ball which is very much appreciated. The meaning is to "celebrate a piece of good fortune", and "*Machhia Ma Kanda Kadhan*", literally "to take the back-bone" or "the spines out of the fish", the meaning of which is to "find fault with a person, in a trivial and petty kind of way, to make *nigging* criticisms" and generally to "disparage."

I give the English translation of ten common Sindhi proverbs which throw a light upon the manner of thought of the people and hinge at the kind of life which they live. One could spend many hours investigating the idioms of Sindhi, but in this small selection I have offered some idea of the manner in which the language is used by the common people. It has always struck me as remarkable how in Sindh there is no uneducated speech. The most illiterate man talks the language completely grammatically. He gets all the genders correct and the verb always agrees properly with the subject. This is very different from what one finds in Gujrat where Gujrati is spoken in very many ungrammatical ways and where often the differences are so great that people in the same part of the country do not find it very easy to understand each other. In Sindh this is quite untrue. Every one talks the language beautifully. It is a very remarkable fact.

1. A buffalo does not see its own blackness.
2. In hunger even onions are sweet.
3. A fool dances to the drums of strangers.
4. A diamond that falls in the dust loses nothing in value for it.
5. Drop by drop makes the tank.
6. For the camel, salt bush (*Iano*), for the horse, grain (*dano*) for the man, money (*nano*), for the beloved, respect (*mano*).
7. While the buffalo is still in the fields, it is useless putting out the miling pail.
8. A cat sees mice in its dreams.
9. Your own plain forer is better than the pilac of strangers.
10. In its own house a cat is a lion.

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Lecture given by Dr. H. T. Sorley in Senate hall, University of Sindh, old Campus on 23.3.1953.

## LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

K. A. Nilakanta

(A) Language of India (300. B. C. - A. D. 300)

Even before the advent of the Mauryas the linguistic tableau of India had assumed an extremely varied aspect. With the aryanisation of *the whole of Northern India and the Deccan plateau, the Old Indo-Aryan (Vedic) had undergone great changes in contact with the native languages of the Austro-Asiatic (Munda) and Dravidian families.* The Aryanisation was only superficial; *the native language groups still formed islands within the conquered territory and were bound to react on the language of the conquering class.* The effect of this reaction cannot yet be exactly measured but there is no doubt that *it led to the loss of certain Old Indo-Iranian sounds (z,Z) and the creation of the cerebrals.* With the gradual adoption of the Aryan tongue by sections of the conquered people, *the spoken language became different from the literary languages* and under its impact, the Old Indo-Aryan imbibed new phonetic tendencies, adopted new words and modified its grammar. It was at this stage that the language of the cultured classes (dikshita) stood aloof from the language of the common people. A statement in the Panchavimsā Brahmana (xvii,4) clearly brings out this difference between the two: a-durukta-vakyam duruktam ahuh a-dikshita dikshita-vacham vadanti, the Vratyas (the uninitiated) call a sentence difficult to utter, when a sentence is not difficult to utter, the uninitiated speak the language of the initiated'. Eastern India was inhabited by a very large number of the 'uninitiated' and *it was there that the spoken language became markedly different from the literary form of the Old Indo-Aryan.*

There were at the first stage at least three dialects-Northern of Northern-Western (Udichya) which still retained many of the archaisms of the Vedic as it was spoken in the land of the Vedic culture; Mid-Indian which was the language of the Madhyade'sa; and the Eastern which was the language of the

Prachya countries. *The language of the Vedic poetry (Chhandasa) had grown obsolete and was cultivated only by the priests. A new form of it, however, had come into existence, by way of compromise, by the incorporation of dialect elements which had already crept into the language.* This is Samskrita, described by Panini as *Bhasha* which, though an artificial vehicle of expression, became the polished language of intercourse and instruction in the Brahmanical schools. *It was certainly not the spoken language of the Udichya country where Panini was born. The spoken language had already started on an independent course.* The language thus regularised by Panini was gradually accepted by the whole Brahmanical world as the language of culture and became a powerful instrument of expression. Thus a language already obsolete in form became a living language for all time among the élite.

This did not interfere with the progressive evolution of the dialects which are grouped under the name Middle Indo-Aryan. The Middle Indo-Aryan had different stages of evolution. The first stage, which may be called Old Middle Indo-Aryan, had commenced before the advent of the Mauryas and continued upto about A. D. 200. It is represented mainly in the inscriptions of the Maurya and Kushana periods, in the language of the early Buddhist and Jaina canonical works and in the dialects used in such old dramas as the 'Sariputra-prakarana' of A'svaghosha and those of Bhasa. It should, however, be noted that although different dialects are found in these plays, they were not exactly the spoken language of the time, but already normalised forms suitable for literary purposes. *The second stage must have commenced towards the end of the period under consideration, that is about the third century.* It is represented by the literary Prakrits used in the dramas and described by the grammarians of later times. These Prakrits were the following: Magadhi, Sauraseni, Maharashtri, Avati, Pai'sachi, and some others, the first three being the most important. It is now admitted that these literary Prakrits do not all represent regional languages but are 'imitation dialects' meant for the stage.

• • The general characteristics of the Old Middle Indo-Aryan were in phonology; the assimilation of consonants due to the loss of root-sense, the tendency to pronounce open syllables, loss of the final consonants. There was also a development of



spirant pronunciation at a stage when the stops had become voiced but had not yet disappeared ('soka>sora>soa, nadi>nadi-nai). These spirants must have been in force between 200 B. C. and A. D. 200. So far as the morphology of the Old Middle Indo-Aryan is concerned the dual had disappeared in declension and the number of cases had been reduced.

Thus the dominant language of Maurya times was the Eastern dialect, the Magadhi, which, however deviates from the later Magadhi in the use of the dental /s/ instead of the palatal. This characteristic (palatal instead of dental /s/) is found in some of the inscriptions of the east which are almost contemporaneous with A'soka (the Ramgrah inscription has 'suta-nuka.....). This important deviation in the dialect of A'soka's eastern inscriptions is best explained as an archaism. The language of the court was already removed from the spoken language. Luders, however would explain it as the characteristic of Ardha-Magadhi and take the Eastern dialect not a Magadhi proper but as Ardha-Magadhi, the dialect spoken in the region between Magadhi except in its retention of r and s. It should not, however, be forgotten that the Eastern dialect of Asoka has l instead of r.

The inscriptions of post-Asokan times in Middle Indo-Aryan are numerous, but usually they are too fragmentary to give a clear picture of the dialects in which they are written. The Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela which is found in Orissa and is placed in the second century B. C. is markedly similar to the Western dialect of the A'sokan edicts. The language of the inscriptions of the Sanschi and Bharhut stupa also has the same western character (final-o instead, of-e). *The Kharoshthi inscriptions of the Kushana period, mostly found in the North-West, present not a unified language but a variety of tendencies.* They preserve all the three sibilants of Sanskrit (s, 's, sh) and retain the /r/. *For the nominative singular of words we have both -o (aramo, patiko, putro) and -e (kue, deya-dharme). It has been pointed out that forms in -e are mostly found in the inscriptions to the west of the Indus, while those in /o/ occur to the north and the south of the Indus.* The inscriptions of the Deccan (those of the Satavahanas and Ikshvakus) are also written in a Middle Indo-Aryan dialect of the Western variety, retaining /r/, and using /s/ throughout, while the /-a/ bases have -o (Nasik-rano, Nagarjunakonda ramino). They contain other

characteristic also which might be owing to the influence of the cultural traditions of the donors cf. Nagārjuna-konda-g-> (kothakaritka, pukiya also pugiya), gh> kh (sukhaya) and s> h (hamghana).

Two literary \*dialects came into existence in this period and were used by the Buddhists and the Jainas as the vehicles of their cononical literature. One is the Magadhi of the Buddhist texts and the other the Ardha-Magadhi of the Jaina texts. So far as this Magadhi of the earliest Buddhist canon is concerned there is no doubt that it was similar to the Eastern dialect used in the inscriptions of A'soka. In the Bhabra edic some of the texts belonging to this canon are named in their original forms as: Vinayasa-mukase, Aliyavasani, Anagatabhayani, Munigatha, Moneyasute, Upati sapasine and Laghulovade. The relic of this canon and its language are found as survivals in later Buddhist literature.

In the post-A'sokan period Pali came to be used as an important literary language among the Buddhists. Although the Ceylonese tradition would identify it with Magadhi, it is clear that it cannot be Magadhi. The main characteristics of Magadhi, as we have seen, are: mutation of every /r/ into /l/ and every /s/ into /'s/, the ending -e in the nominative singular masculine and neuter of -a stems and the consonantal stems inflected like them. Pali, however, retains the /r/ as a general rule, possesses only /s/, and ends the nominal forms mentioned above with /-o/ and /-am/. These are features of the Western Prakrit as found to some extent in the Girnar version of A'sokan edicts. Pali, however, represents a somewhat later stage. There are also traces of other dialects, especially of Magadhi and Ardha-Magadhi in Palli.

The Jainas make use of the Ardha-Magadhi in their oldest cononical text. This dialect retains /r/ and /s/, and end the nominative singular of masculine nouns in /-e/, like Magadhi. The Jaina Ardha-Magadhi, however, is younger than the Magadhi of the oldest Buddhist texts. Later on, when the centre of Jainism was shifted to the west, it came under the influence of Western dialects and the language, now much altered, came to be regarded as a form of Maharashtri.

In the Buddhist texts we find the trace of another Middle Indo-Aryan dialect. It is found in the fragments Dhammapada which were discovered in Khotan. It is written in a Kharoshthi

script of about the second century A. D. In this language a surd following a sonant following a nasal loses its articulation (paga, athagi'o, saga) and a nasal group with sonant cerebral is reduced to a nasal (kunala, dana). The final vowels /-e/ and /-o/ are often reduced to /-i/ and /-u/. These characteristics connect it with the dialect spoken in the north-western frontier provinces in that period.

In the Buddhist literature we find still another language which is usually called Mixed Sanskrit. It is found in such texts as the Mahavastu and the Lalitavistara. It is also found in some inscriptions of Mathura of about beginning of the Christian era. We find in its side by side dialectical and Sanskrit inflections. The language is not, as is usually supposed, a corrupt Sanskrit. It represents an ill-regulated attempt to give literary form to a Middle Indo-Aryan dialect.

A trace of the Old Middle Indo-Aryan is also found in some of the dramas of A'svaghosha and Bhasa. The fragment of a drama of Asvaghosha entitled Sariputraprakarana was discovered from Central Asia. There are traces in it of three old dialects: Magadhi, in which /s/ and /r/ are replaced by /'s/ and /r/; Old 'Sauraseni, in which intervocalic consonants are retained, /n/ is not cerebralised and /y/ is not replaced by /j/; some traces of the Ardha-Magadhi. These dialects are more archaic than the literary Prakrits. They may belong to the third century. Three different dialects, --Sauraseni, Magadhi and Ardha- Magadhi, are used in these dramas. Some of the peculiarities of the Sauraseni of these dramas are: >l, jn--nn (nn), ny>nn, udy--uyy, ry--yy. In some cases they show agreement with Pali rather than with the later literary Prakrits.

Tradition would place the composition at this time of an epic, the Brihatkatha in a dialect called Paisáchi. The author Gunadya was a contemporary of King 'Satavahana and lived in the South. He chose to write in the dialect spoken by the Pi'sachas (Paisachi). As the original work has not come down to us we do not know what this language was like. But there is no doubt that the work did exist, for its Sanskrit adaptations, the Brihatkathaslokasamgraha, Brihatkatha-manjari etc., have been preserved. The name of the author also has been recorded by many writers. Pai'sachi as described by the grammarians of later times (g>k, gh> kh, j>c, d>t, dh>th, v>b, p) agrees to some,

extent with the dialects of the North-West and hence Grierson located it in that region. This location, however, is not beyond doubt and conflicts with a number of traditions- some of the grammarians placing this dialect in the South. The language of the inscriptions of Nagarjunakonda also presents some similar characteristics. We are in no position, in fact, to make a precise geographical location.

The domain of the Middle Indo-Aryan extended very far in this period. It is found in a large number of documents of Chinese Turkestan. These documents, written in the Kharoshthi script of about the third century A. D., were discovered at Niya and Endere near Khotan and at Lou-lan (Kroraina) near Lob-nor. It had spread therefore along the southern kindoms of Eastern Turkestan up to the frontier of China. As the largest number of documents came from Lou-lan (Kroraina), this language also has been named Krorainic . As the documents in which it is found are official papers, it is certain that the language was understood by the people and was not very different from the spoken language of the period. Its characteristics to some extent agree with those of the language of the Kharoshthi dhammapada and to a large degree with those of the language of the inscriptions of the Kushana period found in the North-West. Its home therefore must have been in the north-western part of India. As it was not a literary language but one of practical use, it indicates a more advanced stage of evolution than many of the literary Prakrits.

In the South and the North-West, Middle Indo-Aryan continued to be the language of the inscriptions up to the third century. But classical Sanskrit also was slowly establishing itself in certain regions. Since the time of Panini, Sanskrit was being cultivated in the Brahmanical schools and other grammarians --Katyayana, who belonged to the Maurya, and Patanjali, who belonged to the Sunga period, - tried to maintain its high standard. But the impact of the Middle Indo-Aryan on this language was great, and is discernible in the language of the epics, Dharmasastras and the older Puranas, which belonged to this age. This impact of the Middle Indo-Aryan led to the simplification of the grammar and the enrichment of the vocabulary by the inclusion of dialectal words in Sanskritised forms. Borrowings were also made from the pre-Aryan languages, Austric- and Dravidian. Sanskrit began to be used as

medium of a new literature from the beginning of the Christian era.

Aśvaghoṣa was probably the first to use Sanskrit for the composition of dramas and a new type of epic, which strictly belongs to what is known as Classical Sanskrit literature. Some of the Buddhist schools (Sārvastivāda, Mūla-Sārvastivāda) adopted it and wrote their canonical literature in it. From the middle of the second century A. D. the Sakas of Western India became great patrons of this language and of the new literature written in it. They were the first to introduce Sanskrit in inscriptions. Rudradaman and his successors issued their charters in this language. Rudradaman himself boasts of having composed literary works in Sanskrit (sphuṭa- laghu -madhura -chaitrakanta-Sabda -samayodara -lambakṛita -gadya -padya-). The rulers of this dynasty use titles like *śāmin*, *bhadrāmukha*, *sugrihitāman* and *raṣṭriya* for the first time, and these titles are found in classical Sanskrit dramas. As such titles are found in earlier literature, it is possible that it was under the patronage of these foreign rulers that Sanskrit drama was originated and the Classical Sanskrit shaped for - fine literary works.

These foreign adventurers were also responsible for carrying Sanskrit to foreign lands. The first Hindu colonists in Indo-China and Indonesia were in all likelihood these Sakas; this being the reason why Sanskrit was adopted in the very first royal charters in the Far East.

The Buddhist schools which adopted Sanskrit as their sacred language also carried Sanskrit to Eastern Turkestan in this period, and in the principal Kingdoms of that region (Khotan, Kucha etc). Sanskrit began to be cultivated in the Buddhist monasteries and became a subject for higher education.

Thus during the first three centuries of the Christian era classical Sanskrit firmly established itself in India and also conquered new lands in the Far East and Central Asia. The Sakas had shown the way by using Sanskrit in their inscription, and the Guptas only perpetuated the tradition when they came to power.

## THE ANCESTRY OF SINDHI

Jairamdas Doulatram

The evolution of the New Indo-Aryan Languages which include *Sindhi* has been traced by philologists through the following stages:-

(1) Before the Vedas were composed, there were various spoken dialects of what is known as the Old Indo-Aryan language.

(2) Those who composed the Vedas used a composite literary dialect based on some of the above spoken dialects of the period, which evidently, *were current in different regions* where the Indo-Aryan people had by then spread out and settled. These spoken forms of the Old Indo-Aryan have been termed "Primary" Prakrits by some philologists.

(3) These "Primary" Prakrits went on developing and changing in their own areas. A study of the inscription of Asoka (3rd century B. C.) has shown that the Indo-Aryan tongue had continued to evolve *through several dialects* in some of which the above inscriptions and those of some later rulers were written. The spoken forms of these dialects thereafter continued to evolve as "Secondary" Prakrits.

(4) But parallel with this evolution, one of the dialects came to be shaped and systematized by the learned and was given the form known to the world as Classical Sanskrit. This language, having been put into writing and its grammatical rules laid down, took a static form and has continued in that form upto today.

(5) Simultaneously, however, as mentioned above, the other dialects-sisters to the one from which Classical Sanskrit came to be shaped, continued their evolution and reached a stage at which they are regarded as the spoken forms of the Middle Indo-Aryan language. *These several dialects were current*

*in different regions of Northern India*, and some of them, when fixed in the literary form, came to be known as Prakrits, one of them acquiring the status of classical Prakṛta.

(6) The last phase of the Middle Indo-Aryan as a literary language is known as Apabhraṃśa. From the Apabhraṃśa stage of the Middle Indo-Aryan have developed the New Indo-Aryan languages, each in its own area.

(7) It will be seen from what has been stated above that the New Indo-Aryan languages *prevalent in different regions* of undivided India to the north of the Deccan have, generally speaking, as their predecessors, the Middle Indo-Aryan (through its last phase, the Apabhraṃśa) and the Old Indo-Aryan in this ascending line. They continue, even upto today, to evolve and change, as a result of contact and interaction among themselves and with other languages. At the same time Classical Sanskrit also continued to be a medium of expression in literature, but in the fixed form created several centuries before the Christian Era. It has also continued to influence the development of the other languages of the country in varying degrees.

(8) The history of the evolution of the languages of Northern India has also shown that, at various stages, one or other Prakrit or Apabhraṃśa owing to religious, political or literary factors, acquired an inter-regional status and currency and, together with Sanskrit, became the literary medium over a large area, influencing other neighbouring and co-existing dialects or acquiring special phonetic or grammatical characteristics in certain neighbouring regions owing to sub-racial vocal peculiarities and other causes.

Markandeya, who lived in the 17th century and belonged to Orissa, has classified the languages he has dealt with in his *Prakṛtsarvasva* into four main categories: Bhaṣa, Vibhaṣa, Apabhraṃśa, and Paisaci. According to him, the Bhaṣas were: Maḥarashtri, Sauraseni, Pracya, Avanti, Magadhi. The Vibhaṣas were: Sakari, Chandali, Sabari, Abhirika, Takki. The Apabhraṃśas were: Nagara, Vracada, Upanagara. The Paisaci was of three kinds: Kekaya Paisaciki, Saurasena Paisaciki and Pancala Paisaciki. Indian philologists do not take the classifications of the Prakrit grammarians as giving an exact picture of the position. In the circumstances of the period in which they lived, these grammarians had to deal with their subject

in the absence of intimate study of the detailed philological data relating to languages of distant regions now available to linguists. In the result, their information was often incomplete and fragmentary. For instance, we do not know what they actually meant by Bhasa, Vibhasa and Apabhramsa and what was, in their view, the exact relationship of these with each other. Their classifications are helpful to us in giving occasional light into a tangled linguistic situation.

Markandeya has dealt with the above-mentioned languages in separate sections and he states, in the section 18th relating to Vracada, that the Vracada Apabhramsa had originated in the Sindhu Desa.<sup>(1)</sup> This statement is on the same lines as an earlier statement of Ramatarkavagisa, another grammarian of Orissa, who also lived in the 17th century. In his *Prakrtakalpataru*, he has dealt with Vracada in 4 sutras and begins with the statement that "the Apabhramsa Bhasa called Vracada is current in Sindhu Desa." The term "Sindhu Desa" has been applied to different parts of the Indus valley in different periods of India's history. The "Sindhu Desa" of the early Sanskrit literature, has been generally identified with parts of the *middle* Indus Valley situated in West Punjab and the southern portion of the old N. W. Frontier Province, now in Pakistan. "Sindhu" and "Sauvira" have generally been held to be contiguous regions and are often mentioned together, sometimes as one composite State.

Panini (5th century B. C.) in illustrating the naming of products by the place of their origin, mentions *Sauvira* as the name of a 'sour drink' of the people of Balhika, evidently identifying Sauvira with Balhika which would be in north Punjab.

*Sauviranjana* (antimony), very popular in Sindh and the Punjab and also in use elsewhere in India, was another name for *Traikakudanjana* (Panini V. 4. 147) obtained from the Triakud mountain (Sulaiman mountain) which stretches from Dera Ghazi Khan to Dera Ismail Khan, both to the north of present Sindh. *Anjana* was not a local product of the lower Indus valley region known now as Sindh.

The *Mahabharata* (2nd century B. C) gives in the Drona Parva a description of the successful penetration through the Kuru forces by Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna and of their crossing the region

1. Also See Grierson, G. A. Article: Vrachada, published in. JRAS, 1902, p. 47.



obstructed by the weapons of Drona and coming close to Jayadratha whom Arjuna wanted to reach and kill. It is then said that "all creatures regarded Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna as having forded the five rivers (Satadru, the Vipasa, the Ravati, the Chandrabhaga and the Vitasta) having the Sindhu for the sixth, when full of water during the rainy season and abounding in large alligators". They found that Jayadratha was not then far off from them. The description would seem to suggest that the country of "the ruler of the Sindhus" could be reached only after crossing the above five rivers and arriving at the Indus of those days. Thus "Sindh" of the *Mahabharata* lay much to the north of present Sindh of the lower Indus valley where none of the above five rivers flows.

The *Mahabharata* (2nd century B. C) mentions *Mathita* as a favourite drink of the people in the Vahika country, which according to Patanjali (2nd century A. D) was sold in the bazaars of its towns. Balhika or Vahika has been indentified with country between Bias and Suttlej, north of Kekaya with Sakala (Sialkot?) as its capital (*Kavyamimamsa* by Rajasekhara, edited by Dalal and Sastri, p. 308)

The Buddhist work *Dighanikaya* (Pali Text Society edition Vol. II, 235) mentions Rauraka as the capital of Sovira (Sauvira). Sovira was one of the seven Mahajanapadas of the time. The *Aditta Jataka* (Jat. III, 470) mentioned Roruka as the capital of Sovira. Roruka or Roruka has been identified with Arore, a city of north Sindh and the famous capital of the Sindhi Rajput empire which extended to the boundaries of Iran, Kashmir, Kanauj, Rajasthan and Saunashtra in the sixth and seventh centuries A. D. Arore was a populous and prosperous city, a great centre of trade, being an important river port on one of the main trade routes, by land and water, between Central and Western Asia and the northern and eastern zones of India. According to the *Vimanavatthu* commentary of the Jatakas, the people of Anga (the region of the Bhagalpur district in Bihar) used to go with many caravans to trade with Soviradesa. If this identification of Raraka with Arore is correct, Sauvira, during or possibly before the Maurya age (324-186 B. C) and upto the 11th century A. D. must have included a part of northern Sindh of the present day. At the time of the *Milindapanha*, it might have extended south to the sea, for it is stated therein that ships often touched the country of Sauvira for purposes of trade. The *Divyavadana*, a Buddhist text, however, contains a story which, in the course of

explaining how Bharukachha was given its name, refers to Rudrayana, a king of Roruka in Sauvira and so Rhys Davids, in his book *Buddhist India*, places Sauvira on the shore of the once existing inlet of the sea between Kachh and the mainland. Hemakosa (IV, 26) says Sauvira is identical with Kunalaka.

The Girnar inscription (150 A. D.) of Rudradaman of Ujjayini (Ujjain) describes him as being an object of devotion to the people of the countries of Purva and Aparā Akaravanti, Anupabhr̥t, Anarta, Surastra, Svabhra, Maru, Kaccha, Sindhu-Sauvira, Kukura, Aparanta, Nisada and others. The association of Sindhu-Sauvira with some of the above countries would suggest that probably it controlled or included the lower Indus valley also in 150 A. D.

The commentator (later than 3rd century A. D.) of the Kamasutra (3rd century A. D.) of Vatsyayana says: *Saindhavanamiti: Sindhunamanadas-tasya paścime Sindhudeśastatrabhavanam* (Benaras Edition, 295) i.e. "Sindhudeśa" was to the west of the Indus.

The author of the *Matsya Purana* (275-300 A. D.?) names the fifteen countries through which the Sindhu river flows. He starts with "Sindhu", then mentions Darada as the second, Gandhara as the fourth and Saindhava as the tenth, ending with Maru as the thirteenth and Sukurda as the fifteenth country. The *Vayu Purana* includes "Sindhu-Sauvira" in the northern region, mentioning it in association with Gandhara and Yavana on the one side and Madra and Saka on the other.

The *Visnu Purana* (earlier than 4th century A. D.) says (Book II, Chap. III sl: 16-18) that "Sauviras and Saindhavas were residents of Sakala" which has been identified with the region wherein Sialkot of the Panjab is situated. Another reading of these *ślokas* would place Sauviras and Saindhavas with Salvās Sakalas, Madras, and Hunas in the extreme west.

Varahamihira (5th cent. A. D.) in the *Brhat Samhita* mentions both "Sindhu-Sauvira" and a second "Sindhu" as among the countries in the south-west region.

Yuan Chwang, the Chinese pilgrim (mid. 7th century A.D.), "proceeding north from Kiucha-lo (Gujjara?) for 1900 li (i.e. about 19 days' journey), had to pass through wild deserts and dangerous defiles and crossing the river Sin-tu (Sindhu) he came

to the kingdom of Sindh". The Sindh of Yuan Chwang was thus to the west of the then course of the Indus. He further states that "They find here a great quantity of salt, which is red like cinnabar, also white salt, black salt and rock salt. In different places, both far and near, this salt is used for medicine". There is no source in present Sindh of red or black salt or rock salt, which is found in the Panjab. The people of present Sindh themselves call this rock salt (not found in their own region) by the name of "Sendho lunu" i.e. Sindhi salt (Sendho being a local variation of the word Saindhava). This shows that at the period when this salt was, for the first time, so termed by the people of present Sindh, the region of rock salt (*which lay out side present Sindh*) must have been known as Sindh, or been a part of the country *then* known as Sindh.

Rajasekhara (9th-10th century, A. D.) in the *Kavyamimamsa* places Sindhu-Sauvira in the *northern* region, which according to him was above Prthudaka in modern Karnal district. Rajasekhara separately mentions Brahmanavaha [Bamanvas of *Prithviraj Rasau* (13th century) and Brahmanabad of Arabic and Persian writers] as a Janapada (State) in the western region, but he includes the river Sindhu among the rivers of the *northern* region. Among the rivers of the western region right up to the ocean, he does not mention the "Sindhu", though in the territory of modern Sindh, the river acquires its greatest volume, having received the united waters of the five rivers of the Panjab some miles above the border of Sindh, and flows down the *lower* Indus valley into the ocean as a mighty river. Is it that, in his time, the territory of the *lower* Indus valley had not yet acquired, in the literature of the rest of the country, the name of Sindh and the river in that region was more known by its local name Mahran (Skt. *Mahamava* or, in Prakrit, *Mahannavo* i.e. great waters or the sea)?

Al-Biruni (11th cent. A. D.) in *Tahqiq-al-Hind*, writes of Multan as being in "Sindh" (Sachau's Alberuni Vol. II, pp. 8-9) and he identifies "Sauvira" with Jharawar (Ibid Vol. I, p. 202) and places the latter near the junction, in his days, of the Jhelum and the Chenab, about fifty miles above Multan (*Mihran of Sindh* by Raverty, p. 219).

Al-Biruni calls modern Sindh Mansurah, meaning the region of the *lower* Indus valley of which Mansurah

(Brahmanabad or Brahmanavaha, according to Rajasekhara), was then the Capital.

Al-Biurni refers to Arore also as 'a town of Sindh' (Sachau's Alberuni Vol. I, 260). Al-Biruni himself visited Multan and resided there for some time and must be assumed to have reliable local knowledge of the current names of the regions round about Multan. It would, therefore, appear that in his days both Multan area and the *northern* part of present Sindh were known as Sindh.

Markandeya, and Ramatarkavagisa have given no indication as to which part of the Indus Valley they had in mind when they used the term "Sindhudesa." Grierson has expressed the view that probably Southern Panjab was the region of the Upanagara (L. S. I, Vol. I, p. 126). If this view is correct and if, according to Markandeya, Upanagara was a mixture of Nagara and Vracada, and Nagara prevailed in Gujarat, Rajasthan and nearby regions, Vracada must, obviously, have belonged to a region further to the west or north or north-west of Southern Panjab-the region of Upanagara. This would place the "Sindhu Desa" of Markandeya much to the north of the present day Sindh, the region of the *Sindhi* language known as such.

The very specific reference of Markandeya to "Sindhu Desa" has, however, led all philologists, from Pischel downwards, to hold the opinion that Sindhi, the language of the region of the *lower* Indus Valley to which, during the last few centuries, the term Sindh has been restricted- is *derived from Vracada*.

IV. In "The Linguistic Survey of India", Grierson has stated that "the immediate predecessor of Sindhi was an Apabhramsa Prakrit named Vracada, regarding which Markandeya gives us a few particulars" (Vol. I, p. 136). He states again that "We have the express statement of the Prakrit grammarian Markandeya [xviii, i] that the Apabhramsa Prakrit spoken in Sindh was called Vracada. It is from this that Sindhi is derived. Markandeya gives a few particulars regarding the Apabhramsa" (Vol. VIII, Part I, p. 9). In an earlier reference to the subject, Grierson has made the statement, that "the Vracada Apabhramsa form of Prakrit was spoken in Sindh".<sup>(1)</sup> (Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1902, p. 47). Later Indian philologists have also made similar statement, relying

1. He means modern Sindh.

either in Grierson or his predecessor Pischel (*Prakrit Grammar*) or on their independent study of Markandeya. All these various statements are based on the *sutra* of Markandeya that "Vracada Apabhramśa has its origin in Sindhu Desa".

V. In view of these statements, it is necessary to know exactly what Markandeya has said in regard to Vracada. The first Prakrit grammarian to make a specific reference to Vracada (not mentioning Sindh) was Purusottama (*Prakrtanusasana*, 11th century A.D.). Kramadisvara (*Samksiptasara*, 12th-13th century A.D.) and Ramatarkavagisa (*Prakrtakalpataru*, 17th century) followed him but as Markandeya's reference is to most detailed and he has given more illustrations of the Vracada vocabulary, it is best to consider what Markandeya has said about Vracada. He deals with it in the 18th section of his Prakrtasarvasva. This is a small section of twelve sutras and help the clarification of the question, I am giving it here in full.<sup>1</sup>

"(And), Now (we describe) the Vracada (Apabhramśa).

(1) *Vracada is to be derived from the Nagara (Apabhramśa).*

*The Vracada Apabhramśa has its origin in the Sindhu Desa. Whatever other special characteristics of Vracada are not (given here), should be gathered from the Nagara Apabhramśa.*

(2) 'y' may precede 'c' and 'j'. (Examples) ycalai, yjalai.

(3) 's' and 'ś' may become 'ṣ'. (Examples) Maṇuṣo, daso.

(4) *Excepting in those included in the 'bhritya' class, 'r' and 'ṛ' are to preserve their original form.*

Excepting in 'bhritya' and other, 'r' and 'ṛ' remain in their original form. (Examples) pranaharu, krvanu. In the case of 'bhritya' and others: (the words become) bhicco, niccarh, kiccam, kicca.

(5) *Initially (i.e., when occurring at the commencement of a word), 't' and 'd' become 'ṭ' and 'ḍ' optionally.* (Examples) 'ṭaviyjai, damano; alternatively: taviyjai, damano.

(6) *'saiva' optionally becomes 'soyji'.* (Examples) 'soyji' 'sayjeva'.

1. The Sutra are given in italics and the author's own commentary is in ordinary type.

The words inside the curved brackets have been added to make the sense clear.

(7) 'Khadga' becomes 'khandu'. (Example) 'khanduem hanasi'.

(8) 'bhū', becomes 'bho' when not preceded by 'pra' and others (i.e. upasargas). (Example) bhodi.

(Example) When preceded by an upasarga, 'pahavai'.

(9) 'vrs; become 'vah'. (Example) 'vahadi'.

(10) 'bru' becomes 'bro'. (Example) 'brodi'.

(11) The rest from Sanskrit according to subject of treatment.

*This (is) the Vracada Apabhramśa.*

(2) When there exists a mixture of these (i.e. Nagara and Vracada) that should be understood as Upanagara.

This which is a mixture of Nagara and Vracada Apabhramśa:

'Varisai meghi channa karida durasa ddāvattam',

dūre 'sama ami guna erisa misapaattam. (?)

This (is) the Upanāgara Apabhramśa"]

In the above extract from the *Prakītasarvasva*, we have the only reference by Markandeya to "Sindhu Deśa" and so this extract is the basis for the conclusion drawn by Pischel, Grierson and others as to the 'ancestry' of the language known, at present, as *Sindhi*.

VI. We shall, therefore, examine, in detail, Markandeya's complete reference to Vracada.

Firstly, Markandeya has made the definite statement that Vracada is to be derived from the Nagara Apabhramśa. In this he has followed Ramatarkavagisa (*Apabhramśa stabakas*, 1), who himself has relied on an earlier source for this view. Now Nagara Apabhramśa was "the Apabhramśa of Gujarat and the neighbouring countries and, in various dialects, extended over the western half of India, excepting the extreme north-west" (Linguistic Survey of India Vol. I, Part I-126). It is thus from the language of the above area that, according to Markandeya, Vracada was derived. *Some philologists, inferring from Purusottama (11th cent: A.D.) have held the view that Vracada*

was the earlier and basic Apabhramsa and its Nagara form spread to parts of U.P., Rajasthan and North Gujarat. The spread of a language to other areas results from the political, religious or cultural domination of its speakers over the people of those other areas. No such factor operated in favour of "Sindhu desa" in respect of the above regions, so far as can be gathered from the ascertained facts of history of both the zones during the Apabhramsa period. Secondly, Markandeya, mentions the distinguishing feature of Vracada and proceeds to say "whatever other special characteristics of Vracada are not given here, should be gathered from the Nagara Apabhramsa". This would seem to suggest that apart from the nine peculiarities Markandeya has specified, the Vracada language should be taken to be more or less the same as Nagara. Vracada, hence, was, according to Markandeya's account, a variant of Nagara and the difference lay only in a few changes in pronunciation, the grammatical base being the same. In *sutra* 11, Markandeya, has said: "The rest from Sanskrit according to the subject of treatment", indicating the Vracada was derived from Sanskrit through Nagara. Ramatarkavagisa has been fuller in his statement and says that "any other (roots) are provided for by Sanskrit and by the Sauraseni and Maharastri Bhasas".

VII. I will now deal briefly with each special characteristic of Vracada as specified by Markandeya.

#### 1. "y" may precede 'c' and "j."

Markandeya has given two examples: 'calai' in Prakrit (Skt. calati) meaning walks or moves, becomes 'ycalai' in Vracada. The equivalent words for walks or moves in Sindhi are 'caletho', 'curetho', 'haletho', derived from the verbs 'calanu', 'curanu', and 'halanu', to walk or move. From the same root 'calanu', there are other words in Sindhi, with an unmixed, unchanged and clear 'c' pronunciation, e.g. 'cala', gait, pace, conduct, custom, way, a move (in chess); 'calaku', active, smart, dexterous, clever; 'calu', current, moving; 'calano' or 'calano', departure (from this life); 'calau', and 'calanu', conduct, behaviour; 'calati', custom, habit, currency; 'calto', sleight of hand; 'calgati', behaviour, demeanour, conduct. In all these words, based on the root 'cal' or 'calanu', 'c' remains unchanged and does not become 'yc'.

The second example given by Markandeya is that 'jalai' in Prakrit (Skt. jvalati) meaning burns, becomes 'yjalai' in Vracada.

The Sindhi equivalents of 'burns', however, are 'jaletho' or 'baretho', derived from the verbs 'jalanu' and 'baranu', to burn. The other words in Sindhi from the root 'jalanu', with an unmixed, unchanged and clear 'j' pronunciation are: 'jalau', suitable or meant for burning (as fuel); 'jalani' or 'jalani', burning, envy, spite, the smarting of a wound or sore; 'jalini' envy, jealousy, grudge; 'jalainu', to burn (transitive verb); 'jalawata', burning. Sindhi also has the verbs 'jaranu' and 'jaranu' with the same meaning as 'jalanu', the change of l into r being a feature of linguistic change common to several languages. Based, evidently, on this root and with j replaced by the implosive j', there are the words: 'jara' meaning, strong burning heat of a fire; 'jaratanu', to scorch or singe; 'jarata', or 'jarato' scorch; 'j'ero', fire; 'j'erata', fire, flame. There is, however, no word like 'jalai' or even 'jaletho', meaning burns, in Sindhi.

Markandeya has mentioned the same rule as applicable also to Magadhi. In the section dealing with Magadhi in the *Prakrtasarvasva*, he says; "*ca-ja-yor upari yas syat*" (xii, 21). Dr. S. K. Chatterji has held the view that "*the ligature 'yc, yj' is undoubtedly a way of indicating a clear palatal affricate pronunciation, with the spirant glide, here represented by y, properly identified but placed before the letters denoting the original stop sounds*" (*The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Vol. I, 248). The Vracada words 'ycalai' and 'yjalai', which same words are also quoted by Markandeya as illustrations of similar Magadhi pronunciations of c and j, should have a palatal affricate pronunciation with the spirant glide. But the Sindhi equivalent words given above have no feature of the spirant glide. Grierson held (*J.R.A.S.*, 1902) that the prefixation of y to c and j in the Vracada words might have been meant to indicate an implosive. He thought that yj indicated the implosive j but he admitted his inability to trace any pronunciation, implosive or other, in Sindhi which could be represented by yc. *In Sindhi, as will be, seen from the equivalents given above, both the ordinary j and the implosive j' occur initially in several words associated with the concept 'jalati'*. If, however, yj represented an implosive based on j, the Magadhi language should also have the same implosive, since the rule *ca-ja-yor upari yas syat* was considered by Markandeya, relying probably on an earlier authority, as applicable to both Vracada and Magadhi.



In the language of Dera Ghazi Khan and Multan (Lahndi and Siraiki dialects), there is a word j'ul or j'ulh, meaning '(you) walk' from j'ulanu, to walk. *If yc was meant to represent an implosive the Vracada word "ycalai" though based on c could be supposed to correspond to the word 'j'ulia', he walked. But this is not an indigenous word in Sindhi, though it is used by some of the people now resident in parts of northern Sindh whose ancestors had come from the Derajat or Multan.* If yc was intended to represent an implosive whether based on c or on j; there should be words like j'ul; j'ulia (walk, walked) also in Magadhi, as Markandeya has placed Vracada and Magadhi on the same basis in this respect. Ramatarkavagisa, who preceded Markandeya and whose *Prakrtakalpataru* had been read by Markandeya (he has quoted his list of twenty-seven varieties of Apabhramsa and has possibly, also borrowed his description of some of the peculiarities of Vracada) has limited the prefixation of the "semi-vowel" y to c and j only when they occur doubled i.e. as cc and jj. He says:- *antahstha-yadhara-gatau tu ca-jau vidhēyaudvitve* and gives the instances of the Nagara words (1) 'cchala' (Skt. cchala) becoming 'ycchala' and (2) 'rajje' (Skt. rajye) becoming 'rayjje'. In Sindhi the words are (1) 'cchalu' with a clear unchanged cch, (as in the Nagara and Sanskrit pronunciation) and (2) 'raj'a, and also the word 'raja'. *Again, in illustrating the characteristic of the initial d becoming d in Vracada,* Ramatarkavagisa mentions the exception of 'dasan' changing into 'dasana' in Vracada. In Sindhi, however, it becomes 'd' aha' (d' being an implosive). There is no word in Sindhi resembling 'dasana'.

## 2. "s' and 's' may become 'ś'."

Markandeya has given two examples of this also. (Skt.) 'manuśya' or 'manuśah', meaning man, becomes in Vracada 'manuso'. *There is no such word as 'manuso in the Sindhi language. The Sindhi words for man are 'manukhu', from Skt. 'manusya' and 'manukhu' from Skt. 'manush'.* Sindhi has two other words also 'manhu' and 'marhu' both from manuśah which in Prakrit became 'manusā' and 'manusa'. 'manukhu' and 'manukhu' are semi-tatsama words in Sindhi, showing medieval North Indian pronunciation of Skt. s as kh. The word 'varsā' is pronounced as 'varkha' in Sindhi; and so also Skt. vrsah, the sign Taurus of the Zodiac, has become 'virkhu' in Sindhi. *'manhu' and 'marhu' indicate the conversion of 's' and also 's' into 'h' as from*

Sanskrit, 'saś' (six), Prakrit 'cha' into Sindhi 'chaha', and Sanskrit 'dāsan' (ten), Prakrit 'dasa' into Sindhi 'd'aha'. The Sanskrit 'varsa' (year) had become 'varihu' and 'dāsan' become 'd'aha' in Sindhi before the 11th century, as recorded by Al-Biruni in his "*Tahqiq-al-Hind*" (p. 182), where he also comments that "the three sounds h, kh, and sh are very much confused in the mouth of the Hindus". *The intervocal sibilant 's' had become converted into 'h' in Sindhi before or by about 1000 A.D. as in several other New Indo-Aryan languages. Markandeya writing in the 17th century has mentioned the existence in Vracada of the word 'manuśo', whereas the Sindhi language must have adopted /h/ several centuries earlier.* The Sindhi language has (through the agency of Sanskrit and Hindi knowing writers and speakers of Sindhi) loaned, in recent times, from Sanskrit and Hindi literature the word 'manuś'-a fresh tatsama, not an indigenous tadbhava. This has no relation to 'manuśo' of the 17th or pre-17th century Vracada.

The second example given by Markandeya is that the Sanskrit word 'dasa' meaning slave, becomes in Vracada 'daso'. But in the Sindhi language the word is 'dasu' the s being retained, as s and not changed into ś.

3. "r" and 'r' are to preserve their original form, except in the case of words of the 'bhṛtya' class."

Markandeya has given two examples of this. 'pranaharu' (in Sanskrit 'taker of life or killer') remains in Vracada as 'pranaharu'. In the Sindhi language we have the word 'pranu' or 'piranu' meaning breath or life, as have some other New Indo-Aryan languages the word prana, both being modifications of the Sanskrit parana. In Sindhi there is also the verb 'haranu' but it is a recent semi-tatsama meaning 'to take or remove or steal'. But the word 'pranaharu' or 'piranaharu' is not used in Sindhi literature.

The further illustration given by Markandeya is that the word 'krvanu', (meaning sword) retains its form as 'krvanu' in Vracada. 'krvanu' is a Middle Indo-Aryan semi-tatsama form of the Sanskrit word 'krpana', sword or knife. Other forms of it are 'krivanu', 'kravanu'. These further changed into 'kavanu', 'kivanu' and 'kuvanu'. In Sindhi, however we have none of these words. nor the word kirpan, a Panjabi borrowing from Sanskrit. In Sindhi, we have the words 'kapu' a knife and 'kapanu' to cut Sanskrit 'krp',

to cut, Prakrit 'kapp') in which unlike what Markandeya has noted in Vracada, 'p' is not changed into 'v' and 'r' is not retained but elided. In Sindhi, the words for a sword are 'khadgu', 'khando', 'khano', 'kirchu' and 'bhad'u'.

4. Markandeya has, however, excepted the words included in the bhrtya class from the general rule of 'r' and 'r' being retained in Vracada. The bhrtya class words referred to are:

1. 'bhrtya', meaning slave or servant.
2. 'nrtya', dance.
3. 'kritya', action.
4. 'krtva', having done.

In regard to the above class of words, he says that 'r' and 'r' are not to preserve their original form and he has mentioned the changed forms of these words in the Vracada.

'bhrtya' becomes 'bhicco' in Vracada. There is no word in the Sindhi language meaning slave or servant which has any resemblance to 'bhicco'. The word 'bhicca', meaning servant, occurs in *Surasundarichariu* (Jain-vividhasahitya-'sastra-mala, Banaras) which is not a work in Sindhi language. The equivalent words in Sindhi are 'naukaru', 'cakaru', 'b'eli', 'tahilyo', 'b'anho' (slave).

'nrtya', Markandeya says, becomes 'niccam'. In the Sindhi language the words for dance are 'nirti' (probably a semi-tatsama derived from Sanskrit nrtya) and 'natu', 'natu' and also 'nacu' Sindhi tadbhava, also probably derived from 'nrtya', through the Middle Indo-Aryan 'nacca'.

Again 'krtya' action, he says, becomes 'kiccam' in Vracada. In Sindhi, we have 'kito', deed or action. 'karanu' means to do, 'kari' (you) do; 'kiyo', deed, did; 'kiji' or 'kaji' (you) should do and 'kiji' or 'kaji' should be done, both indigenous *tadhavas*, probably evolved from the Old Indo-Aryan kr. We also have 'kirtu' action, 'kirti', occupation, both probably borrowed semi-tatsamas. There are also the words 'kartutu' and 'kartuti' meaning deeds, generally in a bad sense, and the joint word 'kayo-karto' meaning action or deed. But there is no word like 'kiccam', meaning action, in Sindhi.

The last of the bhrtya class, that is 'krtva' having done, Markandeya says, becomes 'kicca' in Vracada. There is no such word in Sindhi, with the meaning "having done". For this, the

Sindhi equivalent is 'kare' from the verb karanu, to do, derived from the Sanskrit root kr.

5. When occurring at the commencement of a word 't' and 'd' become 't' and 'd'.

There are some instances in Sindhi (*as in some other New Indian Aryan languages*) of these changes, as in the case of 'tamrakah' (in Sanskrit), 'tamba' (in Hindi), becoming 'tamo' in Sindhi and 'danda' (in Sanskrit) becoming not 'danda' but 'd'andu' and 'd'ando' in Sindhi. But the words from Vracada which Markandeya has given as illustrations of this change do not belong to the Sindhi language. The first illustration he gives is of 'taviyjai' (in Sanskrit 'tapyate'), being heated. The Sindhi words for this expression are 'tapetho' and 'tapjetho; in which 't' is on the contrary, retained as 't' and 'p' is also retained as 'p'. The Sindhi root 'tap' is possibly derived from a modified Sanskrit root 'tap-ya' through the intermediary stage of 'tappa'. Other Sindhi words from the same root and beginning with 't' are 'tapanu', to heat, to be hot; 'tapati' heat; 'tapelo', a pan for frying; 'tapainu', to heat. The inflection 'tho' (Sanskrit 'te' or 'ti') is different from and not derivable from the end inflection of Vracada 'taviyjai'.<sup>(1)</sup> There is another series of words in Sindhi, having similar or allied meaning in which also 't' remains as 't' and is not changed into 't' and 'p' is not changed into 'v' but is elided altogether and 'y' is not retained but is changed into 'a'. Some of these words were in use in Sindhi during and before the 17th century when Markandeya wrote his Prakrtasrvasva. These words are 'tainu', 'taanu', to heat or to warm; 'tau', heat; 'tau' warmth from fire, radiations of heat; 'tauri', heat of the sun; 'tai', frying pan, 'tao', baking pan.

The second illustration given is of 'damano' (meaning bull, elephant, distress, one who controls himself) becoming 'damano' in Vracada. In Sindhi, 'damu', controlling oneself, does not become 'damu', but 'd' remains phonetically unchanged. 'damano' is not a Sindhi word.

6. "'saiva' optionally becomes 'soyji'" in Vracada. The examples given are 'soyji' and 'sa yjeva'. 'saiva' (sa-eva) means in Sanskrit, 'that very (man or thing)'. But in Sindhi, 'saiva' does not become either 'soyji' or 'sa yjeva'. The Sindhi equivalent is 'soi'. The 'v' is not changed into 'y' but is elided. That Markandeya's ligature 'yj' does not stand for the Sindhi implosive 'j', as

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<sup>1</sup> Tap-ya > taviy

mentioned in para VII-1 above, is clear from the fact that were it so, 'saiva' would become 'soj'i' in Sindhi. But there is no such word as 'soj'i' in old or modern Sindhi having the meaning of 'saiva', that very.

7. "'khadga' becomes 'khandu'."

'*khadga*' in Sanskrit means sword. Markandeya seems to have wrongly derived the Vracada word '*khandu*' from '*khadga*'. In Sindhi, the word '*khadg'u*', a sword, has retained its form except the usual change in Sindhi of 'ah' or 'a' into 'u' and 'g' into the Sindhi implosive g'. There is also the word '*khando*' not '*khandu*' in Sindhi meaning a sword. It is evidently derived from Sanskrit '*khand*', which has become '*khandā*' in Bengali, '*khandu*' in Vracada, '*khando*' in Sindhi and '*khado*' in Rajasthani. Another word in Sindhi for sword is '*khanō*', possibly a further change from '*khando*'. An allied word in Rajasthani is '*khang*'.

Markandeya quotes the expression '*khanduem hanasi*' i.e. 'kill with the sword' to illustrate the use of the word *khandu*. The words for 'kill' in Sindhi in the above context would be *mari*, *kuhu*. There is, in Sindhi the word *hanu* [strike, throw, cast, hit, shoot (an arrow), pitch (a tent), fix or drive in (a nail)]. It is, however, not used in the sense of 'kill' and the literature of the time of Markandeya or earlier period, so far available, does not also record such use.

8. "'bhu' becomes 'bho', when not preceded by 'pra' and other" (i.e. other upasargas)."

So '*bhavati*' meaning he becomes, from the root '*bhu*' to become, is changed in Vracada into '*bhodi*'. In Sindhi there is no word like '*bhodi*' with the above meaning. For 'he becomes' the words in Sindhi are '*thiyetho*' or '*banjetho*'. When preceded by an upasaraga e.g. '*pra*' (standing for excellence or strenght), that is when '*bhavati*' becomes '*prabhavati*' meaning 'he is able to', it is changed, in Vracada, into '*pahava*'. There is no word like '*pahavai*' in Sindhi. The word with an equivalent meaning is '*sagetho*' based on the Sindhi word '*sagha*' which is evolved from an older form '*saghata*' or '*sag'ati*', itself derived from Sanskrit '*sakti*'.

9. "'vrs' becomes 'vah'."

In Sanskrit '*vrs*' means 'to pour down' (as rain). According to Markandeya, it becomes '*vah*' in Vracada. Ramatarkavagisa

says 'vrs' becomes 'varha', in Vracada. But in Sindhi 'vrs' becomes 'vasa' or 'vassa' meaning rain, the verb being 'vasanu'. Here 's' is not changed into 'h' as happens in the case of 'vah' in Vracada but it is changed into 's'. The other words in Sindhi based on 'vrs' are 'vasainu' to cause to rain or pour or shower; 'vaskaro' shower of rain; 'varsa' rain 'varsaro' rainy season, (both *semi-tatsamas*). It will be noticed that, in all these words also, 's' is changed into 's' and not 'h' and 'r' though transposed, is retained in several of them.

Markandeya, while mentioning the change of 'vrs' into 'vah' in Vracada, has given the example of 'vahati' (from the root 'vrs') meaning in Sanskrit 'he carries', becoming in Vracada 'vahadi'. There is no such word as 'vahadi', he carries, in Sindhi. The word with an equivalent meaning (he carries) is 'khanetho' or 'nientho', or 'dhoetho'. There is a word 'vahetho' meaning '(it) flows', corresponding to Hindi 'bahita', but it is derived from Skt. 'vah', not 'vrs'.

#### 10. "bru' becomes 'brodi'.

In Sanskrit 'bru' means 'to speak'. *bravati* (from the root *bru*), he speaks, becomes in Vracada 'brodi'. In Sindhi, there is no word like 'brodi', meaning 'he speaks'. The verb 'to speak' is represented in Sindhi by the words 'b'olanu', 'cavanu', 'caanu', 'cunu', 'g'alhainu' and the words conveying the meaning 'he speaks' would be 'b'oletho', 'cavetho', 'caetho', 'g'alhaetho'. The Sindhi word 'b'olanu' is evidently derived from the same Sanskrit root 'bru' through its Prakrit form 'boll', and not the Vracada form 'bro'.

IX. The above discussion on the illustrations of Vracada given by Markandeya would seem to show that the words and grammar of Vracada, as evidenced by these illustrations are, in most cases, different from those of Sindhi and it would not be natural to derive most of the Sindhi equivalent words and their grammatical forms from those of Vracada mentioned by Markandeya as special to that language. *Is it that on the whole, the Sindhi language was, possibly, different from Vracada in phonology and grammar? The equivalent words from Sindhi given in the above paragraphs seem to indicate its closer relationship to an earlier Prakrit in respect of roots, phonology and grammar and also its greater retention of the latter's original phonetic features than in the case of the Vracada Apabhramsa.* The following table

would help to illustrate this:

Meaning	Sanskrit	Sindhi	Vracada
1. Walks	Calati	Caletho	Ycalai
2. Burns	Jvalati	Jaletho	Yjalai
3. Man	Manuṣya Manuṣa	Manukhu, Marukhu, Manhu, Marhu	Manuso
4. Slave	Dasa	Dasu	Daso
5. Servant	Bhrtya	-?-	Bhicco
6. Dance	Nrtya	Nacu, Natu	Niccam
7. Action	Krtya	Kirtu, Kito (Action) kirti, (occupation) Kayo, Kiyo (did, deed)	Kiccam
8. Having done	Krtva	Kare	Kicca
9. Taker of life	Pranahara	Piranu haru	Pranaharu
10. Sword	Krpana	khano	Krvanu
11. Being heated	Tapyate	Tapetho, Tapjetho	Taviyjai
12. One who controls himself	Damana	Damu, (controlling one's senses)	Damano
13. That very	Saiva	so	Soyji or Sa yjeva
14. Sword	Khandga	Khadg'u	Khandu
15. (He) becomes	(Bhu) Bhavati	Bhavi (what is to happen, destiny the future)	Bhodi
16. (He) is able to	Prabhavati	-?-	Pahavai
17. To rain	Vrs	Vasa, Vassa (rain) Vasanu, to rain	Vah
18. (It) rains	Varsati	Vasetho	Vahadi (?) It carries (?)
19. (He) speaks	(Bru) Braviti	B'oletho	Brodi

It will also be noticed from Nos. 1, 2, 11, 18 and 19 that while, Vracada softens the Sanskrit inflectionary suffixes 'ti' and

'te' either by 't' being wholly elided or changed into 'd' or 'j', Sindhi hardens it into 'tho'. *It would seem that the speakers, whose vocal organ hardened the sounds in pronouncing the above words, did not blong to the same community as the speakers of Vracada whose vocal organ softened them. They were men of different regions.*

Ramatarkavagisa, says that if Takki Vibhasa is mixed with Nagara, Vracada or Upanagara Apabhramsas, it is called *Takki Apabhramsa*. *The Takki region was between the Ravi and the Chenab in north Panjab. If Vracada was current in the lower Indus valley, there must have been little chance of contact and interaction and, so, of the mixture of the two languages.* There must have been such a chance if Vracada was current in a region closer to the Takki area.

*X Is it that the language we know as Sindhi has evolved, not from Vracada Apabhramsa but from the local variety of Prakrit which had developed along its own lines in the lower Indus Vally, with its centre of life at Brahmarka or Brahmanavaha or Bamanvas or, as later locally known, B'anhina, (b'anhnanu being the Sindhi Apabhramsa equivalent of Brahmana) or Brahmanabad, as known to Arab and Persian historians. The course of evolution of the Indo-Aryan languages as outlined in para I would appear to suppo.t the above possibility and to suggest that an ancient variant, of the pre-Vedic Prakrit, spoken by the people of the lower Indus Valley, has probably continued to evolve, acquiring the form of Old Sindhi in the phase of the "Secondary" Prakrit. Is it then, that, later, while Sanskrit was in use by the learned in this region and the inter-regional literary Nagara Apabhramsa had also thrown out its own variant in the form of Vracada, somewhere to the north of present Sindh, the Sindhi Prakrit simutaneously continued its independent process of evolution and change in the main region of the Lower Indus Valley and crystallized into a distinctive spoken and literary language which may be termed Middle Sindhi of the end of the first millennium of the Christian era, as contrasted with Old Sindhi of the earlier period and the Modern Sindhi of the post Apabhramsa period? Is it that Vracada was not the local language of the people of present Sindh but, due to proximity, it may have lent some words or phonetic peculiarities to a northern dialect which has coloured the language of present Sindh, owing to the continued political,*



social and cultural domination over it for several centuries by the people coming from regions to the north and north-west of Sindh?

XI. Dealing with the evolution of Prakrits into Apabhramśas Grierson says (L.S.I. Vol. I. p. 123):

"As works in the local Apabhramśas became more and more popular, a tradition of style developed and one particular Apabhramśa, called the Nagara Apabhramśa, received like the Prakrit, fixation as a literary dialect in which, in Western India, works in Apabhramśa were henceforth composed. Having gained general acceptance this became recognised over the greater part of India as a vehicle for literary works. As so used, it varied slightly from place to place, but these variant forms-they can hardly be called dialects-were, it must be understood, by no means the same as several *independent local Apabhramśas or other languages spoken by the people among whom each was employed in literature*. They were each a local variation, *not of the local dialect*, but of the one language which we call *literary Apabhramśa*. Indian grammarians have given us a list of no less than twenty seven of these *forms* of literary Apabhramśa, with brief notices of the peculiarities of each and each is named after the country in which it was employed. *That they were not actual vernaculars, of the country after which they were named* is plain from these descriptions. These Apabhramśas were found even in countries of which the local language was Dravidian".

Will we, then, have taken a more probable stand in regard to what Markandeya has stated about Nagara, Vracada and Sindhu Deśa if we hold that:

- (1) Vracada was a mere variation of Nagara, the main interregional language of mid-western India, including Rajasthan and Gujarat;
- (2) that this variant was possibly then spoken by a section of the people either in the region of the *Middle Indus Valley in West Panjab*<sup>1</sup> (which some Sanskrit writers preceding Markandeya had referred to as 'Sindhu Deśa) and, may be, in the border area between South Panjab and North Sindh;

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1. In the language of this area, there are the words 'j'ulanu', to walk; 'j'ulia', he walked; 'j'ulu', (you) walk, which may correspond to 'ycalai' of Markandeya, if 'yc' can be correctly held to represent the implosive 'j'.

- (3) that the Sindhi Prakrit of the Lower Indus Valley region comprising modern Sindh-which had evolved and changed into a local Sindhi Apabhramśa, was in existence, concurrently, as the main local language of that region;
- (4) that this local Sindhi Apabhramśa had its own integral links with Nagara, both having a common earlier source; and
- (5) that it was from this local Sindhi Apabhramśa that the modern Sindhi language, known as such, is descended?

All that has been stated above makes one hesitate to accept the view, at present current, *that Vracada was the local language of the people of the Lower Indus Valley or that the Sindhi language, known as such, has been derived from Vracada*. The line of ancestry of *Sindhi*, as said by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, can probably be safely traced only from the native inherited elements of the Sindhi language itself, as distinguished from the body of vocables and grammatical forms brought from north and west by the various peoples who have migrated and settled in Sindh during the last few centuries\*.

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\* Presidential Address at the Sindhi section of the All-India, Oriental Conference held at New Delhi in December 1957.

## SINDHI

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If language can form a key to judge the relative purity of culture, the essentially Sanskritic character of the Sindhi language is a strong evidence of the predominantly Aryan influence on the Sindhi culture. "The Sindhi", says Dr. Trumpp: "is a pure Sanskrit language more free from foreign elements than any other of the North Indian Vernaculars. The old Prakrit grammarians may have had their good reasons to designate the Apabhramsa dialect, from which the modern Sindhi is immediately derived, as the lowest of all the Prakrit dialects; but if we compare now the Sindhi with its sister-tongues, we must assign to it, in a grammatical point of view, the first place among them. It is much more closely related to the old Prakrit than the Marathi, Hindi, Panjabi and Bengali of our days, and it has preserved an exuberance of grammatical forms, for which all its sisters may well envy it. For, while all the modern Vernaculars of India are already in a state of complete decomposition, the old venerable mother-tongue being hardly recognisable in her degenerated daughters the Sindhi has, on the contrary, preserved most important fragments of it and erected for itself a grammatical structure, which surpasses in beauty of execution and internal harmony by the loose and levelling construction of sisters." The corrupting influences which the Sindhi language has withstood during the course of its development and the Sanskrit nature retained by it till the present times clearly indicate the supremacy of the Aryan influence on Sindhi culture.

## SINDHI SOUNDS

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A brief explanation of the typical Sindhi consonants and compounds (particularly some aspirates, affricates etc.) will not be out of place here. The following Table shows the equivalence of Sindhi, Persian/ Urdu and Roman letters:

Table. Showing the equivalence of Sindhi, Persian/Urdu and Roman Letters.

Sindhi	Pronunciation	Persian/Urdu Equivalents	Roman Equivalent
ا	alif		a
ب	bay		b
پ	ay		-
پھ	bhay		bh (aspirate of b)
پھ	pay		p
ت	tay		t̤ (soft)
تھ	thay		th (aspirate of soft t)
ت	tay		t (hard)
تھ	thay		th (aspirate of hard t)
س	say		S (Arabic=th)
ج	jeem		j
چ	iyay		-
چھ	jhay		jh (aspirate of j)
ڄ	njen		-
چ	chay		ch
چھ	chhay		chh (aspirate of ch)
ح	hay		h
ڪ	khay		kh
د	dal		d (soft)

د	dhal	dh (aspirate of soft d)
ڏ	day	-
ڊ	day	d (hard)
ڍ	dhay	<u>dh</u> (aspirate of hard d)
ذ	zal	z (Arabic=dh)
ر	ray	r
ز	zay	z
ڙ	drray	drr
س	seen	S
ش	sheen	sh
ص	suad	S
ض	zuad	Z (Arabic=d)
ط	to-ay	t (soft)
ظ	zo-ay	Z
ع	ain	a
غ	ghain	gh
ف	fay	f
ڦ	phay	ph (aspirate of p)
ق	qaf	q
ڪ	kaf	k
ک	khay	kh (aspirate of k)
گ	gaf	g (in got)
گھ	ghay	gh (aspirate of g)
گپ	gay	-
گن	ngen	-
ل	lam	l
م	meem	m
ن	noon	n
ڻ	nrren	-
و	vau	v
ھ	hay	h
ء	hamza	a
ي	yay	y

Of these 52 letters, the following seven represent sounds which are typically Sindhi. These are being described here although their correct pronunciation can be learnt better hearing the natives.

- " پ " (A bi-labial plosive)<sup>(1)</sup> A softer pronunciation (b) representing to some extent an integrated form of " بیہ "; while پ is pronounced by pressing the lips, پ is pronounced by opening apart the pressed lips.
- " چ " (An affricate)<sup>(2)</sup> A softer pronunciation of چ (j), denoting, to some extent, an integrated form of " چیہ "; it is pronounced when the blade of the tongue, in the same position as in case of چ, touches the hard palate a little backward than in case of چ.
- " چ " (A palato-alveolar nasal affricate) Represents an integrated form of " نج "; and is pronounced when the blade of the tongue touches the hard palate further back than in case of چ, aiming at producing a nasal sound.
- " ڈ " (An alveolar plosive)<sup>(3)</sup> A softer pronunciation of ڈ (d); while ڈ is pronounced by a forward stroke of the blade of the tongue on the hard palate. ڈ is pronounced by a backward stroke.
- " گ " (A velar plosive)<sup>(4)</sup> Nearer to گ ('g' in 'got') but pronounced when the back of the tongue, touches the soft palate (further back than in case of گ).
- " گ " (A velar-nasal) Represents an integrated form of " نگ " and is pronounced when the back of the tongue touches the soft palate (further back than in case of گ) nearer the pharynx aiming at a nasal sound.
- " ن " (A palato-nasal plosive) Represents an integrated form of " نر " (nrr); it is pronounced when the front part

1. It is not a plosive sound but it is on the contrary an impositive sound.

2. It is not an affricative sound but as described in 'Sindhi Phonetics' ب, چ, ڈ, and گ are impositive sounds. Similarly ج and گ are nasal sounds. The place of their articulation is also not correctly described. For this kind of study please refer the book سنڌي صوتيات

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

of the tongue curls round so that the lower side of the blade touches the soft palate with a forward stroke aiming at a nasal sound.

Beside these seven sounds, (i) there are some aspirate sounds in Sindhi speech which have not been represented by any letter-symbols in the coventional Sindhi alphabet so far; e.g. the aspirate of ر (ڑ = drh) as in گارھو (gadrho) meaning 'red' and the aspirate of ل (لھ = lh) as in گالھ (galhe) meaning 'a story'. However, as the words having these aspirate sounds are written with " رھ " and " لھ " their spellings conform to the spoken forms and, therefore, the problem of a proper symbohic representation does not arise. (ii) Secondly, the intruding 'r' ( ر ) sound following the sounds of ت (t) and د (d) in some words and forming affricates " تر " (tr) and " در " (dr), is also not represented by any letter-symbol in the Sindhi alphabet. Except in the Hyderabad-Nasarpur speech, in all other areas this trilled -- 'r'-sound is pronounced. Besides this dialectic characteristic, those words in the original forms of which there was a 'r' - sound, are usually pronounced with the trilled 'r' which is the remanent of the original 'r' consonant. (For example, میت meaning 'a relation' is pronounced as *mitru* because originally in Sanskrit it was *mitra*. Similarly, پت (putu) is Sanskrit *putra*, سیت (sitru) is Arabic (*satar* سطر); چت (chitru) is Sanskrit *chitra*; پت (patru) is Sanskrit *patra*; چنڊ (chandru) is Sanskrit *chandra*; نڪت (*nakhatru* = a constellation) is Sanskrit *nakshatra*; and حيت (*chetru*) is Sanskrit *chaitra*.

(P. 9) Since the conventional spellings of such words do not conform to the spoken forms pronunciation of these words has been invariably indicated against them within brackets indicating the presence of the trilled 'r' ( ر ).

Sindhi is an ancient Indo-Aryan language, probably having its origion in a pre-Sanskrit Indo-Iranian Indus-Valley langauge. The Lahnda and Kashmiri appear to be its cognate sisters with common Dardic element in them all. Sindhi, in particular, may have imbibed some influence of the ancient language of the Mohan-jo-Daro civilization having affinities with the Sumerian and Babylonian tongues. In the more historical times, influence of the Iranian languages on Sindhi appears to be ā certainty. This influence was followed by Sanskrit influence through the Pali-Prakrit, particularly from the days of Kanishka

(78-144). In more recent times, influence of Arabic which was a State language from 8th to 11th (possibly 13th) centuries A.D. and of Persian which was a State language for more than five centuries (14th to 19th A.D.) has been deep and permanent. Thus, with its long history and rich linguistic background, the philological peculiarities and structural complexities of Sindhi are so challenging that, at the present stage of our knowledge, it is not possible to trace many of its words to their origin. Besides, for want of time and adequate research, it has not been possible to go deep into the etymology of words. There is a considerable room for improvement in this aspect of the work, but it must be left to the future research workers.

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I don't agree with the compiler regarding phonetic descriptions of the sounds. The readers are advised to refer to books "Sindhi Phonetics" and "The Arabic Element in Sindhi".



## **SOME LESS KNOWN DIALECTS OF 'KOHISTAN'**

Dr. N. A. Baloch

'Kohistan' literally means a 'mountainous region' and, as such more than one areas in Pakistan are known by this general name of 'Kohistan'. The hilly tract extending from Karachi northward up to Sehwan is called 'Kohistan' by the people of Sindh. Again the mountainous region covering the western part of the Hazara district extending northwards along the Indus as well as west-wards across Swat towards Dir and Chitral is all 'Kohistan'. Of this area, the region extending along the Indus is called the 'Indus Kohistan', while the country around the Upper Swat Valley of Kalam may conveniently be called as 'Swat Kohistan'. In this paper I will refer to the dialects of 'Swat Kohistan', which are comparatively less known among the dialects of Kohistan.

The writer does not claim an intimate knowledge of the dialects of 'Swat Kohistan', but by this introductory paper proposes to invite attention of our learned scholars to the great need of studying the languages of this country. Arabic and Persian, being the repositories of the common cultural heritage of Pakistan, would continue to be studied by the Pakistani scholars. But the languages spoken by our own people, being the primary media for expressing their thoughts and feelings, provide the basis for our rich cultural variety and the very foundation of our national literature. Of these languages, the less known dialects need our special attention because of their philological and anthropological importance and also because of their importance in the local folklore and literature.

### **Literary Importance:**

The speeches of Kohistan are important both from philological as well as literary point of view. If some local scholar undertakes to collect folk poems composed in these tongues, his efforts will be amply rewarded. The early romance of Aman,

Maluk of *Kishkar* with *Khush* Begum and the love poems composed by Aman Maluk, seem to have started almost a chain reaction through Kohistan and, since then, a number of actual love stories have provided interesting topics for verbal tales as well as inspiring themes for poetry. Indeed. Swat Kohistan could as well as be described as the 'land of lovers', and almost every lover was a poet in the bargain. I will quote some verses from *Turvali* and *Kalami* to illustrate the poetic genius of these mountain bards, which is so realistic and true to life.

- (a) *Verses from Turvali*: Poet Lal yarned to meet his lady love 'Parvasha', cried for her, and traversed long jungle tracks to seek the blessings of the Saint Pir Baba at Buner, but without any results. Says he in one of his poems:

میں آہیں گے دِنجُو سَوَدَ دِگنی خلیگی  
تیخ جیلا میں چہینو، پیدا نا پَد پِرواشا

I made a long robe for myself to strut about in it  
(intoxicated with love)  
It was all torn to pieces in bushes, yet I couldn't  
meet Parvasha.

- (b) *Verses from Kalami*: About the nature of loves poet Dador Khan says:

دینا پیہائے تے وِیڑیا لَدَ  
مُنے آج دین ملے دِزلیدا

Other lovers rather got it (love) cheap  
But I can't even see my friend although I pay the price.

The same poet describes how his beloved is being strictly guarded. Even the door of the house is being kept locked by the mechanism of striking fast a nail from outside the door.

درویش مالک ٹوکوت، نہ چھورن بار کے  
مُشیدے میں ہے، کُترے بنے تا

He strikes the nail from outside the door to bar exit:

The poor rival has kept my beloved safe from me.

### The Less Known Kohistan Dialects:

The northern region of Pakistan extending over 'Gilgit and Kashmir, the Indus and Swat Kohistans, Chitral and Kafiristan' has been known throughout the long past as 'Dardistan', and hence the languages spoken in this extensive region were called by the general name of 'Dardic Languages' when they were studied for the first time under the *Linguistic Survey of India* directed by G. A. Grierson during the first quarter of this century. Grierson classified these 'Dardic' language into three main groups, viz. the "*Kafir*, the *Kho-war*, and the *Dard*. According to this classification *Shina* (the languages of Gilgit), *Kashmiri* and *Kohistani* form Dard Group.<sup>1</sup> '*Kohistani*' has been described as "the original language of the Indus and Swat Kohistan" which is now divided into "several dialects". In the Swat Kohistan it is "now spoken only by Pashtu".<sup>2</sup> Of its "several dialects" only *Garwi*, *Torwali*, *Chilis*, and *Maiyan* have been mentioned and described in the Survey (vol. VIII, Part-II).

Beside the above four main dialects, the remaining Kohistani dialects have not been studied so far. Here is a challenge to the students of philology and linguistics in our country. These 'several' Kohistani speeches present a kaleidoscopic pattern so far as their geographical distribution is concerned. Although some of the contiguous dialects are mutually intelligible to their neighbouring speakers, it appears as if due to physical or social barriers from the time of their early settlements, the people of each isolated valley or a group of contiguous valley came to preserve and develop the peculiarities of their own distinct tongues.

Of these 'several' less known dialects, the present writer attempted to study particularly the *Gujro*, and also became partly acquainted with *Kalami*. The geographical position of these two and some other dialects which are distributed along the Upper Swat Valley is being briefly described here. It may, however, be pointed that *Pashtu* is the *lingua franca* of Swat Kohistan.

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1. Linguistic Survey of India, vol, III, Part, II, p. 2.

2. Ibid., p. 3.

- (1) *Turvali*: The area of *Turvali* begins from the town of Madain (Swat State), extending northward on both sides of the Swat river to midway between Mankhial village and the small Isret river which falls into the Swat river on the right hand side. Thus, starting from Madain, the town of Bahrain and many other villages such as Kedam, Garrihai, Cham, Kala-Lai and Mankhial as well as the adjacent neighbourhoods on both sides of the Swat river speak *Turvali*.
- (2) *Gujro*: *Gujro* is the language of the Pishmal Valley which is sandwiched between the Isret and the Karan Dukhi-the two small tributaries of the Swat river on the right hand side. Pishmal valley is almost entirely inhabited by the Gujars who speak *Gujro*. Gujars scattered elsewhere on the mountain slopes flanking the Swat river, also speak *Gujro*, but the Pishmal valley is the home area of *Gujro*.
- (3) *Kalami*: Kalam valley which is the heart of Kohistan, is the main area of the Kalami language. It is also spoken, along with Pashtu on the left hand side of the Swat river opposite to the Pishmal valley.
- (4) *Thal-Lamti*: This language takes its name from Thal which is the main town of the Dir State. It is also known as Dir-wali. It is spoken along the western part of 'Swat-Kohistan'.
- (5) *Khandia*: It is the language of the Eastern part of 'Swat-Kohistan'. The Baaten mountain divides the *Khandia* speaking population from the Kishkari area.

### **Philological Importance:**

In absence of any systematic studies subsequent to the completion of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, conclusions arrived at by Grierson, regarding the nature and origin, philology and grammar of these Dardic languages and dialects, are of basic importance for any further study of the subject. Grierson made it clear that 'Dardic' was only a general name which was being extended, for the sake of convenience, to all the *Aryan* languages spoken in the region of Dardistan.<sup>1</sup> On the basis of philological evidence, Grierson pointed that there was an unmistakable philological link between Sindhi, Lahnda and the Dardic languages.<sup>2</sup> This conclusion of Grierson has hardly been

1. *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol: III, Part-II, p. 1.

2. *Ibid.*, Part I, pp. 139-40.

modified or advanced by later research. *It is necessary that we may explore further the nature of this philological link, mainly to determine whether Sindhi and Lahnda are derived from Sanskrit or they have developed along with the Dardic languages, independently as a distinct 'Indus Valley Group'.*

Grierson supported his view regarding an early philological link between Sindhi and Lahnda on the one hand the Dardic languages on the other, by pointing out their common characteristics of retaining 't' in the past-tense and 'l' in the past-participle. For instance, from the verb 'to drink' the past tense in Sindhi will be *pito* (he drank), and in Lahnda (as well as in Panjabi which is influenced by Lahnda) it will be *pita*. Some other examples in Sindhi are *warto* (he got), *sarto* (he became satisfied), *parto* (he made up the differences or he was entrusted to etc. Similar examples in Lahnda and Panjabi are *sita* (he sew), *kita* (he did) etc. It may also be pointed that in the Gujro dialect of Pishmal valley, we find the same t preserved in past tense. For instance, from the verb *di-ana* or *di-na* (to give), past-tense will be *di-th*. Now the one typical peculiarity of Dardic is that the letter *t* when it comes between two vowels is not elided, but is kept without change. In all the Indo-Aryan languages and Indian Prakrits such a *t* first became *d* and then disappeared. For example in Hindi-Urdu, we have these past tenses as *piya* (he drank), *kiya* (he did) etc. Again, the past-participle in the Dardic languages. e.g. in the *Maiyan* dialect of Kohistan and also occasionally in *Shina* language of Gilgit, retains 'l'. Thus in *Maiyan*, past-participle from the verb 'kut' (strike) will be 'kut-ag-il' (struck). In Sindhi also we find every past-participle ending invariably in *l* e.g. *pi-tal* (drunk), *ka-yal* (done), *mar-iy-al* (struck or killed) etc. Although this 'l' exists in the outer Indo-Aryan languages "we do not find anything like this in the inner sub-branch of the Indo-Aryan languages".<sup>1</sup>

Apart from these typical philological similarities pointed out by Grierson, we find some very close linguistic similarities between Sindhi and some of these Dardic dialects of 'Swat Kohistan'. For instance, there is a striking resemblance between some prepositions of Sindhi and Turvali. *In Turvali, we have 'tu chi' (تو جي) which in old Sindhi is to ji (تو جي) meaning 'yours'. In Turvali, we will say 'Pir Baba gay' (پير بابا گئے) which in Sindhi*

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1. Linguistic survey of India., pp. 139-40.

will be 'Pir Baba Khay' ( پير بابا کھي ), meaning 'to Pir Baba' (Urdu: پير بابا کو ).

Between Sindhi and Gujro, there is surprisingly such a close resemblance both in terminology and sentence structure that it appears as if Gujro is just another dialect of Sindhi. The following common characteristics are typical:-

- (a) Both in Sindhi and Gujro, infinitives end in *n* or *nn* and are followed by small vowels but not by a long vowel as we have in Hindi or Urdu.

English	Sindhi	Gujro	Urdu
To do	ka-ra-nnu کَرَن	ka-ra-na کَرَن	kama کَرنا
To drink	pi-ya-nnu پيڻها	pi-na پيَن	pina پيَن
To give	di-ya-nnu دينا	di-na. or di-a-na دينَ، ديَنَ	dena دينَ
To sit	we-ha-nnu ويهنَ	be-sa-na بيسنَ	baithna بيڻها

- (b) Both Sindhi and Gujro, words signifying masculine gender end in *o* ( و ), while those denoting feminine gender end in *ee* ( ي ).

English	Sindhi	Gujro
a horse	ghorro گھورو	ghorro گھورو
a mare	ghorree گھوري	ghrree گھوري
a dog	kuto کُتو	kuto کُتو
a bitch	kutee کُتي	kutee کُتي

a he-cat	bilu بِلُو	bilu بِلُو
a she-cat	bilee بِلِي	bilee بِلِي
a rupee	rupayo رُپِيُو	rupayo رُپِيُو
a roof	kottho کُوڻھُو	kottho کُوڻھُو
a thick eye-brow	bhiroonto بِهَرُونڻُو	bhiroonto بِهَرُونڻُو
the inside of the house	dero دِيرُو	dero دِيرُو
a person	janno جَنُو	jano جَنُو
a cot	manjo مَنجُو	manjo مَنجُو

- (c) There is also a close resemblance between the names of the numerals. It is particularly noteworthy that both Sindhi and Gujro have retained *r* ( ر ) in *sorahn* (sixteen) which has changed into 'l' in other languages (e.g. *solah* in Hindi-Urdu).

English	Sindhi	Gujro
one	hiku هڪَ	eka ايڪَ
two	ba ٻَہ	do دو
three	tre ٽرے	traī ٽرے
four	char چار	char چار

five	panja پنج	panja پنج
six	chhiaha/chha چھ	chhiha چھ
seven	sat-ta آٹھ	sat-ta آٹھ
eight	attha ست	attha ست
nine	navan/naon نَوَن، نَن	naon نَوَن
ten	daha دھ	daha دہ
eleven	yarahn یارھن	ya-rahn یارھن
twelve	barahn بارھن	ba-rahn بارھن
thirteen	te-rahn تیرھن	te-rahn تیرھن
fourteen	cho-dhan چودھن	chao-dhan چودھن
fifteen	pand-rahn پندرھن	pand-rahn پندرھن
sixteen	sorahn سورھن	so-rahn سورھن
seventeen	sat-rahn سترھن	sata-rahn ستارھن
eighteen	ar-rrahn آرزھن	attha-rahn آٹھارھن



nineteen	oõneeh اونيٺھ	uneeh اٺيھ
twenty	weeh ويھ	beeh بيھ

- (d) Both Sindhi and Gujro have the same sentence structure and almost the same terminology. The following are the typical examples of some of the phrases and sentences in the two languages.

English	Sindhi	Gujro
good condition	changu halu چنگو حال	chango hal چنگو حال
I saw	moon dithho مون دٿھو	men dittho مين دٿھو
I had seen you somewhere	moon tokhay kithhe ditho ho مون توکھے کٿھے دٿو هو	men to kithhe ditho thho مين تو کٿھے دٿو تھو
rupee is in the box	rupayo sandooq men piyo ahey رپيو صندوق مين پيو آهي	rupayo sandooq man piyo رپيو صندوق مان پيو هٿے
you may tie the string	dhago badhi jan دھاگو بدھجان	<u>dh</u> ago badhe jan دھاگو بدھيجان

Beside the above similarities, there are many nouns which are common in the terminologies of Sindhi and Gujro (e.g. meenhun ( مٽھڻ ) = rain; kandhi ( ڪنڊھي ) in Sindhi and kandhi ( ڪنڊھ ) in Gujro=wall; seem ( سيم ) = a piece of pasture).

This very close philological relationship between Sindhi and the Dardic dialect Gujro suggests a common historical background of their development.<sup>1</sup> Grierson does not recognise

1. See Grierson.

that *either Sindhi or Lahnda is derived from any Dardic language but admits the foreign Dardic influence on these languages.*<sup>1</sup> It may be pointed out that in view of the philological and phonetic peculiarities of Sindhi, its geographical isolation, its distance from the Sanskrit orbit of influence, and the continuous subjection of the lower Indus Valley to the political influence and population migrations from the West rather than from the East, *it is yet to be established whether Sindhi is derived directly and only from Sanskrit.*<sup>2</sup> *The distinct nature of Sindhi, Lahnda, and the Dardic languages (of Kashmir, Kohistan and Gilgit) rather suggest that they owe their origin to the common stock of Aryan tongues spoken at the time of early Aryan settlements all along the Indus Valley. It has already been accepted that Paisachi, the mother of the Dardic languages, "was a very ancient language, a sister, and not a daughter of the form of speech which ultimately developed as literary Sanskrit."*<sup>3</sup> Sanskrit developed later on after the Aryans had left behind their early settlements on the Indus, *and migrated eastward and began a new phase of their settled life.* There from the common stock of the "Indus Valley Languages" of the Aryans, originated and developed Sanskrit which, influenced the *Indus Valley languages* (Sindhi, Lahnda, Kashmiri etc.) in later times, mainly through some form of Pali Prakrit. However despite this influence, these languages have preserved their early group-affinity and also their philological phonetic originality to the present times.

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1. Grierson, Vol: VIII, Part I., p. 141. ft. n. 1

2. This subject has been discussed in details by the writer in a monograph on "*A Brief History of Sindhi Language*", the Tuhfa-e-Larkana, Hyderabad, 1962.

3. Cf. Grierson: *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol, VIII, part-II, pp. 3.4.

## SINDHI

**SINDHI** (properly Sindhi, the language of Sindh, i.e., Sind) and *Lahnda* (properly Lahnda or Lahinda, or Lahunde-di-boli, the language of the west), two closely connected forms of speech belonging, together with Kashmiri (q. v.), to the north western group of the outer band of Indo-Aryan languages.

The parent Prakrit, from which Lahnda is sprung, must once have extended over the greater part of the Punjab, but Lahnda and Sindhi, the western outposts of Indo-Aryan speech, have for centuries occupied a peculiarly isolated position, and have in many respects struck out common lines of independent growth. This process was aided by the presence of Dardic language (See INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES). In early times there were Dardic colonies along the Indus, right down to its delta, and both Sindhi and Lahnda have borrowed many peculiarities from their dialects.

Sindhi is directly derived from the Vracada Apabhramsa Prakrit (See PRAKRIT LANGUAGES). The name of the Apabhramsa from which Lahanda is derived is not known, but it must have been closely allied to Vracada. Sindhi has one important dialect, Kachchhi, spoken in Cutch. Here the language has come into contact with Gujarati and is somewhat mixed with that form of speech. (See GUJARATI AND RAJASTHANI LANGUAGES).

Owing to their geographical position both Sindh and the western Punjab were early subject to Mohammedan inroads. The bulk of the population is muslim, and their languages make free use of words borrowed from Persian and (though Persian) from Arabic. The written character employed for Lahnda is usually that modification of the Persian alphabet which has been adopted for Hindustani. For Sindhi, further modifications have been introduced to represent special sounds. In both languages,

Hindus also employ a script akin to the well-known Nagari alphabet. It is the same as the "Landa" (a word distinct from "Lahnda") or "clipped" character current all over the Punjab and is very imperfect, being seldom legible to any one except its original writer, and not always so to him.

**PHONETICS:-** The phonetic system of both languages in most respects resembles that of other Indo-Aryan vernaculars. In other Indo-Aryan languages a final short vowel is generally elided. This rule is also followed in Lahnda, but the genius of Sindhi requires every word to end in a vowel, and hence these short vowels are still retained. In Sindhi these final short vowels are very lightly pronounced, so that they are hardly audible. Lahnda, especially when dropping the final short vowel, has epenthetic changes, which have not been noted in Sindhi. In that language and in Lahnda the short vowel /i/, when preceded or followed by /h/, or at the end of a word, is pronounced as /a/ short /e/.

In Lahnda the double consonant is generally retained, but in Sindhi, while the double consonant is simplified, the vowel remains short. An original long vowel coming before a conjunct consonant is shortened when the conjunct is simplified.

In Sindhi, a sibilant is liable to be changed into /h/. In Lahnda the /s/ is generally, but not always, preserved. A medial /d/ becomes the hard /r/; there is great confusion between cerebrals and dentals, more common in Sindhi than in Lahnda. In Sindhi /t/ and /d/ become regularly cerebralized before /r/. The cerebral // does not appear in Sindhi, but it has survived from Prakrit in Lahnda. When // represents a Prakrit single //, it becomes //, but if it represents a Prakrit //, it remains a simple dental //.

Sindhi has a series of "recursive" consonants g, j, d, and b. In sounding them the breath is drawn in instead of being expelled, i.e., the larynx being lowered and the glottis closed. They often, but not always, represent an original double letter.

**DECLENSION:-** Both languages have lost the neuter gender, all nouns being either masculine or feminine. The rules for distinguishing gender are much as in Hindustani. As in other Indo-Aryan languages, nouns may be either strong or weak, the strong forms being derived from nouns with the pleonastic Sanskrit suffix {-ka}. In Sindhi, a masculine weak form in {u}

corresponds to the strong one in {o}, and feminine weak forms in {a} and {o} to a strong one in {i}. In Lahnda, weak forms have dropped the final short vowel, and the strong forms end in {a} (masc.) and {i} (fem).

Almost the only old case that has survived throughout the declension of both languages is the general oblique. This is used for any oblique case, the particular case required being as rule further defined by the help of a postposition. The general oblique case, without any defining postposition, is specially employed for the case of the agent. There are also examples of the survival of the old locative and of the old ablative.

In Lahnda the final short vowel of the weak forms has been dropped, but in some cases the final {u} of the masculine and the final {i} of the feminine have been preserved by epenthesis. (p. 707) The Lahnda forms of the nominative plural and of the various oblique forms are identical with those found in Panjabi. In both languages the accusative case is the same as the nominative, unless special definiteness is required, when the dative is employed in its place. The agent case is the oblique form without any postposition. All the postpositions are added to the oblique form. The genitive is really a possessive adjective and agrees with the person or thing possessed in gender, number and case.

An adjective agrees with its qualified noun in gender, number and case. In Lahnda the only adjectives which change in these respects are strong adjectives in {g}. In Sindhi weak forms in /u/ also change the /u/ to /e/ or /a/ in the feminine. The plural and oblique forms are made as in the case of nouns. If a postposition is used with the noun it is not also used with the adjective. Comparison is effected by putting the noun with which comparison is made in the ablative case. Sometimes special postpositions are employed for this form of the ablative.

The north-western group of Indo-Aryan vernaculars Sindhi, Lahnda and Kashmiri, made free use of pronominal suffixes. In Kashmiri these are added only to verbs, but in the other two languages they are also added to nouns. These suffixes take the place of personal pronouns in various cases.

All these suffixes are remnants of the full pronominal forms. In all cases they can be at once explained by a reference

to the originals in Dardic rather than to those of other Indo-Aryan languages.

**CONJUGATION:-** There are, in both languages, two conjugations, of which one (intransitive) has -a- and the other (transitive) -e- or -i- for its characteristic letter. The differences appear in the present participle and, in Sindhi, also in the conjunctive participle, the present subjunctive, and imperative. The two latter are the only original synthetic tenses which have survived in Sindhi, but in Lahnda the old synthetic future is also in common use. Both languages have a passive voice formed by adding -ij or -ij to the root. This form is not employed for the past participle or for tenses derived from it.

The past participle of the transitive verb is passive in signification. There is therefore no need of past participle for the passive voice. The Sindhi present participle of the passive voice follows a different rule of formation, and, in Lahnda, it omits the letter *j*. In other respects the passive is conjugated like a regular verb of the first conjugation. The passive is directly derived from the outer Prakrit passive in -ijā.

The present subjunctive is the direct descendant of the old Prakrit present indicative.

The imperative is formed in the same way. The Sindhi future is formed by adding the nominative pronominal suffixes to the present participle. As there are no nominative suffixes of the third person, for that person the simple participle is employed. There are slight euphonic changes of the termination of the participle in the other persons.

The past tense is formed from the past participle with pronominal suffixes added in both languages. As in the transitive verb the past participle is passive in signification the subject must be put in the agent case, and the participle, agrees in gender and number with the direct object, or, if the object is put in the dative case instead of the accusative, is treated impersonally in the masculine.

There are numerous compound tenses formed by conjugating the verb substantive with one or other of the participles. The past has slightly different forms with a feminine subject. Additional suffixes may be added to indicate the object, direct or remote.

Numberous verbs have irregular past participles, derived directly from the Prakrit past participles. The many compound verbs are formed much as in Hindustani, and must be learnt from the grammars.

## THE ARABIC ELEMENT IN SINDHI

Dr. G. A. Allana

### Linguistic Boundary:

In northern Sindh, Sindhi overflows towards the north-west into Baluchistan, to the north and north-east into the Punjab and the former 'Bahawalpur State'; on the west it is bounded by the mountain range separating Sindh from Baluchistan. This boundary has not been crossed by Sindhi except in the southern part of the hilly area of Kohistan. Here in general the language spoken is Baluchi but Sindhi is also found.<sup>1</sup> Sindhi has penetrated into the former 'Lasbela State' in Baluchistan, where it is spoken as a mother tongue. It has spread its influence still further afield towards the Persian Gulf in the Makran area and is spoken as a first language along with Makrani in Jadigal, Guadar, Ormara and Pasni, and has crossed the Gulf and is spoken in Muscat, Dubahi and generally in the coastal region by a large number of people.

In the east and south-east, Sindhi has crossed the Ran of Katch and is spoken by a large number of Hindus and Muslims in Katch, Gujrat and the peninsula of Kathiawar.

In the east, it has influenced the speech of the neighbouring parts of Marwar and Jaisalmer states of Rajputana in India.

After the partition of India, numerous Sindhis migrated from Sindh and settled in the central, eastern, western and northern parts of India.

Sindhi is not only spoken in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent but it is also spoken by approximately 200,000 people, as their first language, in Tanganyika, Uganda, Kenya, Nyasaland, Rhodesia, Congo, South Africa, Zanzibar and Madagascar.

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1. G. A. Grierson, "Linguistic Survey of India," Vol. VIII, Part I, Superintendent Government Printing Press, Calcutta 1919, p. 5.



## Dialects:

(a) According to Grierson, Sindhi can be divided into six dialects: (i) Siraiki<sup>1</sup>, (ii) Vicholi, (iii) Thareli, (iv) Lari, (v) Lasi and (vi) Katchi.

(b) Sindhi may be divided geographically into dialects as follows:

(i) Utradi (northern dialect), (ii) Vicholi (central dialect), (iii) Lari (Lower Sindh Dialect), (iv) Thari (dialect of Thar), (v) Lasi (dialect of Lasbela and Kohistan), (vi) Katchi (dialect of Katch), (vii) Memoni (dialect of Junagarh and Kathiawar peninsula), (viii) Jadigali (dialect of Jadigal area in Makran), (p. 14) (ix) Guadri (dialect of Guadar area in Makran), (x) Ormari (dialect of Pasni, Ormara and other coastal area), (xi) Jangibari (spoken in Zanzibar).<sup>2</sup>

(c) According to Bloomfield every dialect can be divided into sub-dialects.<sup>3</sup> This type of division can be found within each and every dialect of Sindhi. For instance Utradi (northern dialect) can be further subdivided into: (i) Khairpuri (ii) Shikarpuri (iii) Jacobabadi sub-dialects. Similarly the sub-dialects of Lari are: (i) Thatai (ii) Manjiri ( ) (iii) Kharai and (iv) Badinai.

(i) Borrowed words play an important part in our daily life. They belong to Sindhi lexicography, and are part and parcel of our social experience and cultural heritage, one of the multitudinous facets into which a basic idea splits up in a process of intellectual refinement. Sindhi, which has freely incorporated a considerable number of loans, has rich vocabulary and many quasisynonyms.

P.15 (ii) Some purists in Sindh are opposed to the use of borrowed words and wish to exclude all of them from Sindhi.

If the purists had their way, they would reduce the cultured Sindhi writer to verbal impotence, compelling him to lag behind, unable to catch up with the modern writers of other

1. Grierson distinguishes Siraiki as: Sindhi spoken in northern Sindh as Siraiki Sindhi, and the language of immigrants from Lahnda-speaking tracts in Sindh, as Siraiki-Lahnda, see G. A. Grierson, Vol: VIII, pt: I, p. 9.

2. See on the next page.

3. See on the next page.

countries, and they would also restrict the fields of Sindhi linguistic studies, which derive a great deal of their interest from the Arabic element superimposed upon a Sanskrit foundation with which it forms a homogeneous whole producing, for this very reason, a language that is in many respects unique. Indeed, no other language offers an equal opportunity for the study of the mutual influence and impact of Arabic and the Indo-European family of languages. This mutual influence, in Sindhi, may be studied in the fields of phonetics, phonology, grammar and vocabulary.

### **§5 Available accounts of Sindhi:**

(1) The first book on Sindhi was a grammar of the Sindhi language, written by Captain George Stack in 1849.<sup>1</sup> After a very short time, another book on Sindhi grammar was written by Mohammad Miyan and Divan Pribhdas<sup>2</sup> (with an introduction in English) in 1860. This showed how greatly the need for grammatical analysis of the language was felt at that time. They were followed by Munshi Udaram, who wrote "Elementary Grammar of Sindhi"<sup>3</sup> in English in 1868. All these writers have used traditional methods to arrive at their formulations.

(ii) In 1874, Dr. Ernest Trumpp, a German scholar, prepared a grammar of Sindhi language. This is the best book of its kind in the field. In the introduction to his book, Trumpp has given descriptive criteria, and has classified phonetic features, phonological systems and morphological processes of Sindhi. His work proves that he was aware of the fact that grammar should reflect the facts of the language, and not some aprioristic, notional framework. Though a number of works have been published after him, his work remains an authority even today.

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1. Sindhi spoken in Zanzibar is different from that spoken in other parts of East Africa; but it is known as Katchi, though it differs a little from Katchi.

L. Bloomfield "Language", George Allen and Unwin Ltd, London 1935, p. 325.

<sup>1</sup> G. Stack "A Grammar of the Sindhi Language", American Mission Press Bombay 1853.

2. Mohammad Miyan and Pribhdas "Sindhi Sarfu-nahv", Government of Sindh Printing Press, Karachi 1860.

<sup>3</sup>The first book on Sindhi Grammar was written by Mr. Princep.

3. Munshi Udaram "Elementary Grammar of Sindhi," Sindh Government Education Department Press, Karachi 1868.

(iii) This was, however, just the beginning. After Trumpp, Grierson<sup>1</sup>, Kalich Beg<sup>2</sup>, Bherumal<sup>3</sup>, Dr. Gurbuxani<sup>4</sup>, Fateh Mohammad Sewhani<sup>5</sup>, Din Mohammad Wafai<sup>6</sup>, Dr. Daudpota<sup>7</sup>, Mohammad Salih Bhati<sup>8</sup>, Dr. Baloch<sup>9</sup>, Lutufullah Badvi<sup>10</sup>, Sirajul Haque<sup>11</sup> and Lilo Racandani<sup>12</sup> have all written on the Sindhi language, but none of them has made any attempt to study the language in accordance with the principles of modern descriptive linguistics.\*

Kalich Beg and Bherumal have given some description of the phonetic feature and the phonological systems of indigenous Sindhi, but their work is basically a translation of the introduction to Trumpp's Grammar, and even they have not always been successful in translating the technical terms which are necessary for description. Similarly, the articles written by R. Turner on "The Sindhi recursive or voiced stops preceded by glottal closure"<sup>14</sup> and

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1. Grierson, See footnote on p. 12.

2. Kalich Beg, "Sindhi Viya Karan", Vol. III, Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad (Sindh) Pakistan 1960.

3. Advani, Bherumal "Vado Sindhi Viya karan", Hindu Press, Karachi and Hyderabad, 1926, and ibid., "Sindhi Boli-a-ji-Tarikha", Sindhi Adabi Board, 1956, p. 266.

4. H. Gurbuxani "Shah-jo-Rasalo", "Commissioner's Press, Karachi 1923, pp. 133-139.

5. Fateh Mohammad Sewhani "Aftab-e-Adab", Sindhi Adabi Board, 1956, pp. 24, 25 and 61.

6. Din Mohammad Wafai's contribution in "Mihrana-jun-maujun", Pakistan Publications, Karachi 1956, pp. 1-4.

7. Daudpota's contribution in "Cultural Heritage of Pakistan", Oxford University Press, London 1966, pp. 154-5.

8. Mohammad Salih Bhati, "Naun Sindhi Grammar", Hyderabad. 1951.

9. N. B. Baloch's contribution in *Quarterly Mihran*, Vol III: No. 1, Sindhi Adabi Board 1959, pp. 145, 146, 153, 156 & 157. Ibid., "A Comprehensive Sindhi Dictionary" (English introduction), Sindhi Adabi Board, 1960, pp. 6-9.

10. Lutufullah Badvi "Tazkrah Lutfi", Vol. I, Hyderabad 1954, pp. 125-8.

11. Sirajul Haque Memon's contribution in *Quarterly Mihran*, Vol VIII, No. 4, 1959, pp. 199-202.

\* Recently Mr. A. H. Jatoti and Mr. G. A. Allana (the compiler of this work) have written books and articles on Sindhi language in the light of modern linguistics. In India Dr. Lachman Khubchandani, Dr. Murlidhar Jetley, Dr. Parso Gidwani and Mr. Satish Rohra have also written on Sindhi language in the light of modern linguistics.

12. L. Rachandani's contribution in Nain Duniya, Bombay, March 1961, pp. 38-43.

13. Kalich Beg "Sindhi Viya Karan", Vol. III, pp. 68-74. See also Bhermal "Vado Sindhi Viya Karan", pp. 12-18.

14. R. C. Turner's contribution in B.S.O.A.S., Vol. III, 1923-5, p. 307.

"Cerebralisation in Sindhi" belong to the historical and comparative field.

More recently attention has begun to be paid to the study of the Sindhi language at the descriptive level. Daniel Jones is the first scholar who has (p.19) written two articles:

(i) The Sindhi Implosive<sup>2</sup> and (ii) Sindhi<sup>3</sup>, and T. F. Mitchell of the School of Oriental And African Studies has also done research on Sindhi, the results of which have not yet been published. L. Khubchandani (a Sindhi from India) has worked on Sindhi Phonetics, in the descriptive field, but his thesis is unpublished. Yet much remains to be done; there is an urgent need for young Sindhi scholars to be trained in descriptive linguistics, with a view to their providing adequate accounts of the facts of their language.

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1. R. C. Turner, *J.R.A.S.* 1924, 4, pp. 555-84.

2. D. Jones's contribution in "Studies in North-Indian Languages", Lund Humphries and Co., London 1938, p. 130.

3. *Ibid.*, *Le Maître Phonétique*, October-December 1933, pp. 75-77.

## **THE GENDER OF ENGLISH LOAN WORDS IN SINDHI**

Lachman M. Khubchandani

**1.0.** Sindhi is one of the Indic languages spoken by about six million people distributed over two countries, Pakistan and India. Sindhi is spoken in Sindh and Las Bela (Baluchistan) regions of West Pakistan, and in Kutch (Gujarat) and Jaisalmer (Rajasthan) regions of India. Besides, there are about one million Sindhi immigrants spread over the urban and semi-urban areas of North and Central India.

Sindhi speakers came in direct contact with the English language when Sindh was conquered by the British in 1843. It was governed as a province of British India until 1947 when the Indian subcontinent was divided into two sovereign countries, India and Pakistan. Sindh now forms part of West Pakistan. The cultural impact of the British rule during the one hundred years before 1947 and the influence of modern technical advancement in both the countries led to a large stock of borrowings from English into Sindhi as in the case of the other Indian languages.

The second language of most of the Sindhi bilinguals is Urdu or Hindi, or English. English enjoys a high status in most of the Indian and Pakistan bilingual groups. Sindhi bilinguals are leaning heavily towards borrowings from English in their Sindhi speech in formal and informal conversations, technical and creative literature as well as in non-serious literary works. Many Sindhi natives even prefer to use English for education, administration, personal correspondence and literature and formal contacts. The reading habits of most of the Sindhi bilinguals are also gradually shifting from Sindhi to English, Hindi or Urdu. Translations of technical literature from English into Sindhi are on the increase. Sindhi newspapers also mostly depend on English information agencies for supply of news.

English loans in Sindhi can be divided into two classes on the basis of the motive of borrowings: (1) borrowings of necessity, and (b) borrowings of choice. Many English words are

being borrowed to fill semantic gaps in the language created by new times and new urban surroundings of the immigrant community. Another class of loans, much larger in number, is of those words whose borrowing is motivated by prestige factors. Sindhi immigrants are prone to 'powder their speech' liberally with English and Hindi words to show their advanced state of acculturation. Besides, owing to the low functional value of Sindhi in Indian surroundings, average Sindhi speaker finds it convenient to replace many of the items of native stock and many Perso-Arabic borrowed items by those of English or Hindi. Such borrowings of choice, not prompted by necessity but operating as stylistic variants, create rivalry with the existing forms in the language and they are used as alternants of native items, e.g.:

E<sup>1</sup> leteru m. 'letter' or H. petru m. in place of Nat. chithi f. and PA xetu m. 'jd'; E. rodu m. 'road' or H. margu m. n place of Nat. cate f. and PA resto m. 'id'.

**2.0.** All nouns in Sindhi are divided in two gender-classes, masculine (m.) nouns and feminine (f.) nouns. Sindhi nouns denoting male animates belong to the masculine class and those denoting female animates belong to the feminine class. The gender of inanimate nouns in Sindhi is determined mostly on the pattern of stem-endings. Nouns with stem-endings -o, -u, and -c belong to the m. class and those with stem-endings -e and -i belong to the f. class:

m. god'o<sup>2</sup> 'knee', kedu 'gourd', bho 'fear'.

f. muche 'moustache', bhiti 'wall'.

Nouns with the stem-ending -u generally belong to the m. class and those with stem-endings -i, -a and -ε generally belong to the f. class, though, in a few cases, stems with these endings also belong to an opposite gender-class, contrary to the general pattern:

m. : hethu 'hand':

f. : mesu 'ink'

f. : chati 'chest':

m. : pani 'water'

pucha 'enquiry'

xuda 'God'

se 'thing'

pustekale 'library'.

1. E, H, PA represent English, Hindi, and Perso-Arabic loan words in Sindhi respectively. Nat. represent items of native stock in Sindhi.

2. The four Sindhi implosive phonemes are here represented as b', d', j', g'.

**2.1.** Sindhi nouns are declined in different sets on the basis of gender and stem-ending. Many adjectives, pronouns, and certain postpositions occur in agreement with the gender of noun. The verb also occurs in agreement with the gender and number of the subject in nominative case or with that of the direct object when the subject is in the agent case.

hu muhjo nendho sotu ece pyo ↓

'That (m.) my (m.) younger (m.) cousin (m.) is (m.) coming.

hue muhji nendhi soti ece pei ↓

'That (f.) my (f.) younger (f.) cousin (f.) is (f.) coming.

kelhe mohinie dhiv khe ved'o embu d'ino ↓

'Yesterday Mohini (f. agent) gave (m.) (a) big (m.) mango (m. direct) to (her) daughter (f.)'.

kelhe gopale bhav khe mithi naregi d'ini ↓

Yesterday, Gopal (m. agent) gave (f.) (a) sweet (f.) orange (f. direct) to (his) brother (m.)'.

**2.2.** The bulk of English loans in Sindhi is nouns. Very few English adjectives, verbs, and interjections have been borrowed into Sindhi.

English nouns do not have any grammatical gender. Only the III person pronouns in the singular number distinguish three genders:

m. : he, his, him	represent male animate nouns,
f. : she, her	represent female animate nouns,
n. : it, its	represent inanimate nouns.

In literary usage pronouns representing inanimate nouns are assigned either masculine or feminine gender depending on the convention.

Hence English nouns when borrowed into Sindhi are assigned either of the two Sindhi genders so to make them fit into the declension system of the Sindhi nouns.

**2.3.** All adjectives in Sindhi are divided into two classes: declinable and indeclinable. Declinable adjectives are inflected for gender, number, and case:

*nominative case*

m. sg. porho 'aged'

pl. porh-a

f. sg. porh-i

pl. porh-y-u

*oblique case*

porh-e

porh-eni

porh-i-e

porh-y-uni

English adjectives borrowed into Sindhi usually come under indeclinable class:

fast gad'i 'fast train', lait kemu 'light work',

debil nokiri 'double duty', tribul mehnete 'three times more hardwork'.

There is only one instance of an English adjective being assimilated to the declinable class in the speech of monolingual Sindhi speakers, but bilingual speakers have a tendency to retain it in the indeclinable class:

silo gheryalu 'slow clock'; slli vace, silo vace 'slow watch';

sili chokira, silo chokira 'slow boys';

silyu chokiryu, silo chokiryu 'slow girls'.

**2.4.** Sindhi verbs not classified on the basis of gender but they are conjugated in concordance with the gender of nouns. Sindhi adverbs and interjections are indeclinable. Hence English verbs, adverbs, and interjections borrowed into Sindhi are not affected by gender. Many English verbs function as 'extenders' of verbal bases<sup>1</sup> in Sindhi and remain indeclinable:

pas thyenu 'to pass (in an examination)' fel kerenu 'to fail (transitive)', tiray kerenu 'to try', hēnd sek kerenu 'to hand-shake', let 'late', siloli 'slowly', firēṅkli 'frankly', helo 'Hello!', tata 'Ta!Ta!', theṅkyu 'Thank you'.

**3.0.** About 2,000 English nouns borrowed into Sindhi have been scanned for investigating the pattern of the assignment of masculine or feminine gender to these loans in Sindhi. These loans reveal both semantic and structural factors as determiners of the gender of English nouns in Sindhi.

1. The term 'verb-extender' is suggested by Dr. P. B. Pahlit to denote a class of verb-complements which are distinct from direct objects and indirect objects and other predicate complements in most of the Indo-Aryan languages.



Sindhi nouns generally do not end in consonants. An English noun borrowed by Sindhi either adds -u if it is assigned masculine gender, or adds -e or -i, if it is assigned feminine gender. English nouns borrowed earlier (roughly during the 19th or the early 20th century), when assigned the feminine gender, have generally added -e, and English loans of a later period generally add -i:

fader-u 'father (Christian priest)', ticer-u 'male teacher',  
 meder-i 'mother (Christian head)', ticer-i 'female teacher',  
 Inde pen-e f. 'fountain pen', rel-e f. 'railway train'.

Many recent English loans have a tendency to retain consonant endings, and a vocalic ending is only optionally added in the speech of monolingual Sindhi speakers:

m. : eŋkil-(u) 'uncle', plestik-(u) 'plastic', pletfarm-(u) 'platform'.

f. : tebul-(i) 'table', meč-(i) 'match (game)', pikcer-(i) 'movie'.

In some cases a word is borrowed from the same source at different times which involves readaptation of the loan word to its source. Haugen calls this process 'reborrowing'<sup>1</sup> :

ribine, ribini, ribm f. 'ribbon',  
 motere, moterl, moter f. 'motor car',  
 tvalu, tavil m. 'towel',  
 bursu, bres m. 'bursh'.

**4.0.** The rules of assignment of m. or f. gender to English nouns in Sindhi can be stated as under. These rules are applied preferably in order of precedence:

#### **4.1. Animate Nouns:**

**Rule 1.** The gender of animate nouns is determined by the sex. English loans denoting male living beings are assigned m. gender and those denoting female living beings are assigned f. gender:

m. : taigeru 'tiger', meŋki 'monkey'.

f. : kao 'cow', befelo 'buffalo'.

1. I. Haugen, Einar, *The Norwegian Language in America: A Study in Bilingual Behavior* (1953), Vol. II, p. 394.

Rule 2. English loans which represent forms of address or designations generally of males are assigned m. gender and those which represent forms of address of designations generally of females are assigned f. gender:

m. : dēdi 'daddy', eṅkil (u) 'uncle', misteru 'Mr', dakteru 'male doctor', titi 'train ticket examiner'.

f. : memi 'mammy', anti 'auntie', mīsi 'Miss', mīsīz(i) 'Mrs., wife', slster(i), nersī 'nurse'.

A few designations, common to both sexes, are assigned to both gender-classes and wherever necessary different vocalic endings are added to denote different genders:

sekrretiri 'secretary (m., f.)', felo 'fellowship-holder (m., f.)', ticeru 'teacher (m.)', ticeri (f.), deligetū 'delegate (m.)', deligeti (f.).

#### 4.2. Inanimate Nouns:

Rule 3. *General*: All English loans with stem-endings -o, -e, -ter, -ber are assigned the masculine gender and those with stem-ending -i, -y, -sip are assigned the feminine gender:

m. : fono 'gramophone', redyo 'radio', foto 'photo' (competing Sindhi item-hereafter CS-murte f. picture), petato 'potato', ziro 'zero' (CS b'uri f.), vito 'veto', isto 'stove' (CS sigiri f.), sveteru 'sweater (jersey)', thyeteru 'theatre', aktoberu 'October', reb'eru 'rubber'.

f. : tafi 'toffee', femli 'family' (Cs kutumbu m.), balkeni 'balcony' (CS ketehro m.), fēktiri 'factory' (CS karxano m.), yuniversiti 'university', tay 'necktie', Julay 'July', sipi 'ship', iskalersipi 'scholarship', membersipi 'membership'.

Rule 4. *Borrowings of Choice*: Many of the English loans, not covered by Rule 3 often reveal an extension of the gender of the Sindhi items with corresponding meanings. No structural criteria seem to be involved here:

*English Loan Word**Competing Sindhi Item*

barderu	m. 'border (of a cloth)'	pele	m. 'border (cloth)'
barderi	f. 'border (geographical)'	serehde	f. 'border (geo)'
tayeru	m. '(rubber) tyre'	phitho	m. 'wheel (of a vehicle)'
vayeri	f. 'wire'	tare	f. 'wire'
biledu	m. '(shaving) blade'	kepu	m. 'knife'
biredi	f. 'bread'	mani	f. 'Indian pancake'
tostu	m. '(bread) tost'	tukeru	m. 'slice'
posti	f. 'post, mail'	tepale	f. 'mail'
la	m. 'law'	qaydo	m. 'law, rule'
kalra	f. cholera'	veba	f. cholera'
nibu	m./f. 'nib'	ketu	m./f. 'nib'
tipi	f. 'tip (small present of money)'	xerci	f. 'present of money'

We also find certain cases in which earlier assimilated English or other European loans become the models for new loan words with similar meanings in determining their gender.

*Recent Loans**Earlier Loans*

m. : raifil (u) 'rifle'	pistolu 'pistol'
svic (u) 'switch'	betenu '(electric) button'
silaidd (u) 'slide'	foto 'photo'
kanvent (u) 'convent'	iskulu 'school'
sofa 'sofa'	kocu 'couch'
f. : tebul (i) 'table'	meze 'tabel'
jeg (i) 'jug'	boteli 'bottle'
files (i) 'fiush (tank)'	tanki 'small tank'
plker (i) 'movie'	senema 'cinema'
sekiret (i) 'secretariat'	afise 'office'

Rule 5. *Borrowing of Necessity*. English borrowings which do not have any competing items with corresponding meanings in Sindhi and which belong to any of the following semantic groups are assigned the gender of the particular group except those covered by earlier rules:

- (i) Loans denoting measurements and currency are generally assigned the masculine gender:

*measurements*: incu 'inch', melu 'mile', tenu 'ton' ausu 'ounce' pinute 'pint', literu 'litre', sekendu 'second', mintu 'minute' kelaku 'hour'.

*currency*: sentu 'cent', daleru 'dollar', pensu 'pence', silingu 'shilling', paundu/paudu 'pound'.

kilo 'kilogram' is assigned m. gender and digiri 'degree (of temperature)' is assigned f. gender covered by Rule 3 (stem-ending-o and -i).

- (ii) Loans denoting drinks, ailments, games, subjects of study, examinations, groups, vehicles, and months are generally assigned f. gender:

*drinks*: sodha 'soda', lemeni 'lemonade', arenji 'orange', kokakola 'cocacola'.

*ailments*: filu 'influenza', melerya 'malaria', tibi 'tuberculosis' (covered by Rule 3).

*games*: kirketi 'cricket', tenisi 'tennis', resi 'race'. Generally all terms dealing with the cricket game have f gender in Sindhi: bete 'bat', isteme 'stump', vikete 'wicket', ining 'inning', rense 'a run' (except balu 'ball' is m. having competing item kenhuro 'ball' in Sindhi.)

*subjects of study*: aljebra 'algebra', syinsi 'science', fiziksi 'physics', kalkules 'calculus'.

*examinations*: metinki 'matriculation', interi 'intermediate', bie 'B.A.', di liti 'D. Litt'.

*groups*: kilebi 'club', ekiskersen(i) 'excursion', kanfirensi 'conference' kabinet (i) 'cabinet'.

*vehicles*: rele 'railway train', tirame 'tram', basi 'bus', kari 'motor car' tireki 'truck', meli 'mail (train)' But. iskuteru 'scooter'. tirekteru 'tractor', helikapteru 'helicopter'

are m. covered by Rule 3 (stem-ending -ter). motere, moterl 'motor car' is used as f., being abbreviated form of the compound-moter gad'i f.; pilenu 'aeroplane', istimerU 'steamer' are m. having competing items hevai-jehazU m. and panie-jo-jehazU m. in Sindhi respectively.

months: marc(i) 'March', Jun(i) 'June' Agest(i) 'August', Last four months of the year-septemberU, aktoberU, nevemberU, and disemberU are assigned m. gender by Rule 3 (stem-ending-ber). The remaining 8 months can also optionally be used in m. when these occur as abbreviated forms of the phrase with mehno m. 'month' as 'head' : marc(u) (mehno) ' (month) of March'.

Rule 6. English borrowings of necessity which do not belong to any of the groups mentioned under Rule 5, are generally assigned the gender on the basis of their stem-endings as stated below. In certain cases borrowings of

<i>Structural pressure</i>			<i>Semantic pressure</i>	
(Rules 3 and 6)			(Rules 4 and 5)	
sillnge	f.	sillngu	m.	(a coin)
simentl	f.	simentu	m.	CS garo m. 'mud plaster'
bence	f.	beneu	m.	CS texto m. 'plank'

5.2. In certain cases borrowed synonyms of loans with similar meanings yield to structural pressures and they are assigned different genders in Sindhi due to different structural or semantic mechanisms at work in the language:

m.	f.	
sutu	penti	'trousers'
bilauzu	koti	'blouse, coatee'
sutkesu	begi	'suit-case, (leather) bag' (CS f. 'box, trunk')
lemletu	lemenl	'lemonade' (a drink)
notubku	kapi	'exercise book'

lesenu	permiti	'licence, permit'
thyeteru	takize	'movie-theatre'.

**5.3.** We find a few cases where an English loan is split into two different items with different vocalic endings added to the same stem, which are then assigned different genders in Sindhi, as (a) there are more than one corresponding competing items in the language belonging to different gender-classes, or (b) there are different structural and semantic pressures at work in the language:

barder-U	m.	'border (of a cloth)' : CS pele m.,
barder-I	f.	'border (geographical)' : CS serehde f.
istil-U	m.	'steel' : CS ruku m.
istil-e	f.	'steel-pen' : CS kilke f. 'reed-pen'
lemen-U	m.	'lemon (fruit)' : CS limo m.,
lemen-I	f.	'lemonade' (a drink) f.
pesenjer-U	m.	'passenger (traveller)',
pesenjer-I	f.	'passenger (train)', 'a vehicle' f.
gaid-U	m.	'guiding person',
gaid-I	f.	'guiding publication'.
ticar-U	m.	'male teacher',
ticar-I	f.	'female teacher'.
dakter-U	m.	'male doctor',
daktir-yani	f.	'female doctor'.
bebi	f.	'female child',
beb-U	m.	'male child'.
fut-U	m.	'foot (a measurement)',
fut-o	m.	'foot-scale (large)',
fut-i	f.	'foot-scale (small)'.

## THE SINDHI LANGUAGE

H.T. Sorley

The Sindhi language is the most valuable cultural heritage that the country possesses. In the area comprised of the old Province of Sindh and the State, now district, of Khairpur it is spoken by the vast majority of the population. In the shere in which it is predominant Sindhi is spoken in remarkable purity and with complete grammatical accuracy by all classes of persons, educated and uneducated alike. The language is an old one and admirably adapted for its purpose, which is primarily the means of communication of rustic, agricultural and herding people for whose transactions it is completely opposite. With the break-up of the old order of things socially and politically in the area where the Sindhi language is predominant, changing conditions are showing up in a way that was not important before the inadequacy of the language to express the wealth of new ideas current in the twentieth century.

Modern study of the Sindhi language is clearly handicapped by the absence of scholars with the scientific training which is now regarded as indispensable. Such scholars as Sindh produces at present learned in their own language are for the most part insufficiently trained in subjects like comparative philology, history of language, semantics and hermeneutics. Dr. U. N. Daudpota, who died in 1958, was the only Sindhi scholar of considerable stature of his time, and he has done very valuable work in the exposition of the language and literature of former Sindh. His interests are, however, largely confined to Islamic, that is, Persian and Arabic, influences and the culture based on these.

Important influences today are affecting the outlook on the Sindhi language even within the bounds of Sindh and Khairpur region. These influences are varied and can be classed as political, sociological and literary. The chief political influence is the popularisation of Urdu as one of the two national languages of Pakistan.

The main sociological influence now affecting Sindhi is the influx of large numbers of Urdu-speaking peoples entering Sindh and Khairpur region as muhajirs.

In the Census of 1951 of the total population of 4,928,057 persons, 3,917,856 gave Sindhi as their native language, that is, 79.5 per cent of the total population; 690,816 gave Urdu, 13.8 percent.; 495,482 Baluchi, 10.1 per cent., 172,280 Punjabi, 3.5 percent., 74,089 English, 1.5 percent, 17,599 Phshto, 0.4 percent. 12,184 Persian, 0.2 per cent. 2,339 Arabic 0.05 per cent. 924 Bengali, (p. 260) 0.02 per cent. Besides the nine main languages printed on the census slips for enumeration in 1951, the following languages were reported as mother tongues:- Gujarati 97,659, that is 2.0 percent. of the total population, Rajasthani 69,374, 1.4. per cent., Brahui 22,460, 0.5 percent. Miscellaneous languages reported were:- Hindi 523 persons. Unclassified 184 persons, Tribal tongues of the North West 107, South Indian languages 70. Gujarati has been imported by muhajirs. Rajasthani is the mother tongue mostly of the Scheduled Castes<sup>1</sup> and of some muhajirs, and Brahui of South Baluchi tribesmen. Marwari and Siraiki, which are dialects of Rajasthani and Sindhi respectively, have each been claimed to be the mother tongue of over 60,000 persons who are included in the totals of the principal languages. The distribution of the languages in Sindh and Khairpur region is given in the statement below which shows districts of former Sindh and Khairpur.

As regards languages imported by muhajirs the Census of 1951 revealed the following chief languages in order of numerical strength:- Katchi, Urdu, Punjabi, Gujarati, Sindhi, Pushto, Rajasthani, Baluchi, Hindi, Persian, Arabic, Bengali, English, Kashmiri and other unclassified languages. Out of the 5.5 lakhs muhajirs the number claiming Urdu as their mother tongue was over 70,000, Gujarati of over 15,000, Sindhi of nearly, 4,000, Pushto of 1.5 thousand. Sindhi, which is the principal language of the province shows a 5.3 percent. decrease in the number of its speakers as against 11.9 percent, increase in the total population. This change is due to the exodus of Hindus of most of whom this language was their mother tongue. Languages commonly read and written are Sindhi, (p. 267) Urdu and English. The number of readers of the

1. It is an incorrect statement. The Datki dialect of Rajasthani is spoken in Tharparkar area by Hindus of all castes.



persons percent of population claiming each language as mother tongue.

Language	Dadu	Hyd:	Lar:	Naw:	Suk:	Thar:	Tha:	Jac:	Kha:
Sindhi	76.1	68.8	77.2	69.2	79.0	64.4	95.6	64.5	89.0
Urdu	4.0	20.4	4.9	11.3	12.0	9.9	1.2	1.8	2.8
Baluchi	17.1	3.8	14.8	10.4	4.8	5.4	2.0	30.9	3.3
Punjabi	1.9	2.2	.5	6.2	1.9	6.5	0.4	1.2	4.1
Gujarati	0.2	3.7	.4	1.1	.7	6.6	0.4	..	..
Rajasthani	..	.7	..	1.1	.7	6.6	0.0	0.1	.6
Brohi	.4	..	2.0	.2	.6	.1	0.0	1.1	..
Pushtu	.2	.2	.1	.3	.3	.5	.3	.4	.2
Persian	..	..	..	.1	..	.1	..	..	..
Others	..	.1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

other language is insignificant, being less than 0.3 per cent, of the population. Sindhi is read by 7 per cent and written by over 6 percent of the total population. Urdu is read by 2.4 percent and written by 2.2 percent of the total population. The percentage of readers and writers of English is 1.0 per and 0.9 per cent, respectively. Sindhi as the principal language of the former province has the highest percentage of readers and writers in every district. Dadu district having the highest and Tharparkar the lowest. In towns Dadu records the highest percentage. Hyderabad shows a very low figure and Mirpurkhas town the lowest. The reason is that a large part of the population of Mirpurkhas and Hyderabad consists of muhajirs who have not yet learned to read and write Sindhi. The majority of the readers of Urdu are in Hyderabad, Tharparkar, Sukkur and Nawabshah districts where the greatest concentration of speakers from Urdu speaking portions of India and other places have congregated.

The chief authoritative work on Sindhi is found in Volume VIII, Part I, of "The Linguistic Survey of India" in the volume dealing with Sindhi and Lahnda. The Sindhi language belongs to the north-western group of the Indo-Aryan family. On the west Sindhi is bounded by Baluchi, an Iranian language with which it has a distant affinity and by which it is little influenced. In the north

it is bounded by Lahnda, with which it is closely connected. Lahnda is spoken not only to the north of Sindh region but also side by side with Sindhi by more than one hundred thousand immigrants scattered all over Sindh region. Although closely connected with Lahnda, Sindhi, except in the extreme north, is little influenced by it, and such influence is almost entirely a matter of vocabulary. On the other hand, the neighbouring Sindhi has much influenced not only the Lahnda as spoken in former Sindh, but also the Lahnda of the south-western region of former Punjab spoken near the Sindhi frontier. On the east Sindhi is bounded by the Marwari dialect of Rajasthan. There are several forms of speech which are mixtures of Sindhi and Marwari in varying proportions. Sindhi and Marwari belong to different groups of Indo-Aryan vernaculars and, therefore, do not merge into each other through intermediate dialects. The mixed dialects are rather what may be called mechanical mixtures. On the south and south-east Sindhi is bounded by various dialects of Gujarati. Gujarati, although a member of the central group of Indo-Aryan vernaculars, has at its base an old lost language of the outer circle of these vernaculars, of which Sindhi is also a member. This lost language was therefore, akin to Sindhi, and when in the south and south-east we come across Sindhi in contact with Gujarati we find a free intermingling of the two languages and the formation of what is a real dialect of Sindhi in the various forms of Kachi, Lahnda and Sindhi form together a north-western group of the Indo-Aryan vernaculars and also possess many characteristics (p. 268) that connect them with the Dardic languages of the North-West Frontier and especially with Kashmiri. The Dardic languages are spoken by the numerous tribes between Kashmir and Afghanistan and on the south slopes of the Karakorum and the Hindu Kush mountains. The Dards are an Indo-European people once Buddhists but now mostly Shi-ite-Muslims. The Dardic languages are descended from the North-Western Prakrit and are distinguished from the other Indo-Aryan languages of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent by the preservation of the Sanskrit consonant groups and by other archaic features. In the modern Dardic languages little or no distinction is made between cerebral and dental letters. In the Thali dialect of Lahnda "d" is often changed to "ḍ" with dot, / so also "s" "ʃ" and "ḍ" vary often between "ʃ" with dot and "ḍ" with a dot. Examples from Hindi are "ṭaba" "Sindhi" "(tamo)" or even "tramo" (copper); Hindi "dena" but Sindhi "ḍḍian" (to give). The ancient Prakrit grammarians

stated that the same change occurred in Vrachada Apabhramsa Prakrit from which Sindhi is derived. Now most Indo-Aryan vernaculars drop a "t" between two vowels. This frequently is not the case in Lahnda and Sindhi. Thus Sindhi "*pito*" (drunk) but Hindi "*pia*", Sindhi "*chhuto*" (touched) but Hindi "*chhua*" Sindhi "*kito*" or "*kio*" (done) but Hindi "*kia*" Sindhi "*suto*" (asleep) but Hindi "*soa*".

As showing the relationship between Sindhi and the Dardic languages and as evidence of the old age of the Sindhi language the treatment of double consonants derived from the Prakrit is important. In most of the sub-continental vernaculars one of the double consonants was dropped and the preceding vowel lengthened in compensation thus the Sanskrit "*bhaktah*" (cooked rice) become "*bhattu*" in Apabhramsa Prakrit and thence "*bhata*" in most languages. In Punjabi however this is not the case and also in Lahnda. Here the double consonants persist and there is no necessity for compensatory lengthening so that we get in Punjabi and Lahnda "*bhatt*". But the case is different with the Dardic languages and in Sindhi. Thus Kashmiri has "*but*" and Sindhi "*bhat*". This is a very important point and goes back to very ancient times even to the date of the inscriptions of the Emperor Asoka 250 B.C. and most clearly shows the connection between Sindhi and the Dardic languages. The plurals of the Sindhi personal pronouns are based on the same originals as those of the corresponding words in Lahnda and the Dardic languages. The use of pronominal suffixes is extremely common in Dardic languages as well as in Sindhi and Lahnda as Kashmiri "*moru-m*" Lahnda "*mareu-m*" Sindhi "*marya-m*" (struck by me- I struck). In the formation of the passive voice the Dardic language "Shina" makes it by adding "j" to the root; "*shid-emus*" (I was striking) and "*shid-ij-emus*" (I was being struck)'. Similarly in Sindhi the passive is formed by adding "ij" with a short "i" as "*mare-tho*" (he strikes) "*mar-ij-tho*" (he is being struck).

(P. 269) Sindhi has one important peculiarity which it shares with only one or two other Pakistani languages that every word must end in a vowel. The Prakrit grammarian Markendeya stated that the Apabhramsa Prakrit spoken in Sindhi was called Vrachada. It is from this that Sindhi is derived. According to the usual computations Sindhi has four dialects: the Standard or Vichholi, Siraiki, Thareli and Lari, Seraiki as a dialects of Sindhi

has no real existence but two other dialects Lasi and Kachi are to be added to the list. Peculiar to Sindhi are the letters "bb" "jj" "dd" and "gg" and transliterated by Grierson as double "b" double "j" double "d" with dots and double "g" respectively. They are pronounced with a certain stress prolonging and somewhat strengthening the contact of the closed organ and are in fact sounded as double letters and so pronounced in other parts of country but occur even at the beginning of words- "*dubba*" (weak), "*ajj*" (today), "*jjayo*" (born), "*waddo*" (great), "*dditho*" (seen). These are really the only double letters in Sindhi.

Sindhi shares with Kashmiri and Lahnda the use of pronominal suffixes. In Kashmiri they are attached only to verbs, and Lahnda apparently only to nouns and verbs. But in Sindhi they are attached not only to nouns and verbs but also to post positions. They are employed exactly as in Persian and Hebrew and can be used for any case; "*nenu-um*" (my eye), "*maryu-m*" (I struck), "*sandu-m*" (of me, mine or my). Pronominal suffixes of the nominatives are "*maryu-s*" (I was struck) "*marind-e*" (thou shalt strike). Suffixes of other cases are "*piu-m*" (my father), "*sany-s*" (with him), "*ddim*" (give to me). Suffixes of the case of the agent are used only with the past tenses of transitive verbs "*mary-ai*" (he struck), "*mary-au*" (they struck). As in other Indo-Aryan vernaculars the past participle of a transitive verb is passive in meaning, thus "*maryo*" (struck-not having struck)/ so that with the tenses formed the past participle the subject to the verb must, as in Hindi, be put in the case of the agent. In Sindhi the number of irregular past participles is far more than in any other language of the East, and in this respect it ranks with Lahnda and Kashmiri. The number of irregular past participles in Sindhi is computed by the Linguistic Survey of India at 128. The complexity of the pronominal suffixes with the Active Verb is shown in the following examples: "*maryo-atha-m*" (I have struck him) "*maryoatha-w*" (you have struck them), "*maryo-ho-m*" (I had struck him). "*marihual*" (they had struck her), "*mari-hundiam*" (I may have struck her).

The Panjab is the meeting ground of two entirely distinct languages, the Dardic parent of Lahnda, which expanded from the Indus valley eastwards, and the old midland language, the parent of modern Western Hindi, which expanded from the Jumna valley westwards. In the Panjab they overlapped. (P. 270) Lahnda may be described as a Dardic language infected by Western Hindi, while Punjabi is a form of Western Hindi with

Dardic languages, being protected from the east by the desert of western Rajputana. Sindhi does not merge with Rajasthani. such border dialects as exist are mere mechanical mixtures.

The north-western group is a member of the outer circle of Indo-Aryan vernaculars. The members of this outer circle are the southern language, Marathi; and the eastern group of languages, Oriya, Bengali, Bihari, Assamese. The only forms of speech that show any close relationship to the languages of the north-western group are the three Pahari languages. They have, like Sindhi a basis connected with the Dardic languages. The immediate predecessor of Sindhi was an Apabhramsa Prakrit named Vrachada according to the grammarian Markendeya, who has given a few particulars. He mentions Vrachada Paisachi as spoken in the same locality and lays stress on the fact that the Kekaya Paisachi is the principal form of that Sanskrit. In Gandhara there are two famous rock inscriptions of the Emperor Asoka, About 250 B.C., at Shahbazgarhi and at Mansehra which are couched in what was then the official language of the country. This was a dialectic form of Pali distinguished by possessing several phonetic peculiarities that are still observable in the Dardic languages and in Lahnda and Sindhi.

The Sindhi language abounds in Arabic and Persian words which, contrary to the usual rule in Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and Central Asia, constitute the common, not the learned names of things, as "*jaba*" (hill), "*basar*" (onion), "*abu*" (father), "*thum*" (garlic), "*shar*" (thing), "*ku*" (all). Pure as well as corrupted Sanskrit words perfectly unintelligible to unlearned natives of the Peninsula are perpetually occurring in Sindh region as "*sain*" (sir), "*kukkar*" (cock), "*jas*" (victory), "*apar*" (endless). Hyderabad is the model and the language spoken in the Vicholo or middle country of which it is the social centre, is pure Sindhi. From Thatta south-ward the dialect of the Lar or Low Country prevails, of which the most notable peculiarity is the dropping of the letter "*h*" even in the aspirated consonants. There are also many peculiar words in use being spoken in Cutch and Thar. The three northern talukas of the Hyderabad district are called Uttar and the dialect Utradi which resembles Shikarpuri. *Hitre* and "*Kithre*" take the place of "*hithe*" and "*Kithe*". In Shikarpur besides such differences of pronunciation there are a good many words in common use which portray the influence of

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It is commonly pronounced as hite.

Urdu, such as "dhobi" instead of "Khati" for a washerman and "bhangi" instead of "shikari" for a sweeper. In this region there is also a distinct dialect in use known as Jatki or Saraiki, that (P. 271) is the language of the north country, which is common to a part of the former Punjab, and is regarded by Sindhis as a dialect of Punjabi. It is spoken chiefly by the Jats and some of the Baluch tribes, like Rinds and Lagharis and by the Abassis. There is another more or less distinct dialect called *Tharili* spoken by nomads and wild people of the Thar desert. It appears to be compounded of Sindhi, Marwari and other ingredients. The tongue of Ubauro, which has become proverbial for corruptness, is perhaps only an extreme form of this. Many Baluchis use among themselves the Balochki language which has been described as Persian disguised under a corrupt and unaccountable form of pronunciation, but is really a distinct language belonging to the Iranian branch of the Aryan group. The Brahuis very generally use their own Brahuiki, a tongue of the Dravidian stock. But all the rest of Baluchis and Brahuis understand and can speak Sindhi. Afghans, Marathas and Gujaratis speak their own language among themselves. Urdu is generally understood in large towns and English has come into general use among educated people even for their private correspondence. The Arabic-Sindhi alphabet, a modified type of the Persian script, is universally employed now in writing and printing Sindhi. But the banias, who since 1947 have largely left Sindh still cling to the nagari stenography known as Bania, or Hindu-Sindhi, for all purposes of business. A few old-fashioned persons keep up the practice of corresponding in Persian.

The Sindhi language is a language of a simple and rustic people living an unsophisticated life and familiar with the sights and sounds of the countryside, where agricultural pursuits, pastoral occupations and nomadic wanderings are all part of the scheme of life. Some forms of expression Sindhi can do extremely well. It is also wonderfully fitted for expressing feeling of reverence, devotion and religious ecstasy. For the simple and primitive laughter of country folk it provides also a very satisfying means of expression. There are many humorous short songs composed in a medium that exactly harmonizes with the subject matter. Languages of this kind are usually rich in proverbs and Sindhi is no exception. Many collections of Sindhi proverbs infected with Persian influence have been made. From then one

can gather the amount of pithy wisdom, homely humour and succinct sententiousness which is part of the life of the people. Many Sindhi proverbs are caste in the form of jingles. A few examples of Sindhi proverbs are worth recording here:- *qarz waddo marz*- debt is a great fret (literally illness). *Der pia, durust thia* دیر آید درست آید -- slow and steady wins the race. *yar uho, jo auke men kam ache* -- a frined in need is a frined indeed. *kamaliyat khe - zawaliyat* هر کمال را زوال -- the best of things must perish. *jesin sas, tesin aus* -- where there's life there's hope. An example of simple humour rather on the lines of Aesop's Fables is the Sindhi saying *karo munh kutte jo*, (P. 271) *rab ko na milio* -- the dog had his face blackened, (i.e. was disgraced) an he didn't get any of the soup. And another is *ve-i sanghan khe, kan be kapa-i-a-i-* (the camel) going for horns had his ears lopped off- Be satisfied with what you have got. For epigrammatic wisdom one may cite *ghane zaliyan, ghar na hale; ghane mursyan, har na hale* -- too many women, home's a sorrow too many men, there's not a furrow. Too many cooks spoil the broth; or *jhairro wan, thairro phar*-- as th tree, so the fruit. Like father, like son, as a sidelight on rural life there is --- *jite har, tite ghar* -- where's the plough, there's the cow, literally, where the plough is there the house is. Another example is *bhaggo gharoo dun dun kare* -- a cracked bell gives a dull sound.

There is a vast field for sociological enquiry into the sayings of the Sindh countryside, but owing to the absence of interest and the lack of scholarship in former Sindh very little has been done in exploring this fertile field of human experience.

## SINDHI

Sindhi appears to have been spoken in the Indus delta from time immemorial. It is quite conceivable that the language of the people of Mohen-jo-Daro, as yet unfortunately not deciphered, contained elements of the present Sindhi language.

There is a difference of opinion on whether Sindhi has descended directly from Sanskrit or from a dialect of it. It is clear from the observations of Istakhri and Maqdisi that in their time (tenth century A.D) it was the language of Daibul, Mansurah and Multan. Ibn Nadim and Albiruni (both of the tenth century) have also told us about the original script of the language which later on took the form of the Arabic Naskh.

It is not certain when the present language acquired a written form or when its speakers began to compose verses in it. There is not evidence of Sindhi poetry in recorded history until the reign of the Abbasid Khalifa Haroon-ar-Rashid, when a poet from Sindh appeared at the court of the minister Fazl ibne Yahya Barmaki (d. 808 A.D.), and recited a verse of his native tongue. The meaning of its Arabic version is:

"When glorious deeds are mentioned in our country,

It is your name which is cited as an example".

Unfortunately the words of this verse have been corrupted by Sindhi scribes in such a way that it is impossible to make anything out of it.

After the advent of Islam, a number of Sindhi scholars not only wrote books in Arabic on various aspects of Islam, but also composed poetry of a high standard in that language. It may be assumed that these scholars wrote in their own language also, but no such written works, have come down to us to support the assumption.



Through verbal tradition, however, we can trace the beginning of refined Sindhi poetry back to the dominance of the Ghaznavids in Sindh. During the rule of the Soomras and Sammas, Sindhis produced excellent poetry, and among the earliest and best known poets we find the names of Sayyed Ali of Thatta, Hazrat Makhdoom Nooh of Halla, Kazi Qazan of Thatta and their younger contemporary, Shah Abdul Karim of Bulri, the great grandfather of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai.

Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai (1689 - 1752 A.D) lived during the Kalhora period. He perfected Sindhi poetry both in form and in content, and he remains the unchallenged master of Sindhi verse. His poetry is deeply rooted in the soil of Sindh, yet it has a universal (P. 430) appeal. So great is the impact of his immortal work in Sindhi literature that one hears its distinct echo in all the poetry produced by later generations. From the time of Shah Latif to the British conquest of Sindh there were a large number of Sindhi poets, such as Mohammad Zaman Lunwariwalla, Shah Inayat, Abd-ur-Rahim Grohari, Sachal Sarmast, Bedil, and Sabit Ali Shah Sabit, whose diwan (works) are still to be found. It is to be noted that Sindhi was the court language in the days of the Soomras, the Sammas, and later on, during the Kalhora and Talpur periods.

The British, with the help of experts, undertook a reform of the Sindhi alphabet with a view to bringing the written language in line with the spoken word. As a result the alphabet increased from 30 to the 52 letters it has today.

It was in the British period that really good prose began to be produced in Sindhi. Syed Miran Mohammad Shah-I of Tikhir, Divan Kewal Ram, Ghulam Hussain and Akhund Lutufuallah are among the early prominent prose writers. But Shams-ul-Ulama Mirza Qilich Beg can be rightly called the father of modern Sindhi prose. He is said to have written or translated from other languages over three hundred books. There were, however, many contemporaries of Mirza Qilich Beg who were great prose writers in their own right, such as Hakim Fateh Muhammad Sehwani, Kazi Hidayatullah Mushtaque, Allama Asadullah Shah Fida, Abd-ur-Razak Memon, Maulvi Din Muhammad Wafai, Muhammad Siddique Musafir, Muhammad Hashim Mukhlis, Shamsuddin Bulbul, Dr. H. M. Gurbuxani, Bheroomal Mehrchand, Lalchand Amardinnomal, S.C. Shahani,

Jethmal Persram, Allama I. I. Kazi, U. M. Daudpota, Syed Miran Muhammad Shah-II, Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi, Syed Hussam-uddin Rashdi, Usman Ali Ansari, Atta Hussain Shah Moosvi, Abdul Hussain Shah Moosvi and several others.

Long before the British rule, Sindhi poetry had entered a new phase under the influence of Persian poetry. Not only were various forms of Persian poetry adopted by Sindhi poets, but they also borrowed many ideas from Iran which were, strictly speaking, foreign to the soil of Sindh and the product of different cast of mind. It was because of this that the Ghazal and some other forms of poetry composed in the Sindhi language did not become popular among the masses. There were, however, some poets such as Mohammad Qasim, Murtazai Thattavi, Gul Mohammad Gul, Sayed Gada, Hafiz Hamid, Abdul Hussain Sangi, Zaman Shah and others who inspite of having adopted Persian forms, derived their inspiration from the classica Sindhi poets. Their work has therefore been popular among the masses as well as people of more sophisticated taste.

There were others who continued to compose poetry in indigenous forms using the Sindhi language in its purest character. Noteworthy among them are Misree Shah, Makhdum Muhammad Amin, Mahdee Shah, Hafiz Shah, Sahibdino Shah, Wali Muhammad Laghari and Hammal Fakir.

In modern times, the progress of education and the impact or Western civilization have widened the out look of Sindhi writers and given them new impetus. Research scholars, linguists, poets, playwrights, short story writers (P. 431) and novelists hav produced works of real merit, which can be rightly regarded as a great contribution to Sindhi literature.

Among the many literary organizations serving the cause of Sindhi language and literarture at present, the Sindhi Adabi Board has achieved international recognition by solid publication work. The Board has to its credit over 350 published books and the quarterly journal Mehran in Sindhi, which was started in 1955. There are several daily newspapers being published in Sindhi such as Ibrat, Nawa-i-Sind and Khadim-i-Watan, besides a number of weeklies.

## THE SINDHI LANGUAGE

H. T. Lambrick

The Sindhi language, according to the accepted scientific classification, belongs together with Lahnda or Western Panjabi to the North West group of the outer circle of Indo-Aryan vernaculars. The two tongues show a strong connection with the Dardic languages further to the north, especially with Kashmiri. Like other modern Indian languages of the Aryan family, Sindhi derives from a Prakrit, that is an early popular dialect of Sanskrit<sup>(1)</sup>; but it is distinguished if not unique in its retention of a number of characteristic features of this Prakrit which in other existing Indo-Aryan languages are regularly modified. This conservatism is largely due to the isolated position of Sindh, separated by the great desert from the other tracts where cognate tongues are spoken.

According to the Prakrit grammarian Markandeya, the Apabhramsa Prakrit spoken in Sindh was called Vrachada. He remarks that the consonants "t" and "d" at the beginning of words common to most Prakrit become in the Vrachada Prakrit cerebrals instead of dentals; and he notices a tendency for sibilants to be pronounced "sh". These features are constantly reproduced in modern Sindhi, in contrast to the practice in most related languages.

Hindu grammarians also recorded a Paisachi or Dardic dialect spoken in the Vrachada country. One of the peculiarities of the Dardic tongues is that the letter<sup>(2)</sup> "t" when it comes between vowels is retained and not elided as in all Indo-Aryan languages. This characteristic too has survived in modern Sindhi. Looking still further backward, we find in the dialect form of Pali in which the Emperor Asoka's rock inscriptions in Gandhara were written many phonetic peculiarities which are still observable in the Dardic languages, and in Lahnda and Sindhi.

1. According to modern theory Sanskrit is a refined form of a Prakrit dialect. See Introduction.

2. It is 't' sound and not letter.

Before examining further the peculiarities of Sindhi we may consider the area over which it is spoken as the predominant local language. This includes the whole of the modern province of Sindh with Khairpur, the peninsula of *Cutch*, the southern portion of *Las Bela* in Baluchistan, The province of *Kachhi* which adjoins north west Sindh, and the extreme southern portion of Bahawalpur.

Standard Sindhi, the literary language, is that spoken in Vicholo, the central area of the modern province. In addition there are five regional dialects or forms of Sindhi: Siraiki, spoken in upper Sindh and *Kachhi: Thareli* or *Dhatki*, in the eastern desert areas: *Lari* in the Delta of the Indus and the coastal areas: *Kachchhi*, in the peninsula of Cutch: and *Lasi*, near Karachi and in the south of *Las Bela*.

If to the areas in which Sindhi is the predominant language, whether standard or dialect, we add the tracts in which the essentially similar Lahnda tongue is spoken, we find that the combined region corresponds remarkably closely with the boundaries of the old Buddhist kingdom of Sindh as recorded in the Chachnama. The Prakrits from which Sindhi and Lahnda were developed had probably become well established before the country was annexed by Darius Hystaspes, and the subsequent influxes of Greeks, Sakas, Parthians and Huns may have had little influence on the language except possibly in contributing to its vocabulary.

The most characteristic features of Sindhi all connect it with the Dardic tongues of the north west. The more important of these are as follows: affection for double consonants: extensive use of prenominal suffixes: the ending of every word with a vowel: and the large number of irregular past participles of verbs.

There are four double consonants<sup>(1)</sup> peculiar to Sindhi,

بب, دد, جج and گگ which Sir George Grierson renders as *bb*, *dd*, *jj* and *gg*. These occur in the Prakrit, in most derived vernaculars one of the two is dropped and the preceding vowel lengthened in compensation. In Sindhi as in Kashmiri when one of them is omitted the preceding vowel remains unchanged: but generally (224) speaking, the Prakrit double consonant is retained in the corresponding Sindhi word; and, still

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1. See the article Sindhi Implosives.

more significant, Sindhi frequently introduces a double consonant in place of a single one in the Prakrit original.

Prenominal suffixes are extensively used in the Dardic tongues, for instance Kashmiri, and are also a feature of Lahnda language; but it is in Sindhi that their most elaborate application is found. In Kashmiri they are attached only to nouns, and in Lahnda to verbs and nouns; Sindhi in additions joins to postpositions. Two such suffixes may be attached to verbs together, so that the sentence, "I hit him" can be rendered in a single word. Phrases such as "to him", "his father", "my head" are almost invariably expressed in this manner. The resulting conciseness of idiom makes Sindhi an admirable vehicle for conversation and this is perhaps its most captivating feature to persons who become well acquainted with it after equal experience of other Indian languages.

The most important peculiarity which Sindhi shares only with Kashmiri, that every word in the language ends in a vowel, is widely unrecognized. In fact, these terminal vowels are so lightly pronounced as to be almost imperceptible to European ears, except perhaps when the words are being sung and not spoken. The pronunciation of the mute "e" in French feminine endings, is broadly speaking parallel; while a somewhat similar feature in Sindhi itself is the occasional arbitrary insertion of a short vowel, either "i", or after the letter "h" and "e", between consonants. This is generally more audible than the terminal vowel of words which seem to end in consonants. Thus *asaman*, 'sky', is often pronounced *as-i-man*, and *mehmani*, hospitality, as *meh-e-mani*.

The noun in Sindhi possesses in addition to the nominative and oblique cases which are common to all Indo-Aryan vernaculars an organic ablative, an organic locative and a vocative case. As to adjectives, one minor peculiarity in Sindhi is that when governing a plural noun in an inflected case, the adjective is put into the oblique plural, instead of the oblique singular as in Hindi.

The conjugation of Sindhi verbs in general correspond closely with the system in Hindi and other languages. The Past Conditional tense is wanting in Sindhi and is roughly supplied by means of the Imperfect, Past or Pluperfect indicative. On the (225) other hand, Sindhi, has a Habitual Past tense peculiar to itself, formed by adding تو, the oblique form of تو, a

declinable particle which may be classed as a remnant of an auxiliary verb meaning "to be", to the Past tense of the main verb. The latter alone is conjugated, <sup>ٿي</sup> remaining unchanged. When used to form the Present Indicative tense, by addition to what is known as the "old present" tense of another verb, this auxiliary <sup>ٿو</sup> agrees in gender and number with the subject it thus possesses something of an adjectival character: The "old present" tense of Sindhi verbs is a subjunctive, as in most Indo-Aryan languages; but it has sometimes the force of a Present or, as in Kashmiri, a Future indicative.

In addition to the peculiar <sup>ٿو</sup> Sindhi possesses two other verbs meaning "to be"; one, <sup>آهيان</sup> -'I am', like it possesses only a present tense, but unlike it can be used separately: the other, <sup>هئڻ</sup>, is conjugated throughout.

Sindhi is distinctive also in its formation of tense from the participles of verbs. Thus the Present participle is used to form the Future Indicative and not as in Hindi the Past Conditional - a tense which as already mentioned is wanting in Sindhi. Most of the connected languages produce their future tense by means of a periphrasis based on the old Sanskrit future passive participle. Again, the tenses derived from the past participle, which has a passive meaning, can be used in Sindhi this passive sense and conjugated exactly like intransitive verbs, a use not found in Hindi; though as in Hindi, when used in an active sense, the subject is put in the case of the agent.

The Perfect, Pluperfect and Future Perfect tenses are regularly formed as in Hindi.

The Past Participle in Sindhi has two terminations; that having the sense of a verb in -o, and the other with a purely adjectival sense in -a/. Both are declined. Sindhi is in this respect distinguished from Gujarati, Marathi and the eastern group of the outer circle of Indo-Aryan languages, which have the -l termination of the Past Participle without any alternative. The formation of the Past Participle in Sindhi verbs is very often irregular; in this respect again the language resembles Kashmiri and Lahnda. Such instances in Sindhi number 128; far more than in any Indo-Aryan vernacular belonging to the regions east and south: for example, Hindi has only seven such. It may (226) be that the repeated influxes of new races into the Indus valley contributed somewhat to this peculiarity. There is also a

characteristic tendency in the language to form the past participle with a "t" after the penultimate vowel.

A relatively large number of Sindhi verbs possess a causal form. This is normally obtained by adding *-ai* to the root, the resulting verb being conjugated regularly. But many causals are formed on other ways, for instance by modification of the root itself. A special feature of Sindhi is the double causal, allowing the concise expressions of fine shades of meaning.

Characteristic also is the extensive use of the Passive voice, particularly that of intransitive verbs, used impersonally in the third person singular, e.g., "It was being gone by me" instead of "I was going",. The regular formation of the passive is by the addition of "*ij*", with a short "*i*", to the root. This corresponds closely with the practice in Shina, a Dardic language, which adds "*-ij*" with a long "*i*" in order to form its passive.

Compound verbs- intensives, potentials, completives - are in common use in Sindhi as in most other Indo-Aryan languages, the auxiliary being frequently the same as in Hindi.

The characteristic features of Sindhi mentioned above are found, generally speaking, in the dialects as well as in the standard literary language of Vicholo. The peculiarities of the dialects may now be briefly reviewed. These, as mentioned earlier on, are Siraiki, Thareli or Dhatki, Kachchi, Lari and Lasi.

The term Siraiki is commonly used in Sindh to designate the Lahnda dialect spoken by *Jats* and certain Baluch and other tribes who came into the country from the Panjab. It is used by these people wherever they may be living in Sindh. Its secondary meaning is the type of Sindhi spoken in *Siro*, that is Sindh north of the latitude, roughly speaking, of Dadu and Kot Lalu. This latter hardly deserves to rank as a dialect; it is generally esteemed the equal of Vicholi or standard Sindhi, and differs from it only in pronunciation and in the exclusion of certain alternative words. Consonants are vigorously pronounced and there is a characteristic tendency to insert in speech, though not in writing after the cerebrals

Thareli or Dhatki, and Kachchi, are forms of Sindhi having a strong admixture of Rajasthani and Gujerati respectively. They are mongrel tongues rather true dialects, shading off (227) into

one or other of the two components according to localities and the racial origins of the people speaking them.

*Lari* on the other hand is a true dialect. It is regarded by the speakers of standard Sindhi as uncouth- "What men speak in the Lar is the speech of oxen in Siro" - and in fact it appears to be the most primitive type of Sindhi. It tends to soften the harsher sounds; to substitute the dental ڙ for the cerebral ڙ and to disaspirate consonants which are aspirated in the neighbouring languages. These are features of the Dardic tongues, which virtually exclude aspirated consonants. *Lari* has also a very large number of words peculiar to itself, including many of the commonest terms.

*Lasi* again is a real dialect. It resembles standard Sindhi rather than *Lari*, but is distinguished by having special forms of personal pronouns, some special post-positions and many peculiar words of its own, some of which may derive from older sources than the Prakrit.

Sindhi must have been well established, flexible and copious language at the time of the Arab conquest, but it was much enriched by that event and by the embodiment of the country in the Islamic world. This association antedated the conquest of Upper India by the Ghaznavi and Ghori sultans by some three centuries and has left its traces in the peculiar use of Arabic words. In other Indian languages learned words connected with the religion, science and philosophy of Islam are commonly borrowed from the Arabic, but Sindhi has also assimilated a number of the commonest words; a hill, a thing, a tent, an onion, a saucer, are all known by their Arabic names. These we may be sure were taken directly from the Arabs, whereas the Arabic element in other Indian languages came in with the Persian, and as a part of that language. Persian words are indeed used most extensively in Sindhi, but as elsewhere in India it is the vocabulary and not the syntax which is affected. *The formation in Sindhi, already mentioned, of the present indicative tense by the addition of particles to the aorist, occurs also in Persian; but the very fact that these particles are inflected in Sindhi and not in Persian shows that Sindhi derived this usage direct from a remote common origin, and preserves in its older form.* We do not find the Persian order of words in the formation



of Sindhi sentences, as occasionally occurs in Urdu: Persian words "naturalised" in Sindhi (228) are not pronounced as in Persia, nor are the Arabic words in use inflected according to their own rules, but have been obliged to conform to the indigenous grammatical system.

From this brief survey it will be evident that the Sindhi language as we now possess it reflects a number of features of the country's history, and also the influence of its geographical position and circumstances. Viewed through its literature, the peculiar genius of the language will on the whole be found more, readily in poetry than in prose; but it would not be appropriate to enlarge on this subject in the present work.

## Notes

1. This chapter is based almost entirely on Sir G. R. Grierson, *The Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. VIII, Part I, and on Richard F. Burton, *Sindh and the Races that inhabit the Valley of the Indus* (W. H. Allen, 1851).

## ORIGIN AND ANCESTRY OF SINDHI LANGUAGE

Dr. Ghulam Ali Allana

### 1. Sindhi is not derived from Sanskrit

1. Sindhi is one of the ancient languages of the world. Scholars, both native and foreigners, have always taken keen interest in the study of its origin and structure. In spite of that the opinion about the origin and ancestry of Sindhi language has still remained as a problem for linguists, and up till now it has been a controversial topic for the scholars of both native and non-native schools of linguistics.

So far, whatever has been stated about its origin and ancestry can be divided into three opinions; viz:

(a) In the opinion of the scholars of the first group "Sindhi is derived from Sanskrit". In view of these scholars Sanskrit was first changed into Prakrit. The Prakrit was changed into Pali, and Pali was then changed into Shaurseni and it (Shaurseni) became Apabhramsha. Apabhramsha was divided into two branches; namely Vracada Apabhramsha and Nagara Apabhramsha. Sindhi, according to this theory, has sprung from Vracada Apabhramsha by about 1100 A.D. Dr. Ernest Trumpp was first scholar who pointed out "Sindhi is derived from Sanskrit"<sup>(1)</sup>. He and his disciples are of the opinion that "Sindhi language came into present form in the eleventh century A.D." Besides him, Professor Bherumal Advani <sup>(2)</sup>, Mirza Qaleech Beg <sup>(3)</sup> and Dr. Gur Buxani <sup>(4)</sup> were main supporters of this theory. They all agreed that Sindhi is a genuine daughter of Sanskrit. They argued that there are plenty Sindhi words (Tatasama & Tadbhava) which show affinity with Sanskrit words. These scholars are also

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1. Trumpp, E. *The Grammar of Sindhi Language*, Leipzig, F. A. Brokhans, 1872, introduction, p. I.

2. Bherumal Advani, *Sindhi Boli-a-ji Tanikha*, Hyderabad Sindhi, Sindhi Adabi Board, 1956, p. 69.

3. Mirza Qaleech Beg, "Sindhi Vya Karan, Vol. III. Hyderabad, Sindhi Adabi Board, 1960, p. 14.

4. Gur Buxani, H. Dr. *Muqdamah- Latifi*, Hyderabad Sindhi, Aftab Press, 1950, p. 114.

of the opinion that phonetical and morphological resemblance between Sindhi and Sanskrit indicate that Sindhi is derived from Sanskrit.

(b) Dr. N. A. Baloch is the pioneer of another theory. According to him:

"Sindhi is an ancient Indo-Aryan language, probably having its origin in a Per-Sanskrit Indo-Aryan Indus -Valley language. The Lahnda and Kashmiri appear to be its cognate sisters with a common Dardic element in them all. Sindhi in particular, may have imbibed some influence of the ancient language of Mohan-jo-Daro civilization having affinities with the Sumerian and Babylonian tongues. In the more historical times influence of Iranian language on Sindhi appears to be a certainty. This influence was followed by Sanskrit influence through the Pali Prakrit particularly from the days of Kanishka (78-144 A. D.). In more recent times influence of Arabic which was state language from 8th to 11th (possibly 13th) century A.D., and of Persian which was a state language for more than five centuries (14th to 19th A.D.) has been deep and permanent. Thus with its long history and rich linguistic background, the philological peculiarities and structural complexities of Sindhi are so challenging that, at present stage of our knowledge, it is not possible to trace many of its words to their origin"<sup>(1)</sup>.

In his another article Dr. N. A. Baloch writes:-

The distinct nature of Sindhi, Lahnda and the Dardic languages (of Kashmir, Kohistan in Gilgit) rather suggest that they own their origin to the common stock of Aryan tongues spoken at the time of early Aryan settlement all along the Indus Valley. It has already been accepted that Paishachi, the mother of Dardic languages, was a very ancient language, a sister, and not a daughter of the form of speech which ultimately developed as literary Sanskrit<sup>(2)</sup>.

(c) Sirajul Haque Memon differs with both Dr. Ernest Trumpp and Dr. N. A. Baloch. In his view "Sindhi is not derived from

1. Baloch, N. A. Dr. *Comprehensive Sindhi Dictionary*, Sindhi Adabi Board, 1960, p. 19.

2. Ibid., *Some unknown languages of Kohistan*, Asiatic society of Pakistan, Dacca, p. 55.

Sanskrit, but on the contrary Sanskrit is a genuine daughter of Sindhī" (1).

For the support of his theory Siraj has tried to prove that "Indus Valley has been a central and original place of civilization and culture of the people of East and West". He states that the people of ancient Sindh took their culture with them, when they migrated to Mesopotamia and Babylonia, and spread their language along with their culture within that part of Asia" (2).

In view of Siraj "The Aryan hypothesis is a fiction, and it was initiated by the German scholars in their support." (3). According to him "There is no influence of Mesopotamian or Babylonian civilization on the Indus Valley Civilization, but on the contrary the civilization of Mesopotamia and Babylonia has been influenced by Mohen-jo-Daro Civilization, and that the Indus Valley civilization reached there through commercial people and traders" (4). He supports his view points by giving reference from Dr. Nooh Crammer's book (5).

2. Every scholar has agreed with the theory that the Mohan-jo-Daro civilization is a pre-Aryan Civilization. It is also an accepted fact that Aryans came to India via Iran (6). It is also a fact that the Aryans did not enter into India in one group, but they entered into the Indus Valley in different groups, one after another (with intervals) (7). Some of them crossed the passes of Hindu Kush mountains and entered in North-Western tracts of the Indus Valley (8), and the others came by the Sea, into the Southern part of Indus Valley (9). It is also mentioned that the Aryans entered into the Indus Valley by about 1500 to 1000 B.C. (10). Afterwards, they went towards eastern and other sides of Indus Valley.

In view of some scholars, the Indo-Iranian language of Iranian Aryans was divided into two main branches. The

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1. Siraj Haque, *Sindhī Boli*, Hyderabad, Azim Publications, 1964, Introduction, p. 4.

2. Swami Sankaranada, *Rig Vedic Culture of Pre-Historic Indus*, Vol. I., Calcutta, 1946, Preface, pp. 2-4, 9 & 14

3. Ref. 1, p. 14.

4. Siraj, Op. Cit. p. 14.

5. Ibid, p. 14.

6. Grierson, G., *Linguistic survey of India*, Vol. I. Part. I. 1927. p. 99.

7. The early Aryans were divided into five clans: viz: see: Srimati Akshaya Kumari Devi, *The Evolution of Rigvedic Pantheon*, Calcutta, 1938, pp. 17 and 25.

8. Grierson, G. Op. Cit, p. 99.

9. Ibid.

10. Chatterji S. K. *Indo-Aryan and Hindi*. Ahmedabad, 1942, pp. 97 & 98.

language of those Aryans who settled down in Iran was called ancient Iranian<sup>(1)</sup>, and the language of those who entered into the Indus Valley was called the Indic<sup>(2)</sup>. Indic is also called the Indo-Aryan language, that is the Aryan language of India.

3. It is not an easy task to give a final opinion about the origin and ancestry of Sindhi language without comparing it with Prakrit, Sanskrit, Dravidians and other languages of the sub-continent. Some scholars have given their opinion just after collecting a number of words of Sanskrit origin, which are commonly used by Sindhi speakers. But from the stock of cognate words of Sindhi and Sanskrit, from resemblances of morphological and syntactical structure of these languages, why it should not be assumed that both Sindhi and Sanskrit have sprung from a common origin? For this theory it can be observed that as before the research of Sir Willim Jones, the scholars of the sub-continent, having found the word stock of Sanskrit, Greek and Latin resembling with each other, and having observed similarities in phonetic system, morphology and syntax of these languages, they were of the opinion that Greek, Latin and Zend have been derived from Sanskrit<sup>(3)</sup>, in other words in view of the Indian scholars Sanskrit was the mother of the Indo-European languages.

Sir William Jones, after comparative study of Sanskrit, Greek, Latin and Zend stated that Sanskrit, Greek, Latin and Zend have been derived from a common origin<sup>(4)</sup>. For the comparative study of Sindhi & Sanskrit, Sanskrit and Lahnda (Lahndi), And Sindhi, Sanskrit and Lahnda (Lahndi), one should take guidance & assistance from the arguments and results advanced by Sir William Jones.

4. So far comparative study of two or more than two languages is concerned, one has to take help from historical linguistics. A language is said to have been related with another language when different features of those languages exhibit certain similarities or resemblances. Such features are: phonemes, morphemes, words & their roots, sentence constructions, formation of participles and substitution types<sup>(5)</sup>.

1. Buck, C. D. Comparative Grammar of Greek & Latin, University of Chicago Press. 1962, p. 4.

2. Ibid. 'Hindko' may be its present form so for its name is concerned.

3. Bloomfield, L. *Language*, London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1961, p. 12.

4. Ibid, p. 12.

5. Bloomfield, L., Op. Cit. p-12.

If two or more than two languages resemble each other in all the above cited features, it can be said that either one language is derived from another language, or both (or more) the languages have sprung from a common origin. Sanskrit and Sindhi exhibit similarities in every respect so much so that because of these resemblances, words having same semantic meaning with same phonetic correspondence and shape, common principles of phonetic system, same system of morphology and syntax, and cognate rules of declension and conjugation, it can be said that either Sanskrit and Sindhi have sprung from a common origin, or either of the languages has been influenced by each other.

The first scholar who expressed the view points about the theory of the ancestry of Sindhi language, and who proved that Sindhi is derived from Sanskrit was Dr. Ernest Trumpp. Although, he has stated that Sindhi is daughter of Sanskrit, but after a thorough comparative study of Sindhi Language, he had to reconsider his theory, and had to change his view points. He says:

The Sindhi is a pure Sanskritical language, more free from foreign elements than any other languages of the North-Indian Vernaculars. The old Prakrit grammarians may have had their good reason to designate the Apabhramsha dialect from which the modern Sindhi is immediately derived, as the lowest of all the Prakrit dialect, but if we compare now the Sindhi with its sister tongues, we must assign to it in a grammatical point of view the first place among them. It is much more closely related to the old Prakrit, than Marathi, Hindi, Punjabi and Bengali of our days, and it has preserved an exuberance of Grammatical forms, for which all its sisters may envy it. For, while all the modern vernaculars of India are already in a state of complete decomposition, the old vernacular mother-tongue being hereby recognisable in her degenerate daughters, the Sindhi has, on the contrary, preserved most important fragments of it and erected for itself a grammatical structure, which surpasses in beauty of execution and internal

harmony by for the looses and levelling construction of its sisters<sup>(1)</sup>."

Dr. Trumpp seems to be doubtful about his theory in which he had stated that Sindhi is derived from Sanskrit. He has corrected himself, and in support of his new changed theory he states:

The Sindhi has retained steady in the first stage of decomposition after the old Prakrit, where all the other cognate dialects have sunk some degrees deeper; we shall see in the course of our introductory remarks that rules which the Prakrit grammarians Kramadishvara has laid down in reference to the Apabhramsha, are still recognisable in the present Sindhi, which by no means can be stated of the other dialects. The Sindhi has thus become an independent language, which, though sharing a common origin with its sister tongues; is very materially differing from them<sup>(2)</sup>.

Sir Grierson also is of the same opinion, if we carefully refer Vol: I, Part, I of his book.

From the above statement of Dr. Trumpp & Grierson it is clear that so called Apabhramsha from which Sindhi was supposed to have been derived, was an ancient and independent language, and which was much older than the language from which other vernaculars of the sub-continent were derived, and that the Apabhramsha from which Sindhi is supposed to have been derived was much closer to old Prakrit than that Apabhramsha from which other Vernaculars were derived. The scholars have given certain examples of similar peculiarities of Sindhi and old Prakrit grammars, viz: (i) In Prakrit -ijj is inflected to active verbal roots for passive voice<sup>(3)</sup>. The same morpheme ijj is inflected to Sindhi active verbal root for passive voice; viz:

likh - + ijj = likhijj ( لکھ = لک + جے )

khatu likhije tho ' the letter is being written'

1. Trumpp. E. Op. Cit. Introduction, pp. I & II.

2. Ibid, Introduction, pp. I & III.

3. Dines Chandra Sircar, Grammar of the Prakrit Language, University of Calcutta, 1943, p.20.

Professor Bherumal Advani wrote his book entitled "Sindhi Boli- a ji Tarikha" with the aim to prove that Sindhi is derived from Sanskrit. As a matter of fact this book was just a translation of both Trumpp & Grierson. He explains his theory in the form as follows:-

Sanskrit → Prakrit → Shauvseni → Apabhramsha →  
Vracada → Sindhi

But having observed some special peculiarities in Sindhi language, he has unwillingly stated that:

"Sindhi is a link language between Indian vernaculars and Iranian language"<sup>(1)</sup>.

He further writes that pronominal suffixes are used most commonly only in Sindhi, Lahnda, Kashmiri and Siraiki, viz:

<u>Sindhi</u>	<u>Siraiki</u>	<u>Kashmiri</u>
maryum	maryim	morim

Professor Bherumal further states that these pronominal suffixes can not be found in any other language of India except in Sindhi, Lahnda, Kashmiri and Siraiki. These pronominal suffixes are also very common in Persian language. For this reason, he explains, "it can be said that Sindhi is the only language which can be called the link language between Indian Vernaculars and Iranian language"<sup>(2)</sup>.

5. These are the main points which have created many questions in the minds of the students of Sindhi linguistics. If the theory that "Sindhi is derived from Sanskrit through Shourseni is accepted, then how could Sindhi, which, in view of Sir Grierson, Professor Bherumal and others, was derived as the lowest of all other vernaculars of India by 1100 A.D.<sup>(3)</sup>, be more closely related to old Prakrit and Sanskrit than those Indian Vernaculars (Gujrati, Hindi, Marathi and Panjabi) which have been derived from Shourseni or other Prakrit? On the contrary Gujrati, Marathi, Hindi and other Indian Vernaculars, which according to Professor Bherumal took their modern form much earlier than that of Sindhi, could be more closely related to Sanskrit. The countless affinities in Sindhi, Lahnda and Sanskrit prove that either they are cognate

1. Bherumal Advani, *Sindhi Boli-a-ji Tarikha*, Sindhi Adabi Board, 1956, p. 88.

2. Bherumal, Op. Cit. p. 88.

3. Pischeli, R. Op. Cit. p. 4.



languages or they have influenced each other, or they have been derived from a common origin.

6. The meaning of the words "Sanskrit" and "Prakrit" also help the students of linguistics in finding the origin and ancestry of the vernaculars of the sub-continent. From the roots of the words "Sanskrit" and "Prakrit", and from the meaning and definition of these words, it is evident that almost all the vernaculars of the sub-continent of India have not been derived directly from Sanskrit. It is also evident that Sanskrit has never been a spoken language of the sub-continent as a whole in any period of history<sup>(1)</sup>. Professor Bherumal, in his book "Sindhi Boli-a ji- Tarikha" explains the meaning of the word Prakrit. He says:

"Prakrit means: "(a) natural language (b) original language. The antonym of 'Prakrit' is 'vikrit' which means corrupted form"<sup>(2)</sup>.

In the same book Professor Bherumal describes the meaning of the word "Sanskrit". He writes: "The root of the word Sanskrit is /karh/ which means to do. The past-participle, of /krah/ is /krit/ - which means 'done'; /Sam/ is a prefix which means 'good', the sam + krit (Sanskrit) means 'polished' or 'refined'. Hence Sanskrit language means polished or refined language"<sup>(3)</sup>.

After comparing the meanings and definition of the words Sanskrit and Prakrit, one can ask, how is it possible that a natural or original language can be derived from a polished or refined language? But on the contrary a polished or a refined language (Sanskrit) must have been sprung from an original or natural language (Prakrit). In other words it can be said that Sanskrit is not the origin of Prakrit language, but Sanskrit, on the contrary, is a refined or polished form of a dialect or Prakrit; hence Prakrit is an original source of Sanskrit.

7. Many linguists and philologists of the world are of the opinion that all the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars of India are the dialects of Prakrit language. In their views all these dialects have sprung from different Prakrits which were used as spoken languages during that time. In other words it can be said that

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1. Pischell, R. Op. Cit. p. 4.

2. Bherumal Advani, Op. Cit. p. 38.

3. Ibid, p. 24.

Sanskrit is not the mother of the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars, but they are the daughters of an old Prakrit. In view of Pischell:

So the Prakrit languages are artificial dialects in so far as they are considerably altered from literary view-points by poets. But these are not artificial dialects, if thereby it is meant that they are the result of the efforts of the poets. What is true with these dialects is equally true with Sanskrit, which has never been commonly spoken language of the cultured Indians. This Sanskrit was not the basis of the Prakrit dialects which indeed go back to a certain popular spoken dialect, which, on political or religious grounds was raised to the status of a literary medium.

But the difficulty is that it does not seem probable that all the Prakrit dialects sprung out from one and the same source. At least they could not have developed out of Sanskrit, as it is generally held by Indian scholars, Hofer, Lassen, Bhandarkar and Jacob. All the Prakrit languages have a series of common grammatical and lexical characteristics with the Vedic languages, and such are significantly missing from Sanskrit<sup>(1)</sup>.

The earliest specimen of the Aryan Vernacular of India are to be found in the hymns of the Rig Veda. Most of these hymns were undoubtedly originally composed in the actual spoken language of their authors, a natural, unartificial language subsequently developed in Brahmanical Schools and called Classical Sanskrit. From the inscription of Asoka (250 B.C.) and from the writings of the grammarians - Patanjali (150. B.C.), we learn that by the third century before our era, an Aryan speech (in several dialects) was employed in the north of India and, having gradually developed from the ancient vernaculars, spoken during the period in which the Vedic hymns

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1. Pischell, L. Op. Cit. p. 4.

were composed was the ordinary language of mutual intercourse.

Parallel, the so-called Classical Sanskrit had developed, from one of these dialects, under the influence of Brahmins as a secondary language, and had achieved a position much the same as that of Latin of the Middle Ages.

For centuries the Aryan-Vernacular languages of India have been called Prakrit, i.e. the natural, unartificial language, as opposed to Sanskrit, i.e. the polished, artificial language. From this definition of the term 'Prakrit' it follows that the vernacular dialects of the period of the Vedic Hymns, as compared with the comparatively artificial Sanskrit a language of these hymns as they have been preserved by the Brahmins who compiled them, were essentially Prakrits and as such they may be called vernaculars which developed from them and which continued developing alongside, of the Sanskrit whose growth was arrested by the grammarians of the Brahminical Schools, until they became the modern Sanskrit's Indo-Aryan Vernaculars may be called Secondary Prakrit<sup>(1)</sup>.

Sir Grierson states further that Sanskrit is derived from Primary Prakrit: He says: "Concurrent with this long development of modern vernaculars, we have the classical Sanskrit, also derived from one of the Primary Prakrit dialects"<sup>(2)</sup>.

Another Indian Scholar K. A. Nilakanta is also of the opinion that Sanskrit is not an original or parent language of Indian vernaculars. He points out:

There were at the first stage at least three dialects Northern or North-Western (Udichya) which still retained many of the archaisms of the Vedic as it was spoken in the land of the Vedic culture; Mid-Indian which was the language of the Madhyadesa, and the Eastern which was the

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1. Grierson, G., *Linguistics Survey of India*, Vol. I. Part-I, 1927 p. 121.

2. *Ibid*, p. 127.

language of the Prachya countries. The language of the Vedic poetry (Chandasa) had grown obsolete and was cultivated only by the priests. A new form of it, however, had come into existence, by way of compromise, by the incorporation of dialect elements which had already crept into the language. This is Sanskrita, described by Panini as Bhasha which, though an artificial vehicle of expression, became the polished language of intercourse and instruction in the Brahmanical Schools. It was certainly not the spoken language of the Udichya country where Panini was born. The language thus regularised by Panini was gradually accepted by the whole Brahmanical world as the language of culture and became a powerful instrument of expression. Thus a language already obsolete in form became a living language for all time among the elite<sup>(1)</sup>.

The editor of the Imperial Gazetteer of India records his opinion that Sanskrit is a polished form of a dialect of Udichya Prakrit. In his view:

It also received literary culture from the most ancient times, and became fixed, in the form of Sanskrit (literally the purified 'language'), by the labours of grammarians, which may be said have culminated in the work of Panini about the year 300 B.C. Sanskrit thus presents a polished form of an archaic tongue, which by Panini's time was no longer a vernacular, but which, owing to political reasons and to the fact that it was the Vehicle of literature, became a second language understood and used by the educated in addition to their mother tongue, and has so continued with a fluctuating popularity down to the present day<sup>(2)</sup>.

He further writes:-

Just as the spoken dialects of Italy existed side by side with Latin, and while the evolution of Latin was

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1. Nilakanta, K. A. *A Comprehensive History of India*, Bombay, The Indian History Congress, Orient Longmans, 1957. pp. 726 & 628.
  2. *The Ethnology, Languages, Literature and Religions of India*, Reprinted from the third edition of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (1907-09) Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1931, p. 357.

arrested by its writers, ultimately developed into the modern Roman languages, so the ancient Vedic form of speech developed first into that stage of language known as Prakrit, and then into one or more modern Indo-Aryan- Vernaculars. It is thus a mistake to say that any modern Indian-language is derived from Sanskrit. The most that can be said that it and Sanskrit have a common origin<sup>(1)</sup>.

Another Indian Scholar Mr. Bhattacharyya also agrees with Pischell and Grierson. He states: "Sanskrit means things reformed, remodelled, adapted to the environment or made once for all"<sup>(2)</sup>.

He further writes: "Sanskrit is corrected Prakrita, and so is the opinion of HemaChandra in his 'Sabdanu's Assana Vritti (1814). This latter word has been derived from Prakrit (Natural)"<sup>(3)</sup>.

He further mentions:-

Sanskrit means made chaste and decent for use in the educated circle. The word was necessitated from the time when Prakrit had to be made Sanskrit. Sanskrit and Prakrit are the same language and guided almost by the same grammatical rules.

Then a question arises, asks Bhattacharyya, which is older, Sanskrit or Prakrit? From the above discussion it appears that from Sanskrit, Prakrit came; but this appears rather unnatural, for the dictum of psychology is that knowledge goes from simple to complex. The well organised Sanskrit must have come after the dialect of the people has fairly been well adapted to express ideas easily. Moreover people in the earlier state of society were backward intellectually in so far as the power of analysis is concerned, as this develops only with experience

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1. Imperial Gazetteer of India, p. 358.

2. Bhattacharyya H. K., The Language and Script of Ancient India, Calcutta-9, Bani Prakashami, 1959. p. 2.

3. Ibid., The Language and Script of Ancient India, Calcutta-9, Bani Prakashami, 1959. p. 5.

of different types acquired from life in the world. Prakrit thus appears to have been the earlier form of the language of the Vedics<sup>(1)</sup>.

Thus Sanskrit was the name given to this language of the enlightened people who used the Prakrit language with correct innovation and with a standard and uniform mode of uses<sup>(2)</sup>.

From the above example it is clear that Sanskrit is not the origin of the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars of the sub-continent, but it (Sanskrit), on the contrary, is a refined and polished form of a local dialect of Primary Prakrit language. In other words the origin of Sanskrit is a dialect of Primary Prakrit.

From the above example it is also concluded that in those days Prakrit was not one language but it was divided into different dialects, which were spoken in different areas. One of those dialects was used by Brahmans for education and literary purpose, which was, afterwards, called Sanskrit or Bhasha.

8. Now the question arises what was that dialect which was refined and took the shape of Sanskrit language, and in which part of the sub-continent that particular dialect was being spoken? Pischell has replied this question. He states: "Sanskrit forms the chief constituent of individual Prakrit dialects, especially of Maharashtri of artificial poetry, such as 'Gaudava ho' and 'Ravanaho', that are composed according to the model of Sanskrit"<sup>(3)</sup>.

The editor of Imperial Gazetteer of India mentions: "We may take the language of the Rig-Veda as representing the archaic dialect of the Upper Doab of which Sanskrit became polished form"<sup>(4)</sup>.

In the opinion of Sir Grierson, the dialect spoken on the banks of Indus took the form of Sanskrit. He Says: "On the other hand, in the extreme North-West of India, bordering on the Eranian speech, whose existence is vouched for the

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1. Bhattacharya, Op. Cit., p. 5.

2. Ibid, p. 6.

3. Pischeli, L. Op. Cit. p. 7.

4. *The Ethnology, Languages, Literature and Religions of India*, OP. CIT. p. 357.

next stage of Prakrit to be presently described, and which was a development of the particular dialect of Old Sanskrit spoken on the banks of Indus"(1).

According to Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Sanskrit took its shape from a sub-dialect of Udichya (N. W. Dialect) dialect of Prakrit. He states:

In his (Panini Grammar) he finally, as if for all the time, regularated classical Sanskrit, the third in line of succession from the Vedic Kunstsprache as in the Rigveda, through the language of the Brahmins. It was based evidently on the spoken dialect of Udichya, and it was adopted with zeal by the entire Brahmanical world in the Midland, in the East, also in the South(2)".

Nilakanta, in this connection states:

The large of the Vedic (Udichya) poetry (Chandas) had grown obsolete and was cultivated by the priests. A new form of it, however, had come into existence by way of compromise by the incorporation of dialect elements which had already crept into the language. This is Sanskrit, described by Panini as Basha, which, though an artificial vehicle of expression, became the polished language of intercourse and instructions in the Brahmanical schools(3)".

From the points discussed above it is proved that a sub-dialect of Udichya Prakrit, which was spoken on the banks of the Indus in the upper Doab, was refined by Brahmins, and took the shape of Sanskrit. In the days of Gotma Budha, the tract of Udichya was famous for education and learning. People from other parts of the sub-continent had high opinion about this part. In a book of Brahmins it is mentioned for this area that:

" The dialect of Udichya tract corresponding roughly to the present day North-West Frontier provinces and Northern Panjab, was highly thought of, and it

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1. Grierson, G., *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. I, Part. I, 1927, p. 127.

2 Chatterji S. K. *Indo-Aryan and Prakrit*, Ahmedabad, Gujarat Vernacular Society, 1942, p. 60.

3. Nilakanta, Op. Cit. p.

maintained a conservative character, continuing to be nearest to the old Indus Aryan standard. A Brahman text (the Kanitak Brahman) says that in Udichya speech it is uttered with greater discrimination, they go to the Udchya people to learn speech who ever returns from here, him the people wish to hear<sup>(1)</sup>."

In the days of Panini (500-400 B.C.) Taxila (Taksashila) was a great seat of learning in Udichya tract. Panini was educated in Takśasila University. He was one of the greatest scholars of this University. He was the first person who wrote a book on Sanskrit grammar. When he entered to this University as a student, there were many scholars there (in that University). It can, therefore, be said that Taxila University was a great seat of learning, and Brahmans (Professors) of this University were very popular for their knowledge. The dialect which was commonly spoken in this area (Taxila tract) took new shape (refined shape) under the influence of Brahmans, and was called the language of scholars.

9.. Some native scholars, having found some resemblance in Sindhi and Dardic languages, have stated that Sindhi has sprung from Paisachi, the mother of the Dardic languages, but in the opinion of Sir Grierson Sindhi is not a daughter of Paisachi, but there is an influence of Dardic languages on Sindhi and Lahnda. He says:

"Dardistan, the present home of the Dardic languages, includes the East-West Gilgit and Kashmir, the Indus Swat-Kohistan, Chitral and Kafirstan. In early times the Dardic languages were much more widely extended. They once covered Balochistan and West Tibet, where the inhabitants now speak Tibet-O-Burman languages. Philology shows that they must have covered nearly the whole Punjab or Panjabi and Lahnda, the present languages of that Province, still show traces of the earlier Dardic languages that they superceded. Still further South we find traces of Dardic in Sindhi<sup>(2)</sup>."

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1. Chatterji S. K. *Indo-Aryan and Hindhi*, p. 55.

2. Grierson, G., *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. I, Part. I, 1927. pp. 109-112.



Sir Grierson in his article entitled "Vracada and Sindhi", expresses that "the Vracada Apabhramsha form of a Prakrit was spoken in Sindh"<sup>(1)</sup>. But Late Jairamdas Daulatram, a great Sindhi scholar is critical to this view point. In his article he quotes Markandeya and states;

"Vracada Apabhramsa had originated in the Sindhu Deśa. The Sindhu Deśa of the early Sanskrit literature, and some times even of medieval literature, has been generally identified with parts of middle Indus Valley situated in West Punjab and the Southern portion of the old N.W. Frontier Province. Sindhu and Suvira have generally been held to be continuous regions and are often mentioned together, some times as one composite state"<sup>(2)</sup>."

He further states: "Sindh of the Mahabharata lay much to the north of present Sindh of the lower Indus-Valley where none of the five rivers flows"<sup>(3)</sup>.

Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram states that Vracada had originated in the Sindhu Deśa, and Sindhu Deśa has been described by him, the country upto Aror and not South of Aror. Nagara, in his opinion prevailed in Gujrat, Rajasthan and near by regions. Vracada must, obviously, have belonged to a region further to the West or North or North-West of Southern Punjab, the region of upa-Nagara. This would place the Sindhu Deśa of Markandeya much to the north of the present Sindh, the region of the Sindhi language known as such.

Mr. Jairamdas concludes his arguments and states that:- "Vracada was not the local language of the people of the lower Indus Valley or that the Sindhi language known as such, has been derived from Vracada"<sup>(4)</sup>.

He states: "Sindhi was a local Prakrit, known as "Sindhi Prakrit". The Sindhi Prakrit, of the lower Indus Valley region

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1. JARAS. London, 1902, p. 27.

2. Jairamdas Daulatram, article "*The ancestry of Sindhi*" section of the All India Oriental Conferences, New Delhi, December, 1957.

3. Ibid, p. 43.

4. Ibid., Op. Cit. p. 58.

comprising modern Sindh, which had evolved and changed into a local Sindhi Apabhramśa, was in existence concurrently, as the main local language of that region"<sup>(1)</sup>.

He further states: .

"An ancient variant of the pre-Vedic Prakrit, spoken by the people of the lower Indus Valley, has probably continued to evolve, acquiring the form of old Sindhi in the phase of 'Secondary Prakrit'. It is then, that, later while Sanskrit was in use by the learned in this region and the inter regional literary Nagara Apabhramśa had also thrown out its variant in the form of Vracada, somewhere to the north of present Sindh, The Sindhi Prakrit simultaneously continued its independent process of evolution and changed in the main region of the lower Indus Valley and crystallized into a distinctive spoken and literary language which may be termed middle Sindhi of the end of the first millennium of the Christian era, as contrasted with old Sindhi of the earlier period and the Modern Sindhi of the post Apabhramśa period. Vracada was not the local language of the people of present Sindh, but, due to proximity, it may have lent some words or phonetic peculiarities to a northern dialect which has coloured the language of present Sindh, owing to the continued political, social and cultural domination over it for several centuries by the people coming from regions to the north and north-West of Sindh"<sup>(2)</sup>."

10. After having compared the view points of the scholars of different schools of thought it can be concluded that:

- (i) Sindhi has not sprung from Sanskrit
- (ii) No vernacular of the sub-continent has been derived from Sanskrit.
- (iii) Sindhi is an independent language, termed by scholars 'Sindhi Prakrit', which was spoken in the lower Indus Valley.

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1. Ibid.

2. Jairamdas Daulatram, Op. Cit. p.

## 2. Sindhi language has its roots in the Mohen-jo-Daro Civilization:

(a) Every scholar has now agreed to this theory that Mohen-jo-Daro civilization is a pre-Aryan civilization, and that before Aryans came to India there was a language which was a spoken tongue of the Indus Valley people. After Aryans had settled down in the Indus Valley, not only their culture and religion came in contact with those of the Indus Valley people but it also was influenced by the culture and religion of the indigenous people of Indus Valley<sup>(1)</sup>. Many phonetic sounds, phonemes, morphemes, words and phrases of the pre-Aryan language of the Indus Valley were borrowed by the Aryan settlers<sup>(2)</sup>. The indigenous stock of words as such borrowed by the Aryan languages have been termed by the Prakrit grammarians as "Deshya" words<sup>(3)</sup>. The grammarians classified the word stock into Tatasama, Tadbhava, Deshya and Videshya kinds<sup>(4)</sup>. The stock of Deshya words have been retained and are being spoken by the people of the Indus Valley, the remaining elements of which are spoken even to day.

It is already pointed out that Dr. Trumpp who was the originator of the theory that "Sindhi is derived from Sanskrit", seems to be doubtful about his view points. He made some ammendments in his theory. In support of his new opinion he states:

The Sindhi has remained steady in the first stage of decomposition after the old Prakrit, where all the other cognate dialects have sunk some degrees deeper, we shall see in the course of our introductory remarks that rules which the Prakrit Grammarian Kramadishvara has laid down in reference to the Apabhramsa, are still recognisable in the present Sindhi, which by no means can be stated of the other dialects. The Sindhi has thus become an independent language, which, though sharing a common origin with its

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1. Mariwalla, L.L. Mohen-jo-Daro, Bombay, Popular Book Depot, Lemington Board, 1957, pp. 58 & 70.

2. Ibid.

3. Pischell, R. Comparative Grammar of the Prakrit languages, second edition, Delhi, Motilal Benarasides, 1965, p. 7.

4. Ibid.

sister tongues is very materially differing from them.<sup>(1)</sup>"

## **2. The language of Mohen-jo-Daro is the parent language of present Sindhi language:**

For the final opinion about the origin and ancestry of Sindhi language one has to study and compare all the view points of all the scholars. Most of the scholars have tried to solve this problem just keeping in view the theory that "Sindhi is an Aryan language", but some of them have given thought to this theory that "Sindhi is a non-Aryan language".

The grammarians of the Prakrit languages, having studied thoroughly the characteristics of the vernaculars of the sub-continent, have divided the word stock of the local languages into four kind: Tatasama, Tadbhava, Desha and Vide shyh.<sup>(2)</sup> The stock of Deshya words has drawn the attention of the scholars of the sub-continent in general and that of Sindh in particular for the reasons that these (Deshya) words are the remaining stock of the words of the language which was commonly spoken by the people of the Indus-Valley before Aryans settlements in the sub-continent.

professor Berhumal Advani has also supported this opinion of the grammarians. He states:

Deshya or Desaj (Des=country+j=ja=to give birth) means local, native. Deshya words are those words which were commonly in use in the country (India) before Aryans settlement, or they have been commonly used even after Aryan settlement. Sanskrit is not their origin but they have been borrowed by the Aryans from the local language of Kol, Bhil, Santhal and Dravidians.<sup>(3)</sup>"

(i) Dr. Trumpp had to reconsider his first opinion (that Sindhi is derived from Sanskrit) when he compared the stock of Deshya words with that of Sanskrit, and he was compelled to rephrase his first opinion. He said:

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1. Trumpp, E. Op. Cit., Introduction. P. 1.

2. Pischell, R. op. Cit. P. 97.

3. Bherumal Advani, Op. Cit. PP. 176 & 177.

"We Shall on the other hand be able to trace out a certain residuum of vocables, which we must allot to an old aboriginal language, of which neither name nor extent is now known to us, but which, in all probability was of the Tatar stock of languages and spread through out the length and the breadth of India before the eruption of the Arian race, as all other vernaculars contain a similar non-Aryan residuum of words, which have been already designated as "Provincial by the old Prakrit grammarians."<sup>(1)</sup>"

Dr. Trumpp's statment has greatly supported the opinion of native scholars, as well as that of Dr. Caldwell, a well known scholar of Dravidian languages, who has quoted him (Dr. Trumpp) in support of his theory.<sup>(2)</sup>

(ii) In view of Dr. Caldwell the pre-Aryan Languages of the sub-continent are local (Deshya) languages.<sup>(3)</sup>

(iii) After having compared the view point of Dr. Caldwell with modern methodology of research, and after comparative study of phonetic system, morphological and syntactical system of Sindhi and those of major Dravidian languages<sup>(4)</sup>– Tamil, Telegu and Kanar- it can be said that Sindhi & Dravidian are cognate languages.

Dr. Parpola and Simo Parpola, the scholars of the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies at Copenh Hagan, have been of great help to late Dr. Caldwell's theory. They have tried to decipher the script of Mohen-jo-Daro, and have claimed that: "The language (that of Mohen-jo-Daro) is an early form of Dravidian, called by us 'Proto-Dravidian'. It appears to be very close to the South-Dravidian, especially Tamil, and decidedly younger than the parent language of all Dravidian tongues"<sup>(5)</sup>.

When the opinion of Dr. Caldwell is compared in the light of the results of the decipherment of the seals of Mohen-jo-Daro,

1. Trumpp. E. Op. Cit. Introduction, p. III.

2. Rev. Robert Caldwell, A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian of South-Indian Family of Languages, London, Truner co: Ludgate Hill, 1875, Introduction, p. 64.

3. Ibid, p. 50.

4. Caldwell Op. Cit. Introduction, pp. 4 & 5.

5. Asko Parpola, The Indus Script Decipherment, Madras, The Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, 1970, p. 6.

we get sufficient proofs in support of his opinion and it can be claimed that Sindhi and Dravidian languages are closely related with each other..

(iv) Almost all the historians, archaeologists and anthropologists of the world are unanimously of the opinion that before the arrival of the Aryans in the Indus-Valley, the territory was occupied<sup>(1)</sup> by the speakers of Dravidian tongues.<sup>(2)</sup>

3. Who were Dravidians? Which place they came from? What was their original place? Was it an indigenous race of the Indus Valley or they had also come from outside? Different scholars have given different opinions about this theory.

According to Dr. Caldwell, Dravidians were originally from Scythian race, and in his opinion the Dravidian languages were related to Turanian Family of languages.<sup>(3)</sup>

In view of Major Mockler the Dravidian languages have affinity with Scythian branch of Turanian family of languages. He states:

"Baloches is the name which has been given to the languages spoken by all the peoples (with exception of the Brauhees, who have a language of their own, called Kurdee or Kurdgalee which probably belong to the Scythian group of languages) now inhabiting the place of country marked Balochistan in our maps"<sup>(4)</sup>.

Sir William Jones was of the opinion that there are some elements of Tatarian Stock (i.e. Scythian languages) in shape of words in the North Indian local languages.<sup>(5)</sup> John Beames considers Dravidian race as Turanian, and Dravidian Languages as branch of Turanian languages.

Professor Gankovsky states:

The presence of indisputable relationship between the Dravidian languages and the

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1. John Beames, *A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Non-Aryan languages of India*, London, 1872, Introduction, pp. 9-10.

2. Ibid.

3. Caldwell, *Op. Cit.* Introduction, p. 57, 58 & 59.

4. Mockler, E. Major, *A Grammar of the Baloches language..*  
Theory S. King & co 1877, Introduction, p. 1.

5. Caldwell *Op. Cit.* Introduction, p. 58.

languages of the ancient Western Asia warrants the conclusion that in antiquity there was a territorial contact between the speakers of these languages. There are also indications that the Dravidian languages were connected with Ugric (Finno-Ugric) languages family. These connections may have come about in the epoch antecedent to the expansion of I.E. tribes and nationalities in Middle Asia, i.e. not later than the third millennium B.C.<sup>(1)</sup>

The Scandinavian scholars giving examples of resemblance of the Dravidian languages and that of Mohen-jo-Daro state:

(i) In a combinatory analysis (A 2 to 4) the linguistic type of the language of the Indus inscriptions appears to be agglutinative, of the languages known from the Indian sub-continent only the Dravidian languages belong to this type.

(ii) The declension paradigm discovered fits to the declension of Dravidian.

(iii) The alternation of a zero suffix and the genitive suffix which is attested in the Indus inscriptions is a characteristic of Dravidian.<sup>(2)</sup>

From these examples it is concluded that the Dravidian languages have sprung from the language of Mohen-jo-Daro.

4. According to Sirajul Haque Memon, Sindhi language is one of the Dravidian languages, and has sprung from the language of Mohen-jo-Daro. He writes: "The reason for different hypotheses about the origin of Sindhi language is that no scholar has compared it with Dravidian languages. Sindhi has no doubt remained in contact with Aryan languages, but the influence of these languages is just social and cultural like that of the Semitic languages on Arabic. Due to religious contacts, this influence has increased more"<sup>(3)</sup>.

1. Gankovsky, Yu, V. *The people of Pakistan*, Lahore, Peoples Publishing House, U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, Dravry 26, Shahrah-e-Qaid-e-Azam, p. 33.

2. Asko Parpola, *The Indus Script Decipherment*. Op. Cit. 1970. p. 14.

3. Sirajul Haq Memon, *Hilal-e-Pakistan*, Daily 30th May, 1972, p. 5.

Siraj further states that Muhanas, Malanas and Malah castes of Sindh are aboriginal tribes of Dravidian race<sup>(1)</sup>.

5. A group of scholars is of the view that when Aryans entered into the Indus Valley, the natives of the territory were so much terrified that all of them fled towards South, South-East, East and so on. This hypothesis can not be accepted because it seems impossible that every native of this area, being afraid of Aryan's control over the land, migrated towards the places stated above.

It is rather possible that some of the local people might have rushed towards neighbouring states to save their and the lives of their families, but most of them surrendered before the conquerors. At present Brauhi, Oda, Kola, Bhila, Muhanas, Jata and other indigenous tribes who live in Sindh in great number are aboriginal tribes of Indus Valley.

Their existence, their language and culture prove that all the indigenous people did not leave the territory but they accepted the Aryans as their rulers, and remained there where over they were. They accepted the rules and regulations, customs and traditions of their new masters, but did not abandon their own customs and traditions, their language and religion. They must have borrowed the words from the language of their masters, but at the same time, the Aryans also borrowed many words of culture and daily life from the rich language of the civilised valley of Indus. In this connection Asko Parpola states:-

The Aryans, although in all probability fewer in number, by their military force subdued the Dravidians. They intermarried, and the Dravidians took over the language of the conquerors, which with their political power became the medium of culture. Their own substantial language, however, deeply influenced the Sanskrit language, and the marked difference between the complicated consonant clusters of the Sanskrit and the simple cultures of the Dravidian, already reflected in *mr̥dhra vac*, the Rigvedic epithet of the *Dasyus*, resulted in the coming into being of the Prakrit languages. The Aryans on the other hand took over much from the religion and civilization of the Dravidians<sup>(1)</sup>.

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1. Sirajul Haq Memon, *Hilale-e-Pakistan*, Daily, 30th May, 1972, P. 5.

2. Asko Parpola *Op. Cit.* p. 12.



From this argument it is evident that most of the peculiarities of the culture, religion and language of Indus Valley people were retained and preserved by the native people and these elements are discernible even today.

## 6. Some instances of relationship between Sindhi and Dravidian languages:

When the phonetic system, morphological and syntactical systems of Sindhi language are compared with those of Dravidian languages\_ Tamil, Telegu and Kanare\_, it is found that there is a great resemblance in these languages, and it can be claimed that Sindhi and Dravidian languages are closely related with each other.

In the following pages some instances and examples have been placed before the readers to enable them to decide whether Sindhi still contains all those characteristics which have been underlined as non-Aryan, i.e. pre-Aryan or Deshya or local characteristics. These characteristics have been traced and pointed out by the scholars in the inscription of Mohen-jo-Daro seals. Some of the examples indicating the relationship between the dialects of Dravidian languages, Sindhi language and that of Mohen-Jo-Daro are given below:-

(1) Most of the words deciphered by the Scandinavian scholars can be found in daily use by the speakers of Sindhi language of present days. Some of these words are being given for instance<sup>(1)</sup>:

<u>DECIPHERED</u>		<u>SINDHI</u>		
pen	"woman"	bhena	بين	"sister", "Woman"
penti, peni	"comb"	phani	فنى	"comb"
Kati	'cot'	khata	كت	'cot'
Katili	'Cot'	Khatolo	خوبو	'cot'
mati	'earthenpot'	matu	مب	'earthenpot'
ko	'mountain'	Ko (Lari)	كو	'mountain'
juta	'hair'	juta	جنت	'hair'
kal	'black'	Karo	كارو	'black'
Kot	'fort'	kotu	كوت	'fort'

1. Asko parpola, The Indus Script Decipherment Madras, 1970, pp. 4, 6.

Also See: Decipherment of the Proto-Dravidian Inscription of the Indus civilization, Op. Cit. 1970 pp. 5, 15, 23, 29 & 30.

(ii) Many words of indigenous origin (Deshya) are commonly used in Sindhi. The se words have been marked as Dravidian words. Some of these words are given for example"(1).

<u>SINDHI</u>	<u>DRAVIDIAN</u>	<u>SINDHI</u>	<u>DRAVIDIAN</u>
Sui	'needle' sivvi	kala	ڪلا 'art' kala
niru	'water' nira	ama!	اما 'mother' ama!
ami	'mother'	ami	آمي 'mother' ami
adi	'sister'	adi	آدي 'sister' adi ('woman')
mina	'fish' mini	tarun	ٽارون 'palate' talei

Dr. Caldwell states:

There is probably almost as large a proportion of Dravidian words in Sanskrit, as British words in English, but this probability has generally remained unnoticed, and wherever any word was found to be the common property of the Sanskrit and any of the Dravidian tongue, it was at once assumed to be Sanskrit derivative.

Sanskrit lexicographers and grammarians were not always so discriminate as their Dravidian brethren; and if any writer has happened to make use of local or provincial word, that is, a word belonging to the vernacular of the district in which he resided, every such word, provided only it were found in written Sanskrit character, was forthwith set down in the vocabularies of Sanskrit<sup>(2)</sup>.

## 7. Relationship between phonetic system:

It will be seen from the examples given below that there is a considerable similarity in phonetic system of Sindhi & Dravidian languages; for instance:

(i) Both Sindhi and Dravidian languages have almost the same phonetic system.

Retroflex sounds are main peculiarity of Dravidian phonetics. Sanskrit has borrowed retroflex sounds from

1. Pischell, Op. Cit. p. 7.

Also see: Chakaravarti, 'C', Literary History of Ancient India. Calcutta, p. 70.

Also see Caldwell, O. Cit. Introduction pp. 48 & 45 to 258, 259, 260, 464.

2. Caldwell, R. Op. cit. pp. 453.

Dravidian languages<sup>(1)</sup>. Retroflex sounds are also one of the characteristics of Sindhi phonetic system. In this connection Dr. Trumpp states: "One of the most striking of these provincial peculiarities is the fondness of the Sindhi for cerebrals. This language has preserved the harder point of contact, and has not followed itself to be weak and soft"<sup>(2)</sup>.

Dr. Trumpp, in confirmation of his view points says: Nearly three fourth of the Sindhi words which commence with a cerebral are taken from some aboriginal non-Aryan idiom which in recent times has been termed Scythian, but which he would prefer to call Tatar". "And this" he proceeds to say" seems to be very strong proof that the cerebrals have been borrowed from some idiom anterior to the introduction of the Aryan languages.

(ii) *Nasal sounds*: Sindhi phonetic system contains five nasal sounds viz: bilabial, alveolar, retroflex, Palatal, and velar. In Sindhi and the Dravidian languages these sounds are articulated at the same places of articulation. In Tamil and Telegue much of nasal sounds is made<sup>(3)</sup>. The nasal vowel sounds a peculiarity of Sindhi phonetic system.

(iii) *Unaspirated sounds*: Another peculiarity of Dravidian languages is unaspirated sounds. Tamil makes no use whatever of aspirates and has not borrowed any of the aspirated consonants of Sanskrit<sup>(4)</sup>. The Sindhi language has retained this peculiarity in its Lari dialect<sup>(5)</sup>.

(iv) *Words ending in a vowels*: Every word, in Dravidian languages must end in a vowel<sup>(6)</sup>. Similarly in Sindhi also every word ends in a vowel.

(v) *Initial and final consonantal clusters*: According to the phonetic system of Dravidian languages, initial cluster of two or more than two sounds is not possible in any Dravidian word. For instance in English word 'strength' a cluster of three

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1. Caldwell, Op. Cit. pp. 32-326.

2. Trumpp E. Op. Cit. p.

3. Caldwell Op. Cit. pp. 12 & 65.

4. Ibid. p. 12.

5. Bherumal Advani. Op. Cit. pp. 125 and 127.

6. Caldwell. Op. Cit. p. 79.

consonants /str/ is possible; similarly cluster of three consonants /krs/ like in Sanskrit word /krsan/ are inadmissible in Dravidian languages<sup>(1)</sup>. Similarly in the final position of a word, clusters of consonants are impossible in Dravidian languages<sup>(2)</sup>. Clusters, as such (initial and final), are also inadmissible in Sindhi language.

There is possibility of /pr-/ in /premu/, /py-/ in /pyaru/ and so in Sindhi, but all such words have been borrowed from Sanskrit. Clusters in this position (initial position) are either assimilated (as ks-> kh-) or consonants are separated by insertion of vowels. Similarly clusters of consonants in final position also can not occur in Sindhi language.

## **8. Comparison of morphological system:**

It will be seen in the following pages that Sindhi & Dravidian languages resemble very much in morphology. For instance:

(i) *Categories of number.* Sindhi & Dravidian languages recognise only two number: the singular number and the plural number<sup>(3)</sup>. In Sanskrit language nouns decline in three numbers i.e. singular, dual and plural<sup>(4)</sup>. According to Caldwell the dual number is unknown in Dravidian languages, and there is no trace extant of its use at any previous period.

But it is found that both Sindhi and Dravidian languages contain two plurals of the pronoun second person one of which includes the party addressed and which, therefore, be considered as a species of dual. However states Caldwell, this peculiarity is restricted to the personal pronouns. When a person is addressed with politeness and with honour, a second person plural form is used instead of second person singular form. This form in linguistics is termed as honoric form<sup>(5)</sup>. An example from Sindhi is given for instance:

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1. Caldwell, p. 79.

2. Ibid.

3. Caldwell Op. Cit. p. 119.

4. Buck, p. 170.

5. Caldwell Op. Cit. p. 53 & 135.

## Second person singular.

## Honorific form

tu likhu تون لک 'you write'

tawhi liko 'thou writeth'

sethu vehu 'Seth sitdown'

sethyao veho ستيو ويهو

(take seat)

### *(ii) Categories of case:*

(a) *Nominative case:* In Dravidian languages the nominative case is not provided with a case termination. The nominative plural differs from the nominative singular only by addition to it of the pluralising particles<sup>(1)</sup>.

Similarity in Sindhi, case- termination is not inflected for nominative case to the nouns in case of present and future tenses. For instance see intransitive verbs:

Chokāru ache tho.	چوڪر اچي ٿو	'The boy is coming'.
Chokaru ido.	چوڪر ايندو	'The boy will come'.
Chokaru ayo.	چوڪر آيو	'The boy came'.
Chokiri ache thi.	چوڪري اچي ٿي	'The girl is coming'.
Chokiri idi.	چوڪري ايندي	'The girl will come'.
Chokiri ai.	چوڪري آئي	The girl came'.
ghoro dore tho.	گهوڙو ڊوڙي ٿو	'The horse is running'.
ghoro dorādo.	گهوڙو ڊوڙندو	'The horse will run'.
ghoro doryo.	گهوڙو ڊوڙيو	'The horse ran'.

But the subject is inflected when transitive verb is used instead of intransitive verb, and it (verb) conjugates in past tense; viz:

Chokaru pani pie tho.	چوڪر پاڻي پيئي ٿو	'The boy drinks water'.
Chokaru pani piādo.	چوڪر پاڻي پيندو	'The boy will drink water'.
Chokaru pani pito.	چوڪر پاڻي پيو	'The boy drank water'.
Chokiri pani pie thi.	چوڪري پاڻي پيئي ٿي	'The girl drinks water'.
Chokiri pani piādi.	چوڪري پاڻي پيندي	'The girl will drink water'.
Chokiri-a pani pito.	چوڪري پاڻي پيو	The girl drank water'.

1. Caldwell, Op. cit. p. 151.

Ghoro pani pie tho. گھورو پاڻي پيئي ٿو 'The horse-drinks water'.

Ghoro pani piado. گھورو پاڻي پيڻدو 'The horse will drink water'.

Ghore Pani pito. گھوري پاڻي پيتو 'The horse drank water'.

(b) *Post- positional or dative case*: In the opinion of Bopp the post-positional case in Sanskrit and in Zend languages is e-. According to him in Sanskrit and Zend e is the sign of the dative, which, originally belongs to the demonstrative. Base e, whence the Nom: ayam (from etam) 'this' which, however, as it appears, is itself only an extension of the base 'a' form which arises most of the case of this pronoun (a -smai, a -smat, a-smin), and regarding which it is to be observed, that the common 'a' bases also in Sanskrit in many cases extend this vowel by the admixture of an 'i'. For example:

SANSK		ZEND	
M.S.	F.S.	M.S.	F.S.
bhratr-e-	duhitr-e	brathr-e	dughdher-e-

In Dravidian (Tamil) Languages for post-positional case, post-position -ku is inflected to the nouns of pronouns<sup>(1)</sup>. In Telegu either -ku or -ki post-positions are inflected. It depends upon the nature of the preceeding vowels<sup>(2)</sup>. In old Canarese -ge or -ke is inflected.

Caldwell points out that in the primitive Indo-European tongues we discover no trace of any such dative suffix or case-sign as the Dravidian ku; but kô, the dative accusative of the Hindi (in Bengali, kê in Sindhi khê), resembles the Dravidian ku so much that it seemed to me highly probable that some relationship existed between them<sup>(3)</sup>.

Caldwell refers Dr. Trumpp and states that Dr. Trumpp, in his "Sindhi Grammar", derives the Sindhi-khe and the Bengali -ke from the Sanskrit locative 'kr'te', for the sake of, in regard to. This form became in Prakrit first 'kite', then 'kie'. It was then contracted into ke, which in Sindhi, by reason of the elided, r, became khe. He derives the Hindi and Hindustani form of this post-position ko by a similar process from the

1. Caldwell, R. Op. cit. p. 175.

2. Ibid, 175.

3. Ibid, Introduction, p. 53 & 176.

Sanskrit 'kr'tam', which is used adverbially with the same signification as the locative 'kr'te'. Dr. Trumpp argues also that the fact that the Arian Vernaculars, which border immediately on the Dravidian idioms, have not adopted the case of ko as a sign of dative, shows that it is improbable that the dialects more to the north have been indebted for this form to the Dravidian idioms<sup>(1)</sup>.

(c) Possessive or genitive case: In Dravidian Languages possessive case is formed in various ways and by means of various suffixes, each of which requires to be examined separately. One of the inflection for this case is -du or -adu<sup>(2)</sup>. For instance:

<u>Noun</u>	<u>Possessive case sign</u>	<u>Declension.</u>
marā (tree)	-du	maradu 'of the tree'

In Siraiki and Punjabi languages also -du sign is added for the possessive case. In Sindhi instead of -d, -j is added for possessive case. /d/ and /j/ in many examples are interchangeable in Sindhi.

The possessive case signs in Sanskrit are - as, as, and -sya<sup>(3)</sup>. From the comparative study of these case signs of Sanskrit and that of Sindhi it is observed that there is no resemblance of these signs of both the languages. Dr. Trumpp. states: "The Sindhi employs for this purpose the affix-jo ( جو ) for feminine -ji ( جي ) corresponding to the common adjective affix-ko (Sansk-ka) with transition of the tenuis (c=k) in to the media j' very likely to establish there by some distinction between these two originally identical affixes"<sup>(4)</sup>.

Dr. Trumpp has not given thought to the possessive case sign of punjabi and Siraiki languages. In these languages possessive case sign is -da which is more nearer to that of Sindhi -jo- & ji. Sindhi possessive case sign -jo- and ji- do not resemble to ko at all, but they appear to be more related to -da or -du of Dravidian languages.

1. Caldwell., 176.

2. Caldwell, Op. cit. p. 85.

3. Caldwell, Op. cit. p. 185.

4. Bopp, F. Op. cit. pp. 202 and 207.

(d) **Vocative case:** In Dravidian languages there is nothing which properly deserves to be styled a suffix or case-sign of the vocative. The vocative is formed merely by affixing or suffixing some sign of emphasis<sup>(1)</sup>.

The most common vocative in Tamil is the emphatic *e*, which is simply appended to noun<sup>(2)</sup>. Some times *a* is also substituted for vocative. Vocative is expressed by prefixing one of the interjectional particles: *e*, *aṛe*<sup>(3)</sup>. Some interjectional particles like *ae*, *aṛe*, *re*, *ari*, *ri* *aṛe* are also prefixed for expressing vocative in Sindhi<sup>(4)</sup>. In Lari dialect of Sindhi **vocative** sign *hedā* (هيدان) 'here' is also appended. This sign has relationship with that of the Dravidian 'era'.

### (iii) *Adjective:*

(a) The agreement of adjectives with the substantive which they qualify in gender, number & case forms is an invariable characteristic of the IE languages, whilst in Dravidian languages adjectives do not decline in gender, number and case<sup>(5)</sup>. In Sindhi also *deshya* adjectival forms (جيت، گھت etc) ending in short vowels /u/ and /i/ do not decline with substantives in number, gender and case.

(b) Dravidian adjectives are nouns of quality or relation which acquire the signification of adjectives merely by being prefixed to substantive nouns without declension change<sup>(6)</sup>. In Sindhi also the adjectives are nouns of quality and are prefixed to substantive nouns. Indigenous adjectives do not decline with nouns in gender, number and case.

### (iv) *Degrees of Adjectives:*

(a) In all the Dravidian languages comparison is effected not as in IE family by means of comparative or superlative particles suffixed to, and combined with, the positive form of the adjective, but by a method closely resembling that in which adjectives are compared in the Semitic languages. When the first of these methods is adopted, the noun of quality or adjective to be compared is placed in the nominative, and the noun or nouns

1. Trumpp E. Op. cit. p. 119.

2. Caldwell, Op. Cit. p. 201.

3. Caldwell, L. Op. cit. pp. 201.

4. Trumpp E. Op. Cit. p. 121.

5. Caldwell, Op. Cit. p. 201-202.

6. Ibid, p. 202.



with which it is to be compared are put in the locative and prefixed<sup>(1)</sup>.

Sindhi has also retained the native system (non-Aryan) of forming degrees of comparison. Dr. Trumpp mentions:

The Sindhi, as well as the cognate idioms, has lost<sup>(2)</sup>, the power to form a comparative and superlative degree after the manner of Sanskrit (and Persian) by means of adjective suffixes, and it is very remarkable that the Semitic way of making up for the degree of comparison has been adopted. To express the idea of the comparative the object or objects, with which another is to be compared, is put in the Ablative, or which is the same, the post-position ( منجهان مان. کئون. کان ) and similar ones are employed, the adjective itself remaining in position<sup>(3)</sup>.

(b) *Superlative Degree*: In Dravidian languages, the superlative degree is generally expressed by means of:

(i) prefixing adverbs signifying much or very

(ii) by the primitive plan of doubling of the adjective itself, e. g.

periya-periya 'very great'

Literally 'great great'.

The same principle of superlative is applied in Sindhi language also; viz:

(i) by prefixing adverbs:

ghaṇu khiru 'much milk' ghaṇu ghaṇu khiru

گهڻو کير

گهڻو گهڻو کير

(ii) mitho khiru 'sweet milk' mitho mitho khiru

کير مٺو کير

مٺو مٺو کير

(v) *Cardinal numbers*: When cardinal numbers of Sindhi are compared with those of Arian languages (Sanskrit and Persian), it

1. Caldwell, R. Op. cit. p. 211.

2. Dr. Trumpp could not find the suffixes, which are added to the adjectival roots in Sanskrit & Persian either for comparative or for superlative degrees of comparison. That is the reason why he uses the word 'Lost'.

3. Dr. Trumpp. E. Op. cit. p. 156.

is found that from number one upto 20 their formation is the same, but from 21 onwards they totally differ in structure. For instance:-

<u>SANSKRIT</u>	<u>PERSIAN</u>	<u>SINDHI</u>	
eka	yiku	hiku/eku	هڪ/ايڪ 'one'
dva	du	ba	ٻه 'two'
trayas	si	te/tre	ٽي/ٽري 'three'
chaturas	chahar	charu	چار 'four'
pancha	panj	panja	پنج 'five'
Sasa	Sis	Chaha	ڇهه 'six'
Sapta	hafta	sata	ست 'seven'
astau	hast	atha	اٺ 'eight'
nau	nava	nava	ٽو 'nine'
dasa	daha	ḍaha	ڏهه 'ten'

It will be seen that from 21 upto 99 the structure of the cardinal numbers in Sindhi is quite opposite to that of the Sanskrit and Persian cardinal numbers. For example in counting twenty one, twentytwo, thirty one, thirty two and so on in Sanskrit and Persian, the tens are placed before the units i.e. the units are placed after the tens; but in Sindhi it is other way and not as in Sanskrit and Persian languages.

In Sindhi the units are placed first and tens are placed after the units; for instance:-

<u>SINDHI</u>		<u>PERSIAN</u>	<u>ENGLISH</u>
ekviha	ايڪويھه	bist-wa-yik	twenty one
baviha	ٻاويھه	bist-wa-du	twenty two
teviha	ٽيويھه	bist-wa-sih	twenty three
ekatiha	ايڪيھه	si-wa-yik	thirty one
eketaliha	ايڪٽاليھه	chahal-wa-yik	forty one

In the examples given under the heading of Sindhi language ek, ba and te are the units, and viha, tiha are the tens, but in the examples given under the heading Persian bist and si

are the tens and yik, du & sih or the units. bist-wa-yik means twenty and one. From these examples it can be seen that formation of Sindhi and Persian cardinal numbers after 21 exhibit no relationship at all.

(vi) *Pronouns:*

(a) *First Person singular.* In the Tamil and Kanar dialects of Dravidian languages, en is used as First Person singular<sup>(1)</sup>. Caldwell compares Dravidian en with Sindhi ā and states: "May we also compare ā 'o' in the Lar, a Sindhi dialect. In Sindhi ā is used as First Person singular<sup>(2)</sup>, ā is used as First Person singular pronoun in Kanar<sup>(3)</sup>.

In Dravidian languages the ordinary plural of the Dravidian first personal pronoun is constantly used not only as a plural, but also as an honorific singular, precisely as the royal and editorial 'we' is used in English, and the plural of every other Dravidian pronoun may optionally be used as an honorific singular in the same manner<sup>(4)</sup>. Same characteristic is found in Sindhi, for instance:-

First Person plural form

asi achu tha 'we are coming'

اسين اچون ٿا

asi likhu tha 'we are writing'

اسين لکون ٿا

Honorific form

asi achu tha 'I am

اسين اچون ٿا

asi likhu tha 'I am writing'

اسين لکون ٿا

According to Caldwell the existence of this peculiarity in the languages of the sub-continent seems to demonstrate the existence in the Northern family of ancient under current of Dravidian, or at least of non-Aryan influence<sup>(5)</sup>.

(b) *Personal pronoun of third person:* The experts of grammar of Dravidian languages state that: "The Dravidian languages, like most other primitive un-compounded tongues, are destitute of the pronouns of the third person, and use instead demonstrative pronouns signifying 'this' or 'that' with addition of suffixes of gender and number<sup>(6)</sup>. In these languages, 'he',

1. Caldwell, R. Op. Cit. pp. 276-277.

2. Trumpp, E. p. 189.

3. Caldwell, Introduction, p. 60.

4. Caldwell, R. Op. Cit. p. 308.

5. Ibid, p. 318.

6. Ibid, p. 314.

'means literally' 'that man'; 'she' 'that woman', and 'they' 'those persons or things'.

Dr. Trumpp agrees that "In Sindhi language also there is no personal pronoun of third person (singular and plural). Its place is being generally supplied by the demonstrative-pronouns:

he                      اهو، اهو، هو، هي                      (1).

(vii) *Verbal form*: (a) In Dravidian languages second person singular of the imperative is considered as a root of the verb<sup>(2)</sup>.

There are two kinds of verbs in Dravidian languages: The intransitive verbs and transitive verbs<sup>(3)</sup>.

The Intransitive and transitive verbal form of Dravidian languages differ from those of the Sanskrit language in their formation and conjugation<sup>(4)</sup>. In Dravidian languages the transitive verbs are formed from Intransitive verbal roots and therefore they are called causal verbs<sup>(5)</sup>.

Similarly in Sindhi there are two kinds of verbs: The intransitive verbs and transitive verbs. Most of the transitive verbal roots are derived from intransitive verbal roots in Sindhi<sup>(6)</sup> For instances:-

#### Intransitive verbal roots:

burn'                      سڙ  
mar- 'die'                      مڙ  
lar- 'get out'                      ٿڙ

#### Transitive Verbal roots:

Sar- 'make burn'                      ساڙ  
mar- 'kill'                      مار  
tar- 'make him go'                      تار

(b) *Causal verbs*: In the Dravidian languages one kind of transitive verbs is called causal verbs. These verbs are formed by suffixing -vi to the transitive verbal roots, viz:

#### Transitive verbs

pannu 'to make'  
annupu 'to send'

#### Causal verbs

pannu-vi 'to cause to make'  
annup-vi 'to cause to send'

1. Trumpp, E. Op. Cit. p. 40. Also see Bherumal Advani, Op. Cit. P. 314.

2. Caldwell, p. 339

3. Ibid, p. 34.

4. Caldwell, p. 342

5. Ibid, p. 33.

6. Grierson, G. Op. Cit. Vol. VIII. p. 48.

7. Ref: 1. pp 343 and 347.

In Sindhi also the Causal verbs are found in great number. They are formed by inflecting 'a' to the transitive. For instance:

<u>Intransitive roots</u>	<u>Transitive roots</u>	<u>Causal roots</u>
sar- 'burn'	sar- 'make burn'	sara- 'to cause to burn'
mar- 'die'	mar- 'kill'	mara- 'to cause to kill'

There is one more kind of causal verbs in Sindhi. It is called double causal verbs. They are formed by suffixing -ra to causal verbal roots. For example:

<u>Intransitive roots.</u>	<u>Transitive roots.</u>	<u>Causal roots.</u>	<u>Double causal roots.</u>
sar- سَر	sar- ساڙ	sara- ساڙا	sarara- ساراڙا
mar- مَر	mar- مار	mara- مارا	marara- مارارا

Caldwell states:

"Indo-European causals govern two accusatives, that of the person and that of the object- e.g.

I caused him (acc) to build the house (acc). Whereas Dravidian causals generally govern the object alone, and either leave the persons to be understood e.g. in Tamil:

evittei (k) kattuvitten 'I caused to build the house'.

or as we should prefer to say

(I caused the house to be built).

It is important to point-out that a few causal verbal roots (five or six) of Persian language resemble with those of English language, Viz:

<u>Transitive</u>		<u>Causal</u>	
kardan	'to do'	karanidan	'to cause to do'
rasidan	'to reach'	rasanidan	'to cause to reach'
davidan	'to run'	davanidan	'to cause to run'
khurdan	'to eat'	khuranidan	'to cause to eat'

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1. Caldwell, R., Op. Cit. p. 348.

But from the study of Persian Grammar it is found that Persian transitive verbs are not formed by suffixation as it is found in Sindhi. Similarly no example of double causal verbs (kardan> karidan> kararanidan) has been traced in the stock of Persian verbs. It is possible that Persian language has borrowed this peculiarity from the Dravidian languages, as there has been influence of Dravidian language on the eastern part of Iran for many years. This point of view has been supported by Professor Vyskey of Russia. He states:

The paleoanthropological investigations undertaken by Soviet scientists show that within the fourth to the second millennia B.C., Dravidian types were in evidence among the population of south Turkmeina and the areas south of Aral Sea. Ancient historians refer in their works to "the Asiatic Ethiopians" inhabiting the south-eastern part of Iran and Baluchistan. Being dark skinned, these Ethiopians seem to have belonged to the Dravidian group of anthropological types. There can, of course, be no direct correspondence between anthropological type and linguistic classification. But we can not ignore the fact that early Persian Cuneiform inscriptions, contemporaneous with the evidence of antiquity. We have just referred to, speak of Akanfaciya, a people which can be identified with the Kufich (Kufij or kuj) people mentioned by medieval Muslim authors.

The author of the *Hudud al-'Alam* pointed out that the Kufij were divided into seven tribes and spoke a language of their own assumably related to Dravidians. In our day, individual groups of the Dravidian speakers are living in the area, and some scholars regard them as aborigines related genetically to the Akanfaciya- Kufich.

In old Persian inscriptions (the Behistun inscription, one of the Persepolitan inscription of Darius, I, etc) there are also references to the country and people of Maka, a name which has survived to the present day in the historical province of Makran (Macuran or Macoran, or Macoran, according to medieval authors) situated in the south-eastern part of Iran

and the western part of Pakistani Baluchistan. Many scholars are inclined to relate the Maka people to the Dravidians.

Another evidence that Dravidian speakers were once expanding far into the West and North-West of the borders of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent is the fact that part of the population of Seistan spoke a Dravidian language just a few centuries ago. P. Sykes supposes that this present day Persian-speaking ethnic group (Sarbandis), with genetic relationships to Brauhui, is the aborigine of Seistan. It is possible that the unknown Khuziya language ( خوری ) flourishing in Khuzistan in the tenth century A.D. and which Al-Istakhri describes as "Un-Hebrew, un-Syriac and un-Persian was also a Dravidian language<sup>(1)</sup>.

(viii) *Reduplication*: One of the most important features of both Dravidian and Sindhi languages is reduplication. The reduplication is repetition of a word in a phrase or in a sentence. Reduplication is of two kinds: (i) complete reduplication and (ii) partial reduplication. Complete reduplication is that in which the word itself is doubled or repeated. For instance in Sindhi:-

<u>SINGLE WORD</u>	<u>REDUPLICATED FORM</u>
hathu 'hand' هٺ	hathu hathu 'every hand' هٺ هٺ
palu 'a moment' پل	pala palu 'every moment' پل پل

In Sindhi and Dravidian languages, the reduplication has grammatical function. It exhibits the comparison of degrees of adjectives as described under adjective<sup>(2)</sup>.

From the examples of Aryan languages it is found that reduplication has no grammatical function in Aryan languages. The examples such as 'ding dong', 'hympy dumpty' of English language have no grammatical function at all.

In Sanskrit reduplication is possible only in the following examples<sup>(3)</sup>.

1. Yu. V. Gankovsky, The people of Pakistan, U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences Lahore, Peoples Publishing House, 26, Shahrah-e-Qaid-e-Azam, 1972, pp. 33. 35.

2. Caldwell, pp. 232 and 427-428.

3. Buck, F. Op. Cit. p. 255.

- (i) A fuller form of reduplication appears:  
dar-dar-ti  
car-kar-ti
- (ii) Present reduplication, usually with /i/ vowel, eg:  
pi-parti  
ti-sthati  
with/e/ vowel, e.g.  
da-dhati
- (iii) In Sanskrit and Latin the vowel of the reduplication is partly replaced by that of the root syllable.
- (iv) In the present and perfect reduplication, if the root begins with a single consonant this is replaced in the reduplication as:  
da-darga

(ix) *Pronominal suffixes:-*

The pronominal signs are suffixed in the Dravidian languages not directly to the root, as in the Indo-European family of languages, but to the temporal participles. The first suffix to the root in the affirmative voice is that of the sign of tense, then follows the suffix of personality<sup>(1)</sup>. Every pure Dravidian affirmative verb is compounded of three elements, which are thus arranged, viz:

(i) the root (ii) the medial particle, i.e. the sign of tense, and (iii) the pronominal termination. Same principle of suffixing pronominal suffixes is applied in Sindhi. For instance:-

<u>root</u>	<u>sign of tense</u>	<u>pronominal suffix</u>	<u>verb</u>
likh-	-yo (Past tense)	-m	likhyom (likhyum)
likh.	-yo	-si	likhyosi 'We wrote'

From the detailed comparative study of Sindhi and Dravidian languages it is found that pronominal suffixes used in Lari dialect of Sindhi resemble with those of Dravidian languages. A chart is given below in the support of this argument:



<u>Kanar</u>		<u>Tamil</u>		<u>Sindhi</u>		<u>Sanskrit</u>	
Primary	Secondary	Pr	Sec	Pr	Sec	Pr	Sec
ā	na	nan	e	ā	en	aham	ma
yan	nanu	Yen			an		
	en				na		
ninu	ni	ni	ei	tu	to		
		nin	ay				
		nun	oy				

The pronominal suffixes of Tamil may be compared with those of the Lari dialect of Sindhi<sup>(1)</sup> viz:-

<u>Tamil</u>		<u>Telegu</u>		<u>Kanari</u>		<u>Lari Sindhi</u>	
S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P
Norm	Pr.Suff	Norm	Pr.Suff	Norm	Pr.Suff	Norm	Pr.Suff
yanan yam	am en-u nu	emu mu	an na	ā e	asa nu		
nan en	am e ni	men-u mi	yan nen	-	ma asi si		
ni ay	nir ir	ri vy	nir-u nu	nin ni	ā e	aī a	
nir oy	nir ir	vi ir-u	ē		in va		
nun ei		mir-u			o		
min		nirir			a		
un					i		

As a considerable period of time has passed and as there has been no longer link between Sindhi and Dravidian languages, and as Sindhi has accepted the influence of Iranian, Aryan, Sanskrit, Pali, Arabic and other language, Sindhi has borrowed plenty of words from these languages. Therefore there

Pr= Primary & Sec: Secondary

1. Caldwell, pp. 516 & 517.

has been a considerable difference in the vocabulary of modern Sindhi and that of Dravidian languages, but inspite of these reasons the pronouns and pronominal suffixes used in the Lari and other dialects of Sindhi language resemble to those of the dialects of Dravidian languages. For instance first person singular and plural and second person singular and plural of both Sindhi and Dravidian languages exhibit similarity:-

In Tamil dialect pronominal suffix, for first person singular is en which has the same function in Lari dialect. Same suffix is also used for second person singular in Sindhi viz:

au hale to	آءِ هَلان تُو	'I am going'.
au halae to	آءِ هَلائين تُو	'I am going'.
tu hale to	تُون هَلين تُو	'You are going'.

Similarly Telegu pronominal suffixes of first person plural resembles to that which is used by Lari speakers of Sindhi. For instances:-

#### Standard Sindhi

#### Lari Sindhi

Asa khe likhan ta اسان کي لکڻ ٿا khanu ta لکئون ٿا 'they write to us'

Asa khe chavan ta اسان کي چوڻ ٿا avanu ta چوئون ٿا 'they tell us'

Similarly in the following examples:

Pronoun	Pronominal suffix	Standard Sindhi	Lari dialect of Sindhi	Translation
F.P.S.	e	مان توکي ڏسان ٿو man toki dshan tho	ڏسان، تُو dshan, tu	ڏسڻ ٿو 'I see you'
S.P.S.	e	تون ڏسين ٿو tu dsi tho	ڏسين، تُو dshan, tu	ڏسڻ ٿو 'You see'
	ne	تو کي ڏسي ٿو tu ki dsi tho	ڏسي ٿو dshani, tu	ڏسي ٿو 'He sees you'
		تو کي ڏسي ٿو tu ki dsi tho	ڏسي ٿو dshani, tu	ڏسي ٿو 'He sees you'
		تو کي ڏسندو هوندو tu ki dshando hundo	ڏسندو هوندو dshando hundo	ڏسندو هوندو 'He will be seeing you'
		اچان، تُو achan, tu	اچان، تُو achan, tu	اچان، تُو 'I am coming to you'
		هِن ڪتاب آندو huna tuhije lae- kitabu idho	هِن ڪتاب آندو huna tuhije lae- kitabu idho	هِن ڪتاب آندو 'did he bring the book for you?'
S.P.P.	n	هو توهان کي ڏسي ٿو hu tohan ki dsi tho	ڏسي ٿو dshani, tu	ڏسي ٿو 'He is seeing you'
	na	هِن توهان کي ڏٺو huna tohan ki ditho	ڏٺو ditho	ڏٺو 'He saw you'

From these examples it is evident that there is a great similarity between Sindhi and Dravidian languages, and the pronominal suffixes of these languages resemble very much, with each other.

### (x) Past- Participle:

In the Dravidian languages preterite tense are formed by annexing the pronominal sings to the preterite verbal participles<sup>(1)</sup>.

In Sindhi past-participle is formed:

(i) by suffixing -yo to the verbal roots, viz:

likh - + yo=	dor - + yo
= likhyo	= doryo

(ii) by suffixing -al or -yal to the verbal roots, for instance:

likh - + - yal	parh - + - yal	mar - + - yal =
= likhyal,	= parhyal,	maryal

Past tense of Sindhi verbs is also formed as in Dravidian language, viz:

Past-participles + Pronominal sign = Past tense

likhyo	+	m̐	= likhyom > likhyum
likhyo	+	i	= likhyoi > likhyui
likhyo	+	va	= likhyova > likhyuva

### (xi) Verbal nouns:

Many verbal nouns of Sindhi and Dravidian languages are formed by the same rules, viz:

(a) In Dravidian languages verbal nouns are derived from verbal roots by lengthening the vowel of monosyllabic verbs for instance<sup>(2)</sup>:

<u>Verbal root</u>	<u>Verbal nouns</u>
pad-u 'to suffer'	pād-u 'Suffering'
nad-u 'to cultivate'	nād-u 'cultivation'

1. Caldwell, p. 386.

2. Caldwell, Op. Cit. p. 433.

min	'to glitter'		'a star'
nakk-u	'to lick'	nakk-u	'the tongue'

The following examples of Sindhi verbal nouns derived from verbal roots may be compared with the above example of Dravidian verbal nouns, viz:

<u>Verbal root</u>		<u>Verbal nouns</u>			
budu	ٻڏ	'to drown'	bodu	ٻوڏ	'flood'
Suku	سڪ	'to dry'	Soku	سوڪ	'drought'
likhu	لک	'to write'	lekhu	ليک	'article'
virhu	وڙه	'to fight'	verh	ويڙه	'fight'
bhaji	بج	'to run away'	bhaji	باج	
kusu	ڪس	'to be killed'	kosu	ڪوس	slaughter

(b) A vast number of verbal derivations in all the Dravidian dialects are formed by suffixing to the verbal themes those favourite and multifariously used formative g, d, b, under various modifications, and with various vowel termination<sup>(1)</sup>.

Same principle is applicable with verbal forms of Sindhi language. In Sindhi ati, ta, ta ni, pa de are suffixed viz:

<u>Verbal root</u>	<u>Suffix</u>	<u>Verbal noun</u>
hal-      هل	-ati      آت	halati      هَلَت
ach (au)-      آج	-ata      آت	avata      آوَت
maj-      مَچ	-ta      تا	majta      مِچَتَا
likh-      لَک	-ni      ٿِي	likhni      لَکِي
de      ڏي	-pa      پَ	depa      ڏيپَ

(c) Certain Dravidian verbal nouns are formed by suffixing formative particles<sup>(2)</sup> viz:-

<u>root</u>	<u>suffix</u>	<u>Noun</u>	
mag-	-a	mag-a	'a child'
kar-u 'black'	-i	kar-i	'charcoal'

1. Caldwell, Op. Cit. p. 434.

2. Ibid, pp. 435 and 436.

Many examples of this principle can be traced in Sindhi; viz:

<u>Root</u>		<u>Suffix</u>		<u>Nouns</u>
rakhu رک	-a	ī		rakha رک
dhak- دک	-a	ī		dhakka دِک
pokh- پوک	-a	ī		pokha پوک
kah- کام	-a	ī		kaha کام

(v) In Dravidian languages certain verbal nouns are absolutely identical with verbal roots<sup>(1)</sup> viz:

<u>Root</u>	<u>Suffix</u>	<u>Nouns</u>
nidu 'to be long'	-	nidu 'Length'

Examples as such are commonly available in Sindhi language also, viz:

<u>Root</u>		<u>Suffix</u>		<u>Nouns</u>
vathu وٺ 'take'	-			vathu وٺ
phatu فات	-			phatu فات
phuri ڦر	-			phuri ڦر
diju ڊج	-			diju ڊج
kuti ڪٽ	-			kuti ڪٽ
Kapi ڪپ	-			kapi ڪپ 'knife'

## 9. Syntactical resemblances:

(a) The construction of a simple sentence of Dravidian dialects is as under<sup>(2)</sup>:

- (i) Nominative always takes first place in the sentence.
- (ii) Finite verb is placed in the last.
- (iii) The adjective precedes the substantive.
- (iv) The adverb precedes the verb.
- (v) The substantive which is governed by a verb,

1. Caldwell, p. 435.

2. Ibid, Introduction p. 54.

together with every word that depends upon it or qualifies it, precedes the verb by which it is governed.

- (vi) The relative participle precedes noun on which it depends.
- (vii) The pre-position changes places with the noun and becomes a post-position in virtue of its governing a case.
- (viii) The sentence is concluded by one, all- governing, finite verb.

Caldwell states:-

In the particulars which are mentioned above, the Dravidian languages evidently differ so considerably from the languages of the Indo-European family, and in particular from Sanskrit (notwithstanding the pre-dominance for so many ages of the social and religious influence of the Sanskrit speaking race), that it can scarcely be doubted that they belong to a totally different family of tongues<sup>(1)</sup>.

When the syntactical structure of Dravidian language (described above) is compared with those of Sindhi language, it is found that there is close affiliation between Sindhi and Dravidian language, and that they have common syntactical structure.

Caldwell claims: "The grammatical structure of the Dravidian languages, differs from Sanskrit, it agrees with the structure of the Scythian languages, or the languages of Central and Northern Asia"<sup>(2)</sup>.

(b) *Post- Position*: In Indo-European languages a preposition is placed before a noun, pronoun and an adjective, but Sindhi and Dravidian languages use post-positions instead of pre-position. It is placed after the noun, pronoun and an adjective<sup>(3)</sup>. For instance:-

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1. Caldwell, Op. Cit. Introduction, p. 55.

2. Ibid., Int: p. 55.

3. Ibid. Op. Cit. Introduction, p. 53.

## SINDHI

## PERSIAN    SANSKRIT

maiza t۽ ميڙ تي 'on the table'    bar miz بر ميڙ

sabha t۽ سبھ تي 'above all'    bar ham۽ بر همي۽ par sarveshvan 'above all'

In these examples 'te' is the example of post-position and 'bar' and 'upar' are examples of pre-positions.

Syntactically preposition and postposition occupy different places. According to syntactical structure of Sindhi language te, khe, me, jo behave as post-position. The occurrence of post-position in Sindhi points out towards the Deshya element retained by it.

Caldwell states: "In those connection in which pre-position are used in the IE - languages, the Dravidian language, with those of Scythian group, use post-position instead, --- which post-positions do not constitute a separate part of speech but are simply nouns of relative or quality adopted as auxiliaries<sup>(1)</sup>.

Ivanov points out at some examples of prepositions in Sanskrit. For instance in the phrase:

Prithivyam adhi 'on the earth' adhi is a post-position.

In this connection Caldwell states: "In some particular-as might be expected from the contact into which the Sanskrit speaking race was brought with the aboriginal races of India, Sanskrit appears to differ less widely than the other Indo-European tongues from the languages of the Scythian group"<sup>(2)</sup>.

Caldwell, quoting Edkins, points out at the existence of Turanina influences in the grammatical structure of Sanskrit. He regards the inflexion of nouns by means of case- ending alone without preposition in addition, as the adoption by Sanskrit of Turanian rule. He also thinks the position of the words in a Sanskrit prose sentence is Turanian rather than Aryan<sup>(3)</sup>.

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1. Caldwell, p. 349.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., Int: p. 55.

It is an invariable law of the distinctively Turanian tongues, states caldwell, that finite verb is placed at the end of the sentence. Sanskrit has borrowed this law from Turanian languages<sup>(1)</sup>.

### CONCLUSION:

From the comparative study of the examples and arguments given above it can be concluded that:

(i) Proto-Dravidian (Non Aryan)<sup>(2)</sup> language was commonly used as spoken tongues in the Indus- valley before Aryan settlement in this area. In other words the spoken tongue of Mohen-jo-Daro people was a Proto-Dravidian.

(ii) The ancient civilization of Mohen-jo-Daro and its language are residue of Saindhva civilization. Dravidian languages exhibit their ancestry with Saindhva language which was their parent language.

(iii) The phonetical, phonological and syntactical structure of Sindhi resembles to those of Dravidian languages because they have been derived from the same origin.

(iv) There is similarity in the morphological and syntactical structure of Sindhi and Dravidian languages.

(v) In the opinions of Russian and Scandinavian scholars the language of Mohen-jo-Daro and the Dravidian languages exhibit relationship. According to them "The language of Mohen-jo-Daro is an early form of Dravidian languages. They call it (the language of Mohen-jo-Daro) Proto-Dravidian languages. It appears to be very close to the South-Dravidian, especially Tamil.

(vi) The language of Mohen-jo-Daro is the origin of Dravidian languages:

(vii) The "structure" of Sindhi language exhibits affinity with that of Dravidian languages.

(viii) Sindhi is pre-Aryan language. It has its roots in the civilization of Mohen-jo-Daro. It has been influenced first by Indo-Aryan languages. This influence was followed by Prakrit

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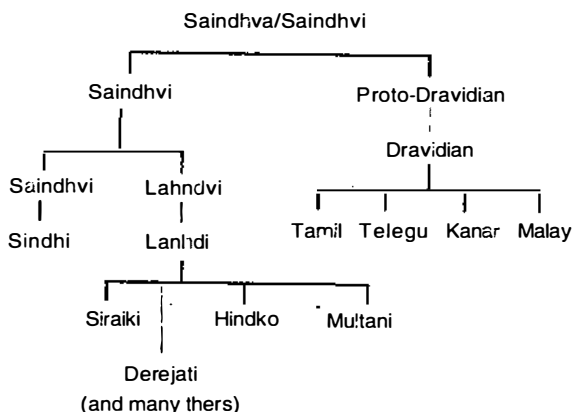
1. Ibid, Int: p. 56.

2. Caldwell, Op. Cit. p. 349.



languages and then by Sanskrit influence. It was then influenced by Iraian and Greek. It was later on influenced by Pali. During the days of Arab rule in Sindh it borrowed much from Arabic language, which was at that time the official and religious language of Sindh. From the last days of the rule of Sooma dynasty (14th century) Sindhi language has been influenced by Persian language, which became the official language from 1051. Thus during this long period of history Sindhi borrowed plenty of words from these languages, but the existence of borrowed word stock did not or could not influence much of its phonological, morphological and syntactical structure. That is why it contains even today the peculiarities of indigenous origin.

From these arguments we come at the conclusion that Sindhi is related to Dravidian languages. They have a common ancestry. Their relationship is shown with the help of a diagram given below:-



## SOCIOLOGY OF SINDHI LANGUAGE

Dr. G. A. Allana

Sindhi is one of the major language of Pakistan. It is spoken in the province of Sindh by approximately 11 million people. It is one of the oldest languages of the sub-continent with a rich culture, vast folk lore and extensive literature.

### **Linguistic boundary:**

Sindhi has extended its issoglossis beyond the geographical boundaries of the province of Sindh. In northern Sindh, it flows over the north-west into Baluchistan province, to north and north-west into Punjab and the former Bahawalpur State. On the west it is bounded by the mountain range separating Sindh from Baluchistan. This boundary has not been crossed by Sindhi except in the southern part of the hilly area of Kohistan<sup>(1)</sup>. Here, in general, the language spoken is Baluchi but Sindhi is also spoken by a great majority of people. In the former Lasbella State, now a part of Baluchistan province, it is spoken as a mother-tongue by over 80% population<sup>(2)</sup>. It has spread its influence still further a field towards Persian Gulf in the Makran area of Baluchistan and is spoken as a first language alongwith Baluchi (Makrani dialect) by a large number of people in Jadgal, Guwadar, Ormara and Pasni and has crossed the Gulf and is spoken in Muskat, Abuzahbi and generally in the coastal region.

In the east and south-east Sindhi has crossed the Rann of Katch and is spoken by a large number of people in Katch, Gujrat and a Peninsula of Kathiawar.

In the east, it has influenced the speech of the neighbouring parts of Marwar and Jaisalmir States of Rajputana in India.

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1. Grierson, G., *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. Viii. 1919.

2. Census report of Pakistan Vol. Vi-16, Table 12, 1961.

3. Allana, G.A. Dr. *Linguistic Geography of Sindh*, Jamshoro, Institute of Sindhology, University of Sindh, 1979, pp. 15-78.

After the partition of India, numerous Sindhi Hindus migrated from Sindh and settled in the central, eastern, western and northern parts of India<sup>(1)</sup>.

Sindhi is not only spoken in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent but it is also spoken by approximately 200,000 people as their first language, in Tanzania, Kenya, Nyasaland, Zimbabwe, Congo, South Africa, Madagaskar, and in U.K., U. S. A. and Canada by those who have migrated to U. K. and U. S. A. and Canada from Uganda and other parts of East Africa.

It is also spoken by a great number of people in HongKong, Singapore, Manila, Bangkok, Colombo, Java, Sumatra and in some other parts in South-East Asia, particularly by those traders who have settled there through generations. We get evidence of their trade from Shah-Jo-Rasalo and books on history and culture.

### **Origin and ancestry of Sindhi language:**

So far as the origin and ancestry of Sindhi language is concerned, we get three different opinions about this problem. The first group believes that Sindhi is derived from Sanskrit through Vrachada Apabramsha. Dr. Ernest Trumpp was the pioneer of this theory. He (Dr. Trumpp) seemed to be doubtful, afterwards, about it. Elsewhere he considers it as an independent language. He states:

The Sindhi has remained steady in the first stage of decomposition after the old Prakrit, where all the other cognate dialects have sunk some degrees deeper, we shall see in the source of our introductory remarks that rules which the Prakrit Grammarian Kramdisha has laid down in reference to the Apabramsha, are still recognisable in present Sindhi which by no means can be stated of the other dialects. The Sindhi has thus become an independent language, which though sharing a common origin with its sister tongues, is very materially differing from them<sup>(3)</sup>.

The theory laid by Dr. Trumpp, Sir Grierson and Mr. Bherumal was first challenged by Dr. N. A. Baloch and then

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1. Ibid. p. 17.

2. Trumpp, E. H., *The Grammar of Sindhi language*, Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, 1872, Introduction. p. 1.

3. Trumpp, E. H. Op. cit. 1872, Introduction, p. 1.

by Mr. Sirajul Haque Memon and afterwards the compiler of this work. In support of his theory Dr. Baloch says:

"Sindhi is an ancient Indo-Aryan language, probably having its origin in a pre-Sanskrit Indo-Aryan Indus Valley language. The Lahnda and Kashmiri appear to be its cognate sisters with a common Dardic element in them all"<sup>(1)</sup>.

Mr. Sirajul Haque does not agree with both Dr. Trumpp and Dr. N. A. Baloch. According to him:

The excavations of Mohen-Jo-Daro have opened a new chapter for the study of the origin of Sindhi language. It has been agreed upon by all the scholars, archaeologists, historians and anthropologists that Indus Valley was occupied by a Non-Aryan (Dravidian) people before the Aryan settlement in the Indus Valley. They had a very rich culture and a language of their own. The Scandinavian scholars, deciphering the script of Mohen-Jo-Daro seals, consider it a Proto-Dravidian language and state: The language (that of Mohen-Jo-Daro) is an early form of Dravidian, called by us "Proto-Dravidian". It appears to be very close to the South Dravidian, especially Tamil and decidedly younger than the parent language of all Dravidian tongues<sup>(2)</sup>.

This theory is supported by the statement of Sir John Marshall in his renowned book, "Mohen-Jo-Daro" and the Indus civilization". He states:

Of the language of these texts little more can be said at present than that there is no reason for connecting it any way with Sanskrit. The Indus civilization was pre-Aryan, and the Indus language or languages must have been pre-Aryan. Also possibly, one or other of them (if, as seems likely, there was more than one) was Dravidic. This, for three reasons, seems a most likely to have been in possession of a culture as advanced as the Indus culture. Secondly, because on the other side of Khirthar range and at no great distance from the

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1. Baloch N. A., *A short history of Sindhi language*, Hyderabad, Sindhi 1962, p. 19.

2. Sirajul Haque Memon, *Sindhi Boli*, Hyderabad Sindhi, Azim Publications, 1964, p. 14.

Indus Valley, the Brahuis of Baluchistan have preserved among themselves an island of Dravidian speech which may well be a relic from pre-Aryan times, when Dravidic was perhaps the common language of these parts, thirdly, because the Dravidic language being agglutinative, it is not un-reasonable to look for a possible connection between them and the agglutinative language of Summer in the Indus Valley, which as we know, had many other close ties with Summer. This is a conjecture, however, which there close is no tangible evidence to support. The skeletal remains as we shall presently see, point to the presence here of elements from four different races viz: Proto-Australoids, Mediterraneans, Alpines and Mongolo-Alpines, but it is quite impossible to affirm whether any of these spoke Dravidic. The Eastern Alpines are hardly likely to have done so since there is a trace of their stock among the modern Dravidic-speaking races of language of the Proto-Australoids to have belonged to the Munda rather than the Dravidic group. Western Alpines are said to be strongly represented among the Kanarese-speaking peoples of the western Dakhan and Mysore, but if racial characteristics can be taken into account it is clearly the long-headed Mediterraneans by blood with the Dravidians and are almost likely to have used as Dravidic speech<sup>(1)</sup>.

After the deep study of phonetical, phonological, morphological and syntactical systems of Sindhi language, it is found that the peculiarities of non-Aryan origin have been observed in Sindhi and these non-Aryan peculiarities are similar to those of Dravidian languages<sup>(2)</sup>. It can, therefore be claimed that Sindhi has retained the characteristics of indigenous tongue which was in use in Sindh before the Aryan settlement in the area.

This theory finds support in Dr. Trumpp's book "A grammar of Sindhi language" in which he wrote:-

1. John Marshal, *Mohen-Jo-Daro and the Indus civilization*. Vol. II, London, Arthur Probsthin. 1931, p. 42.
2. Allana, G. A. Dr. *The Origin and ancestry of Sindhi language*, Hyderabad, Zaib Aa-dabi Markaz, 1974, pp. 51, 53, 57, 58, 60, 71, 78, 85-108.

We shall on the other hand be able to trace-out a certain residum of vocables, which we must allot to an old aboriginal language of which neither name nor extent is now known to us. But which in all probability was of the Tatar stock of languages and spread throughout the length and breadth of India before the irruption of the Aryan race, as all other vernaculars contain a similar non-Aryan residum of words, which have been already designated as "Provincial" by the old Prakrit Grammarians<sup>(1)</sup>.

After Aryans had occupied the Indus Valley, their culture, language and religion came into contact with the culture, language and religion of the Indus Valley people, and the amalgam produced a fine blend of culture and language for the people of Sindh.

During the long period of history, Sindhi language has absorbed influences of the old Iranian language during Achaemenian (and Sassanian) rule in Sindh. This influence was followed by Prakrit and Pali during Brahman and Buddhist rule in Sindh.

The contacts of Sindh with Arabia are historically very very old<sup>(2)</sup>. But after the Arab conquest of Sindh during 712 A.H., Islam brought a new spirit and new life for the people of Sindh. Sindhi language, social and cultural life of the people of Sindh were affected much by the culture and language of the new rulers, i.e. the Arabs.

We know from the evidences of excavation of Bhambore, near Karachi, that Sindhi was not only a living language before the conquest of Muslims in Sindh, it was not only the language of daily use for a common man, traders, but it was also a written language. It has its own scripts. Dr. F. A. Khan in his report on Bhambore excavation reveals:

A large collection of plain, painted, stamped and moulded pottery has been made from these stratified levels. It includes pieces of storage jars bearing short inscriptions in Proto-Nagari style of 8th century A.C. They record measurements of

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1. Trumpp, E., Op. Cit., Introduction, III.

2. Jahiz, *Risalah Fakhurul Saudan Aly-ul-Baizan*, Urdu translation, *Hindoostan Arboon ki Nazarmen*, vol. I, Azam Garh, Darul musnafin, 1970, pp. 4-7.

weight, now difficult to identify. The inscriptions were written on the body of the pot by hand with ordinary writing ink, thus indicating its local character<sup>(1)</sup>.

We also get evidences of the Arab travellers, such as Jahiz, Ibne-Nadim<sup>(2)</sup>, Alberuni<sup>(3)</sup>, al-Maqdisi<sup>(4)</sup>, who visited Sindh in the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries. They have also recorded that the languages spoken at Daybal, Mansurah and Multan were Arabic and Sindhi.

As far as the script in which Sindhi was being written during Arab days (AD. 973-1048), Alberuni says in Kitabul Hind that the alphabet used in southern Sindh towards the Sea-Coast was Malwari, while in some parts Ardhanagari script was being used<sup>(5)</sup>.

It is not known when these scripts were transformed into Arabic, asks Dr. Daudpota, but according to him this process must have been very gradual, but it seems that as the population became Muslim, the old script gave way to the language of Quran<sup>(6)</sup>.

The Arabic script of Kufic character was in use in Sindh since the earliest period of the Arab rule in this area. The latest excavations at Bhambora have brought to light an inscription showing the building of the mosque in which the year of construction is shown to be 109 A. H. (.....A.D.). The letters written by al-Hijaj to Mohammed bin Qasim al-Thaqfi and vice versa and also to Raja Dahir, although lost, confirm the Kufic script was elsewhere dominant.

The non-Muslims of Sindh and some new Muslims such as Memons, Khojas, were commonly using Ardhanagri, Luhana and other style of writing system<sup>(7)</sup>. The specimen of which have

1. Khan, F. A. Dr. *Bhambore: A Preliminary report on the Recent Archaeological Excavations at Bhambore*, Karachi: Department of Archaeology and Museums, Govt. Of Pakistan, 1963, p. 29.
2. Ibne-Nadim, Op. cit., Vol. II, 1962, pp. 3-4.
3. Edward, C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, London, Kegan Paul Tranch Trubner, 1910, p. 173
4. Bashari al-Maqdsi, Ahsan al-Taqaqim, Fi-Mairfata, Ibid, pp. 385-386.
5. Edward, C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Op. cit, p. 73.
6. Daudpota, U. M. Dr. Articles published in *Cultural Heritage of Pakistan*, edited by S. M. Ikram and Percival Spear, Oxford University Press, 1955, pp. 155-156.
7. Stack, G. *Grammar of Sindhi Language*, 1849, pp. 3-8.

been found from the excavations of Bhambore<sup>(1)</sup> and Depar Ghangro<sup>(2)</sup>.

Sindhi, as a matter of fact was a well established, flexible and copious language at the time of Arab conquest, but it was much enriched by that event and by the embodiment of the country in the Islamic world. This association antedated the conquest of Upper India by the Ghaznavi and Ghori Sultans by some three centuries and has left its traces in the peculiar use of Arabic words.

Many words connected with religion, science and philosophy of Islam were commonly borrowed from the Arabic. Sindhi also assimilated a number of common words like (a hill), (a thing), (a tent), (an onion) (a saucer) which are all known by their Arabic names. These words, we may be sure, were taken directly from the Arabs, whereas the Arabic element in other Indian languages came in with Persian, and as a part of that language.

After the Arab conquest of Sindh in 712 (A.D.), Arab influence immediately spread through out the country. The new rulers offered the new faith and culture to the people of Sindh, who readily accepted them. Arab culture and Arabic language were regarded by the new muslims of Sindh as the culture and language of Islam, the new faith embraced by them. And because of the prestige and honour it enjoyed, Arabic began to spread throughout the country very quickly. As a consequence, Sindhi took a new shape<sup>(3)</sup>. But when a country is conquered by a people of different speech from that of the native populations, the two languages for a time exist side by side<sup>(4)</sup>. Afterward either the language of the conqueror prevails over the native language or more commonly, vice-versa but in either case the language will exhibit much admixture. So it is with Sindhi. Most of the population of Sindh were for a period bilingual<sup>(5)</sup>, and this bilingualism led to the ready incorporation of Arabic words into

1. Khan F. A. Bhambore Excavations, revised ed. Karachi Department of Archaeology, Govt of Pakistan, 1963, pp. 29 & 30.

2. Mumtaz Hussain Pathan, Dr. *History of Sindh*, Arab period History of Sindh series, Jamshoro, Sindhi Adabi Board, 1978, p. 330.

3. Memon Mohammed Siddique, *Sindh Ji Adabi Tarikh*, Vol. I, Hyderabad, R. H. Ahmed & Brothers, 1955, p. 7.

4. Buck, C. D. *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*, The University of Chicago, Press, 1937, p. 64.

5. Elliot, A. H. *History of India*, Vol. I, Op. cit, pp. 119 and 234. Also see: Ali Kufi, *Chachnamah Hyderabad*, Sindhi Adabi Board, 1954, pp. 127, 134 and 136.



Sindhi and also many Sindhi words into Arabic. The Sindhi society and Sindhi culture were influenced much through this media.

Thus the sociology and social life of the country was totally changed. The indirect result of the impact of Islam on society was very important. After Sindh's contact with Islam, the new conception of human relationship began to grow. It affected the daily life, way of living and the culture and language of the people. The new Muslims gave themselves Muslim names and religious terms were adopted for prayers and other religious performances. The language of the administration was Arabic, and Sindhi had to borrow administrative terms from the Arabic language. A great deal of serious literature, theological, philosophical, scientific, historical, geographical etc. were borrowed by Sindhi scholars. They also borrowed many words of daily life food, costume, way of living etc. and through their writings Arabic words came to be used freely in Sindhi.

The social life of Sindh was also affected by the settlement of Arabic soldiers, scholars and intellectuals in different parts of Sindh. Tabari speaks of Arabic soldiers in several military colonies seeking solace for their lost homes in arms of the native women of the country, and leaving their lands and plunder to be inherited by their Sindhi-Arab descendants<sup>(1)</sup>. Besides immigrants, saints, religious missionaries and scholars came from Baghdad, Basra, Egypt and Arabia<sup>(2)</sup>. Elliot writes that "With respect to the descendants of the early Arab conquerors, we find it stated by two local historians, that when Abd-un-Razak, the Vazir of Sultan Mahmood and the first Ghaznvide Governor of Sindh, in the years 415 A. H. (1024 A. D.) proceeded in 417 A. H. (1026 A. D.) to Siwistan and lower Sindh, he found in these places among the descendants of old Arab settlers only a very few being men of learning and ability, were at that time holding posts of honour and in the enjoyment of certain religious endowment"<sup>(3)</sup>. Elliot considers the following families or tribes to have sprung from these ancestors:

(a) Thahim

(b) Panwhar

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1. Elliot, H. Op. cit, pp. 464, 465 and 468.

2. Ali Sher Qan'e, Tuhfatu-Kiram, Hyderabad, Sindhi Adabi Board, 1957, pp. 318, 327 and 335.

3. Elliot, H. Op. cit, p. 482.

- (c) Abbasi
- (d) Siddiqui
- (e) Faruqi
- (f) Ansari
- (g) Uqueli
- (h) Alvi and
- (i) Sayyids<sup>(1)</sup>.

Elliot also mentions that during the Fatimid Arab rule in Sindh (326 A. H. - 375 A. H. & 938 A. D. - 985 A. D.) Ismaili Arabs from Bahrein, Yemen and Al-Hissa came to Sindh and settled there, and also during this period Ismaili missionaries came from Yemen, Egypt and Persia<sup>(2)</sup>. Thus intellectual cooperation with the local population was very active during Arab rule in Sindh. Afterwards, the Fatimid Caliph of Egypt, al-Aziz, sent his army under the leadership of Jalam Bin Shibban to attack Sindh. His troops came by sea and landed at Daybal. Similarly at the beginning of the Soomra Dynasty of Sindh (1061-1351 A. D.) Ismaili missionaries regularly came from Yemen, Egypt and Persia<sup>(3)</sup>.

In the same way regular commercial activities both by land and sea, from and through Sindh, via the Persian Gulf and Arabian sea, with Aden, Muscat, Amman, Yemen, Basra, Bahrein and the rest of the Muslim empire<sup>(4)</sup> have also been the source of linguistic, social and cultural influence on Sindh. Many words of communication, commerce and trade etc. were incorporated into Sindhi. Rashidudin, quoting al-Beruni, says, "The caravans were often passing and repassing between Sindh and Khorasan, Iraq, Syria, Egypt, Turkey and so on, most commonly by the route of Kabul and Bamian"<sup>(5)</sup>. Al-Masaudi, Ibn-Haukal and al-Idrisi also report that : "She was in communication with Zabistan and Sivistan by way of Gazni and Kandhar"<sup>(6)</sup>. Thus Sindh flourished

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1. Elliot. Also see: Allah Bux Uqueli's contribution to quarterly Mehran, Vol. 3 & 4, Hyderabad, Sindhi Adabi Board, 1957, pp. 674-5.

2. Elliot, p. 491.

3. Allana, G. A. Dr. *Lara Ji Adabi ain Saqafati Tarikh*, Jamshoro, Institute of Sindiology, University of Sindh, 1977, pp. 194.

4. Elliot, G. Op. cit, p. 491.

5. Elliot, H. p. 491.

6. Ibid.

as a great centre of religious movements, cultural activities, trade, commerce and learning<sup>(1)</sup>.

The period of conflict during which both Arabic and Sindhi were spoken in Sindh side by side, lasted till the end of Arab rule (1026 A. D.) in Sindh, but the influence of Arabic did not cease. After the downfall of Arab rule in Sindh, the main source of Arabic language in Sindhi has been the Persian language, which was the official language of Sindh from 1016 A.D. upto 1851 A. D.<sup>(2)</sup> but the language of common people, and that of trade and commerce was Sindhi.

Thus during a total period of 1100 (300 Arabic and 500 Persian rule) years, numerous Arabic vocables for which there were no satisfactory Sindhi equivalents, were freely borrowed from Arabic and Persian, a practice which continues to the present day. Some examples are:-

(1)	قاضي	(Judge)
(2)	كرسي	(Chair)
(3)	جسم	(Body)
(4)	ذكر	(Meditation)
(5)	مؤمن	(Believer)
(6)	ملك	(Country)
(7)	مسجد	(Mosque)
(8)	كفن	(Shroud)
(9)	ايمان	(Faith)
(10)	كوثر	(Name of A Well in Mecca)
(11)	ملائڪ	(Angle)
(12)	موت	(Death)
(13)	شيطان	(Devil)
(14)	ڪلمو	(Kalmo)

1. Chablani, S. P. "Economic History of Sind", Hyderabad, Sindhi Adabi Board 1958, p. 97. also see: Ansar Zahid Khan, *History and culture of Sind*, Karachi Royal Book Company, 1980, Introduction pp. XXIII and XXIV.

2. Goldsmid, F. H. An Article published in Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britian and Ireland, Vol, I, No. 5, 1892, pp. 32 and 33.

From the detailed linguistic and cultural study it seems that this extensive borrowing did not affect markedly the phonetic or grammatical structure of Sindhi, but the lexical, cultural, socio-linguistic effect was tremendous. Sindhi, like Spanish<sup>(1)</sup> Persian<sup>(2)</sup> and Swahili<sup>(3)</sup> borrowed the terms of administration, of law, of warfare, of religion and morals, of hunting and sports, of socio-cultural aspects, such as the terms relating to the household, clothes, cosmetics, food, dwellings, fine art, minor art, musical terms, architecture and of many other kinds, alongwith articles of commerce and trade etc<sup>(4)</sup>. According to Dr. Aquilina, these words (borrowed words) have a social function in our socio-cultural life<sup>(5)</sup>. They are part and parcel of social experience and heritage and belong to the Sindhi dictionary. A subject-wise list of such words is given below:-

1. Administration:

(1)	حاڪم	(Ruler)
(2)	حڪومت	(Government)
(3)	سلطان	(King)
(4)	ناظم	(Governor)
(5)	تاج	(Crown)
(6)	سرڪار	(Government)

2. Law:

(1)	قاضي	(Judge)
(2)	عدالت	(Court)
(3)	حلف	(An Oath)
(4)	آمين	(Arbitrator)
(5)	ضامن	(Security)

3. War:

(1)	فتح	(Victory)
(2)	صف	(Row)

1. Elcock, W. D. *The Romance languages*, London, Faber, 1960, pp. 282 and 290.

2. See: *Indian linguistics* Vol. XVII, Linguistic Society of India, 1957, pp. 114-15.

3. Tucker, A. N. B. S. O. A. S., Vol. XI, 1943, pp. 856-871.

4. Munshi Anadram, *The Sindhi Instructor*, Hyderabad, Sindh Alhaq Press, 1905, p. 35.

5. Aquilina J. *Papers in Malteses*, Royal University of Malta, 1961, p. 2.

- |     |      |          |
|-----|------|----------|
| (3) | فوج  | (Army)   |
| (4) | حملو | (Attack) |
4. Religion:
- |    |          |           |
|----|----------|-----------|
| 1. | خدا/الله | (God)     |
| 2. | رسول     | (Prophet) |
| 3. | امام     | (Leader)  |
| 4. | زاهد     | (Pious)   |
| 5. | مسلم     | (Moslem)  |
5. Morals:
- |     |       |                     |
|-----|-------|---------------------|
| (1) | خير   | (Goodnes)           |
| (2) | صبر   | (Endurance)         |
| (3) | بخل   | (Parsimony)         |
| (4) | كرم   | (Generosity)        |
| (5) | حلم   | (Gentleness)        |
| (6) | ثواب  | (A reward for good) |
| (7) | اخلاق | (Manner))           |
| (8) | اعمال | (Deeds)             |
6. Clothing:
- |     |       |            |
|-----|-------|------------|
| (1) | قميص  | (Shirt)    |
| (2) | سلوٲر | (Trousers) |
| (3) | جوراب | (Socks)    |
| (4) | برقعو | (Veil)     |
7. General Culture:
- |     |       |                       |
|-----|-------|-----------------------|
| (1) | رباب  | (Musical instruments) |
| (2) | دف    | (Hand drum)           |
| (3) | رقص   | (Dance)               |
| (4) | فن    | (Art)                 |
| (5) | ثقافت | (Culture)             |

8. Education:

- |     |       |             |
|-----|-------|-------------|
| (1) | علم   | (Knowledge) |
| (2) | كتاب  | (Book)      |
| (3) | شاگرد | (Pupil)     |
| (4) | مدرسو | (School)    |
| (5) | استاد | (Teacher)   |

9. Literature:

- |     |       |              |
|-----|-------|--------------|
| (1) | نثر   | (Prose)      |
| (2) | نظم   | (Poetry)     |
| (3) | ادب   | (Literature) |
| (4) | فاضل* | (A Scholar)  |
| (5) | نقاد  | (Critic)     |

10. Communication:

- |     |       |                   |
|-----|-------|-------------------|
| (1) | ساحل  | (Shore)           |
| (2) | ستره  | (Sail)            |
| (3) | سكان  | (Rudder)          |
| (4) | بندر  | (Port)            |
| (5) | بصير  | (A row of Camels) |
| (6) | قافلو | (Caravan)         |

11. Commerce and Trade:

- |     |       |                  |
|-----|-------|------------------|
| (1) | رطل   | (A pound weight) |
| (2) | بجاج  | (Cloth merchant) |
| (3) | جنس   | (Kind)           |
| (4) | مال   | (Goods)          |
| (5) | مقدار | (Quantity)       |

12. Greetings, interjections and exclamations:

- |     |               |  |
|-----|---------------|--|
| (1) | السلام عليكم  | (May the peace of God be upon you)     |
| (2) | وعليكم السلام | (And may the peace of God be upon you) |

(3)	انشاء الله	(By the grace of God)
(4)	شكر الحمد لله	(Thank God)
(5)	سبحان الله	(Good heavens)
(6)	خدا حافظ	(May God protect you)
(7)	افسوس!	(Alas)
(8)	حيف!	(Shame)

### Socio-Linguistic Implications:

The Arab conquest of Sindh followed-up by dissemination of Islamic beliefs played a significant role in reinforcing and strengthening orientation of Sindhi culture towards Islamic land. It also provided a new socio-economic basis for Sindhi society, giving it a distinctive Islamic look<sup>(1)</sup>.

Naming habit is an example of socio-cultural influence, among the lower class for example fisherfolk, hunters, farmers, cattle breeders etc. Indigenous names occur very commonly, which are not found elsewhere. These include the names of flowers, trees, fruits, birds, months, days of the week etc. A man styled, محمد آچار or محمد کوتر or آچار محمد is immediately recognisable as belonging to this class. In the same way one may recognise a Sayyid by the presence of شام among his name, e.g. زمان شاه etc.

In language, literature and culture to Islamic influence resulted in freeing of the intellectual and spiritual life, and in increasing the popularity of these concerning of human affairs. Many examples of socio-linguistic study of Sindhi can be quoted but I would like to touch only one point with regard to the Sindhi naming habits.

The use of Arabic names is in accordance with certain fairly well defined practices. Any muslim Sindhi is likely to include among his patronymics the name of a Prophet, Caliph, Imam or Saint of their offspring. Certain Hindoos of Sindh are also recognisable by a restricted range of Islamic names which they employ. Thus example 'divan' دیوان امیل عامل and others immediately denote a Hindu gentleman. It is impossible to deal with this fascinating subject in any further detail but naming generally in Sindh reveals a great deal of Arabic influence.

1. Ansar Zahid Khan, *History and Culture of Sindh*, Op. cit. Introduction, p. XXVII.

The study of socio-linguistics aspects of any country is a very interesting subject, particularly the area like Sindh. It is more interesting for the reasons that Sindh has remained as a cradle of cultures right from the dawn of civilization, where people of different socio-cultural background have always migrated and settled down, and have accepted it as their abode.

The influence of Islamic culture on socio-cultural life of Sindh still continues. It has influenced Sindh to such an extent that it is rather difficult to recognise a non-muslim either in Urban area or in rural areas. If one would come across a Hindu of hilly area of Sindh, with long hair and beard, he would be confused at his complexion. The language he speaks is full of Arabic borrowed words.

In Sindh Islam fulfilled its humanitarian mission partly by offering within its fold complete equality and an opportunity for social, economic, intellectual and spiritual development to the millions who were leading a sub-human existence in the days of Brahman rule in Sindh. Speaking of the influence of Islam on countless converts, Sir, William Hunter wrote:- "To these poor people, fishermen, hunter, pirates and low cast tillers of the soil, Islam came as a revelation from on high".

The present Arabicised writing system of Sindhi language has also influenced much the language and socio-cultural life of Sindh. Thousands of modern Arabic and Persian words and phrases have been added to the dictionary of Sindhi language. This writing system has brought Sindhi language closer to Arabic and Persian languages. Thousands of books have been printed in Sindhi type. Sindhi typewriter has been got manufactured. Books on Sindhi short hand and in Sindhi typewriting have been printed.

However it can be said that socio-cultural life of Sindh has totally been changed after the impact of Islam and it is progressing day by day under the scientific influences of modern scientific inventions.

The saints and Sages, particularly Qalandar Shahbaz Shah Lateef, Sachal, Sami and others, have drawn the attention of scholars and intellectual for the study of philosophy of these great sages and poets and the message conveyed by them



through their teachings of mysticism and sufistic, Vedantic and Bhakti ideas.

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## **SIMILARITIES IN SINDHI AND DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES**

**Dr. Parso Jessaram Gidwani**

Sindhi is one of the languages recognised in the eighth schedule of the Indian constitution. After the partition of India in 1947, it is spoken in some towns and cities of Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and National Capital Territory of Delhi, and some cosmopolitan cities like Madras, Hyderabad, and Bangalore. Sindhi is also spoken in Sindh and Balochistan provinces in Pakistan, and enjoys all the benefits of an official language in Sindh. Sindhi has a very rich and classical poetry dating back to 12th century A. D. Unfortunately due to unabated foreign aggressions much of the literature on mathematics, astronomy, astrology, medicine arts and crafts is almost lost. We get several references of highly developed culture of Sindh in several references in the Arab travellers who visited Sindh.

Sindhi has a very rich and voluminous oral literature also.

Historically, Sindh was the seat of one of the most advanced urban civilizations of the world better known as Indus civilization (Mohan-jo-daro). The language of that period is still a mystery, although several scholars throughout the world have attempted to decipher, but they hardly agree to each others view point.

Politically, in the beginning of the eighth century A. D. Sindh was ruled over by a Brahmin King Raja Dahir, who was defeated by the Arab General Mohammad Bin Qasim in 712 A. D., with this the influence of Islam and the Arabic Language started in Sindhi. From the beginning of the eighth century upto the middle of the nineteenth century till 1947 A. D. when India became independent, almost for twelve hundred years Sindh was ruled over by many native or foreign rulers mostly Muslims. Britishers ruled for about a century. But during the Muslim rule Sindhi language was never used as an official or court language.

Muslims used Arabic and Hindus used Sanskrit for their religious purposes. Number of Sanskrit knowing was very insignificant but Arabic knowing were plenty. In 18th century Hindus came under the influence of Sikhism but except few they did not accept it as their religion. All these twelve hundred years Persian was not only the official and the court language of the rulers of Sindh but was main vehicle for all literary and scholarly pursuits. During this period majority of Sindhi speakers were illiterate, but they continued to speak Sindhi, except some parts of hilly region where Brauhi, a Dravidian language was spoken by Brauhi tribals.

Present lecture shows that there is enough evidence to say that Sindhi has substratum layer (a language that is extinct in a particular region but is believed by some linguists to have left traces of its structure in a current or more recently introduced language by the native population' Webster P-2280) of Dravidian languages. Historical fact is that Brauhi and OD'ki: spoken in Sindh belong to Dravidian family of languages. Out of these two OD'ki speakers have lost their language and adopted Sindhi in Sindh and Hindi in India (there are about 30,000 OD'ki: speakers settled in Sanjaynagar Bhati Mines about 16 kilometers from the famous Qutub Minar).

The data presented here shows that the present standard Sindhi language written and spoken in India and Pakistan has preserved enough lexical and grammatical elements similar to Dravidian languages which is not just the result of Sindhi speakers contact with Brauhi and OD'ki: speakers. Let us take an example of kinship terms for mother, the standard Sindhi language has: ma:ta:, ma:dar, va:lida:, ma:u, ama:n, a:i: (Shirt-P-80, Stack P-18, Bal- P. 89-90, Parm- P- 39) a:yal (Stack-P-22, Shirt P-80, Parm P-40, Bal, P-90), amaR (Stack P-13, Bal. P-25,) we know that etymologically ma:ta: and ma: are related to Sanskrit, ama:n is claimed by Sanskrit and Dravidian, ma:dar to Persian and va:lida to Arabic. In the present times mami: and ma:m of English are more frequently used in Sindhi. Now we are left with three terms a:i:, a:yal and amaR, out of these only a:i: is still being used by OD'Ki: speakers, but Brauhi does not use any of these terms, of these three kinship terms a:yal is not only attested in the dictionaries of Stack, Shirt, Parmanand and Baloch, but a:yal occurs several times in Shah Jo Rasalo, the period of which is roughly the end of the seventeenth century A. D.

In Shah Jo Rasalo a:yal is used as an appellative of address, which is important. It proves that during Shah Latif's period (the poet who wrote Shah Jo Rasalo) a:yal was used in day to day life as an appellative of address. In other words a:yal was used by the speakers of Sindhi language as our children are using mami: as an appellative of address today. Captain Stack gives in English dictionary, which further proves that the term was very much in vogue during his period also, as we know that the very purpose of his dictionary was to acquaint the British officers with Sindhi language, and certainly the type and size of the dictionary was not meant to record archaic and obsolete words. Third proof that supports the hypothesis is that a:yal is still preserved in personal names of many Hindu Sindhi speakers. a:ilda:s was one of the personal names of Sindhi Hindu speakers in prepartition days, even today there are many Sindhi Hindus in India whose personal name is a:ilda:s or a:yalda:s. Not only this but surname a:ilda:sâ:Ni: or a:yalda:s. Similarly we can see that the kinship term a:i: has also survived in Sindhi personal name a:i:da:s and (see a:ilada:s as a personal name a:ila:Ni: as surname in sipoon Oct:Nov. Dec. 1995 page 103). As regards amaR the fact is that this word has survived in Sindhi language with minor meaning change. In the present Sindhi it is being used as an endearing form of mother. It has still survived not only in the spoken Sindhi but even in literature (Malhi Sipoon Oct-Nov-Dec. 1995 P- 34), while writing about the hero of the story, the author writes taht he had preferred to address amaR rather than ama:n "AmaR what a sweet term" (Sipoon Oct-Nov-Dec. 1995 P- 33).

The above statement proves that the word is very much alive. But I must add here that the younger generation of Sindhis in India are not using it now, but in Sindh it has survived.

I will like to mention one more word to prove my point that how inspite of onslaught from Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic, Sindhi has perserved word for milk, and milk products. Sindhi has **khi:r** 'milk', **D'ahi:** 'curd' or **D'udh** 'butter milk' (or curd also). But Sindhi also has **pisu** 'milk' first after delivery (Bal P-813) DED 3342 pacci records this word as a dravidian in th meanings of milk, mother's milk.

If we study similarities in Sindhi and Dravidian languages from grammar's point of view, we can get many similarities. Let us see the following examples:

Singular	Plural
ma:u	ma:uru
pi:u	pi:aru
bha:u	bha:ura
dhi:u	dhi:aru

This **ar** suffix is a Dravidian suffix for plural formations, see S. V. Shanmugam P-45.

Due to several constraints on time and size this lecture is restricted to lexical data, but there are a lot of similarities in grammar also. But this lecture is restricted only to similarities in kinship terms, body parts, personal names, place names, household goods and some other unspecified words only.

The present lecture is based on data and does not discuss about the origin of Sindhi language, but I am quite aware of the views of Dr. N. B. Baloch, Mr. Siraj, Trumpp, and Dr. G. A. Allana. Dr. Allana's contribution is great as he is the first linguist who collected data and tried to 'prove that Sindhi is a proto-Dravidian language. He published *Sindi-boli-a jo bun bunya:d* (origin of Sindhi)' in 1974, and subsequently in 1978 the same was translated and published in *Sindhological studies*. I regret that I had no access to both the works at the time of preparing this lecture. I had seen the above works some thirteen years back. Someone borrowed the same and never returned. But the data presented here is independently worked out by me and is quite different from Dr. Allana's books.

After working on various aspects of Sindhi I have come to the conclusion that Sindhi has a substratum layer of some Dravidian language spoken in Sindh before they came into contact with the speakers of old Indo Aryan. As a linguist I can only say that when a language comes into contact with other language then it is influenced, sometimes even both are influenced by each other. Sindhi has changed from time to time this is amply proved by personal names, kinship terms, body parts, and placenames etc. If we just study the kinship term we can see that whenever Sindhi speakers came into contact with other language speakers, they have adopted the terms of the dominant language that is why we have *ma:ta:*, *ma:u* etc. from Sanskrit, *Valida:* from Arabic, *Ma:dar* from Persian and *mami:* or *ma:m* from English, but in spite of these influences **a:yal**, **a:i:**

and **amaR** survived for centuries, but now they have also succumbed to the pressure of English dominance. .

Change is taking place fast in Sindhi in India. My study of Sindhi of Madras (Tamilnadu), many cities of Gujarat, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Delhi clearly shows that the words for vegetables, fruits and day to day life have undergone great changes. In almost all the cases local words have replaced original Sindhi words, this is just the result of short span of fifty years, we can imagine the changes that are the result of contact of thousands of years.

In the end I humbly submit that the present lecture is just the beginning and many more studies not only in the field of language particularly caste dialects OD'Ki:, Koli:, Menghwali: SoDHKi:, and the fishermen dialect of Sindh and Kutch are urgently needed, but studies from sociological and anthropological points of view of the speakers of the above mentioned dialects should be taken up by various Academies. Music and musical instruments also needs some attention because there exist lot of similarities in musical instruments Sindhi **cang** is Tamil **morshang** and Sindhi **ghaRo** is Tamil **ghatam**. Apart from music some similarities like sweet cooked rice **ta:hiri:** in Sindhi and **pongal** in Tamil Nadu being used on new year day cannot be just chance, there must have been some historical connection between the two. In this regard word **muruki** also needs further research. **Muruki:** is an earring which is a must for Sodha: and OD' males can be etymologically related to the Dravidian word **muruku** (DEDR 4979).

The custom of wearing bangles or bracelets in Sindh is as old as Mohan-Jo-Daro. The word for bracelet or bangle in Sindhi is **cu:Ri:** or **cu:Ro** which can easily be related to Dravidian **cu:ri** 'a circle' (DED 2238) because the bangle or bracelet is circular in shape, although Sir R. L. Turner (CDIAL 4884) records that the Sindhi **cu:Di** or **cu:Do** bears similarity with Sanskrit **cu:Da** 'bracelet'. But this word is recorded in the lexicon, the period of which is sixth century A. D. and its cognates are not found in other Indo-European languages. The evidences from the excavations of Mohan-Jo-Daro show that women used to wear bangles in their arms, and the similar bangles are still being used in Sindh and Kutch by Sindhi

speaking tribes like Koli, Menghwals, Jats, Sodhas, and OD's. This continuity of the custom is not the chance, may be along with the custom of fashion the word **cu:Ri:** and **cu:Ro** have also survived. It is not surprising because the wind instrument called **borindo** used in Sindh and Kutch even now is almost identical to one excavated from Mohan-Jo-Daro in Sindh.

I am sure Academies or Institutions will come forward and start research in the above mentioned fields as it is already too late and the Sindhi tribals and artisans who are the best sources of the data are increasingly under great pressure from the modern influences.



## PERSONAL NAMES:

The study of personal names of Hindu speakers of Indo-Aryan languages of north India, and personal names of Hindu speakers of Dravidian languages of the south, shows remarkable distinction. One of the peculiarity of Dravidian personal names is their **an** suffix which is not found in the personal names of India. Following comparison of the two will make the picture clear:

<b>North Indian personal names</b>	<b>Dravidian personal names</b>
(1) gōpa:l	gopa:lan
(2) ra:m	ra:man
(3) shiva	shivan
(4) krishna	krishnan
(5) ra:j	ra:jan
(6) mohan	mohanan

These are some of the examples, which clearly indicate the differences.

Sindhi is one of the prominent languages of northern and western India. The study of Sindhi personal names (here after SPN) and Dravidian speakers' personal names (here after DPN) shows that *an* ending SPN are very similar to DPN. These can be classified in the following manner:

There are some SPN that are in vogue without *an* ending and others are with *an*-ending:

<b>without -<u>an</u> ending</b>	<b>with -<u>an</u> ending</b>
i) ra:m	ra:man
ii) shya:m	sha:man
iii) shiv	shivan
iv) da:so (from da:s meaning a slave)	da:san
v) ra:j, ra:ju:	ra:jan
vi) pamo (shortform of parma:nand)	Paman
vii) hem (shortform of hemechandra)	heman

ii) the second category of SPN are in vogue only with -an ending, these are:

No.	Sindhi word	meaning	SPN of
			a male with-an
i)	bhî:m	one of the Pandva brother of mahabharata epic'	bhi:man
ii)	D'ev	'god, diety'	D'evan
iii)	manghu	'outlet for air in the roof of a house'	manghan
iv)	i:da	'famous Muslim festival'	i:dan
v)	bha:v	'feeling'	bha:van
vi)	sabhu	'all'	sabhan
vii)	khi:mo	minced mutton'	khi:man
viii)	gi:do	pocket	gi:dan
ix)	a:s	hope	a:san
x)	noto	invitation	notan

Mr. Asandas Hemrajani, welknown Sindhi educationist and scholar from Delhi suggested (in a private conversation) that the etymology of **a:san** is from sanskrit word a:san meaning a seat, but in my opinion etymology is the one suggested in no (IX) mentioned above, because the word for seat in Sindhi is **a:saNu** and not **a:san**. a:san as a personal name is not found in Sindhi. Until recently for every Sindhi word some nearest Sanskrit word was found. But once we accept that SPN have-an **suffix** then I think there is no problem to accept **a:san** from **a:s** and not a:san.

In the above list of names **i:dan** needs some additional information. i:d is a Muslim festival, but **i:dan** as a personal name is found among Hindus and Muslims of Sindh.

(iii) Names with-an suffix are very common among Jat community which is one of the prominent Muslim communities of the Banni region of Kutch (Gujarat state), some of these names are:

	word	meaning	personal name
(1)	sukhu	'happiness'	sukhan
(2)	Jumo	'Friday'	juman
(3)	jhulo	swing	jhulan/jhulaN

- |           |                  |                  |
|-----------|------------------|------------------|
| (4) gul   | 'flower'         | gulan/gulaN      |
| (5) kha:n | 'a muslim title' | kha:naN/khan:naN |

The above names are clear evidence that even after accepting Islam, the tendency of **-an** ending personal names remains intact among Jats. This proves that this element of **-an** ending names was so strong among the Sindhis that even after several centuries of accepting Islam some traces remain intact.

iv) In the absence of written records or some other evidence, it is very difficult to establish the period or date of **-an** ending names among SPN. Excavations of Bhambhore town (90 kilometers from the present Karachi town) is found an earthen pot which shows some SPN, and one of the names that appears in the list is **bhi:man**. Archaeologists have established this period as about 8th century A. D. (Ghulam Ali Allana P-242). Arabs conquered Sindh in 712 A. D. during that period the ruler of Sindh was a Brahmain Raja Dahir. Dahir's father had established Brahminical rule in Sindh by marrying his predecessor Rai Sahasi's queen. Historians claim that Rai Sahasi, was a **shudra** king. In this respect it is important to note that SPN **bhi:man** was found in the 8th century A. D. Atleast we are certain that **-an** ending names are not recent in Sindh. These names are not less than twelve centuries old in Sindh. May be some more excavations in future will throw more light on this important evidence of Dravidian and Sindhi relations.

v) Due to some unknown reasons we do not get Dravidian personal names like gopa:lan, kirshnan, mohanana and bala: Kirshnan in the present SPN. In the absence of written records it is very difficult to say anything.

vi) In the present times, the trend of naming Sindhi children shows that **-an** ending names are no more preferred. Even among Sindhi speakers settled in TamilNadu, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Kerala these names are completely out of fashion.

vii) Apart from the names having **-an** ending, some SPN are very similar to DPN. Some of the following names can be considered in this category:

(a) Peru:mal: Until the partition of India, Peru:mal was one of the most common name among SPN. This name is very

common among Harijans of Thar region of Sindh also. Infact the sound system of these speakers have retroflex lateral L, so they pronounce **peru:maL**. About five years back name of their chief was **peru:mal** and **bherumal** are also very common. Etymology of these pheru:mal and bheru:mal can easily be traced to DPN **Peru:ma:L**. **peru:mal** is a very common personal name in TamilNadu.

(b) **Kaman**: Kaman used to be a very common SPN. It is very difficult to say whether it is the relic of a Dravidian word **kaman** meaning emperor, king, greatman, leadership (DED 1810), or it is **kaman** as the meaning of word **kam** is 'work'. This needs further verification.

(c) **ValaN**: ValaN (among Hindus valaNmal and among Muslims ValaNkha:n is a common SPN. Meaning of **val** in Tamil is 'strong, hard, forceful, skilful' (DED 4317) but **val** as a word in Sindhi is not in vogue instead **b'alu** is used in the meaning of strength which can easily be derived from Sanskrit **bala**. Sindhi also has **b'alva:n** used in the meaning of 'strongman'. This also can be easily related to Sanskrit **b'ala**. But Tamil has **vallan** in the meaning of strong man (DED 4317). We also find **vally** and **valli** in Tamil, meaning to be able' (DED 4317). Sindhi has personal names like **valu:mal** and **vali:ra:m** (**mal** and **ra:m** being suffixes). This fact clearly shows that **valan**, **valu:** and **vali:** bearsome relationship with their Dravidian counterparts and not with Sanskrit **bal**.

(d) SPN are either abbreviated or used as full forms; this depends on the addressor's relationship or attitude to the addressee. It is abbreviated if the adresser has very close relationship or friendship to addressee, or the addresser is superior in status or elder in age in that case address or uses the full form of the addressee's name. To make full form of a SPN it is customary too add one of the nine second elements in the following manner:

S. No.	abbreviated (or the actual name)	name second element	full form of a name
(1)	moti:	ra:m	moti:ra:m
(2)	moti:	la:l	moti:la:l
(3)	kishin	cand	kishincand
(4)	ra:m	nand	ra:ma:nand

(5) parso	mal	parsomal
(6) hem	ra:j	hemra:j
(7) mohan	da:s	mohanda:s
(8) mahesh	kuma:r	mahesh kuma:r
(9) som	dat	somdat
(10) ra:m	D'ino	ra:mD'ino

Importance of all these second elements is the use of mal as one of the second elements (as in da:somal, ra:dhomal, manghan-mal etc.). mal is never used as the first element of a SPN, though ra:m, la:l, da:s etc, are used as first element also. mal is not used as an independent word in Sindhi language and its meaning is wrestler and there is another word in Sindhi malha meaning wrestling. Word malla in Sanskrit means wrestler. On the basis of Sanskrit malla it can easily be claimed that Sindhi mal is from Sanskrit malla. But if we see the use of mal as second element of a personal name, we are certain that we do not get these type of names in Vedic, or classical Sanskrit and even in later period. DPN use malai as a second element of their personal names; for example in personal names like thi:ru:malai, annamalai etc. In this case the second possibility of the relationship of Sindhi mal to Tamil ma:L as in peru:ma:L also cannot be ruled out. In the absence of records, in the present circumstances mal seems to be closer to Dravidian malai or ma:L rather than Sanskrit malla, because even word mal 'wrestling, boxing' is claimed to be a Dravidian word by DED (3871).

(e) celo: celo is a word in Sindhi meaning 'disciple, follower etc'. celo according to Turner is a Dravidian word (CDIAL-4911). There are some SPN using celo as a first member e.g. celomal, cela:ra:m, or even celo. We get two DPN having cela as first members, these names are chellamuthu and chellapan. This similarity in Sindhi and Dravidian personal names is due to some historical relation of the two or just chance similarity needs further investigation.

(f) -u: ending SPN: -u ending SPN is a very common phenomenon. This can be seen in names like b'alu:, va:su:, a:lu:, na:ru:, pa:ru:, Tha:ku:, pursu:, manu:, etc. Some of these names like ba:lu: and va:su: etc. have striking similarity with DPN.

(g) Apart from the above names there are two SPN a:yalad:s and a:i:da:s and surnames based on these two names:

a:yalda:saNi:, a:ila:Ni: and a:i:da:sa:Ni:. a:yalda:s is from Dravidian wrd a:ya:L and a:i:da:s is from Dravidian word ay; both words, meaning mother (DED 364). a:i: in the meaning of mother is still used in the three caste dialects of Sindhi SoDHKi, Menghwali and Koli.

(h) There are other kinds of *-an* ending SPN also. Jashan (happiness), ciman (garden), gulshan (garden), roshan (shining). These names are from Persian language and in these cases *-an* is part of the words.

There are some other *-an* ending SPN also like arjan, kishan, kundan, madan, candan, gordhan, govardhan etc., all these names are of Sanskrit language and *-an* ending is indivisible part of the respective words.

(i) Element of *-an* is so strong in Sindhi that due to analogy, this is used even for female names da:dan is one such name.

In course of time this *-an* suffix was so strong that the final vowel of many female SPN became nasalized: pushpa: became pushpa:n, ra:dha: became re:dha:n, Kala: became kala:n, si:ta: became si:ta:n (In Sindhi camps like Pimpri, Ulhasnagar, Burhanpur, Bairagrah etc. these nasalized vowel ending names can be heard even now). It is only after the partition that the young generation has switched over to tatsam names like si:ta:, ra:dha:, kala:, and pushpa: etc.

#### (j) -al ending names:

Mr. Francis Britto (P-349) in his article on personal names in Tamil Society writes that "non-Tamil female name theresa becomes Tamil female name as theresal. *-al* is a feminine suffix (shanmugam s.v. p. 37). Names with this suffix we do get among female SPN like mu:mal, su: mal and motal etc.

On the basis of analogy, this *-al* suffix is added to male names like baco and bacal, sacu: and sacal, roco and rocal, toto and total, punhu:n and punhal, ra:no and ra:Nal etc. The above mentioned similarity is not just chance similarities, but can easily be related to Dravidian *-al*.

## BODY PARTS

Under this section terms for body parts, and other terms which are related to body, are discussed. These terms include defects in the body, mother's milk and wrds for excretion etc.

### 1. Va:i: and va:tu:

In Sanskrit word mukh is used for mouth and face, but Sindhi has two different words for mouth and face. For face Sindhi uses munhu, etymologically related to Sanskrit mukh but for mouth it uses va:tu which can conveniently be related to Tamil vay 'mouth' and Telugu va:yi: mouth (DED 4385).

In Sindhi va:i: word is used for language, even shah Latif has used it in this meaning: 'va:i: vanem sha:l, budhan khan b'ori: thyan' (may I loose my speech and become deaf). If I extend our discussion to Hindi language which is neighbouring language of Sindhi then we have ba:t meaning talk in Hindi. talk is always related to mouth and this semantic change is quite possible in two languages. Presence of t in Hindi ba:t and Sindhi va:t indicates some missing clue which is probably lost in the long course of time, because the presence of t in both Hindi and Sindhi, two neighbouring languages makes us think not to relate Hindi ba:t and Sindhi Va:i: and va:tu to Sanskrit Va:Ni: related to Sanskrit va:Ni: 'I in Sindhi we have b'a:Ni: which means 'religious talk or the speech of the saints, as gurub'a:ni: etc. Sanskrit being the language of the sacred text, naturally its word va:Ni: is also considered sacred and the Sindhi word b'a:Ni: is exclusively used for the language of the sacred texts and the saints' sayings etc. On the basis of this we can conclude that the word b'a:Ni: etymologically relates to Sanskrit va:Ni: and va:i: relates to speech of the ordinary people. To support my hypothesis I will like to give one more example of this nature. Sanskrit word jal which becomes jalu in Sindhi in compounds like gangajalu etc. while non-Indo-Aryan word pa:Ni: and ni:ru are used for water in the ordinary sense.

From the above facts we can conclude that va:i: and va:tu are etymologically related to Tamil vay and Telugu Va:yi: meaning mouth.

## 2. Coti:

In Sindhi words for plaited hair and matted lock of hair is **coti**: which is clearly related to Tamil **catai** (DED 1897). In this case some phonetic change has taken place because semantically **coti**: and **catai** are absolutely identical. Sindhi also has **coTo** which means thick or big lock of hair.

Sindhi has **jaTa**: word meaning a lock of hair of a religious person or saint. This though etymologically related to Tamil **caTai** has possibly come to Sindhi through Sankrit.

In Sindhi extension of meaning can be seen in case of males having **coTi**: as a symbol of Hinduism, the fact is that males' **coTi**: is neither plaited nor matted lock of a mountain in Sindhi. This is probably because the lock of hair is on the top of the head, hence what is on the top of a hill or mountain is also **coTi**:

## 3. Capa

For lips Sindhi has **capu** 'a lip' and **capa** 'lips'. These words are different from the Sanskrit words **adhar** and Hindi word **honTh**. Tamil has **cuppu** 'to suck and sip' (DED 2154), and **cumpu** 'to suck and fondle with lips' (M. B. Errnoencea P. 19) When we study these Tamil words, it becomes very clear that the word for suck in Sindhi is **cu:paN** and its root **cu:p** is very close to Tamil **cu:ppu** meaning suck or sip. Secondly **cu:mpu** in Tamil is 'to fondle with the lips' is very close to Sindhi **cumi**: meaning kiss. These two words Tamil **cumpu** and Sindhi **cumi**: are very close to each other in form and meaning that it becomes difficult to deny their relationship, and the relation of Sindhi **cumi**: to Sanskrit **cumban** can easily be denied.

## 4. mucha:

Word for mustache in Sindhi is **mucha**, which is very close to Tamil **micai** (DED 3996) used exactly in the same meaning. Sindhi word **mucha** has undergone some phonetic change which needs further investigation.

## 5. Toro and cu:t:

Original word for 'stool' in Sindhi is **Toro** because the word **ka:ku:s** is borrowed from Dutch (this finding is based on professor Hetiaratcis findings which he told me in personal discussions). **Toro** (Bal. 698) is now out of vogue in Sindhi, is very close to Tamil **туру** meaning 'to go to stool' (DED 2796). Sindhi



word **gunhu** excretion, and **g'ui**: 'anus' can easily be related to Sanskrit word **guhya** meaning secret or hidden (organ). Along with **g'ui**: word **cu:t** is also used in Sindhi. This has very close relationship to Tamil **cu:ttu** (DED 2249). This word is preserved in Sindhi word **cutu:n** also.

#### 6. **Pisu**:

Word **pisu** in Sindhi is used for the milk of cow or buffalo which is milked for the first time immediately after it has given birth to its young one (Bal- 813). This **pisu** can easily be related to word **pa:cci** meaning milk, mother's milk (DED 3342).

#### 7. **Duhilu**:

**duhilu** in Sindhi means drum (a very common musical instrument): the main function of playing music is actually done by the hide of a dead animal. Word for skin or hide in Tamil is **tol** (DED 2937), La:Ri: (a dialect of Sindhi) has **dol** for drum which is very close to Tamil **tol**. In this case the phonetic change that has taken place is also regular because **t** (voiceless) of Tamil becoming **d** (voiced) in Sindhi is quite regular.

Hindi the neighbouring language of Sindhi has **Dhol** which can also be etymologically related to Tamil **tol**.

#### 8. **Ka:No**:

Sindhi words **ka:No** masculine and **ka:Ni**: feminine are related to Dravidian **Ka:N**. In this regard Emmeneau writes that '**Ka:Na**: one-eyed is very obviously derived from the negative adjective "who does not see" of the Dravidian verb **ka:n** 'see'.

#### 9. **mandi**:

Word for lame in Sindhi is **mandi**: Dravidian languages have identical word, Tamil **monti** is kneeling, kneeling on one knee', Kannada **monDi** 'what is bent'. Sindhi word **manDi**: can be etymologically related to Dravidian words.

#### 10. **Para**

Sindhi has two words for wings (of a bird): **pankha** and **para**. Sindhi **pankha** can easily be related to Sanskrit **paksha**, and **para** to Tamil, **para** meaning to 'fly' (DED 3311).

## HOUSEHOLD ITEMS

The words discussed in this section deal with building and the items of day to day use. The words presented here are still being used in the daily life of Sindhi people in Sindh and India. Except **ca:D'i**: almost all other words have survived among Indian Sindhi speakers. In some cases like **ma:Ri**: some new coined by Sindhi speakers in India, let us see some of the Sindhi words that are almost identical to Dravidian words.

i) **MaTu** and **ca:D'i**: are the two words used for an earthen pot in Sindhi. Both words are of Dravidian origin. **maTa** 'a large earthen vessel (DED 3801).

**ca:D'i**: in Sindhi means 'an earthen vessel' **ca:Ti** in Tamil means exactly the same (DED 1901). Tamil **caTi**: in Sindhi becomes **ca:D'i**:, here we can see that Tamil **caT** has undergone two phonetic changes first Tamil vowel **a** has changed to **a**: and **T** has changed to **D'**; that is voiceless has become voiced which is quite regular feature of Tamil and Sindhi.

ii) **ma:Ri**: In Sindhi the word for upstairs house or terrace is **ma:Ri**: (Bal 2566). This is also used in **b'ahu:ma:R**, **b'ima:R**, **Tima:R** etc. In Tamil **ma:Ti**: (pronunciation **ma:Ri**: (DED 3930) is used in exactly in the same meaning.

iii) **ta:Ri**: in Sindhi **ta:Ri**: word is used for a latch or bolt. Infact in olden days when there were no locks, there used to be wooden latches in villages, these latches were known as **ta:Ri**: This word is preserved in a very common compound word **haT-ta:R** 'closure of shops'. In the Banni region of Kutch this word is still being used. But in standard Sindhi it has undergone some phonetic change and has become **haRta:l**, and with its extension of meaning it is used for strike.

Tamil **ta:R** is used for latch and bolt (DED 2598), in Sindhi suffix of **ta:Ri**: is feminine suffix.

iv) **thu:Ni**: this word is used in Sindhi for pillar, post and a column. In Tamil **tuN** is used in the same meanings (DED 2780), here only one phonetic change has taken place i.e. **t** has

changed to **th** Suffix. **i:** in Sindhi is a feminine suffix. Sanskrit also has **sthuna** but it does not have any Indo-European cognate.

v) **cimTo** or **cimTi:** these two words are used in Sindhi for a **qrk**. **cimTo** indicates bigger in size and **cimti:** indicates smaller in size. Tamil has **cōmr' ati** 'smiths large hammer' (DED 1941). In this case some semantic change has taken place, though both the tools are used by a smith.

vii) **dono:** a cup made of leaves is **dono** in Sindhi. Tamil has **tonnai** 'cup made of plaintain or other leaf' (DED 2913). There is no semantic change, but **t** become **d** is a regular feature of Tamil and Sindhi. **o** suffix is a masculine suffix in Sindhi.

viii) **ka:nvaThi:** this word in Sindhi is used for 'pole used for carrying burden'. Tamil has **ka:va:ti** (pronunciation **ka:va:Ri:**) pole used for carrying burden' (DED under 1193). Interestingly SoDHki, one of the caste dialects of Sindhi still uses **ka:va:Ri:**.

viii) **noR** this word is used in Sindhi for a rope' especially thick one and big one; **noRi:** is thin and small rope, string or cord. Tamil **Na:N** and **Kui noRu** and **noNu** 'string, cord, bow string' (DED 2369). In this case we see that Kui pronunciation' almost identical to the Sindhi pronunciation.

ix) **g'u:n:** In Sindhi this word is used for 'a sack made of jute, or a **gunny** bag, in Tamil **Koni** is used in the same meanings (DED) 1835). Tamil **k** becoming **g** is very regular feature.

x) **capar** In Sindhi this word is used for 'a chip of wood.' Tamil word **cappai** is used in the meanings of 'a spar of a wood placed for the wheels of a cart to run smoothly in a sandy road, rafter, a chip of a wood' (DED 1932).

xi) **ulo** In Sindhi this word is used for 'a live charcoal' (Bal P-248). In Tamil **ulai** is used for 'a fire place, forge, furnace' (DED 2337). In this there is very little semantic change. As for as phonetic change is concerned **o** Suffix in **ulo** is a masculine suffix.

xii) **vaTi:** word for small dish in Sindhi is **vaTi:** and the big utensil of the same specification is called **vaTo**. Tamil has **vaTTi** 'basket made of palm stem fiber' (DED 4277). In this case the meaning has extended from palm stem fibre to metallic. Looking to the period of the life of Sindhi language this semantic change is possible.

xiii) **PaTu** In Sindhi this word is used in the meaning of '*flat or level surface or ground*'. In Tamil **PaTTam** '*flat or level surface of anything*' (DED 3207) is almost identical to Sindhi.

xiv) **seRhi**: this word is used in Sindhi for earth material used for white washing the walls. This word can be etymologically related to Dravidian words found in some languages. DED 2305 records '**ceTi** Malayalam a glutinous earth put on walls to keep off the rain esp red., Kannada **Jedi** a sort of pipe clay, Tulu **jedi**, **SeDi** 'a glutinous clay, chalk, a kind of white earth'. In this case we see that the Sindhi words **seRi**: is very close in form and meaning to Tulu word.

## PLACE- NAMES

O. Sindh was the seat of Indus valley civilization, as is evident from the excavations of Mohan-Jo-daRo. From time to time Sindhi speakers came into contact with the speakers of Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and English languages is clearly evident from place-names of Sindh. Historically, we know that Sindhi speakers had contact with the above mentioned languages. But Sindhi place-names show some Dravidian influence also.

1. Place-names of Sindh (here after PNS) can broadly be classified in three major categories: first category of PNS have two elements i.e. *TanDoa:dam*, *Shika:rpur*, *KoTD'eji*, *Pa:ri:Nagar*, *g'aRhi:ya:si:n* etc.; in the second category; personal names or names PNS, *j'a:msa:hib*, *da:du:* and moro etc. are some of the personal names that are used as PNS without any prefix or suffix. *ghoTki* and *la:Rka:No* are some of the PNS names after *ghoTak* and *la:raK* tribes. The third category is of unclassified *ba:Dahi*, *gaDiRo* and many more, such names are used, the source of which is not known so far.

### English

The British ruled over Sindh from 1843 A. D. to 1947 A. D. The British government started schools, and colleges, giving English an important role to play as a subject and as a medium of instructions. It also introduced English for court and administrative purposes. Influence of English can be seen on various aspects of Sindhi language and culture. But as far as the PNS are concerned, there is only one suffix *roD* used in naming few towns.

*roD* is nothing but English road. There are few PNS having *roD* suffix: *si:ta:roD*, *la:kha:roD*, *DrigroD* etc. There is an interesting history to most of the Place-names having *roD* as suffix. When the British government introduced railway in Sindh, it was found that the towns were at a distance of few kilometers from the stations. To facilitate the inhabitants of those towns, the government built stations at nearer point to those towns and named the stations by adding *roD* suffix to the town concerned.

But during the course of time the town expanded and reached the station.

## Persian

Before the British conquest of Sindh in 1843, Persian was the only language used in the fields of education and literature. Though the rulers themselves were the speakers of Sindhi language, but they used Persian for court and all official purposes. It was only in 1853 A.D. that the British government introduced Sindhi and English for educational purposes. Persian influence can be seen on PNS.

### a:ba:d

a:ba:d is a Persian word meaning 'city, habitation, full of buildings and habitations' (Stg. P-3). a:ba:d occurs only as a suffix in PNS: hydera:ba:d, jakba:ba:d, etc. are some of PNS having a:ba:d as suffix.

### dero

The meanings of dera: or di:ra: are house, habitation, or tent' (Stg. 552). dera: becomes dero in Sindhi suffix - O is a masculine suffix in Sindhi. panju:dero, banguldero and ratodero etc. are some of PNS having dero as a suffix. dero never occurs as a prefix.

### bandar

bandar is a Persian word denoting the meaning of 'inlet (of the sea), harbour, anchorage, sea port, emporium, city, trading town on the sea to which number of foreign merchants resort'. (Plts- P-169). gidu:bandar and sha:hbandar are a few PNS having bandar as a suffix, both the towns are built on the river bank.

### bazar

bazar is a Persian word denote the meaning of a market, marked day (Stg P-144). It is used in rahmkibaza:ras a suffix.

## Sanskrit

At the time of Arab conquest of Sindh in 712 AD, the ruler of Sindh was a Brahmin Raja Dahir. Sanskrit was the language of the learning during the Brahmin rule in Sindh is evident from the fact that the first few books that were translated by Arabs were Sanskrit books of various fields of knowledge. (For

details see *Arab aur Bharat ke sambandh by maulana Sayad Suleman Nadvi*, Hindustani Academy, Allahbad 1930)

There are some PNS which clearly show Sankrit influence.

### pur<sup>(1)</sup>

This suffix is very common and is used for PNS: nasarapur, marikhpur, ra:Ni:pur, shapur, unarapur, b'uDha:pur and skika:rpur etc. are some of the PNS having pur as a suffix; it is not used as a prefix. Etymologically pur is from Sanskrit **puri:** meaning 'a town' etc. (MW P-636)

### nagar<sup>(2)</sup>

**nagar** is used both as a prefix and a suffix: nagarp:arkar, and pa:ri:nagar are some of the PNS having **nagar** as a prefix and suffix. Etymologically nagar meaning 'a town, city' (MW P-525) is from Sanskrit.

### g'oTh

Word **g'oTh** can be derived from Sanskrit word **goshTh** meaning 'cowpen, or refuge' (MW P-367). **g'oTh** as a word in Sindhi is used in the meanings of a village or a hamlet. It is used only as a suffix, in PNS. Some of the names having **g'oTh** as a suffix are: *pirg'oTh*, *peru:mal jo g'oTh*, *himayung'oTh* etc

### Sar

Word **sar** can be derived from Sanskrit word **sar** 'a lake, pond' (MW P-1182). *bhoD'esar* is the only placename found in the Thar region of Sindh having *Saras* suffix.

### tha:No

**tha:No** in Sindhi literally means 'a police station'. Its etymology can be traced to Sanskrit word **sthan** 'place, dwelling place or locality etc.' (MW P-1263). *tha:Nobu:la:xa:n* is the only PNS having *tha:No* as a prefix.

### Dravidian

*There are three dravidian tribes in Sindh: Brauhi, OD'a and muha:Na:. Raja Rai Sihasi was considered a Shudra. Raja*

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(1) In the opinion of Dr. Herimath it is a Dravidian word.

(2) Ibid.

Dahir's father Chach became the ruler of Sindh after Raja Rai Sihasi's death. It was customary to call a Non-Aryan as a Shudra. But it is very difficult to say whether Rai Sahasi was a Dravidian speaker, but the presence of Two Dravidian tribes in Sindh can not be denied. The Dravidian suffixes are used and prefixeş are found in PNS.

## TanDo

**TanDo** as a word is not found in Sindhi language. Etymology of word **TanDo** can easily be traced in Dravidian languages: Malayalam **tantu** 'detachment, troop. Telugu **tanda** 'caravan, herd, troop, encampment. Kannanda **tanda** 'mass, multitude, crowd, troop.' (DED 3955) Andhra Pradesh has number of placenames having **tanda**.

There are number of PNS having **TanDo** as a prefix: *TanDo rahi:mx:a:n*, *TanDoa:dam*, *TanDoj'a:m* *TanDo mohamadXa:n* etc

## koT

*amarkoT*, *naokoT* etc. are some of PNS having **koT** as a suffix. In koTD'eji: etc. **koT** is used as a prefix. The word **koT** in Sindhi means 'a fort' and its diminutive form is *koTRi:*. *koTRi:* is a small town in Dadu district of Sindh.

Etymology of **koT** can easily be found in Dravidian. Word **koTTai** is found in languages like Tamil, Malayalam etc. in the meaning of 'a fort' (DED P-2207) **koT** is recorded in Sankrit dictionaries and Shipa literature in the meaning of 'a fort' (MW P-312). **koT** as a prefix and suffix is used in many placenames in Kerala and Tamil Nadu.

## Sindhi:

**daRo** and *va:haN* are two suffixes that can be said of Sindhi origin.

## daRo

The literal meaning of **daRo** in Sindhi is 'a mound'. *daRo* without a prefix or suffix is a village name in Dadu district and also in Thatta district: *daRo* as a suffix is also used in some placenames especially some ancient towns excavated by archaeologists, names having this suffix are *mohan-jo-daRo* and



*kahu-jo-daRo*, in both the cases these were mounds, hence the use of **daRo** was made.

### **Va:haN**

The literal meaning of word **va:haN**: in Sindhi is a hamlet *Xa:nva:haN* and *a:li:va:haN* are the two placenames using **va:haN** as a suffix.

In the above data we find that Sanskrit, Persian and English influence in PNS is evident which can be proved historically also. In the case of dravidian we get **TanDo** and **koT** which are clearly related to Dravidian languages, but we have no evidence to prove that Sindh was ruled over by some Dravidian rulers. Geographically also Sindh is cut off from dravidian speaking regions. But the presence of three tribes in Sindh shows that Sindh had contact with Dravidian speaking people. Hence, **TanDo** and **koT** are definitely the direct result of Dravidian contact with Sindhi speaking people of Sindh is Sindh.

## KINSHIP TERMS:

Kinship terms of Sindhi and Dravidian languages show lot of similarities. The following is the study of comparison of some of the kinship terms of Sindhi and Dravidian languages.

### 1. Mother:

Standard variety of Sindhi uses several terms for mother: **amaR** (in Harijan dialect of Sindhi **amaiL**), **a:yal** (in Harijan dialect **a:yaL**), **a:i: ma:ta:**, **ma:dar**, **va:lida:**, **ami:**, **ma:u**, **ama:n**, and modern Sindhi speakers use **mami:** and **ma:m** and the term for wet nurse in Sindhi is **da:i:** which can easily be related to Dravidian **tay** 'wet nurse.' Now let us take one by one:

1-1 **Ma:Ta**, **ma:u** and **ama:** Out of these **ma:ta:** and **ma:u** can be traced to Sanskrit and most of the scholars claim **ama:n** from Sanskrit **amba:**. Without entering into any controversy I proceed further.

1-2 **ma:dar** and **Va:li:da:** These two terms are mostly used by Muslim speakers of Sindhi, though both terms are used in Sindhi literature and the dictionaries. **Ma:dar** is from Persian and **va:li:da:** is Arabic.

1-3 **mami:** and **ma:m:** both these terms can easily be related to English **mammy**.

1-4 Now we are left with **a:yal** or **a:ya:L**, **amaR**, or **ama:L** and **a:i:**

**a:yal** as an appellative of address and appellative of reference is recorded in the classical literature of Sindhi i.e. Shah jo rasalo uses **a:yal** very frequently. No Sindhi scholar disputes its meaning, but all the dictionaries give its etymology from Sanskrit **a:rya:** (Baloch P-91). But the fact remains that **a:rya:** was neither used in vedic Sanskrit nor classical Sanskrit or after that in the meaning of mother (Karve P-87).

Among Sindhi speaking Harijans Menghwal, Koli, and Vadha tribes use **a:yal** (retroflex lateral) or even **a:ya:L** for mother, and have recorded this in several folksongs of not only

the above communities but even Rebari, Sodhki, and Jatki tribes.

**a:yaL** or **a:ya:L** is closer to Tamil **ayal** (DEDR 364).

Interestingly this term is liked by the Sindhi Hindu speakers that **a:yalda:s** is a very common personal name and **a:yalda:sa:Ni:** is one of the surnames of Hindus caste of Sindhi.

2-2 **amaR** or **ama:L**: This term is very commonly used by Hindus caste and Harijan tribes. In first standard there is a very famous nursery rhyme- **Munhiji amaR, muhiji amaR** meaning my mother, my mother. I get this word in many folksongs of the Menghwal and Koli tribes sung by the women folk. Baloch in his dictionary labels **amaR** to Sanskrit **amba** (Bal P-254). But in my humble opinion kinship term **ama:R** or **ama:L** as attested in the Harijan speakers of Sindhi is closer to Tamil **ammaL** as given by DEDR (183).

2-3 **a:i:** **a:i:** for mother is recorded in almost all the dictionaries of Sindhi. While working on Sodhki dialect of Sindhi, I found that it is being used as an appellation of address and reference even today. **a:i:** is retained in personal name **a:i:da:s** among high caste Hindus of my generation and is retained in the surname **a:i:da:sa:ni:** also. DEDR record it as Tamil (DEDR 364).

From the above evidences we can see that if we take the terms for mother borrowed from Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and English then the remaining terms are not only similar but almost identical to the Dravidian words, secondly these are still used by the rural Sindhi masses and the Sindhi speakers who are considered backward and labelled as Harijans. This second factor needs serious consideration. Apart from these facts some more facts support the above data. Words for wet nurse and step mother are **da:i:** and **paha:i:** DEDR- 364 records **tay** mother and **taycci** as wet nurse, suffix **i:** in Sindhi stands for feminine and if we consider **t** becoming voiced **d** then we can easily relate it to Dravidian languages. Term **Paha:i:** is **paha** and **a:i:**; **pah** in Sindhi means step and **a:i:** is **a:i:** discussed in -3 in this paper.

3. Mother's brother: Term for mother's brother in Sindhi **ma:ma:** and the terms for mother's brothers' wife is **ma:mi:** **Ma:ma:** according to Professor Irawati Karve, "The terms **mamaka** and **mama** are not found in either in Vedic literature or in the Mahabharata. They are of very frequent occurrence in the

story literature of Panchatantra where various beasts address each other as **mamaka**. It means mother's brother', though it is used in many stories merely as a mode of address for any stranger. It does not seem to be an original Sanskrit term." (Karve P-92).

But DEDR (483) suggests **ma:ma:** as a Tamil word in the meanings of mother's brothers or maternal uncle. Interestingly one of the meanings of the Tamil **ma:ma:** as recorded by DEDR (4813) is father-in-law. Jadeja speakers of Sindhi use **ma:ma:** as an address term used by a married woman for her husband's father even today. Jadeja speakers are settled in Kutch and Saurashtra. The rulers of Kutch and Rajkot states are Jadeja speakers of one of the dialects of Sindhi. The study of their speech shows that they have retained the most archaic forms of Sindhi.

Sister: Sindhis use **adi:** for elder sister and **bhen** for younger sister. **adi:** may have been derived from Sanskrit **attika:** or it may be related to Tamil **atti** (DEDR 142) with change of meaning.

**bhenu** is pronounced as **ben** in LaRi: dialect of Sindhi, **ben** is closer to Tamil **pen** (DEDR 4395) but there is difference in the meaning of Sindhi and Tamil. This needs some more data.

## APPENDIX 1

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**Note:** In case of DEDR and DEd, numbers refer to entry numbers; in other references numbers refer to the page numbers.

## THE AUTHOR

Dr. Ghulam Ali Allana was born in Village Tar Khuwaja, Taluka Jati, District Thatta in Sindh on 15th March, 1930. He got his primary education at his native place, secondary education at Mirpur Bathoro and Tando Muhammad Khan and N.J.V. High School at Karachi. He did his B.A. (Hons) & M.A. in Sindhi literature and language from D.G. Government College Hyderabad in 1953 and Department of Sindhi language and literature, Sindh University in 1954 respectively. He also did his M.A. in General Linguistics & Phonetics from S.O.A.S, University of London, in 1963.

Dr. Allana is the first Ph.D in Sindhi Literature and Language from Sindh University in 1970. He undertook his research on the project: "A Study of cultural and literary history of Lower Sindh". It is also worthwhile to mention that he is the first person in Pakistan who did M.A. in General Linguistics & Phonetics from London University.

Dr. Allana started his career as a teacher in Teachers' Training College for men at Hyderabad, where he worked with very prominent educationists such as Dr. G.H. Jaffery, Mr. Abdullah Shaikh & Mr. Rahim Bux Memon etc. He was, then, transferred to Government High School Thatta, from where he was selected as Lecturer in Sindhi, in City College, Hyderabad in 1954, and afterwards he was selected as a Lecturer in the Department of Sindhi, University of Sindh, Jamshoro in 1958. He was elevated as professor in 1976 in the same Department, from where he retired on 14th March, 1990.

Dr. Allana and the Institute of Sindhology can not be separated from each other. On his return from U.K, in 1963, after completing his M.A. degree, he was appointed as Assistant Director of the Institute of Sindhology (it was known as Sindhi Academy at that time) in addition to his own duties as a Lecturer in the Department of Sindhi. He was, afterwards, appointed as Professor-Incharge of the Institute of Sindhology in 1976, in addition to his duties as a professor in the Department of Sindhi.

It is a well known fact that Dr. Allana developed the Institute from a single room of 8'x8' size to the present building, where the holdings of the Institute were shifted in the year 1977 from scratch. Dr. Allana developed the Institute to the international fame which has been recognised by the Smithsonian Institute U.S.A. and Library of Congress of Washington DC, and many other International Institutions dealing with the research work on anthropology and culture in general.

The reputation and recognition of the Institute of Sindhology elevated Dr. Allana in August 1983 to the post of Vice-Chancellor of Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad, where he worked with full devotion and dedication that

# پڙهندڙ نسل . پ ن

## The Reading Generation

1960 جي ڏهاڪي ۾ عبدالله حسين ”آداس نسلين“ نالي ڪتاب لکيو. 70 واري ڏهاڪي ۾ وري ماڻِڪَ ”لڙهندڙ نسل“ نالي ڪتاب لکي پنهنجي دورَ جي عڪاسي ڪرڻَ جي ڪوشش ڪئي. امداد حُسينيءَ وري 70 واري ڏهاڪي ۾ ئي لکيو:  
انڌي ماءُ جڙيندي آهي اونڌا سونڌا ٻارَ  
ايندڙ نسل سَمورو هوندو گونگا ٻوڙا ٻارَ

هر دور جي نوجوانن کي آداس، لڙهندڙ، ڪڙهندڙ، ڪڙهندڙ، ٻرندڙ، چُرندڙ، ڪِرندڙ، اوسيئڙو ڪَندڙ، پاڙي، ڪاڻو، پاڇوڪڙ، ڪاوڙيل ۽ وڙهندڙ نسلن سان منسوب ڪري سَگهجي ٿو، پر اسان انهن سڀني وچان ”پڙهندڙ“ نسل جا ڳولائو آهيون. ڪتابن کي ڪاڳر تان ڪڍي ڪمپيوٽر جي دنيا ۾ آڻڻ، ٻين لفظن ۾ برقي ڪتاب يعني e-books ٺاهي ورهائڻ جي وسيلي پڙهندڙ نسل کي وَڌڻ، ويجهڻ ۽ هِڪَ ٻئي کي ڳولي سَهڪاري تحريڪ جي رستي تي آڻڻَ جي آسَ رکون ٿا.

پڙهندڙ نسل (پڻ) ڪا به تنظيم ناهي. اُن جو ڪو به صدر، عهديدار يا پايو وجهندڙ نه آهي. جيڪڏهن ڪو به شخص اهڙي دعويٰ ڪري ٿو ته پڪ ڄاڻو ته اهو ڪوڙو آهي. نه ئي وري پڻ جي نالي ڪي پئسا گڏ ڪيا ويندا. جيڪڏهن ڪو اهڙي ڪوشش ڪري ٿو ته پڪ ڄاڻو ته اهو به ڪوڙو آهي.

جهڙيءَ طرح وڻن جا پڻ ساوا، گاڙها، نيرا، پيلا يا ناسي هوندا آهن اهڙيءَ طرح پڙهندڙ نسل وارا پڻ به مختلف آهن ۽ هوندا. اهي ساڳئي ئي وقت اداس ۽ پڙهندڙ، ٻرندڙ ۽ پڙهندڙ، سُست ۽ پڙهندڙ يا وڙهندڙ ۽ پڙهندڙ به ٿي سگهن ٿا. ٻين لفظن ۾ پڻ ڪا خصوصي ۽ تالي لڳل Exclusive Club نه آهي.

ڪوشش اها هوندي ته پڻ جا سڀ ڪم ڪار سهڪاري ۽ رضاڪار بنيادن تي ٿين، پر ممڪن آهي ته ڪي ڪم اجرتي بنيادن تي به ٿين. اهڙي حالت ۾ پڻ پاڻ هڪٻئي جي مدد ڪرڻ جي اصول هيٺ ڏي وٺ ڪندا ۽ غير تجارتي non-commercial رهندا. پڻن پاران ڪتابن کي ڊجيٽائيز digitize ڪرڻ جي عمل مان ڪو به مالي فائدو يا نفعو حاصل ڪرڻ جي ڪوشش نه ڪئي ويندي.

ڪتابن کي ڊجيٽائيز ڪرڻ کان پوءِ اهم مرحلو ورهائڻ distribution جو ٿيندو. اهو ڪم ڪرڻ وارن مان جيڪڏهن ڪو پيسا ڪمائي سگهي ٿو ته ڀلي ڪمائي، رڳو پڻن سان اُن جو ڪو به لاڳاپو نه هوندو.

پڙهندڙ نسل - پڻ The Reading Generation



پَن کي کليل اکرن ۾ صلاح ڏجي ٿي ته هو وس پئاندڙ وڌ  
 کان وڌ ڪتاب خريد ڪري ڪتابن جي ليکڪن، ڇپائيندڙن ۽  
 ڇاپيندڙن کي همٿائن. پر ساڳئي وقت علم حاصل ڪرڻ ۽ ڄاڻ  
 کي ڦهلائڻ جي ڪوشش دوران ڪنهن به رڪاوٽ کي نه مڃن.  
 شيخ اياز علم، ڄاڻ، سمجھ ۽ ڏاهپ کي گيت، بيت، سٽ،  
 پُڪار سان تشبيهه ڏيندي انهن سڀني کي بمن، گولين ۽ بارود  
 جي مد مقابل بيهاريو آهي. اياز چوي ٿو ته:

گيت به ڄڻ گوريلا آهن، جي ويريءَ تي وار ڪرن ٿا.

....

ڄڻ ڄڻ جاڙ وڌي ٿي جڳ ۾، هو ٻوليءَ جي آڙ ڇپن ٿا؛  
 ريتيءَ تي راتاها ڪن ٿا، موٽي منجهه پهراڙ ڇپن ٿا؛

....

ڪالهه هيا جي **سرخ گلن** جيئن، اڄڪلهه **نيلا پيلا** آهن؛  
 گيت به ڄڻ گوريلا آهن.....

.....

هي بيت اٿي، هي بم-گولو،

جيڪي به ڪٿين، جيڪي به ڪٿين!

مون لاءِ پنهني ۾ فرق نه آ، هي بيت به بم جو ساٿي آ،

جنهن رڻ ۾ رات گيا راڙا، تنهن هڏ ۽ چم جو ساٿي آ -

ان حساب سان اڻڄاڻائي کي پاڻ تي اهو سوچي مڙهڻ ته  
 ”هاڻي ويڙهه ۽ عمل جو دور آهي، ان ڪري پڙهڻ تي وقت نه  
 وڃايو“ نادانيءَ جي نشاني آهي.

پڻ جو پڙهڻ عام ڪتابي ڪيڙن وانگر رڳو نصابي ڪتابن تائين محدود نه هوندو. رڳو نصابي ڪتابن ۾ پاڻ کي قيد ڪري ڇڏڻ سان سماج ۽ سماجي حالتن تان نظر ڪڍي ويندي ۽ نتيجي طور سماجي ۽ حڪومتي پاليسيون policies اڻڄاڻن ۽ نادانن جي هٿن ۾ رهنديون. پڻ نصابي ڪتابن سان گڏوگڏ ادبي، تاريخي، سياسي، سماجي، اقتصادي، سائنسي ۽ ٻين ڪتابن کي پڙهي سماجي حالتن کي بهتر بنائڻ جي ڪوشش ڪندا.

پڙهندڙ نسل جا پڻ سڀني کي **ڇو، ڇا، ۽ ڪيئن** جهڙن سوالن کي هر بيان تي لاڳو ڪرڻ جي ڪوٺ ڏين ٿا ۽ انهن تي ويچار ڪرڻ سان گڏ جواب ڳولڻ کي نه رڳو پنهنجو حق، پر فرض ۽ اڻڌر گهرج unavoidable necessity سمجهندي ڪتابن کي پاڻ پڙهڻ ۽ وڌ کان وڌ ماڻهن تائين پهچائڻ جي ڪوشش جديد ترين طريقن وسيلي ڪرڻ جو ويچار رکن ٿا.

توهان به پڙهڻ، پڙهائڻ ۽ ڦهلائڻ جي ان سهڪاري تحريڪ ۾ شامل ٿي سگهو ٿا، بس پنهنجي اوسي پاسي ۾ ڏسو، هر قسم جا ڳاڙها توڙي نيرا، ساوا توڙي پيلا پن ضرور نظر اچي ويندا.

وڻ وڻ کي مون پاڪي پائي چيو ته ”منهنجا پاءُ  
پهتو منهنجي من ۾ تنهنجي پڻ جو پڙلاءُ.“  
- اياز (ڪلهي پاتم ڪينرو)

**پڙهندڙ نسل - پڻ** The Reading Generation