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**SINDHI LANGUAGE & LITERATURE
AT A GLANCE**

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

“History of Sindhi Language and Literature at a Glance” presents important sequence of linguistic and literary endeavours spread over a period of a millennium from the 10th Century to the 20th Century AD. The author has tried to be objectively selective for the sake of writing a brief and concise version of the history of the two subjects.

Written with an explicit intent of introducing Sindhi Language and Literature to the non-Sindhi speaking readers at home and abroad, the present book fulfils the important need of the present times.

Dr. Ghulam Ali Allana's contribution in the fields of Sindhi Language, Linguistics and Literature spans over the last sixty years. In this book he has painstakingly documented and archived the wealth of Sindhi writings in the shape of a book for quick reference.

It is our sincere hope that our effort to present a bird's eye view of the history of Sindhi Language and Literature, will be appreciated by common readers, researchers and scholars alike.

Hyderabad, Sindh
18 March, 2009

Dr. Fahmida Hussain
Chairperson

DADICATED

To

International Scholar

Dr. N.A. Baloch

Who has devoted his whole life to the service of
Sindh and Sindhi Language.

Dr. G.A. Allana

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PREFACE

It is not an easy task to write about the history of anything, particularly the history of language and literature of Sindhi Language, which has a very glorious past and a bright future. I am fully aware of the risk when I write these words. I leave it, therefore, to the readers to decide whether I have been successful in drawing a vivid picture of the history of Sindhi language and its literature; whether I have done justice to the subject or not. Although I am sure that this book does not contain the detailed history of Sindhi language and literature, even then by putting a glance over the given material, readers can definitely be aware of an outline of the history of Sindhi language and literature. For a detailed study, the readers should inevitably read other histories written in Sindhi.

As a student of Sindhi Linguistics and Literature, I feel myself constrained for not contributing much in the field of the history of Sindhi language and literature.

The men of letters of Sindhi have particularly been witness to the fact that comprehensive histories of Sindhi literature have been written by only a few literary historians. We do get some books on the history of Sindhi literature in Sindhi, English and Urdu, written by M/s K.B. Siddique Memon, Dr. Abdul Jabbar Junejo, Dr. Memon Abdul Majid Sindhi, Mr. Mazhar Jameel and also by some Indian Sindhi writers but Sindhi language demands more from us.

I preferred to write a small book like this one for persons who can not read and understand Sindhi language. I am fully conscious that this is just a glance

at the history of Sindhi language and literature which I have been able to write, as desired by my old friend Dr Tanvir Abbasi. He desired in one of the meetings of the Board of Governors of Sindhi Language Authority that I should write a book in this field.

I am really indebted to the Sindhi Language Authority, particularly Dr. Fahmida Hussain who took keen interest in getting this book published, the manuscript of which was finalized by me in 2000.

This is an humble effort, and labour of my love for my mother tongue Sindhi. I have every hope that my efforts will be appreciated by the readers.

I have mentioned earlier that it is not a complete comprehensive history but just an outline for those non-Sindhi readers who want to know about the history of Sindhi language and literature and its various forms etc.

I am grateful to Mr. Taj Joyo, Secretary Sindhi Language Authority, Mr. Ameen Muhammad Laghari, Director Bureau of Publication and Production, and Mr Khalid Azad, Publication Officer, Sindhi Language Authority for their interest in getting this book published. I shall be grateful if any suggestion, observation and opinions are conveyed to me by the readers.

May Allah, the Almighty help and guide us all to serve the cause of Sindhi Language, its Literature and Culture. Aameen.

Hyderabad, Sindh
15.1.2009

Dr. G.A. Allana

Part-I SINDHI LANGUAGE

History of Sindhi Language at a Glance

Introduction:

1. Sindhi is one of the ancient languages of the world. Scholars, both native and non-native, have always taken keen interest in the study of its ethno-archaeological aspect. They have spent most of their time in the research on the origin, genesis and growth of Sindhi language, and its use by various people in the lower Indus valley and outside. In spite of that, the final opinion about its origin has remained as an unsolved problem for the students of Archaeology, Linguistics and Ethno-linguists, and until now it has remained a controversial and unsolved issue.

Dr. Parso Gidwani, an Indian Sindhi scholar in the field of Sindhi Linguistics, is of the opinion that:

“Historically, Sindh was the seat of one of the most advanced urban civilizations of the world, better known as Indus Civilization (*Mohen-jo-Daro*). The language of this period is still a mystery, although several scholars throughout the world have attempted to decipher it, but they hardly agree to each others’ view point” (Gidwani Parso, Dr., 1996:1).

2. Whatever has been stated so far, by the scholars about the origin and ancestry of Sindhi language, can be divided into five opinions; viz:

- (i) Sindhi is derived from Sanskrit language through Vrachada Apabhrams'a (Trumpp E. 1872: Introduction).
- (ii) Sindhi is an ancient pre-Sanskrit Indo-Aryan Indus Valley language (Baloch N.A. Dr:1960: 19).

- (iii) Sanskrit is derived from Sindhi and thus it (Sanskrit) is the genuine daughter of Sindhi language (Sirajul Haq Memon 1964: 4).
- (iv) Sindhi language has its roots in the Indus Valley Civilization and is not an offshoot of any other language. Thus it is an original and native language of Indus Valley people (Allana G.A. Dr., 2002: 169).
- (v) Sindhi language originated from some old Indo-Aryan dialect, spoken in the region of lower Indus Valley, at the time of compilation of the Vedas or perhaps some centuries before that (Jetley M.K. 1991: Introduction IX).

M.H. Panhwar has also given his opinion in this connection but in my view, it is not a new theory. He (M.H. Panhwar) considers Scythian as an early and ancient pre-Aryan race, and the Scythian language as original language of Sindh. This theory (of Mr. Panhwar) is not a new one, as even the earliest scholars like Dr. Caldwell and Dr. E. Trumpp had also narrated the same story, and made a claim that Sindhi language had some peculiarities of Scythian and Tatarian languages (Trumpp E.Dr., 1872: 1)

3. (a) The scholars who claim that “Sindhi is derived from Sanskrit”, are of the view that Sanskrit had first changed into Prakrit. The Prakrit was then changed into Pali, which in turn changed into Shauraseni that later on became Apabhrams'a which was divided into two branches: namely Vrachada Apabhrams'a and Nagara Apabhrams'a. Sindhi, according to them had sprung from Vrachada

Apabhramśa by about 1100 A.D. Dr. Ernest Trumpp was the first scholar who pointed out that, "Sindhi is derived from Sanskrit" (Trumpp E.Dr. 1872:1) He and his disciples are of the opinion that Sindhi language came into the present form in the eleventh century A.D. Besides him, Prof: Bherumal Advani (Bherumal Advani 1956: 69), Mirza Qaleech Beg (Qaleech Beg Mirza, 1960:19) and Dr. Gurbuxani (Gurbuxani H.M. 1950:114), were the main supporters of this theory. All of them agreed that Sindhi is a genuine daughter of Sanskrit. They argue that there are plenty of Sindhi words, (Tatasama [similar] & Tadbhava [derived]), which show affinity with Sanskrit words. Sanskrit scholars are of the opinion that phonetic and morphological resemblances between Sindhi and Sanskrit indicate that Sindhi is derived from Sanskrit.

(b) Dr. N.A. Baloch, the most renowned scholar of Sindhology, is the pioneer of a new theory. According to him:

"Sindhi is an ancient Indo-Aryan language, probably having its origin in pre-Sanskrit Indo-Aryan Indus Valley languages. The Lahnda and Kashmeri appear to be its cognate sisters with a common Dardic element in all of them. Sindhi in particular, may have imbibed some influence of the ancient language of Mohen-jo-Daro Civilization, having affinities with the Sumerian and Babylonian tongues. In the more historical times, influence of Iranian languages 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 the state language from 8th to 11th (possibly 13th) century A.D) and of Persian, which was the 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 the origin of many of its words" (Baloch N.A.Dr,1960:19).

In another article Dr.N.A. Baloch writes:

"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 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 former speech, which ultimately developed as literary Sanskrit" (Baloch N.A. Dr. 1992)

(c) Sirajul Haq Memon doesn't agree with the views of Sir Grierson, Dr. Ernest Trumpp and Dr. N. A. Baloch. In his view:

"Sindhi is not derived from Sanskrit, but on the contrary Sanskrit seems to have evolved from Sindhi and therefore is a genuine daughter of Sindhi." (Sirajul Haq Memon 1964: 4)

In support of his theory, Siraj has tried to prove that Indus Valley was a central and original place of civilization and culture, for the people of the East and West. He states that the people of ancient Sindh had taken their language and culture with them at the time

of their migration to Mesopotamia and Babylonia; and also spread their language along with their culture within that part of Asia. According to Siraj:

“The Aryan hypothesis is a myth, initiated by the German scholars in support of their racial superiority.”

He further states;

“There is no evidence of any influence of Mesopotamian or Babylonian Civilization on the Indus Valley Civilization, but on the contrary, the civilization of Mesopotamia and Babylonia show influence of Mohen-jo-Daro Civilization.”

In his opinion the Indus Valley Civilization reached there through immigrants and traders. He has given references from Nooh Crammar’s books in support of his theory. (Sirajul Haq Memon, 1964: 4 and 5).

(d) Dr. Murlidhar Jetley, in the preface of Encyclopedia of Indian Literature Vol: VIII, (Sindhi), compiled by Prof: Dr. Ganga Ram Garg, writes:

“On the basis of the development of new Indo-Aryan languages, as traced by philologists, it can be said that the Sindhi language originated from some old Indo-Aryan dialect spoken in the region of lower Indus Valley at the time of the compilation of the Vedas; or perhaps some centuries before that. The structure of the spoken dialect is not known, but most probably it would have been nearer to the spoken dialect of the Punjab, from which one dialect, in its literary form, is represented in the Rig Veda. No doubt, Sindhi like other new Indo-Aryan languages, has passed through old Indo-Aryan and middle Indo-Aryan stages, but there is no

written evidence to show the development of the Sindhi language in detail, from the old Indo-Aryan dialect spoken in the lower Indus Valley. However, a new fact may be mentioned here which throws some light on such a development.”

“As regards the later phase of the middle Indo-Aryan stage, present Sindhi shows sufficient semblance with Nagara or Shauraseni Apabhrams'a which was literary language of India, during the period which immediately precedes the existence of New Indo-Aryan languages. But there are no written records that would enable us to study the distinguished features of a local dialect of Nagara Apabhrams'a spoken in the lower Indus Valley from which Sindhi as a New-Indo-Aryan language is presumed to have developed round about 1000 A.D.”

“Markendeya (17th Century A.D.), in his Prakrit-Sarvasya, states that Vrachada Apabhrams'a was spoken in Sindhu-Desa which illustrated some distinguishing features of Vrachada. Unfortunately, those examples do not fully match with the linguistic peculiarities of the Sindhi language, neither is there any literary work in Vrachada which may help us in knowing its structure.

“To illustrate the resemblances of Sindhi with Nagara, the literary Apabhrams'a, two verses from Hemchandra’s work (12th century A.D.) are compared with Sindhi:

Dolā sanvelā dhana campā varannī دیولا سانولا دن چمپا ورثی
Jan sona reha kasavatia dannī جاڻ سونا ريهه کسوتيا دنڻي

(The man has a dark complexion and the fair one has the complexion of a Champaka flower, she seems to be a streak of gold on the (black) assay).

Dolā mun to vāryo, ma karu d igo mān, دیولا مون تو واریو م کر ڊگهو مان،
Ninda ganvāi rātrī, jhat pat hoi vihānu ننڊ گوائين راتري، جهت پت هو ۽ وهان ۽

(Beloved, I warn you not to pretend for long, as the night would pass away in sleep and it will dawn quickly)" (Jetley M.K. Dr; 1991: preface IX)

Who were the Aryans? Where did they come from? Did they come as one group and spoke one and the same language?

1. Every scholar now agrees with this theory that Mohen-jo-Daro Civilization (Indus Valley Civilization) is pre-Aryan civilization and that before Aryans came to India, the Indus Valley people used a language which was both spoken and written. The scholars such as John Beames, Rawlison, John Welsh Mackey, Piggot, Hunter, Wheeler, Prof: Dr. Basham, Sew D.K. Bowles, Krishana Rao and others have given their viewpoints on this issue. Let us study the viewpoints of some of these scholars about the Aryans, who come to the Indian sub-continent and were proud of its glorious civilization.

(a) Mr. Krishna Rao and some other Indian scholars and archaeologists are of the view that the Indus Valley had been the original seat of civilization and that the original inhabitants of Mohen-jo-Daro were Aryans. (Krishna Rao M.V.N 1992, Preface). It

means that the Aryans had not come from outside but they were the original people of Indus valley.

(b) But most of the scholars, native as well as foreigners, are of two opinions: (i) the Aryans were outsiders and that Indus Valley civilization is a pre-Aryan civilization, (ii) the people of this civilization spoke a language which was a pre-Aryan language having its roots in the civilization of the Indus Valley.

(c) Sir Grierson and some other scholars were of the opinion that Aryans came to the Indus Valley and brought their language and culture with them.

(d) Some other scholars are of the opinion that the Aryans did not come to the Indus Valley in one group but in different groups from different places at different times, one after another, with intervals. Some of them crossed the passes of Hindukush Mountains and entered this valley through its north-western tracts and others came by the sea, into the southern part of the Indus Valley (Grierson, Vol: I part I, 1927 P-99).

(e) Another Indian scholar, Shrimati Akshaya Kumari Devi supports Sir Grierson and says:

"Aryans did not enter India in one group, but they entered the Indus Valley in different groups, one after another with intervals. Thus they were divided into five clans"(Akshaya Kumari Devi 1938: ?).

2. From the study of these viewpoints, two points need to be discussed: (i) The ancient Iranian land was occupied by a group of pre-Aryan people, who spoke a pre-Aryan language before the arrival of the Aryans in the land of ancient Iran. (ii) The Aryans did not enter into the Indus Valley in one group, and each

group, which came after another group, did not speak the same language. In other words the group of Aryans that came from Hindukush Mountains spoke a language which was quite different from the language of the group of Aryans that came either by the sea or through the Makran region, ie through south-west region of ancient Iranian land.

There is also disagreement among the scholars about the period of arrival of the Aryans into the Indus Valley. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chattarji is of the view that the Aryans entered the Indus Valley by about 1500 to 1000 B.C (Chatterji S.K. 1942: 95-98).

3. Professor Bherumal Advani, who advocated that "Sindhi language is derived from Sanskrit", but having found some special peculiarities of pronominal suffixes in Sindhi language, he argued that "Sindhi is a link language between Indian vernaculars and Iranian language" (Bherumal Advani 1956: 88).

3.1 Professor Bherumal further writes:

"Pronominal suffixes are most commonly used only in Sindhi, Lahnda, Kashmeri and Saraiki languages."

Since the pronominal suffixes are also very common in Persian language, he expressed that: "It can be said that Sindhi is the only language which can be called the link language between Indian vernaculars and Iranian languages" (Bherumal Advani 1956: 88).

4. Now the question arises that if Sindhi is a pre-Aryan language, having its roots in the Indus Valley Civilization and if the Aryans come in different groups, one after another, and each group spoke a different language, then why this linguistic similarity

in Sindhi and Persian languages? (Professor Bherumal 1956).

5. The group of scholars who claim that Sindhi is derived from Sanskrit language, through Vrachada Apabhrams'a also believe that when the Aryans entered into the Indus Valley, the natives of the territory were so terrified that they fled towards the south, south-east and towards the western mountains for refuge.

But this hypothesis can not be accepted for the reasons that it seems impossible that every native of this land, being afraid of the invaders (Aryans or others who came after them) fled or migrated towards other neighboring areas for refuge and safety. On the contrary, it seems possible that some of them might have shifted towards the neighboring states to save the lives of their families, but the majority of them stayed back and surrendered before the conquerors. Even at present Bāgris, Jats, Rabāris, Panis, Odds, Kohla, Bhila, Muhānā, Parhyar, and many other aboriginal tribes and races, as referred by Dr. Caldwell, Professor Bherumal Advani, Dr. Hiremath, Shaikh Khurshid Hassan, H.T Lambrick, Dr. Parso Gidvani, Taj Mohammad Sahrai and others, live in Sindh and Lahnda areas in great number. All these races have been recognised as the aboriginal tribes of the pre-historic Indus Valley.

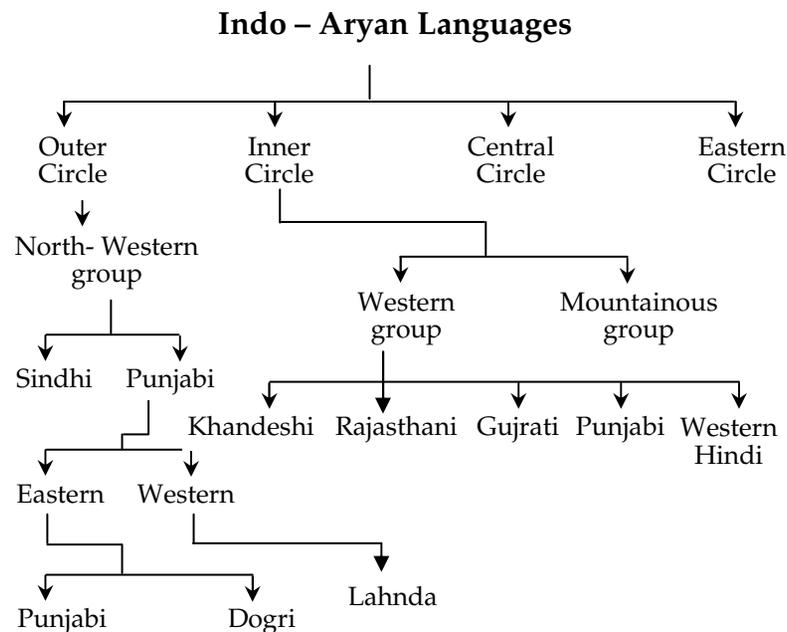
According to the statement recorded by Sir Grierson in Vol: I, Part 1 of his most popular book: 'Linguistic Survey of India (first edition was

published in 1927), the Sindhi language belongs, together with 'Lahnda' of Western Punjab, to the North- West group of Outer Circle of the Indo Aryan Vernaculars. The two tongues (Sindhi and Lahnda), in his opinion, show strong connection with the Dardic languages further to the North, especially with Kashmiri. Sir Grierson's viewpoint may be studied in detail with the help of the chart reproduced on next page which has been given by Dr. Massica, in his book (Massica C.P. 1991: 449 & 456)

As mentioned earlier, the scholars like Dr. Trumpp and Sir Grierson were of the opinion that the inhabitants of Indus Valley, being afraid of the invasion of the Aryans, left their native places and fled to the nearby jungles, forests and mountains etc, to take refuge and save the lives of their family members. But it has been clarified in pervious pages that most of the population remained at the places wherever they were already settled, and they surrendered before the invaders (Aryans), as they did, afterwards when the Iranians, Greeks, Scythians Parthians, white Huns and Arabs etc. attacked their cities, towns and native places.

Had Sir Grierson and Dr. E. Trumpp known the results of the reports of the excavations of archaeological sites of *Mohen-jo-Daro* and other places, published by Sir John Marshall, they would, definitely, have changed, not only their viewpoints about the origin and ancestry of the languages of Indus Valley- Sindhi, Saraiki, Dardi, Punjabi, Rajasthani, Kohistani, Gujrati, Bhili, Bagri and Haroti etc.- but they would have amended their tree-diagram showing relationship of these languages with the main language of the Indus Valley.

Whether Sindhi, Lahandi, Punjabi and Dardi, (which, in the opinion of Sir. Grierson, are the branches of North-Western group of 'Outer Circle' of the Indo-Aryan languages) along with other languages of the Indus Valley be recongnised as Pre-Aryan languages, having their roots in the Civilization of Indus Valley, or they have sprung



from the original and native language 'Sindhui' is a question which invites the attention of the scholars of History and Archaeology.

5.1 How can one believe that the languages which have been languages of the neighboring states from time immemorial, and which have remained under the same dominion of Indus Valley kings for thousands of years, are not the branches of one and the same language? The people of these neighboring states, the poets, singers, folk-lorists, saints, religious missionaries, animal breeders, artisans, artists and common people used to shift and migrate; or caravans used to travel or visit these regions, regularly and very frequently, Social contacts and marriages were commonly arranged between the same ethnic groups, castes and tribes etc, because they spoke the same language or the dialects of the same language.

6. It is explained above that 'Sindhui' is the original and native language of Indus Valley people, which was being spoken by the people in different regions of the Indus Valley. It has also been said that the civilization and culture of Indus Valley had penetrated in every direction, in the entire Valley towards the East of the Mahi and Nirmada rivers in the present Gujrat state of India, and towards South-East, up to the sea-port of Surat. Similarly it (Sindhui Language) had crossed the borders of Kalibangan region in the present Haryana state in the North-East of the Indus Valley. It also penetrated its influence in the Dardistan region including Kashmir in the

North-West and North in the Indus-Kohistan and Sawat Kohistan regions. Its influence has also been traced by the scholars and Archaeologists in the Khozistan (now Nooriston) region in the Eastern region of Iran.

6.1 A critical and detailed study of Vol: VIII of the 'Linguistic Survey of India' by the scholars and experts reveals that Sir Grierson has not been consistent in his opinion about the origin of the languages of Rajasthan and Gujrat. On one hand he has stated that Rajasthani and Gujrati languages are branches of the Central Group of Inner Circle of Indo-Aryan languages, but on the other hand, having observed lot of similarities between Sindhi and the dialects of Rajasthani languages, particularly Marwari and Jaisalmeri languages, he decided to state that Marwari and Jaisalmeri are closely related to Sindhi language. His statement under the title of 'Mixed Marwari and Sindhi' is reproduced below from his book. He states:

"The word *Dhat* means desert, and it is applied specifically to the desert tract of Sindh, in the district of Thar and Parker as well as to the adjoining portion of the State of Jaisalmer. Native authorities say that it includes the following towns:

In the Thar and Parkar		In Jaisalmer
Umarnkot	Chelar	Mayajlar
Chhor	Parno	Khuri of Samkhabba Pargana
Gadhra	Naursar	
Mithi	Gundra	

“The district of Thar and Parker consists of three tracts: (1) the Pat or plain of the Eastern Nara, in the North-West and Centre-West of the district; (2) the Parker tract to the South-East, and (3) the Thar or desert (corresponding to the Dhat). The language of the Pat region is Sindhi, that of the Parker tract is Sindhi, and in the extreme south, Gujrati. To the East of the district of Thar and Parkar lies the Marwar State of Mallani. The main language of Mallani is Marwari but along the common frontier there is a narrow tract in which the language is said to be Sindhi; no specimen have been received from this tract, but we may safely conclude that it is a mixture of Marwari and Sindhi in which Sindhi predominates. To the North-East of this tract there is an acknowledged mixture of the two languages. North of Mallani, up to the frontier of Jaisalmer, the language is described by the Marwar officials as a mixture of Thali and Sindhi. This tract is really a continuation of the Dhat and the language in no way differs from Dhātki.

“Dhātki, or the language spoken in the Dhat, is simply Thali with a stronger infusion of Sindhi forms, than elsewhere. It is a mixed dialect and necessarily varies from place to place. In Thar and Parkar, the influence of Sindhi is naturally strong than in Jaisalmer. To sum up, we have in South-West Marwar-Mallani, and in the Dhat of Jaisalmer a number of forms of speech, all of which are mixture of Standard Marwari or of Thali with Sindhi in varying proportions. It is unnecessary to

consider them separately.”(Grierson, G., 1919: 122).

Thus how can Sindhi, Lahndi, Rajasthani, Punjabi, Kashmiri, Bagri, Haroti, Gujrati and Dardi languages be considered as separate languages, and that they have sprung from different groups of languages of neighboring or frontier states, when all those states where these languages are still being commonly spoken, have remained under the same dominion for thousands and thousands of years? These languages are so related with each other and exhibit similarities in phonetical, phonological, morphological and syntactical structures to such an extent that even a common man would never hesitate to say that these languages are not only related with each other but they belong to a common origin.

6.2 When Sindhi, Lahndi and Dardic languages show strong connection, as stated by Sir Grierson, why it should not be admitted that Sindhi and Marwari, Sindhi and Gujrati, Sindhi and Bhili, Sindhi and Bagri, Sindhi and Haroti, and Sindhi and Jaisalmeri also exhibit common relationship and similarities because of their common origin, i.e. the Sindhui language, which was the original language of the Indus Valley Civilization.

7. Hence a tree diagram of Sindhui language along with its branches (dialects and sub-dialects) has been prepared and is given on the next pages which invites the attention of scholars and intellectuals for thorough study and comments, on this new theory floated with the help of the tree- diagram of origin and ancestry of the language spoken in the region which grew up within the perspective of Indus Valley.

7.1 The tree-diagram given above helps every student of linguistic study to know about the 'Sindhui' language and its branches, which are being spoken very commonly in different regions of the Indus Valley even at present. It has been mentioned at the bottom of the tree-diagram that languages, which are now considered the dialects of Punjabi language, are, as a matter of fact, branches of the Sindhui language. 'Majhi', 'Do-abi' 'Bangro' and 'Bhatyali' languages exhibit common similarities which are generally found in Sindhi, Lahndi, Dardi & Rajasthani etc.

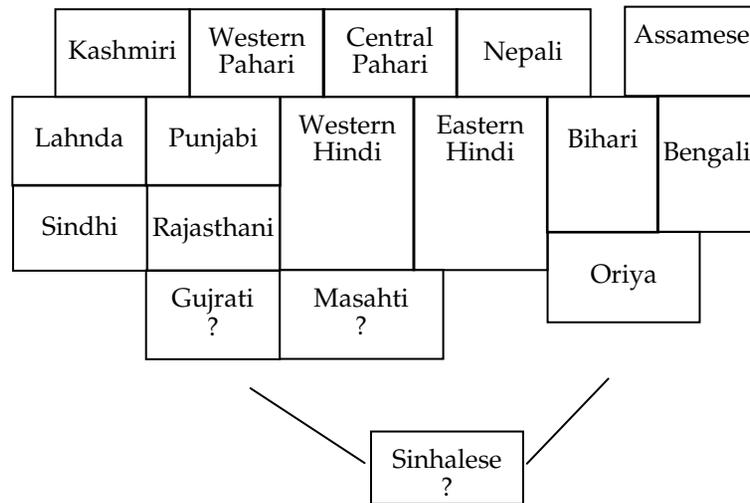
Archaeological map of Indus Valley drawn by scholars, given below, demarcates the regions where Indus Valley Civilization has penetrated. These maps help us to study the areas where the Indus Valley Civilization has reached in every direction.

The study of these maps reveals that different dialects of Sindhui language used to be spoken very commonly by the aboriginal inhabitants who lived there before the advent of Aryans.

7.2 The most recent linguistic study in this regard has been brought to light by Dr. Colin Massica in his book: 'The Indo-Aryan language' on pages from 447 to page 458. He states that the scholars like Heesnel, Dr. S.K. Chatterji and Dr. J.D Smith have supported Sir Grierson in his viewpoint. But he (Dr. Massica) has compared their models with the help of diagrams prepared by Dr. Turner and other scholars, and proved that even they (the scholars) are not united in their opinion with regard to the relationship of the languages of the Indus Valley.

The Map diagram drawn by Dr. Massica, given on page 454 under figure 11.6 in his book, is

reproduced below for the perusal of the readers:



8. Massica has compared the models of Sir Grierson with the models of Dr. S.K. Chatterji, Dr. Turner and others. The conclusion drawn by Dr. Massica on pages 454, 455 & 456 of his book invites the attention of scholars. He writes:

“There have been, to be sure, a few constant, the ‘core’ if not the boundaries of peripheral Eastern and North-Western groups, which have remained stable in all the classification, that is, Bengali-Assamese- Oriya and Sindhi-Lahnda. The problem has been with literally everything in between. It should be recalled that Grierson’s controversial Inner-Outer hypothesis (which has by no means been abandoned by all scholars) rested in trying to link precisely these two extremes” (Massica C.P. 1991: 456).

8.1 Dr. Massica has compared phonetical &

phonological structures of Sindhi with those of other I.A. languages, but the study of the comparison laid down by him proves that all these features are those which have been retained and these features have survived in all these languages from time immemorial. These similarities in Sindhi, Saraiki, Dardi, Jaisalmeri, Marwari, Mewari, Gujrati, and other vernaculars of Indus Valley exist from ancient times. I would invite the attention of all scholars including Dr. Massica to this pertinent point that why it should not be assumed that the original features and peculiarities of ‘Sindhui language’ of Indus Valley have survived and still prevail upon the languages of the sub-continent, particularly on the languages of those regions which were very commonly being used as the dialects or sub-dialects of the ancient language-Sindhui-as shown in the map given in the previous pages.

9. The most important point, which has been emphasised in the last pages of this book, is that there has been continuity of many aspects of cultural heritage of the Indus Valley. It has been said that there is every possibility that the continuity of the Sindhui language, inspite of the influence of Prakrit, Sanskrit, Pali, Iranian, Arabic and other languages, on the language of Indus Valley people, due to which thousands of words of these languages were borrowed by the people of Indus Valley, was never hampered. Borrowing of some words could not affect the phonetical, phonological, morphological and syntactical structures of the language of the original inhabitants of this land. The language of Indus Valley Civilization, as already stated, was perhaps known as Sindhui language, which, in my opinion originated

from the local soil, and that language never came from outside, but it was the original and indigenous language of the Indus Valley.

9.1 Thus the existence of the indigenous language and culture is witness to the fact that the local people of Indus Valley, as a whole, did not leave their land but they accepted the Aryans and other invaders as their new rulers and masters, and remained at the places wherever they were settled. They accepted the rules and regulations, customs and traditions of their new masters, but did not abandon their own customs, traditions, ceremonies, culture, language, faith, religion and rituals etc. They borrowed words from the language of their new rulers, but at the same time their new rulers also borrowed many words of culture, daily life and religion etc. from the rich culture, civilization and language of the people of the land conquered by them.

Dr. Asko Parpola supports this theory and states:

“The Aryans, although in all probability fewer in number, by their military force subdued the Dravidians. They inter-married, and the Dravidians took over the language of the conquerors by which 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 clusters of the Dravidians, already, reflected in `Mr. Dhruv's the Rig Vedic epithet of the Dasyus, resulted in the coming into being of the Prakrit language.

The Aryans on the other hand took over much from religion and civilization of the

Dravidians” (Asko Parpola 1970: 12).

From this argument it is evident that most of the peculiarities of culture, religion and language of the Indus Valley people were retained and preserved by the native people and those elements are discernible even today.

9.2 Sirajul Haq Memon also supports the theory of languages in contact. He says:

“The reason of different hypotheses about the origin of the 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 the religious contacts, this influence has increased more” (Sirajul Haq 1972: 5).

9.3 Waqas Ahmed Khawaja, writing about the aborigines of the Punjab, states in his article that:

“There are traditions attesting that it existed at the time the Aryans over-ran the country; descendents of the ancient Dravidian tribes of Bhat, Jhonju and Gharru are still to be found as despised menial workers inside the old city “(Waqas Ahmed 1992: 108)

9.4 N.A. Dr. Baloch, a renowned scholar, as a matter of fact, is the pioneer of the idea of re-thinking about the origin of the language of Indus Valley and particularly the aborigines of this land. He says:

“According to historical record, we get the names of three ancient races who lived in Sindh. They were Momed, Takiya and Paṇyas. Momed are Med or Meha, in other words Muhanas; the

Takiya probably left Sindh during the 6th or 7th century A.D. It is not known who were Paṇyas.”

(Baloch N.A. 1992:174).

Writing about Panis, Mr. Dames is of the view:

“Fanis may be Panis and the word Panis has been changed as Bani/ Bania and then Vanya (Dames M.L. 1904: 24).

10. Taj Mohammad Sahrai, a very prominent Sindhologist, has written in detail about Paṇyasor Paṇīs,

in his recent book, entitled: ‘Lake Manchar’. He states:

“Sindh, Sapta Sindhu, may be the homeland of Paṇīs. Khirthar Range, Sindhu or a branch or tributary of Sindhū and Lake Manchar might have been under the command of Paṇīs.

The Paṇīs were indigenous people of Sindh.

They belonged to Dravidian race or a section or a branch of the Dravidians of *Mohen-jo-Daro*, the authors of Indus Civilization 6500 to 1500 B.C. The Dravidians had trade representatives in Babylonia.

The Paṇīs were excellent weavers, dyers, carpenters, boat-makers, navigators and traders of their time “(Sahrai Taj Mohammad 1997: 170 and 171).

Phoenicians, who were also known as Fanis, were actually Panis of Indus Valley. They were sea-faring people and traders also.

Writing about Paṇis Dr. Hiremath states:

“The Indus culture was agro-based urban culture, dependent on riverine agriculture and over-seas trade. Socially it consisted of

agriculturists, fishermen, sailors- a sea faring community and the trading class, known as Fanis, (Hiremath R.C. 1984: 53).

‘Fanis’ may have been the Paṇis and the word ‘Paṇi may have been changed to ‘banya’. It is also possible that ‘b’ has been changed into ‘v’ sound as there are many other words in which recurrence of ‘v’ in place of ‘b’ is available. Thus the word ‘banya’ was pronounced as ‘vānyā’ (واڻيا) as a common word in Sindhi language which in modern Sindhi means trading class. There is indeed a need of ethnological study of these aboriginal groups of people or races, who are still found in various places of the Indus Valley, and who have been able to retain their ancient culture, habits, rituals and their language/ languages, throughout the historical changes in the sub-continent.

11. The point of discussion here is whether the ancient inhabitants of Indus Valley had come from outside or they were local people. Dr. Hiremath is of the view that:

“Indus Civilization, though urban in character, has its roots in the villages of the region itself. *Harappa, Kot-Dijji, Kalibangan, Lothal, Danue Sadat* and a number of sites in Afghanistan and Balochistan clearly indicate the existence of a local civilization prior to the Harappan culture.” (Hiremath R.C. 1984: 53).

11.1 Dr. Mahar Abdul Haq, a great scholar and historian from Multan, has supported this hypothesis. He is of the opinion that Indus people did not come from outside but it was the local civilization and culture, that was attacked by the invaders from outside. He says:

“The previous thinking that Indus Culture was based on borrowing from outside, stands superseded. There may have been local developments from 7000 B.C. onwards. It is safe to presume that canal-irrigation was known and practiced at the time when people had settled at “Amri” (Mahar Abdul Haq Soomro 1992: 30).

11.2 Dr. M. Rafique Mughal, another scholar of repute, has recently solved this problem in his interview. He said:

“I disproved with actual evidence that Indus Civilization came from other areas of the world, like Mesopotamia or Iran. I proved that it was an indigenous growth which originated in the Indus Valley and developed and declined here” (Rafique M. Mughal 1996).

11.3 Dr. J. Marek Kenoyer, an American scholar of anthropology at the University of Wisconsin, put forward his views in a Seminar on ‘Ancient Cities of Indus Valley’ at the American Center at Karachi, in June 1997. He said:

“Indigenous people and not the outsiders built the cities of the Indus Valley Civilization, because there is no evidence that any people came from outside the area to settle” (Kenoyer J. Marek 1997).

12. The point of argument is that, as stated by the scholars, the people of Indus Valley who migrated from this land, and went to South India or Western and Eastern countries, were of proto-Dravidian origin, whom I prefer to call the ‘Sindhui People.’ They spoke the language which was perhaps called the ‘Sindhui’ language, the language which has been accepted by the ethno-archaeologists as Proto

Dravidian language, - the parent language of the Proto-Dravidian languages of South India. Thus it has been stated that the language of the ‘Sindhui people’ and those of Proto-Dravidian group, have sprung from the ‘Sindhui language’ of the Indus Valley Civilization. Quotations and examples in detail have been given in the book ‘Origin & Growth of Sindhi language’ where the similarity between Sindhi & Lahndi, Sindhi and Dravidian languages, and Lahndi & Dravidian languages has been emphasised. The similarities as such have been identified in their phonetical, phonological, morphological, syntactical structure and semantics etc.

12.1 As stated earlier, after the Aryans had settled down in this land, not only their culture and religion came in contact with those of the Indus Valley people but, the Aryan culture, religion and language was also influenced by those of the indigenous people of the Indus Valley. Many phonetic sounds, phonemes, morphemes, words and phrases of the language spoken by the people of this land, were borrowed by the Aryan settlers. (Mari-Walla L.C., *Mohen-jo-Daro* 1965: 7). The indigenous stock of words borrowed by the Aryans’ languages, have been termed by the Prakrit Grammarians as, the ‘*Deshya* words’ (Pischel R. 1965: 7).

Dr. Trumpp, having found the stock of *Deshya* words in Sindhi language, seemed to be doubtful about his viewpoint (that Sindhi is derived from Sanskrit through Vrachada Apabhramśa) and later on made amendments in his theory, expressed by him in his ‘Grammar of the Sindhi language’. In support of his revised theory, Dr. Trumpp 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 degree deeper, we shall see in the course of our introductory remarks that rules which the Prakrit grammarian, Kramadishvara has laid down in the reference to the Apabhramśa are still recognisable in the present Sindhi, which by no means can be stated for other dialects. The Sindhi has thus become an independent language, which, though sharing a common origin with its sister tongues, is very materially different from them (Trumpp. E. 1872: 1 and 11)

12.2 Dr. S.R. Rao in his book ‘Dawn and Development of the Indus Civilization’, states:

“The theory of Aryan invasion had an adverse effect on the approach of the scholars to the deciphering of the Indus script. The assumption that the Indus people were non-Aryan whom the Aryans destroyed and drove southward, induced most scholars to read a Dravidian language in Indus seals. Even those who have taken aid of computers to analyze the Indus writing are reluctant to concede that Indus language could be old-Indo-Aryan and old-Iranian. This has solved some of the mysteries of the religion of the Harappans” (Rao. S.S. Dr. 1991: 3).

13. It is not an easy task to give the final opinion about the origin and ancestry of Sindhi language without comparing it with Prakrit, Sanskrit and other languages of the sub-continent. Some scholars, just after having collected a number of words of Sanskrit origin,

which are commonly used by the Sindhi speakers, have given their opinion. But from the stock of cognate words of Sindhi and Sanskrit, and from the 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 before the research of Sir William Jones, the scholars of the sub-continent, having found the words of Sanskrit, Greek and Latin, resembling with each other, and having observed similarities in phonetic system, morphology and syntax of these languages, expressed their opinion that Greek, Latin and Zend have been derived from Sanskrit (Bloomfield 1961: 12). In other words, in the view of the Indian scholars, Sanskrit was the mother of the Indo-European languages.

Sir William Jones, after having compared Sanskrit, Greek, Latin and Zend languages, stated that all of them had been derived from a common origin (Bloomfield 1961:12). Hence in the comparative study of Sindhi, Sanskrit and Lahnda, one should take guidance and assistance from the arguments advanced by Sir William Jones.

14. So far as the comparative study of two or more than two languages is concerned, one has to take help from the principle of Historical Linguistics. A language is said to have been related with another language when different features of these languages exhibit certain similarities or resemblances. Such features are: phonetics, phonology, phonemes morphemes, words & their roots, sentence constructions, formation of participles and

substitution types etc. (Bloomfield L. 1961:12).

If two or more than two languages resemble each other in all the above mentioned features, it can be said that either one language is derived from the other language, or both these languages have sprung from a common origin. Sanskrit and Sindhi do exhibit some similarities in some respect. Despite these resemblances, having words with the same semantic meaning, same phonetic correspondence and shape of some of the features of phonetic system, there is very little similarity in phonological, morphological and syntactical systems of Sindhi and Sanskrit.

As already stated in the beginning, the first scholar who expressed a definite opinion about the theory of the ancestry of Sindhi language, and who tried to prove that Sindhi is derived from Sanskrit, was Dr. Earnest Trumpp. Although he had stated that Sindhi was an offspring of Sanskrit, but after a thorough comparative study of Sindhi language, he had to reconsider his theory, and had to change his view point and said:

“The Sindhi is pure Sanskritical language, more free from foreign elements than any other language of the North-Indian vernacular. The old Prakrit grammarians may have their good reason to designate the Apabhramśa dialects 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.”

14.1 “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 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 losses and leveling construction of its sisters” (Trumpp E. 1872: 2).

14.2 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 changed theory he states that:

“The Sindhi has remained steady in the first state of decomposition after the old Prakrit, where all the other cognate dialects have sunk some degree deeper; we shall see in the course of our introductory remarks that rules which the Prakrit grammarian, Kramad ishvara has laid down in the reference to the Apabhramśa are still recognisable in the present Sindhi, which by no means can be stated for 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” (Trumpp 1872:1 and 11).

14.3 From the above statement of Dr. Trumpp it is clear that the so called Apabhramśa from which, according to him (Dr. Trumpp) 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 the Apabhrams'a from which Sindhi is supposed to have been derived, was much closer to old Prakrit than that Apabhrams'a from which other vernaculars were derived. The scholar has given certain examples of similar peculiarities of Sindhi and old Prakrit grammars, viz:

(i) In Prakrit-*ijja* is inflected to active verbal root for passive voice (Dines Chandra Sircar 1943:20). The same morpheme- *ijj* is inflected in Sindhi active verbal root for passive voice, viz: *Likh + ijj = likhijj* e.g *Khatu likhijje tho*, 'the letter is being written'.

Professor Bherumal Advani wrote in his famous book, entitled '*Sindhi Boli-a-ji Tarikha*' to prove that Sindhi is derived from Sanskrit. As a matter of fact the contents of his book are mostly translations of the pieces, paragraphs and chapters from Grierson's work '*Linguistic Survey of India*', Vol: VIII, part I & II. He explains his theory in the form as follows:

Sanskrit → Prakrit → Shauraseni →
Apabhrams'a → Vrachada → Sindhi.

But after having observed some special peculiarities in Sindhi language, he stated that:

"Sindhi is link language between Indian vernaculars and Iranian language" (Bherumal Advani 1956: 88).

He further states that pronominal suffixes are used most commonly only in Sindhi, Lahndi, Kashmiri and Saraiki, viz:

<i>Sindhi</i>	<i>Saraiki</i>	<i>Kashmiri</i>
<i>māryum</i>	<i>māryim</i>	<i>morim</i>

15. Professor Bherumal further states that these pronominal suffixes can not be found in any other language of India except in Sindhi, Lahnda, Kashmiri and Saraiki. These pronominal suffixes are also very

common in Persian language. For this reason, he explains that Sindhi can be called "the link language between Indian vernaculars and Iranian language."

15.1 Jairamdas Daulatram, Dr. A.H. Dani and other scholars opine that Sindhu Desa of Ancient Indus Valley was around the region which is now called 'Salt-range region in Pakistan.' The language of the Salt-rang region has not been accepted by these scholars to be the origin of present Sindhi. But from the study of the examples given by Dr. Jetley, it can be → claimed that Nagara Apabhrams'a and Sindhi are one and the same language. The region where Nagara Apabhrams'a was spoken was South-Eastern region of the lower Indus Valley.

16. 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 Shauraseni" is accepted, then how could Sindhi, (which in view of professor Bherumal and others, was derived as the latest of all other vernaculars of India by 1000 A.D. (Bherumal Advani 1956: 20) be more closely related to the old Prakrit and Sanskrit more than those Indian vernaculars (Gujrati, Hindi, Marathi, Rajasthani, and Punjabi) which according to Dr. Trumpp and Sir Grierson, have been derived from Shauraseni or other Prakrits? On the contrary Gujrati, Marathi, Hindi, Rajasthani and other Indian vernaculars, which according to professor Bherumal took their modern form much earlier than that of Sindhi, should have been more closely related to Sanskrit. The countless phonetic affinities in Sindhi, Lahnda and Sanskrit prove that either they are cognate languages or they have influenced each other, or they have been derived from a common origin.

It is said earlier that for the study of origin and

ancestry of Sindhi language, it is advisable to study and compare phonetical, phonological, morphological and syntactical structural patterns of Sindhi, Lahndi and Dravidian languages. After comparing the peculiarities of these languages, one can find no structural relationship whatsoever, between Sindhi and Sanskrit, except only 'word stock' borrowed by Sindhi language from Prakrit, Pali and Sanskrit due to their co-existence in the Indus Valley for a very long time. But on the other hand when the above said peculiarities of Sindhi are compared with those of Punjabi, Saraiki, Dardic, Rajasthani, Gujrati, Haroti and Dravidian languages (Tamil, Telegu, Kanar and so on), it will be found that there is a great resemblance and affinity among these languages, supporting the opinion that Sindhi- Lahndi group of tongues, Dravidian and other languages of Indus Valley are closely related with each other.

16.1 Dr. Asko Parpola has mentioned about the importance of astronomy and religious ideas of the Indus Valley people in an other paper (Asko Parpola, Dr. 1985: 123). In this connection Al-Beruni, one of the greatest Sindhologists, in his masterpiece work, 'Kitab-al- Hind,' has given the details of sciences such as mathematics, medicine, geometry, astronomy and astrology etc. and their relationship with religion (al-Beruni 1910: 173). Indus Valley people have retained their scholarship and knowledge in these sciences, which they have inherited from the time immemorial from their past generations.

When we study the sciences mentioned by Al-Beruni and compare them with the conclusion drawn by Dr. Asko Parpola we are amazed! I venture to

suggest that the scholars should study the culture, religion, anthropology and language of the Indus Valley people thoroughly and in detail, for the reasons that they have survived and there has been continuity in language and culture, way of life and occupations of the people. Whether, it is the bullock-cart for transportation, potter's wheel for preparing utensils from clay, jewellery, art work, motifs or designs on various arts, commerce, agriculture and various other occupations of the people. They all show continuity of existence.

17. The meaning of the words 'Sanskrit' and 'Prakrit' can also help the students of Linguistics in finding out the origin and ancestry of the vernaculars of the sub-continent. Professor Bherumal in his above referred book '*Sindhi Bolia ji Tarikha*' explains the meaning of the word Prakrit. He says:

"Prakrit means:

- (a) natural language
- (b) an original language

The antonym of Prakrit is 'Vikrit' which means corrupted form" (Bherumal 1956: 38).

For the meaning of the word 'Sanskrit,' he writes:

"The root of the word Sanskrit is /krah/ which means 'to do'. The past-participle of /krah/ is /krit/ which means 'done'. Thus the word /sam/ is a prefix which means 'good'. 'sam-krit' (Sanskrit) means 'polished' or 'refined'. Hence Sanskrit language means "polished or refined language." (Bherumal Advani 1956: 24).

After comparing the meaning and definition of

the words Sanskrit and Prakrit, one can ask as to how is it possible that a natural or original language could have been derived from a polished or a refined language (Sanskrit)? But on the contrary a polished or a refined language must have 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 of Prakrit; hence Prakrit language is the original source of Sanskrit language.

17.1 Many linguists and philologists of the world are of the opinion that all the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars of India are dialects of Prakrit languages. In their opinion all these dialects have sprung from different Prakrits which were being used as spoken languages during that time. In other words it can be said that Sanskrit is not the mother of the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars. Instead, they (Indo-Aryan Vernaculars) are daughters of an old Prakrit or Prakrits. In view of Pischel:

“So the Prakrit languages are said to be 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 the commonly spoken language of the cultured Indians. This Sanskrit was not the basis of the Prakrit dialects, which indeed goes back to a certain popular spoken dialect- raised to the status of a literary medium on political and religious grounds.

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 is generally held by Hofer, Lassen, Bhandarkar, Jacob and some Indian Scholars. All the Prakrit languages have the series of common grammatical and lexical characteristics with the Vedic language, and such are significantly missing from Sanskrit” (Grierson H.,1927: 121)

17.2 Sir Grierson also treats Sanskrit as a derived form of Prakrit. In his view:

“The earliest specimen of the actual 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, as compared with more artificial languages subsequently developed in Brahmanical School and called Classical Sanskrit. From the inscription of Asoka (250 B.C.) and from the writings of the grammarian 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 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 Brahmans 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, 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 to the comparatively artificial Sanskrit, (a language of these hymns as they have been preserved by the Brahmans who compiled them), were essentially Prakrits and as such they may be called the Primary Prakrits of India. The Vernaculars which developed from them and which continued developing alongside Sanskrit, whose growth was arrested by the grammarians of the Brahmanical School, until they became the modern Sanskrit's Indo-Aryan Vernaculars, may be called secondary Prakrits" (Grierson H. 1927: 127).

Sir Grierson further states 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 (Grierson H.1927:127).

17.3 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, atleast three dialects: Northern or North-Western (Udichya) which still retained many of the archaism of the Vedic as it was spoken in the land of the Vedic culture; Mid-Indian which was the language of the Madhyadesha and the Eastern which was the 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 the way of compromise, by the incorporation of dialect elements which had already crept into the language. This is Sanskrit, described by Panini as 'Bhasha' which, though an artificial vehicle of expression, became the polished language of intercourse and instructions in the Brahmanical school. 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", (Nilakanta K.A. 1957: 627and 628).

17.4 The editor of the Imperial Gazetteer on 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 (literary and 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 presents a polished form of an archaic tongue, which by Panini's time was no longer a vernacular, but which, owing to political reason, 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” (Imperial Gazetteer of India 1907- 09: 1931: 357).

He further writes:

“Just as the spoken dialects of Italy existed side by side with Latin, and while the evolution of Latin was 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 is that it and Sanskrit have a common origin” (Imperial Gazetteer of India 1907-09, 1931:358)

17.5 An other Indian scholar Mr. Bhattacharya also agrees with M/S Pichell and Grierson. He states.

“Sanskrit means things reformed, remodeled, adapted to the environment or made once for all” (Bhattacharya H.K. 1959: 2).

He further writes:

“Sanskrit is corrected Prakrit, and so is the opinion of Hema Chandra in his ‘Sabdanu’s Assana Vritti (1814). This latter word has been derived from Prakrit (natural)” (Bhattacharya H.K. 1959: 5).

He further mentions:

“Sanskrit means made chaste and decent for use in the educated circles. 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.

17.6 “Then the question arises”, asks Bhattacharya, “which is older, Sanskrit or Prakrit?”

From the above discussion it appears that Prakrit came from Sanskrit, 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 dialects of the people had 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 of different types acquired from life in the world. Prakrit thus appears to have been the earlier form of the language of the Vedas.

17.7 “Thus the name ‘Sanskrit’ was given to this language of the enlightened people who used the Prakrit language with correct annotation and with a standard and uniform mode of use” (Bhattacharya H.K. 1959: 6).

From the above example it is clear that Sanskrit is not the origin of the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars of the sub-continent, on the contrary it 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.

17.8 From the above examples 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 purposes, which was, afterwards refined and called

Sanskrit or Bhasha.

18. Now the question arises as to which dialect was refined and taking the shape of Sanskrit language, and that in which part of the sub-continent, that particular dialect was being spoken? Pischell has answered this question. He states:

“Sanskrit forms the chief constituent of individual Prakrit dialects, especially of Maharastri artificial poetry, such as ‘Ganava ho’ and ‘Ravana ho’ that are composed according to the model of Sanskrit” (Pischell R. 1965: 7).

18.1 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” (Imperial Gazetteer of India 1931:7& 357).

18.2 In the opinion of Sir Grierson, the dialects spoken on the banks of the Indus took the form of Sanskrit. He says:

“On the other hand, in the extreme North-West of India, bordering on the Iranian speech, whose existence vouched for by the 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” (Grierson H. Vol: I, part I, 1927: 123).

18.3 According to Professor Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Sanskrit took its shape from a sub-dialect of Udichya, N.W. dialect of Prakrit. He states:

“In his (Panini’s) grammar he finally, as if for all the time, regulated Classical Sanskrit, the

third in line of succession from the Vedic Kunstsprache as in the Rig Veda, through the language of Brahmans. 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 “(Chatterji S.K. 1942: 60)

18.4 Nilakanta in this connection states:

“The large portion of the Vedic (Udichya) poetry (Chandasa) had grown obsolete and was cultivated by the priests. A new form of it, however, had come into existence by way of comments which had already crept into the language. This is Sanskrit, described by Panini as Bhasha which, though an artificial vehicle of expression, became the polished language of intercourse and instructions in the Brahmanical schools” (Nilakanta K.A. 1957: 627 and 628).

19. From the points discussed above it is proved that a sub-dialect of Udichya Prakrit, which was spoken on the banks of Indus in the upper Doab, was refined by Brahmans, taking the shape of Sanskrit. In the days of Gotma Buddha, 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 Brahmans it is mentioned:

“The dialect of Udichya tract corresponding roughly to the present day North-West Frontier Provinces and Northern Punjab, was highly thought of, and it maintained a conservative character, continuing to be nearest to the old Indo-Aryan standard. A Brahman text (the Kanitak Brahman) says that the Udichya speech is uttered with greater discrimination; they go to

the Udichya people to learn speech; who ever returns from there, people wish to hear him" (Chatterji S.K. 1942: 55)

19.1 In the days of Panini (500–400 B.C.), Taxila (Taks'ila) was a great seat of learning in Udichya tract. Panini was educated in Taks'ila 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 this university as a student, there were many scholars. 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 very commonly spoken in this area (Taxila tract) took a new shape (refined shape) under the influence of Brahmans, and was called the language of scholars.

20. Some native scholars, having found resemblances in Sindhi and Dardic languages, have stated that Sindhi has sprung from Paishachi, the mother of the Dardic languages, but in the opinion of Sir Grierson, Sindhi is not a daughter of Paishachi, but there is an influence of Dardic languages on Sindhi and Lahnda. He says:

"Dardic, the present home of the Dardic languages, includes the East-West Gilgit and Kashmir, the Indus-Sawat Kohistan, Chitral and Kafarstan. In early times, the Dardic languages were much more widely extended. They once covered Balochistan and West-Tibet-o-Burman languages. Philology shows that they must have covered nearly the whole Punjab, for Punjabi and Lahnda, the present languages of that

province still show traces of the earlier Dardic languages that they superseded. Still further South, we find traces of Dardic in Sindhi" (Grierson H. 1919, Vol, I: Part I: 109-112,).

20.1 Sir Grierson, in his article, entitled 'Vrachada and Sindhi', expressed that:

"the Vrachada Apabhrams'a, a form of a Prakrit was spoken in Sindh". (Grierson H. 1919: 27).

But Shri Jairamdas Daulatrama, a great Sindhi scholar of India, did not agree with this viewpoint of Grierson. In his article, he (Shri Daulatram) quotes Markandeya and states:

"Vrachada Apabhrams'a had originated in the Sindhu Desha. The Sindhu Desha of the early Sanskrit literature, has been generally identified with parts of middle Indus Valley, situated in the West Punjab and the Southern portion of the old N.W. Frontier Province. Sindhu and Sauvira have generally been held to be contiguous regions, and are often mentioned together some times as one composite state" (Jairamdas Daulatram 1957: 43)

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" (Jairamdas Daulatram 1957: 43).

Shri Jairamdas Daulatram states further that: "Vrachada had originated in the Sindhu Desha," and Sindhu Desha has been described by him as the country North-West upto Aror. Nagara, in his opinion, prevailed in Gujrat, Rajasthan and nearby regions. Vrachada must obviously, have belonged to the region further to the West or North-West of

Southern Punjab, the region of upa-Nagara. This would place the Sindhu Desha of Markendeya much to the north of the present Sindh, the region of the Sindhi language known as such. Shri Jairamdas concludes his arguments and states that:

“Vrachada 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 Vrachada” (Jairamdas Daulatram 1957: 43).

He further states:

“Sindhi was a local Prakrit, known as ‘Sindhi Prakrit’. The Sindhi Prakrit of the lower Indus Valley region comprising modern Sindh, which had evolved and changed into a local Sindhi Apabhramsa, was in existence concurrently, as the main local language of that region” (Jairamdas Daulatram 1957: 58)

He states still further:

“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’. Later on while Sanskrit was in use by the learned in this region and the inter-regional literary circles, it is then that Nagara Apabhramsa had also thrown out its variant in the form of Vrachada, some where to the north of present Sindh. The Sindhi Prakrit simultaneously continued its independent process of evolution and changes 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. Vrachada was not the local language of the people of the 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-West of Sindh” (Jairamdas Daulatram 1957: 69 and 70).

20.2 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 tongue of the sub-continent has been derived from Sanskrit.
- (iii) Sindhi is an independent and original language which was being spoken by the indigenous people of the Indus Valley.

Sindhi Language; Its Roots in the Indus Valley Civilization

1. Every scholar now agrees with this theory that Mohen-jo-Daro Civilization is pre-Aryan civilization and that before Aryans came to the Indus Valley, there was a language which was the spoken tongue of the Indus Valley people.

After the Aryans had settled down in the Indus Valley, not only their culture and religion came in contact with those of Indus Valley people but it also was influenced by the culture and religion of the Indus Valley (Jairamdas Daulatram, 1957: 69 and 70). Many phonetic sounds, phonemes, morphemes and phrases of the pre-Aryan language of the Indus Valley were borrowed by the Aryan settlers (Mariwalla L.L. 1957: 52 & 70). The indigenous stock of words as such, borrowed by the Aryan languages have been termed by the Prakrit grammarians as 'Deshya words' (Mariwalla L.L. 1957: 52 & 70). The grammarians classified the word stock into 'Tatasama', 'Tadhbhava', 'Deshya' and 'Videshya' kinds (Pischel R.1965: 7). The Stock of Deshya words has been retained and is being spoken by the people of the Indus Valley. The remaining elements of those Deshya words are still found even today.

It is already pointed out that Dr. Trumpp, who was the originator of the theory that Sindhi is derived from Sanakrit, seemed to be doubtful about his viewpoint and later on made some amendments in his theory. In support of his new opinion he sates:

“The Sindhi has remained steady in the first stage of decomposition after the old Prakrit, where all the other cognate dialects have sunk

some degree deeper, we shall see in the course of our introductory remarks that rules which the Prakrit grammarian, Kramadishvara has laid down in the reference to the Apabhrams'a are still recognisable in the present Sindhi, which by no means can be stated for the other dialects. The Sindhi has thus become an independent language, which though sharing a common origin with its sister tongues, is very materially different from them” (Trumpp, E. 1872: Vol 11).

2. The language of Indus Valley Civilization which was known as Sindhui language, is the parent language of the present Sindhi language.

For the final opinion about the origin and ancestry of Sindhi, Saraiki, Dardic, Gujrati, Rajasthani, Punjabi, and Haroti languages, one has to study and compare the viewpoints of all the scholars. Most of the scholars have tried to solve this problem by keeping in mind the theory that Sindhi and all other languages are Aryan languages. Recently some scholars have given thought to the theory that Sindhi and other languages of the ancient Indus Valley, upto Lothal and Kalibangan regions belong to non-Aryan group of languages.

2.1 The grammarians of the Prakrit language, as stated earlier, having studied thoroughly the characteristics of the Vernaculars of the sub-continent, have divided the word-stock of the local languages into four kinds viz: 'Tatasama' 'Tadhbhava' 'Deshya' and 'Videshya'(Pischell R. 1965: 74). The stock of Deshya words has drawn the attention of scholars of the sub-continent in general and that of Sindh and other regions of the Indus Valley in particulars, for

the reason that these Deshya words are recognised as the remaining stock of words of the language which was commonly spoken by the people of the Indus Valley, before the Aryans settlement in this land.

Professor Bherumal Advani has also supported this opinion of the grammarians. He states:

“Deshya or Desaj (Des = country + j = ja= to give birth) means local or native. Deshya words are those words which were commonly in use in the country (Indus Valley country) before arrival of the Aryans, and they have been commonly used even after Aryan settlement in this country. Sanskrit is not the origin of these words but they had been borrowed by the Aryans from the local languages of Kols, Bhils Santhals, and Dravidians etc- the aboriginal people of the Indus Valley at the time of arrival of Aryans (Bherumal Advani 1956: 176 & 177).

2.2 As already stated, Dr. Trumpp had to reconsider his first opinion (that Sindhi is derived from Sanskrit) when he compared the stock of Deshya words with those of Sanskrit. Perhaps compelled by his own conscience he revised his first opinion. He said:

“We shall, on the other hand, be able to trace out of 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 Tartar stock of languages and spread through out the length and the breadth of India before the irruption of the Aryan 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” (Trumpp, E. 1872: III).

2.3 Dr. Trumpp’s changed statement has greatly supported the opinions of the 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.

In the view of Dr. Caldwell:

“the pre-Aryan languages of the sub-continent were local (Deshya) languages” (Trumpp E. 1872: III).

2.4 After having compared the view points of Dr. Caldwell with modern methodology of research, and after comparative study of phonetical, phonological, morphological and syntactical systems of Sindhi and those of major Dravidian languages: Tamil, Telegu and Kanar etc, it can be said that Sindhi and Dravidian languages are cognate languages and have sprung from the same origin (Robert Caldwell 1875: 59 and 64).

2.5 Dr. Parpola and Simo Parpola, the scholars of the Scandinavian Institute of Asian studies at Copenhagen, have been of great help to study the theory of late Dr. Caldwell. They have tried to decipher the script of the Mohen-jo-Daro seals 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” (Parpola, Asko Parpola 1970: 6).

When the opinion of Dr. Caldwell is compared with the results of the decipherment of the seals of Mohen-jo-Daro by Dr. Asko Parpola, Simo Parpola and Dr. Fairervis, 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.

2.6 Almost all the historians, archaeologists and anthropologists of the world are unanimously of the opinion that before arrival of the Aryans in the Indus-Valley, the territory was occupied by the speakers of Dravidian tongues. (John Beames, 1872: 9 and 10).

3. Who were the Dravidians? Which place did they come from? What was their original place? Was it an Indigenous race of Indus Valley or they had also come from outside? Different scholars have given their different opinions about these questions.

3.1 According to Dr. Caldwell, Dravidians were originally from Scythian race, and in his opinion, the Dravidian languages were related to Turanian family of languages (Rev. Robert Caldwell 1875: 57 & 59).

In view of Major Mockler, the Dravidian languages have affinity with Scythian branch of Turanian family of languages. He states:

“Balochee is the name which has been given to the languages spoken by all the peoples (with exception of the Brahues, who have a language of their own called Kurdee or Kurdgalee which probably belongs to the Scythian group of languages), now inhabiting the tract of country marked Balochistan in our maps” (Mockler E.A)

3.2 Sir William Jones was of the opinion that there are some elements of Tartarean stock (i.e Scythian languages) in shape of words in the North Indian local languages. John Beames considers Dravidian race as Turanian race and Dravidian

languages as branch of Turanian language.

3.3 Professor Gankovsky states:

“The presence of indisputable relationship between the Dravidian languages and the 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) language 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. (Gankovsky Yu.V. :33)

3.4 The Scandinavian scholars, giving examples of resemblance of Dravidian languages and the language of Mohen-jo-Daro, state:

- (i) In a combinatory analysis (A2 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 (Asko Parpola Dr., 1970: 12)

But as stated earlier, the people of Indus Valley did not come from outside but were aboriginal people of the Valley. Thus it can be claimed that the Dravidian people were not outsiders. They did not

come from any other part of the world but were aboriginal population of Indus Valley.

From these arguments it is concluded that the Dravidian languages have sprung from the language of the Indus Valley.

4. In view of Sirajul Haque Memon, Sindhi language has sprung from the language of Mohen-jodaro. 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 contact, this influence has further increased (Sirajul Haque Memon, 1972: 2).

Siraj further states that Muhanas and Malah castes of Sindh are aboriginal tribes of Indus Valley. (Sirajul Haque Memon, 1972: 2)

5. An attempt has also been made in this regard by Shaikh Khurshid Hassan, former director of the Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan. He has thrown some light on this aspect of the Indus Valley Studies. A detailed ethnological study of the Muhana tribe of sailors and fishermen, concentrated mainly along the Indus River as well as in some eastern parts of Western Nara on the Manchar Lake, in Sindh, has revealed that they had come in contact with all the invaders of the Indus Valley, such as Aryans, Iranians, Greeks, Scythians, White Huns, Arabs and the British from time to time.

Shaikh Khurshid Hassan states:

“The Muhanas are supposed to be one of the oldest inhabitants of the Indus Valley. Their dark complexion as well as their manners and customs betray their Dravidian ancestry. They generally live in boats, having no other habitation.

“The Muhanas seem to be aboriginal to a degree unlike any other Sindhi tribe. They could claim that they descend directly, with comparatively little admixture of other blood, from the lake and river dweller of ancient times.

“The Muhanas speak vernaculars of Sindh. They are said to have a number of peculiar words and some cultural traits which set them apart from the rest of the rural population.

“A detailed ethnological study of this community such as their traditional designs of wood-carving to decorate the interior of their house-boats may reveal other resemblances with the sculptural art of the classic of the Indus civilization” (Shaikh Khurshid Hassan).

He further writes:

“Equally important can be the philological study of the old words and phrases current in their dialect in order to trace the nature of their original language in the Indus Valley script” (Shaikh Khurshid Hassan).

5.1 Dr. Lambrick has also expressed the same view point in his research work much earlier than Shaikh Khurshid Hassan. The research work of

Dr. Lambrick was published by the Sindhi Adabi Board in 1975. In view of Dr. Lambrick, the Muahnas (fishermen) are also an aboriginal tribe of Sindh. He states:

“The Muhānās ethnologically, are descendents of the people of Mohen-jo-Daro. We know from the skeletal remains found at Mohen-jo-Daro that the inhabitants of that city were themselves of several racial types. Still there is a certain probability that the Muhanas (Fishermen) of the Manchar Lake may be aboriginal in a degree that no other Sindhi tribe would claim.

The Muhānās (Fishermen and boatmen) find their occupation and subsistence on the river and on the lakes of Sindh” (Lambrick H.T. 1975: 102).

5.2 For the ethnological study of the people of Indus Valley and the language/ languages spoken by them, the archaeologists and scholars of the relevant fields (Anthropology and Linguistics) should, therefore, now apply the methodology of Ethno-archaeology, which is a new concept developed in the United States, as proposed by Shaikh Khurshid Hassan in his above referred research paper.

They should also take help from the word-stock of indigenous origin (Deshya words) and the language being commonly used in Sindh even today.

5.3 After having studied some of the Deshya or local words, Dr. NA Baloch in his paper published in the research journal, ‘Sindhi Boli’, published by the ‘Sindhi language Authority’, in 1994, has claimed that those words are the remnants of word- stock of the language which has its roots in the soil of Indus Civilization. He (Dr. Baloch) further

states that the language of Indus Valley had never come from outside, but has its roots in the soil of Indus Valley. The list of the words given for example by Dr. NA, Baloch may be referred from his above mentioned article (Baloch N.A., Dr., 1994: 3-6).

5.4 The list of similar words of the ancient language of Indus Valley and the races that have been claimed to have continued to live in the Indus Valley, have supported the scholars to study the culture and language of Indus Valley people.

5.5 Dr. Kenoyer has done a great work in this field. For the continuity of the Indus Valley culture, Dr. Kenoyer has said:

“Fish and various types of birds were often used in Hinduism and Buddhism with the latter being as symbol of fertility. The fish motifs could be seen even on most trucks in Pakistan. There are other common symbols or motifs: the bull was a symbol of power, while the pipal tree was a symbol of support. These were often found on pottery, much of which was not made using any wheels but by hand” (Kenoyer J.M.Dr. 1997:)

He further said:

“Some pottery had the motifs of a stork with a net beneath its legs and a similar style had been seen in the Banu area “(Kenoyer J.M. Dr.,1997)”

He said further that:

“Ornaments were used not only for adornment but also as a symbol of identity. Gold, bronze, lapis from what is made today in North-Eastern Afghanistan and the northern N.W.F.P. were used” (Kenoyer J.M .DR. 1997 :)

He explained his view points with the help of two slides and said:

“One which showed a cache of ancient jewelry dating back to the time of Mohen-jodaro, that was found in the village of Allah Dino in Malir on the outskirts of Karachi. The other slide showed the jewelry made of gold and jade in its polished restored form and looks quite similar to some modern-day ornaments” (Kenoyer J.M. Dr. 1997:)

6. The opinion of a renowned scholar and archaeologist of U.S.A, Dr. George F. Dales is worth mentioning in this book. His opinion is reproduced below which he gave in his interview, taken by Ms. Perveen Talpur. His interview was published in the ‘Sindhological Studies’ a bi-annual Journal of the Institute of Sindhology in winter issue, 1987. Ms: Talpur asked him (Dr. George F. Dales) many questions. The following questions pertain to the language of Indus Valley people, which are reproduced below:

Q. Ms: Talpur:

Until now, the origin of Indus language and script are being searched in Dravidic, Sanskrit and even Semitic languages. It has been revealed that Sindhi language contains a number of words which do not belong to either of the languages mentioned. According to the experts these words existed prior to the emergence of Vedic Sanskrit and have survived to this day, only the script kept on changing. Do you think the study of such words and their derivatives will help understand Indus language

and script?

A.Dr.Dales:

I think eventually, it might help. We do require the discovery of a library, a sort of clue like the Rosetta stone to give us a real key into the deciphering of the Indus script. But the presence of strange words in Sindhi has a parallel to that in Mesopotamia in Iraq and Syria, where there is a sub-status of words, that go further than Babylonia and Akkadian. Those are indigenous words, they basically deal with finance, trade and agriculture. Perhaps the Sindhi words which you mentioned also deal with agriculture, fishing and economic matters. It will be interesting to see what they refer to (Perveen Talpur 1987: 39).

6.1 The statement of late Dr. Dales, would, I am sure, invite the attention of the archaeologists and linguists to think over this point and try to study Sindhi and Lahndi languages, and identify the signs inscribed on the seals, unearthed from Mohen-jodaro. They would search for equivalent lexemes from Sindhi, Gujrati and Saraiki language and establish values for these signs from Sindhi, Gujrati, Rajasthani and Saraiki languages, as most of the values selected from the Dravidian languages are similar to the equivalents selected from the Sindhi and Saraiki languages.

7. Recent research has proved the continuity of Sindhian culture, its arts, motifs and designs. It has shown the richness of Indus Valley Civilization, revealing that the civilization and culture of Indus Valley have

even earlier ancestry (Kenoyer J.M.1997).

The people of Sindh have possessed and have also retained most of the peculiarities and characteristics of their ancestors in their arts and crafts inspite of the fact that Sindhian art and culture has greatly been influenced by the culture of Iranians, Greeks, Scythians, Parthians, Kushans, Arabs and the Western people as well.

Scholars have advocated for the genesis, growth and continuity of the legacy of Sindh right from its emergence in the Indus Valley. Dr. Parpola, Dr. Kenoyer, Dr. Fairservic and other scholars have also emphasised this view point in their papers and works.

7.1 When the continuity in the arts, crafts, motifs, designs and culture of Indus Valley people has been described by the scholars and archaeologists, why then it should not be claimed that the language of the Indus Valley people has also survived and has continued along with its daily life, culture and occupations. There have, of course, been some changes in the socio-cultural and socio-economic life and behaviors of the people of Indus Valley, but we see almost the same birds and animals, same plants and trees, same occupations and their tools, such as the tools being used for agriculture, for fishing, for arts and crafts, for plain and glazed pottery, for printing on fabric, for tie and dye work and for weaving and embroidery etc. We see the same type of wheel which potters use even today. We also see the same type of bullock-carts and boats which are being used for the purpose of transportation and communication.

7.2 Shaikh Khurshid has expressed his view in this regard in his above referred paper. He states:

“An amazing peculiarity of the Indus Civilization is the long life of its traditions, some of which continue to exist even to this day. Potters in the adjoining village of Mohen-jo-Daro still make the same type of pottery as their counter parts used to make in the ancient time. Heavy load bullock-carts are still seen throughout upper Sindh, and present an astonishing resemblance to those fashioned in terracotta by Mohen-jo-Daro toy makers” (Shaikh Khurshid Hassan).

The result of arguments for the continuity of culture and legacy of Sindh support the claim that the people of the Indus Valley also have continued their language in the regions where they were settled. They have retained their language along with ancient arts, crafts, legacy and culture.

Ancient Races and Tribes of Indus Valley

1. Shaikh Khurshid Hassan has stated in his above referred paper (Ethno-archaeology as an Aid to Interpret Indus Civilization) that:

“It may be true that while many communities appear to have retained their identity since remote past, they have throughout been consistently modifying their way of life. Their present life style does not, therefore, in its entirety apply to the past simply because certain crafts, traditions, hunting and fishing methods etc., have survived. The surviving cultural traits and their continuity with the past should, therefore, be probably evaluated, analysed and tested” (Shaikh Khurshid Hassan).

1.1 Some of the ancient races of Indus Valley, who stayed back at the place of their settlement, still live in various parts of the Sindh, Punjab, Kutch, Gujrat, Rajasthan and Haryana regions and other areas of Saraiki speaking belt, with some phonetical and phonological changes in the names of their castes and tribes.

Writing about the continuity in the dwellings, huts and settlements of Indus Valley people, Dr. Hiremath writes:

“It appears that the Fishermen used to have all their belongings in the boats, and moved on the lakes, rivers and the sea in them. Just as Kashmir lakes have moving boats with dwellings, similar lakes were there in the Indus site particularly in Sindh”. (Hiremath R.C. Dr. 1984: 53).

1.2 Muhanas still live on boats in Manchhar lake and even on the river Sindhu (Indus) and on the sea. It is stated in the book ‘Sindhi Culture that’:

“The dwellings and huts of people of Manchhar lake are very interesting. Thousands of people inhabiting the Manchhar lake, live on crudely built flat-bottomed house boats with all their worldly belonging. Some of them live in small settlements on the banks of the lakes and river Sindhu. The Manchhar lake appears to be a living colony of the floating bamboo-houses” (Allana G.A. Dr. 1986: 29).

1.3 Some relationship has even been claimed by, Sir Grierson in his book ‘Linguistic Survey of India’ Part: II vol: I, despite the fact narrated by him that: “Sindhi, Rajasthani and Gujrati are not the branches of one and the same groups of Indo-Aryans languages”.

Grammatical Relationship and Features between Sindhi, Saraiki, Dravidian and other Local Languages

1. There are many examples of common grammatical features which are still found in Sindhi, Lahndi, Darvidian and all its dialects.

When the phonetical, phonological, morphological and syntactical system of Sindhi language is compared with that of Dravidian languages: Tamil, Telegu, Kanar and other languages like Lahndi, Gujrati, Rajasthani and Haroti etc, it is found that there is a great resemblance in these languages, and it can be claimed that Sindhi and all these languages are closely related with each other.

In the following pages some instances and examples of resemblance as such have been given for the readers to enable them to decide whether Sindhi still possesses all those characteristics which have been underlined as 'pre-Aryan deshya characteristics'; i.e. the characteristics of local languages which have survived throughout these changes. These characteristics have been traced by the scholars and have been pointed out by them in the inscription of Indus Valley seals. Some of these examples indicate the relationship between the dialects of Dravidian languages, Lahndi and Sindhi languages which are, as a matter of fact, the branches of the Sindhui language of Indus Valley civilization. Some instances of their resemblance are enlisted below:

(i) Most of the words, as understood to have been deciphered by the Scandinavian & American scholars, could be found in daily use by the speakers

of Sindhi and Saraiki languages of present day. Some of these words are given for instance: (Asko Parpola 1970: 12)

<u>Words deciphered</u> <u>as</u>	<u>Sindhi & Saraiki</u> <u>equivalents</u>
peṇ (ty) - 'woman'	bheṇ u (پيڻ) 'sister'
peṇ ti, peṇ i - 'comb'	phaṇ i (قڻي) 'comb'
kaṭ i - 'cot'	khaṭ a (ڪٽ) 'cot'
kaṭ ili - 'cot'	khaṭ olo (ڪٽولو) 'cot'
muṭ i - 'earthen pot'	maṭ u (مت) 'earthen pot'
Ko - 'mountain'	ko (ڪو) (Lari dialect) 'mountain'
juṭ a - 'hair'	juṭ a (جت) 'hair'
kal - 'black'	karo (ڪارو) 'black'
koṭ - 'fort'	koṭ u (ڪوٽ) 'fort'

(ii) Many words of indigenous origin (deshya) are commonly used in modern Sindhi. These words have been marked as of Dravidian origin. Some of these words are given for example (Pischell 1965: 7)

<u>Words</u>	<u>Sindhi</u>	<u>Dravi-</u> <u>dian</u>	<u>Sindhi</u>
sivvi	sui (سئي) 'needle'	kala	kala (ڪلا) - 'art'
niru	niru (نير) 'water'	amal	amā, amaṛ (اما, امڙ) - 'mother'
mīn -	mīna (مين) 'fish'	amī	amī (امي) - 'mother'

adī - adī (ادي) 'sister'
tārūn - tarun (تارون) 'palate'

These words, as stated by the grammarians are of course from the stock of the language which was being spoken by the Indus Valley people before the arrival of the Aryans in the Valley. List of more words, recorded by various scholars in their research works, is also given below (Res: Robert Caldwell, 1875: 59 and 64)

<u>Word</u>	<u>Sindhi</u> <u>word</u>	<u>Word</u>	<u>Sindhi</u> <u>word</u>
suī - 'needle'	(سئي) kala - 'art'	(ڪلا)	
nīru - 'water'	(نير) ama 'mother'	(اما)	
mīnu - 'fish'	(مين) amī - 'mother'	(امي)	
tarun - 'palate'	(تارون) adī - 'sister'	(ادي)	
khaṭ ṭa - 'cot'	(ڪٽ) bhāgu - 'share'	(پاڳ)	
nār - 'water'	(نار) ṭando - 'fire'	(تانڊو)	
ghoṭu- 'bride groom'	(گھوٽ) ṭhūn ṭh - 'elbow'	(نونٺ)	
mānī - 'bread'	(ماني) ḍāndu - 'bull'	(ڏاند)	
rachu- 'utensil'	(رچ) ghatu- 'fishermen'	(گھاڻو)	
bunbho- 'gate of the house'	(بنيو)		
riḍa- 'a sheep'	(ريڏ)		

There are so many other words of this category

which are commonly used in Sindhi language. Professor Bherumal Advani, quoting Dr. Caldwell, has also given the list of the following words:

kaṛahi	-kaṭṭāra (ڪٽار)	Caḍi	(چاڏي)
	(ڪڙهي)		
kotmīr	-pagri (پڳڙي)	kotu	(ڪوٽ)
	(ڪوٽمير)		
kābār	(ڪاٻار)	etc.	

Professor Bherumal states:

“These are Dravidian words which are used in every day Sindhi” (Bherumal Advani, 1956: 20)

Dr. Caldwell is of the opinion:

“There is probably almost as large as a proportion of Dravidian words in Sanskrit, but this probability has generally remained unnoticed and whenever any word was found to be the common property of Sanskrit and any of the Dravidian tongues, it was at once assumed to be Sanskrit derivative” (Robert Caldwell, Dr; 1875: 59 & 64).

Dr. Caldwell further states:

“Sanskrit lexicographers and grammarians were not always so discriminative 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 vernaculars 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” (Robert Caldwell Dr.,

1875: 64).

Sir M.Wheeler also considers many indigenous words, having their roots in the aboriginal language of the Indus Valley. He refers the word ‘pura’ as used by the Indus Valley people for ‘fort’ or ‘citadel; He is of the view that:

“The Vedic Purans make it clear that mobile city less invaders differed at every point from long-static citizens whom they invaded. The term used for the cities of aborigines ‘pura’ meaning ‘fort’ or ‘strong hold’ “(Wheeler M., Sir)

1.1 In the book Sindhi Culture, mention has been made about the dwellings and huts of the people of Manchhar Lake, (Allana G.A., Dr. 1986:)

Dr. Hiremath, an Indian scholar of Dravidian linguistics, goes further in this connection. He talks about boat villages on Manchhar lake and uses the terms ‘nāo’ for ‘boat’ and ‘nagara’ for a ‘village’. He states:

“It appears that the fishermen used to have all their belonging in the boats and moved on lakes, river and the sea. Just as the Kashmir lakes have moving boats with dwellings, similar lakes were there on the Indus side, particularly in Sindh. Dr. Majumdar has discovered in lake Manchhar many Harappan sites situated on the small islands in the lake itself” (Hiremath R.C., Dr. 1984: 53).

He sates further that:

“Grāma was a moving clan. So also were moving ‘nagaras’. There are references to ‘nāo-

nagaras' (boat-dwellings or cities on the boats). This presupposes a class of people who were expert fishermen and sailors in the Indus Valley, working on these boats. It was rather a sizeable community with 'Shambhave' as their leader. They had many fortresses and huge ship dwellings" (Hiremath R.C., Dr: 19 84: 53)

2. Dr. Parso Gidwani, in support of this theory, has given many examples of similarities in Sindhi and Dravidian languages in his book referred above. He gives, not only lexical data from Dravidian languages, but also supports this hypotheses by giving many examples of similarities in grammar, kinship terms, body parts, personal names, place names, house goods and some other unspecified words (the term used by him) only. He states:

"After working on various aspects of Sindhi, I came to the conclusion that Sindhi has a sub-stratum layer of some Dravidian languages 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 some times; even both are influenced by each other "(Parso Gidwani 1996: vi).

Writing about personal names in Sindhi language, he is of the view that:

"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, show

remarkable distinction. One of the peculiarity of Dravidian personal names is their –an (ان–) suffix which is not found in the personal names of India. Following comparison of the two will make the picture clear (Parso Gidwani, Dr. 1996:)

For instance:

<u>North Indian</u>	<u>Dravidian</u>	<u>Sindhi</u>
<u>Personal names</u>	<u>personal names</u>	
	<u>personal names</u>	
Gopāl	Gopāl	Gopālan
	Gopal (گوپال)	
Rām	Rāman	Rāman
	Rāman (رامن)	
Shiv	Shivan	Shivan
	Shivan (شِوَن)	
Rāj	Rājan	Rājan
	Rājan (راجن)	

In his opinion:

"The Study of Sindhi personal names and 'Dravidian speakers' personal names shows that the '-an' (ان–) ending in Sindhi personal names is very similar to Dravidian speakers' personal names (Parso Gidwani Dr: 1996:)

Dr. Gidwani states further:

"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 Brahui and

Oadki speakers” (Parso Gidwani Dr. 1996: vi).

He (Dr. Gidwani) has given the list of the words which are not spoken in Indo-Aryan languages of Indo-Pakistan but are commonly used in Sindhi language, for instance:

āyala	(آیل)	‘mother’
pisu	(پس)	‘milk after delivery’
changu	(چنگ)	‘musical instrument’
gharo	(گھڑو)	(Tamil) ghatem
tāhiri	(تاهري)	‘sweet cooked rice’
curi/curo	(چوڑی/چوڑو)	‘bangle’ (currī)
vātu	(وات)	mouth (Tamil vay ‘mouth’)
vāi	(وائی)	sound, spoken words

3.1 The most recent work, published by Dr. Fairservis, is very helpful in this regard, who has also tried to fix the values of the signs inscribed on the seals, un-earthed from Indus Valley, in the light of Dravidian languages. My request to all the scholars is that they may kindly keep before themselves the equivalents of the words and lexemes of Sindhi language also.

3.2 As explained earlier and as supported by Dr. Parso Gidwani, the legacy of Sindhi still continues till today. All the words, identified by both Dr. Parpola and Dr. Walter Fairservis, are being spoken in present Sindhi and Saraiki. I would, therefore, recommend that the scholars may kindly refer etymological dictionaries of Sindhi and Saraiki languages. They should also try to find out the words from Sindhi and Saraiki languages, and fix the values

of the signs inscribed in the seals found from Indus Valley. I would also suggest that the same principle be applied on the basis of values of the signs fixed by Dr. Fairservis, who writes:

“In consideration of some of these characteristics of Dravidian, can we relate the Harappan script to the language? What method can we use, which is testable, consistent and has results which are meaningful in terms of the Harappan civilization itself”? (Perveen Talpur 1987: 39)

Dr Fairservis, states further:

“The Dravidian Etymological Dictionary and its supplement contains the basic etymologies for all Dravidian languages. It draws, on the field workers as well as the literary sources, particularly that vast compendium, the Tamil lexicon. In attempting to assign Dravidian values to the signs of the sign- list, one runs into a considerable number of possibilities for each sign. For example there are 45 words listed for one item, ‘basket’ in the dictionary and its supplement, 13 words for ‘boat’, 17 words for ‘arrow’ etc”. (Perveen Talpur 1987: 39)

3.3 Dr. Fairservis has given the list of the words for ‘bow’ in his above referred book. When we refer the verses of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai and other classical and folk poets of Sindhi language, we get many words as such for ‘bow’, ‘boat’, ‘camel’, ‘fish’, ‘current of water’, and quite a few ‘botanical’ terms etc. respectively. In addition to these words, there are plenty of deshya words which are not even entered in the Sindhi lexicons but they can only be found in

Sindhi classical and folk poetry which is remembered by heart by the folk-loreists or Sughars.

Dr. Fairservis, after having given the details of the signs and their values, states:

“In sum, however, it is believed that the whole is a proof that the Harappan language was basically an early Dravidian language, and that the script was logo- syllabic system, using that language within the formal boundaries created by the utilitarian need of the Harappan Civilization” (Perveen Talpur 1987: 39)

3.4 Had Dr. Fairservis studied the signs, inscribed on the seals, found from Indus Valley civilization, by searching their equivalent lexemes from Sindhi and Saraiki languages, he would have, I am sure, changed his opinion because 90% of the values for the signs selected by me from Sindhi language are almost the same which are used even in present Sindhi, Saraiki and other languages of Indus Valley.

In my book, ‘Origin and Growth of Sindhi Language,’ I have reproduced the charts, prepared by Dr. Fairservis which he has given in his above referred book, and I have added one column for the equivalents from Sindhi language. The chart may be referred from the said book and I would request the scholars and ethno-archaeologists to consider the equivalent values selected from Sindhi language on the basis of the statement of Dr. George F. Dales, who had said:

“Perhaps Sindhi words which you (Ms: Perveen Talpur) mention also deal with agriculture, fishing and economic matters. It will

be interesting to see what they refer to” (Perveen Talpur 1987:39).

4. From the comparative study of the values of the signs, fixed by Dr. Asko Parpola and Dr. Fairservis with those selected from Sindhi language, I come to the conclusion that the Sindhi lexemes are very close to the values of the signs selected by both these scholars of Dravidian languages. In addition to that there are many other examples which help a researcher to find out the continuity of culture, in the way of life, in the occupations of men and women, arts and crafts, animals and birds, plants and trees and so on. There is a minor change in their social-cultural and socio- economic terms.

4.1 Hence when there is continuity in culture and legacy, in arts and crafts, in occupation and economic resources, why then values for the signs and lexemes could not be identified from the present Sindhi language to prove the continuity of the language? Why are we trying to find out the equivalent lexemes from a language or languages, which is/ are at present being spoken at a distance of thousands of miles away from Indus Valley, and which have had no contacts or connections, what so ever, for a very long time. Why it should not be agreed that there is every possibility that people must have continued the language, they used to speak before the arrival of the Aryans, as there has been no change in their social, cultural and economic life, as mentioned by Dr. Fairservis. He (Dr. Fairservis) states:

“Thus sequence suggests that the language spoken by the Harappans can not have completely disappeared from the sub-continent” (Perveen Talpur 1987:39).

5. The scholars have emphasised on the process of continuity in arts and crafts, occupations of various kinds of people living in the Indus Valley. They have given examples regarding the continuity in the occupations such as: agriculture, glazed, painted and simple pottery, textile (printing on fabric, tie and dye work & weaving etc.), carvings on stone and wood, jewelry making, iron work and music etc.

Similarly house hold utensils and pottery prepared with the help of the wheel, terra-cotta dice and chisel, copper weapons and implements of various occupations, copper model of two-wheeled-cart, gold and silver bangles, ear ornaments, necklaces and other jewelry items are some of the artistic things found at the ancient cities of Sindh.

The art of pottery has been an unchanged tradition. The present day village potter appears to have walked out of ages of ancient history, his tools--the wheel and the rod--have continued through out the ages, and some of the things produced by him closely resemble thousands of years old prototype (Perveen Talpur 1987:39).

All these traditional crafts of Indus Valley have survived for the last 5000 to 7000 years upto the present days.

5.1 Dr. Kenoyer in his report ‘Living Legacy’-- the Indus Civilization lives on in Sindh, in customs, architecture and jewelry, has further said:

“The culture that flourished within the ancient brick wall of Mohen-jo-Daro, still lives through out the sub-continent, and especially in the Indus basin. Innovation made by the Indus people are still in use to day, often practically unchanged. Mud brick walls of Sindhi houses, Harappan’s open sewers running along side the town’s main street and even a Lahori beauty’s sparkling bangles can even be traced to the ancient Indus civilization. That 4500 year old design and production techniques are still in use today does not mean that technology has stagnated (Kenoyer J.M.Dr. 1992).

5.2 Many decorative elements from pre-Indus culture-period continue to appear during Indus Valley culture period. Mrs. Bunting has stated in her research work that:

“Many carvings on stone represent the same designs, seen in the jewelry and textile as well as the wood work and pottery of today. Some of these designs have persised from the days of Indus Valley Civilization “(Ethell-Jane, W.Bunting: 58).

She (Mrs. Bunting) states further:

“The interlocking circle found on a vase at Mohen-jo-Daro is also found on a modern ‘Khais’ from Jacobabad, as well as on many tombs. The circle, square, triangle diamond, pyramids and other geometric patterns are repeated on both tombs and textile in all their varieties” (Ethell-Jane, W.Bunting:58).

5.3 Shaikh Khurshid Hassan has also expressed his view point about the continuity of ancient arts, crafts,

their motifs and designs. He states:

“Many motifs on the textile have persisted from the days of Indus Civilization” (Shaikh Khurshid Hassan, Chaukhandi Tombs).

He (Shaikh Khurshid Hassan) points out at the opinion of Mrs. Bunting and reports:

“Inter-locking circle found on a vase at Mohen-jo-Daro are printed on Khais (bed speared) prepared on hand-loom in Sindh. There is thus unbroken link between some of the designs/ motifs of the Indus Civilization and the folk craft of the villages in Sindh” (Shaikh Khurshid Hassan).

Continuity of Names of Objects

1. 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 Sanskrit and any of the Dravidian tongue, it was at once assumed to be Sanskrit derivative” (Rev. Caldwell R.Dr. 1875: 453).

2. From the study of signs, symbols, figures and patterns of the objects, items and implements etc. and various words used as lexemes and names of those items by the Indus Valley people, there is no reason why the same words and names for all those items and objects, such as potters’ wheel, bullock cart, Pipal tree, Tulsi plant, occupational tools and implements etc. should not have been continued by the people of Indus Valley Civilization throughout the ages. Of course there might have been some phonetical and phonological changes in the names and words, used for these items and objects.

Hence there is every possibility that some words and lexemes, with some phonetical and phonological changes, for those objects, continued to be used by the artisans, artists, agriculturists, fishermen and the common people. When the research reports left by the scholars like Dr. Asko Parpola, Dr. Simo Parpola, Dr. Fairservis, Sir M. Wheeler, Dr. Hiremath, Dr. Parso Gidwani, Prof: Bherumal Advani, Captain Shirt, John Beames, Dr S.K. Chatterji, Mr. Sirajul Haque Memon, Dr. N.A. Baloch and other scholars in the fields of

Archaeology, Sindhi Linguistics, Ethno-Archaeological Linguistics and Cultural Anthropology are studied thoroughly, we get plenty of words and lexemes, identified by them, which According to them, were being used by the people of Indus Valley, and which are also at present, being commonly used by the people of Sindh, Saraiki speaking belt, Kutch, Gujrat, Kathiawar, west of Rajasthan, Hariāna and Kachhi-Gandhara region of Balochistan.

2.1 Some of those words and lexemes, identified by scholars are enlisted below. These words & lexemes are used daily as common vocabulary by the people of Indus Valley for their daily life; for instance:

(a) Names of Races & Tribes:

Paṇi (پٺي)	Ashūra (أشور)
Dāsa (داس)	Shūdra (شودر)
Oḍa (اوڏ)	Meha (ميهم)
Muhāṇā (مهاڻا)	Sindhūi (سنڌو)
Kohla (ڪوھل)	Bhīl (پييل)
Bāgri/Vāgri (باگري/واگري)	Jangli (جنگلي)
Brahui (بروھي)	Kānbhojā (ڪانپو)
Sathīā (سنيآ)	Parhyāra (پرهياڙ)
Pahalva (پل، پلي)	Shina (شين)

Khara (ڪر) etc.

(b) Words of Agriculture:

Chakara (چيڪلو، چڪرو، چڪر) 'wheel', 'Persian wheel'	Ur (هر), Ur (Or a/ اوڙ 'plough share'
meṭ / muṭhu (مٺ) 'handle of plough', tail	phuṭi (ڦٽي) 'cotton plant', pu (پٺو) 'cotton'
Pipal (پيل), Kotmir/(ڪوتمير)- Coriander	niru (نير) / 'water', 'river', 'stream', pāṇi/ پاڻي)
mīhu (مينهن) 'rain'	nār نار / 'water'

(c) Words for Trade, Commerce and Mathematics:

(i) Transportation

nāo (نائو) 'boat'

(d) Measuring devices & measures:

pan (kal)/ piṇki, paṭī (پاتي) (پٽڪي) 'measuring device'	tuga/ tuka (دڪو) 'weight'
takkadi/takṇī/takaṇ (تڪڻ، 'weighing scale' تڪڙي، تڪڙي)	pati/ payah (پاءُ) 'division of four units'

noro (نورو) / 'quantity of an amount'	āṭā/ aṭāmaṭa (آتاماتا) 'cross'
cukka (چُکُک) 'mistake'	okaṭu/ vakaṭu (وکت) 'one'
mu/mu (n) (مون) 'three'	nāl(نال, نار) / 'four'
ett (اٺ) 'eight'	karri/koṛi (کُوڑِي) collection of twenty)

(e) Household words and Place names:

Katti/ khaṭṭa (گٹ) / 'cot'	atta/ aḍa (اڈ) / on a 'platform'
khaṭili (کتولي) 'bedstead'	sui (سئي) 'needle'
bakro/ baki (پاکرو) 'gate or door way to a house'	bumbhoo (بنپ, بنپو) 'gate of the house'
agand (اگنڈ, اگنڈ) 'courtyard'	tun (a) tuna (توٺي) 'pillar', 'pole'
kuti (کوني) / 'store house', 'work area', 'enclosure divided into apartments'	mettu/mel/meda (ماٺ, ماٺي) ('stair way, stairs')
	padu (yil) (پڌر) 'open area'
mane/manru (منه) / 'large'	tando (تانڊو) 'fire'

open square or enclosure'

(f) Kinship terms:

amī/ amā/ amar	'sister', (پيٺ)
(امڙ, اما, امي) 'mother'	'women'
adī (آدي) 'sister'	āyal (آيل) mother

(g) Parts of human body and clothes:

ṭhu ṭhu (نونٺ) 'elbow'	tārun (تارون) 'palate'
vātu (وات) 'mouth'	jutta (جٺ) coil hair
cuṭṭa (چوٽ, چوٽو) 'coil of hair'	pagri (پگڙي) 'turban'
kaṇ (ڪاڻو) one eyed.	

(h) Utensils & Meals:

Chaḍi (چاڏي) 'vessel for milking cow or buffalo'	rachu (رچ), vessel gharro (گهڙو) 'picher'
mati/ mata (مٺ, مٺ) 'long earthen pot'	mani (ماني) 'bread'
pisu (پس) 'first milk after delivery'	Tāhiri (تاهري) 'sweet cooked rice'

ka rahi (ڪڙهي) a vessel

bhāgu (پاڳ) 'share'

kābār

(ڪاپار) 'accounts'

(i) Occupational terms & implements:

Ghātu (گهاتو) 'fishermen'

Paṇi (پڻي) 'trader',
'sailor'

ka rai (ڪڙيو) 'pole
fastened to a load by
which it is carried on
shoulders'

ka (va) al/ kavan
(ڪاواني/ڪامن/ڪاوڙ)
'a pole or yoke on
shoulders'

dandi (y) (ڏنڊو / ڏنڊي)
'staff', 'an eminent'

vīl (وير) 'valiant',
'warrior'

ar (آر) a point, or a spear,

aḍana (اڏڻ, اڏ) 'a
'shield'

konṭ (ڪنڊي) 'hook'
(fisherman's')

'kattara (ڪتار)
sword', kala (ڪلا) art

(j) Geographical terms:

Koh/ko
(ڪو، ڪوه) 'mountain'

paṭu/ podu
(پهپ/پات) 'to set
forms of action to
rise'

(k) Nouns & Adjectives:

Karri (ڪاڙهو) hot 'rays of
the sun'

chor (چور) 'cattle
lifting')

vala (بل) 'strong authority'

melukku (ملوک)
'good', 'excellent',
'fine', 'beautiful'

(l) Animals, Birds & Fishes etc:

Dāndu (ڏاند) 'bull',

mīn (مين) 'fish',

riḍha (ريڙ) 'sheep'

'light')

kor (ڪڙ, ڪڪڙ) 'a

cuc (چوچو) 'pea-

hen', 'a chicken'

cock'

kūr (ڪور، ڪورڪور) 'a
dog'

(m) Music & Musical instruments, amusements:

changu (چنگ) 'harp'

tampa (tas) (ڌمال) 'a
rare form of drum'

damara (ڌمال) 'big drum
beaten either before the
princes or in the
courtyard of shrines of
saints'

Tandava
(ڏانڊيو) 'dance',
'leaping and jumping'

pa rai (پڙهو، پڙاءُ)

'publicly announced'

(n) Adornment & Jewelry:

cu rī/cu ro

penney/ pentika/

(چوڙو، چوڙي) 'bangle'

penṭi (ڦڻي) 'comb',

'woman'.

(o) Superstitions:

Co (n) ku (چُونڪ چنڊو)

'evel spirit'.

Besides above mentioned words and lexemes identified by Dr. Asko Parpola, Dr. Fairservis & other scholars, the place names such as 'koṭa', 'koṭala', 'shora' & 'pura' etc. have been mentioned by Dr. Hiremath. These words are commonly used in southern Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan and other parts of the Indus Valley. For instance 'kotri', 'Koṭa', 'Shorkot', Kandhakot, and 'Mirpur' etc. are the names still used for places. Nagara is an ancient word which is used for settlement, for instance: 'Nagar parkar', 'Nagar Thatto'.

Similarly, the figures of birds and animals such as swan, buffalo, tiger, deer, monkey, goat, elephant and bull etc. have been pointed out by the scholars in their research reports.

2.2 Music also constitutes a very integral part of cultural heritage of Indus Valley. This Valley is very rich in music and amusements. Its music has occupied a distinct and unique position amongst various cultures of this part of the sub-continent. Despite adaptations, innovation and the influence of the Iranian, Arabic and Indian music, Sindhi music has retained its original form and shape from time immemorial. Dr.N.A. Baloch is of the view that:

"The archaeological finds tend to confirm that the tradition of music and dance in the lower Indus Valley of Sindh goes back to the pre-historic times, while the available historical record indicates its continuity through out the historical period to the present times" (Baloch N.A. Dr. 1992:)

Dr. Baloch states further:

"Though no evidence of music in the

lower Indus Valley is available during the era intervening the pre-historic and the early historic, the discovery of the Scythian pottery (2nd/3rd century A.D.) with the motif of a dancing couple from the site of the ancient city of Debal (Bhambore) suggests the continuity of music and dance tradition from pre-historic times. From the 5th century A.D. onwards, evidence from history, folk-lore and literature confirms the continuity of the indigenous music tradition to this day" (Baloch N.A. Dr. 1984: 1-2).

2.3 Writing about the survival and continuity of Indus Valley music, in his paper entitled 'Music of Sindh Through the Centuries' Dr. Muhammad Ilyas Ishqui states:

"In the scant material that has survived, through the centuries, we find some 'earthen balls' of various sizes, hollow from within, having one hole in the middle and two on the side. These are oldest musical instruments which were played by mouth and fingers like flute. Like the 'bullock-cart' of the Mohenjo-Daro Civilization, this instrument has survived through the ages and has been in use in the villages of Sindh. They call it "Boṛṛindo" (بوڙينڊو)" (Ilyas Ishqui, Dr. 1984: 41).

3. Now the question arises that when all lexical terms and names of various items and objects mentioned above are still in existence in the social and cultural life of the people of Indus Valley, why it should not be assumed that their linguistic heritage has also survived and has continued to remain till present times, inspite of the fact that the language and culture have been influenced by the culture and civilization of the invaders, such as: Aryans, Iranians, Greeks, Scythians, Parthians, Kushans, White Huns and Arabs etc.

Some Examples of Survival of Linguistic Elements: Phonetical and Grammatical Features

1. Some scholars have given examples of words and lexemes and have identified similarities in phonetical and grammatical features also; for instance:

(a) Relationship between Phonetic Systems:

Let us now study the phonetical relationship between Sindhi and Dravidian languages. It will be seen from the examples given below that there is a considerable similarity in phonetic system of Sindhi and Dravidian languages. For instance:

(i) Retroflex Sounds:

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 Dravidian language (Rev. Caldwell R., 1875: 453). 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 cerebral. This language has preserved the harder point of contact, and has not followed itself to be weak and soft” (Rev. Caldwell R., Dr.1875: 32-36).

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-Aryans idiom, which in recent times has been termed Scythians, but which I would prefer to call Tatar.”... “And this seems to be very strong proof that the cerebrals have been borrowed from some idiom anterior to the introduction of the Aryan languages” (Trumpp E.Dr. 1872: Introduction).

(ii) Nasal Sounds:

Sindhi phonetic system contains five nasal sounds viz: bilabial, alveolar, retroflex, palatal and velar. In both Sindhi and the Dravidian languages, these sounds are articulated at the same place of articulation. In Tamil and Telegu much use of nasal sounds is made (Rev. Caldwell, R. Dr. 1875:12&65).

The nasal vowel sounds are peculiarity of Sindhi phonetic system as explained in the book ‘Origin and Growth of Sindhi Language’ (Allana, G.A., Dr. 2002: 247).

(iii) Unaspirated Sounds:

Another peculiarity of Dravidian languages is unaspirated sounds. Tamil makes no use whatsoever of aspirates and has not borrowed any of the aspirated consonants of Sanskrit. (Rev Caldwell R., Dr.1875: 12).

The Sindhi language has retained this peculiarity in its Lari, Lasi, Kutchi, Thari and Kohistani dialects (Bherumal Adwani 1956:125 & 127)

(iv) Words ending in vowels:

Similarly in Sindhi every word must end in a vowel (Rev Caldwell R., Dr.1875: 79).

(v) Consonantal Clusters:

(a) Initial and final consonantal clusters as well as every word in Sindhi language ends in a vowel.

According to the phonetic system of Dravidian languages, initial clusters of two or more than two sounds are not possible in any Dravidian word. For instance in English word 'strength' a clusters of three consonants/ str/ is possible, similarly clusters of three consonants /skr/ in 'Sanskrit' and krs/in /Krs'na/ are inadmissible in Dravidian language. (Rev Caldwell R., DR. 1875: 79).

Similarly in the final position of a word, clusters of consonants are impossible in Dravidian languages. (Rev Caldwell R., DR. 1875: 79).

Clusters of consonants as such (initial and final) are also inadmissible in Sindhi, Saraiki and Dradic languages.

There is possibility of a cluster /pr/in the words like /premu/(پريم), /py/ in/ pyaru/ (پيار) and so on in Sindhi, but all such words have been borrowed from Sanskrit. Clusters in this position (initial position) are either assimilated (as ks' (کش) >kh/ک/) or the consonants are separated by insertion of short vowel 'i'.

Similarly clusters of consonants in final position also can not occur in Sindhi language.

(b) Similarity in Morphological System:

It will be seen in the following pages that Sindhi and Dravidian languages resemble very much in morphological system also; for instance:

(i) **Categories of Number:** Sindhi and Dravidian languages recognise only two number

categories: the singular number and the plural number. In Sanskrit language nouns decline in three numbers; i.e., singular, dual and plural (Rev Caldwell R. Dr. 1875: 79).

According to Dr. Caldwell, dual number is unknown in Dravidian languages, and there is no trace of its use at any previous period.

But it is found that Caldwell points out to

“the existence of two pronouns of the first person plural, one of which includes, the other excludes, the party addressed is a peculiarity of the Dravidian dialects as of many of the Scythian languages, but is unknown to Sanskrit and the language of the IE family. The only thing at all resembling it in these languages is their use of dual.”(Caldwell R. Dr. 1875: 79)

Caldwell however states, “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.” (Caldwell R. Dr. 1875: 79). An example from Sindhi is given for instance:

Second Person Singular:

T ū likhu (تون لک) 'you write'

Se ṭ ha vehu (سيٺ ويهه) 'Seth sit down'

Honorific form:

tawh ī likho (توهين لکو) 'you write'

Se ṭ hyao veho (سيٺيو ويهه) 'Seths please sit down'

(ii) Categories of Cases:

(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 the addition to it of the pluralising particle (Rev Caldwell R. Dr: 1575: 53 and 135).

Similarly in Sindhi, case-termination is not inflected for Nominative case of the nouns in case of Present and Future tenses. For instance see Intransitive verbs:

Chokaru ache tho.	(چوڪر اچي ٿو)	'The boy comes'
Chokaru ñ̃ do.	(چوڪر ايندو)	'The boy will come'
Chokaru āyo.	(چوڪر آيو)	'The boy came'
Chokrī ache thī.	(چوڪري اچي ٿي)	'The girl comes'
Chokrī ñ̃ dī.	(چوڪري ايندي)	'The girl will come.'
Chokrī āi.	(چوڪري آئي)	'The girl came.'
Ghoṛo ḍoṛe tho.	(گهوڙو ڊوڙي ٿو)	'The horse runs.'
Ghoṛo ḍoṛādo.	(گهوڙو ڊوڙندو)	'The horse will run.'
Ghoṛo ḍoṛyo.	(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 pāñī	(چوڪرُ پاڻي پيئي ٿو)	'The boy drinks
pīe tho.	water.'	
Chokaru pāñī	(چوڪرُ پاڻي پيئندو)	'The boy will drink
pīādo.	water.'	
Chokara pāñī	(چوڪرُ پاڻي پيتو)	'The boy drank
pīto.	water.'	

Chokirī pāñī pīe	(چوڪري پاڻي پيئي ٿي)	'The girl drinks
thī.	water.'	
Chokiri pāñī	(چوڪري پاڻي پيئندي)	'The girl will drink
pīādī.	water.'	
Chokirī-a pāñī	(چوڪريءَ پاڻي پيتو)	'The girl drank
pīto.	water.'	
Ghoṛo pāñī pīe	(گهوڙو پاڻي پيئي ٿو)	'The horse drinks
tho.	water.'	
Ghoṛo pāñī	(گهوڙو پاڻي پيئندو)	'The horse will
pīādo.	drink water.'	
Ghoṛe pāñī pīto.	(گهوڙي پاڻي پيتو)	'The horse drank
	water.'	

(b) **Post-positional or Dative case:** In the opinion of Bopp, the post-positional case sign in the 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) meaning 'this', as it appears, is itself only an extension of the base/a/, from which arise in most of the cases of this pronoun (a-sami,a-smat,a-smin); and regarding which it is to be observed that the common/a/ base also in Sanskrit in many cases extends this vowel by the admixture of an /i/; for example:

Sanskrit		Zend	
Masculine		Masculine	
Feminine		Feminine	

Singular	Singular	Plural	Plural
bhratr-e	duhitr-e	bhratr-e	dughdher-e

In Dravidian (Tamil) languages for dative case, post-position –ku is inflected to the nouns or dative pronouns, or –ki post-position is inflected. It depends upon the nature of the preceding vowel. In old Kanar –ge or –ke or –kke is inflected (Caldwell, R.1875: 175).

Caldwell points out that:

“In the primitive Indo-European tongues, we discover no trace of any such Dative suffix or case–sign as Dravidian –‘ku’, but –‘ko’, the Dative accusative of Hindi (in Bengali ‘ke’ in Sindhi ‘khe’) ‘resembles the Dravidian –ku’ so much that it seemed to me highly probable that some relationship existed-between them” (Rev Caldwell R., Dr.1875: 175).

Caldwell refers to Dr. Trumpp and states that:

“In his ‘Sindhi Grammar’, Dr. Trumpp, derives the Sindhi-post-position ‘khe’, and the Bangali –‘ke,’ from the Sanskrit Locative –‘kr’tē’, for the sake of, in regard to this form, become in Prakrit, first ‘kite, then ‘kie’. It was then contracted into ‘ke’, which in Sindhi, by reason of the elided became ‘khe’”(Caldwell, L., Dr-1875: 176)

He says further:

“Hindi and Hindustani form of this post-position ‘ko’ by a similar process from the Sanskrit ‘kr’tam’; is used adverbially with the same signification as the Locative ‘kr’tē’. Dr.

Trumpp also argues that the fact that the Aryan Vernaculars, which border immediately with the Dravidian idioms, have not adopted the use of ‘ko’ as a sign of Dative, showing that it is improbable that the dialects more to the north have been indebted for this form to the Dravidian idioms. (Rev Caldwell R., Dr: 175: Introduction 53 & 176)

(c) **Possessive or Genitive case:** In Dravidian (Tamil) 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’ for instance:

<u>Noun</u>	<u>Possessive case sign</u>	<u>Declention</u>
mara (tree)	-du	
maradu:= ‘of		the tree’

In Saraiki and Western Punjabi languages also –du sign is added for Possessive case. In Sindhi instead of –da, –du sign ‘jo’ or ‘ji’ is added for Possessive case. It is also important to note that /d/ and /j/ phonemes are interchangeable in Sindhi and Lahndi.

The Possessive case signs in Sanskrit are: –s, –as, and –sya (Rev Caldwell R. Dr: 1875: 85). From the comparative study of these case signs of Sanskrit and Sindhi, it is observed that there is no resemblance of these signs in both these languages. Dr. Trumpp states:-

“The Sindhi employs for this purpose the affix –jo (جو) and for feminine –jī (جي) corresponding to the common adjective affix –ko (Sanskrit-ka) with transition for the tenuis (c=k), in the medial ‘j’ is very likely to establish

thereby some distinction between these two originally identical affixes" (Trumpp E. Dr: 1872: 119).

Dr. Trumpp has not given thought to the Possessive case sign of Punjabi and Saraiki languages. In these languages Possessive case sign is /-da/and /di/ which is more nearer to those of Sindhi/-jo/and /-ji/. Sindhi Possessive case sign-jo and-ji do not resemble to 'ko' or 'ki' at all, but they appear to be more related to-/da/-/-di/ and du/of Dravidian languages.

(d) Vocative case: In Dravidian languages, there is nothing which 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 (Rev Caldwell R. Dr: 1875: 202 & 207).

The most common Vocative in Tamil is the emphatic -e, which is simply appended to nouns (Rev Caldwell R. Dr: 1875: 201). Sometimes 'a' is also substituted for Vocative. Vocative is expressed by prefixing one of the interjectional particle: 'e', 'are'. (Rev Caldwell R. Dr: 1875: 201-202). Some interjectional particles like o, e, aṛe, ṛe, a tṛī, rī, are also prefixed for expressing vocative in Sindhi. (Trumpp E. Dr. 1872:121). In Laṛī dialect of Sindhi, Vocative sign *hedāh* (هیداهن) 'here' is also appended. This sign has relationship with that of 'here' of Dravidian era. (Trumpp, E Dr. 1872: 121).

(e) Adjectives:

(i) The agreement of adjective with the substantive which they qualify in gender, number & case forms is an invariable characteristic of the IE languages, whilst in Scythian languages, adjectives do not decline in gender, number and case (Trumpp E., Dr.1872: 202) but they are nearly nouns of relation or quality which are prefixed without alteration to substantive nouns. In Sindhi also Deshya adjectival forms (چت)/'chatu' (finished)and (گهت)-'ghatu' (less) etc. ending in short vowels /u/ and /i/ do not decline with substantives in number, gender and case.

(ii) Dravidian adjectives are nouns of quality or relation which acquire the signification of adjectives merely by being prefixed to substantive nouns without declension change (Rev Caldwell R. Dr: 1875: 276-277). In Sindhi also the adjectives are nouns of quality and are prefixed to substantive nouns. Indigenous adjective (گهت) /ghaṭu/ and (چت) /chaṭu/ do not decline with nouns in gender, number and case.

(f) Degrees of Adjectives:

(i) In all the Dravidian dialects, comparison is affected not as in IE family by means of comparative and superlative particles, suffixed to, and combined with the positive form of the adjectives, but by a method closely resembling that in which adjectives are compared in the Semitic languages (Rev Caldwell R. Dr: 1875: 267-277).

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 with which it is to be compared are put in the Locative and prefixed. (Caldwell, L. Dr., 1875: 211).

Sindhi has also retained the native (non-Aryan) system of forming degrees of comparison. Dr. Trumpp mentions:

“The Sindhi, as well as the cognate idioms, has lost (Trumpp E. Dr. 1872: 156) 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. In order 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 khā (کان), khaū (کھون), mā (مان) and majhā (منجهان) and similar ones are employed, the adjective itself remaining in the same position” (Trumpp E Dr. 1872: 189).

(ii) 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 reduplicating of the adjectives itself ,e.g.:
periya-periya, ‘very great’, literally ‘great great’

The same principle of Superlative degree is applied in Sindhi language: viz:

- (ii) by prefixing adverbs:

ghaṇū khiru ‘much milk’ ghaṇū ghaṇū
khiru
(گھٹو کير) (گھٹو گھٹو)
(کير)

(ii) miṭho khiru ‘sweet milk’ miṭho miṭho
khiru
(منو کير)
(منو منو کير)

(g) Pronouns:

(i) First Person Singular:

In the Tamil and Kanar dialects of Dravidian languages, ā (آن) and ē (اين) are used as First Person Singular (Rev Caldwell R. Dr: 1875: 276-277). Dr. Cladwell compares Dravidian –ē (اين) with Sindhi ā (آن) and states: “May we also compare-ā (آن) in the Larī, a Sindhian dialect. In Sindhi ā (آن) is used as First Person Singular (Trumpp E. Dr. 1872: and 4, 189). ā (آن) is used as First Person Singular pronoun in Kanar also (Trumpp E Dr. 1872: 40).

In Dravidian languages, the ordinary plural of the Dravidian first personal pronouns is constantly used, not only as a plural, but also as an honorific singular, precisely as the royal and the 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 (Rev Caldwell R. Dr: 1875: 308). Same characteristic is found in Sindhi, for instance:-

(ii) First Person Plural form:

Honorific form

as ī ach ū th ā. (اسين اچون ٿا) 'I am coming'.

as ī likh ū t h ā. (اسين لکون ٿا) 'I am writing'.

as ī ach ū th ā. (اسين اچون ٿا) 'We are coming'.

as ī likh ū th ā. (اسين لکون ٿا) 'We are writing'.

In the opinion of Dr. Caldwell:

"The existence of so remarkable an idiom in the North Indian family, as well as in the Southern, seems to demonstrate the existence in the northern family of ancient under current of Dravidian, or at least non-Aryan influences". (Rev Caldwell R. Dr: 1875: 318).

(iii) 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 pronoun of the third person, and instead use Demonstrative pronouns signifying 'this' 'hīu' (هيءُ) or 'that' 'h ū' (هو) with addition of suffixes of gender and number" (Rev Caldwell R. Dr: 1875: 314).

In these languages, 'he', means literally 'that man', she 'that woman', '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 pronoun: 'hi' (هي) 'hu', (هو) 'iho', (اهو) 'uho'. (Trumpp E Dr. 1872: 40)

(iv) Verbal form:

(a) In Dravidian languages Second Person Singular or the Imperative is considered as a root of the verb (Rev Caldwell R. Dr: 1875: 359). There are two kinds of verbs in Dravidian languages: the Intransitive verbs and Transitive verbs (Rev Caldwell R. Dr: 1875: 342).

The Intransitive and Transitive verbal forms of Dravidians languages differ from those of the Sanskrit language in their formation and conjugation (Rev Caldwell R. Dr: 1875: 343). In Dravidian languages the Transitive verbs are formed from Transitive verbal roots and therefore they are called causal verbs (Rev Caldwell R. Dr: 1875: 343)

Similarly in Sindhi language, there are two kinds of verbs: the Intransitive verbs and the Transitive verbs. Most of the Transitive verbal roots are derived from Intransitive verbal roots in Sindhi (Grierson G., 1919, vol viii, part 1:48), for instance:

<u>Intransitive verbal roots</u>	<u>Transitive verbal roots</u>
sar (سڙ) 'burn'	sār (ساڙ) 'to cause to burn'
mar (مر) 'die'	mār 'kill'

tar (تر) 'get out'
'make him go'.

tar (تار)

Similarity in Persian and Sindhi Grammar

1. I have used the term similarity, which may not be confused with the topic 'Persian Influence on Sindhi Language' because it has been proved by the scholars that Sindhi language has not borrowed the peculiarities of pronominal suffixes from Persian language but it(Sindhi) has retained these peculiarities alongwith other things since time immemorial.

1.1 It has been emphasised in the book 'Origin and Growth of Sindhi Language', that for the comparative study of two or more than two languages, the researchers have to take help from the principles of historical and comparative Linguistics.

A language is said to have been related with another language when different factors of those languages exhibit certain similarities or resemblances. Such features of resemblance are: phonetical, Phonological, morphological and syntactical structures, formation of various kinds of words, participles and substitute types etc. (Bloomfield 1961:12)

1.2 Sindhi and Persian languages exhibit their similarity only:

- (i) In the use of single pronominal suffixes
- (ii) To some extent, in the use of some casual forms of verbs
- (iii) Sindhi grammarians borrowed the graphemes پ، چ and گ (p, ch and g) from Persian writing system.

Other resemblances of any kind are because of the influence of Persian language on Sindhi language. From the perusal of history of Indus Valley it has been found that the land of Sindh has remained a part

of Iranian Empire for a very long period of time since the days of Darius-I (519 B.C.- 486 BC) up to the rule of Rai Sahasi II. After that Persian language had remained the court language of Sindh till the days of Samma dynasty (1351-1521 A.D) up to the rule of Talpur dynasty (1782- 1843 A.D). During this period of almost 500 years a great number of scholars, intellectual, artists, artisans, poets, prose writers and religious missionaries, migrated from Persian speaking states of Central Asia to the big towns of Sindh like Thatta, Sehwan, Rohri, Hyderabad Khudabad and Shikarpur etc. Thus co-existence of Persian and Sindhi continued for a very long time, and Sindhi had to borrow thousands of words from Persian language.

2. When we compare phonetical, phonological, morphological and syntactical features of both Persian and Sindhi languages, we come to the conclusion as stated below:

(a) phonetical features of both Persian and Sindhi languages do not exhibit any resemblances. for example:

- (i) The points of articulation of almost all classes of sounds are not the same.
- (ii) Sindhi language does not have labio-dental voiced and voiceless and fricative [v and f] sounds in its phonetic system. Sindhi has borrowed these graphemes from Arabic writing system (Allana G.A. 1963 M.A Thesis: 35 and 85).
- (iii) Sindhi language does not have Velar and Uvular voiceless and voiced fricative sounds [q, x and g] in its phonetic system. Sindhi has

only borrowed the graphemes such as q, kh and gh (خ, ق and غ) from Arabic in its writing system.

- (iv) Persian language does not contain retroflex, plosive, nasal and flapped sounds [t̪, th, d̪ and dh.] in its phonetic system but these sounds are considered as special features of Sindhi, Saraiki, Punjabi, Hindko, Gujrati, Rajasthani, and Dravidian languages.
- (v) Persian language has no characteristic of aspiration in its phonetic system, where as Sindhi and other branches of Sindhui language contain this characteristic in their phonetic system.
- (vi) In Sindhi phonetic system, the use of implosive sounds [ɓ, ɗ, ɠ and ɣ] is very peculiar but these sounds are also very common in Saraiki, Gujrati, Kathiawari, and Marwari the branches of Sindhui languages. The occurrence of implosive sounds in Persian language is not possible.
- (vii) Sindhi phonetic system has palatal and velar nasal sounds, such as (ñ and ṅ). These sounds are never found in Persian phonetic system.
- (viii) The peculiarity of nasalisation of vowels has not been traced in Persian language.

Persian

Sindhi

language resemble with those of Sindhi language, viz:

<u>Transitive</u>		<u>causal 'to cause to do'</u>	
rasīdan (رسیدن) 'to reach' to reach'		rasānīdan (رسانیدن)	'to cause '
davīdan (دویدن) 'to run' to run'		davānīdan (دوانیدن)	'to cause '
khūrdan (خوردن) 'to eat' eat'		khūrānīdan (خورانیدن)	to cause to eat'

But by the study of the 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 such as (kardan, karanīdan, karāranīdan/کرانیدن، کرارانیدن etc.) has been traced in the stock of Persian verbs. It is possible that Persian language has retained this peculiarity of the ancient Sindhui language of the Indus Valley, as there has been the influence of Sindhui language on the Eastern part of Iran from time unmemorial. This point of view has been supported by Professor Gankovsky of Russia. He states:

“The paleanthropological 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 Turkmenia and the areas of South of Aral Sea. Ancient historians refer in their works to ‘the Asiatic Ethiopians’, inhabiting the South-Eastern part of Iran and Balochistan. Being dark skinned, these Ethiopians seem to belong to the Dravidian group of anthropological types. There can, of course, be no direct

correspondence between anthropological types and linguistic classification, but we can not ignore the fact that early Persian Cuneiform inscriptions are contemporaneous with the evidence of antiquity. We have just referred to the speakers of Akanfaciya, a people which can be identified with the Kufich (Kufij or kuj) people mentioned by medieval Muslim authors” (Gankovsky Yu V.1972: 33-35)

He further states:

“The authors 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 days, individual groups of the Dravidian speakers are living in the area, and some scholars regard them as aborigines related genetically to the Akanfaciya- Kufich” (Gankovsky Yu V.1972: 33-35).

He states still further:

“In old Persian inscriptions (the Behistun inscription, one of the Persepolitan inscriptions 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, according to medieval authors) situated in the South-eastern part of Iran and the Western part of Pakistani Balochistan. 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. Professor P. Sykes supposes that this present day Persian speaking ethnic group (Sarbandis), with genetic relationship to Brahui, is the aborigine of Seistan. It is possible that the unknown 'Khuzia' (خوزيا) language, flourishing in 'Khuzistan' in the tenth century A.D., and which al- Istakhri describes as 'un-Hebrew, un-Syric and un-Persian, was also a 'Dravidian language'' (Gankovsky yu V.1972: 33-35)

3.2 (a) The scholars have named the aboriginal language used by the population of Seistan, Karman and Makran, as a Dravidian language, but as already stated Khuziya and other languages spoken in the Eastern and South-eastern part of ancient Iran were the branches of ancient Sindhui language of Indus Valley civilization which had penetrated into this part of ancient Iranian land. Sindhui, as shown in the tree-diagram, was also the mother of proto- Dravidian language. The language used by the people of this part of Iran was a branch of Sindhui language.

(b) from these viewpoints of scholars, it may be concluded that in Khuzistan, Seistan, Karman and Makran regions of ancient Faras, the aboriginal people used their indigenous language which was in use there much before the Aryans came to this part of Iran.

3.3 From the points discussed above it can be concluded that the similarities between Persian and Sindhi languages are not due to the borrowings of

these peculiarities by Sindhi language from Persian language but because the two countries have remained as the neighboring countries from time immemorial, and that they have remained under the same dominion of Indus Valley Kings for thousands and thousands of years. They should be admitted as the branches or family of one and the same language which was in use much before the advent of Aryans in Iran.

Reduplication of Words

1. One of the most significant features of both Dravidian and Sindhi language is reduplication or repetition of words. Reduplication or repetition may be in a word, 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 repeated. For instance in Sindhi:

Simple words

Reduplicated words

hathu (هت) 'hand' hathu hathu (هت هت) 'every hand'

palu (پل) 'a moment' palu palu (پل پل) 'every moment'

In Sindhi and Dravidian languages, the reduplication has grammatical function. It exhibits a comparison of degrees of adjectives as described under the adjectives earlier (Rev Caldwell R. 1875: 427-428).

From the example of the Aryan languages it is found that reduplication has no grammatical function in Aryan languages. The examples such as 'ding dong' and 'humpty dumpty' of English language have no grammatical function at all.

In Sanskrit language, reduplication is possible only in the following examples (Buck :255):

- (i) A fuller form of reduplication appears in the intensive as:
dar- dar- ti
car- kar- ti
- (ii) Present reduplication, usually with /i/ vowel, eg:
pi- parti
ti- shati
with /e/ v-vowel, e.g
da- dhati
da- dati
- (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

1.1 But as stated earlier, in Sindhi language, the function of reduplication is grammatical. From the examples given below, we get various instances of comparison of adjectives e.g:

<u>Single word</u>	<u>Reduplicated word</u>
ḅār (ٻار) 'child'	ḅār ḅār (ٻار ٻار) 'every child'
paiso (پيسو) 'pice'	paiso paiso (پيسو پيسو) 'every paisa'

There is a difference between grammatical meaning of the single and reduplicated words. For example:

<u>Single word</u>	<u>Reduplicated form</u>
kārā wāra (ڪارا وار) 'black hair'	kārā kārā wāra (ڪارا ڪارا وار) 'blackish hair'
	kārā sārā wāra (ڪارا سارا وار) 'black'

black hair'

In Sindhi, the reduplication form is also commonly found in syllables of words, but there is no similarity in Sindhi and Sanskrit, so far as this peculiarity is concerned. In Sindhi the reduplication of syllable is called incomplete reduplication or partial (اپورڻ) reduplication. In this type of reduplication in Sindhi, the word remains in the same form in its first part, but in the second part which follows immediately the first and the original part, the syllable is changed, for example:

<u>Single word form</u>	<u>Reduplicated</u>
rād (راند) 'play'	rād rūd (راند روند)
halan (هلڻ) 'to walk'	halan chalan (هلڻ چلڻ)

Pronominal Suffixes

1. There are very prominent features, worth mentioning in Sindhi and Dravidian languages. 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. (Rev Caldwell R. 1875: 324). 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 (Rev Caldwell R. 1875: 324). The same principle of fixing the pronominal suffixes is applied in Sindhi, Saraiki, Gujrati & Dardic languages. For instance:

<u>Root</u>	<u>Sign of Tense</u>	<u>Pronominal suffix</u>	<u>Verb</u>
likh-(لک)	- yo (past tense)	-m (First p.s.)	likhyom/ (likhyum)

wrote'

likh - yo (Second p.s) -sĩ likhyosĩ 'We
wrote'

From the detailed comparative study of the Sindhi, Saraiki, Dardi and Dravidian languages, it is found that pronominal suffixes used in Lari and other dialects of Sindhi language resemble with those of Dravidian languages. A chart is given below in support of this argument:

1.1 As a considerable period of time has passed and as there has no longer been any link between Sindhi and Dravidian languages, and as Sindhi has accepted the influence of Iranian, Sanskrit, Pali, Arabic and other languages, it (Sindhi) has borrowed plenty of words from these languages. Therefore there appears a considerable difference in the vocabulary of modern Sindhi and that of other Sindhi languages. But in spite of these reasons, pronouns and pronominal suffixes used in the 'Lari'

and other dialects of Sindhi language, resemble to those of Kashmiri, Dardi, Gujrati, Rajasthani and also 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 the use of Pronominal suffixes.

In Tamil, the Pronominal suffix, for First person Singular is -ē (اين) which has the same function in the Lari dialect of Sindhi. Same suffix is also used for Second Person Singular in Sindhi, viz:

ā: aũ halē to (آءُ هَلين تو) 'I am going'
 āũ halāē to (آءُ هَلين تو) 'I am going'
 tũ hālē to (تون هَلين تو) 'You are going'

Similarly Telegu Pronominal suffix of First Person Plural resembles to that which is used by Lari speakers of Sindhi. For instance:

Lari Sindhi

likhanũ tā (لکنو تا) 'They write to us'

chavanũ ta (چونون تا) 'They tell us'

Standard Sindhi

asā khe likhan thā (اسان کي لکن تا)

asā khe chavan tha (اسان کي چون تا)

Similarly in the following examples:

Pronoun	Pro-nominal suffixes	Standard Sindhi	Lari dialect of Sindhi	Translation
F.P.S.	ē	mā tokhe disā tho مان توکي ڏسان ٿو.	disā to ڏسڻين تو.	'I see you'
S.P.S.	ē	tũ disā tho تون ڏسين ٿو.	disā to ڏسين تو.	'You see'
	ne	tokhe disē tho توڪي ڏسي ٿو.	disanē to ڏسين تو.	'He sees you'
	nī	tokhe disē tho توڪي ڏسي ٿو.	disnē to ڏسين تو.	-do-
	nē	tokhe disādo توڪي ڏسنڌو	disādo nē ڏسنڌوني	'He will see you'
	nē	tokhe disādo hũ do توڪي ڏسنڌو هونو.	disādo hũ do ne ڏسنڌو هونڌوني.	

	nē	achā ē tho اچان ۽ ٿو.	achā nē to اچان ني ٿو.	'I am coming to you'
S.P.P	ne	huna tūhīje lāe kitabu ā do هن تنهنجي لاءِ ڪتاب آندو.	huna kitābu ā donē هن ڪتاب آندوني؟	'He brought a book for you'
T.P.S.	ī	hu tokhe dise tho هو توکي ڏسي ٿو.	disāi tho ڏسي ٿو.	'He is seeing you'
T.P..P.	ne	huna tokhe di̇tho هن توکي ڏٺو.	huna di̇thonē هن ڏٺوني	'He saw you'

From these examples it is evident that there is a great similarity of Pronominal suffixes between Sindhi and Dravidian languages.

2. Past Participle:

In the Dravidian languages Preterite tense is formed by annexing pronominal signs to the Preterite verbal participle (Rev. Caldwell R, Dr. 1875: Int: 54).

In Sindhi language a past-participle is formed:

- (i) by suffixing -yo to the verbal roots, viz:
likh +yo= likhyo, 'wrote' dor+yo=doryo'ran'
- (ii) by suffixing -al or -yal to the verbal roots, for instance:
likh+yal=likhyal, 'written' parh+yal=parhyal,
'read'
mār+yal=māryal 'killed'
Similarly Past tense of Sindhi verbs is also

formed as in Dravidian languages, viz:

Past-participle +Pronominal sign=Past tense

likhyo+ -m= likhyom/ likhium

likhyo+i= likhyoi/ likhyui

likhyo+-va= likhyova/ likhyuva

3. 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 (Rev. Caldwell R, Dr. 1875: 55). For instance in Dravidian languages:

<u>Verbal Roots</u>	<u>Verbal Nouns</u>
pad-u 'to suffer'	pād-u 'suffering'
nad-u 'to cultivate'	nād-u 'cultivation'
min 'to glitter'	mīn-a' star'
nakk-u 'to lick'	nakk-ū 'the tongue'

The following example of Sindhi Verbal Nouns derived from verbal roots may be compared with the above examples of Dravidian Verbal Nouns, viz:

<u>Verbal Roots</u>	<u>Verbal Nouns</u>
buḍu (ٻڏ) (to) drown'	boḍu (ٻوڏ)
'flood'	
suku (سڪ) (to) dry'	soku (سوڪ)
'drought'	
likhu (لڪ) (to) write'	lekhu (ليڪ)
'article'	
viḥu (ويڙھ) (to) fight'	verḥ (ويڙھ) 'fight'

bhaju (بيج) (to) run away' bhāju (پياج) 'flight'
 kusu (كُوس) (to be) killed' kosu (كوس) 'slaughter'

(b) A vast number of verbal derivations in all the Dravidian dialects are formed by suffixing to the verbal themes favourite and multifariously used formatives 'g', 'd' and 'b', under various modification, and with various vowel termination (Rev. Caldwell R, Dr. 1875: 535)

The same principle is applicable with verbal form of Sindhi language. For instance in Sindhi, ta 'āt', 'nī' and 'pa' etc. are suffixed, viz:

<u>Verbal roots</u>	<u>Suffixes</u>	<u>Verbal</u>
<u>Nouns</u>		
hal- (هل)	-at(أت)	
		halati (هلت)
achu (au)- (آء) (أچ)	-atā(أت)	āvata (آوت)
ma nj (مج)	- tā(تا)	
		ma nijtā (ميجتا)
likh- (لك)	- ni(ئي)	likhni (لكئي)
de- 'give' (ڏي)	- pa (پ)	depa (ڏيپ)

(c) Certain Dravidian Verbal Nouns are formed by suffixing formative particle (Rev. Caldwell R, Dr. 1875: 55), viz:

<u>Roots</u>	<u>Suffixes</u>	
<u>Nouns</u>		
mag-	-a	'mag-a
'a 'child'		
kar -u	'black'	kar-i

'charcoal'

Many examples of this principle can be traced in Sindhi, for example:

<u>Roots</u>	<u>Suffixes</u>	<u>Nouns</u>
rakh-(رک)	'keep'	-a / ا -
		rakha (رک)
dhak-(ڊڪ)	'cover'	-a / ا -
		dhaka (ڊڪ)
pokh-پوک	'sow'	-a / ا -
		pokha (پوک)
kah-(ڪاه)	(to) attack'	-a / ا -
		kāha (ڪاه)

(v) In Dravidian languages, certain verbal nouns are absolutely identical with verbal roots (Rev. Caldwell R, Dr. 1875: 53), for instance:

<u>Roots</u>	<u>Suffixes</u>	<u>Nouns</u>
nīd 'to be long'	_____	nīdu
'length'		

Examples as such are commonly available in Sindhi language also, viz:

<u>Verbal roots</u>	<u>Suffixes</u>	<u>Nouns</u>
vaṭhu (وڻ)	'take'	_____
		vaṭhu (وڻ)
	'attack'	
phāṭu (ڦاٽ)	tear	_____
		phatu
	'breach'	

phuru (قر) (to) loot' _____	phuru
(قر) 'loot'	
diju (دج) (to be) scared' _____	diju (دج)
'fear'	
kāti (کت) (to) cut _____	kati (کت)
'cut'	
kapi (کپ) (to cut) _____	kapu (کپ)
'knife'	

4. Syntactical Resemblances:

(a) The word order in construction of a simple sentence of Dravidian languages is as under: (Rev. Caldwell R, Dr. 1875: 349).

- (i) Nominative always takes first place in the sentence.
- (ii) Finite verb is placed in the last.
- (iii) Adjective precedes the substantive.
- (iv) Adverb precedes the verb.
- (v) The substantive which is governed by a verb, together with every word that depends upon it or qualifies it, precedes the verb which is governed.
- (vi) The relative participle precedes the noun on which it depends.
- (vii) The Pre-position changes its place 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.

Dr.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 (not withstanding the predominance for so many ages of 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 (Rev. Caldwell R, Dr. 1875: 349).

4.1 When the Syntactical structure of Dravidian languages (described above) is compared with that of Sindhi language, it is found that there is close similarity between Sindhi and Dravidian languages, and that they have common syntactical structure.

Dr.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 the Central and Northern Asia” (Rev. Caldwell R, Dr. 1875: 35).

4.2 When the syntactical structure of Sindhi is studied very carefully, it is found that Sindhi and Dravidian languages have common syntactical structure; for instance:

- i) The words and phrases which are governed with subjects are always placed before the Nominatives. In other words, the Nominatives (subjects) always follow the congruent parts of the subjects.
- ii) In common and general speech, Finite verbs always come at the end of a sentence.
- iii) The Adjectives always precede the substantives with whom they qualify.
- iv) The Adverbs always precede the verbs with whom they modify.
- v) The words and phrases which are governed with the object are always placed before the objects.
- vi) There is no use of Pre-position but the forms which are used as Pre-positions in other languages are used as Post-positions in Sindhi.
- vii) The negative part of the sentence is always placed before the affirmative part.

(b) Post- Position: In Indo-European languages, a Preposition is placed before a Noun, Pronoun and an Adjective, but Dravidian languages use Post- position instead of Preposition. It is placed after the Noun, Pronoun and an Adjective (Rev. Caldwell R, Dr. 1875: 56), For instance:

<u>Sindhi</u>	<u>Persian</u>	
maiza te ميڙ تي	bar mīz بر ميڙ	'on the table'
sabha te سڀ تي	bar hame بر همي	'above all'

In these examples 'te' is the example of post-position and 'bar' is the example of Pre-position.

Syntactically Prepositions and Post- positions occupy different places. According to the syntactical structure of Sindhi language 'te', 'khe', 'mē' and 'jo'

etc. behave as Post-positions. The occurrence of Post-positions in Sindhi points out towards the Deshya elements retained by the Sindhi language.

Dr. Caldwell states:

"In those connections in which Pre-positions are used in the IE – languages, the Dravidian languages and those of Scythian group, use Post-position instead, where Post positions do not continue as separate part of speech but are simply nouns of relative or quality adopted as auxiliaries".

5. Having found the resemblances and affinity between, Sindhi and Lahndi (Saraiki, Hindko, Pothwari, Shahpuri, Chachi and Mianwali) etc. and the Dravidian languages, and having found plenty of Deshya words and grammatical similarity between these languages, why it should not be claimed that the language or languages, spoken by the people of Indus Valley has/ have not disappeared at all from the land (Indus Valley), but has/ have been continued by the people as stated earlier. The collective name of the said language of the Indus Valley most probably, was the 'Sindhui' language at that time for the reasons that the Indus Valley or the country was also known with the name as 'Saindhva' or 'Sindhui'. Dr. Mahar Abdul Haq writes in his book, 'The Soomras':

" Crossing the Alburz ranges and Caucasus hills, the Aryans reached the eastern province of Iran. They stayed in Aryana for some time, called themselves Arya or Aryans after the name of that province, learnt fire-worship and many other ways of religious system, taught by Zoroaster (Zorathustra) or Zardaschat (663- 660

B.C.), and then marched on with their cattle-herd towards Hindukush. After crossing the high hills, they reached the mountain regions, north of the river Indus. From there, they turned downwards and entered the valley which they called "Sapta Sindhu, the Land of Seven Rivers. (Mahar Abdul Haq, Dr., 1992: 199).

5.1 About the name of the land Dr. Walter A. Fairservis states:

"I have suggested elsewhere that the name Sindh itself may have been derived from the Proto- Dravidian word" (Walter A. Fairservis).

5.2 The correct word might have been 'Sindhu' and the languages spoken in this land must have been known as 'Sindhui'. Al-Beruni records that the name of the script used for Sindhi language in Bahmanva (al-Mansurah) was known as 'Saindhva'. There are many languages whose names are known after the names of the countries, where they are being spoken.

After having considered overall these arguments, it can be said that the name of the country was 'Sindhu' and the language spoken in the country was called 'Sindhui' which was not imported from outside, but had its roots in the land of the Indus Valley. In other words it was an original and indigenous language of Indus Desha, i.e. 'sindhu' The Sindhui language was further divided into ten groups which were known with the names as mentioned in the chart on previous pages 17-19..

But whatever I have said may not be accepted as the final opinion about the origin and ancestry of our languages. It all depends upon the decipherment of the Indus Valley seals. Let us hope for the best.

Conclusion

From the comparative study of the examples given above it can be concluded that:

(i) Different dialects of Sindhui language were commonly used as spoken tongues in the Indus Valley before the advent of Aryans in this vast area as indicated in the map given above. This language has not been imported from outside but it has roots in the Indus Valley Civilization.

(ii) The ancient civilization of the Indus Valley and its language are the residue of Indus Valley Civilization and the Sindhui language. Present Dravidian languages, Sindhi, Saraiki, Dradic, Gujrati, Rajasthani, Haroti and Kashmiri etc. exhibit their ancestry with Sindhui language of Indus Valley 'Sindhu': Civilization.

(iii) The phonetical, phonological, morphological and syntactical structures of Sindhi language resemble to those of Dravidian languages, Saraiki, Dradic, Rajasthani and Gujrati languages.

(iv) In the opinions of Russian, American 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) as Proto- Dravidian language. It appears to be very close to the Southern Dravidian, especially Tamil.

(v) Sindhi is a continuation of Sindhui language. It has its roots in the civilization of Indus Valley. It has been influenced first by Prakrit languages and then by Sanskrit, and afterwards by Iranian and Greek languages etc. During the days of the Arab rule in Sindh, it borrowed much from Arabic

language. From the last days of the rule of Soomras- the local dynasty- Sindhi language has been influenced by Persian language, which became the official language from 1351 AD onwards. Thus during this long period of history, Sindhi borrowed plenty of words from these languages, but the existence of borrowed word- stock did not and could not influence much of its phonetical phonological, morphological and syntactical structures. That is why it contains even today the peculiarities of its indigenous origin.

From these arguments we come to the conclusion that the theory regarding origin of ancestry of Sindhi language as described by Dr. Trumpp and Sir. George Grierson needs to be revised in the light of arguments given above.

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Part-II
SINDHI LITERATURE

History of Sindhi Literature at a Glance

Introduction:

1. As stated in part I Sindhi is not only an old language but it is also very rich in literature. It is a living and a thriving language. Its writers have contributed extensively in every field and in every form of literature from the early days of the Muslim rule in Sindh (93 A.H./712 AD), and even before that.

There is enough evidence that men of letters of Sindhi had contributed in the field of literature even before the conquest of Sindh by the Muslims in 93 A.H./712 AD. We get some examples of Sindhi poetry of that period as stated in part I.

From the specimen of proto-Nagari Sindhi Script on the pieces of pottery excavated from pre-Muslim era at Bhanbore, (Khan F.A. Dr. 1963: 29 & 30) and from the ruins of Brahmanabad (lately al-Mansurah) (Allana G.A. Dr. 2002:), it is evident that Sindhi language was not only a spoken language but it was also being used by the traders for maintaining their accounts in written forms. It was a written language and different forms of scripts were being used by different classes of people as recorded by Arab travelers-Jahiz, Al-Beruni, Ibne-Nadim and others. For instance:

According to Jahiz (864 AD):

“The people of Sindh are well advanced in Mathematics and Astrology. They have got their own script for their (Sindhi) language”. (Jahiz 1960: 4&7).

Al-Istakhri (951 AD) in his book states:

“The people of al-Mansurah, Multan and its surroundings speak Arabic and Sindhi” (Al-

Istakhri 1960: 375).

Bashari-al Maqdisi (985 AD) writes :

“The people of Debal are traders. They speak Sindhi and Arabic” (Bashari al Maqdisi (1960: 285 & 286).

Ibne Nadim (after 955 AD) writes:

“The people of Sindh speak various languages and believe in different religions. They write their language in many scripts. Out of them 9 are very common” (Ibne- Nadim 1960: 3 & 4).

Ibne- Haukal states:

“The people of al Mansurah, Multan and surrounding areas speak Arabic and Sindhi” (Elliot H. 1967: 39).

Lastly Al- Beruni (973- 1048 AD), the greatest Indologist and Sindhologist who has contributed much in this field, writes:

“The alphabet used for Sindhi language in Southern Sindh towards sea- coast, was ‘Malwari. In Bahmanva (al- Mansurah), ‘Saindhva Script’ was most commonly used. ‘Lari’ writing system was in use in Lar Desha, whereas ‘Ardhanagari Script’ was commonly used by the people of Bhatia area and other parts of Sindh” (Edward C. Sachau 1910: 173).

2. The earliest references to Sindhi literature are given by the Arab historians. It is an established fact that Sindhi was the first and earliest language in which the Holy Quran was translated in the eighth or ninth century A.D. (Buzrug bin Shahiryar 1960: 193 & 202).

2.1 Sindhi poets have been mentioned reciting their verses before the Arab Caliphs at Baghdad (Baloch N.A. 1992:). It also is a recorded fact that the treatises were written in Sindhi on Astronomy, Medicine, Mathematics, Astrology and History during the eighth and ninth centuries A.D.

3. It is a recognised fact that the Indus Valley is comprised of the areas including the lands of present Central and South Punjab, Kashmir, Dardistan region and its Kohistan area, Western states of India, such as Rajasthan, Gujarat including Kutch and Kathiawar upto Mahi River and Aravali mountains and Hereyana state in the North-Western region of India. The areas such as Rajasthan (Including Jaisalmer, Marwar, Mewar Jodhpur and Bikaner etc.) and the Eastern, region of Sindh, had Eastern dialect (branch) of the Sindhi language of Indus Valley. These areas had common forms and themes of literature, i.e. folk poetry as well as folk prose. Hence all the writers and reciters of various forms, poets, folk-lore- as well as Sufis, Vedantic and the Nath Panthi and Bhakti saints composed their verses in the forms and used the themes which were very common from that period of history. They expressed social & cultural themes in their literary forms. They used local dialects which were being spoken in the areas, as their medium of expression.

3.1 Writing about the literary language of these areas in early days, Dr. S.K. Chatterji is of the view that:

“After Sauraseni comes Western

Apabhramśa, a great literary language used in the courts of the Rajput princes of Northern India for some centuries immediately before Turke conquest of North India, which was in general employed from Mharashtra to Bangal. Verses composed by Bengali poets and poets from practically the whole of Northern India in this speech, have been discovered. Western Apabhramśa, therefore, is the immediate predecessor, and partly the ancestor of Brajbakha and Hindustani” (Chatterji, S.K., Dr., 1942:164).

In the 10-12th centuries, the Western Apabhramśa speech was in full vigour, and was the common language of literature (apart from Sanskrit and the Prakrit), and undoubtedly also of general communication. (Chatterji. S.K. 1992: 164).

Scholars are also of the view that Southern, South- Eastern and Eastern parts of Indus Valley, comprising the areas of Kutch, Gujarat, Kathiawar and former states of Rajasthan, had very close and common political, social, commercial and literary relationship. These relationships & contacts encouraged common people, traders, poets & sughars (reciters) from the races such as Charanas, Bhats, Bhans & Jajaks etc. to travel and shift off and on for various ceremonies and functions. They used almost the same language in their communication.

Professor Jhamatmal Vaswani is of the opinion that:

“From the Apabhramas, a long period of time, generations of sughars came from the races such as Charanas, Bhans, Bhats and Jajaks. Most

of them were poets, sughars and singers of the courts of Rajput rulers (Jhamatmal Vaswani: 1956: 77).

Sir Grierson has also given his viewpoint about the language spoken in the areas as stated above. He states:

“Nagar Apabhramas’a was medium of literature in Gujarat, Rajasthan and its Western areas and this language (Nagar Apabhramas’a) was dominating language in the whole area. (Grierson .G 1927 Vol: I part I: 124).

4. Dr. S.K. Chatterji, Dr Muhammad Hassan and Dr. Murlidhar Jetley have given some specimen of the poetry of the language spoken in that area which they call Western Apabhramas’a.

Dr. Chatterji considers these specimen as examples of popular literature, which have been preserved, for instance, in the Prakrit grammar of the great Jain scholar, Hemchandra, who lived in Gujarat during 1088-1172. It would be clear to what extent the language of that time was approaching Hindustani (Chatterji S.K. 1942: 164).

In my opinion the language of the specimen quoted by Dr. Chatterji is very clear example of Sindhi language which was being spoken during those days in the areas mentioned by Dr. Chatterji and others. The specimen quoted by Dr.Chatterji are:
A Rajput woman says:

(i) *bhalla hua ju maria bahini, mahara kantu
lajjejam tu vaassiahu, jai bagga garu entu*

This verse, as a matter of fact is a gatha. (Chatterji: S.K. 1942:164)

This version of the ‘gatha’ has also been given

by Dr. Muhammad Hassan in his Book Hindi Adab ki Tarikh; published by Anjuman Taraqi- Urdu. The version given by Dr. Muhammad Hassan is reproduced below: (Muhammad Hassan 1951: 16&17):

*bhalla hua ju maria bhenu maharo kant
lasjjenj tu vense ju bhagga ghar ant*

The Sindhi version of this ‘gatha’ would be as recorded below:

ڀلا هُٿا جو ماريو ڀيٽ، مهارو ڪنت
لجڀڻج تُو وِٽڻ سين، جو ڀڳا گهر انت

To English rendering of this gatha is also given: “It was well, O sister, that my beloved was killed. If he came home defeated (or fleeing), I would have felt ashamed).

The linguistic study of this ‘doha’ (couplet) helps us to conclude that most of the words used in this ‘doha’ are still commonly spoken in Sindhi language with some minor phonetic change, such as ‘kant’ (ڪنت) is spoken as ‘kādḥ’ (ڪانڌ) and so on. In the opinion of the author this doha is composed in Eastern dialects of Sindhi. It was actually the dialect (Apabhramas’a) of Sindhui language of Indus Valley.

5. Professor Jhamtamal Vaswani considers this gatha of eighth century A.D. and has referred it in his book, Dhola Maroo, (Jhamtamal Vaswani, Prof: 1956: 77).

The same theme was common during the days of Shah Abdul Latif who says in his Risalo:

ڀڳو آءُ نه چٿان، ماريو ته وسهان،

ڪانڌ منهن ۾ ڌڪڙا آءُ سيڪيندي سونهان،

ته پڻ لڄ مران، جي هونس پڻ ۾.

Other specimen of poetic verses quoted by Dr. Chatterji are reproduced below:

(ii) *jiviu kasu na balla hau dhanu punu kas na itha?*

donni vi avasari niva d iā i tina sawa ganai vassithu

(Chatterji S.K. 1942: 164)

The Sindhi version of this doha could be:

جيو ڪس نه ڀلو هو، ڏن پڻ ڪس نه ان

دوني ئي اوسر نهوڙيائين، ته سوا، ڳڻي وسڻ

The English rendering of this doha is:

(To whom is not life beloved? To whom, again is not wealth a desired thing? When the two occasions are fulfilled, the superior man considers these two as straw).

(iii) Third specimen given by Dr. Chatterji in his book is:

jai na su āvai dui gharu, kā āho muhu tujjhu

vanu ju khan dai tau sahie, so piu hoe na mujju

The Sindhi version of this doha could be:

جي نه سو اوئي دوئي گهر، ڪا آهو منهن تڙجه

واڻ جو ڪنڊئي تو سائين، سو پيو هوء نه مڙجه

(If he does not come to your house, why art thou with thy face cast down? If he breaks (his) word, then, O friend, he can not be my beloved).

(iv) Dr. Chatterji has given fourth specimen of earlier poetry in his book. For instance.

amhe thova, riu bahua, kāāra ewa bhanant

mudhi, nihalai gagana alu, kai jana johnā karant

The Sindhi version of this doha could be:

امهي توڙا ريءُ بهئا، ڪانئر آيون پڻت

مڏي نهاري گگن آلو، ڪائين جڻ جوڻها ڪرن

(We are few, our enemies are many, and cowards talk like that. O foolish woman! Look at the space of the sky, how many make moonlight?)

(v) Dr Chatterji gives fifth specimen of early poetry which is no doubt a Sindhi doha. For instance:

Putt jae kavānu gunu?, avāgunu kavānu muena?

Ja bappi ki bhumhadi campi jai avarena?

پُٽ ڄائي ڪهڙو گڻ، اوگڻ ڪهڙو مڻ (مرڻ)

جو باپ ڪي پومڙي چمپي ڄائي اُورن

(What is good if a son is born, what is the harm if he is dead? if the father's land is seized by others?)

The linguistic study of these 'dohas' helps us to conclude that not only the words but grammatical structure of phrases used in these 'dohas and 'gathas' are exactly the same as used in present Sindhi. The language was very common and perhaps it was the same in the Eastern and South-Eastern regions of Indus Valley. The name of the language used in these regions was perhaps Apabhrama's which was common literary language and the sub-dialect of Apabhramas'a Pungala.

6. Dr. Murlidhar Jetley, a renowned Indian Sindhi scholar, in the preface of the "Encyclopedia of Indian literature, Vol: VIII," (Sindhi), compiled by

Prof: Gangaram Garg writes:

“As regards the later phase of the middle Indo-Aryan stage, present Sindhi shows sufficient resemblance with Nagar or Sauraseni Apabhramas’a which was literary language of India, during the period which immediately precedes the existence of new Indo-Aryan language. But we have no written records that should enable us to study the distinguished features of a local dialect of Nagra Apabhramas’a spoken in the lower Indus Valley region from which Sindhi as a New-Indo Aryan language is presumed to have developed round about 1000 A.D (Jetley M. Dr. Preface). Dr. Jetley has given some examples of verses. He sates: “To illustrate the resemblances of Sindhi with Nagara, the literary Apabhramas’a, two verses of this Apabhramas’a from Hemchandra’s work (12th century AD) are compared with Sindhi. For instance:

Dolā sanvelā dhana campā varannī دیولا سانولا دن چمپا ورثی
Jan sona reha kasavatia dannī جان سونا ریہہ کسوتیا دنئی

(The man has a dark complexion and the fair one has the complexion of a Champaka flower, she seems to be a streak of gold on the (black) assay).

Dolā mun to vāryō, mā karu d igo mān, دیولا مون تو واریوم کر دگھو مان،
Ninda ganvāi rātrī, jhat pat hoi vihānu نند گوائین راتڑی، جھت پت هوہ وھانء

(Beloved, I warn you not to pretend for long, as the night would pass away in sleep and it will dawn quickly)” (Jetley M.K. Dr; 1991: preface IX)

6.1 Form the perusal of the examples of poetic forms, illustrated above, it can be claimed that the roots of history of Sindhi literature, particularly the

poetic from such as ‘gathas’, ‘dohas’, ‘slokas’ and ‘sorthas’ etc. were very common forms of Sindhi poetry which contained the themes such as ‘Singār ras,’ ‘epic heroism’, ‘romanticism’ and ‘social aspects’ of daily life of the people of areas mentioned above.

7. Dr. Baldev Matlani, quoting a reference form Mr. Scott Jame’s book: ‘The Making of Literature’, has rightly narrated; how the oral literature was transferred from one ‘sugar’ to another in the ancient days. He states:

“Owing to the social conditions of ancient Greece, the spoken word still held its own flavours as against written words. The epic poems had been handed over from one reciter to another, and even in the fifth century, the ordinary Athenian seldom read them, but heard them interpreted orally, by rhapsodies....And so, too, at the dionysiac festivals, the assembled citizens heard and saw the plays of great dramatists. They seldom read them, Poetry was the rendering of the spoken word” (Baldev Matlani, Dr., 1998: 11).

Dr. Matlani has rightly depicted the picture of recital of oral literature or telling of tales in other parts of the world. Same way of expressing the literature was being practiced in the southern and South- Western parts of Indus Valley. Dr. Matlani states:

“It was same in India too. Listeners of the literature were the people who attended public gatherings and festivals. They used to narrate these tales unto the masses. These stories were the precursor of the literature which gave birth

to other forms of literature too (Baldev Matlani, Dr., 1998:11)

The same way of story telling and composing and reciting of verses was very common in the past in Southern, South-Eastern parts of Indus Valley. We come across the stories of kings, queens, princes and princesses, fairy tales, tales of traders and warriors etc. Similarly some songs and hymns composed and sung in the ancient plays in praise and as odes to deities also support the idea that Sindhi literature is also very old.

8. Professor L.H. Ajwani has mentioned in his book, about the hymns and songs which were sung in praise of River god, Odero Lal (اُڏيرو لال)

According to him, these hymns, generally known as 'Panjras' (پنجڙا) or five lined verses, were followed by stirring chants of 'Jhule-Lal' (جهولي لال) 'Jhule-Lal' (جهولي لال). In his opinion, these 'Panjras' were of the tenth century A.D. as Odero Lal is said to have been born at Nasarpur (Sindh) on a Friday evening, on the new Moon-day of the Sindhi (Hindu) year, in the month of 'Chet' (چيت) / Chetra in 1007 Sambat, i.e. in the year 950/951 A.D. (Ajwani L.H. 1970: 20 And 21).

9. 'Chachnamah' and Al-Beruni record some names of famous and prominent native scholars of the eighth, ninth and tenth century A.D. (Ali Kufi, 1954: 77).

As mentioned earlier, in the beginning of the Arab rule in Sindh, in 270 AH (883 AD), on the request of a local non-Muslim ruler of Kashmir, the ruler of al-Mansurah, Abdullah bin Umer Habari,

asked one of the Iraqi Muslim scholars, who was brought up in Sindh, and was a poet of Sindhi language as well of Arabic, to translate the Holy Quran for the non-Muslim local ruler. But the specimen of the oldest translation and the first instance of Sindhi literature and the translation of the Holy Quran is not available (Buzurg bin Shahryar 1960: 193 & 202).

10. Islam added new dimension to the history of Sindh. Scholars, intellectuals, traders, soldiers and religious missionaries, accompanying or following new rulers, came from many parts of the Muslim world. This wave of migration in Sindh continued up to 1593 A.D, even after the days of Arghuns and Tarkhans (1521-1555 A.D) in Sindh. The most important personalities, religious 'da'is' (preachers) and intellectuals whose names are recorded in history, are:

- (i) Pir Nuruddin (d: 1079 A.D)
- (ii) Pir Shams Sabzwari Multani (560-675 A-h/1165-1276A.D)
- (iii) Baba Farid Ganj Shakar (571-664 AH/ 1175- 1265 AD)
- (iv) Qalandar Shahbaz (573-673 AH./1177-1274 A.D.)
- (v) Hazrat Ghaus Bahauddin Zakria Multani (578-661 AH/1182-83- 1262 A.D).
- (vi) Pir Sadruddin (689-808 A.H./1290-1409 A.D).
- (vii) Sayid Jalal Shah Surkh Bukhari (707-785A.H./1307-138-1384A.D).

All of them are also known as popular poets. Qalandar Shahbaz is considered an early poet of Persian (Sadarangani I.H. Dr., 1956: 7&10). Similarly, Pir Nuruddin, Pir Shams Sabzwari Multani and Pir

Sadrudin were very learned Ismaili 'da'is', philosophers and poets of Sindhi, Siraiki, Hindi, Kutchi and Gujarati languages. They were Sufis of high caliber and are recognised as poets of Sufistic, Vedantic, Bhakti and Nathpanthi philosophy. Their poetry is didactic and conveys the messages of these philosophies. (Allana G.A.1973:15-34 and 33-49). Thus surviving Sindhi literature may be said to have begun with some fragments of poetry dating back to the eight and ninth century AD, during the early days of Arab rule and afterwards during the days of Soomras, the local rulers.

11. Many critics consider the Soomra rule, as the darkest period of Sindhi literature (Lutufullah Badvi Prof: 1963: 101-103). for the reasons that they could not get any specimen of any form of Sindhi literature. Perusal of the history of Sindh, however indicates that this was actually the period in which the Sindhi literature had flourished a lot. With this period, most of the historical romances of Sindh, such as Sasui-Punhun, Mumal- Rano, Leela- Chanesar, Umar-Marui etc. are associated. Allaudin's attack from Dehli on Dodo Soomro, the ruler of Sindh created national awakening and spirit of patriotism among the Sindhi folk. Not only 'menfolk' like Dodo and Bhungar are adored for their patriotism and national spirit, but the characters of fairer sex like 'Baghula Bai; 'Hinda' and 'Tari Bai' are symbols of sacrifice of women for their motherland, and they shall always be remembered in history. Their characters, inspires every historian, poet and men of letters even today. This period, therefore, needs great amount of rethinking, reconsideration and study, and one could ask oneself as to how is it possible that such a

glorious age did not or could not inspire any creative writer to compose and record something about such great characters of our history. We, of course, do get some 'gāhun'(گَاهُون/ gathas) in which folk poets have paid tributes to the 'heroes' and heroines' of Sindh. Few examples from among these 'gahun' (gathas) are:

جَرَ نہ کتن کنگرين، راو نہ گندين ويٺ
جي گولي ويندي گجرين، تہ پڻ چوٺا دودي پيٺ

(Water never finishes in the wells
Rajas don't break the word,
But if a maid is sent to them
They might think, she is DoDo's sister)

اُپ سڀ ڪنهن اُچو، اُپ نہ اُچو ڪوءِ،
مٿي بہ مٿي ٿيو، سورہ سِرُ سنڌوءِ.

(The sky is the highest,
Nobody is higher than the sky
The head of a valiant soldier
Is the highest even after death)

(Fahmida Hussain, Dr, 2001: 84)

11.1 The earliest classical literature of this period, of Sindhi language has been divided into the following poetic forms:

- (i) Romantic ballads
- (ii) Devotional hymns
- (iii) Pseudo-romantic ballads
- (iv) Epic poetry, and
- (v) Customary and ceremonial songs

12. We further get a good collection of poetry composed in Sindhi and Saraiki languages during the early period of Soomra rule (early eleventh century

AD) in Sindh. Pir Satgur Nur (d. 1079 AD) is the first saint poet of Ismaili thought whose verses can be taken as the specimen of early Sindhi poetry which has survived in Khojki Sindhi and Gujarati scripts. His poetry is an important specimen of Sindhi, Hindi and Gujarati literature, and an interesting record of spoken Sindhi language, commonly in practice during that time. His language is conglomeration of many words of Sindhi, Hindi, Kutchi, Marathi and Gujarati, which was a common language at that time. He named his verses as 'Ginans' (گنان). Pir Nooruddin, commonly known, as 'Pir Satgur Nur, (پير ستگر نور), is the poet of Nizari Ismaili School of Thought whose verses are considered as the specimen of early 'Sindhi devotional hymns' and mystic poetry. His poetic collection is preserved with Ismaili families all over the globe, particularly of Sindh and Punjab in Pakistan, and Kutch, Gujarat and Kathiawar etc in India in general, and with Ismailia Tariqa Boards in Pakistan, India, Africa, Canada, Bangladesh, Burma and some of the Far-East courtiers and USA in particular. Below are given a few specimens from his ginans:

بن کلمي بندگي کري، بندگي سجي سار،
جيون نت اُن راه چلئا آخر اُچڙ واس

(He, who without Kalma, in worship will bend.
His wanderings in the wilderness, will ultimately end) (Allana G. 1984: III).

Similarly in another 'ginan', he says:

پيا سون پريتج بانديئي، ماڻڪ مانھ ويھ
ست پنت ساڌيئي، پنٿي پورا تي.

پرمي نه پوليئي سمجهو ستگر ني واڻ
ڪايا ڪيرو جهوپڙو ڪايا مروڙي مساڻ

ڪايا گندي گوڀري ڪايا ميلي سڌاءِ
ڪايا وٽسي نه سڙي، ڪايا پُون ڙي گنداءِ

12.1 Other Ismaili Sufis, saints, preachers and missionaries composed their verses, known as 'ginans' in local languages with a view to enable their new Muslim followers (Nizari Ismaili Muslims) to grasp and memories the principles and teachings of the new faith which the Pirs introduced 'Sat- Panth' (صراط المُستقيم) / (ست پنت) i.e. the True Path. The 'Sat panth' conveys the message of Islamic mysticism, Vedantic ideas, Bhakti teachings and Nath Panthi philosophy.

13. After Pir Nooruddin, we get the ginans of Pir Shams Sabzwari Multani (650 AH-675 AH/ 1165 AD-1276 AD), the great-great grandfather of Pir Sadruddin. His verses are composed in Punjabi, Saraiki, Hindi, Purbi, Kutchi and Gujarati languages. Some instances from his Saraiki and Hindi ginans are given below: (English translation is reproduced form Allana G. 1984: 126):

اي سپاڳا:
ايس دنيا دي ويچ ڪيا گن آوي
ڪيا گن وٽسي نال...سپاڳا

(O fortunate one,
When into this world you took your birth

What did you bring with you to this earth?
What will you take? No home; no hearth;
O fortunate one ;)

اي سپاڳا:
نانگو تون آئيو نانگو تون وئسي
ڪر گن وٽج وپيار...سپاڳا

(O fortunate one,
Naked into this world you came,
Naked you will leave, as you came.
While alive, do good deeds in God's name
O fortunate one)

Some specimen of his Hindi ginan may also be seen:

اي جي:
اب تيري محبت لاڳي، دل مانھ محبت لاڳي،
نينون سي نين ملاؤ ميري صاحب،
اب تيري محبت لاڳي.

(Now, by your love I am struck,
My heart by your love is struck,
Let your eyes with mine have struck)
My Lord.

اي جي:
ڪولو پرڏا سنمڪ ديڪو
هس هس مُڪ دکلاو، ميري صاحب
اب تيري محبت لاڳي

(Remove the veil; look on me with Grace;
Smile, smile, and show me your face.
My lord,
Now by your love I am struck)

اي جي:

تيري صورت ڪا پيرشمس پياسا،
درشن دان دلاو ميري صاحب،
اب تيري محبت لاڳي

(For your vision Pir Shams is thirsty,
Let me see you; bestow this charity,
My lord, by your love I am struck.)

13.1 But the poet who draws our attention more than any other poet before him is Pir Sadruddin (698-808 AH/1290-1409 AD). There is every possibility to this claim that he did not come from Iran, but he was born in ancient Sindh (Uch Sharif) because his 'ginans' are full of renderings and instances of many aspects of Sindhi society and Sindhi culture. He spent about 61 years of his life in Soomra rule (1010-1351 AD) and he spent the rest of his life during Samma period (1351-1521 AD). In Sindh he composed thousands of 'ginans' in Sindhi, Kutchi, Gujarati, Hindi, Saraiki, Punjabi and Purbi, which are available in volumes with Ismailia Tariqah Boards throughout the world.

13.2 He also modified the 'Lohanika script, which was commonly used by Lohanas, Bhatias and other castes of Sindh and Saraiki speaking belt before they embraced Islam under his teachings.

13.3 The 'ginans' were composed on the tunes and rhythms of local music modes and are recited (sung) daily in Jamaitkhanas, all over the world, by the members of Ismailia community on local musical tunes and rhythms. The 'ginans' composed by Ismailia Pirs and Syeds needs in depth, thorough and careful study. They are full of philosophy and convey the message of mysticism, Vedantic and Bhakti

thought and Nath- panthi teachings.

Each 'ginan' contains at least five stanzas, and some of the 'ginans' are composed in six or eight stanzas. Some 'ginans' are very long. The 'ginans' of Pir Satgur Nur are composed on the local meter known as 'Chhand' (چند) and Kafi (کافي) on the tunes of local musical modes as stated above.

Dr. Schimmel is of the view:

"It should be remembered, however, that during the 14th century, new activity of Ismaili missionaries set in. Thanks to their preaching's, Large groups of Hindus were converted to Islam, and it is possible that their writings constitute the oldest extant literary expression of Sindhi. Although it is next to impossible to construct the original text of their religious, mystically tinged poetical sermons and prayers, parts of the later Ismaili literature in Kutchi, Gujarati, and a few pieces in Sindhi are of archaic character and that we may accept them as some of ancient evidence of the language of the lower Indus Valley. Both the form and the imagery of some of the oldest Ismaili texts now available are closely connected with the expression of Sindhi Sufis and they are preserved in writing form the 16th century onwards. (Annemarie Schimmel. Dr. 1974: 5).

13.4 Pir Sadruddin is a mystic poet and religious philosopher and for communication with the common masses, has used very simple language of the people, choosing symbols, similes and metaphors form local diction to enable common folk to

understand the message of Islam given to them through their mother tongues. He has been much influenced by local philosophy of mysticism which was commonly practiced by the Sufis of the sub-continent through their mother tongues.

He disseminated his views and ideas through the indigenous and local material comprising of religious beliefs, folklore, superstitions, myths and legends by using allegorical language.

The 'ginans', although written in simple language, contain deeper meaning. He says:

"As smell is within flowers,
As butter is intermixed with milk,
So is my Creator and Master hidden in me"

The philosophy of self- realisation and divine union is expressed by all the Pirs and Syeds in their 'ginans'. As already said, Ismaili Pirs and Syeds were great Sufis and Vedantic and Bhakti saints, educators and philosophers, thus the 'ginans' they composed contain profound meaning. The poetry of Pir Sadruddin is didactic. He says:

"Oh! Seeker, beware and get up early in the morning, as birds do, and remember your Creator."

Some of his selected verses are quoted below:

اُٺي الله نه گهرين بندا، تون ستين سجي رات،
نڪا جهوري جيو جي (بانها)، نڪو سمر سات،
شاه جو مڃيڙو تني کي، جيڪي صبحوڙي جاڳن.
(O, you who do not awake, and to Allah pray,
who slept, and all the night in your bed lay,

O Servant of God, for your salvation no effort
you make,
Now with your good deeds for the hereafter
take).

Similarly some examples of his saraiki 'ginans'
are given below:

اي جي،
تل ٻار تڪڙا، ڪني ڪي ڌار چلڻا،
يا شاهه! تل تل نا ليڪا ڏيوڻا،
ميري جيو ڪون.

(Even straw will be weighed in the scale,
you walk in life on a knife-edge trail,
My soul one day have to render
Account of deeds however slender)

(Translated by Allana, G. 1984: 59)

Although all the Pirs were influenced by
mysticism but in composing their 'ginans', they have
adopted local forms of meters and have composed
their 'ginans' on the prosody of 'Kafi' (ڪافي). The
'ginans' of Pir Satgur Nur are in the meter of 'bait'
(بيت). Thus prosody of 'ginans' of all the Pirs and
Syeds need critical study. In view of Dr. Abdul
Jabbar Junejo:

"The form in which 'ginans' are composed
resemble with the form of 'Kafi' (ڪافي)" (Junejo Abdul
Jabbar 1964: 78).

13.5 Another point mentioned above merits
attention of our scholars that all the 'ginans' were
composed on the rhythm of the local music of Sindhi,
Punjabi and Kutchi. This viewpoint is supported by
the fact that the 'ginans' are mostly sung in chorus in
different Ragas and 'Raganis' of local music. This

point has been discussed in my book "Ismaili
Movement in Sindh, Multan and Gujarat".

14. Another form of Sindhi poetry associated with
Soomra period is composition of ballads, narrating
folk historical and pseudo-historical tales such as
'Dodo-Chanesar'. Dr. Schimmel is of the view that:

"Sindhi has always been rich in ballads. The
oldest traces of poetry proper are in fact some
fragments of the ballads of Dodo-Chanesar.
Some of the ancient ballads have survived in
folk poetry". (Annimarie Schimmel 1974: 9).

14.1 The ballads of this period are original in their
form and meter as they bear distinctive characteristics
of Sindhi nature. (Baloch N.A. 1980: 132-141).

14.2 The Soomra period, as a matter of fact,
demands more attention of research scholars to
explore the prose and poetry for further research.

15. The Sammas succeeded the Soomras and ruled
Sindh from 1351 upto 1521. They were also original
inhabitants of Sindh. In Samma period more
development has been observed in Sindhi poetry and
prose. Mamui Faqirs' (seven sages, known as Mamui
Faqirs) riddles in versified form are associated with
this period. They are actually prophesies composed in
'Doha' (دوہا), 'Sortha' (سورثا) and their mixed forms.

15.1 These verses of Mamui Faqirs also contain the
mention of the culture, history and geography of Sindh
of the time (Memon Muhammad Sadique). For Example:

هاڪ وھندو ھاڪڙو پڇندي ٻنڌ اروڙ،
ٻھ مڇي ۽ لوڙھ، سمي ويندا سوکڙي.

15.2 We also get the names of some Sindhi poets belonging to this period as mentioned in 'Tuhfatul-kiram', a monumental work by Mir Ali Sher Qan'e, a great annalist of Sindh. He mentions the name of Shaikh Hamad Jamali (d.764 AH/1362 AD), a resident of a place in the vicinity of Thatta. His 'Doha' has been quoted by Dr. N.A. Baloch (Baloch N.A. 1980: 182). Which is reproduced below:

جُوڻو مت اوڻو ڄام تماچي آءِ
سباجهي باجهه پيئي، توسين ريڏو راءِ

This Doha implies a gesture of good will and a heraldic prediction for Jam Tamachi that his rule will be re-established over Thatta.

15.3 Ishaq Ahingar (Blacksmith) was also a famous poet of this period. Although only one 'Sortho' has been credited to him but it contains many characteristic features of literature, sociology and cultural history of Sindh. His Sortho is quoted below:

ٿيان مان جهرڪ، ويهان پرينءَ جي چچ تي،
مان ڪرڻ ڏرڪ، ٻولي باجهاريءَ سين.

16. The most important person, scholar, Sufi and poet of this period is Qadi Qadan (d. 1551 AD) whose verses were collected from a 'mathu' (temple) in Hariana state of India by Hiro Thakur, one of the most popular Sindhi scholar of India. He compiled and published them in a book form. Recently Dr. N.A. Baloch has also compiled and edited more verses of Qadi Qadan.

16.1 Qadi Qadan was a great theologian and scholar of Arabic and Persian languages, and also the Chief Judge in the Government of Jam Feroz Sama (1517-1521 AD), and afterwards in the court of Mirza Shah Beg and Shah Hassan Arghun (1525-1555 AD). A Sufi, Syed Miran Mohammad Jonapuri, unveiled his eyes, as Shams Tabrez did in case of Maulana Rumi. This can be witnessed from his following 'Sortho':

جوڳيءَ جاڳايوس، ستو هوس نند ۾،
تشان پوءِ ٿيوس، سندي پريان پيچري.

(I was fast a sleep, a dervish came and awakened me, after that I took the right path of my beloved.)

16.2 Qadi Qadan composed 'Doha', 'Sortho' forms of 'Chhand' poetry and are very important landmark in the history of Sindhi poetic literature. Although he was a scholar of Persian and Arabic languages, his choice of pure and common Sindhi words and construction of sufistic ideas, reflect his viewpoint. Some of his verses are:

سي ئي سيلهه تيار، پڙهيام تي پاڻان،
اڪر اڳيان اُپري، واڳو ٿي وريام.

ڪنز قدوري قافيا ڪي ڪين پڙهيوم،
سو پارئي ٻيو، جڻان پرين لڏوم.

سجڻ منجهه هٿام، مون اُٿي ويا اونيا.

هيڏانهن هوڏانهن هٿڙا، هيٺڙي جاڙ وڌام.

Research scholars have been able to trace few more names of poets of this period; such as Abdul Jalil Chuhar Shah, Dervish Rajo Satiyo Dal, Sayyid Ali 'Sani' Shirazi, Shaikh Bhiryao (d. 903 AH/ 1497 AD), Nuh Hothiyani, Shaikh Pirar and Dadu Dyal, However none of them can be compared with Qadi Qadan. (Muhammad Khan Ghani, Vol: V, 1962: 95-96).

As mentioned elsewhere, much could be found by exploring some temples in Rajasthan, Haryana, Gujarat, Kashmir, Kutch and Kathiawar in India, where some Hindu scholars, traders, sughars and saints migrated much earlier or at the time when Mehmood of Gazna had invaded al –Mansurah. Hiro Thakur was able to find Qadi Qadan's verses, and after wards Prof. Jhamu Chugani collected and compiled the 'Chaupayoon' of 'Mahamati, Piran Nath', a saint poet who was born on 6th October, 1618 A.D. at Nava Nagar (Jam Nagar), in Kathiawar, India. Two of his 'Chaupayoon' are reproduced below for example:

ڌڻي موهجي (منهنجي) روح جا، ڳالهه ڪريان ڪوڏ ڪري
آئين (آهن) آميدون لاڏ جيون، اچي ڪرڻان ڳري.

ڌڻي موهجي روح جا، ڳالهه ڪريان ڪوڏ ڪري
آئين (آهين) آميدون لاڏ جيون، اچي ڪرڻان ڳري

17. From the deep study of poetic forms of Sindhi literature of Samma and Arghun period, one can deduce that upto this period, 'Doha', 'Sortha' and other ancillary forms had developed a lot, and 'Bait' had reached its culmination, both in style and form. (Abdul Ghaffar Soomro: 38). It can, therefore, be concluded that the origin and development of Sindhi 'Bait' could be traced earlier than the Soomra period. (1010-1351 A.D)

'Doho' had already undergone substantial change. The form in which the earlier poets expressed themselves is termed as the classical poetry. Makhdoom Nuh (1506-1589 AD) of Hala, Shah Karim of Bulri (1537- 1628 AD), Pir Muhammad Lakhvi (d. 1600 AD), Shah Lutufullah Qadri (1611-1679),

Khawaja Muhammad Zaman of Luwari (1713-1774 AD), Shah Inayat Rizvi (d.1717 AD), Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai (1689 – 1752 AD), Sachal Sarmast (1739-1829) and 'Sami' (1750- 1848 AD) were the most renowned poets who composed 'Dohas', 'Sorthas', 'Doha-Sortha- mel (mixture) and vice versa with their modified forms viz: 'Bait', 'Dohiro', 'Vai', 'Kafi' and 'Sloka' with devotional thought manifesting yearning love of human soul for the Divine.

18. Shah Karim lived during the Arghun period (1521-1555 AD) in Sindh. He was the literary genius of this age and a renowned Sufi. Dr. Daudpota calls him the 'Chaucer of Sindhi poetry'. He also calls him the 'Morning Star' of Sindhi literature, It was Shah Karim whose poetry had inspired Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai. (Memon Muhammad Sadique, Vol: I, 1963: 58). He is said to have set forth a mystic doctrine after the style of Rumi, the great Persian poet, but in view of Dr. Schimmel:

“Yet it is not absolutely certain to which mystical order he was affiliated” (Annemarie Schimmel, Dr., 1972: 72).

Shah Karim composed 'Dohas' and 'Sorthas'. He also modified their forms and matter. The biography, discourses and poetical works of Shah Karim were collected by his disciple, Muhammad Raza Abdul Was'e, only six years after his death. His book Bayanul- Arafin (بيان العارفين) was written in Persian, along with 94 verses of Shah Karim. It contains seven verses of Qadi Qadan and some verses of other poets. In view of Dr. Daudpota:

“The diction of Shah Karim's poetry is purely Sindhi. The thoughts and contents of his poetry are essentially sufistic, spiritual and

didactic in nature. Another significant aspect of Shah Karim's poetry is that symbols from Sindhi folk tales are used for the first time by him. We find Sasui- Punhun, Umar- Marui, Leela-Chanesar and so on in his poetry used as symbols. Although he made very slight references to these stories, yet the credit of introducing this great tradition goes to him”.

He says:

پنپوران بہ توک کنهن نہ نیا پاڻ سين،
سڪڻ سپيرين کي ۽ لاڳاپو سين لوڪ.

(No body ever took with himself two traits from Bhambore, yearning for the Beloved and attachment with one's own people.)

Makhdoom Nuh 'Sarwar' (d.1589 AD) of Hala, in view of Dr. Schimmel, the leading mystic of Suhrawardy and Awesi order, was a great poet of Sindhi. The credit of 'Dahar' form of Sindhi poetry goes to Sarwari saint poet. Makhdoom Nuh is founder of this form of poetry. In one of his 'Dahar' (Sortha form) he says:

پيئي جا پريات، ماڪ نہ پانيو ماڻهوئا
روئي چوي رات، ڏکي ڏکوين کي.

19. After Turkhans, Sindh came under direct domination of Mughals, and Sindh was annexed to Delhi by Emperor Akbar by invading Sindh during the reign of Mirza Jani Beg, Turkhan. The Mughal rule (1592-1717 AD) over Sindh paved an era of difficulties for Sindhi masses. However, even during this period Shah Lutufullah Qadri (1611-1679 AD) carried forward great tradition of his predecessors. His poetry has been compiled and edited by Dr. N.A.

Baloch and published by the Institute of Sindhology. The poetry of Shah Lutufullah Qadri does not contain stanzas of only two verses, but extends to even six or seven stanzas. His poetry is of an intermediary link between his great successors, Shah Inayat and Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai. In his poetry we find the standard form of 'Bait', which is consisted of more than three or four lines, as invocationary which was followed by his successors. His poetry is purely spiritual and didactic in nature. Usman Ahsani and Miyoon Eso are also associated with this period.

20. The age of Shah Abdul Latif (Kalhora period) is most significant in the history of Sindhi literature. It was during this age that the Sindhi language was standardized. The main literary form that developed in the poetry of this era, were the allegory and also the Persianised forms and meters, religious literature in 'Kabat' form and ballads. The allegory became a concrete and effective literary device for expanding moral, mystic and religious lessons. This poetic form appealed immensely on account of its communication and realism because the people were not so far accustomed to abstract expression. Shah Abdul Latif was very successful in these forms.

20.1 The Sindhi classical poetry achieved its full bloom in the poetical works of Shah Inat Rizvi and Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai. Shah Inat Rizvi was a great senior contemporary of Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai and introduced many traditions of Sindhi poetry. He (Shah Inat) had listened to the musicians and the minstrels and was also conversant with the spiritual contents of the poetry of his predecessors. Shah Latif was strongly influenced by the poetry of Shah Inat and Shah Karim.

20.2 Another poetical growth of this period was the rise of the ballad and other forms of Sindhi folklore. The traditional ballads of Juman Charan and Miyan Sarfraz Khan Abbasi (d.1775 AD) are very important. The theme usually deals with love, local legends, feats of local heroes, super natural happenings, and religious offerings.

The third characteristic feature of this period was the impact of Persianised forms and meter on Sindhi poetry. Miyān Chatan, Noor Muhammad 'Khastaha', and Hafiz ali of Tikhur were the first poets who composed Ghazals in Persian meters in Sindhi. (Asadullah Shah Hussaini, Dr. 1959: 118-119)

'Moulood' is another interesting form of this age. Makhdoom Abdur- Rauf Bhatti is the pioneer of this form of poetry. He composed them in Persian meters. (Memon Muhammad Siddique, Vol: I, 1963 :169) They are in praise of the Prophet of Islam (PBUH).

20.3 Another main feature of this period is the literature written on Muslim theology composed in native form 'Kabat'. (Abdul Jabbar Junejo, Dr., 1974). According to Dr. Schimmel, the year 1700 is a decisive date for Sindhi literature. In her opinion:

"It is the year in which Mian Abul Hassan (d.1711 AD) for the first time dealt with problems of ritual practice in simple Sindhi verse. He used the device of filling the last word of each line with a long ā (ī/alif al-ishba), and this achieved rhyming effect similar to that of the Arabic Qasida". (Annimerie Shimmel Dr., 1974: 18)

Makhdoom Abul Hassan's rhymed treatise, called *Muqaddimat-as-Salat*, ushered in a new style in didactic poetry which soon became popular among the mystical theologians of Thatta. Makhdoom Abul Hassan, who is known as the founder of modern Sindhi writing system, Makhdoom Ziauddin and Makhdoom Muhammad Hashim Thattavi (1662-1761 AD), were profound scholars and theologians of this age.

21. Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai is the leading personality of this age. The poetry of Shah Abdul Latif reflects not only the culture and social life of Sindh but it reveals the very soul of the people of Sindh. Shah's poetry is like a diamond with many facets, and it deals with all kinds of subjects viz: mystical, spiritual, devotional, didactic, romantic and lyrical. Shah's poetry has an implicit moral purpose. It delights the mind by its melody. He says:

"I slept and then with me grew,
The branching of my loved one's vine"

Shah has selected the folk-tales of Sindh which represent the character and culture of Sindh. His characters are: Sassui- Punhu, Moomal- Ranu, Lela-Chanesar, Umar- Marui, Suhni- Mehar, Noori-Jam Tamachi, Sorath-Rai Diyach, Moriro Mir Bahar, Mokhi and Matara and so as.

Dr. Schimmel states:

"Shah's technique consists of beginning each chapter with dramatic moment, since the contents of the stories were known to every one. The complete transformation of the folk tales into symbols of mystical experiences stated by his great-great grand father, Shah Karim, now

reaches perfection. Thus Sohni is introduced in the moment of drowning in the 'Mehran'; to break the boat of the body means to find out union with God in the ocean of the Soul, as the Islamic mystical poets, headed by Attar and Rumi have always preached. Similarly Sassui, Mumal, Marui, Leela and so on. All the simple Sindhi girls appear in Shah's Sindhi Sufi poetry so completely different from the Persian and Turkish Traditions where the love between the Soul and God is generally expressed in terms of love between two male beings. In Sindhi, a searching and longing soul is always a woman who yearns for her Divine bridegroom, for her eternal husband. In order to find him, she takes upon herself incredible hardship-swimming through the waves of the ocean of this world, crossing the desert with bleeding feet, she has only one goal: to be re-united with God, the Beloved has elected her at the day of the Primordial Covenant". (Annimarie Schimmel Dr., 1974: 14)

Some examples from Shah's poetry are given below. He says:

پلپل پور هزار، مون کي سندا سڄڻين،
تيئن وھن اڪيون، جيئن سي کوهيءَ نار
سڄڻ سانگ سڏائيا، هئا جيءَ جيار
باجھائي بيهار، مٽي اڳڻ آئيا.

(Every moment a thousand pangs,
With which my heart to beloved bangs,
My eyes weep and shed copious tears,
As a woman, when bad news she hears.
Hope, O beloved, resurrect

And my life's course correct
The loved one once again,
Has come with me to remain.)

پاڻ جيئڻ، پرينءَ ملڻ، ايءَ سدائين سڏ،
موتو قبل انت تان تو سڻي حد
جيئري پرين نه لڏ، مر ته ملين محبوب کي.

(You wish to live, and the beloved to meet?
This as merely wishful thinking treat,
If before death you would know to die
Then, in infinites mystery you will fly
Living, the beloved you will not meet
Die and you the beloved will greet.)

پلي کي پونرن، جي واس ونڻ آڻيا
تني کي ڪونرن، ڏنا هنڌ هيئين ڀر.

(Welcome, welcome, you buzz bees,
Who buzz and perfume squeeze,
The lotus gives them her face,
And in her heat finds them a place.)

Shah Abdul Latif and other Sufi poets of his period were well aware of social problems and happenings of the masses with which they lived. Dr. Fahmida Hussain in the book 'Social Content in Shah jo Risalo', compiled by Anwar Pirzado, edited by her and published by Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai Chair, Karachi University, has said in the Foreword that:

"By presenting 'Social Content in Shah jo Risalo' we intend to intimate a trend of Sociological study with the conviction that his poetry's relations to society are virtually important and that the investigations of social content in the poetry of Shah Latif or any other

poet for that matter, would strengthen the belief that art is not created in a vacuum and it is the work of an artist who is fixed in time and space, committed to a community of which he is an articulate part". (Fahmida Hussain, Dr., 1998: Foreword)

Shah Latif was actually, the poet of a period in which, the most popular Sufi and Vedantic poets, Bhakti saints, Sufis and scholars lived. They contributed in various fields in Sindhi, Arabic and Persian literature.

Sindhi poetry of Shah's period would be considered as the literature comprising modern thoughts and ideas prevailing at that time. Shah Latif and his Sufi contemporaries represented the feelings of masses of their surroundings. They awakened the spirit of nationhood, humanities and love for fellow human beings. Muhammad Ibrahim Joyo, a renowned scholar of Sindh has expressed his feelings in his article that:

"Indeed Sindh during Latif's times was awakening to a sense of nationhood and had to struggle for recognition and self-expression. Nearly two and a quarter centuries (1520-1736 A.D) of foreign rule and tyranny of the savage Mongols, the Arghuns and Tarkhans, and the Mughul (who no doubt were all Muslims) was just ending after a prolonged night of darkness and suffering, and the incessant flow of blood of her children was coming to a stop while Sindh attained freedom and unity and her people their independence and sovereignty".(M. Ibrahim Joyo :1990 :139)

Shah Latif was, as a matter of fact, a real

inspirer of intellectuals. He inspired poets, scholars and intellectuals, not only during his days, but he has equally inspired the scholars, intellectuals and men of letters of all times after him. Shah has been the source of guidance of all his readers and disciples. He gave real life to Sindhi language and literature.

These poets and Sufis were well aware of social problems of masses with which they lived. They were also aware of the happenings in the country.

The period of Shah Latif was really the period of literary progress and development of various forms of Sindhi language and literature, and socio-political awareness of people of Sindh. Their poetry depicts social, economic, commercial and agricultural problems of their people. The people were against foreign rulers and their interference in their local affairs.

Shah Latif was exponent of Sindhi society and Culture. He was a great narrative artist, who has painted the philosophy of life of his people through his Risalo. He has made Sindh, its people, its language and culture alive.

Dr. H.T. Sorley was the first scholar who studied Shah's poetry critically for his Ph.D thesis. His research work was published by Oxford University Press in 1940. His research work is still recognised as masterpiece work ever done on Shah Latif. Dr. Sorley states:

"I have myself not the slightest doubt that one great reason for the popular appeal of Shah Abdul Latif's poetry is the fact that it was the first great attempt to interpret the feelings of the populace in the language that all-both Muslim & Hindu, could understand, and that he was the

first successful poet who spoke a language that every one could accept not merely as literature or as a highly artificial construction of words but as something that everyone felt." (Sorley H.T. Dr., 1940:)

The Persianised poetical form – 'Ghazal', which, as stated above, was introduced during the Kalhora period, was encouraged during the days of Talpurs' rule (1782- 1843 AD) (Girami Ghulam Muhammad: 1964: 114)

21. During the very early days of Talpurs, Pir Muhammad Baqa (1198 AH/1784 AD), the father of Pir Muhammad Rashid (d.1818 AD), known as 'Pir Pagaro' the first, contributed much towards religious literature in Arabic, Persian and Sindhi. Another poet of this period was 'Ruhul Faqir' (d.1198 AH/ 1783 AD). He was a follower of Shah Inayat of Jhok. He was also a mystic poet.

21.1 Besides 'Gazal', the Persianised new forms were also coming into fashion. Syed Sabit Ali Shah (1740-1810 AD), Akhund Gul Muhammad 'Gul' (1809- 1856 AD) of Halla and Sachal Sarmast (1739- 1829 AD) were the greatest meterists among their contemporaries. Sami (1750-1848 AD), the prominent vedantic poet followed the same old style of 'Chhand'.

21.2 Talpur rulers were themselves keenly interested in literature. Some of them were poets of Persian and Sindhi languages. Talpurs encouraged literature and intellectuals. This provided impetus to the literary activities in Sindh. Various forms of Persian Poetry such as Ghazal, Mathnavi, Qasido, Marthio and Ruba'I were frequently composed in Sindhi. Sayid Sabit Ali Shah, one of the court poets of Talpurs, composed 'Marthias',

'Nuhas' and 'Salams' in Persian, Urdu and Sindhi. He was patronised by the Talpur rulers (Sadarangani I.H., Dr., 1956: 153). Persian words, phrases and idioms, introduced by Sayid Sabit Ali Shah, were commonly used by most of his contemporaries.

In view of Moulana 'Girami':

"Not only Sindhi Ghazal developed its matter, language and form during this era but Urdu Ghazals were also composed for the first time in Sindh, in Sindhi and Urdu languages. Sachal 'Sarmast', was the first poet in Sindh to have composed Ghazals in Urdu". (Ghulam Muhammad Girami :1964: 114)

Sachal (1739-1829 AD) was the most influential mystical poet of this period. Dr. Schimmel calls him "Attar of Sindh". According to her:

"Whereas Shah Latif tried to conceal the secret of mystical union under complicated symbols, Sachal, not in vain adopted the pen-name 'Ashikar' (Open) for his Persian poetry and 'Sarmast' (Intoxicated) for his writings in general. His verses are fundamentally nothing but a political commentary of the central statement of later Persian Sufism, i.e. 'Hamah Ust' (هم اوست) means 'everything is He'" (Annemarie Schimmel Dr. 1974: 21)

22. "The poet's name 'Sachal', derived from 'Sach', the 'truth', uttered by Hussain ibn Mansoor Hallaj, the figure of this Baghdadian martyr-mystic (executed in 922 AH), who, "had visited Sindh in 905 AH, has inspired almost all the mystics in that part of the sub-continent who find in him the model of the suffering lover." (Annemarie Schimmel 1904: 21)

22.1 Sachal was the lyric poet par excellence and a

poet of revolt. He exposed Mullahs and Akhunds etc. who claimed to be spiritual leaders of Sindhi society. He believed in no difference of caste, creed and religion. Dr. Matlani states:

"He is known as 'Sarmast' i.e. intoxicated one. He was more influenced by Mansoor al-Halaj."

"The poetry of Sachal is the result of 'Be-Khudi' a state in which he knew not, what he was doing."

Sachal Sarmast composed 'Kafis', 'Ghazals', 'Baits' and 'Jhulnas'. His 'Kafis' have sweetness, vigour and an ecstatic fervour which are class in themselves. Like 'Vise' of Shah Latif, the 'Kafis' of Sachal are sung by all classes of Sindhis.

22.2 Sachal had changed the content of Ghazal. Instead of the description of love, he made Ghazal the medium of mystic teachings, and thus he gave it a new direction. He is deep as well as delicate in expression. His description and appreciation of beauty has given him a permanent place in the history of Sindhi literature. He says:

شال نه وسرن هوت، ٻيو سڀو مون وسري
مون کي تائين موت، هئين اڪڙين ۾.

(May I not beloved forget
Though all else let me forget
May he live in mine eyes
Until life in my body as companion lies.)

توڙي مار مَ مون، سڻ منهنجا سپرين،
مون کي گهرجين تون، لوڪ رُنوئي گهوريو.

(O beloved, do not kill me

Listen, O beloved, listen me
It is you alone that I desire
Let others be annoyed with me O Sire)

مون ۾ آهين تون، تو ۾ آهيان مان،
بجلي بادل سان، آهي جيئن سپرين.

(Within me in your blessed face,
Within you, truly, have I a place
As in the clouds resides lightening
Thus beloved, within you is my being)

22.3 Qadir Bux 'Bedil' is also a very good Sufi poet. He is mystic in expression and is very much influenced by Rumi.

23. Sami, one of the prominent Vedantic poet, adopted the same old indigenous style of 'Chhand'. His 'Slokas', are characterised by restfulness and the Vedantic urge to cast out Avidya (Ignorance or Illusion) so as to find illumination of the Spirit. The central point in Shah, Sachal and Sami is "The quest of the Soul for the union, the journey of the ray back to the Sun, the bursting of the bubbles and the oneness of the drop and the Ocean". His belief is that:

"I, you and He are but one entity. If A hurts B, he is but hurting himself."

Sami says:

سپن منجهه غلام، سپني شاه امير ٿيو
سپني ۾ موجان ڪري، سپني ۾ مهنام
سپني ناتا ڪامنا، سپني ۾ نهڪام
اک کلي آرام، ستهه ڏنو سامي چئي.

(In his dream a slave,
In his dream an Emperor, brave

In his dream happiness
In his dream sorrowfulness
In his dream successful
In his dream sinful
All this happened, while in a dream
Awakened, near the Beloved he will seem)

23.1 Sami is one of the very prominent classical poets of Sindhi language. His poetry is both Vedantic as well as mystic. Dr Baldev Matlani is of the view that:

"Sami deals primarily with the field of inner exploration and illumination, making our hearts whole, transforming us into spiritual supermen, by realising God within, and putting us in tune with the infinite.

"By initiation and inner striving Sami found the way to this inner-most centre and brought out jewels of Truth that met his quickened insight." (Baldev Matlani Dr., 1998:36)

He was rewarded with the vision of Divinity and gained perfect inner illumination and developed poetic powers.

23.2 Sami has given emphasis to humanism, development of self-realisation and belief in God.

Sami asserts that God is within ourselves, and that we may, if we so desire, tune ourselves in, with the finite and into the infinite, and transform the finite into the infinite. Sami says:

محل منجهين آهين، سامي سوڌ سپرين،
هيڏي هوڏي هٿڙا، مورڪ ٿا پائين،
پاڻ پلائي پنهنجو، در در ليلائين،
سمجهي سمائين، ورا ڪي وسرام ۾.

(The beloved dwells in the palace within,
yet here and there do the unwise grope,
They beg at all doors, forgetful of their origin,
Few discern and seek the self's repose (Baldev
Matlani Dr.1998:40)

24. Akhund Gul Muhammad 'Gul' (1809- 1856 AD) was the first poet who completed his 'Diwan' in Sindhi and got it published in litho press from Bombay. His poetry made Sindhi poets turn to Persian prosody and Persian imagery until at last the Sindhi poetry became interlarded with Persian idioms and allusions – the nightingale and the rose, the moth and the candle, the ruby, wine and the cup-bearer etc. Prof: Lalsing Ajwani says:

“It is doubtful whether the turning or twisting (and turning) of the Sindhi speech into Persian prosodic forms brought any substantial gains to the Sindhi language and that literature.”

25. Sindh was subjugated by the British in 1843. To keep close links with the native people, the foreign rulers encouraged the local language. Thus Sindhi language got importance and replaced Persian which was the court language upto 1843. This change encouraged many intellectuals and writers. This change created very good poets of Sindhi and brought them to light. In this period, the Persianised forms of poetry- 'Ghazal', 'Qasido', 'Ruba'i, 'Marthio', 'Mathnavi' and 'Musadas' were commonly composed by the prominent poets, viz: Mir Hassan Ali Khan 'Hassan' (1824 – 1909 AD), Ghulam Muhammad Shah 'Gada' (1824 - 1900 AD), Akhund Muhammad Qasim (1881-1806 AD), Mir Abdul Hussain Khan 'Sangi' (1851 – 1924 AD), Shamsuddin 'Bulbul' (1857-1919

AD) and many others were composing all the Persianised forms in Sindhi. Amongst them 'Sangi' excels in 'Ghazal' and over upon this day, no one has equaled him in this particular field in the entire history of Sindhi literature. The following couplet, from one of his 'Ghazals', is typical of his romantic poems:

'Like lightening the beloved flashes her eyes,
Her lips more sweet than sweetest honey,
Her parthing has eternal made my agony.

26. The language used by Sangi is very attractive and full of Persian diction and phrases. He describes nature in such a wonderful manner and in such a diction and style that one can glance with his inner eyes whatever the poet depicts. That is why this entire period (1881 – 1915 AD), has been named after him and is called 'The Sangi age'. He is the leader of this school – The 'Sangi School of Poetry'.

The poets of Sangi doctrine have many characteristics in common. They are rich in vocabulary, full of Persian and Arabic words, phrases, similes & metaphors. They are deep in thinking and very impressive in expression. Most of them completed their 'Diwans' and have enriched Sindhi literature so much that it could be compared to that of any language of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

26.1 Mirza Qaleech Beg's (1852 – 1929 AD) translation of Omar Khayam's 'Ruba'iyat', Masrur and Abojo's 'Musadas' on the model of 'Musadas –e-Hali' (a nationalist Urdu Poet) and Hyder Bux Jatoi's famous address to the River Indus (Sindhu) are probably the only poems on Persian models that have survived.

Sindhi Poetry

1. The most remarkable phase of Sindhi poetry took its rise when the New Sindh was rediscovered with the discovery of Mohen-jo-Daro (1926) and the building of the Sukkar Barrage (1933). The founding of literary and cultural societies like 'Sindhi Sahit Society' and 'Sindh Muslim Adabi Society', and the introduction of Sindhi in the Bombay University Syllabi also gave impetus to contemporary literature.

It is a fact that the first world war had not only influenced social, political and economic conditions of the world, but alongwith the impact on society, it had left its mark on literature also. Great changes were felt in the literary fields of every country. Sindhi also could not remain aloof from the world-wide change and influences as such. An encouraging development can be found in Sindhi literature.

Different Schools of Thought

By and by with the changing social atmosphere, Sindhi poetry was divided into three different Schools of Thought.

The first one is called 'Misri Shah School of Poetry'. It can also be called 'Tikhur School of Poetry'. This School is the exponent of earlier indigenous Sindhi form and sufistic ideology, which further flourished under the patronage of 'Makhdoom Talibul-Moula', a great master of expression. Rakhial Shah, Manthar Faqir Rajar, Hassan Bakhsh Shah, Maulana Girami, Muhammad Khan Ghani, Arif-ul-Moula, Maulvi Haji Ahmed Mallah, Sarshar Uqaili, Hafiz Shah Hussaini, Bekhud Hussaini and Khadim

Sarwari are known as popular poets of this School.

Talibul-Moula wrote deeply personal poems, revealing his traits, feeling and thought. The main characteristics of his poetry are its wonderful style, selection of words and use of words and phrases. He chose incidents and situations from every day life. Talibul-Moula is a realist. He appeals, directly to the reader's imagination by writing with great clarity. His great poems are saturated with the very breath and spirit of life. Some verses from Talibul-Moula's poetry are given below for instance:

مون ڇڏي دنيا تڏهن هڪ همونوا حاصل ڪير،
ساهه سر ان کي ڏئي ان جي وفا حاصل ڪير،
هن نهاريو ناز مان هڪدم شفا حاصل ڪير،
نيٺ درد لادوا جي ئي دوا حاصل ڪير.

ديدار ڪرائج ڪو اي دلبر الهه لڳ،
عاشق جي اڳيان ٿي اچي نروار الهه لڳ،
مدت کان گرفتار محبت ۾ رهان ٿو،
ڪر جلد عطا دوست ڪو ديدار الهه لڳ،
نالان گهڻو آهيان مان، نظر ساڻ شفا ٿئي،
سڀ غم ئي ٿين دور اي غمخوار الهه لڳ.

2. The Second School of Sindhi poetry is called 'The Thattavi School of poetry'. Haji Mahmood 'Khadim' was the leader of this school in modern times. He and his followers preferred Persianised forms. Rose and nightingale, moth and lamp etc. are the main similes and metaphors of the poetry of this school. Dr. Mohammad Ibrahim 'Khalil', Hafiz Hayat Shah, Sobhraj Nirmal 'Fani', Juma Khan 'Gharib',

Lekhraj 'Aziz', Abdullah 'Abd', Faiz Bakhshiapuri, Nawaz Ali 'Niaz', Muzaffar Hussain 'Josh', Manzur 'Naqvi', Ghulam Ahmed 'Nizami', Lutufullah Badvi, Mughul Ghulam 'Sarwar', Abdullah 'Khuwab', Abdul Qayoom 'Saib' and others are main poets of this school of poetry. In view of Shaikh 'Raz':

'One cannot find anything new in their ideas and expression. The same old style and the description of the things which are not commonly seen in Sindh are found in their poetry (Shaikh Abdul -ur- Razaq Raz 1946: 46),

But they, as a matter of fact, were masters in the art of poetry. They were authority on Persian prosody, and they were deep in ideas and thoughts. Their service to the history of Sindhi literature is commendable.

3. The third School of poetry is known as 'Bewas School of Poetry'. It is also known as 'Modern and Progressive School of Poetry'. This School, as a matter of fact, took its rise about eighty years ago, when New Sindh was born (1930- 1933 AD) as stated earlier. Nationalism was beginning to make itself felt. Literary and intellectual interests had affected literature directly. The poor people of villages and the inhabitants of slum areas in towns made the poets of this School socially and economically discontented. They preached for the equality of men, and for the dignity of labour. It can be claimed that Mirza Qaleech Beg was the pioneer of this School of Poetry. He introduced new forms of poetry to Sindhi literature.

3.1 Bewas (1885 – 1947 AD), was a school teacher.

He not only described beauties of nature, and penned simple songs and lyrics for children, but he also wrote about the sufferings of the poor. In view of Prof. Lalsing Ajwani:

"Bewas is fresh, original and striking in expression. He was essentially a realist. He alongwith many other Sindhi poets, was influenced by Allama Iqbal".

He was the first modern poet who revealed the truth about life as he saw it. He had innate instinct to catch within purview the soul of his generation. His acquaintance with life was wide and comprehensive. He was a man of the modern world, mixing freely with all types of mankind, and he used these opportunities to observe the peculiarities of human nature. He had an observant eye, a retentive memory, judgment to select and the capacity to expound. Thus his descriptions are very real and brilliant. He says:

چانگي چنو اڏيائون جو لامن لکن منجهان
سارو آجهو ستيائون جو لامن لکن منجهان
کاڍو کڍيائون کڙب جي کانن ککن منجهان
مفتي مدد تي آيا مچي مڙس مڙي
الله جُھري مَ شال غريب جي جھوپڙي

3.2 The great achievement of Bewas was to found a school of poetry. Hyder Bux Jatoy, Khialdas 'Fani', Hari 'Dilgir', Hoondraj 'Dukhayal', Ram Panjwani, Gobind Bhattia, Shaikh 'Ayaz', Shaikh 'Raz' and others continued their liberal tradition.

4. Hyder Bux Jatoy's 'Shikwahh' (complaint to God), written on the model of Allama Iqbal, roused a storm at the hands of bigots, but his address to the

'River Sindhu', and 'Azadi –e- Qaum' will continue to be read when much of 'Ghazal' is forgotten. (Lalsing Ajwani 1959: 253-268). Jatoi began as a follower of 'Sangi School', and then became a revolutionary in politics as well as in literature, so much so that he takes the second place with Bewas in the history of 'New Sindhi (modern) Poetry.' (Lalsing Ajwani 1959: 253-268).

4.1 Another poet of the new era, worth mentioning is Dewands 'Azad', whose adoption of Arnolds 'Light of Asia' under the title 'Poorab Sandesh' (1937) is a popular reading of Sindhi Verses.

4.2 The influence of this School of Poetry has continued with certain changes until modern days. After the independence in 1947, the Sindhi Hindu intellectuals, prose writers and all the educated persons had to shift to India, but those who decided to stay back at their places, particularly the poets of traditional type, continued to contribute. They adopted the same diction of 'Gul' i.e. of Sangi period; same similes and the same old style of nearly a century, with the exception of a few of them. Most of them did not want to modify their themes, language and style; of course, some of them have been influenced by present changes.

5. The young and progressive poets of this age, after the independence, under the influence of 'Bewas' had also done a great service, not only to the Sindhi literature but also to the Sindhi language. They created many new words and phrases to express the depth and delicacy of their thought. In their verses, one can find a great variety of subjects. The poets of this School have sung for national awakening,

nationalism, national renaissance, freedom and internationalism. Sindh, Sindhi people and their problems are the main features of their theme.

In view of the poets of this School, the Persianised forms (of Sindhi poetry) are alien, non-native and non-Sindhi forms, but a study of their works, reveals that they also could not save themselves from another foreign (European, French and Russian) influence. They were being attracted and are still being attracted by the new imported ideas, new thoughts and new approach of Western, Chinese and Russian literature, which are considered by this group as modern trends, but as Professor Ajwani puts, 'this tendency was originated long ago by the person (probably Sigma Dayaram Gidumal) whose name is the greatest in the history of Sindhi Culture and Literature (Lalsing Ajwani 1959:253-268).

5.1 It is a fact that modern Sindhi poetry has been influenced very much by Western literature. 'Free verse' is one of the Western forms of literature, which was introduced in Sindhi literature long ago i.e. during British days. Diwan Dayaram Gidumal (1857 – 1927 AD), Savant and Saint, published about more than hundred years ago, a massive volume of philosophic verse, 'Mana –ja- Chahbuka', (whips of the mind). The free form of these verses and their content had caused a revolution in the taste of more thoughtful and aspiring Sindhi youth, before Independence. In his view:

“Another influence in popularising free verse in Sindhi is by a variety of writers in all kinds of verse and prose, notable among these translators being: Lalchand Amardinomal (Sada

Gulab), Arjan Israni and Hariram Mariwala (Phala Chunda) translation of Tagore's (Fruit Gathering). Sadhu T.L. Waswani translated Gita in free verse." (Lalsing Ajwani 1959: 253-268).

Professor M.U. Malkani translated Tagore's 'Gitanjali' and 'Gardener' in poetic prose. Prof: D.K. Mansharamani translated Nazrul-Islam's 'Baghi'. All these books brought revolutionary changes in Sindhi poetry, both in content and form. In view of Dr. Schimmel:

"Qaleech Beg was a good craftsman, capable to apply every rhetorical device to his verses, and sincere in his attempt to enrich his beloved Sindhi with as many forms as possible." (Annemarie Schimmel 1974: 31).

New Trends in Sindhi Poetry after Partition

1. Just after the partition of India and creation of Pakistan, a new country for the Muslims of the sub-continent in 1947, a considerable number of Hindu poets, prose writers, scholars and intellectuals migrated to India, and thus a vacuum was created for sometime. But this condition did not last long. Many literary societies were reformed for the encouragement and progress of Sindhi literature. Prominent amongst them were:

- (i) Bazm –e- Nizami, Karachi
- (ii) Bazm –e- Latif, Karachi
- (iii) Bazm –e- Khalil, Hyderabad
- (iv) Bazm –e- Bismil, Tando Muhammad Khan

There was a general body of poets and prose writers of Sindh called 'Jamiatu- Sho'ra –e- Sindh' (جمعیت الشعراء سندھ) which existed under the presidentship of Makhdoom Muhammad Zaman 'Talibul- Moula'. This organisation used to arrange annual literary conferences every year at different towns of Sindh and brought out a literary monthly magazine entitled 'Adab –e- Sindh', which proved to be very advantageous for the beginners as well as for senior literary persons. This was really an institution which initiated and infused spirit among many young and immature youngsters to compose poems. (Channa Mehboob Ali 1971: 31).

This era of modernism gave birth to new renaissance in 1946, when 'Sindhi Adabi Sangat' was founded by Gobid 'Malhi', Shaikh Ayaz, Ayaz Qadiri, Shaikh Abdul Razaq 'Raz' and others. Shaikh Ayaz became the torch bearer of this new renaissance. This new renaissance, radical in content, was manifestation and aspiration of people confronting

social problems, particularly the problems of middle and oppressed classes were rationally discussed. Even their love poetry was revolt against the feudal concept of romance.

This trend has continued upto this day. Troll, Free-verse, Sonnet and all other European forms of poetry composed by the young poets of Bewas School, afterwards followers of Progressive School of Poetry, occupy a very prominent place in modern Sindhi literature. Besides this, in the present times, 'Nazm', 'Geet', 'Doho', 'Sortho', 'Kafi', 'Vai' and 'Bait' are also very popular forms of modern and progressive Sindhi poetry.

2. Shaikh Ayaz was the leading poet after partition and contributed much towards the modern and Progressive School of Poetry. He, in view of Mr. Saleem Memon:

"Is supreme among the writers (poets) of today. He is the first and foremost protagonist of Western literature, ideologies and social system. He has created new forms, invented new words and phrases for Sindhi language. He has given new life to Sindhi literature, and inspired many young writers of Sindhi language. He is sung by the singers. He is alive for ever". (Saleem Memon 1981:)

But in view of Nabi Bux Khoso,

"Ayaz is not the last word in Sindhi poetry. Sindhi poets have made new experience, found new diction and expressed new themes. The important among them, who have also influenced today's poetry, are: Dr. Tanvir Abbasi, Shamsar al-Hyderi, Niaz Humayuni, Imdad Hussaini, Anwar Pirzado, Fatah Malik

and so on. (Nabi Bux Khoso).

Ghulam Rabbani Agro, a prominent Sindhi short-story writer says:

"Shaikh Ayaz and other modern poets have been acknowledged as the great poets of the present times. A mystical devotion to the earth and its inhabitants, messages of love and peace to the war torn world, humanistic approach to the problems of the modern man, are some of the distinct aspects of their poetry." (Ghulam Rabani Agro: 10)

Tanvir Abbasi was another leading poet of this modern School of Poetry. He has three collections of his poetry to his credit. He is the best in 'Nazm' and 'Geet'. Shamsar and Imdad are prolific writers, who have maintained their artistic fineness. They have been recognised as masters of Free verse. Anwar Pirzado and Fatah Malik have written less, but have really added some masterpieces of art to Sindhi poetry.

3. Fatah, who started as short story writer, has, as Nabi Bux Khoso explains, imitated rhythmic patterns of Shaikh Ayaz but he has also preserved his individuality in diction and content. He is in no way a romantic poet.

According to Nabi Bux Khoso,

"Fatah wrote poetry in the midst of one most important political movement of Sindh's History. It was a movement for cultural renaissance. The movement, naturally, demanded commitment from literature in clear and unambiguous terms. Fatah responded to the demand of time. His poetry is the poetry of allegiance to the cause of the renaissance of Sindhi culture. His poetry, however, cannot be termed as the poetry of sheer propaganda. He, in his

foreword to the collection of his poetry, has himself expressed his difference with the propagandist politicians. He believes that the poets are the conscience of the society; therefore, they look ahead of the politicians. (Nabi Bux Khoso).

4. The poets of modern and Progressive School are masters of simplicity, lucidity, rhythm and versification. They use very simple and sweet similes, metaphors and other figures of speech, commonly understood by every class of people. Most of them are famous for their progressive and socialistic ideas and thinking. The most prominent poets of progressive school, after the partition are: Shaikh Ayaz, Abdul Karim Gadai, Shamsheer-al-Hydari, Tanvir Abbasi, Ustad Bukhari, Shaikh 'Raz', Imdad Hussaini, Maulana Girami, Niaz Humayooni, Inayat Baloch, Bashir Moriyani, Bardo Sindhi, Hidayat Baloch, Muhammad Khan Majidi, Ibrahim Munshi, Taj Baloch, Taj Joyo, Khakhi Joyo, Parvano Bhatti, Fatah Malik, Akash Ansari, Sarvech Sujawali, Anwar Pirzado, Qamar Shahbaz, Ahmed Solangi, Ahmed Khan 'Madhosh', Saroopchand 'Shad' and many others. They are all known as progressive poets.

4.1 Besides the male poets, many female poets of both these schools are very well known. Some of the names are enlisted below:

(a) Ghazal School

(1) Noor Shahin.

(b) Progressive School

Roshan Mughal, Maryam Majidi, Sultana Wakasi, Sahar Imdad, Suraya 'Sauz' Diplai, Pushpa Walab, Nazir 'Naz', Shabnam 'Moti', Atiya Daud,

Gauri Walab and Zeb Nizamani etc.

Their great vitality in style and in writing, in expression and delicacy, their vast range of subjects from patriotism to love, Their forms from 'Ghazal' to 'Doho', 'Geet', 'Free-verses' and 'Sonnet', have made them outstanding. Their language is free from all the non-native elements, and they are fully aware of the national temperament.

4.2 It does not mean that 'Ghazal' and other Persianised forms were totally abandoned. This trend has continued till present days. Not only prominent poets have continued this trend but the new comers have also followed them. Some of the names worth mentioning are:

Dr. Atta Muhammad 'Hami', Saleem Hallai, Rashid Ahmed Lashari, Ahmed Khan 'Asif', Ali Muhammad 'Khalidi', Ali Muhammad 'Majrooh', Sayid Sardar Ali Shah 'Zakir', Rahim Bux 'Qamar', Qalandar Shah Lakyari and many others.

5. As it has already been mentioned that Sindh has also remained a centre for Islamic teachings from the days of the advent of Islam in Sindh. This trend has continued till today. The poets and writers have conveyed their message of Islam during every period. After the influence of European literature, particularly after the introduction of progressive literature, and the influence of socialistic ideology, the young Nationalist poets were also affected by this ideology. This influence on Sindhi literature compelled some religious minded writers and poets to check the anti-Islamic influence on Sindhi literature. Sayid Sardar Ali Shah was the first person

Sindhi Prose

who came forward and wrote, against these trends in his newspaper, daily 'Mehran'. Afterwards Rashid Ahmed Lashari, Dr. Muhammad Ibrahim 'Khalil', Abdul Qayoom 'Saib', Ma'moor Yousifani, Abdul Karim Laghari, Karim Bux Nizamani and others wrote against all the progressive trends. These writers called themselves rightists' group. 'Muhammad Bin Qasim Adabi Society' was formed to counter the progressive/ socialistic ideology in Sindhi literature. This society encouraged publication of Islamic literature in Sindhi language and has rendered a great service towards Islamic literature in Sindhi. Simultaneously another literary and cultural society called the 'Tanzeem – Fikro –o- Nazar' was formed under the leadership of Prof. Asadullah Bhutto. This society has brought all like minded writers and poets on one platform against the 'Progressive writers'. Besides Professor Asadullah Bhutto, Prof. Bashir Ahmed 'Shad', Nadeem Ansari, Qalandar Shah Lakiari, Abdul Karim Taban, Makhdoom Ghulam Muhammad, Abid Laghri and others were main workers and writers of this society. This society had started with a mission of doing a great service to Islamic literature in Sindhi language. Due to its Islamist approach this society got tremendous support, patronage and encouragement from Martial law Government, particularly from General Zia-ul-Haq.

6. Thus in conclusion it can be said that Sindhi poetry is rich in all respects.

1. Like poetry, Sindhi language is also very rich in prose. But it is not an easy task to find out the oldest specimen of Sindhi prose of pre- Muslim period in Sindh. As mentioned earlier, during the beginning of Habarid rule in Sindh, in the year 270 AH (883 AD), on the request of a native local non-Muslim ruler of Kashmir, Abdullah bin Umer Habari, the ruler of al-Mansurah, asked one of the Iraqi Muslim scholars of Sindh to translate the Holy Quran and prepare the laws of Fiqh and Sunnah for the non-Muslim ruler of Kashmir. The Iraqi scholar who was assigned this job was brought up in Sindh and was a poet of Sindhi language (Buzrug bin Shahryar 1960:193 and 202).

2. Another important feature of Sindhi literature is the traces of Sindhi prose of thirteenth or fourteenth century AD, the specimen of which have been produced very recently before the researchers. The first and foremost specimen of Sindhi prose which have been found are some prayers in Sindhi prose written by the Ismaili da'is and Sufis for the new converted Ismaili Muslims in Sindh (Allana G.A. 1977: 4) The instances and specimen of Sindhi prose as such have been found in poetic prose **نثر مقفی** style. The purpose of this style of Sindhi prose was that the followers of Ismaili doctrine could easily understand and remember them by heart. Some examples of the prose writings as such are mentioned below:

یا شاہر! حق تون، پاک تون، دانا تون، بینا تون، اول تون، آخر تون، ظاہر

تون، باطن تون، پيدا تون، پنھا تون، گت تون، پات تون... (الخ)

يا شاھ! اتر پورب دکشن پشچم
چار ڈسيون، چار اوڏسيون، چار کائيون، چار واڻيون،
چار ڪتاب، چار ڪلب، چار جُڳ، چار ويد... (الخ)

3. Besides these examples, some sayings and proverbs of Soomra period have also been traced (Ali Sher Qan'e, 1967: 69). For instance one of the saying which is attributed to Shah Launqa son of Sayid Jamial Shah Girnari, who died in the year 1244 AD/562 AH and is buried at Pir Patho, district Thatta, Sindh. This saying or other sayings and proverbs can be claimed as to be the specimen of oral prose style. Some of these sayings are reproduced below for instance:

يا شاھ لونقم دين دنيا جا ڏونڪا

("Oh, Shah Launqa, the echo of the religion and worldly affairs.")

Similarly, the following saying is attributed to the Sheikh Pir Patho.

پلا پير پنا، هڪ مُئا هڪ تنا

(Bravo! Pir Patha! one of the enemies is dead and other one has fled away).

In view of Dr. N.A. Baloch it is a proverb and its words are يا برکت شيخ پنو، هڪ مئو هڪ تنو (Baloch N.A. 1993: 129).

This is an example of poetic prose. There are many other proverbs and sayings of thirteenth and fourteenth century AD, which can also be considered as the examples of early Sindhi prose. For instance, Sayied Hussamuddin Shah Rashidi refers to one

saying attributed to Pir Murad Shah Shirazi (he is buried at Makli) which, according to Sayid Hussamuddin is in prose form. The Saying is:

او پاء! رب ڏيئي وڏي جمار

(Oh! Brother may God give you long life.)

It is not out of place to quote one saying which points out at the prosperity, agricultural development and development of trade and commerce of the cities of 'June' (جوڻ) and 'Fateh Bagh' (فتح باغ) during the days of Mirza Shah Hassan Arghun (d.1555 AD/962 AH). The saying is:

نرت نورائي، نار نصرپور، قل فتح باغ،
هلي ڏس جوڻ جت ڪپهه جو واپار.

4. These examples have been quoted from the oral history of Sindhi literature. But as mentioned earlier, Sindhi was not only used as a spoken language, during the pre-Muslims days, but it was also written in difference scripts, in different areas of Sindh. These scripts were devised on the pattern of proto-Nagari or Ardh- Nagari Scripts of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. These types of old scripts were being used by almost all the non-Muslim communities in Sindh. Among the Muslim communities, Khuwajas (Khojas) and Memons, were also using these scripts and were also maintaining their record for commercial ledgers and books in their scripts. The Khojas have continued to use 'Khuwajiki- Sindhi script' or 'Chaliha Akhari' or 'Khojki - Akhara' until now. There are many books written in this script in which not only 'ginans' (literature of Ismaili Pirs and Sayids) have been preserved but some

literature on religion, devotional hymns, history of Imams, geography, arithmetic and education etc. is also available. The books mentioned above have been preserved by the Ismaili community every where and also by Ismaili Tariqah Boards and the British Library in London.

5. Mirza Qaleech Beg records some sentences from the discourses and address in Sindhi prose by Shah Abdul Karim of Bulri to his followers and courtiers. The specimen quoted by Mirza Qaleech Beg are given below:

هرڪو پساھ ھڪڙو قاصد آھي جو گويا رب تائين
 نياپو تو رسائي، تنهنڪري جي ڪنهن پساھ يا نفس
 فوت ڪيو، تنهن ڄڻ ته خدا جو ھڪڙو پيغام وڃايو.
 انھيءَ ڪري چوڻي آھي ته فوت الانفس قتل الانبياءَ،
 جنهن نفس فوت ڪيو، تنهن ڄڻ ته نبين کي قتل
 ڪيو. جيءَ جي پڇا ٿيندي، عمر جو حساب دمن تي
 آھي، ڏسو متان ڪو دم ضايع ٿي وڃي.

5.1 Mirza Qaleech Beg has translated these examples from the book written in Persian by Abdul Raza, one of the disciples of Shah Karim. It, therefore, cannot be said as to what was the actual syntactical construction of the sentences spoken by Shah Karim. It can only be claimed that he must have addressed to his courtiers in Sindhi Prose.

6. We also perceive the traces of Sindhi prose in a book written in Arabic by very well known theologian and a scholar Makhdoom Jaffar Bubakai (d.1589 AD/998 AH), a contemporary of Shah Abdul Karim of Bulri. He (Makhdoom Jaffar) wrote a book on the matters of divorce in Arabic. The title of the

book was *حل العقود في طلاق السنود*. In this book he used some Sindhi terms and words for 'Divorce' and one sentence in Sindhi Prose (Channa M-A 1971: 4).

7. But one example which is very important to mention here, is the handwritten sale-deed (in Sindhi Prose) called in Sindhi as 'kabaro'. This sale-deed is written in Nagari script. This manuscript was identified by Sirajul Haque Memon in the stacks of MSS preserved in the British Library, London, and pointed out in one of his articles, published in monthly 'Nain Zindagi' in January 1971 (Sirajul Haq Memon 1971: 23). The said 'Kābāro' (ڪاٻارو) was written in 1650 AD/1710 Sambat). The exact words of the sale-deed are reproduced below:

”سنت 1710: ورڪ ناريءَ (نھاريءَ) چنڊ، گروار (خميس)
 ڏھاڙي اڪر ڪيا: ننگر ساموئيءَ پيٽري ڏنڪ نامي لوھاڙي
 سورجيءَ پرڻيائيءَ لھڙا: اڏارڻڪ نامي پاڻي رامل تورسيائيءَ
 ڪني روپيا 101 انگين اڪرين سو ايڪو ترا ورتي ڏيندو:
 ڏيندي هر هج (حجت) ڪانه ڪندو: ناري ني (نھاري/ڏسي ڪري)
 ڪاٻارو لکيو: ديس پرديس سھي (صحيح) جڏهن سروجي
 پرڻيائي گھرندي تڏهن رامل تورسيائي پري جباب (جواب)
 ڪندو: اُجر (عذر) ۽ مالو (دير) نه ڪندو: پيرو ماسد هي ڪاٻارو
 انگي اُڏارو نيائين: سھي (صحيح): ٻيو اُجر (عذر) ڪونه ڪندو:
 مت رامل تورسيائي: جما (جمع) ٿيا: اڪر سھي: رڀين ايڪوتر
 سو: وھاج (وياج) پڻ ايڪوتر“ (The words in brackets denote the present forms of those words)

7.1 Shri Jaramdas Daulatram found a book from a temple 'mathu' of Saurashtra. This book is written by Sipra, the Minister of Raja Rawal. Abu Saleh, the

Sindhi Prose of Early British Period

1. The prose writing in Sindhi language, in real sense, commenced from the last days of the Talpur rule (1782-1843 AD) and early days of British rule (1843-1947 AD) in Sindh.

1.1 In the beginning there are not so many works which prove originality and artistic value of the writers. The reason is quite obvious. However, the best prose of the earlier period of British rule shows that the writers gained a very good command over their native tongue. Sindhi was made an official language in 1854. This action on the part of British officers promoted literature of Sindhi in general, and Sindhi prose in particular.

2. The prose writing in early British days has been divided in various ages as under:

(i) Nadiram age:

2.1 Most of the works of this age (Nandiram) were translations and adaptations. The translation of 'Tarikh-e- Masoomi' by Divan Nandiram, is an example of Sindhi prose of early days of the British period. It is written in vigorous and colloquial style. (Muhammad Siddiq Memon 1959:) The language was extended and adorned by borrowing vocabulary from Arabic, Persian and Hindi.

2.2 Another translation into Sindhi was that of the translation of 'Gospel of Saint Mathews'. It was translated by the Missionaries of Searampore. Its new translation was done by Captain George Stack, and

was printed in Devanagari script in 1850. Another book of "Gospel of Saint John" was translated by Mr. Burnes in 1853 and was printed in present Arabic-Sindhi (Naskh) script. (The Principles of National India 1896: 100)

An example of Burn's written Sindhi prose (and the script) is given below:

”چا کا تھ خدائ جھان کي اهڙو پيار کيو پنهنجو هڪڙو ئي
چٽل پٺ ڏنائ جيڪو تھ تي ويساھ آتي سو چٺ نہ ٿئي
ويتر هميشه جنت لھي.“

3. Other translators of this period were: Munshi Udham, Pribhdas, Sayid Miran Mohammad Shah (the senior), Qazi Ghulam Ali, Miyan Ghulam Hussain, Diwan Nawalrai and others. They translated various prose works on history, geography, ethics, philosophy, education and books on many other aspects from Urdu, Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati and Persian.

3.1 Official writing system for Sindhi language was adopted under the orders of the Governor of East India Company in 1854. The writers were encouraged by the British Government by offering prizes for good translations. Sir Bartle Frere himself took keen interest in this work. This attitude promoted many new writers to write in Sindhi prose. Thus the beginning of the British period has been called 'The period of Translations'. (Allana G.A. 1977:9-12) The most important books translated during this period were:

<u>SNo.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Translator/ Author</u>	<u>Year of Publica tion</u>
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1	Bābnamo باب نامو	Diwan Nandiram	1853
2	Bhambhe Zamindar ji Gālh ميمي زميندار جي ڳالهه	Mian Ghulam Hussain	1854
3	Tarikh –e- Masoomi تاريخ معصومي	Diwan Nandiram	1854
4	Essapa jun Akhānyun ايسپ جون آڪاڻيون	Diwan Nandiram	1854
5	Sudhature ain Kudhature ji Galh سڌا توري ۽ ڪٿا توري جي ڳالهه	Syed Miran Mohammad Shah (the senior)	1855
6	Mufid-us- Sabiyān مفيد الصبيان	Syed Miran Mohammad Shah (the senior)	
7	Sindhi Sarf –o- Nahv سنڌي صرف نحو	Mian Mohammad	1860
8	Tarikh-e- Sindh تاريخ سنڌ	Seth Aloomal	1862
9	Columbus ji Tarikha ڪولمبس جي تاريخ	Kauromal	1862
10	Bambai khate ji Geography بمبئي کاتي جي جاگرافي	Guradinomal	1868
11	Raselas رسيلاس	Udharam	1868

4. Original writings, compilations and editing work was also encouraged during the early British days. Dr. Trumpp compiled ‘Shah jo Risalo’ and got it

printed from Germany in 1866. Besides this work, he also wrote a ‘Grammar of the Sindhi language’, which was published in 1872. Both these works are considered as monumental works in Sindhi.

4.1 Captain George Stack was another prominent Sindhologist, who not only wrote a ‘Grammar of Sindhi Language’ but he also wrote five stories in original Sindhi prose form and got them printed in Devanagari script as an addenda with his Sindhi Grammar. He also got published a Sindhi-English Dictionary in 1879.

4.2 Afterwards a good number of books were written not only in Sindhi poetry but on prosody, criticism and lexicography etc. in Sindhi prose. Some of these books were:

<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Author</u>	<u>Year</u>
(1)	Mizan-al-Shi’r ميزان الشعر	Sayid Fazil Shah	1875
(2)	Diwan-e-Fazil ديوان فاضل	Sayid Fazil Shah	1875
(3)	Diwan-e-Qasim ديوان قاسم	Akhund Mohammad Qasim	1875
(4)	Sindhi-English Dictionary سنڌي- انگلش ڊڪشنري	Mirza Sadiq Ali Beg	1875

4.3 In 1890 a new edition of Bible was printed in Sindhi from London. The specimen of prose style used in this book is given below:

”ٺٽون عهدنامو سنڌيءَ مين لڏن شهر منجهه ڇپيو. 1890ع

بابل ۾ لڏي وڃڻ کان پوءِ يڪُنا کان سلتيل جاڻو ۽ سلتيل کان زروبابل جاڻو. زرو بابل کان ايتوڏو جاڻو ۽ ايتوڏو کان ايليائمر جاڻو. هاڻي يسوع مسيح جو ڄمڻ هٿڙيءَ طرح ٿيو ته جڏهن هُن جي ماءُ مريم جو مڱڻو يوسف سان ٿيو هو، پر اڃان پاڻ ۾ گڏ نه ٿيا هئا ته پڌرو ٿيو جو هيءَ روح القدس مان پيٽ سان ٿي آهي.“

5. The old Commissioner of Sindh's record at Karachi had got the original correspondence in Sindhi language since 1851. Perhaps this whole record has been shifted to Sindh Archives, Karachi. The specimen of the style of writing is given separately. The most promising characteristics of the Sindhi prose at the beginning of this period are directness, vigour and simplicity. For instance:

”جڏهن ڇچ اميرن جي ميلاپ سان گاديءَ تي ويٺو، تڏهن دروازا خزاني جا اُپٽي، ڏاڻ جو سڌ وجهي، چڱن ۽ منن کي کوني، ڏاڻ ڏيئي، ٻانهن ۽ ٿوري جي قاهيءَ ۾ ٻڌي ڇڏيائين، ۽ مهينو سپاهين جو وڌايائين ۽ ڍل راجن کان گهٽيائين. ان ڪئي کان ڏيهن ۾ وسندي ۽ جهجي وسڻ ٿي ۽ راڻيءَ کي پنهنجيءَ ريت پرڻيو.“

”هن ڳالهه ٻڌڻ کان خليفن مٿي کي هڪڙي گهڙيءَ توڻي، گيدي ۾ وجهي ارمان ڪيو ۽ ڏمرجي باهه سندس ڇاتيءَ ۾ اُلان ڪيا، پوءِ سندس حڪم فرمائڻ وانگر انهن پيٺن کي گهوڙن جي پڇن سان ٻڌي، ڏيهن جي چوڌاري گهمائي، دجلي ۾ وڌائون.“

5.1 Akhund Lutufullah is recognised as a master in poetic prose style of Sindhi. Some instances from his book are given below:

تنهن ڏينهن بوقت النهار، اخبار نامدار جي ديدار فرحت آثار کان پوءِ، روح جو طوطي، حجاب جي پردي مان آزادي

حاصل ڪري، يڪدم سخن مرغزار ڏي اُڏاڻو ۽ وڌاد جي شمشاد تي ويهي، پنهنجي دوست دلارام خوشخرام بلبل نام جي احترام ۾ نغمه زن ٿيو. اُميد ته هي ڪج رفتار پنهنجي اخبار گوهر بار جي ڪالم نگار عالم تي بيحجاب اڪتاب فرمائيندا، متان استطاب سمجهي، ڪنهن عتاب جي خطاب سان مفت تاب فرمايو.“

5.2 Alongwith local writers who were busy in writing Sindhi prose, there were many European officers and Missionaries who were also enriching the literature of Sindhi language. Dr Trumpp, Mr. Captian Shirt, Captain George Stack, Mr. Burnes, Mr Wathen, and R.F Burton were amongst those foreign scholars who compiled many books such as Shah Jo Risalo. They also wrote books on Grammar of Sindhi language and prepared Dictionaries (English-Sindhi and Sindhi-English) respectively. Christian Missionaries on the other hand were busy in translating the Holy Bible in Sindhi. This whole period, as stated, by Professor Mangaram Malkani, can be called the “Period of Amusements and Learning”. (Mangaram Malkani 1954: 14)

Qaleech Beg Period

1. Between 1864 and 1910 the Muslims of Sindh alongwith those of other parts of Pak-o-Hind sub-continent were influenced by 'Mohammadan Association', a movement organised by Sir Sayid Ahmed Khan. This movement resulted in the awakening of the Muslims for learning. Many newspapers and magazines were published as a result of this movement. In Sindh, 'Sindh Mohammadan Association', was formed by Hassan Ali Effendi. Sindh Madrassatul-Islam was founded by this Association. This association then started publishing a newspaper under the title 'Mu'awin' (معاون), and then it was followed by 'Mu'inul-Islam (معين الاسلام) in 1881.

The establishment of first printing press in Sindh in 1885, also promoted Sindhi prose. Moreover establishment of printing presses gave new impetus to short story writing in prose. It played a considerable role in the evolution of the same. Because of cheap printing, prose writing became very popular among the masses who usually took keen interest in the literary form as such.

1.1 The promulgation of Education Act by the British Government, opening of schools and the decisions for imparting education in one's mother-tongue, rapidly produced an enormous reading public. The low cost of printing of books, availability of magazines and newspapers, increased the demand for books, containing short stories, essays and other forms of literature. The result was that publication of books was increased manifold.

1.2 In 1882 the Government of Sindh sponsored 'Sindh Sudhar' (سنڌ سڌار), a newspaper in Sindhi, under the editorship of Mirza Sadiq Ali Beg and Sadhu Hiranand. Many articles and poems were published in this newspaper, Publication of this newspaper also promoted writing of Sindhi prose considerably.

1.3 In 1884 Sadhu Hiranand, Sadhu Nawalrai, Bulchand Kodumal and Rishi Dayaram Gidumal jointly set up 'Sudhar Sabha' (سڌار سپا), a literary society, and started a monthly magazine, 'Sarswati' (سر سوتي) under its auspices. This magazine brought to light most of the short story writers, essayists, novelists, play-writers and poets. Many social, ethical, educational, religious and informative articles and essays were published in it. Rishi Dayaram Gidumal (1875- 1927 AD), Diwan Kauromal (1844-1916 AD), Mirza Qaleech Beg (1853-1929 AD) and others were regular writers of 'Sarswati' magazine.

1.4 By this time, the conditions of the world were changing. New knowledge and old dogmas came into fierce conflict. The systems and values of life were shaken. Traditional landmarks were swept away. Intelligent men and women of all classes were deeply stirred by the spirit of speculation and unrest.

As already stated, the movement launched by Sir Sayid Ahmed Khan also influenced the literary, social and political activities in Sindh. This movement gave birth to many magazines and newspapers, in which almost all the forms of Sindhi literature were being published. The most popular literary forms of this period were novels, dramas, shor-stories and essays.

This period of Sindhi literature was, as a

matter of fact, the period of Promotion and Development of Sindhi prose. Though, during this period, great developments and achievements were made on the side of poetry also, but Sindhi prose also progressed tremendously. Novel as a form of Sindhi prose had thrust itself into the first rank.

2. Four prominent figures of this period need to be mentioned as 'Four pillars of Sindhi literature' on which the edifice of Sindhi prose rests. They were: Mirza Qaleech Beg, Diwan Kauromal Chandanmal, Diwan Dayaram Gidumal and Diwan Parmanand Mewaram (1865-1938 AD).

Mirza Qaleech Beg was the pioneer of many forms of Sindhi prose. He was the versatile genius and proficient writer - and who in term of Dr. Daudpota is 'Doyen' of modern Sindhi literature (Channa Mehboob Ali 1971:10). He attempted on every literary aspect and wrote about four hundred books, original as well as adaptations and translations. He contributed in almost all the branches of Sindhi literature- prose as well as poetry.

Mirza Qaleech Beg began his voluminous and encyclopaedic work with his translation of 'Bacan's Essays' (مقالاتِ حڪمت) in 1877. He is the first Sindhi writer who introduced 'Novels', 'Dramas' and 'Essays' in Sindhi literature.

2.1 The first novel written in Sindhi language by Mirza Qaleech Beg was 'Dilaram' (دلارام) and the first drama in Sindhi language, he wrote was 'Laila-Majnu' (ليلا مجنون) which was published in 1880. His critical work on 'Shah Lateef' may also be reckoned as

pioneer work of scholarship in Sindhi. He compiled Dictionaries of Shah Latif. He wrote on religion, philosophy, sociology, economics, agriculture, medicine, ethics etc. Because of rendering such a unique service to Sindhi literature, Mirza Qaleech Beg may be called the 'Maker of Sindhi Literature' in general and of 'Sindhi prose' in particular. In view of Dr. Schimmel:

"His novel Zeenat, written in 1890, contains some points which are far more modern than most of the modernist approaches made half a century later, and although the plot of this novel in its second half is not very convincing. Zeenat deserves a place of honour in the history of Muslim educational literature." (Annemerie Schimmel Dr., 1974: 31)

2.2 Qaleech Beg's activities cover a period in which the Indians, mainly the Muslims, became more and more aware of their role in world politics. (Annemarie Schimmel Dr. 1974: 31)

3. Another name that is worth mentioning alongwith Mirza Qaleech Beg is that of Diwan Kaurmal Chandanmal (1844-1915 AD). He was a great reformer, a social worker, Brahmosamajist and an educationist. He began his literary career with a piece 'Pako-Paha' (پڪو پھ) which he wrote in 1865 in favour of female education. He translated books mostly for children. His popular books are:

- (i) Columbus ji Tarikha کولمبس جي تاريخ
- (ii) Arya Nari Charitra آريا ناري چرتر
- (iii) Radha Rani رادا راڻي

He also wrote dramas. His translated drama 'Ratnawali' (رتنوالي) occupies an important place in

Sindhi literature. Another valuable contribution to Sindhi literature was his diction of 'Samia-ja-Sloka' (ساميءَ جا سلوڪ), published in 1885 AD.

4. Rishi Dayaram Gidumal (1857-1927 AD) was the third pillar of Sindhi prose. He, in collaboration with Sadhu Nawalrai, Sadhu Hiranand and Diwan Bulchand Kodumal established in 1890 AD, a literary society, called 'Sudhār Sbha' (سڌار سڀا). He was a regular writer for 'Sarswati' (سرسوئي) magazine. Diwan Dayaram was a great reformer, a social worker and a Yogi. Like Diwan Kauromal, he worked for the spread of female education, and emphasised it by writing books on this subject. His introduction to Mirza Qaleech Beg's translation of 'Ruba'iyat Umer Khayam' (رباعيات عمر خيام) and Kauromal's Samia-ja-Sloka' (ساميءَ جا سلوڪ) is a master piece of prose style in Sindhi language.

5. The fourth pillar was Diwan Parmanand Mewaram (1865-1938 AD), known as 'Addison of Sindh' for his essays and moral apologies. He was a successful translator, editor, lexicographer and an essayist. He was the editor of 'Jot' (جوٽ), a literary magazine, which was started at the end of twentieth century, and which presented the Sindhi reading public one of the two best collections of essays 'Gula Phula' (گل ڦل) in 1882 in Sindhi. His translation of 'Following of Christ' (ڪرسٽ جي پيروي) is a masterly work in prose. His lexicon of the Sindhi language published in 1910 AD is still considered as the best work on that subject. He brought to light another essayist, Wadhmal Gangaram, who wrote essays on special problems of Sindhi society.

Another writer whose name will be

remembered alongwith the name of Diwan Dayaram Gidumal is Diwan Bulchand Kodumal. He was a regular writer for 'Sarswati'. Diwan Bherumal has given some of his essays in the anthology of his essays and has named it 'Heeray joon Kannyn' (هيري جون ڪٿيون). This book was published in 1930.

6. Shamsuddin Bulbul (1857-1919 AD), the editor of 'Mu'awin' (معاون) newspaper, was also a prominent writer of this period. Like Mirza Qaleech Beg, he also adopted a new prose style, and inspired a new spirit in Sindhi prose.

7. Folk-lore has remained integral part of Sindhi literature from the fifth century A.D. as stated in the beginning. Fables and fairy tales were also appreciated by the readers during this period. Akhund Lutufullah (1842-1902 AD) translated 'Gule-Khandan' (گل خندان) from 'Fasanah-Ajaib' (فسانہ عجائب) and Diwan Sobhraj Daswani wrote 'Sabha- jo Singhar' (سڀا جو سينگار) in 1894 AD. Haji Imam Bux Khadim (1861-1918 AD), a school teacher and a poet, also contributed in this field. The style they have used is rhythmic in construction and in poetic-prose form.

Evolution and Development of New Trends in Sindhi Literature (1914-1930 AD)

1. The last two decades of nineteenth century and early three decades of twentieth century actually saw a great development in Sindhi literature. Many dramas and novels were written during this period. Dramatic societies were formed for the encouragement of Sindhi drama. 'D.J. Sindh College Amateur Dramatic Society' and 'the Rabindranath Literary and Dramatic Club' were formed. These dramatic societies arranged for the translation of plays of Shakespeare and other dramatists of Europe.

2. From the deep study of the available record, it is obvious that from 1864 up to 1914 many novels, dramas, essays and short stories were written in Sindhi. Some of the most important titles are:

<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Title of the Book</u>	<u>Author</u>	<u>Literary form</u>
(1)	Laila Majnu ليلی مجنون	Mirza Qaleech Beg	Drama
(2)	Nal Damenti نل دمینتی	Master Jethanand	- do -
(3)	Khurshid خورشید	Mirza Qaleech Beg	- do -
(4)	Ratnawali رتناولی	Kauromal Chandanmal	- do -
(5)	Drupadi دروپدی	Loksing	- do -
(6)	Mohan Tarika موهن تارکا	Lilaramsing	- do -
(7)	Raja Harish	- do -	- do -

	Chandra راجا هرش چندر		
(8)	Surjan Radha سورجن راڌا	- do -	- do -
(9)	Zeenat زينت	Mirza Qaleech Beg	Novel
(10)	Mahjoor مهجور	Chandanmal	- do -
(11)	Chandra چندرا	Chandanmal	Drama

3. During this period of history, many socio-political and economic movements were started. 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 partitioning 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- from among the many authors who flourished from 1905 to the beginning of World War-II, only a few can be singled out." (Annemarie Schimmel 1974: 31)

3.1 As stated earlier, these movements sponsored many magazines and newspapers. 'Pribhat' (پریات) (1891), 'Alhaq' (الحق) (1900), 'Musafir' (مسافر) (1901), 'Mata' (ماتا) (1905), 'Bahar-eAkhlaq' (بہارِ اخلاق) (1906) and 'Jaffar Zitli' (جعفر زتلی) (1909) were the most important from amongst them, in which short-stories, essays and articles on social, ethical, educational, religious and political problems were published. These literary organs brought to light many poets and prose writers of elegant diction. Prominent amongst them were: Jethamal Parsram, Lalchand

Admardinomal, Lilaram Watanmal, Bherumal Meharchand Advani, Mellaram Mangatram Waswani, Mohammad Hashim Mukhilis, Sayid Kazi Assadullah Shah 'Fida', Hakim Fateh Mohammad Sehwani, Maulana Din Mohammad Wafai and Sheikh Abdul Majid Sindhi.

The aftermath of the First World War gave birth to different political and social movements and various other activities which left their traces on Sindhi literature. This period (From 1914 and onwards) is very rich in lyrics, dramas, fiction and narratives. The literature produced during this period is full of national, social, political and other aspirations of Sindh in particular and of Sindhi folk in general. This era initiated many literary societies.

4. Later on in 1914, Diwan Jethmal Parsram (d. 1948 AD) and Lalchand Amardinomal (d. 1954 AD) established a literary society with the name 'The Sindhi Sahit Society' (سنڌي ساهت سوسائٽي). Both of them were the most active personalities in the field of Sindhi literature. The main function of this Society was to publish novels and anthologies of those short-stories in which various retrogressive customs of the society were exposed and condemned. This society was active upto 1920. A good number of novels, dramas and short-stories were got translated and published under the auspices of this society. Jethmal Parsram translated into Sindhi Maeterlinck's 'Mona Vanna', Goethe's 'Faust' and Shakespeare's Hamlet. Besides these, he translated, the life of the Buddha and many other books in Sindhi language.

4.1 Another renowned prose writer of modern period was Prof. Naraindas Malkani. He was the

author of original books in various fields of Sindhi prose. Following works are to his credit:

- (i) Anardanah انار دانہ
- (ii) Gothani Chahra ڳوٺاڻي چهر
- (iii) Mirani Sindhri ميراني سنڌڙي

His style is graceful, delicate and full of proverbs and idioms of daily use.

5. Besides him other prominent writers of this society were: Lalchand Amardinomal, Principal Buluchand Dayaram, Parmanand Mewaram, Tejumal Shahani, Leelaram Vilayatrai and Mirza Qaleech Beg. Other prominent writers of this age were: Bherumal Mahrchand Advani, Melaram Mangatram Waswani, Mohammad Hashim 'Mukhlis', Hakim Fateh Mohammad Sehwani and many others. The famous novelists of this period were:

<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Name of Novelist</u>	<u>Title of Novel</u>
(1)	Lilaram Wilayatrai	Dildar Dil Nigar دلدار دل نگار
(2)	Principal Shahani	Taran jo Abhyas تارن جو اڀياس
(3)	Hiranand Mirchand	Rozan Rose روزان روز
(4)	Nanik Mirchandani	Nazik Gulra نازڪ گلڙا
(5)	Guli Sadarangani	Ithad اتحاد
(6)	Hari Hingorani	Lahandar siju لهندڙ سج
(7)	Prof. Bhambani	Pap ain Pakizagi پاپ ۽ پاڪيزگي

- do -
 (8) - do - Malhan مالھڻ
 (9) - do - Ghariban jo Warso
 غريبن جو ورثو

6. (a) Socio-political and economic movements launched in wake of Second World War brought to light many scholars, writers and intellectuals. For example 'Khilafat Movement' and 'Anne Besant Movement' led many Hindu and Muslim writers to propagate their views through magazines and newspapers which were published for this purpose. Muhammad Hashim Mukhlis, Hakim Fateh Muhammad Sehwan, Maulana Din Muhammad 'Wafai', Shaikh Abdul Majid 'Sindhi' and many others were very successful editors of this time. Hindwasi (1917), al-Amin (1918), Bharatwasi (1918). Ruha Rihan (1924), al-Jam'e (1925) and al-Minar (1930) were the famous newspapers and magazines of Khilafat Movement era.

Nain- Sindhi Library (نئين سنڌي لائبرري), a literary organisation, founded in 1920 under the guidance of Jethmal Parsram, published about fifty books of a very high standard. He (Jethmal) established another literary society and named it 'The Sasto-Umdo Sahit Mala' (سسٽو عمدو ساهت مالا).

After 1923 many other literary and dramatic societies and publishing companies were established. 'Sundar Sahitya', 'Sikh Tract', 'Sindh Muslim Adabi Society', 'Ratan', 'Kahani', 'Bharat Jivan', 'Kauromal Sahitya Mandal' and 'Rabindranath Dramatic and Literary Society' were very prominent among them. Melaram Mangatram Waswani, Chuharmal, Parumal, Jagat Advani, Muhammad Siddiqui Memon,

Mohammad Siddique Musafar, Hari Sundar and Dev Sabhani were the main writers for these societies.

(b) The Second World War brought misery all around. It destroyed many systems and values. Europe had witnessed the war and had gone through its horrors. The writers of the West could successfully depict the crippled and confused human mind after the Second World War (Professor Popati Hiranandani 1983: 198).

The writers of the sub-continent studied the trends prevalent in the literature of the West and were influenced much by them. Besides, the discoveries in the fields of science and technology, after the World War Second, introduced new concepts about life, politics, religion, morality and society. These changes affected the social life tremendously. The writers of Sindhi language could not keep themselves away from these changes (Professor Popati Hiranandani 1983:198).

(c) This was the period in which every scholar, poet, thinker and man of letters kept himself very busy in writing or doing some research work. Dr. Gur Buxani was busy in working on his scholarly work of 'Shah jo Risalo'. Mirza Qaleech Beg, Professor Bherumal, Rochiram, Prof. Ajwani and Assanand Mamtora were interested in writing novels, dramas, biographies and essays. Hakim Fateh Muhammad Sehwan, Maulana Din Muhammad Wafai and some other Muslim scholar were contributing to Islamic literature and Muslim Nationalism. Besides these Jethmal Parsram, Lalchand Amardinomal, Ahmed Chagla, Shamsuddin 'Bulbul', Dr. Daudpota, Muhammad Saleh Bhatti, Khanchand Daryani, Usman Ali Ansari, Professor Naraindas Bhambhani,

Hakim Agha, Naraindas Malkani, Professor Mangharam Malkani, Muhammad Siddique 'Musafar', Mirza Nadir Beg, Professor Ram Panjwani, Manohardas Kauromal, Shewaram Lala and Ali Khan Abro were the prominent scholars, critics, essayists, novelists and play-writers of this period. They almost made use of every form of Sindhi prose. Novels, dramas, essays, short-stories and Islamic literature written during this period is worth reading.

Most of these writers were original and creative writers. Mirza Qaleech Beg, Shamsuddin 'Bulbul' and Naraindas Bhambhani were the pioneers of the new school of diction and style. They discarded the old style of poetic-prose (نثر مقفي ۽ مسجع) based on Arabic and Persian prose pattern, and switched over to the new and modern and natural style. They modernised the sentences and made Sindhi prose very popular.

(d) Dr. Gur Buxani and Dr. Daudpota introduced the technique of modern research methodology and critical appreciation of literature. The monumental editions of 'Shah-jo-Risalo' edited in three volumes by Dr. Gur Buxani and 'Shah Karim Bulria- jo- Risalo' edited and printed by Dr. Daudpota and Agha Sufi's edition of 'Sachal', Nagrani's edition of 'Sami', Parmanand's English to Sindhi and Sindhi to English dictionaries are the most important works of this period.

Jethamal Parsram was a social worker, Sufi and Brahmosamajist. 'Shah-jun- Akhanyun' (شاه جون آکاڻيون), Hamlet and Mona-Wana (مونا وانا) are his very valuable works in Sindhi prose. Bherumal (d.1950) was a philologist, a grammarian, a historian, a novelist and a critic. He had a sound sense of

criticism, an enormous capability for work and love for traveling. He edited 'Johar Nasr' (جوهر نثر), the first anthology of Sindhi essays. He wrote 'Latifi Sair' (لطيفي سير) on the travels conducted by Shah Lateef. He translated a number of books including detective stories. He wrote 'Sindhi Bolia- ji- Tarikha' (سنڌي ٻوليءَ جي تاريخ), 'Qadeem Sindh' (قديم سنڌ) and 'Sindh-je- Hindun ji Tarikha' (سنڌ جي هندن جي تاريخ). These are his best works in Sindhi prose. Bherumal is very famous for his elegant diction. He is quite simple to be understood by all. His works are free from artificial phraseology.

(e) Lalchand Amardinomal is regarded as the great old man of Sindhi letters. He is a very successful novelist, a dramatist and an essayist. He has written mainly on the subjects concerning daily life of common folk. He has used colloquial and idiomatic language. His writings and style inspired many a writers such as Assanand Mamtora, the author of 'Shair' (شاعر), a romantic novel containing stirring passages, Shewak Bhojraj, the author of 'Ashirwad' (آشيرواد), 'Dada Shyam' (دادا شيام), Ram Panjwani, the author of 'Padma' (پدما) and 'Qaidi' (قيدي), and Mangharam Malkani. (Lalsing Ajwani 1959: 265). His influence is seen even on essayists like Naraindas Malkani, the author of 'Anardanah' (انار دانہ) and Tirath Vasant, the author of 'Chingun' (چڻنگون) (Lalsing Ajwani 1959: 265).

(f) Professor Naraindas Bhambhani, Khanchand Daryani and Melaram Mangatram Waswani have drawn vivid picture of the miseries of poor who had nothing to eat, nothing to drink and nothing to wear or

no place for their shelter.

(g) Novel as a form of literature had emerged foremost in the literary field in this period. Professor Naraindas Bhambhani and Melaram Manmatram Waswani are the best novelists of this age. Bhanbhani was a social reformer. He tried much to bring a change in the customs of the Sindhi society. He depicts the life of the lower and middle classes with imagination. As a satirist and an observer of manners, he easily excels his contemporaries: Mirza Qaleech Beg, Melaram Waswani, Dr. Gur Buxani, the author of 'Noor Jehan' (نورجهان), and Khaliq Morai, the author of 'Sundri' (سندري).

Bhambhani's characters are not mere types, but they live too actively. They are drawn with a vivid pen. Every sly line reveals some aspect of character. The description of each man and woman, and the atmosphere depicted reads like a page from a memoir. He describes them in the most natural genius. His characters are not puppets. They are alive and specimen of the twentieth century men and women.

Bhambhani and his contemporary novelists knew their characters, and drew them from personal observation. They knew the people. Bhambhani drew them for his readers with all their little tricks and mannerism and external peculiarities.

Some of the famous novels written during this period are:

<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Publisher</u>
(1)	Azadia-ja- Upasika آزاديء جا آپاسڪ	Ratan Sahitya Mandhal
(2)	Narveema Devi نرويما ديوي	- do -
(3)	Amrata Jahira Mitha Bola	- do -

امرت جهڙا منا ٻول		
(4)	Chandar Shekar (Historical Novel)	- do -
(5)	Tara Sundri چندر شيڪر تارا سندري	Sundar Sahitya
(6)	Parastana jo Shahizado	- do -
(7)	Chambelia ji Sugand پرستان جو شهزادو	- do -
(8)	Manorma چنبيليءَ جي سڳندت منورما	- do -
(9)	Har-jita هار جيت	- do -
(10)	Sada Suhagan سدا سهاڳڻ	Ashtia Sahit Mandli, Karachi
(11)	Gora گورا	- do -
(12)	Jivan Kala جيون ڪلا	- do -
(13)	Kumal Kamal ڪومل ڪمل	- do -
(14)	Jurtu Shahzado جڙتو شهزادو	- do -
(15)	Zindagia jo Pahriyun Safar زندگيءَ جو پهريون سفر	- do -

Similarly the novels of Muhammad Usman Diplai and others are worth mentioning.

(h) Drama is another form of Sindhi prose. In Sindhi literature, like novel, modern drama came as a non-native (foreign) form of prose. Mirza Qaleech Beg was the pioneer of this form of Sindhi prose. 'Laila-Majnu' (ليلي مجنون) was his first drama which he translated into Sindhi in 1880 AD. However, upto 1894 many dramas were written and published in Sindhi language. Khurshid (خورشيد), Raja Harish Chandr (راجا), Nal Damenti (نل دمینتی), Drupadi (دروپدي), Mohan Tarika (موهن تارڪا) and Surjan-Radha (سورجن ڌارا) were of

great merit but none of them was shown on the stage.

It is already mentioned that two dramatic societies, 'D.J. Sindh College Amateur Dramatic Society' which started in 1913, and the 'Rabindranath Literary and Dramatic Society' established in 1923, staged many Sindhi dramas. Some of them were: 'Shah-Elia' (شاه ايليا), 'Husna-Dildar' (حسنا دلدار), 'Shahzado Bahram' (شهزادو بهرام), 'Farebi Fitnu' (فريبي فتنو), 'Nek Anjam' (نيڪ انجام), 'Pati Shewa' (پتي شيوا) and 'Prem Bhagti' (پريم بگتي). There was another dramatic society under the name 'Nasarpur Pardesi Sarswat Brahman Dramatic Society'. This society staged dramas as mentioned below:

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------|
| (1) Durangi Dunya | دورنگي دنيا |
| (2) Premi Patang | پريمي پتنگ |
| (3) Bewafa Qatil | بيوفا قاتل |
| (4) Kalajuga- ja- Kalura | ڪلجڳ جا ڪلور |
| (5) Kishor | ڪشور |
| (6) Mohini | موهني |

'Rabindranath Tagore literary and Dramatic Societys' most successful production was 'Umar Marui' (عمر مارئي), written by Lalchand Amardinomal. The theme of poetical passage was taken from Shah Lateef's verses. The main active worker of this club was Khanchand Shamdas Daryani. He himself was the author of many dramas. Some of them are: 'Mulka ja Mudabara' (ملڪ جا مدبر) translated from 'Ibsen's Pillers of Society', Bukha jo Shikar (بڪ جو شڪار) and 'Jiaria -te- Jiari' (جيئريءَ تي جيئري). Ahmed Chagla, the author of 'Chandra' (چندرا) and 'Mahjur' (مهجور), Agha Ghulam Nabi Pathan 'Sufi', Usman Ali Ansari,

Muhammad Ismail Ursani and Asanand Mamtora are the popular drama writers of this period.

Most of the dramas were translated from English, Urdu, Gujarati, Marathi and Hindi. There is a long list of translations as such. Some important titles are given below for reference:

<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Title of the Original</u>	<u>Title of Translation</u>	<u>Name of Translator</u>
(1)	King Lear	Shah Eliya شاه ايليا	Mirza Qaleech Beg
(2)	Merchant of Venice	Husna Dildar حسنا دلدار	- do -
(3)	Samblin	Shamshad Marjana شمشاد مرجان	- do -
(4)	Two Gentlemen of Verona	Aziz Sharif عزيز شريف	- do -
(5)	Romeo-Juliet	Gulzar-Gulbaz گلزار گلنار	- do -
(6)	Hamlet	Shahzado Bahram شهزادو بهرام	- do -
(7)	Morning and Night	Feroz-Dilafroz فيروز دل افروز	- do -
(8)	Cleopatra	Malika ملڪ	Tirath Wasant
(9)	Post office	Dak Ghar ڊاڪ گهر	Asanand Mamtora
(10)	Ghost	Bhut پوت	Ahmed Chagla
(11)	Pillars of Society	Mulka -ja- Madabra	Khanchand Daryani

	ملڪ جا مدبر	
(12) Meterlink	Desha tan- Sadqe	- do -
	ديش تان صدقي	
(13) Sorrows of Satan	Insan ki- Shaitan	- do -
	انسان کي شيطان	
(14) Eastlen	Ghalat Fahmi	- do -
	غلط فهمي	
(15) Two gentlemen of Verona	Ghumrah Dost گمراه دوست	Usman Ali Ansari

Similarly 'King John' was translated by Bherumal Advani, and 'Othelo' was translated by Diwan Beghchand.

(i) The plays staged during this period are dramas with 'moral message'. In such plays the characters are all personified obstructions. The story is founded on the ethical conception of the struggle between good and evil in the life of man. It is an allegory dramatised. The plays mark an important stage in the development of the drama. They are sometimes lay and tedious, yet they have original plots and clash of characters.

Moral values generally changed their character. They ultimately passed into the didactic interludes and other dramatic compositions.

(ii) Translations of Ibsen's plays served as a model on which the new drama was based. Ahmed Chagla and Khanchand Daryani's dramas are Ibsen's translations. These two were the prominent dramatists of Sindhi language, and their names still continue to remain as the best stage drama writers.

Khanchand Daryani was the pioneer of the

dramatic revival. By his masterly craftsmanship and that one of his associate, Ahmed Chagla, alongwith their keen appreciation of stage effect, they did good work in creating a lively illusion of reality. One can find in their plays all elements viz: story, characterisation, dialogue, conflict and setting.

Essay Writing

Essay was another form of Sindhi prose in which many writers took part. This form was made popular by Bulchand Kodumal, Dayaram Gidumal, Parmanand Mewaram, Naraindas Malkani and Tirath Wasant.

In 1929 the Sindh Muslim Adabi Soceity was founded. This Society encouraged Muslim writers to contribute on Islam and Muslim history. Among the authors who wrote for this society were Maulvi Noor Muhammad Nizamani, who was inspired by Allama Iqbal and his poetry. He also wrote on 'History of Sindh'. Khan Bahadur Muhammad Sidique Memon (1890-1958 AD) was the most prominent writer of this society. His 'Sindh ji Adabi Tarikha' ranks among the foremost studies of Sindhi literature. Lutufullah Badvi (d. 1968) was also inspired by Allama Iqbal's poetry. He was a poet and a critic. Besides him Makhdoom Muhammad Saleh Bhatti, Muhammad Sidique 'Musafar', Abdul Ghani Abdullah and others were prominent writers of the society.

Period of National Awakening and Independence Movement (1936-1947 AD)

In 1920 Muslim League was formed in Sindh. All India Congress started 'Quit India Movement' after some time. Both the Muslim League and All India Congress fought for the Independence, but Congress worked for the 'Sauraj' (سؤراج) and Muslim League demanded 'Pakistan', a separate state for the Muslims of India. Many newspapers and magazines were brought out in Sindh for propagation of both the movements. 'Sansar Samachar' (سنسار سماچار), 'Hindoostan' (هندوستان), 'Hindu Sansar' (هندو سنسار), 'Hindwasi' (هندو) and 'Qurbani' (قرباني) were propagating in favour of All India Congress, and 'Alwahid' (الوحيد) was an organ of the Muslims for the propaganda of Pakistan.

These movements inspired many Hindu and Muslim short-story writers, poets and novelists. In view of Professor Popati Hiranandani,

"The modern short-story, as we have known, in the Western sense, made its debut in Sindh in the early thirties, when writers like Mirza Nadir Beg, Usman Ali Ansari, Amarlal Hingorani and Asanand Mamtora breaking a way from the earlier reformist school, began to experiment on new subjects. Influenced by the writings of European literature, they carved a new style of telling a story" (Popati Hiranandani Professor 1983: 85).

The theme of every short-story was non-cooperation with the foreign government and fight for freedom. The literature published during the period of seven years from 1940 upto 1947 contains the elements of national awakening, disagreement with the retrogressive customs of society and many

other problems of common folk and miseries. Professor Popati Hiranandani states:

"The feudalistic values were breaking against the new forces and the urbanisation of certain sections brought a change in the life style of some sections of society. With the national struggle for freedom in the country, came an awakening which gave rise to a new thought wave finding expression in creative activity. The beginning of forties saw Hitler's adventure and his bloody path of over-running Europe. At home, the movement of Independence assumed a revolutionary thrust of Quit-India movement. The writings of Tagore and other stalwarts widened the horizons of the creative spirit of the youngmen. This phase of national movement threw many young writers in the forefront". (Popati Hiranandani Professor: 1983: 85)

Among, Muslims, who contributed to the development of Sindhi prose were, Maulana Din Muhammad Wafai (1893-1950 AD) and other editors of several Muslim magazines and newspapers among which 'Al-Haq' (الحق), 'Al-Wahid' (الوحيد) and chiefly 'Tauhid' (توحيد), are reckoned for their efforts. They propagated to a certain extent the religio-social ideas of Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi in their magazines. (Annemarie Schimmel 1974: 31) Besides Maulana Din Muhammad Wafai, Hakim Fateh Muhammad Sehwani (1882-1942 AD) was a leading Muslim writer whose books were liked very much at that time and are still widely read by readers.

As already stated many short-story writers were contributing much for the change in society. The prominent short-story writers were: Saindad Solangi, Shaikh Abdul Sattar, Shaikh Ayaz, Ayaz Qadri,

Gobind Punjabi, Gobind Malhi, Annad Golani, Sujan Ahuja, Dildar Hussain Shah Musavi, Tirath Wasant, Kirat Babani, Krishin Khatwani and so on. They were the main writers who depicted the miserable conditions of the poor folks, in their short-stories. Many literary societies were established. From amongst those 'Baghi Sahit Mandal (باغي ساهت منڊل), Zindagi Publications (زندگي پبليڪيشنز) and 'Azad Series' (آزاد سيريز) published many books and magazines. 'Agite Qadm' (اڳتي قدم), 'Nain Dunya' (نئين دنيا) and 'Mehran' (مهراڻ) were the most important literary magazines of this period. Almost all the writings of Tolstoy and Gorkey alongwith the writings of Munshi Premchand, Tagore and Savat Chandra were translated into Sindhi. These writings had a regenerating effect on the sensitive and receptive minds of the young writers.

Art is a mirror of artists' mind, and its relationship to the world around him. Art seldom remains stationary for a very long time. There is always a change and development reflecting the growth of man's knowledge, both of himself and of the external world. During the period of the last hundred years, there have been considerable changes in beliefs and behaviours. There has been a wide change in the political and social life. Beliefs, rituals, superstitions and old customs and ceremonies have tended to loose their grip upon the mind of men or have been replaced by the new ideas and ideology.

Sindhi Literature after Independence and Partition of India

Immediately after the independence in 1947, it appeared as if Sindhi literature had been throttled. Almost all the senior and young Sindhi Hindu writers and intellectuals migrated to India, and all the literary societies and literary organisations were almost closed down. For some time there was a vacuume and creative literary activities had come to a standstill.

(a) After a very short period of time the younger generation of Sindhi Muslim writers, with the assistance of experienced and senior writers started literary activities. Literary societies were re-established and publication of some journals was restarted and some new organisations were formed. The available names of such organisations are:

- (i) Sindh Muslim Adabi Society, Hyderabad
- (ii) Yousif Brothers, Hyderabad
- (iii) R.H. Ahmed and Brothers, Hyderabad
- (iv) Education Book Stall, Hyderabad
- (v) Modern Sindh Publishing House, Karachi
- (vi) Firdous Publications, Halla
- (vii) Rafique Publications, Halla
- (viii) Abbasi Book Depot, Karachi
- (ix) Sindhi Adabi Society, Karachi
- (x) Jamiat-al-Sho'rai Sindh
- (xi) Mehran Publishing Company, Karachi
- (xii) Anjuman Ilm-o-Adab, Halla
- (xiii) Sindh Sudhar Society, Larkana
- (xiv) Anjuman Imamyia, Hyderabad, and
- (xv) Habib Publications, Sukkur.

Similarly some lovers of Sindhi language and literature established literary organisations in India.

Although the starting period and beginning of the early years was just like a transitory period, nevertheless Sindhi Literature flourished with good speed, both in India and Pakistan. Books in every field of literature were published in both the countries.

(b) The main factors which had influenced Sindhi prose, before and after the independence was a wide-spread demand for social reforms, 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 morals of wealthy persons, land lards, religious leaders, clergy and bureaucrats etc.

In modern Sindhi literature, the short-story has remained dominant for the last five decades. Through this form of literature, Sindhi writers in Sindh and in India have dealt with every aspect of life in Sindhi society.

The modern Sindhi short-story writers have always been found very conscious of current problems faced by Sindh and Sindhis. Everywhere, the writers of Sindhi language believe in reality. They have conveyed facts in their writings. They have given their message through symbols. For instance Mr. Jamal Abro's 'Shah jo Phar' (شاه جو ڦر), 'Badma'ash' (بدمعاش) and 'Mehrbani' (مهرباني); Rabani's 'Shido Dharel' (شيدو ڏاڙيل) and Ayaz Qadri's 'Biloo Dada' (بلو دادا) are very good examples of such writings. Ali Ahmed Brohi and Kirorpati are humourous and satirical in their short-stories. They convey their message through humour and satire.

Jamal Abro commands the position of a

leading modern short-story writer in Sindh. The critics of Sindhi literature compare him with Maxim Gorky. He has great sympathy with the poor folks of Sindh. He criticises the rich people. He is against many social customs and ceremonies. He depicts the unbearable conditions of the masses which he feels and observes with his inner eye. He has tried with his elegant diction to reproduce the same picture and wants his readers to feel as he had felt. His characters are those miserable human beings who live under the tyrannical fate of self-styled upper class and wealthy persons. His characters are, although poor, but they value their self-respect. They fight for their right and never care or hesitate to face any trouble that they may confront.

Muhammad Usman Diplai occupies a very important place among the creative writers, novelists, dramatists and play writers of modern literature.

'Amar Jalil' is influenced by Western pragmatism and liberalism in his writings. He seems to have also been influenced by Krishn Chandar and Hemmingway (Saleem Memon 1981:). Rasool Bux Paliyo has contributed on peasants, problems. His writings are considered as peasants' literature. Agha Saleem and Sirajul Haque Memon are known for their own style. They have made extensive use of Western fiction in their writings. Similarly Naseem Kharal, Ali Baba, Abdul Qadir Junejo, Hamid Sindhi and others have tremendous command over depiction and analysis of Sindhi rural life and the problems of rural Sindh.

All these modern short-story writers have, however, kept some semblance of commitment in their writings. Their commitments help them not only

to overcome pessimism but to inspire revolt against sociological helplessness and misery (Saleem Memon 1981:21).

(c) Not only male members of the writers, community have contributed much in this field of literature but the women writers of Sindh have also played a very successful role as short-story and drama writers. They have also contributed towards fiction and criticism before independence. Kamla Keswani, Guli Sadarangani, Khairun-Nisa Abbasi's names are worth mentioning. Kamla wrote a book on criticism; Guli was a novelist. She also translated Tagore's 'Gora'. Khairun-Nisa Abbasi was an essayist.

After the partition, the Sindhi women have also contributed much towards poetry but they have proved to be successful prose-writers also. Their main contribution is in the field of short-story. In view of Dr Fahmida Hussain, they have depicted in their short-stories particularly the peculiar problems concerning women folk of Sindh (Fahmida Hussain 1981: 31). Fahmida says: "Women writers, being part of their gender have shown better understanding as compared to men, so they have always been more successful in approaching this subject" (Fahmida Hussain 1981:31). Fahmida gives some names of women short-story writers.

In late fifties and early sixties, Begam Zeenat, Abdullah Channa, published monthly magazine 'Marui' (مارئي). She herself wrote very good short stories for this magazine. Her story 'Randiko' (رانديكو) is the best of all. She encouraged other young lady-writers to write for the 'Marui Magazine'. During the decade of sixties many female short-story writers such as Sumera Zareen, Iqbal Parveen Soomro, Dr.

Rashida Hijab, Mahtab Mahboob, Surya Yasmin, Jamila Tabassum, Zarina Baloch, Irshad Qamar, Qamar Wahid, Z.A. Shaikh and others are worth mentioning.

Sumera Zareen was considered a short-story writer of high rank at that time. 'Watan' (وطن) and 'Sham' a Barinde Shaba' (شمع باريندي شب) are her best short stories. She had a style of her own.

Iqbal Parveen Soomro was also a very good short-story writer. She wrote for monthly Nain Zindagi. 'Sukoon' (سكون) and 'Pirha phuti' (پره ڦٽي) are her best short-stories.

Dr. Rashida 'Hijab', basically a scientist, proved to be a very good romantic short story writer. Her style and typical way of describing situations were adored by her readers, particularly young girls. (Dr. Fahmida Hussain 1981:31) This characteristic made her popular. Her famous stories are:

Laila Milyus Kunwar	ليلي مليس ڪنوار
Badsurat	بدصورت
Chininga	چڻنگ
Bewafa Keru?	بيوفا ڪير؟

Zarina Baloch was basically a performing artist. She was well known as TV and Radio artist, and a Folk Singer. Her short-story 'Jiji' (جيجي) is one of the best stories. She has tried to write on facts for which the society has always been condemned.

From the decade of seventies, the number of women writers has increased and the most prominent among them are: Khair-un-Nisa Jaffery, Tanvir Junejo, Mehtab Rashdi, Noor-ul-Huda Shah, Mahtab Mehboob, Akram Sultana Waqasi, Sahar Imdad, Khadijah Shaikh, Mahtab Tabassum Qureshi, Salma

Siddiqui Qazi, Nilofer Joyo, Shabnam Moti, Razia Siddiqui, Fahmida Hussain, Fahmida Baloch, Nasim Thebo, Suraya 'Sauz' Diplai, Nazir 'Naz', Dr. Noor Afroz Khuwaja, Dr. Qamar Jehan Mirza, Tahmina Sikandar, Shabana 'Sindhi' and others.

Mahtab Mehboob has been recognised as one of the best of all the short-story and novel writers in Sindhi. She started writing in early sixties and has been continuously writing to date (Fahmida Hussain 1981: 32). Three anthologies of her short-stories have been published so far. Their titles are:

- (i) Chandia-jun-Taroon چانديء جون تارون
- (ii) Mithi Murada مني مراد
- (iii) Priha Khan Pahrin پرھ کان پھرين

Her novel 'Khawab Khushbu Chokri' (خواب خوشبو چوڪري) is one of the best of all novels in Sindhi.

Besides these, a travelogue is also to her credit. In view of Dr. Fahmida Hussain,

"Mehtab's style has individuality. She writes to relate stories of pain and hardships of women and points out towards sociological flaws and weaknesses in women which are to be removed or reformed" (Fahmida Hussain Dr. 1981: 32).

Her style is easy and her language is of every day use, full of proverbs and idioms, mostly in use among women. She has depicted her characters from all the classes of Sindhi Society but these characters successfully represent the middle class. Her best short-stories are: 'Bhuri Wachha' (پوري وچ), 'Chandia jun-Taroon' (چانديء جون تارون) and 'Naku' (نڪ) etc.

Tanveer Junejo is the product of seventies. She

has written many good short-stories. The theme of her short-stories is the problems faced by Sindhi women. There is one anthology of her short-stories to her credit. The title of her book is: 'Amrata Manjhu Karan' (امرت منجه ڪٽڙڻ). Dr. Fahmida Hussain considers her as one of the prominent lady short-story writers of today (Fahmida Hussain Dr. 1981: 32). She depicts characters of girls neglected by their parents and society. Her characters are common Sindhi girls who face many problems only because they are females.

Noor-ul-Huda Shah, is now-a-days a leading short-story and drama writer. Her short-story 'Jalawatan' (جلاوطن) is a very valuable contribution to Sindhi literature. She has very boldly unveiled the evils being practiced in Sindhi society in general and in the high society and traditional families in particular. In the name of society, culture and religion, the sufferings of women of 'Haveli' (حويلي) is the main topic of her stories.

Khairu-un-Nisa Jaffery, was a psychologist and University Professor. So is Laila Bana. Both of them have dealt with psychological problems of Sindhi society. Khairu-un-Nisa's stories have satire and some painful humour too, which touches the heart of the readers.

Professor Dr. Fahmida Hussain is not only a short-story writer but she is also a journalist and a research scholar, critic, linguist and an authority on Shah Latif Studies. The stories and critical articles, research papers and books written by her are of high standard.

Similarly the names of Professor Dr. Noor Afroz Khuwaja, Naeema Tejani, Suraya 'Sauz' Diplai,

Nazir 'Naz', Fahmida Baloch and Professor Dr. Sahar Imdad etc. are also worth mentioning.

(b) Progressive literature has been dominant particularly on youth in the recent past. For expressing their progressive ideas and for publishing the short stories etc., the vehicles for them were 'Ruha Rihan' (روح رهاڻ) edited by Hamid Sindhi, 'Nain Zindagi' (نئين زندگي) edited by Maulana Abdul Wahid Sindhi, Quarterly 'Mehran' (تماهي مهراڻ) edited by Maulana Girami, monthly 'Suhni' (سهڻي) edited by Tariq Ashraf and 'Sojhro' (سوجھرو) edited by Taj Baloch.

The new technology, specialisation, conquest of space and nuclear weapons have totally changed the attitude of people towards life. According to Professor Popati Hiranandani:

"An ordinary man feels so insignificant, so insecure and so helpless that he feels as if he is a blade of grass which is compelled to bend before the gust of breeze or like a little straw which drifts with the waves.

The monotony of life has killed his spirit. The advancement of scientific inventions has confused him. The speed of progress has brought a lot of tension for him. The demands of the outer world have crushed him. He feels helpless. He walks like a tiny particle in the vast multitude of mankind. He feels like a stranger in this mad rush of mankind (Popati Hiranandani Professor: 1983: 183).

All these forms had begun to make themselves felt earlier, but of late they have been a paramount importance to the development of literary thought and style, and thus thousands of books in every field of Sindhi prose have been published. A few titles are enlisted below for instance:

<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Author</u>
1	Panja پنج	Usman Ali Ansari
2	Belayan ja Bola بيلاين جا ٻول	Dr. N.A. Baloch
3	Islamic Tasawuf اسلامي تصوف	Talib-ul-Maula
4	Imam Gazali ja Khata امام غزاليءَ جا خط	- do -
5	Kafi ڪافي	- do -
6	Saire-Kohistan سِير ڪوهستان	Allah Bachayo Samo
7	Saire-Registan سِير ريگستان	M. Ismail Ursani
8	Sairo-Safar سِير و سفر	Sayid Ghulam Mustafa Shah

Novels

<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Author</u>
(1)	Karwan-e-Zindagi ڪاروانِ زندگي	Anjum Hallai
(2)	Awarah آواره	- do -
(3)	Sanghar سانگھڙ	Muhammad Usman Diplai
(4)	Amar (Translation) امڙ	- do -
(5)	Zawal (Translation) زوال	Dr. Kazi Khadim
(6)	Suhan ji Devi (Translation) سونهن جي ديوي	- do -
(7)	Pyaru (Translation) پيار	- do -
(8)	Azra (Translation) عذرا	Walliram 'Wallab'
(9)	Club ain Gharu ڪلب ۽ گهر	Manzoor Ahmed Ursani

(10)	Mujahid (Translation)	- do -
	مجاهد	
(11)	Suri a Singharu	Dr. Abdul Jabbar Junejo
	سوري آ سينگار	
(12)	Darya-je- Kape te	Gul Nasara Puri
	درياء جي ڪپ تي	
(13)	Ashi (Translation)	Fazal Ahmed Bachani
	عاشي	
(14)	Roshnia -ji- Talasha	Agha Saleem
	روشنيءَ جي تلاش	
(15)	Shikastah Zindagi	Badam 'Natwan'
	شڪسته زندگي	
(16)	Sham-o-Sahar	Mansoor Weragi
	شام و سحر	
(17)	Aurata ain Samaju	Mir Muhammad Nizamani
	عورت ۽ سماج	
(18)	Jinsar	Kazi Faiz Muhammad
	جنسار	
(19)	Booli	Shaikh Muhammad Hussain
	بُولِي	
(20)	Rani	- do -
	راڻي	
(21)	Sultana Begum	Sayid Hafiz Shah
	سُلطانہ بيگم	
(22)	Lash	Ghulam Ali Allana
	لاش	
(23)	Orah	Ghulam Nabi Mughul
	اوڙاهه	

Drama

<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Author</u>
(1)	Pachha ain Parlau	Rasool Bux
	پاڇا ۽ پٽلاءُ	'Khumar'
(2)	Dulah Darya Khan	Channa Shabir
	دولهه درياخان	'Naz'

(3)	Wei Rat Vihami	- do -
	ويئي رات وهامي	
(4)	Dilyan Dipa jalaya	- do -
	دلين ديب جلایا	
(5)	Macbeth (translation)	Dr. Mirza Habibullah
	مئڪبيٽ	
(6)	Shakuntala	Rashid Ahmed Lashari
	شڪنتلا	
(7)	Ashika Zahira Piyaka	Rashid Bhatti
	عاشق زهر پياڪ	
(8)	Jadahin Jhunagarh Jhurando	Zahoor Ansari
	جڏهن جهوناڳڙهه جهرنڌو	
(9)	Dozen Dialogue	Muhammad Ismail Ursani
	ڊزن ڊائيلاگ	
(10)	Badnasib Thari	- do -
	بدنصيب ٿري	
(11)	Shahidi	Muhammad Usman Diplai
	شاهدي	
(12)	Najoomi	- do -
	نجومي	
(13)	Cleopatra (translation)	Habib Bukhari
	ڪلوپيٽرا	
(14)	Runja-ja-Rahi	Ali Baba
	رج جا راهي	
(15)	Gul Chino Girnar jo	Agha Saleem
	(Radio drama) گل چنو گرنار جو	
(16)	Darya To Te Danhan	Amar Jalil
	درياءُ توتي دانهن	
(17)	Tamo Pan	Ali Baba
	تمو پن	

(18)	Ghazi Salahuddin (Radio drama) غاڙي صلاح الدين	- do -	(6)	Dastan-e-ghamu داستان غم	'Khokhar' Hafiz Shah
(19)	Gulan Jahira Ghawa (Radio drama) گلن جهڙا گهاٽو	Agha Saleem	(7)	Karachia-jun-Ratyoon ڪراچيءَ جون راتيون	Hussaini Tikhurai Muhammad
(20)	Nain Manzil نئين منزل	Rashid Sabir	(8)	Chor چور	Bukhsh 'Johar' Khuwaja Ghulam
(21)	Akhri Rat (Radio drama) آخري رات	Mumtaz Mirza	(9)	Zindagia jo Raz زندگيءَ جو راز	Ali Allana 'Nashad' Ghulam Ali Allana
(22)	Dodo Chanesar دودو چنيسر	Agha Saleem	(10)	Tabahi تباھي	- do -
(23)	Dulah Darya Khan دولھه دريا خان	- do -	(11)	Gulbadan گلبدين	- do -
(24)	Gungi Zala گونگي زال	Allah Bachayo Leghari	(12)	Bukha ain bekari بُڪ ۽ بيڪاري	- do -
(25)	Sunhan ain Saudau سونھن ۽ سواداءُ	- do -	(13)	Sukhri سوڪڙي	Abdul Jabbar Junejo 'Sham'
(26)	Hoo (Radio drama) هُو	Manzoor Naqvi	(14)	Ajnabi اجنبی	Bashir Moryani
(27)	Bhut (Radio drama) بھوت	- do -	(15)	Zindagi-a-je- Raha te زندگيءَ جي راهه تي	- do -
			(16)	Pyara-ji-Ghuta پيار جي گھٽ	Altaf Shaikh

Besides these novels and dramas, anthologies of short-stories were also published. The titles of some of them are listed below:

<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Author</u>			
(1)	Pishu Pasha پشو پاشا	Jamal Abro	(17)	Watoon-Ratyun ain Rola واتون، راتيون ۽ رول	Abdul Qadir Junejo
(2)	Biloo Dada بلو دادا	Ayaz Qadiri	(18)	Abanu Gharu ابانو گھڙو	Dr. Abdul Jabbar Junejo 'Sham'
(3)	Dak Banglo ڊاڪ بنگلو	Shaikh Abdul Razaq 'Raz'	(19)	Aurata عورت	- do -
(4)	Talash تلاش	Tabasum Mahtab	(20)	Seemi سيمي	Hamid Sindhi
(5)	Naun Ufaq نئون اُفق	Ghulam Ali	(21)	Udas Vadyun اداس واديون	- do -
			(22)	Hasrat Zadah Maut حسرت زده موت	- do -
			(23)	Kam Chor ڪم چور	Amanullah Bugio

(24)	Kirorpati	ڪروڙپتي	Ibne-Hayat Panhwar
(25)	Abe-Hayat	آب حيات	Ghulam Rabani Agro
(26)	Shabnam Shabnam		Nasim Kharal
	Kanwal Kanwal		
		شبنم شبنم ڪنول ڪنول	
(27)	Chotihun Daru	چوٽيهون ڏرُ	- do -
(28)	Dil ji Dunya	دل جي دُنيا	Amar Jalil
(29)	Jadahin Man na Hundis		- do -
		جڏهن مان نه هوندس	
(30)	Rat ja Nena	رات جا نيٺ	Ghulam Nabi Mughal
(31)	Naun Shahr	نئون شهر	- do -
(32)	Pahriyn Qadam	پهريون قدم	Tariq Ashraf
(33)	Biyo Qadam	بيو قدم	- do -
(34)	Toofana ji Tamana		Dr. Najim Abbasi
		طوفان جي تمنا	
(35)	Pathara te Liko		- do -
		پٿر تي لڪو	
(36)	Gita Unjnayala Moran Ja		Sumerah Zarin
		گيت اُجايل مورن جا	
(37)	Chanida joon Taroon		Mahtab Mehboob
		چانديءَ جون تارون	
(38)	Chanda ja Tamanai		Agha Saleem
		چنڊ جا تمنائي	
(39)	Ibratkadah Sindh		Dr. Muhammad Ibrahim 'Khalil'
		عبرت ڪده سنڌ	
(40)	Ghari Ghari Hiku Ghau		Rashid Bhatti
		گهڙي گهڙي هڪ گهاٽ	
(41)	Ae Darda Hali Au		Sirajul Haque Memon
		اي درد هلي آءُ	

(42)	Pirha Khan Pahrin	پرهه کان پهرين	Mahtab Mahboob
(43)	Takhliqa-jo-Maut	تخليق جو موت	Khair-un-Nisa 'Jafferi'
(44)	Amrata Manjh Karan	امرت منجهه ڪٽڙاڻ	Tanveer Junejo
(45)	Zindagia-jo-Tanha	زندگيءَ جو تنها مسافر	Tariq Ashraf Musafar
(46)	Chamre-ja-Vapari	چمڙي جا واپاري	Noor Abbasi

(d) Literary criticism is one of the most effective medium of appreciation of literary forms produced during these days. Dr. Gur Buxani and Dr. Daudpota as already stated, laid the foundation of literary criticism and research methodology in Sindhi literature with their monumental works. 'Shah-jo-Risalo' in three volumes and Risalo of Shah Abdul Karim Bulrai waro respectively. Gradually the writers attempted writing critical appreciations.

Many writers before and after them have devoted their lives towards this field of Sindhi literature. Prominent amongst them are:

Sayid Hussamuddin Shah Rashdi (d. 1982), Dr. Nabi Bakhsh Khan Baloch, Allama Ghulam Mustafa Qasimi, Maulana Girami (d.1976), Maulana Muhammad Usman Diplai (d.1958), Ghulam Muhammad Shahwani, Prof. Mahboob Ali Channa (d.1977), Dr. Abdul Karim Sandeelo (d.1990), Muhammad Ibrahim Joyo, Dr. Muhammad Ibrahim Khalil (d.1983), Dr. Abdul Majid Memon "Sindhi" and many others.

(e) Formation of One Unit brought a new change in Sindhi literature. There was a great

challenge for Sindhi language and literature. Many magazines and books were banned. There was also ban on some writers to write anything. In spite of this the writers who took the flag of Sindhi literature and worked like revolutionaries were:

Allama I.I. Kazi, Dr. Daudpota, Makhdoom 'Talibul Maula', Sayid Husamuddin Shah Rashidi, Allama Ghulam Mustafa Qasimi, Makhdoom Amir Ahmed, Alhaj Sayid Ghulam Mustafa Shah, Dr. Nabi Bux Khan Baloch, Prof. Mehboob Ali Channa, Agha Taj Muhammad, Muhammad Usman Diplai, Maulana Ghulam Muhammad 'Girami', Dr. Muhammad Ibrahim 'Khalil', Atta Hussain Shah Musavi, Abdul Hussain Shah Musavi, Muhammad Siddiq 'Musafar' Muhammad Ismail Ursani, Muhammad Siddique Memon, Muhammad Ibrahim joyo, Shaikh Ayaz, Jamal Abro, Siraj, Shamsheer al-Hyderi, Dr. Tanvir Abbasi, Niaz Humayuni, Shaikh Abdul Razaq Raz (d.1983), Rasool Bux Palijo, Ghulam Rabani Agro, Bashir Moriani, Begum Zeenat Abdullah Channa (d.1974), Sumera Zareen (d.1977), Mahtab Mehboob, Dr. Abdul Majid Memon Sindhi, Karim Bux Khalid, Hamid Sindhi, Hamid Ali Khanai and others.

(e) Muhammad Siddique Memon (d.1958) had a deep insight in Islamic history which resulted in his publication such as 'Khalifo Abu Bakar' (خليفو ابوبكر), 'Umar Farooq' (عمر فاروق), 'Futuh-e-Islam' (فتوحات اسلام), 'Rabia Basri' (رابع بصري), 'Mansoor al-Halaj' (منصور الحلاج) and a monumental Islamic Novel 'Uruse-Karbala' (عروس كربلا).

(f) Sayid Hussamuddin's masterpiece and uncomparable works in Sindhi language in various volumes on History of Sindh. His work in this field is commendable. His research papers on various aspects of Sindhi's history have inspired many young writers.

Dr. Nabi Bakhsh Khan Baloch and Sayid Hussamuddin Shah Rashidi are the most prominent scholars of this period, so far as research work in Sindhi language and literature of Sindh is concerned. They are the pioneers of many new features and fields. They have added many new technical terms in the vocabulary of Sindhi language. Their influence on writers and their writings have brought many young writers into prominence. Dr. Baloch's Volumes of the comprehensive Dictionary of Sindhi language (جامع سنڌي لغات), numerous volumes on Sindhi folk-lore and literature (لوڪ ادب) are his very valuable contribution towards the field of research in Sindhi language and literature.

Conclusion

To conclude the discussion, it can be said that today Sindhi is the richest of all the Pakistani languages, even in certain cases it has left Urdu, the National language of Pakistan far behind. Sindhi Adabi Board, Institute of Sindhology, Sindhi Language Authority, Shah Latif Chair, Karachi University, Sachal Chair, Shah Latif University Khairpur, Sindhi literary societies such as Shah Latif Cultural Centre, Sindhi Adabi Sangat, Government Organisations such as Radio Pakistan, Hyderabad, Khairpur, Larkana, and Karachi, and PTV Karachi studios. KTN, Sindh TV, Mehran TV, and Dharti TV Channels have played very important role in the development of modern Sindhi language and literature. The media have contributed towards the development of dramas on historical, social, and socio-economic problems of Sindh and popular

literature in Sindhi language, linguistics, lexicography and teaching of Sindhi language. Abdul Qadir Junejo, Noor-ul-Huda Shah, Ali Baba, Abdul Karim Baloch, Manzoor Naqvi, Murad Ali Mirza, Amar Jaleel, Hafiz Kunbhar, Mahmood Mughul and others are the most prominent TV and Radio drama and play writers of modern days.

As stated earlier Sindh has contributed much towards Islamic literature in Sindhi. This state of affairs has continued even upto modern times. But to check socialistic influence on Sindhi literature in general and on the Sindhi youth in particular, a team of scholars under the guidance of Jamait-e-Islami in general and other rightist groups in particular, have tried their best to publish Islamic literature in Sindhi. Mohammad bin Qasim Literary Society at Hyderabad and Tanzeem Fikro-Nazar at Sukkur have played their important role not only in bringing out the Islamic literature in Sindhi but in organizing literary conferences. Sayid Ali Mir Shah, Prof: Asadullah Bhutto, late Qurban Ali Bugti, Late Mamoor Yousifani, Muhammad Musa Bhutto, Qalandar Shah Lakiari, Dr. Abid Laghari and others are the prominent writers of these societies. They have done a good work in this field and have tried to convey the message of Islam to their readers in Sindhi language.

In conclusion it can be said that Sindhi language is rich in classical literature consisting of Sufistic, Vedantic and Bhakti ideas and Islamic message. Sindhi is also very rich in modern and progressive literature of which every young writer feels proud.

